Multilingual Education

Piotr Romanowski · Małgorzata Jedynak
*Editors*

# Current Research in Bilingualism and Bilingual Education

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# Multilingual Education

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**Georges Lüdi** is professor emeritus at Basel University. He worked on foreign language acquisition, immigrant languages, multilingualism and workplace communication. He acted as deputy coordinator of the European DYLAN project. He also served in the executive board of AILA and is officer in the French Ordre National du Mérite and Doctor honoris causa (the University of Neuchâtel). He co-authored *Etre bilingue* (Berne, Lang (2013), with B. Py) and *Managing Plurilingual and Intercultural Practices in the Workplace: The Case of Multilingual Switzerland* (Amsterdam, John Benjamins (2016), with K. Höchle Meier and P. Yanaprasart).

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# Introduction

The majority of the world population experience some form of bilingualism either by education, immigration or home environment. Though some prejudice against bilingualism and multilingualism still exists, verbalised as a threat to the integrity of a language or even as a risk to a child's personality development, there is institutional support for bilingualism and bilingual education. In the European Union countries, education is provided in the mother tongue, and at the same time, to foster the European spirit, students are taught at least two other European languages.

The interest and growth of research into bilingualism is reflected in a plethora of research papers and books. The most prominent writings on bilingualism that appeared in the recent decade include Grosjean's *Bilingual: Life and Reality* (2010) in which he debunked pernicious myths surrounding bilingualism and bilingual speakers, such as the belief that bilingualism affects negatively a child's linguistic and cognitive development or that bilinguals have split personalities and are destined to mix forever their languages. Garcia in her *Bilingual Education in the 21st Century: A Global Perspective* (2011), in turn, discusses bilingual education embedded in the twenty-first-century global and local concerns, providing arguments for its benefits for all children throughout the world. Finally, Baker and Wright's recent contribution *Foundations of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* (2017) to an international debate on bilingualism needs to be mentioned. The authors highlight many new facets of bilingualism such as translanguaging, transliteracy, superdiversity, the nature of bilingual identity and digital tools for language revitalisation.

The present volume constitutes a certain supplement to the issues discussed by the aforementioned authors, offering new directions in research on bilingualism and bilingual education. The novelty in research pertains to the research contexts; much research in the field is focused on the North American context, whereas the contexts highlighted in the present volume, i.e. the European contexts are explored to a lesser extent.

The book presents an up-to-date collection of cutting-edge research papers pertaining to various aspects of bilingualism. The current perspectives on the issues are discussed by the authors ranging from theoretically biased scholars to practitioners and teachers in bilingual education. The blending of the voices presented by the

scholars grounded in experience in different geographical regions allows the reader to see how bilingual themes are tackled across various European countries (Poland, Malta, Estonia, Spain, Switzerland and England) as well as the USA.

An undeniable merit of the volume is that it highlights the continued growth and benefits of bilingualism, addresses multiple challenges inherent in bilingual education and finally raises awareness that a greater effort must be made to communicate new research findings to stakeholders, in particular to educationists, school administrators and policymakers who need to update skills and knowledge to embrace the principles of bilingual education to benefit all learners. The title also tackles the issues not frequently addressed in literature, e.g. bilingual maintenance in the context of monolingual Poland or the potential of bilingual education in monolingual Andalusia.

The chapters in the present volume have been divided into three major thematic parts, dealing with different facets of bilingualism and encompassing altogether 12 works. Part I, entitled *Language Acquisition and Linguistic Aspects of Bilingualism* includes five contributions seeking to shed light on both language and cognitive aspects of bilingual acquisition. It opens with a contribution by Piotr Romanowski, who discusses the controversial phenomenon observed among Polish parents deciding to raise themselves their children bilingually in a monolingual environment though none of them is a native speaker of the target language. The author illustrates how communication strategies applied by families impact children's linguistic development. The next chapter by Zofia Chłopek concerns language competences of bi-/multilingual speakers and metalinguistic awareness. The researcher investigates the potential relationship between the two constructs and examines whether a number of appropriated languages and the level of their attainment may impact metalinguistic awareness. The case study presented in the next work by Dorota Gaskins sheds more light on grammar acquisition in bilingual toddlers exposed to typologically different languages such as Polish and English. Through audio and video recordings and a diary, the researcher examines the extent to which Radical Construction Grammar (RCG) and input frequency account for the emergence of grammar in the acquisition of these languages. Anne-Marie Bezzina and Joanne Gauci, in turn, explore the notion of translanguaging in the context of Maltese secondary school learners with the competence in L2 English and L3 French. In their corpus-based study, the researchers investigate in what ways explicit and non-explicit use of L1 and L2 may support L3 learning. The last chapter in this part authored by Anna Verschik and Elīna Bone analyses bilingual speech from both cognitive and linguistic perspectives on the example of Estonian-Latvian individual bilingualism.

Part II, entitled *Language Teaching Aspects of Bilingualism*, contains four contributions whose authors seek to illustrate various issues in language classroom or advocate teaching and learning foreign languages in school and out-of-school contexts. In the chapter opening this part, Marie Therese Farrugia explores how Maltese and English interrelate with every day, school and technical mathematics registers, offering an example of the pedagogic application of translanguaging to the Maltese context. Another contribution in this part authored by Pilar Safont

reports on multilingual requestive behaviour in a classroom setting analysed from a pragmalinguistic and a sociopragmatic viewpoint. This is followed by Daniel Xerri's discussion on teachers' beliefs and experiences while facing the challenge of multilingual classroom reality. The emphasis subsequently shifts to Georges Lüdi's deliberations on a choice between bilingualism with English as a second language and broad plurilingual repertoires in the context of Swiss speakers.

The works grouped in Part III entitled *Language Education Aspects of Bilingualism* explore various ways of increasing effectiveness of bilingual education. First, the role of pre-service teacher training is demonstrated by Johanna Ennser-Kananen and Christine Montecillo Leider who argue that teachers should not only acknowledge but also integrate and actively support multiple languages and identities in a classroom. Second, the role of discursive strategies and types of feedback for heritage language learners is elaborated on by Corinne Seals. Finally, the insightful chapter by María Luisa Pérez Cañado discusses the role of language learning promotion projects and CLIL programmes in the context of monolingual Andalusia.

With this volume, the editors aspire to provide a diverse agenda for future investigation and sincerely hope that this cross-disciplinary collection will be a contribution to the field. It is also felt that all the chapters collectively will strengthen practices and policies in bilingual education around the globe. The themes covered in the book will be of interest to a wide range of readers such as SLA researchers, language policymakers, school leaders, teachers, programme evaluators, parents and community members, all of whom should find many inspiring ideas for enriching the language development and improving the educational outcomes of future generations of bilingual students.

Warsaw, Poland
February 2018

Piotr Romanowski
Małgorzata Jedynak

# Part I
# Language Acquisition and Linguistic Aspects of Bilingualism

# Strategies of Communication in an NNB Family: On the Way to Bilingual Maintenance in a Monolingual Context


**Piotr Romanowski**

**Abstract** The chapter aims at presenting, evaluating and discussing the effectiveness of strategies of communication in families employing the Non-Native Bilingualism approach (henceforth NNB). Though controversial, Non-Native Bilingualism has become fashionable in monolingual countries of Central and Eastern Europe, i.e. in Poland, and is regarded as one of the many possible means of raising children bilingually. First, the theoretical background is presented where the role of parents in a child's acquisition, the possible strategies applied in bringing up children bilingually as well as potential problems to be encountered in the process have been depicted. The subsequent empirical part outlines the results of analyzed case studies collected from 22 families utilizing NNB.

**Keywords** Non-native bilingualism · Bilingualism · Bilingual education · Bilingual upbringing

## 1 Defining Non-native Bilingualism

These days, nobody denies the existence of Non-Native Bilingualism. Romaine (1995: 184, 198–203), following Harding and Riley (1986: 47–8), distinguished five principal types of early childhood bilingualism. One of them involves the 'Non-native Parents' who by sharing the same native language decide which of them will address the child in a language that is not their native language. Obviously, in this case the community's dominant language remains identical to that of the parents. The concept of Non-Native Bilingualism has been widely discussed by Saunders (1988), Döpke (1992), Jimenez (2011), and Szramek-Karcz (2014).

Non-Native Bilingualism (NNB) arouses controversy as its underlying assumption is, as stated earlier, that a parent does not speak his/her native language to the child. NNB stems neither from the wish to assimilate with the environment as early

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as possible (as is the case with immigration), nor from the low status of L1 (the so-called subtractive bilingualism), but it is a conscious decision to speak to the child in a foreign language (a parent's L2) in a natural way. Thus, NNB is defined as one of the possible manners leading to becoming bilingual.

Olpińska-Szkiełko (2013: 79–80) discriminates between three possible types of bilingual upbringing in a family: linguistically mixed families (international couples), immigrant families and the families (NNB families as referred to in our studies) where: "The child acquires the language that is not native to either of the parents. Moreover, it is not the language of a community within which the family lives. In this case, one or both parents deliberately choose a language different from their native language to communicate with the child." In Poland, more and more parents understand the significance of natural language learning and thus, they decide so willingly to speak a foreign language to their children (Romanowski 2016).

The chapter aims at presenting, evaluating and discussing the effectiveness of Non-Native Bilingualism (henceforth NNB) that, although being controversial, has become fashionable in monolingual environments, i.e. in Poland, and is employed by parents who aim to bring their children up bilingually. The purpose of the theoretical section is to depict the role of parents, the possible strategies used in raising children bilingually as well as potential problems to be encountered in the process. The subsequent empirical part outlines the results of analyzed case studies collected from 22 families utilizing NNB.

## 2 A parent's Role in a Child's Second Language Acquisition

One of the most crucial aspects to consider in an attempt to raise a bilingual child is adjusting one's expectations when it comes to the child's linguistic attainment. Too high expectations may lead to frustration and abandonment of L2 when difficulties arise (De Houwer 2009a; Jessner 2008). There are parents who would want their children to be able to freely communicate in a language, whereas others may want to bring their children in contact with it so as to prepare them for a formal instruction in the language which they will receive at school. Both cases require a different amount of linguistic input, which in turn, will result in different levels of competence in a language (Grosjean 2009: 4; Rosenback 2017). Although it might sometimes seem that there has been little success, parents ought to stay consistent in their use of L2 and not resign, because even if no apparent outcomes can be observed, the passive knowledge of a language will constitute a foundation to build on later in life (Saunders 1988: 44).

Out of a range of factors determining the success of bilingual upbringing is the child's motivation to speak the second language. In many families this may pose a particular challenge, as the use of two languages does not result from the natural need to communicate with both parents as in the case of children from mixed marriages. Grosjean (2010: 171–173) asserts that if the parent is not a native speaker of a language, the child may object to speaking L2 to them, as they can as easily use

L1. In such circumstances an additional motivation may be required, i.e. being able to read favourite books in their original language version, watching favourite cartoons and singing songs together with parents, being able to communicate with peers in a bilingual kindergarten or school, or with an L2-speaking babysitter, keeping in touch with monolingual relatives or travelling abroad (De Houwer 2009b). The latter is particularly useful in monolingual environments as it allows children to see for themselves that L2 functions the way L1 does and that their efforts to acquire it are simply worth it (Saunders 1988: 139). It is essential to note that when English is L2 – the language recognized worldwide – children are surrounded by proofs that this is an important thing to learn, starting from English songs and films on the radio and TV, up to peers learning English as L2 at school. Last but not least, parents ought to keep in mind that learning L2 should be an attractive experience and not be imposed on the child, as in this way they may become discouraged from using it (Zurer Pearson 2008: 307).

It has to be noted that the child is not the only one who requires support. As the constantly changing world influences the languages, new expressions and idioms are being coined on a regular basis. For this reason, it is important that parents take time to develop their knowledge in a language (Saunders 1988: 256). As in the case of children, it can also be achieved by means of radio and TV, but it is also advisable for the parent to keep in touch with native speakers of L2, should the need arise to seek linguistic advice (Baker 2014). Another aspect in which parents from monolingual environments should seek support goes beyond the language itself. So as to be understanding towards their children in their endeavours to acquire two languages simultaneously, parents ought to broaden their knowledge on the topic of bilingualism by reading relevant literature. This can also be helpful in a way that they will know what to expect and will not be discouraged by seemingly disturbing phenomena which are related to bilingual upbringing (Grosjean 2010: 214; Saunders 1988: 255). Another option would also be the possibility of meeting with other bilingual families and establishing a support group for parents (Paradowski and Michałowska 2016: 55).

A crucial element in catering for the child's need for a meaningful interaction in both languages are conversations. In order to internalize chunks of language the child needs a sufficient language input to analyze. Having heard a given unit of language a number of times in different contexts, the child will be able to use it correctly. It is suggested that about 30% (25 h a week) of all interactions should take place in L2, 20% (15 h a week) being the absolute minimum. However, it has to be acknowledged that the most efficient acquisition takes place when the child is addressed directly, and therefore actively engaged in an interaction. Active sources of language (talking, reading, playing) are better than the passive ones (TV), as communication with other people constitutes an additional motivation to learn L2 (Grosjean 2010: 210; Rosenback 2017). So as to encourage the participation on the part of the child, it is advisable to comment on the events and pictures while reading books as well as to interpret the emotions of the characters. Due to natural repetition children internalize whole bits of language.

Apart from providing children with linguistic input, it is equally important to invite their attempts to communicate by listening to them actively and letting them talk. It is advisable to ask open-ended questions, show interest in the content of utterances, help them when they cannot come up with an appropriate word to use and praise their efforts in the form of I-message ("I'm glad that you speak my language"). When correcting mistakes one should be careful not to break the flow of the utterance (Komorowska 2005: 234). Döpke (1986) advises to apply the "child-centred mode of interaction", which means being open and responsive as well as sustaining the conversation by focusing on its content and not on the mistakes. Since bilingual parents tend to mix their languages, it is worth providing the child with a possibility to interact with a monolingual L2 speaker. In this way the child learns to adjust their speech to the circumstances, as code-switching will not be understood. The child has no choice but to use L2, at the same time receiving a high-quality language input, not influenced by code-switching and interference, which frequently characterizes the speech of non-native speakers (Grosjean 2009: 3).

## 3 Strategies of Communication in the Family

Having considered both the motivation for learning two languages and the possible sources of input in each of them, it is advisable to decide on the strategy of communication in the family: which parent will use which language to communicate with the child, in which language will the parents talk to each other, which language will be used when addressing the extended family and other monolingual speakers, which language will be used outside the home, how will the attention between the languages be divided and so on (Zurer Pearson 2008: 189–195; Baker 2014; Festman et al. 2017).

It has to be acknowledged that there is no one best strategy which would prove to be successful in all families. Each family has their own circumstances and develops their own unique strategy with time. In addition, it might be necessary to adapt the chosen strategy to the changing linguistic circumstances. For instance, when the child starts a monolingual kindergarten or school and L1 begins to prevail in their environment, it may be necessary to increase their exposure to L2 and therefore change the previously adopted strategy. What does not change is the need to consequently provide the child with L2-rich environment. It poses a great challenge even for native speakers of a minority language surrounded by the majority language, let alone non-native speakers (Paradowski and Michałowska 2016: 52). The following strategies, however, are supposed to offer an idea of how the communication in the family can be organized, and they can be modified to suit the needs of a given family.

In the families which adopt the One Parent One Language strategy both parents speak a different language to their child (Grosjean 2010; Kurcz 2006; Baker 2014; Rosenback 2015). An advantage of this strategy is that the child learns to associate a language with the parent and, therefore, is better able to decide which language

to use when addressing each of them. As a result, the parents know which language they may expect from the child, which enhances the understanding of the child's first utterances (Arnberg 1987:89; Zurer Pearson 2008: 186). If parents are consistent in their use of language, the child may develop what Grosjean (2010: 183–184) calls a person-language bond, which, if not respected, may adversely affect the child.

On the one hand, the OPOL strategy is recommended as an effective approach, as compared to other strategies, because each of the languages is equally reinforced (Saunders 1988: 34; Zurer Pearson 2008: 302). However, this is only true as long as the child spends most of the time at home with parents. As the child starts kindergarten or school, L1 exposure increases and it may become a dominant language (Baker 2010).

If both parents are fluent speakers of L2, they may decide to adopt the Minority Language at Home strategy, where both parents speak L2 at home and L1 outside the home. A place is considered to be a factor which triggers the language switch. This strategy provides the child with a greater exposure to L2 than in the case of OPOL (Grosjean 2009; Kurcz 2006; Rosenback 2015; Zurer Pearson 2008: 186–187).

There exist certain variations of the Minority Language at Home strategy. Some parents do not teach L1 to their child at all, as they are of the opinion that the child is bound to naturally acquire it when they start kindergarten or school. Such an approach results from the parents' decision to increase the child's exposure to L2 even further. One of such modifications is called Minority Language Immersion, when L2 is spoken by both parents at all times (at and outside home), except in the presence of those who do not speak L2 (Ramjoue 1980). The second variation also takes advantage of the strong position of the language of the environment, and it can be observed in the families where parents speak only L2 at all times, and after 4–5 years, when L2 becomes considerably established, they switch to L1. Grosjean (2010: 207, 209) calls this approach 'one-language-first' strategy. It is, however, difficult to imagine such radical modifications to mL@H strategy in certain contexts. A lack of L1 exposure could pose great difficulties for the child in keeping up with the acquisition of knowledge at school without the proper knowledge of the language of instruction.

The Time and Place strategy is often used to complement other strategies. A trigger to a language shift may be travelling to a country where L2 is spoken or visiting a monolingual family, friends, etc. On a daily basis it involves speaking L2 at particular times of the day or days of the week (Grosjean 2010; Kurcz 2006; Zurer Pearson 2008). Rosenback (2015) suggests this strategy as a good option for parents who do not feel comfortable speaking L2 to their children at all times, and whose language abilities may not allow for it. With time, the amount of L2 spoken to the child may be increased. Time and Place strategy is often used in bilingual schools (immersion programmes) where the language of instruction may differ according to the subject, time of the day, etc. (Grosjean 2010; Baker 2010).

In the Mixed Language Policy strategy both languages are used interchangeably, and the choice of language depends on the topic discussed, participants in the conversation, the language one is addressed in, etc. (Grosjean 2010: 207; Zurer

Pearson 2008: 187–189). Since in many situations language choice is largely accidental, there is a risk of the child not getting a sufficient input in one of the languages, most likely in L2. In this case the parent ought to ensure that the amount of input the child receives is similar in both languages (Auer and Wei 2007; Grosjean 2010: 210; Rosenback 2015).

Irrespective of the chosen strategy, a family does not have to resign from applying it in special circumstances, for instance in the presence of a monolingual person (communication outside the family) (Gupta 1994; Gonzalez 2008). In such situations L2 can still be used but the conversation needs to be translated into or summarized in a language understood by the people present (Zurer Pearson 2008: 195). Refraining from the use of L2 means that the child's contact with it will be reduced. The consistent use of L2 teaches children to get rid of inhibitions about speaking a different language, and shows that there is no reason to be embarrassed about it (Saunders 1988: 107).

## 4 An Imperfect L2 Spoken by the Parents

As far as accuracy in a language is concerned, Zurer Pearson (2008: 147) claims that even if L2 spoken by the parents is not flawless, the child is able to process the language outside the input which they receive and reconstruct correct grammar rules. The author describes the study conducted by an American professor of neurology Elissa Newport, who specializes in language acquisition. The study has shown that a deaf child learning a sign language from their deaf parents who made grammar mistakes, was able to develop a much higher level of grammatical correctness than their parents. It is worth noting that occasional mistakes can be observed even in the speech of native speakers of a language. For that reason it is crucial to provide the child with additional sources of L2, which will compensate for the possible shortcomings in the parent's speech (Szramek-Karcz 2016).

## 5 Issues Related to the Acquisition of Lexis

It is worth sensitizing children to the fact that no one knows all the words even in their native language. This knowledge has an added advantage of making children aware of the possibility of consulting a dictionary when needed and, therefore, enables them to develop their language skills independently (Saunders 1988: 134–135). So as not to allow the unknown words hinder daily communication, until the parent has a possibility of consulting a dictionary or a native speaker, it is possible to describe what is meant using other words. After the parent has checked a needed word, it may be necessary to show the child how to use it. This can be done in a way typical of teaching and learning languages such as providing synonyms, definitions, putting a word in a sentence so as to provide a context, etc. Should an incorrect word

or pronunciation be provided, it is crucial to correct it before it becomes established in the child's vocabulary (Otwinowska 2015).

If the mixing of languages by the child does not result from the developmental stage they are currently at, it may be the reflection of parental linguistic behaviour, or it may simply be caused by the insufficient knowledge of one of the languages and the need for a more accurate expression of thought (Grosjean and Li 2012; Saunders 1988: 79; Zurer Pearson 2008: 199–201).

When resorting to L1 is caused by the insufficient knowledge of L2, the assistance on the part of the parent, such as providing the child with a needed equivalent in L2, may be offered. According to Saunders (1988: 131–132), it is advisable that both parents provide assistance in both languages, even if it is required in a language which they do not usually use in communication with the child. Restricting this kind of assistance to one parent only may hinder the child's natural curiosity about the languages and slow their linguistic development. So as to enhance the child's exposure to L2, it is also worth deliberating a change in the previously applied strategy of communication in the family. For instance, parents may decide to choose a day in a week or a time of the day when only L2 will be spoken by all the members of the family (Baker 2014).

If, despite the sufficient competence in L2, the child still chooses to address the parent in a different language than agreed upon, the parent may try and encourage the child to switch back to a desirable language. Lanza (1997) proposes a few strategies concerning the parent's reaction to the use of the "wrong" language by the child. If the parent wishes to direct the child's attention towards the "correct" language they may use this language to say that they do not understand, to ask about the content of the utterance, or to repeat what has been said. Another possibility is to ignore the language switch and continue the conversation it the correct language. Sometimes the parent may wish to agree on the language change and continue the conversation in the language proposed by the child. Lanza (1997) stresses the fact that asking for repetition or clarification happens naturally in any conversation, and is therefore a non-intrusive way of reverting to the desired language. It has to be noted that these strategies can only be used in moderation and when the child is old enough to distinguish between the languages. Otherwise they may be discouraged from using L2 (Saunders 1988: 125). Other circumstances in which the parent should not insist on the use of L2 are the situations which are emotionally difficult for the child. If the child hurts themselves in a playground it is only natural to react in L1. When the emotions subside, L2 can be used to recount what happened (Szramek-Karcz 2016).

On condition that parents are consistent in their language choice, the mixing of the languages by the child should be significantly reduced with time (Saunders 1988: 123). The significance of such consistency is underlined by the parents themselves. The study conducted by Paradowski and Michałowska (2016: 56–57) has shown that when asked about the reflections concerning the aspects of bilingual upbringing which could have been approached differently, the majority of parents regretted not being consistent enough in speaking L2 to their children and not providing them with sufficient linguistic input.

## 6 Hostility of the Monolingual Environment

Relatives, friends and other people who cannot understand what is being said or who think that bilinguals use different languages to flaunt, may discourage children from their attempts to communicate in L2. Parents should also be careful when seeking professional advice from teachers, doctors and other specialists, as they tend to blame bilingualism for any educational and developmental issues which may occur in both bilinguals and monolinguals (Saunders 1988: 103–104). Parents ought to assure their child that speaking two languages is an asset to be proud of, and that giving up on one of the languages is not going to solve the problem (Zurer Pearson 2008: 193–194). If, however, the parent manages to put forward scientific arguments which will convince the child's immediate environment that being bilingual should be appreciated, such approval may constitute an additional source of motivation for the child. In this respect the attitude of the child's teachers is of paramount importance. Not only is it reflected in the attitude of the child's peers towards bilinguals, but also they will be able to help overcome difficulties which may result from the languages influencing one another (Cook 2002; Singleton & Aronin 2007).

## 7 The Researched Families and Applied Methodology

In this section, the results of analysis of 22 case studies of NNB families will be discussed. It presents how NNB can successfully be applied in a Polish family. It also proves that depending on the circumstances and attitudes towards NNB, each family can develop their own manner of communication.

The purpose of the conducted study was twofold. The foremost and major objective was to collect information on the strategies employed by parents of NNB children. Hence, the behaviour of the children was also examined. In addition, parents' opinions on the efficiency of the selected strategies and their children's bilingual development lay within the scope of research. The survey also aimed at establishing the reasons why Polish parents decide to address their children in a foreign language, how they tackle difficulties which NNB families frequently face and what results they have achieved so far.

Twenty-two Polish families from all over the country agreed to participate in the investigation. The study involved 28 children – 11 boys (39.3%) and 17 girls (60.7%). Sixteen families (72.7%) under examination declared having one child and six families – two children respectively (27.3%). They were all selected randomly from the 'Intended Bilingualism' Facebook Group of parents who employ NNB. From each family one parent was interviewed with the use of the questionnaire consisting of 20 questions tackling the following issues: family's linguistic profile, reasons for NNB upbringing, strategies applied in NNB, children's linguistic development and attitudes towards bilingualism. The questions considered the factors which may affect the success of NNB in a family and which may be worth inspecting while planning the introduction of NNB in a family. It has to be noted

**Table 1** Profile of NNB families

| | Child's name | Gender | Age | Residence | Language used in NNB | Parent: M or F? | Parent's major in a language | Strategy |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Jan | M | 1 year | City | English | F | Y | OPOL |
| 2 | Mikołaj | M | 6 months | Town | German | M | N | OPOL |
| 3 | Adam | M | 2 years | Village | English | M | N | T&P |
| | Julia | F | 1 year | | | | | |
| 4 | Ignacy | M | 4 years | City | English | M | N | mL@H |
| 5 | Piotr | M | 7 years | City | English | M | Y | OPOL |
| | Paweł | M | 4.5 years | | | | | |
| 6 | Dominik | M | 1.5 years | City | German | F | Y | OPOL |
| 7 | Ksawery | M | 3 months | Town | English | F | N | MLP |
| 8 | Antoni | M | 2 years | City | French | M | N | MLP |
| 9 | Eryk | M | 8 months | Town | English | M | Y | OPOL |
| 10 | Zuzanna | F | 3 years | City | English | M | N | T&P |
| 11 | Barbara | F | 5 months | City | English | F | Y | OPOL |
| | Janina | F | 2 years | | | | | |
| 12 | Teresa | F | 6 months | City | French | M | N | MLP |
| | Patryk | M | 1 month | | | | | |
| 13 | Joanna | F | 3 years | City | English | M | Y | T&P |
| 14 | Katarzyna | F | 9 months | City | English | F | N | OPOL |
| 15 | Zofia | F | 5 months | Town | German | F | Y | OPOL |
| 16 | Anna | F | 1 year | City | Spanish | F | Y | MLP |
| | Julianna | F | 2 months | | | | | |
| 17 | Julia | F | 1 year | City | English | M | Y | T&P |
| 18 | Jadwiga | F | 2 years | City | English | M | N | MLP |
| 19 | Sylwia | F | 8 months | city | English | M | Y | OPOL |
| 20 | Alicja | F | 3 months | City | English | M | Y | MLP |
| 21 | Elżbieta | F | 4 years | City | German | M | Y | mL@H |
| 22 | Celina | F | 2 years | City | English | M | N | OPOL |
| | Grażyna | F | 8 months | | | | | |

Abbreviations used in the table: *F* female, *M* male, *Y* yes, *N* no, *OPOL* One Parent, One Language, *T&P* Time and Place, *mL@H* Minority Language at Home, *MLP* Mixed Language Policy

that due to the young age of some children not all the parents were able to address all the questions.

Out of the 22 families participating in the study, 17 (77.2%) of them resided in big cities whereas only 5 (22.8%) in towns and villages. In each case only one parent used a foreign language and the other one used Polish (the dominant language spoken in the community). In 15 families (68.2%) it was the mother who addressed her off-springs in a foreign language whereas only in 7 cases (31.8%) the role was taken by the father. It is essential to underline that in 12 families (54.5%) the parents majored in foreign languages, which may have contributed to the thoroughness of the observations and answers given in the survey.

The languages used in the researched NNB families were the following: English (15 families = 68.2%), German (4 families = 18.2%), French (2 families = 9.1%), Spanish (1 family = 4.5%). The age of the children spanned from 1 month to 7 years (Table 1).

## 8 The Findings and Their Analysis

After a thorough analysis of all the case studies, it becomes evident that each family is unique due to individual circumstances, and hence they develop their own communication strategy. Although the majority of communication patterns followed by the parents is based on theoretical approaches, there are many factors which influence the extent to which a given strategy can be implemented. Some of them include:

- the need for each of the languages resulting from the expectations of the environment,
- the attitude of the parents, the family and the environment towards addressing the child in L2,
- the linguistic competence of the parent,
- the availability of additional sources of L2,
- the support from educational institutions,
- the age and the attitude of the child,
- the number of children in the family.

All of the factors significantly affect the amount of time when both the parents and the children stay consistent in the use of a given language. The aspect which is common for all the families is the fact that all the parents have made an informed decision to give their children a head start in life. Although there are parents who associate being bilingual with achieving an equal level of attainment in both languages, they all agree that they would be satisfied with the child being able to communicate freely and naturally in L2. The majority of parents perceive bilingual upbringing of their children as a mutual benefit which goes beyond linguistic skills.

The strategies of communication followed by the interviewed families include OPOL (One Parent, One Language) and T&P (Time and Place). The former is chosen by the parents who attach equal importance to both languages and want the child to receive a considerable amount of input in each of them. The latter strategy is adopted by those parents who do not want to exclude L1 from the communication with their child, or who do not feel comfortable speaking L2 exclusively or almost exclusively. However, since the parents use L1 to communicate with each other, it was not classified as a variation of the Minority Language at Home strategy – Minority Language Immersion. Moreover, in both interviewed double NNB families the environment has influenced the parents to alter their original communication strategy.

As can be seen, among the parents who decide to bring up a bilingual child are not only those whose professional education is connected with languages, but also other parents whose command of L2 allows them to communicate freely in it. The common feature of all the parents is the fact that they also use L2 on a daily basis outside home, usually at work. Those parents who manage to stay consistent in their language choice despite experiencing initial difficulties in addressing the child in L2 and expressing emotions in it, note that they get used to it and it becomes easier with time. Another critical period takes place when the second child is born. First of all, the amount of time which the parents can devote to the linguistic education of

the first child is significantly reduced. Secondly, it often happens that children use Polish in communication with each other, which means that the parents can no longer strictly control the linguistic environment of each of the children and the exposure to L2 of both of them may eventually decrease. Both factors may hinder the development of L2 in the second child. Another challenging moment reported by the parents takes place when the child starts monolingual education in L1 kindergarten or school. At this point the amount of L1 input increases dramatically, which bears considerable consequences on the relation between the languages.

The most common regrets, which can constitute a valuable guideline for those parents who consider implementing NNB upbringing, concern the fact that L2 could have been introduced earlier and the amount of L2 input could have been higher than provided in reality.

In addition, it can be noted that the Polish society is becoming more and more open to the phenomenon of bilingualism, especially as far as the so-called high-status languages are concerned. Although speaking other language than Polish still draws attention to the speaker, it is often caused by curiosity rather than contempt. Nevertheless, some L2-speaking parents still feel that they are considered to be different, especially those living in towns or villages.

Last but not least, it must be underlined that all the parents have an enthusiastic attitude towards their choice, and they are convinced that what they do can only bring positive results. The parents put the well-being of the family first, and when faced with difficulties, they try to work towards a solution which would take into consideration the needs of both the children and the parents and, at the same time, allow to keep both languages in the child's life alive.

The results of the study clearly indicate the reasons for NNB upbringing that pushed the concerned parents to embarking on such a decision. From a number of causes mentioned by the researched families, it appears that there are quite a few of them repeated unanimously. First of all, a foreign language is perceived to be a gift enabling a child to experience the world and different cultures first-hand. Fourteen out of 22 questioned families (63.6%) stressed this motive. It is crucial to highlight the fact that 18 families (81.8%) also sought the approval of their relatives regarding bilingual upbringing, therefore, before making a decision, other members of respective families, and sometimes even friends, were asked for an opinion.

Another reason for NNB upbringing voiced by 13 families (59.1%) concerned their children's use of a foreign language in a free and natural manner. It seems important for them that their kids learn a language not in an imposed mode. In addition, 10 families (45.4%) mention some practical advantages of speaking more than one language, such as obtaining better qualifications or job opportunities. The parents are also of the opinion that especially English is bound to open multiple possibilities for their children in the future, i.e. access to a wide range of educational materials or an option of studying abroad. Also, in case of 10 other families (45.4%) it was broadening the horizons and making life less strenuous thanks to the prior development of foreign language skills to be viewed as another reason supporting the decision of raising NNB children. In their belief, sparing the children long hours

spent studying and providing them with open-mindedness towards the world and other people is a real advantage.

As it evidently occurs from the conducted study, there are also families which are fully aware of the fact that bilingualism positively influences creativity and overall brain function. Mainly those parents who have significant background in foreign language studies claimed they either attended classes devoted to psycholinguistics and discussed various issues pertaining to the study of bilingualism, or read books and papers on the topic. This is true for 7 families (31.8%). They are aware of the many intellectual profits which living with two languages offers, e.g. an increased number of connections between neurons and better processing of information.

Furthermore, in case of 4 families (18.2%) it is the many trips overseas and the possibility of visiting relatives or friends that pushed them to a decision of bringing up their children in NNB. They voice an undeniable reason that communicating with their children in a foreign language from birth will constitute a solid base to expand from in the future. They point to the role played by the family and the environment and their positive support and attitude towards the objective. Three families (13.6%) also raise the issue of learning a foreign language from the youngest age possible, which obviously works for the benefit of the learner and brings better optimized results, from which a learner will be able to further develop. Hence, the linguistic advantages of an early exposure to more than one language are recognized as beneficial to some of the investigated families. Last but not least, in case of 2 families (9%) their off-spring was born abroad, therefore the necessity of maintaining the foreign language proved to be an urgent need. Negligence or indifference to the country of birth and its language would be considered shameful or unfair. In this situation, the parents' main aim is to enable their children fluent communication in L2 as soon as possible. In their view, the most important aspects of bilingual upbringing include consistency on the part of the parent and their absolute fluency and proficiency in a chosen language. The parents consider the latter to be particularly significant when they themselves are the main source of L2. In the long run, they plan to teach their children to read and write in L2, and if there exists such a possibility, send them to a bilingual school.

## 9 Strategies Applied in NNB Upbringing and Their Impact on the Children's Linguistic Development

Of the four communication strategies applied by the families involved in the study, One Parent – One Language (OPOL) seems to be the most popular. Ten families (45.4%) out the 22 investigated considered it as the most effective in their contexts. Six families (27.3%) mention employing Mixed Language Policy (MLP) on a daily basis, and they conclude that the strategy is effective as it allows for the interchangeable and free use of two languages. Time and Place (T&P) occupies the third position in popularity although only 4 families (18.2%) admitted its frequent use in everyday communication with their children. Last but not least, only 2 families (9.1%) out of

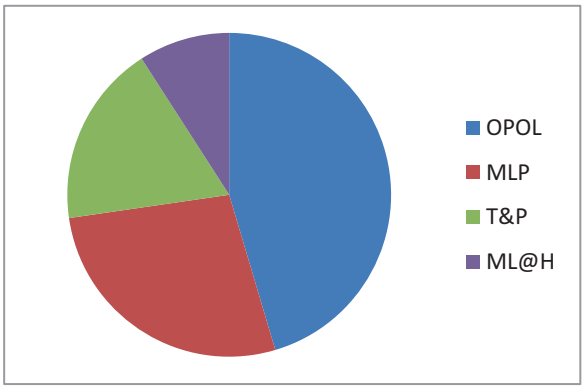


**Fig. 1** Popularity of strategies

those 22 questioned utilize Minority Language at Home. This strategy seems less adequate in our study as it is basically applied in immigrant families (Fig. 1).

The communicative approach, which focuses on how language is actually used practically, emphasizes the ability to communicate the message in terms of its meaning, instead of concentrating exclusively on grammatical perfection or phonetics. Therefore, the understanding of the second language is evaluated in terms of how much the learners have developed their communicative abilities and competencies (Romanowski 2017). Following this line of argument, the most important outcome of language acquisition is the ability to communicate. It was also the main reason for which the families that participated in the survey decided to apply NNB upbringing – to render possible communication between them, their children, other relatives and friends. The analysis of collected findings has shown that, in general, NNB upbringing has proved successful.

The methods applied by the families occurred to be effective not only with regard to communicative skills, but also general linguistic skills. All the families (100%) claim to be content with their children's linguistic performance. Among them 17 (77.3%) describe themselves as very satisfied and 5 (22.7%) as satisfied. Regarding the children's vocabulary it has to be stated that it was also greatly appreciated. In this case again only 2 parents (9%) claimed not to be happy. Among the remaining families 15 (68.2%) are very satisfied, 3 (13.6%) satisfied, and the remaining 2 (9%) refrained from answering the question.

In addition, to provide the full picture concerning children's linguistic behaviour, code-switching, lexical transfer, and grammatical transfer were also included in the questionnaire. Only two families did not answer the question. Fifteen parents elaborated on the topic and provided some examples from their children's speech. Code-switching was observed in exactly 15 cases (68.2%), lexical transfer in 10 families (45.4%) and grammatical transfer in 6 families (27.3%). Another 6 families (27.3%) noticed other examples of linguistic behaviour. It is imperative to stress that not all the families provided concrete responses concerning their children's linguistic behaviour. The examples outlined below resulted from extensive discussions with selected families who were able to identify the aforementioned linguistic phenomena.

The most popular and vivid example of behaviour referred to code-switching, which was present in all possible forms, i.e. shifting individual words, phrases or even sentences. The parents unanimously noticed that this occurs when their children cannot find a proper word in the language used or when a concept can be more easily expressed in another language. Lexical transfer was the second most common behaviour scrutinized in the research group. Grammatical transfer, proved to be less ubiquitous than lexical transfer. Also, some other types of behaviour were highlighted by the parents under study. Two parents pointed out that their children code-switch only while playing or watching cartoons, probably because they are aware of the fact that both parents speak those languages and will understand them without difficulty. Three children, according to their parents' observations, would utter words, one after another, in both languages. Last but not least, in one case the whole family applied lexical transfer on a daily basis while communicating with one another.

## 10 Parents' Attitudes Towards NNB

All the participating families seem to be very contented with the employed strategies and their outcomes. The process of NNB upbringing, although a bit artificial initially, appeared to be efficient despite some hardships and inconsistencies. All the researched families admitted to being enthusiastic about their choice whereas they indicated on many occasions that other members of the family did not necessarily notice the benefits instantly and exhibited a dose of skepticism. They thought it was impossible for such young children to achieve what they consider to be true bilingualism: two languages equal in all respects, including the ability to think abstractly in each of them. The grandparents occurred the most reluctant initially and did not believe in the success of NNB. Now, having seen that the parents' strategy of communication brings desirable effects, the grandparents are happy that their grandchildren are becoming increasingly competent in both languages. In other words, they are impressed with the effects, which made them change their mind.

As many as 15 families (68.2%) experienced some unpleasant situations connected with their decision to raise the off-spring bilingually and 6 families (27.3%) out those felt initially discouraged by unfavourable comments from the surrounding environment because of the choice of language (German and French). Besides 4 families (18.2%) met with the statement that bilingualism causes confusion and delayed speech development which, only to some extent, led to the loss of confidence and the lack of success in their actions. Thus, as can be observed, there are still opponents of NNB and it might be hard, especially at the initial stage, to get a full support of the family. It should be stressed that most families became convinced thanks to the results they managed to achieve, and now they have had no problem with addressing their children in L2 ever since.

In general, a tendency can be noticed among parents to encourage other potential families to NNB. Although most parents involved in the study already have to face

some difficulties connected with their choice, they still receive constant support and encouragement from their friends whose children are older than theirs and who also bring them up bilingually. They are the source of valuable advice for the parents new to the concept, and their achievements allow them to see where their efforts and consistency can further lead them. Hence, all the researched families voiced the need to popularize NNB as well as establishing and joining support groups for parents of bilingual children. This, in their viewpoint, will make the subject more accessible. Ultimately, such a possibility will help overcome fear and positively affect consistency in one's choice.

Nowadays, that English has become the international language, bilingual upbringing ought to be promoted and not looked down on. Fourteen families (63.6%) decided to raise their children bilingually not only because they realize how essential it is to be able to speak foreign languages, but also because they had done some background reading about bilingualism. They are aware of the positive influence of bilingualism on the brain function. Although they realize how difficult it is to achieve equal competence in both languages, they advise other parents, who weigh the pros and cons of bilingual upbringing, not to hesitate, as their children can only benefit from such an approach. As soon as they start to see the first signs of success, they will feel rewarded and motivated to stay consistent in their choice.

Twelve families (54.5%) articulate the complexity of the process, however they also observe that no language course can facilitate progress the same way as the daily exposure to L2 at home. Only 10 parents (45.4%) point out the fact that addressing a child in a language other than Polish in public places is unusual, hence they automatically refrain from speaking their L2 so as not to draw attention to themselves. This, however, applies to those residing in towns and villages as well as using other languages than English. Consequently, we observe how influential the attitude of the society might be. All the parents got used to the fact that they stand out from the crowd, even if it involves receiving occasional unfavourable looks or comments.

On the other hand, some people put forward an argument that in case of NNB there is no natural motivation to learn a language, namely the need to communicate with the parent, as the child realizes that the parent also speaks L1. Even in mixed marriages parents often understand the native language of their spouse and sometimes are fluent in it, and yet the child does not question the pattern of communication followed in the family. The majority of researched parents consider it crucial to be consistent and persist in one's decision despite potential difficulties.

As mentioned earlier, 6 families (27.3%) of those questioned have applied NNB to the younger children they have and 5 other families (22.7%) also imply the significance of planning bilingual upbringing of their children ahead as well as setting some new goals to pursue. In addition, as many as 10 families (45.4%) assume the possibility of introducing another foreign language through NNB once their children have attained a relatively high level of competence in the first language they are being exposed to. In 2 cases (9%), as parents are multilingual and speak several languages, they had to make a decision as to which language to pass on to their children first.

## 11 Conclusion

Linguistic upbringing of young children is complex and demanding. Hence, with the view to the obtained findings, it might be postulated that its success is largely dependent on parents' persistence and dedication.

In this paper the intention was to critically discuss and evaluate the effectiveness of Non-Native Bilingualism (NNB) which is a new phenomenon observed in Poland among monolingual families. It evokes a lot of emotion and raises controversy to such an extent that it is even labelled as dangerous to a child (Szramek-Karcz 2016). However, as can be seen from the conducted study and analyzed cases, more and more parents adopt NNB with the hope of raising their children bilingually although they reside in a monolingual environment and none of them is a native speaker of the target language.

The analysis of the findings proved that such an approach does not lead to confusion or further problems with communication. The children are able to communicate not only with their parents and the parents' families in the parents' native languages, but also function well in the target language. The parents have to believe in the idea of bilingualism if they really want their children to become bilingual, and they should motivate their children in order to achieve the goal. The interviews were warmly welcomed by the parents and evaluated as stimulating to further work in NNB. The parents willingly provided their thorough responses to the posed questions regarding the everyday life of an NNB family. The methods the concerned parents successfully employ are not only efficient enough, but also satisfying. It seems crucial at this point not to forget about the importance of patience and persistence. In some cases it was requisite to wait a longer period of time until positive results occurred observable. This only proved a well-known truth that children start producing the language at different stages of their development and no rule as such applies in this case, hence those who show the first symptoms of their linguistic behaviour in the target language later are not worse or retarded. It needs to be indicated at this point that if we want NNB to result in the child becoming a bilingual speaker, the input should be frequent and linguistically correct, with the environment affording many opportunities to use the language.

Because parents are role-models for their children and the major source of input, both their language and their attitude play a crucial role. As can be seen from the collected findings, it is impossible to choose one method suitable for all the families. Nonetheless, some of the employed strategies can be indicated as not only productive but also efficient. The most frequently applied OPOL strategy proved very successful among the examined families. In most cases it leads to efficient acquisition of at least two languages, even if the strict separation of the languages is not respected. On the basis of the conducted interviews, it has become apparent that the parents are also contented about the opportunity to ascribe one language to one person, which makes the differentiation between languages clearer.

While some may still postulate that introducing another language through the application of Non-Native Bilingualism (NNB) is confusing and leads to adverse

effects in children, this common myth should be debunked as the collected evidence denies it. NNB upbringing turned out to be profitable and favourable in all the studied cases. Children raised bilingually with the application of NNB are at an advantage compared with monolinguals, and although the process is demanding for both parents and children, it is worth taking the chance, especially when the final effect is so rewarding.

## Appendix: Non-native Bilingual Upbringing in Poland – A Case Study

### *Part 1: Linguistic Profile of the Family*

1. How old is your child?
2. Which language(s) is your child exposed to? Who is the source of language?
3. How long has your child been exposed to the language?
4. Which language do you use to communicate with your partner?
5. What level of competence in the second language have you achieved yourself?
6. Have you majored from a linguistic course of studies (Foreign Language Studies, Applied Linguistics, Teaching Foreign Languages, etc.)?
7. What level of competence in the second language have other members of the family achieved (your partner, child's grandparents, extended family)?
8. In which language do you address your child in the presence of people who do not understand the second language (e.g. family, child's friends)?
9. How much exposure does your child receive in each language on a daily basis?
10. Do you follow any particular strategy of communication in the family (e.g. OPOL, mL@H)?
11. Are you consistent in speaking the second language to the child?
12. Is your child literate in the second language?/Do you plan to teach your child to read and write in the target language?

### *Part 2: Attitudes Towards Bilingualism*

1. Why did you decide to raise your child with two languages?
2. What level of competence in the second language would you like your child to achieve?
3. What is your attitude towards bilingual upbringing? What's the attitude of your family?
4. Have you ever heard any unfavourable comments regarding bilingualism?
5. Have you ever faced any unfavourable opinions as regards non-native bilingualism?

6. Have you ever faced any unpleasant reactions of people while addressing the child in the foreign language (e.g. in public places)?
7. What advice would you give to those parents who are interested in introducing non-native bilingualism in their family?
8. How are you going to support your child's linguistic development in the future?

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# Is There a Relationship Between Language Competences and Metalinguistic Awareness?


**Zofia Chłopek**

**Abstract** Psycholinguistic publications often point to the fact that bi-/multilingual people learn a new language more effectively and efficiently than monolingual ones, especially in instructed conditions. An important reason of this advantage, mentioned by several researchers, is metalinguistic awareness, which is believed to be better developed in bi-/multilinguals than in monolinguals (e.g. Thomas. J Multiling Multicult Dev 9(3):235–246, 1988; Klein. Lang Learn 45(3):419–465, 1995; Herdina and Jessner. A dynamic model of multilingualism: perspectives of change in psycholinguistics. Multilingual Matters, Clevedon, 2002; Ó Laoire. L3 in Ireland: a preliminary study of learners' metalinguistic awareness. In: Hufeisen B, Fouser RJ (eds) Introductory readings in L3. Stauffenburg, Tübingen, pp 47–53, 2005; Gibson and Hufeisen. Investigating the role of prior foreign language knowledge: translating from an unknown into a known foreign language. In: Cenoz J, Hufeisen B, Jessner U (eds) The multilingual lexicon. Kluwer Academic Publishers, Dordrecht, pp 87–102, 2006; Jessner. Linguistic awareness in multilinguals: English as a third language. Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 2006; Rauch et al Int J Biling 16(4):402–418, 2012). The present study deals with the relationship between language competences and metalinguistic awareness. Its results indicate that language competences are an asset for understanding an unknown language. They also suggest that there may be a dependence between both the number of appropriated languages and the level of their attainment and metalinguistic awareness. However, it is not clear which direction of influence is more probable – whether language competences boost the development of metalinguistic awareness or whether metalinguistic awareness contributes to the successful development of any further language, or whether this dependence is bidirectional.

**Keywords** Metalinguistic awareness · Bilinguals · Multilinguals · L2 learners · L3 learners

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## 1 The Concept of Metalinguistic Awareness

Metalinguistic awareness (MLA; also: metalinguistic ability, linguistic awareness, language awareness) is usually understood as the cognitive ability to reflect upon language. 'Whereas in ordinary language use, attention is given to the message conveyed through language, metalinguistic awareness entails directing attention to language itself, to the means that convey the message' (Kuo and Anderson 2008: 40). According to Cummins, MLA is the 'awareness of certain properties of language', as well as the 'ability to analyze linguistic input, i.e., to make the language forms themselves the objects of focal attention and to look at language rather than through it to the intended meaning" (Cummins 1978: 29; emphasis in the original). In her definition, Jessner (2006: 42) notes that MLA is not only 'the ability to focus attention on language as an object in itself or to think abstractly about language' but also the capacity 'to play with or manipulate language'. This active attitude towards one's language(s) can also be found in the definition proposed by Malakoff, according to whom '[t]o be metalinguistically aware […] is to know how to approach and solve certain types of problems which themselves demand certain cognitive and linguistic skills' (Malakoff 1992: 518). Moreover, as researchers working with young children often point out, MLA is also the capacity to notice the arbitrary nature of most linguistic signs and structures (e.g. Peal and Lambert 1962; Ianco-Worrall 1972; Cummins 1978; Eviatar and Ibrahim 2000; see also Chłopek 2011: section 3.6).

Bialystok (1988, 2001) points to two psycholinguistic dimensions of MLA: control of processing and analysis of knowledge. Cognitive control is the ability to pay attention to relevant linguistic information and to ignore messages which are unnecessary for a given task or even confusing. It is also the capacity to switch between alternatives. Analysis is the ability to recognize, compare and manipulate linguistic forms and meanings. The analysis of linguistic knowledge is responsible for restructuring mental representations, which become more conscious and better organized.

In some research publications, MLA is understood as consisting of component abilities, such as phonological, semantic, morphological, syntactic, grapho-phonological and grapho-morphological awareness (Kuo and Anderson 2008: 42–55). In the context of language learning,[1] Rampillon (1997: 176–182) believes that language awareness can be discussed as a sum of three components: (1) linguistic awareness, i.e. language skills and abilities, (2) communicative awareness, i.e. the knowledge of language functions such as communicative or discoursive strategies, and (3) learning awareness, or the knowledge of learning, thinking and problem-solving strategies, as well as the ability to interpret and apply them. Masny (1997)

[1] In the present article, three terms referring to the development of linguistic knowledge are used; these are: 'appropriation', 'acquisition' and 'learning'. The term 'appropriation' is used, after Paradis (2009), as a hypernym of the terms 'acquisition' and 'learning'. Language acquisition is a subconscious, implicit and unintentional process which takes place in natural communication; language learning is a conscious, explicit and intentional process typical of school instruction contexts (Krashen 1981).

proposes another distinction, namely between (1) language awareness, which she defines as the ability to draw upon metalanguage in order to explain certain aspects of the language code at lessons, and (2) linguistic (or metalinguistic) awareness, which refers to the cognitive processes involved in reflecting upon and manipulating language. Jessner (2006: 43), who follows Masny's distinction, believes that the two types of awareness present overlapping concepts. However, it seems that MLA should be considered separately from metacognitive awareness, i.e. the knowledge of the cognitive processes engaged in language learning. It should also be distinguished from metapragmatic awareness, which is the sensitivity to the sociolinguistic context and the interlocutors of a given communicative act (e.g. Chłopek 2011: sections 3.7 and 3.8). Moreover, MLA should not be equated with the explicit metalinguistic knowledge, i.e. the conscious knowledge of language rules, as well as the sound-meaning pairings of lexical items, stored in declarative memory (as opposed to implicit linguistic competence, stored in procedural memory; Paradis 2004: chapter 2). Metalinguistic knowledge is undoubtedly important for the development and use of MLA, but MLA begins to develop during early L1 acquisition, when predominantly procedural memory processes are at play (ibid.: 36–37). Having said this, it needs to be added that MLA is defined very differently in the literature (see Komorowska 2014: section 3).

In the present article, MLA is understood as the capacity to analyze one's languages in a flexible and abstract way and to recognize language-specific (syntactic, morphological, phonetic) features, to concentrate on linguistic form independently of its meaning and to control and manipulate it during reception and production both in natural communication and in instructed conditions of language use.

MLA is believed to strengthen cross-linguistic awareness, i.e. the sensitivity to (formal and semantic) similarities and differences between languages (Jessner 2006: 116). This, in turn, may contribute to a conscious, analytical and comparative process of language learning. Indeed, several researchers believe that MLA boosts the development of a new language, especially when it takes place in instructed conditions, i.e. predominantly in a conscious way (e.g. Thomas 1988; Klein 1995; Herdina and Jessner 2002; Ó Laoire 2005; Gibson and Hufeisen 2006; Jessner 2006; Rauch et al. 2012; see also Chłopek 2011: section 3.6). Thomas writes as follows:

> Bilinguals learning a third language seem to have developed a sensitivity to language as a system which helps them perform better on those activities usually associated with formal language learning than monolinguals learning a foreign language for the first time. (Thomas 1988: 240)

It should, however, be kept in mind that several other factors also facilitate the development of a new language. In contrast to monolinguals, bilinguals and multilinguals have specific skills and knowledge which may positively influence the process of learning a further language (L3+); these are: complex language competences, a complex system of conceptual representations, an expanded system of emotional representations, highly developed metacognitive awareness and well-developed metapragmatic awareness (see Chłopek 2011: chapter 3). The more languages a

given person has appropriated, the more factors affect the process of language learning (Hufeisen 1998; Hufeisen and Gibson 2003). A particularly important characteristic of a bi-/multilingual person is his or her complex language knowledge, which is a useful support for a language learner, especially at the initial, receptive stage of language appropriation. According to Ringbom (2007: 2), 'L1 and other languages known to the learner clearly provide an essential aid, not a troublesome obstacle for learning a new language'. Obviously, cross-linguistic similarities encourage language learners to make use of their language competences. Ringbom believes that if a target language is typologically close to the mother tongue, 'learners already have a considerable *potential vocabulary* in that language' (Ringbom 2007: 11; emphasis in the original). Mißler (1999: 45) notices that thanks to interlingual similarities the knowledge of the mother tongue and of foreign languages may speed up the development of receptive skills in a target language. In her opinion, the more extensive the linguistic knowledge of a given person, the higher is the likelihood that he or she will be able to understand texts in a new, typologially related language.

## 2 The Relationship Between Language Competences and Metalinguistic Awareness

Several researchers share the opinion that L2 appropriation contributes to the development of MLA. This was already suggested by the psychologist Vygotsky (1934/1989) and the linguist Leopold (1939–1949) and has been confirmed empirically since the second half of the twentieth century (Peal and Lambert 1962; Ianco-Worrall 1972; Cummins 1978; Bruck and Genesee 1995; Eviatar and Ibrahim 2000; Bialystok 2005; Kovelman et al. 2008; Marinova-Todd et al. 2010; ter Kuile et al. 2011; Friesen and Bialystok 2012; see, however, Cummins and Mulcahy 1978; Rosenblum and Pinker 1983; Hakuta 1987). These empirical studies were conducted with mono- and bilingual children; however, some research studies suggest that bilingual adults have an advantage over monolingual ones in this respect. In the study conducted by Thomas (1988), bilingual university students outperformed monolingual ones on tasks in their new language; this advantage was especially explicit if the L2 was learned in instructed conditions. Rauch et al. (2012) discovered that fully biliterate secondary-school students outperform monolingual and partially literate bilingual students on measures of MLA.

One might ask the question whether MLA develops parallelly with language competences. This would mean not only that bilinguals have a higher level of MLA than monolinguals, but also that trilinguals are more metalinguistically aware than bilinguals, quadrilinguals than trilinguals and so on. Several researchers emphasize multilingual people's high level of MLA (Herdina and Jessner 2002; Gibson and Hufeisen 2003, 2011; Hufeisen and Gibson 2003; Jessner 2006; Chłopek 2013; Wrembel 2015). In their research studies, the respondents completed various tasks,

such as: translation of a text in an unknown language, simultaneous introspection during written activities, assessment of grammaticality of texts with semantic anomalies. But even though the results of these studies point to a high level of MLA of multilinguals, they do not provide an explicit proof of a positive correlation between this cognitive ability and language competences. The above-mentioned researchers made no comparison between their multilingual subjects and a group of people with two languages. Evidence of some relationship between language learning experience and MLA can be found in the research report by Roehr and Gánem-Gutiérrez (2009), who worked with English-speaking university-level learners of either German or Spanish. These researchers found that language learning experience in formal settings turns out to be a good predictor for levels of MLA. Similarly, Woll (2017), who concentrated on the level of MLA of French-speaking junior college students with different language backgrounds learning German after English in a formal setting, found that 'participants who reported frequent use of their different languages for various reading and writing activities generally exhibited higher levels of MLA by efficiently integrating their linguistic resources when analyzing unknown target language structures' (Woll 2017: 92). However, Wildemann et al. (2016), whose respondents were primary-school children in their fourth year who either spoke primarily German or grew up in multilingual settings,[2] conclude that there is a weak correlation between language competences and MLA.

It needs to be emphasized that in the case of some of the above-mentioned studies (Thomas 1988; Bruck and Genesee 1995; Eviatar and Ibrahim 2000; Roehr and Gánem-Gutiérrez 2009; Marinova-Todd et al. 2010; Rauch et al. 2012; Woll 2017) high MLA of the respondents was probably partly an outcome of several factors connected with instructed language learning. Language learning in instructed situations, which typically emphasizes formal correctness and the written word, induces reflection on language and thus provides favourable conditions for the development of MLA. The facilitative effects of such language learning on MLA may therefore be a result of transfer of learning and transfer of training, not only the outcome of growing language competences (it is worth noting that the above-mentioned study by Wildemann et al. (2016), who worked with children acquiring and using their languages in natural settings, showed no strong evidence of a correlation between MLA and linguistic knowledge). Moreover, it should be remembered that language learning experiences in general contribute to the development of several abilities and knowledge other than MLA (as mentioned above), which may influence task performance and bias research results.

[2] Even though the authors do not mention this, most probably those children also learned English at school (although the German federal states differ in respect of the year when the teaching of English begins).

# 3 The Study

## *3.1 Research Questions*

In light of the lack of unambiguous research results in this field, the aim of the present study was to further investigate the issue of MLA of multilingual people.[3] In particular, it focused on recognizing the potential relationship between MLA and language competences – both the number of appropriated languages and the level of their attainment.

## *3.2 Participants*

The respondents were 122 students of German Philology at the University of Wrocław, Poland. There were 19 male and 103 female participants at the age from 19 to 44 (mean age: 23 years and 6 months). All participants had one native language and from 2 to 5 foreign languages. The participants' mother tongue was Polish. As for their foreign languages, all respondents knew German and English; 79 respondents knew only these two languages and 43 respondents knew some additional language(s), i.e.: French – 15 persons, Russian – 12 persons, Spanish – 10 persons, Italian – 4 persons, Swedish – 2 persons, Czech – 2 persons, Japanese – 1 person and Arabic – 1 person (since most respondents did not mention Latin in the questionnaires, even though some of them had, or had had, some classes in Latin at the university, this language was disregarded altogether). The subjects with 3, 4 and 5 foreign languages were not considered separately, since their numbers were too low to make any reliable comparisons between them.

The respondents were asked to self-assess their competences in each foreign language as either 'advanced' or 'intermediate', or 'beginner' (see Table 1).[4] The obtained data were next transformed into numbers, in that a language at the advanced level was assigned 30 points, a language at the intermediate level was assigned 20 points and a language at the beginning level was assigned 10 points. Thus, for example, a respondent with one language at the advanced level and one at the intermediate level received 50 points, and a respondent with one language at the intermediate level and one at the beginning level received 30 points. The competences of all subjects can be placed on a scale from 20 to 100 points (mean level: 48.7).

[3] The present study is an extended version of the study reported on in the paper 'Metalinguistische Bewusstheit von Mehrsprachlern', presented at the international conference *Mehrsprachigkeit und Multikulturalität im translatorischen und glottodidaktischen Paradigma*, Wrocław, Poland, 9–11th October 2015.

[4] The three levels were chosen over the six levels described in the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (Council of Europe 2001) in order to reduce the variation in responses and thus highten response reliability.

**Table 1** Language competences of the participants

| 2 foreign languages<br>79 respondents (64.8%) | More than 2 foreign languages<br>43 respondents (35.2%) |
|---|---|
| 1 LA, 1 LI – 24 persons (19.7%) | 1 LA, 1 LI, 1 LB – 24 persons (19.7%) |
| 1 LA, 1 LB – 19 persons (15.6%) | 1 LI, 2 LBs – 4 persons (3.3%) |
| 1 LI, 1 LB – 19 persons (15.6%) | 2 LAs, 1 LI – 3 persons (2.5%) |
| 2 LAs – 8 persons (6.6%) | 2 LAs, 1 LB – 3 persons (2.5%) |
| 2 LIs – 6 persons (4.9%) | 1 LA, 2 LBs – 3 persons (2.5%) |
| 2 LBs – 3 persons (2.5%) | 1 LA, 2 LIs – 2 persons (1.6%) |
| | 1 LA, 2 LIs, 1 LB – 1 person (0.8%) |
| | 1 LI, 3 LBs – 1 person (0.8%) |
| | 2 LIs, 2 LBs – 1 person (0.8%) |
| | 2 LAs, 1 LI, 2 LBs – 1 person (0.8%) |

*LA* language at the advanced level, *LI* language at the intermediate level, *LB* language at the beginning level

### *3.3 Research Instrument and Procedure*

The test task consisted in translating a text in an unknown language into the mother tongue. The participants were asked to write down the Polish translation of a written dialogue in Danish.

Successful translation from an unknown language is a complex cognitive task which involves intensive linguistic processing (Hufeisen and Gibson 2003: 24). The participants were required to make use of their cognitive skills, language competences, knowledge of the world (including the knowledge of the structure and possible topics of a conversation) and the clues in the linguistic context in order to process the unknown words and structures making up the dialogue, recognize them as they reappeared in the text and compare them with those in their languages. Thus, they had to deal with the new words and structures consciously and purposefully, both intra- and interlingually. Returning to the terminological discussion of the concept of MLA presented at the beginning of the article, it may be said that a translation task of this sort allows to see how respondents are able to actively solve problems demanding cognitive and linguistic skills (Malakoff 1992: 518; Jessner 2006: 42) and how sensitive they are to cross-linguistic similarities and differences (Jessner 2006: 116). In particular, translation from an unknown language allows to recognize the analytical language processing skills of respondents, since high levels of analytical ability allow one to make complex linguistic judgements and to manipulate language material; additionally, confusing information such as misleading cross-linguistic similarities requires intensive processes of cognitive control (Bialystok 1988, 2001). Since the task involved written translation, it mainly allowed to assess grapho-morphological awareness, i.e. ‘the ability to reflect upon how semantic information is encoded in the orthography and how orthography provides cues to meaning’ (Kuo and Anderson 2008: 54) and syntactic awareness,

which is 'an understanding of how words in a language are strung together to form sentences' (Kuo and Anderson 2008: 49).

It was assumed that the MLA of the respondents would manifest itself in the results of the translation task, both in the correctness and in the consistency of translation. The mechanisms behind these two processes, correct translation and consistent translation, are slightly different. It seems that correct translation depends to a high degree on the ability to make use of the (situational and linguistic) context and to draw on available linguistic knowledge (e.g. by making interlingual comparisons), whereas consistent translation is achieved mainly thanks to the ability to concentrate on the forms of the target language (to analyze intralingually).

The text was taken from the website SPEAKDANISH[5] and shortened to 25 sentences, or 27 clauses. It was accompanied by two pictures and a short description of the situation, so that the participants knew that the dialogue took place between two young people, a man and a woman, who had met for the first time at a party (see Appendix).[6]

The reason why Danish was chosen as the source language was the close typological distance between German (known to all the participants) and Danish (Janikowski 1982; Stopyra 2008). The cross-linguistic similarities were expected to contribute to the successful completion of the translation task, especially as the German language is known to be useful to Polish-speaking learners of Danish (Stopyra 2011). Furthermore, it was assumed that the participants' knowledge of English would make it easier for them to cope with the Danish text. Namely, Danish contains many borrowings from English, which results from the Danish society's relatively high acceptance of foreign influences (Szubert 2003).[7] The target language was Polish, i.e. the fluent mother tongue of the participants. The choice of this language was expected not only to make the task (writing down the translations) easier, but also to help to avoid selective activation of one foreign language which might bias task results.

For each participant, two values were calculated and expressed as a percentage:

1. The correctness of the translation of the whole text:

   Each clause was evaluated according to the percentage of correctly decoded words and structures and then the mean value was calculated for the whole text.

2. The consistency of the translation of the words which appeared in the text more than once:

[5] In particular, the first, free lesson was used.

[6] The experimental sheet also included a question regarding translation strategies. However, since many students left this space blank, the responses to this question were disregarded.

[7] Since there are also several similarities between Dutch and Swedish, I initially considered excluding the two respondents with Swedish as a foreign language from the study, expecting an advantage which might bias their performance. However, since their level of Swedish was low and their results were average, I finally decided to take their results into consideration.

- the pronoun *jeg* ('I'; 10 instances in the text),
- the pronoun *du* ('you'; 6 instances in the text),
- the preposition *fra* ('from'; 4 instances in the text),
- the adverb *her* ('here'; 3 instances in the text) and
- the verb form *er* (the personal present tense form of 'to be'; 9 instances in the text).

For each of these five words, the percentage of correct translations was calculated. This was done taking into consideration the number of all translated clauses containing a given word, so if no attempt was made to translate a given clause, or the part of the clause containing the word, it was excluded from the calculations. If a given word was not correctly decoded even once (e.g. 0 out of 6 times, or 0 out of 0 times), it was disregarded altogether. If another word was translated as one of the above-mentioned words (e.g. *ja* as *'I', instead of 'yes'), this was taken into consideration (e.g., instead of 5 out of 6 [83.3%] correct translations of the word *jeg*, this failure would bring the result 4 out of 6 [66.6%] correct translations of the word *jeg*). If *er* was translated in a wrong tense or if *jeg* and *du* were translated in a wrong case, the translation was accepted as correct.

Additionally, it should be pointed out that the five Danish words, *jeg*, *du*, *fra*, *her* and *er*, help to measure MLA to a varying extent, because they are differently similar to their semantic equivalents in the participants' languages (only similarities at the orthographic level are considered here, since the participants did not know their pronunciation). Among these words, the pronoun *jeg* bears the least resemblance to its Polish, German and English equivalents (*ja*, *ich* and *I*, respectively), and as for the other languages known to some participants, it is possible to recognize some similarity only with the French pronoun *je* and the Swedish pronoun *jag*; thus, correct translation of this pronoun required considerable mental effort. The spelling of the Danish pronoun *du* is identical with that of its German counterpart, which may have induced (unconscious) correct translations. The word *fra* is similar to, though not identical with, its English equivalent *from*, and the word *her* bears much resemblance to the English *here* and the German *hier*; these similarities may have contributed to (unconscious) correct translations. Finally, the verb form *er* is misleading in that it is similar to the German pronoun *er* ('he'), which may have induced (unconscious) incorrect translations. Considering all this, it seems that the successful translation of the pronoun *jeg* is the best indicator of MLA. Translating it correctly was not a passive, reproductive activity, but required intensive cognitive processing throughout the whole task. The second best indicator of MLA is the verb form *er*, whose decoding also required much cognitive effort; however, misinterpreting it at the beginning of the task may have lead to unconscious (passive), consistent errors throughout the text, committed even by persons with high MLA.

The students completed the task during a class at the university. All of them worked on the text before the beginning of the actual class, so that they had enough time to complete the translation. They were asked not to communicate with each other and not to use any aids, such as dictionaries. No special motivators were applied.

### 3.4 Results

As mentioned above, the two values, the correctness of translation and the consistency of translation, need to be considered separately. This was indeed reflected in the task results. Some participants were relatively successful at decoding the text and yet failed at using a given translation equivalent consistently, and vice versa, some kept using the same translation equivalent throughout the text, but did not complete many sentences. For example, subject number 4, who correctly translated a few sentences but left some of them unfinished and did not attempt to translate as many as 8 clauses, obtained the correctness result 46.8%; the same subject correctly translated *jeg* 3 out of 4 times, *du* 4 out of 4 times, *er* 1 out of 4 times, *fra* 3 out of 3 times and *her* 0 out of 1 time, which makes 11 out of 15 times (after the exclusion of *her*), or 73.3%. Thus, even though this subject's general translation result is rather low, his/her consistency result is rather high.

Table 2 includes the general correctness results of the translation task, presented for the participants with two foreign languages (N = 79) and with more than two foreign languages (N = 43) separately. As the figures indicate, there is some difference (ca. 9%) between the two groups of subjects. This suggests that knowing several languages makes it easier to decode meanings in an unknown language.

Table 3 contains the results of the translation of the particular words: *jeg*, *du*, *fra*, *her* and *er*. The average result of the subjects with 3 or more foreign languages is better than the average result of the subjects with 2 foreign languages for each of these words except for the preposition *fra*. The biggest difference between the two

**Table 2** Results of the translation task – successful translation of the whole text

| | Mean correctness of translation |
|---|---|
| Respondents with 2 foreign languages (N = 79) | 48.0% |
| Respondents with more than 2 foreign languages (N = 43) | 57.1% |
| All respondents (N = 122) | 51.2% |

N = number of participants

**Table 3** Results of the translation task – consistency of the translation of the words *jeg*, *du*, *fra*, *her* and *er*

| | Mean consistency of translation of the word: | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *jeg* | *du* | *fra* | *her* | *er* |
| Respondents with 2 foreign languages | 57.1% | 86.6% | 88.7% | 63.8% | 47.4% |
| | (N = 79) | (N = 79) | (N = 78) | (N = 41) | (N = 67) |
| Respondents with more than 2 foreign languages | 69.8% | 90.1% | 82.8% | 67.7% | 53.7% |
| | (N = 43) | (N = 43) | (N = 43) | (N = 32) | (N = 38) |
| All respondents | 61.6% | 87.8% | 86.6% | 65.5% | 49.7% |
| | (N = 122) | (N = 122) | (N = 121) | (N = 73) | (N = 105) |

N = number of participants

groups of participants, 12.7%, is for the pronoun *jeg*. As mentioned above, the result for this word seems to be the best indicator of the respondents' level of MLA. The second biggest difference, 6.3%, is for the second best indicator of MLA, the verb form *er*. Thus, the second group's level of MLA may indeed be higher. As for the adverb *her* and the pronoun *du*, the differences are much lower and amount to 3.9% and 3.5%, respectively, which means that the two groups of respondents decoded these words in a similar way. Finally, the difference for the preposition *fra*, which was better decoded by the participants with only two foreign languages, amounts to 5.9%; this advantage of the first group of participants may be explained by the good knowledge of English of the subjects who knew only German and English as foreign languages, since the Danish word *fra* bears no similarity to its Polish and German equivalents, but is similar to its English equivalent *from*.

Does MLA depend on the level of foreign language competences? If this was the case, a bilingual with strong competences might develop a higher level of MLA than a multilingual with weak competences. In order to answer this question, Pearson product moment correlation coefficients were calculated for the self-reported language competences (transformed into points) and the results obtained. This method is a simple way to recognize potential linear dependence between two variables. In the case of omitted words, the respondents were disregarded in the calculations.

The correlation coefficients are as follows:

1. the language competences and the general translation correctness: r = .525 ($p < .001$);
2. the language competences and the consistency of the translation of
   - *jeg*: r = .323 (p < .001);
   - *du*: r = .181 (p < .05);
   - *fra*: r = .105 (p < .5);
   - *her*: r = .047 (p > .5);
   - *er*: r = .257 (p < .01) (two-tailed test of statistical significance).

The first coefficient is rather high and statistically significant. This confirms the existence of a positive correlation between the level of language competences and the ability to successfully decode a new language. As for the potential correlation between language competences and translation consistency, only two figures are relatively high and statistically significant; these are the coefficients for the consistency of the translation of the words *jeg* and *er*, the two words which seem to be the best indicators of MLA. This result implies that there may be some relationship between the level of language competences and the level of MLA.

Having said this, it needs to be mentioned that correlation coefficients do not provide explicit information, especially as correlations may be bidirectional: not only the knowledge of languages may lead to the development of MLA, but also people with a high level of MLA may be able to learn languages successfully and thus reach high levels of communicative competence in each of them. Moreover, as already mentioned, not only the complex language competences, but also some other specific skills and knowledge of bi-/multilingual persons may positively influence the process of decoding a text in an unknown language. Additionally, it should be

pointed out that an important factor which may have influenced the results obtained was the level of the students' motivation to complete the task. Hufeisen and Gibson (2003), who also used a translation task in their research study, mention motivation as an important variable which affects task completion parallelly to MLA.

## 4 Conclusion

The aim of the present study was to investigate the potential relationship between the language competences and the metalinguistic awareness of multilingual people. Since L2 appropriation is known to contribute to the development of MLA, the question was asked whether this cognitive ability intensifies parallelly with the development of any further language competences. In particular, the study addressed the question whether the ability to successfully decode a written text in an unknown language – both the correctness and the consistency of translation – depends on the number of languages and the level of their attainment. Because of the nature of the task – written translation from an unknown language – MLA regarding mainly grapho-morphological and syntactic language features was expected to be activated.

The data obtained suggest the existence of a certain dependence between MLA and both the number of appropriated languages and the level of their attainment. However, it is not clear which direction of influence is more probable: whether language competences boost the development of MLA or whether MLA, which develops already during the appropriation of the mother tongue and the first non-native language, contributes to successful development of any further language. A third scenario must not be rejected, either – i.e. that these factors exert a mutual influence on each other. Thus, the question regarding the potential relationship between language competences and MLA may be answered with a tentative 'yes', even though the nature of this relationship still remains to be investigated.

Moreover, MLA must be treated as only one of the many characteristics of multilingual people which contribute to successful decoding of a newly encountered language. As already mentioned, compared to monolinguals, bi-/multilinguals are characterized by a complex language system, a complex conceptual system, an expanded emotional system, high metacognitive awareness and high metapragmatic awareness. Some of these factors may also influence, or be influenced by, MLA. An additional variable which is likely to bias research results is the respondents' motivation to complete the task.

The results of the present study confirm, however, what many other researchers have noted, namely that multilingual people are characterized by a high level of MLA and that multilingual competences are an important asset during the contact with a new language. Learners of a third and any further language are able to control and analyse language material (Bialystok 1988, 2001) and to make use of their complex linguistic knowledge, especially at beginning, receptive stages of language learning in structured conditions (Mißler 1999). This means that they are able to

learn a new language in an active way by making use of the knowledge and skills available to them: by reflecting upon the currently appropriated language and comparing it with the languages already known to them.

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## Appendix: Task Sheet Used in the Study[8]

John i Mette spotykają się na przyjęciu u Madsa.
Spróbuj przetłumaczyć dialog! Nie używaj słownika ani też innych pomocy! ☺
Jakich strategii użyłeś?

[8] The instructions before the text:
John and Mette meet at Mad's party. Try to translate the dialogue! Do not use a dictionary or any other aids. Which strategies have you applied?
The questionnaire after the text:
Age: ..... Gender: F / M
I know the following languages:
advanced level: .....
intermediate level: .....
elementary level: .....
I used the following strategies during translation:
.....
.....
Any additional comments:
.....
.....
The English version of the dialogue:

John: Hi, I'm John/my name is John.
Mette: Hi. Mette.
John: Nice party, huh/isn't it?
Mette: Yes, it is/that's right. How do you know Mads?
John: We work together.
Mette: Are you also a teacher?
John: Yes, I am. I'm working as a substitute teacher here in Copenhagen.
Mette: Are you from Copenhagen?
John: No, I'm actually not a Dane. I'm from Namibia. / I come from Namibia.
Mette: Really? How exciting! How long have you been in Denmark?
John: I've been here almost three months.
Mette: But you speak Danish very well!
John: Thanks. My parents are Danes. My mother lives here, and my father lives in Namibia. How about you?
Mette: Oh, I'm just an ordinary Dane. I'm from Aarhus, but I live in Copenhagen.
John: What do you do?
Mette: I'm an actress.

| | Duński | Polski |
|---|---|---|
| John: | Hej, jeg hedder John. | |
| Mette: | Hej. Mette. | |
| John: | Fed fest, hva? | |
| Mette: | Ja, det er det. | |
| | Hvor kender du Mads fra? | |
| John: | Vi arbejder sammen. | |
| Mette: | Er du også lærer? | |
| John: | Ja, det er jeg. | |
| | Jeg arbejder som vikar her i København. | |
| Mette: | Kommer du fra København? | |
| John: | Nej, jeg er faktisk ikke dansker. | |
| | Jeg kommer fra Namibia. | |
| Mette: | Er det rigtigt? | |
| | Hvor spændende! | |
| | Hvor længe har du været i Danmark? | |
| John: | Jeg har været her i næsten tre måneder. | |
| Mette: | Men du taler da flot dansk! | |
| John: | Tak. | |
| | Mine forældre er danskere. | |
| | Min mor bor her, og min far bor i Namibia. | |
| | Hvad met dig? | |
| Mette: | Nå, jeg er bare almindelig dansker. | |
| | Jeg er fra Arhus, men jeg bor i København. | |
| John: | Hvad laver du? | |
| Mette: | Jeg er skuespiller. | |

Wiek: ..... Płeć: K / M
Znam następujące języki:
poziom zaawansowany: .....
poziom średniozaawansowany: .....
poziom podstawowy: .....
Podczas tłumaczenia stosowałam/stosowałem następujące strategie:
.....
.....
Ewentualne komentarze:
.....
.....

Bardzo dziękuję! ☺

Text from:
http://www.speakdanish.dk/en/lessons/0010-1-first-meeting.php (accessed 31.10.2015).

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# Two Grammars in the Input: Two Different Strategies to Process the Input. The Usage-Based Perspective on the Development of Nominal Inflections in a Bilingual Child


**Dorota Gaskins**

**Abstract** Can early grammatical acquisition across languages be accounted for by one set of predictions about the grammatical patterns heard? This study examines the extent to which Radical Construction Grammar (Croft. Radical construction grammar. Syntactic theory in typological perspective. OUP, Oxford, 2001) and its central tenet, input frequency, can account for the emergence of grammar in the acquisition of Polish and English, two languages which offer typologically different stimuli for the child to work from. The study looks at the onset of grammatical acquisition in a bilingual toddler (aged 1;10.16-2;5.11) exposed to Polish and English from birth but dominant in the latter, examined through 30 half-hour recordings and a diary. The data reveal different effects of input on the acquisition paths in each language and variance in these effects depending on the stage of development. First of all, the order of acquisition of case markings attempted by the child corresponds with the proportions of these markings heard in the input in English but only to a limited degree in Polish. However, the early emergence of the Polish –i marking can be explained in terms of its analogy to existing exemplars and its potential to cover multiple grammatical contexts. Lastly, it is suggested that the infrequent use of Polish language is responsible for what appears to be 'regression in acquisition' of the Polish plural/case marking system. These data call for a more dynamic understanding of frequency as a factor facilitating acquisition.

**Keywords** Usage-based · Input · Frequency · Analogy · Nominal inflection · Bilingual acquisition

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## 1 Introduction

Despite unresolved differences as to whether language competence is innate (e.g. Chomsky 1981, 1995; Pinker 1984) or developed through the interaction of human cognition with the input (e.g. Tomasello 2003), it is now agreed that exposure to language at the very least improves language learning outcomes. Yet considering the relatively new status of input-driven accounts of language acquisition, there is a great deal of research which still needs to be carried out to assert the role of exposure in language development. Studying bilingual children and their language acquisition can contribute greatly to this debate as in bilingual environments two languages are in constant competition for the input space which creates optimal testing grounds for any input-based hypotheses. To date, contexts of bilingual exposure have revealed links between the amount of input and the rates of lexical development in both languages (e.g. Pearson et al. 1997; Hoff et al. 2012; Thordardottir 2014). They have also, to some extent, shown links between the amount of input and the pace of grammatical acquisition in preschool children (Barrena et al. 2008; Thordardottir 2014) but not always in older children and not across all grammatical domains (see e.g. Unsworth 2014; Gathercole and Thomas 2009). The aim of this study is to examine the relationship between two types of input and the respective grammars at their onset in order to ask the question of why the links between input and grammar do not always appear straightforward.

The theoretical framework followed in this study is rooted in the usage-based theory which sees the essence of language in its symbolic dimension while its structure is viewed as being merely derivative (Barlow and Kemmer 2000; Croft 2001; Tomasello 2000, 2003). The communicative focus of this model is reflected in the term *usage-based*, *'one in which the speaker's linguistic system is fundamentally grounded in 'usage events': instances of a speaker's producing and understanding language*' (Barlow and Kemmer 2000, viii). The central tenet of this model is that variation in language acquisition can be explained by the variety of ways in which children's learning mechanisms respond to the properties of idiosyncratic input received in individual languages (Tomasello 2003). Such learning mechanisms include *intention-reading* and *pattern-finding* skills which are domain-general in that they support not only language acquisition but also general cognitive development. Crucially, however, the work of these mechanisms is secondary to spontaneous language use: it is only with cumulative exposure to, and use of language that the child observes regularities between concrete linguistic constructions, and ultimately builds abstract representations around them (Tomasello 2000, 2003; Croft 2001).

Croft's Radical Construction Grammar (RCG) (2001) is of particular interest to this study as this usage-based framework departs most radically from any syntactic models which assume that the child is genetically endowed with modularly specialised language (e.g. Chomsky 1981, 1995). This radical departure extends earlier attempts to apply the notions of 'constructions' to some language which does not lend itself to syntactic analysis (e.g. Fillmore et al. 1988) by postulating that *all*

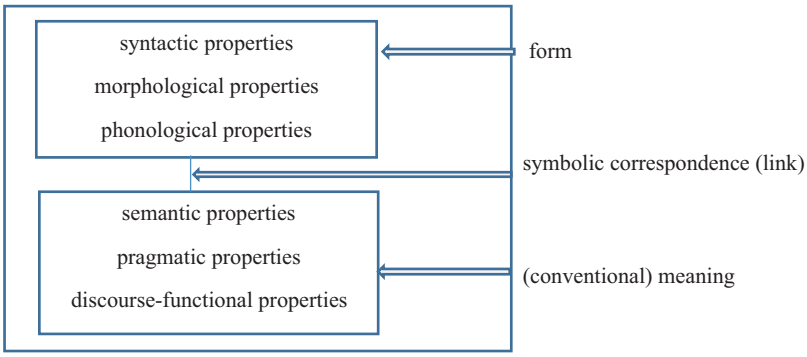


**Fig. 1** The symbolic structure of construction (Croft 2001, p. 18)

language, from words to most abstract rules, can be analysed as constructions. The decision to analyse words on a par with more complex constructions can be justified by the occurrence of words such as [the X-er, the Y-er]: although they are used as independent lexical items, they include bound morphemes in their syntactic representation and so could also be viewed as one-word constructions (Croft 2001, p. 17). The central hypothesis of this model is thus that *constructions* are the primitive units of any such representation while the primitive syntactic *categories* are non-existent. As Fig. 1 shows, constructions here are seen as pairs of grammatical form and meaning in a unit whose primary function is symbolic.

Croft's model (2001) is indeed a far cry from syntactic universality and from earlier rule-based models of language acquisition which see language as a universal property of the human mind (Chomsky 1981, 1995; Pinker 1994). Croft (2001) argues that (1) the emergent categories are construction specific; (2) constructions are language specific and so (3) all formal properties of grammar are language-specific. Here the only universal is the holistic conceptualisation of highly particular situation types and the conceptual relationships among them, resulting from the shared judgment of similarity among all language speakers (Croft 2007, 2010) who '*may* linguistically group similar situation types in any way (...) as long as similarity is respected' (2010, p. 13). In departing radically from other frameworks, Croft's model (2001) also puts a new perspective on bilingual first language acquisition: it seems to predict that the bilingual child will generate separate mechanisms for coping with two different types of input and that she will develop categories which are specific to each language but not shared between the languages, at least not initially.

The main question asked in this study is how a bilingual child, who hears two languages from birth, builds grammatical representations early on and in what way *input frequency*, the key aspect of the usage-based theory, plays a role in this type of acquisition. The grammatical representations of interest in this study are noun inflections as they represent the radical types of constructions included in Croft's model (2001) where a single word includes a bound morpheme in syntactic representation. Noun inflections are also among the first signs of grammatical acquisition, preceding verb morphology (Slobin 1966; Zarębina 1965).

This study relies on Bybee's (2001) distinction between token and type frequency. High *token frequency* of a word or phrase is the number of times that a particular linguistic entity comes up in speech: for example, the work '*broke'* occurs in a spoken corpus 66 times per million words while the word '*damaged'* only five times, giving the former a higher token frequency (Kučera 1982, as cited by Bybee 2001 , p. 10). On the other hand, high *type frequency* is the dictionary frequency of a given pattern which determines the creation of slots in strings and categorization: with higher type frequency of an element appearing within a given slot, there is a greater chance that the child will learn to apply this element productively to any new similar items (Bybee 2001, p. 14). For example, where –er acts as a constant element and X or Y fill the slot, the more types of nouns the child hears which end in –er, the sooner she is expected to learn to apply this schema productively to any new nouns. The notion of frequency is likely to capture well the differences between languages, such as Polish and English which are examined in this study: although both are *fusional,* the Polish inflection system with verb conjugations and noun, adjective and numeral declensions is relatively more complex compared to the now diminished English inflection system. Owing to this, these two sources of input can help attribute the emerging pattern-finding skills more reliably to the individual languages without running the risk of interaction from early on.

## 2 Inflection in Polish and English

The English noun inflection is more rudimentary but there are still three orthographical markings left on most regular nouns in addition to the Ø marking in singular default contexts which can inform the current discussion: the singular genitive -'s (e.g. *mummy's*), the plural –s (e.g. *mummies*), and the plural genitive –s' (e.g. *mummies'*) (CIDE 1995). Although they tend to be realised in the same way in speech through the addition of the same one of the three phonological variants /s/, /z/ or /iz/, in this case /mʌmiz/ (CIDE 1995), in this study they are referred to as singular genitive, plural default and plural genitive to reflect their function.

Compared to this, the Polish system of inflection is relatively complex with Polish nouns categorised according to case, number and gender (Bańko 2009). There are three genders in Polish: masculine, feminine and neuter. Case has seven types which are usually presented in the following order: nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, instrumental, locative and vocative (Bańko 2009). Polish nouns follow over 50 different inflection paradigms and often one marking maps across many grammatical contexts. Table 1 below shows three common inflection paradigms used with Polish nouns (adapted from SWJP 1996).

Monolingual Polish children are reported to acquire all the seven singular case markings as well as the nominative and accusative plural markings before their second birthday (Smoczyńska 1985; Dąbrowska and Szczerbiński 2006) but initially their use in not fully productive and around the age of two some unfamiliar words are often left uninflected (Dąbrowska 2005). Longitudinally, the first forms to

**Table 1** Three common inflection paradigms used with Polish nouns

| Case | Masculine singular | Masculine plural | Feminine singular | Feminine plural | Neuter singular | Neuter plural |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nominative | Bar (bar) | Bary | Sroka (magpie) | Sroki | Udo (thigh) | Uda |
| Genitive | Baru | Barów | Sroki | Srok | Uda | Ud |
| Dative | Barowi | Barom | Sroce | Srokom | Udu | Udom |
| Accusative | Bar | Bary | Srokę | Sroki | Udo | Uda |
| Instrumental | Barem | Barami | Sroką | Srokami | Udem | Udami |
| Locative | Barze | Barach | Sroce | Srokach | Udzie | Udach |
| Vocative | Barze | Bary | Sroko | Sroki | Udo | Uda |

**Table 2** Case markings in the input (Dąbrowska and Szczerbiński 2006)

| Case | Proportions in the input (N = 1848) |
|---|---|
| Singular nominative | 54% |
| Singular genitive | 12% |
| Singular dative | 2% |
| Singular accusative | 19% |
| Singular instrumental | 4% |
| Singular locative | 4% |
| Singular vocative | 5% |

emerge in Polish monolingual children tend to be in the singular *nominative* default case (Smoczyńska 1985). The *accusative* forms emerge soon after; they tend to be followed by the *vocative* forms and then the *genitive* (Zarębina 1965; Smoczyńska 1985). Dąbrowska and Szczerbiński (2006) link this commonly observed order of acquisition to exposure by showing exactly how frequent these different case markings are in the input of one monolingual child called Marysia (from the Szuman data available on CHILDES) and convert them into percentages, which suggests that acquisition of nominal inflections relies on morphological contrasts from early on. Initially, this approach will be replicated in this paper for both Polish and English although there are reasons to believe that grammatical acquisition is linked to phonological rather than abstract contrasts (Bybee 2001). As can be seen in Table 2 below, typical input data can predict the order of acquisition of most but not all cases in Marysia's acquisition but this discrepancy may be eliminated in my study if the input and output of one and the same child are compared.

In terms of English, the first noun forms to develop in monolingual acquisition are observed around the second birthday in the singular default form, a preference which is often explained by their simpler phonological shape (Brown 1973; Keshavarz and Ingram 2002). They are followed by the plural default, singular genitive and lastly plural genitive (Brown 1973). Indeed, children master the pronunciation of sibilant /s/ and /z/ relatively late which could potentially explain why they may omit the –s marking even once they have started to use it with some

nouns. Errors of omission, however, should be seen as separate from the mechanisms delaying the acquisition of a particular case. De Houwer (2009), for example, argues that if children were guided by phonological simplicity, they would never attempt to produce more complex grammatical structures. Therefore, the argument of phonological accessibility is called into question here by the strength of one which predicts the order of acquisition by their frequency in the input.

## 3 Methodology

Case study methodology has been chosen here as looking at one child, and therefore only one 'cognitive filter', helps to attribute the outcomes more reliably to the given input and eliminate confounding factors which could come into play in any multi-case research. The protagonist of this study is Sadie, the first-born and normally developing child of the researcher, who presents a case of bilingual first language acquisition (BFLA). Diary data recorded over the period of nearly 18 months between the ages of 0;10.10-2;03.22 were used in this study to document every 30-min slot for each of the 7 days of the week as representative of input in a particular language (De Houwer and Bornstein 2003). In her second year of life, Sadie's linguistic input was divided between 65% English and 35% Polish (Gaskins 2017). In qualitative terms, however, Sadie's English input was much richer than that in Polish. She lived in London, attended an English-speaking nursery, and heard English at home from her father, while Polish was heard only from her mother, whose command of English did not go unnoticed by the child. This imbalance of input is reflected in Sadie's lexical outcomes: at the age of 2;02 Sadie had 74% of English (292) and 26% Polish words (103) words at her disposal (Gaskins 2017). Moreover, when she was recorded on video addressed solely in Polish, she used on average 90% of English and 10% Polish word tokens (Gaskins 2017).

The data on the child's emerging inflection come from 30 half-hour audio video clips recorded in three contexts between the ages 1;10.16-2;5.11: two monolingual contexts where Sadie was addressed in English by her father, or in Polish by her mother, and a bilingual context where she was addressed in both languages with both parents present. Parental language use is captured through the monolingual recordings. All video recorded data are transcribed using CHAT tools and analysed by means of CLAN freq and kwal commands. In this study, words with emerging inflections counted are only those which (a) had previously emerged in one form but (b) now appear in another form and (c) are used as such productively rather than in an act of imitation. If a word is modelled directly before the child's turn in one form, e.g. *kaczka* (English: duck) but then is used by the child in another, e.g. *kaczki (duck+INFL)*, its use is also counted as productive in that form. Excluded are any *amalgams* which are items acquired first in a form other than the singular default (MacWhinney 2014): they are treated as uninflected as they are the only forms available to the child. Further to this, diary data provide additional examples of relevant constructions.

# 4 Results

## *4.1 Sadie's Productions in English*

Sadie's acquisition of English inflection does not appear to be delayed by the presence of two languages in the input. In fact, Sadie's inflections emerge relatively early compared to some monolingual children. In a study of three children acquiring English in America, for example, Brown (1973), reports that some use of plural and possessive inflection was evident at what he refers to as stage II (28–35 months). By comparison, Sadie attempts to inflect nouns already at Brown's stage I (15–30 months): the first plural noun (*eyes*) was recorded at 1;08.18 (approx. 21 months), with the next two words added 6 days later (*shoes* and *bubbles*), followed by two instances of pluralisation recorded over a month later at 1;09.25 (*flowers* and *boots*). Markings in singular genitive contexts emerged 2 months after their plural counterparts with the first instance (*tata's turn*: English daddy's turn) recorded at 1;10.13. Importantly, despite the initial sporadic use of inflected nouns and a very inconsistent application of these markings to the nouns in relevant contexts until the end of the data collection period, it is clear that number oppositions emerged before case oppositions.

## *4.2 Sadie's English Inflections in the Light of Input*

Input data from paternal speech show that in Sadie's input by far the most commonly heard word form among nouns was the singular default form (77% of noun types) which is also the first form to emerge in Sadie's acquisition. Beyond this, the second most frequent form in the input was that of regular plural nouns (recorded with 21% noun types). This corresponds with the order of acquisition recorded in the diary: Sadie used a contrastive marking for the first time at 1;08.24 to denote plurality. Lastly, the least frequent word form in the input was that of nouns in singular genitive (2% noun types) and Sadie attempted using it the latest (1;10.13). There were no nouns in plural genitive recorded in the input or the child's speech. Owing to insufficient phonological contrast between the cases, it is clear that phonological features could not have played a role in the emergence of English case markings and the child must have been guided purely by their functionality in common usage.

## *4.3 Sadie's Productions in Polish*

Compared to English, Sadie's acquisition of the Polish nominal inflection was delayed which is in line with studies of grammatical delay of the 'minority' language in cases of imbalanced exposure (e.g. Hoff et al. 2012; Paradis et al. 2014;

Thordardottir 2014). Sadie first attempted Polish inflections at 1;11.05 which is about 6 months behind the monolingual schedule (Dąbrowska 2001, 2005). Consequently, with only six inflected words recorded in the diary by the age of 2, Sadie's use of inflection is also far from monolingual children's productivity with these forms around the second birthday (Dąbrowska and Szczerbiński 2006). Although at times Sadie's productivity appears higher, this is likely because it is inflated by high levels of accuracy of use among the singular nominative forms. For example, Sadie was often involved in naming games and asked '*co to jest?*' (what's this?) which requires the use of the nominative forms and so provides an untrue reflection of the child's ability to apply the emerging grammar. Beyond the accurate recall of nominative forms in nominative contexts, accurate productions of other nominal markings are rare: only 21 out of 60 inflected words were used in their accurate forms which suggests that their accurate use may have been coincidental. It becomes clear that in the analysis it would be more informative (a) to exclude the singular nominative contexts from the analysis and (b) to shift the analysis from correctly used markings to error patterns in all other contexts instead.

There are two striking error patterns which emerge from the analysis of inflections in the diary and on video. The first pattern is represented by 24 tokens of nouns 'defaulting' to the singular nominative case in contexts which require the use of another form. These include three word types: one token of the masculine noun *dom* [house], 20 tokens of the masculine *tata* [daddy] and three tokens of the feminine *mama* [mummy]. This is in line with monolingual children who tend to revert most frequently to the singular nominative forms (Smoczyńska 1985). The second error pattern, and one to become the focus of this study, is represented by 37 tokens of attempted inflection, including six word types in total, such as *dzidzia* [baby], *babcia* [nanny], *kaczka* [duck], *truskawka* [strawberry], *piłka* [ball],and *but* [shoe]. The first five of these words are feminine and the last is masculine which is similar to monolingual children who first attempt and master inflection on masculine and feminine as opposed to neuter nouns (Dąbrowska and Szczerbiński 2006). Of all these tokens, 36 feminine nouns default to an –i marking (Table 3) and the only masculine noun defaults to an –a marking but it is impossible to say which case category the child defaults to: the –a marking is only ever used in singular genitive while the–i marking is representative of more than one case.

Initially, there is some suspicion that this 'default' case could be indeed the singular genitive as all the nouns produced by Sadie take these markings in this particular case. This suspicion stems from the earlier reports of 'the curious case of the genitive': the overuse of the genitive is not uncommon in monolingual children though it is usually observed in contexts which require the use of the dative (Dąbrowska 2001; Dąbrowska and Szczerbiński 2006). However, this suspicion must be dismissed as the vast majority of these nouns share morphological patterns (i.e. they are feminine nouns which default to an -i marking) and as such represent the same small 'gang' (Bybee 2001). Therefore, it is speculated here that the second error pattern discussed above may be a sign of the child relying on the most salient phonological features of the Polish nominal inflection system. This means that the

**Table 3** Inflection paradigms for the nouns targeted first in the use of inflection

| **Singular markings** | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nominative | Dzidzia | Babcia | Kaczka | Truskawka | Piłka | But |
| Genitive | Dzidzi | Babci | Kaczki | Truskawki | Piłki | Buta |
| Dative | Dzidzi | Babci | Kaczce | Truskawce | Piłce | Butowi |
| Accusative | Dzidzię | Babcię | Kaczkę | Truskawkę | Piłkę | But |
| Instrumental | Dzidzią | Babcią | Kaczką | Truskawką | Piłką | Butem |
| Locative | Dzidzi | Babci | Kaczce | Truskawce | Piłce | Bucie |
| Vocative | Dzidziu | Babciu | Kaczko | Truskawko | Piłko | Bucie |
| **Plural markings** | | | | | | |
| Nominative | Dzidzie | Babcie | Kaczki | Truskawki | Piłki | Buty |
| Genitive | Dzidzi | Babć | Kaczek | Truskawek | Piłek | Butów |
| Dative | Dzidziom | Babciom | Kaczkom | Truskawkom | Piłkom | Butom |
| Accusative | Dzidzie | Babcie | Kaczki | Truskawki | Piłki | Buty |
| Instrumental | Dzidziami | Babciami | Kaczkami | Truskawkami | Piłkami | Butami |
| Locative | Dzidziach | Babciach | Kaczkach | Truskawkach | Piłkach | Butach |
| Vocative | Dzidzie | Babcie | Kaczki | Truskawki | Piłki | Buty |

original research question will need to be rephrased to account for the development of a certain phonological marking rather than the acquisition of a particular case.

Reliance on an idiosyncratic strategy is quite likely considering the differences between Sadie's patterns of acquisition compared to her monolingual peers. For example, Sadie starts her inflections with what appears to be *plural nominative* (‘*truskawki’* (strawberry+INF), ‘*kaczki’* (duck+INF) and ‘*piłki’* (ball+INF) followed by *singular vocative* (‘*mamo’* (mummy+INF) and ‘tato’ (*daddy*+INF) and *singular genitive (‘buta’* (shoe+INF), ‘*dzidzi’* (baby+INF) and ‘*taty’* (daddy+INF). Meanwhile, Polish children tend to start with the singular *accusative (which is missing from Sadie's data)*, followed by *vocative* and *genitive* (Zarębina 1965; Smoczyńska 1985) before they move on to plural markings. Atypical of other children is also the observation that in Sadie's acquisition, some nominative forms, such as *mama* (mummy), *tata* (daddy), and *but* (shoe), continue to be used along their newly emerging inflected variants. However, in the case of other nouns, the inflected variants completely replace the nominative forms, with the child ceasing to use them altogether which suggests certain ‘regression’ in acquisition. Among them are all the nouns Sadie can say in Polish which default to the –i marking, including *truskawki* (strawberry+INF), *babci* (nanny+INF), *kaczki* (duck+INF), *piłki* (ball+INF) and *dzidzi* (baby+INF). For example, the word *babcia (nanny)* emerged at 1;07.29 and was used in its nominative form until the emergence of its variant (*babci+INF)* at 1;11.10. Diary data show that at the time of emergence of the inflected form, both forms were used interchangeably for some time but then the –i form took over completely. Thereafter, whether asked to name a person (nominative), to say who is missing (genitive), or to indicate the recipient of action (dative), Sadie would always say ‘*babci’*(nanny+INF), as a default.

## 4.4 Sadie's Polish Inflections in the Light of Input: Case Frequencies

Data for Polish show that in maternal input the five most commonly used forms were: singular nominative (27% types, 44% tokens), singular accusative (24% types, 22% tokens), singular genitive (12% types, 7% tokens); plural nominative (9% types, 6% tokens) and plural genitive (4% types, 6% tokens). This corresponds with the child's productions only in that the most prevalent group in the input (singular nominative) is also the one to emerge first in acquisition. Despite high numbers of singular accusative inflections in the input and their early emergence in monolingual acquisition, there are no such markings whatsoever recorded in Sadie's data. Instead, less frequent singular genitive and plural nominative, or at least the –i marking often shared by them, is favoured from early on. Thus the number of nouns recorded in a particular case regardless of gender, does not appear to predict accurately the order of acquisition of individual cases. It is indeed more likely that faced with limited input in Polish, the child prefers to rely on more easily perceptible phonological contrasts rather abstract contrasts between individual cases. The question which now needs to be addressed is whether the –i marking, the first sign of inflection among Sadie's feminine nouns, has the highest type frequency in the child's input, as precisely such frequency is expected to facilitate the emergence of grammar (Bybee 2001).

## 4.5 The Type Frequency of the –i marking

Maternal input data show that the –i marking was heard only on 10% of all noun types and 13% of all feminine noun types. By far the most commonly heard marking within the group of feminine nouns was the singular accusative–ę: it was heard on 30% noun types which is more frequent than the singular nominative –a (26%). Thus if type frequency were a factor, singular accusative forms should have emerged before the –i marked forms. However, a closer look at the data shows that individual token frequencies of the nouns from the feminine 'gang' could potentially explain the salience of the –i marking. Although words *truskawka* [strawberry] as well as *piłka* [ball] are altogether missing from maternal input captured on video, the –i marking on all the remaining words from the group is the most frequent marking heard after the nominative: e.g. *kaczka* [duck] was heard eight times while *kaczki* [duck+INF] four times, *babcia* [nannie] was heard 32 times while *babci* [nannie+INF] 14 times, and *dzidzia* [baby] was heard 14 times while *dzidzi* [baby+INF] only three times in the input. Considering the striking similarity of the error patterns, as well as their affiliation with a particular 'gang' of feminine nouns, it could be argued that Sadie learnt through *analogy* as all the words she attempted in the inflected forms were uttered relatively close together and at a time of intensive

**Table 4** The proportions of case markings that the actual nouns from the input can take and an example of how –i overlaps across contexts of use on the noun kaczka (duck)

| **Feminine nouns** | **Case markings** | **Singular** | **Plural** | **Total in number and % of all markings** | | **Singular** | **Plural** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | Nominative | Kaczka | Kaczki |
| | –i | 124 | 194 | 318 (16%) | Genitive | Kaczki | Kaczek |
| | –e | 218 | 88 | 306 (14%) | Dative | Kaczce | Kaczkom |
| | –y | 85 | 158 | 243 (12%) | Accusative | Kaczkę | Kaczki |
| | –ą | 140 | 0 | 140 (5%) | Instrumental | Kaczką | Kaczkami |
| | –ę | 136 | 0 | 136 (5%) | Locative | Kaczce | Kaczkach |
| | –o | 130 | 0 | 130 (5%) | Vocative | Kaczko | Kaczki |

exposure to Polish language which would have increased the salience of the relevant word forms. She produced the word *truskawki* [strawberry+INF] for the first time at 1;11.05 which was followed by the use of the word *babci* [nannie+INF] at 1;11.10, and the word *kaczki* at 1;11.13 [duck+INF], all during the holiday in Poland.

It is also possible that the salience of the –i marking was reinforced by its grammatical versatility. When the frequency of the –i marking is considered from the point of view of distribution on all nouns that the child heard, the –i marking is indeed the one to overlap the most with 16% capacity to support a range of grammatical contexts (see Table 4). This is the greatest capacity among all the markings on the most commonly heard feminine nouns and marginally higher than the –i marking on masculine nouns (15%), the second most prevalent group in the input. Following type frequency in the acquisition of grammar is a sophisticated strategy: as overlapping markings have a greater potential to apply to various grammatical contexts, they give the child a greater chance of being understood. While it is impossible to say with any certainty how the child would realise that the same form has similar functions, and is therefore more 'useful' than others, this realisation must have its origins in situations where the same form is used to denote strikingly different entities. For example, at 2;01.02 Sadie's mother was recorded on video as saying '*szukasz drugiej kaczki?*' [are you looking for another duck?] where the word *kaczki* [duck+INF] was used to refer to a single entity in a genitive context and then she said '*to są dwie kaczki*' [these are two ducks] where the same word form denoted a plural entity. While learning though analogy seems to provide a sufficient explanation for the acquisition of these first inflected forms, I argue that the salience of the same word forms used close together to refer to contrastive functions could have helped in the early acquisition of these particular inflections. The attractiveness of such overlapping or so-called 'promiscuous' forms has also been documented with reference to children making pronoun case errors, in particular overgeneralising 'me' as in 'Me do it!' (Tanz 1974). It was suggested that 'me' occurs in a wider range of constructions including direct object, the object of a preposition, as the answer to questions, etc., which means children overgeneralise it more readily than the 'I' which is restricted to nominative contexts (Tanz 1974).

### *4.6 Why Does the –i Marking Push Out the Selected Nominative Forms?*

One last question is why the –i marking came to replace the singular nominative case: was this a case of unlearning? Sadie's data show that the default nominative forms were initially used across all grammatical contexts rather than being applied correctly and consistently to relevant nominative contexts so the constructivist claims of unlearning remain unjustified. Although regression remains a possibility in acquisition, in this particular case it is more likely that Sadie's language use reflects a shift from learning through imitation towards being able to manipulate various grammatical aspects, such as number, gender and case, allowing comparisons between individual words as well as whole word groups. Earlier models of language acquisition have explained this apparent 'regression' in acquisition in terms of disparity between the linguistic behaviour and the actual linguistic competence. Karmiloff-Smith refers to it as '*behavioural regression'* and attributes it to *representational progression*, arguing that it provides a clue to reorganisation of the stored representations (1985). This view could help to explain that in Sadie's acquisition, the apparent 'unlearning' of the nominative forms might have been simply a sign of coming to terms with complex input.

## 5 Conclusions

Overall, Sadie's acquisition of nominal inflection is consistent with the predictions of RCG in that the emerging pattern-finding skills do indeed appear to be language specific from the outset. However, while the concept of frequency is accurate in predicting language outcomes, its realisation is different in the case of two languages which are typologically different. In the case of English, nominal markings emerge in the order predicted by the frequencies of morphological groups in the input, with the bare forms followed by the plural default and then singular genitive, and the plural genitive absent from the input as well as the output captured in the recordings. However, as the three emergent markings present no phonological contrasts, it is argued that their order of emergence is governed purely by their functionality in English language. In the case of Polish, Sadie's minority language, the concept of frequency has altogether different implications for the acquisition of inflection. Although Sadie acquires first the singular nominative markings which occur on the highest number of noun tokens, this strategy is disregarded when she is faced with a more complex system of inflection. From there on, the child starts to draw analogies between noun exemplars characterised by more easily perceptible phonological differences rather than abstract differences between individual cases. Also, she appears sensitive to the exceptional functional capacity of the –i marking. In fact, the –i marking is so attractive that it starts being overgeneralised across all grammatical contexts for the relevant nouns. This is explained not in terms of

regression but instead in terms of the child's developing ability to manipulate multiple aspects of the language used.

Findings from this study, albeit limited to a single case, help to understand why the notion of frequency cannot always be interpreted (a) in the same way for different types of languages, especially if they do not occupy comparable space in the input, and (b) in the same way at different stages of acquisition. It would appear that grammatical acquisition depends on contrasts available in the given language, which calls for a more dynamic approach to frequency as a factor facilitating language development.

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# A Sociolinguistic Perspective of Codeswitching in French as a Foreign Language Class in Malta and its Implications for Learning


**Anne-Marie Bezzina and Joanne Gauci**

**Abstract** Codeswitching (CS) between Maltese L1, English L2 and French as the target language (TL) in the French as a Foreign language (FFL) classroom in bilingual Malta is known to be a widespread reality, despite many French teachers' claims that ideally lessons should be delivered in French only (Bezzina, Malta Rev Educ Res 10:277–296, 2016). The aim of this study is to evaluate, on the basis of corpus analysis, whether a wise use of previously known languages in the Foreign Language (FL) classroom can support the learning of the FL. Recordings of 16 FFL lessons delivered at two different learning levels by two teachers in Maltese secondary schools give indications as to the quantitative extent of the use of the L1, L2 and French L3 in these contexts. A qualitative analysis is carried out of the functions fulfilled in the teachers' discourse by each of the three languages involved in the Maltese FFL context. The corpus analysis takes into account the structural manifestation of language juxtaposition. Interviews with the two teachers involved in the sampling exercise provide participants' feedback on the analysis results. These results endorse literature attesting that L1 use in FL classrooms allows better content management and transmission, and helps establish a generally positive classroom ambiance. An interpretation is attempted of the social meaning of the observed switching in the context of the societal factors that mark language use in bilingual Malta, and the relationship between the macro- and micro-sociolinguistic dimensions of CS in the FL classroom is investigated.

**Keywords** Language alternation · Functions · Structure · Teacher talk · Dominant language · Social meaning

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## 1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the effects of codeswitching, or the to and fro movement between more than one language as a person draws on different resources present in his/her linguistic repertoire in order to make meaning of the world while communicating (Garcia 2011).The term codeswitching (CS) is adopted in this study as an umbrella term encompassing all instances of alternation between different languages (namely Maltese, English and French) within the same spoken interaction, whether these instances are intra-sentential or inter-sentential (within or beyond the boundaries of the same utterance), and irrespectively of whether they are limited to single lexical items or cover much broader stretches of speech.

One situation that alerted us to the need of looking at this phenomenon more closely is that students reading for a university course in preparation to become teachers of French as a Foreign Language (FFL) in Malta have expressed the difficulty they encounter when they have to decide whether they should elect French as the medium of instruction and expression in their classes, or whether they should allow the use of Maltese and English, as their learners' previously known languages, during their French lessons (Gauci 2016). It is true that mixed messages are transmitted to the student teachers by different examiners who assess them during the school-based teaching practice periods that they have to carry out in part fulfilment of their teacher training course. Some examiners expect to observe exclusive French-language communication in the lessons they assess, the rest demanding that student teachers codeswitch in such a way that their teaching can reach and be effective with learners of diverse ability. Maltese teachers of FFL responding to a questionnaire also manifest divergent perceptions on the subject (Bezzina 2016), some believing that the L1 should be avoided in order to maximise exposure to the target language (TL), and others upholding the view that alternating the TL and the L1 offers benefits in the FFL classroom on the practical, relational, attitudinal and academic levels.

The teachers' contrasting attitudes and the student teachers' perplexity stem from the existence of two distinct schools of thought on the subject of language distribution as medium of instruction in the teaching and learning of foreign languages. Moore (1996) affirms that studies related to the influence of the L1 on L2 learning generally led to the consideration that in order to avoid the parasitic appearance of L1 traits in learners' L2 performance, the L1 needed to be totally barred from L2 classes. For some, resorting to the L1 in the foreign language (FL) class is taboo, and they view mixed language productions extremely negatively, as an indication of a lack of spoken competence (Thompson and Harrison 2014). However, already in 1996, Moore attests an evolution towards more flexibility on the subject, and since, much research has been conducted with results showing that a wise use of the L1 can prove useful in several ways in the flow of FL classroom interaction and in the imparting, reception and understanding of FL content (Causa 1996, 1998; Greggio and Gil 2007; Ahmad 2009; Lee and Macaro 2013; Camilleri Grima and Caruana 2016). Specifically for French as TL, a number of studies have also shown

how resorting to the L1 can boost learning and communication and improve classroom control and relationships (Moore 1996, 2002; Castellotti 2001; Ehrhart 2002; Molander 2004; Maarfia 2008; Yiboe 2010; Soku 2014).

In the light of the lack of consensus on the usefulness of CS in the FFL teaching and learning context in Malta, the present study aims to provide indications based on data, as to the benefits, or otherwise, of L1 presence in Maltese FFL classes. The study is carried out by means of a quantitative exercise flanked by a qualitative analysis of a corpus built upon transcriptions of sixteen 40-min lessons delivered by two teachers in two different Maltese secondary schools (Gauci 2016), which will be referred to henceforth as the Gauci corpus. Before proceeding to a theoretical review of some literature on the question of language use in FL teaching in Malta, and to the empirical study focusing on French, a brief description will be provided of the context of the teaching of FFL in Malta.

## 2 French as a School Subject Against the Backdrop of Bilingual Malta

The National Curriculum Framework (NCF) issued by the Ministry of Education and Employment in 2012, states that all Maltese formal school learners are entitled to learning at least one FL. This normally happens as from the age of 11, when learners move on into secondary school. Prior to starting this five-year secondary cycle, they are asked to choose one FL to study. The Maltese island's proximity to Italy, having led to historical and cultural ties with the Italian language, is the reason which explains why Italian is by far the most popular language (Caruana 2012). French is traditionally the second most widely chosen FL, though for various reasons, it is fast losing ground to other languages, especially Spanish and German (Bezzina 2016).

In Malta, Maltese is the national language, and an official language along with English. Bilingualism characterises the Maltese educational context, with the majority of learners speaking Maltese as a first language and having learnt English as from the start of primary school, and sometimes earlier than that, through prior exposure to the language in the family setting. English is the first language of a minority of Maltese individuals. Most children belonging to this demographic category go to private, fee-paying schools (around 10% of children) where the dominant language of instruction and communication is English. Verbal interaction in Maltese and CS dominate in State school contexts (slightly more than 50% of children). The two schools involved in this study belong to the educational category which is referred to as "Church schools" in Malta (Catholic schools catering for around 40% of Maltese children, heavily subsidised by State funding), where most, but not all, learners speak Maltese as L1. Due to this linguistic situation, in the presentation of the empirical study, L1 will refer to Maltese, L2 to English, and L3 to French as TL. The mixed use of Maltese and English in education has been the

subject of a number of studies, some of which we shall briefly review, although we will be focusing on studies related to FL teaching in Malta. CS behaviour in the FL classroom therefore already has bilingualism as a generalized backdrop in the Maltese context and the mixed use of different languages may at first glance appear to be simply a natural extension into the classroom of CS habits which are more or less shared by all Maltese speakers in their daily interaction in "Maltese" (Busuttil Bezzina 2013; Caruana and Camilleri Grima 2014): even while thinking they are speaking in the national language, Maltese individuals spontaneously codeswitch with English to a greater or lesser degree.

For many persons, this linguistic behaviour is natural, as speakers instinctively draw on elements deriving from the languages in their repertoire, even as they keep Maltese as their basic code. The following example, taken from the Busuttil Bezzina (2013) corpus, targeting stylistic variation in Malta, illustrates this spontaneous and uninhibited language alternation. In the example, a former Deputy Prime Minister (L1) is informally taking stock of his 'to do' list with his close assistant as they discuss the imminent visit of a foreign dignitary while they round off a day's work:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1) L1: pero' da= ifħimni / jien l-importanti huwa / illi nagħtuh is-*security* li hemm bżonn / mingħajr ma jkollna *fortress mentality* =ġifieri li Madonna santammen se joqtluhulna<br>*DEPUTY PM: ASSISTANT* | L1: but about this listen here / what is important for me is that / we provide him with the necessary *security* / without having a *fortress mentality* which means that for heaven's sake they're going to kill him here |

In many cases, however, CS can be rather voluntary, as speakers resort to the language of prestige in order to show off their level of education and/or their real or aspired high(er) social status; in the latter case CS may appear to be tinged with affectation. Thus in the Busuttil Bezzina corpus (2013), an assistant pharmacist (L2) recorded as speaking mostly Maltese in informal conversation with family members, is also recorded as linguistically trying to keep up appearances through CS when discussing business with an English-dominant speaker (L1) who co-owns an important financial agency. At one point when she realizes she has uttered a phrase in Maltese, she quickly repeats it in English (*my mother* tieħu nofs / *my mother takes half*):

| | |
|---|---|
| 2) L1) [...] da= kien / *three five nine four* il-*holding* kien / *so if it was split up between how much four?* | 3) L1: [...] this one was / *three five nine four* the *holding* was / *so if it was split up between how much four?* |
| L2: *four* / *and my mother* | L2: *four* / *and my mother* |
| L1: *and my mother* / eħe [...] *five* / i- i- imma l-*mother* użufruttwarja? | L1: *and my mother* / right [...] *five* / bu- bu- but the *mother* is she a usufructuary? |
| L2: *my mother* tieħu nofs / *my mother takes half* | L2: *my mother* takes half / *my mother takes half* |
| L1: in-nofs | L1:the half |
| L2: u aħna *the other half we divide in four* | L2: and us *the other half we divide in four* |
| *ASSISTANT PHARMACIST: FINANCIAL AGENT* | |

Although Maltese enjoys an institutionally strong position, being the language of Parliament, the Law Courts, the Church, and the privileged language of the public sector, English is the privileged language in the educational system. It is the language of the University and is the intended medium of instruction and evaluation of most subjects like Mathematics, the Sciences, Geography, Accounting, Economics, etc. The larger, more important private companies' records, annual general meetings, and most internal written communication are held in English. The English-speaking minority of the population is mostly made up of members or aspiring members of the elite, for reasons of upbringing but also due to a wish to demarcate oneself from the rest of the 'common' section of the population (Busuttil Bezzina 2013).

Attitudes towards language use are divergent across factions of the Maltese population. A section of the English-speaking population looks down upon the larger Maltese-dominant community. Inversely, speakers with stronger feelings of loyalty and patriotism towards Maltese as the national language view the English-speaking minority as a snobbish, disloyal group. In popular culture, a pervasive judgment persists of CS as a highly stigmatised form of speech, and of codeswitching individuals as incompetent speakers in any language. Thus Diacono's prescriptive *Għeltijiet u Barbariżmi fil-Malti* (1977) describes the "invasion" of Maltese by Anglicisms as a "national shame", a "threat" and an "illness" and stresses the need to "purify journalistic and popular Maltese vocabulary" (my translation). Questioned about their views on the common practice of alternating Maltese and English in the same sentence in a questionnaire (Busuttil Bezzina 2013), around 40% of the Maltese adult respondent sample qualify such speakers as snobbish, 17.5% as impudent, 10% as ignorant, 16.3% as ridiculous and 5.6% as lacking knowledge of how to speak well.

The question thus arises of the extent to which this sociolinguistic dimension of CS can be found to mark the FL classroom, if at all. What happens when spoken communication becomes taxed with the added complication of a third language? What functions does CS serve in the Maltese FFL classroom? How far can these micro-level functions of CS be interpreted as integrated within, or even reflecting, macro-level societal patterns? In other words, do code choices in the FL classroom stem from larger, stable, societal perceptions of the values associated with specific languages used in the Maltese community? This discussion will thus try to 'capture [the] link between macro- and micro-level factors in [the] interpretation of CS utterances' (Boztepe 2003, p. 13).

## 3 Studies on CS in Maltese FL Lessons

Camilleri Grima has written extensively on the subject of bilingualism in Maltese education and on CS. A number of Camilleri Grima's works (1995, 2001, 2003) illustrate, through the analysis of different corpora collected from Maltese classrooms, how lessons are accomplished bilingually. For those subjects where English is the intended formal medium of instruction, in most Maltese school contexts

"there is continual interaction between the written text in English as the basic point of reference, and the oral discussion in Maltese (with codeswitching) [through which] participants reason out problems for themselves, and find their ways to the solutions required" (2013, p. 4). Through a review of some studies (Sollars 1988; Ventura 1991; Farrell and Ventura 1998; Farrugia 2009) focusing on the Maltese bilingual classroom mostly for scientific subjects where the formally intended medium is English, Camilleri Grima (2013) shows that there is a clear orientation in the significance of their results: resorting to Maltese alleviates difficulties of understanding, readability, and written performance, especially in the case of lower achieving students. On the contrary, imposing an English-only policy equates to silencing the students, who refrain from expressing their needs.

More recently, Maltese researchers have tackled the question of the bilingual FL classroom in Malta. Some draw on Gauci's corpus built in 2011 using interaction recorded during Italian lessons. Gauci and Camilleri Grima (2012, p. 2) observe that CS and the use of the L1 serve as "an important 'adjustment' for understanding to be achieved", whilst enabling participants to "accomplish other important social and discourse functions". CS is seen as fulfilling the three functions in the classification proposed by Cazden (1988). It is thus used to teach the language as subject-matter, as when the teacher repeats the explanation in the L1 to clarify a grammatical rule previously explained in Italian or to make the learners fully understand her instructions. It plays a role in managing the flow of social interaction: Maltese is used to elicit or acknowledge a response and to show the teacher's irritation with certain behaviour. Thirdly, the L1 is the language of personal identity, allowing speakers to express their feelings and attitudes. For instance, a teacher reverts to Maltese while he describes traits in his character which explain his reactions to learners' behaviour. The study includes interviews with six teachers of Italian, most of whom mention the benefits of CS in instilling motivation, building rapport, explaining grammar and instructions, and reaching out to weaker learners.

Caruana and Camilleri Grima (2014) observe that language contact in the Italian classroom stimulates participation in discussions, as both teacher and learners constantly alternate between the L1 and the TL, and weaker learners also get involved. Metalinguistic talk in the L1 renders grammatical notions understandable to learners. Classroom management appears to be effective when undertaken in the L1, for instance in dealing with unruly behaviour. The L1 also plays a role in interlinguistic comparisons for a better assimilation of TL vocabulary, as lexically and morphologically many Maltese words are cognates from Italian terms. Camilleri Grima and Caruana (2016) examine, through a conversation analysis at the level of speech acts accomplished in the TL and/or in the L1, how teacher-learner interaction in a whole-class activity leads to approximation to the TL and thus to effective learning. An unfortunate observation is that teachers consistently direct closed questions at their learners, such that the latter group can often only produce one- to three-word answers and does not find space to practise longer stretches in the TL. Patterns are also observed in the relationship between specific speech acts and language distribution: for instance, elicitation and informative acts are more often produced in

Italian, though Maltese or a mixture of both languages are also at times used for these communicative purposes. A balance appeared in the use of Italian and Maltese for accomplishing directives, those in Italian being activity-related and those in Maltese aimed at class control. CS is seen to help lead to approximations of grammar rules and is the means through which informal talk is conducted.

To our knowledge, no studies have as yet been published on the subject of classroom language use in the area of the teaching of Spanish in Malta, although one such study is in progress (Dalli forthcoming). Aquilina (2012) investigates the languages used in a number of observed lessons of German as a FL in two Maltese Church schools, delivered by a native and a non-native teacher. She reviews literature which views resorting to the L1 in the FL classroom as both a positive and a negative practice, and most learners in her questionnaire disagree with the idea of exclusive German communication in lessons. However, her conclusions show that she concords with the explicit directive in the *Handbook for the Teaching of German as a Foreign Language* (2011) of the Directorate for Quality and Standards in Education, that the medium of instruction when teaching German should be the TL itself, and that switching to Maltese and English during lessons should be minimal and justified: "[t]he researcher believes that if […] teachers reflect more on their language choices, they would resort less to English and Maltese. For many FL students, the classroom is [perhaps] the single environment, where they can listen [to] and practise the language as target" (2012, p. 70). Aquilina observes that German is mostly used in relation to the topic of the lesson while Maltese and English are used by both teachers and learners in most classroom situations and interactions. She finds that there is a reasonable input in German in teacher-learner talk, but German use is minimal in learner-teacher and learner-learner interaction.

More specifically for French, Abela (2011) acknowledges that the classical concept of immersion or exclusive TL use has in many contexts given way to practices based on the maximization of pupils' previous knowledge. Nevertheless, for her empirical research, she proposes, for an eight-lesson session, a convention imbued with TL-only qualities to a selected class, determining which language can be spoken in which lesson type or situation. As for the German scenario, Abela claims that for French "[i]nstitutionally there is still insistence that French should be used […] so that students will be able to communicate in French" (2011, p. 88). In reality, official texts issued by the Directorate for Quality and Standards in Education and the Curriculum Management and eLearning Department, such as the *Handbook for the Teaching of French as a Foreign Language* (2012b) and the *French as a Foreign Language: Teaching Objectives and Learning Outcomes* for Forms 1 and 2 (2012a) are silent on the matter. One does find, however, in the obsolete syllabus for Forms 3–5, which is the curriculum available for these school years, dating from 2001 to 2002, a statement that it is imperative that the teacher of French should want and be able to speak fluently in the TL in class (*Programmes de français* 2001–2002+). Pressure to conform to this seems to still be tacitly present as many teachers feel guilty when resorting to the L1 in the FFL class (Bezzina 2016 and personal communications).

Abela (2011) feels that "there seems to be a certain complacency about the use of languages in classes, so students do not make the effort to move out of their comfort zone" (Ibid.). Students' journals and questionnaire answers in fact reveal that the negotiation of a TL-only method between the researcher and themselves did not work as they did not welcome more talk in the TL. Their regular class teacher's method of free drawing upon the L1 gives them more security. Conclusions from Abela's questionnaire and her focus group for teachers of FFL show that most teachers feel it is important not to exclude the L1 from their lessons as this may further discourage learners from studying French.

As mentioned above, in Bezzina (2016), results of a questionnaire administered to Maltese FFL teachers, specifically seeking to unravel teachers' perceptions on the use of CS, show that a significant number of them are still influenced by a direct method teaching ideology advocating exclusive TL use for the sake of exposing the learners to it and to avoid laziness. Surprisingly though, the majority of teachers appear to have moved away from this view and express awareness of the benefits that CS may offer. The main justifications they provide for this are a concern for the learners' well-being, as CS is believed to instil motivation and confidence in them, and for the quality of learning, based on the belief that CS helps learners understand better and faster, and participate actively. Other reasons mentioned are that it helps teachers reach out to learners of different ability, allowing the latter to exploit all their linguistic baggage, and that it enhances classroom management and relationships. In Bezzina (2017), observations of two Maltese FFL teachers' verbal practices (as in the Gauci 2016 corpus) are generally in line with what teachers expressed about the usefulness of CS in the above-mentioned questionnaire, as reported in Bezzina (2016). A categorisation of examples of CS excerpts reveals a structural mix of smooth bilingual discourse along with explicit and non-explicit translation (see Sect. 4.2). As Camilleri Grima and Caruana (2016) observed for Italian, it is evident for French also that learner talk is hardly encouraged in any language, as teachers' questions tend to be closed. The TL appears to be largely underused in the FFL classroom.

Given these observations in the Maltese FL teaching context, we will now further investigate the medium of instruction issue in the Maltese FFL setting, basing ourselves on a detailed study carried out by Gauci (2016).

## 4 The Research Study

Gauci (2016) set out to research whether the disputed and sometimes hushed down practice of CS is in reality well present in Maltese classrooms; researchers do state that it is difficult to bar it from FL classrooms (Levine 2011), and this would apply all the more to the case of Malta where CS is, as explained above, a most natural type of linguistic behaviour in everyday conversation. The study also aims to investigate which functions the L1 (Maltese), L2 (English) and L3 (French as TL) are made to fulfil by the teachers and the learners.

For these purposes, in 2015 Gauci recorded a total of 16 lessons, of which half were delivered by a teacher in a girls' Church school, and half by a teacher in a boys' Church school. Maltese Church schools in fact have a separate gender policy at secondary level. Gauci's locations of recordings depended on teachers' acceptance and gender is not exploited as a possible variable in this study. The two teachers and their learners were audio-recorded in Form 1 (A1 beginner level) and Form 3 (A1+ level) classrooms. Two teachers who taught at both Form 1 and Form 3 levels were needed, to allow comparisons between language use at both levels. This was important to maintain result authenticity: Greggio and Gil (2007) have too many variables in their attempt to compare language use at two different levels, using different teachers.

No specific requests were made to the teachers, apart from that they were to conduct their lessons as usual. The researcher tried not to influence the natural course of the lessons; she sat at the back and did not interfere in any way. It was explained to the learners that she was observing and audio-recording the lessons and that any data, including the name of the school and teacher, would remain anonymous. They soon got used to her presence and ignored her. As a precaution however, the first lesson in both schools was not used for the analysis. The researcher kept a journal, to help her while effecting and interpreting the transcriptions of the recordings. An interview with each teacher was held following the recordings, in which they could interpret the language distribution patterns observed in their class. Ethical procedures were observed.

The qualitative analysis of the functions of CS was carried out on eight transcribed lessons, and focused on the functions of CS instances. The quantitative analysis related to the amount of teacher talk vis-à-vis learner talk (and in which language these are conducted) was carried out on twelve transcribed lessons, and involved percentage calculations of data in Excel spreadsheets and a number of tables. A combined approach to the study of language alternation was adopted, following what Boztepe calls 'two distinct but related directions', or two 'approaches […] not in contradiction, but complementary to each other' (2003, p. 3): the specific functions fulfilled by CS are pointed out at the same time as a description is made of the CS structures, according to the classifications in Causa (1996) and Camilleri Grima (2013).

## *4.1 Teacher and Learner Talk and the Weight of Codeswitching*

Word-count percentages taking into account averages of twelve lessons (six at Form 1 beginner level, six at Form 3 A1+level) reveal that the two recorded teachers use the L1 (Maltese) more than the TL as language of instruction, at both Form 1 and Form 3 levels. The significant gap between the two languages at Form 1 level (36% French vs. 56% Maltese) narrows down at Form 3 level (43% French, 47% Maltese).

**Table 1** Number of words pronounced by the teachers at the two different learning levels and percentage calculations

| **Teachers (Form 1, beginner)** | **French** | **Maltese** | **English** | **Total number of words** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Total** | 1468 (36%) | 2255 (56%) | 341 (8%) | 4064 (83%) |
| **Teachers (Form 3, A1+)** | **French** | **Maltese** | **English** | **Total number of words** |
| **Total** | 2210 (43%) | 2405 (47%) | 524 (10%) | 5139 (86%) |

**Table 2** Number of words pronounced by the learners at the two different learning levels and percentage calculations

| **Learners (Form 1, beginner)** | **French** | **Maltese** | **English** | **Total number of words** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Total** | 271 (32%) | 423 (50%) | 157 (18%) | 851 (17%) |
| **Learners (Form 3, A1+)** | **French** | **Maltese** | **English** | **Total number of words** |
| **Total** | 485 (56%) | 260 (30%) | 119 (14%) | 864 (14%) |

One reason for this could be that teachers feel that learners at their third year of studies of the TL can understand them better, so that it is more fruitful to use French at this level (Table 1).

At Form 1 beginner level, students emulate their teachers' language distribution habits, with French featuring at 32% of their speech, and Maltese surpassing it at the 50% mark. Form 3 learners however overrule this pattern, with the TL accounting for 56% of their speech, and Maltese lagging behind at 30%. Form 3 learners' spoken competence therefore seems to have developed as the learners seem to find it easier than beginners to verbally contribute in the TL (Table 2).

One also needs to bear in mind that the percentage of TL use also includes instances of brief reading of words and expressions from textbooks, so that if spontaneous discourse in French were to be exclusively considered, the percentages relating to TL use would actually be smaller. Example 3 illustrates how of the 15 words pronounced by the teacher in French in this excerpt, the first nine are read from the textbook:

| | |
|---|---|
| 3) T: **exercice N /** l-istess **/ devinez le personnage //** x'inhu **saut à l'élastique** ? / mhm ? **/ c'est un type de sport**<br>*- FORM 3, GIRLS* | **exercise N /** once again **/ guess who //** what is **saut à l'élastique** [bungee jumping]? / mhm? **/ it's a type of sport** |

English features at 8% of language use by teachers at Form 1 and at 10% at Form 3 levels, and slightly higher in learner talk (18% in beginners' speech, and 14% in Form 3 learners' speech). It echoes the fact that this language occupies a privileged position in the educational sector in Malta, since use of the L2 is very often observed to happen when referring to objects and activities typically linked with the school context, such as "diary", "notes", "classwork", "test", "postcard", "positive report"

and "lesson's objective". Examples 4–7 illustrate how English terms are inserted into stretches of speech otherwise realized in Maltese:

| | |
|---|---|
| 4) T: f'dan il-*unit* se nagħmlu l-arloġġ - *FORM 1, GIRLS* | in this *unit* we are going to cover saying the time |

| | |
|---|---|
| 5) T: il-ġimgħa d-dieħla se nitilfu l-*lesson* allura l-*homework* għall-ġimgħa ta' wara se jkun – *FORM 1, GIRLS* | next week we'll be missing the *lesson* so the *homework* will be for the following week |

| | |
|---|---|
| 6) L1: *miss* jien *number three* għamiltha **c'est votre prof** – *FORM 3, GIRLS* | *miss* me *number three* I did it **c'est votre prof**[it's your teacher] |

The corpus is also dotted with the occurrence of English words, expressions and numbers, which are commonly used as such in Maltese, like "as we go along", "trick", and "happy birthday". Furthermore, another important function played by the L2 is the expression of technical terms in metalinguistic speech, another sign of the association between English and scholarly activity. Examples 7 and 8 illustrate this happening in the teacher's speech, and example 9 shows one occurrence in learner discourse:

| | |
|---|---|
| 7) T: għalhekk ngħidilkom tgħallmuha bl-*article* il-kelma ħalli tkunu tafu hiex *masculine* jew *feminine – FORM 1, BOYS* | that's why I tell you to learn each word with the *article* so you'll know if it is *masculine* or *feminine* |

| | |
|---|---|
| 8) T: **à** *preposition* / ġieli tfisser *at* / ġieli *to* / ġieli *in – FORM 1, BOYS* | **à** is a *preposition*/ sometimes it means *at* / sometimes *to* / sometimes *in* |

| | |
|---|---|
| 9) L2: *miss* jiġifieri **marron** tintuża aktar għax-xagħar bħala *adjective*? - *FORM 3, BOYS* | *miss* you mean **marron** is used more for hair as an *adjective*? |

We have so far seen percentages pertaining to the three languages present in Maltese FFL lessons. Although percentages of overall teacher and learner talk do not at first sight strictly have close affinities with the question of CS, it is worth mentioning them briefly as they may provide clues for our discussion, in which we will try and understand why certain patterns emerge in this analysis of results. At this stage it will be sufficient to point out the huge discrepancy between average percentages of teacher and learner talk. Thus, at Form 1 level, teachers hold the floor 83% of the time, and learners have to make do with the remaining 17% of class talk. At Form 3 level, even more time (86%) is occupied by teacher talk, as opposed to the learners' meagre 14%.

## *4.2 Main Functions Served by CS*

A qualitative review of some of the functions which often appear to characterize the use of CS will help to understand why the teacher resorts to the constant movement between languages. For reasons of space, only instances of teacher talk can be retained here, though it must be kept in mind that the teacher's choice of language will at times have been influenced by the learners' prior choice of language in moments of interaction.

For purposes of structural description of the excerpts hereunder, the switching instances retained for illustration of the main uses of CS will be divided into two main categories: explicit and non-explicit switching (Camilleri Grima 2013). Explicit translation occurs in those instances where an idea is produced in one language and repeated in another, often, but not necessarily, with formal markers attracting attention to the switch. Non-explicit translation involves a reiteration of an idea, with modifications to the content uttered as the speaker passes from one language to another.

Apart from these two categories, we will also take into account a number of subcategories as listed and described in Causa (1996). Causa distinguishes between pure code-switching ("l'alternance codique pure" in Causa's original text), which is the passage from one language to another without any particular intonational or declarative shifts, and bilingual speech ("le parler bilingue") in which exclamations and discourse markers are produced in a language different from that of the main utterance. These often serve to express positive evaluation, or for the opening and closure of a sequence (Idem.). Explicit switching corresponds to repetitions ("les répétitions") which aid memorisation by an association of the TL term or expression with an L1 equivalent. Reformulations ("les reformulations") are contiguous expressions of a notion in which one or several elements are modified. Completions ("les achèvements") normally occur after a pause or hesitation, when the speaker moves on to the other language without having finished his utterance in the first language, and finally, interpolated clauses ("les incises") are strictly metalinguistic comments, or stem from a more natural interactional pattern (Idem.)

Non-explicit switching is often resorted to by the teacher for class control purposes. In the following two examples, an instruction utterance addressed to the whole class (ex. 10) and a content control question addressed to a particular student (ex. 11) in the TL are followed by utterances in the L1, constituting instances of pure CS. These utterances are an order to a particular student (ex. 11) and an order disguised by a question (ex. 10), by which the teacher wants to effectively reestablish order in class:

| | |
|---|---|
| 10) T: **trouvez la méthode // page six /** lesti hemm wara? – *FORM 3, GIRLS* | **find your textbook // page six /** are you ready at the back? |

| | |
|---|---|
| 11) T: Samuel **qu'est-ce que tu as entendu? /** bilqiegħda sew ejja – *FORM 3, BOYS* | Samuel **what have you heard? /** come on sit down properly |

In example 12 it can be observed that when the teacher is not after correcting behaviour but after making her learners focus on the French content, the switch follows the opposite direction: L1 > TL. The type of switch is structurally still an instance of pure non-explicit CS:

| | |
|---|---|
| 12) T: mela *hands down* kulħadd għandu l-karta tal-bieraħ? / **faites attention s'il vous plaît** – *FORM 3, BOYS* | so *hands down* does everyone have yesterday's sheet? / **pay attention please** |

The last example retained to illustrate CS for class control is structurally different though, the explicit repetition of the order (TL > L2) serving to strengthen the illocutionary force of the teacher's request for quiet:

| | |
|---|---|
| 13) T: **alors silence** / *no more comments please – FORM 3, BOYS* | **so silence** / *no more comments please* |

A second important use of CS is for content (ex. 14) and lesson sequencing (ex. 15) management. It is interesting to note a profusion of discourse markers in these instances, of which two examples are retained here. In example 14, where the completion type switch is of an explicit nature, the first occurrence of the discourse marker "issa" (now) marks a development with some shift in the orientation of the teacher's argumentation, while the second occurrence is a preannouncement of the teacher's development of the point through her example of the preposition and article being used in context.

| | |
|---|---|
| 14) T: issa / meta jkollok il-**préposition à** u l-**article féminin / la** se tiġi **à la** issa bħal per eżempju **à la campagne** - *FORM 1, BOYS* | now/when you have the **preposition à** and the **feminine article / la** it becomes **à la** now like for example **à la campagne** [in the country] |

In example 15, the final part is a reformulation-type switch with very little modification of the original French statement. The French discourse marker "maintenant" is used as a link between the current and previous lesson, stressing that what will follow is a natural development. In the Maltese reformulation the discourse marker "jiġifieri" is preferred, with the teacher showing her will to reassure and be understood by her students as she translates the aim of the sequence to them.

| | |
|---|---|
| 15) T: u lbieraħ / **hier / on a discuté les prépositions** bil-**à** hux vera ? / u għidna li dawn irridu nitgħallmuhom bħala *expressions as they are* / **maintenant on va conjuguer les deux ensemble** / jiġifieri se ngħaqqduhom ma' xulxin – *FORM 1, BOYS* | and yesterday / **yesterday / we discussed the prepositions** with **à** right? / and we said that we need to learn them as *expressions as they are* / **now we are going to conjugate the two together** / which means we are going to join them together |

A third use of CS is for the evaluation of learners' answers or interventions. Evaluation is at times produced in the TL (ex. 16, first part of ex. 18), at other times

in the L1 (exs. 17 and 18), and more rarely in the L2. These examples are mostly instances of non-explicit CS related to Causa's bilingual speech type: the teacher switches languages, producing the central part of the utterance in one language and the word of praise in another. The positive evaluation may be repeated through different words of praise, for more effect, as in ex. 17, whereas the negative evaluation in ex. 16 is toned down:

| 16) T: **à le** teżisti ħdejn xulxin? | T: does **à le** [to the] exist near each other? |
|---|---|
| L3: le | L3: no |
| T: **bravo /** u x'ngħidu minflokha? *FORM 1, BOYS* | T: **well done /** and what do we say instead? |

| 17) T: **arrête** huwa *er verb* **/** mela biex ħa jispiċċa? | T: **arrête** is an *er verb* **/** so with what will it end? |
|---|---|
| L4: bil-*e* | L4: with an *e* |
| T: bil-*e* tajjeb **/** mela **la montre arrête /** prosit – *FORM 1, GIRLS* | T: with an *e* good **/** so **the watch stops /** good job |

| 18) T: **très bien / qu'est-ce que ça signifie l'Espagne ?** | T: **very well / what does it mean Spain?** |
|---|---|
| | L5: Spanish |
| L5: spanjol | T: not exactly though **/ espagnol** is Spanish |
| T: mhux eżatt imma **/ espagnol** Spanjol – *FORM 1, GIRLS* | |

CS also clearly plays a role in teachers' elicitation of learners' responses. It is interesting to note that as in examples 19 and 20, very often the elicitation ends in the learners' L1 or L2, which seems to act as a form of encouragement for the learners to participate; in fact, in example 19, long pauses are not filled by the learners as no learner is willing to speak until the teacher translates the question into English, thus showing she will equally accept an answer which is not in the TL:

| 19) T: **quelle heure est-il ? // quelle heure est-il ? // qu'est-ce que cette question signifie ?** /// *what does the question mean?* | T: **what time is it ? // what time is it? what does this question mean?** /// *what does the question mean?* |
|---|---|
| L6: *what time is it? – FORM 3, BOYS* | L6: *what time is it?* |

| 20) T: **il est trois heures et demie /** x'inhi **demie**? konna għamilnieha meta għamilna l-*age* | T: **it is half past three /** what is **[demie] half**? we had done it when we did the *age* |
|---|---|
| L7: nofs – *FORM 3, BOYS* | L7: half |

As was alluded to at the start of this section, answering learners' questions, almost invariably produced in the L1, often triggers teachers' reactions of resorting to the L1 or L2, with some reference to the TL when the focus of the exchange is a particular

word or expression. In example 21, the learner's explicit switch is replied to by the teacher's multiple non-explicit switching in an instance of pure metalinguistic CS:

| | |
|---|---|
| 21) L8: minflok **bruns** allura ma tistax tgħid **marron** / *brown*? | L8: so instead of **bruns** can't you say **marron** / for *brown*? |
| T: **marron** ukoll teżisti imma **bruns** tintuża aktar għax-xagħar bħala *adjective* - *FORM 3, BOYS* | T: **marron** exists as well but **bruns** is used more as an *adjective* for hair |

CS is often used to clarify a point in the course of an explanation, as in example 22, which concerns the complementary distribution of the verbs "aller" (to go) and "partir" (to leave). The metalinguistic role of English is once again shown, in the interpolated clause and in the term which is offered as its alternative:

| | |
|---|---|
| 22) T: dak li hu iktar ta' kuljum qishom / nużaw il-verb **aller** / il-verb **partir** / *it requires more length* qishom / jew *transport* warajhom – *FORM 1, BOYS* | T: for uses which are more common like / we use the verb **to go** / the verb **to leave** / *it requires more length* like / or *a means of transport* following them |

Related to this use is the role CS plays in the teacher's explanation when the aim is to solve a misunderstanding. In the next example, the repeated use of the Maltese verb "fisser" (to mean) renders the switches clearly explicit, whereas the English words reflect the habit of resorting to English for the scholarly practice of translation and for technical terms:

| | |
|---|---|
| 23) T: **montrer** tfisser *to show* u **montre** huwa *noun* u jfisser *watch* / imma għandek raġun għax jixxiebhu – *FORM 1, GIRLS* | T: **montrer** means *to show* and **montre** is a *noun* and it means *watch* / but you are right because they resemble each other |

Also closely related to the clarification function is teachers' use of CS for the purpose of checking learners' comprehension of their explanations or instructions. This function is also reminiscent of that of elicitation, as these examples often end with a question prompting the learners to confirm or show their understanding, as in this instance of non-explicit bilingual speech type switch, where the discourse marker "mela" is produced in Maltese, along with two other words which accompany it, the rest of the explanation having been communicated in the TL:

| | |
|---|---|
| 24) T: **ce sont les moyens de transport en général d'accord ? / mais il manque les articles / il faut ajouter les articles** / x'ħa nagħmlu mela? | T: **they are the different means of transport right? / but the articles are missing / we need to add the articles** / what are we going to do then? |
| L9: se jkollna l-verb **partir** u l-verb **aller** - *FORM 1, BOYS* | L9: we're going to have the verb **partir** and the verb **aller** |

For the sake of ensuring comprehension, complex instructions tend to be mostly delivered by the teachers through the use of the L1 and some inclusion of L2 terms:

| | |
|---|---|
| 25) T: mela għall-*fourth May* / se tagħmlu *postcard* intom / iktbuha fuq id-*diary* / mela **écoutez** / ħa nħallikom liberi / ħa tagħmluha kif tridu l-*postcard* / tista' tkun *postcard* ta' vera / tistgħu issibu stampa intom u tagħmluha forma ta' *postcard* / użaw li għandkom / m'hemmx għalfejn tmorru tixtru / tistgħu tagħmluha bil-kompjuter jew *laminated – FORM 1, BOYS* | T: so for the *fourth May* / you are going to make a *postcard* / write it on the *diary* / so **listen** / I'm leaving you free / you can do the *postcard* as you wish / it can be a real *postcard* / you can find a picture and make it into the form of a *postcard* / use what you have / there's no need to go and buy one / you can do it with your computer or *laminated* |

Time saving is another important function fulfilled by CS, as the next example, also involving instruction-giving, illustrates through an instance of non-explicit pure CS:

| | |
|---|---|
| 26) T: mela / ma tantx għad fadlilna ħin / ħa toqogħdu **en groupes de deux** jew **trois** / ħa taqbdu karta w tiktbu xi *points* *- FORM 3, GIRLS* | T: so / we don't have much time left / you're going to stay **in groups of two** or **three** / you're going to grab a paper and write some *points* |

Advice is also observed to be delivered in the learners' L1 and L2, the reason being the teachers' wish to build closeness, complicity and collaboration with the learners thanks to the whole group's shared languages:

| | |
|---|---|
| 27) T: oqogħdu attenti għall-*question words* ta / agħmlu *revision – FORM 3, GIRLS* | T: pay attention to the *question words* mind you / do some *revision* |

In this description of the functions related to language distribution patterns in the classrooms of two FFL teachers, examples from learner talk are very limited. The description is thus partial, yet it can be stated that similar structural patterns of movement from one language to another can be observed in the discourse produced by learners. A detailed study of the functions that CS is made to fulfil by learners is warranted though before one can decide to what extent these functions are similar to the teachers'.

At first glance, the impression one gets at the end of this enumeration of micro-instances of CS and of the purposes served in each case, is that it is highly difficult to trace any patterns between the use of particular languages and the carrying out of such and such a function. Our next aim is therefore to discuss whether any patterns can be gleaned from this apparently disorderly spread of the particular languages in the teacher's discourse.

## 5 Interpretation of Results from the Language Teaching Perspective

When considering the above CS examples overall, it can be concluded that structurally all types of CS patterns presented in Causa (1996) and Camilleri Grima (2013) are used in the FFL classroom context, although the non-explicit and the pure CS types appear to be more frequent than other forms. The teachers resort to it for instance when handling metalinguistic explanations. When pure CS is used for orders, phrases in Maltese seem to be more frequent when addressing discipline and desired behaviour, while phrases in French crop up more often when the teachers wish to bring the class to focus on content. Discourse markers in French, like *écoutez* (listen) and *alors* (so), often appearing in completion and reformulation structures, are not uncommon, yet they are certainly outnumbered by Maltese markers, among which *mela* (so) and =*ġifieri* (so/which means) regularly punctuate the teachers' speech. Evaluation by the teachers of learners' attempts to answer their questions occurs mostly in Maltese, although this doesn't exclude the function being fulfilled in French. It appears that with clarification, time-saving and explaining complex instructions, one can more readily associate longer stretches in Maltese than the use of the TL. One pattern which often emerges in the teachers' spoken production examples above is their initial tackling of a notion in French, followed by elicitation in the L1 or L2 to check learners' understanding or to get their feedback, or else by stretches of explanation provided by the teachers themselves, also in the L1 and/or L2.

From the point of view of the types of activities carried out, it thus transpires that teachers do use the TL to some extent in their explanations, but the L1 and L2 remain dominant in this area. When interviewed, teachers state that they feel the need to use the L1 and L2 for grammar work sequences and metalinguistic discourse. This is in line with previous findings where grammar is considered to be too difficult to tackle in the TL if one wants to ensure comprehension of rules, etc. (Maarfia 2008; Camilleri Grima and Caruana 2016; Bezzina 2017).

During the interviews with the two participating teachers, the latter state that other competences, such as listening comprehension, reading and spoken production, require less use of the L1. In pair or group work or in other forms of learner-learner interaction though, learners communicate in the L1. Focusing on perceptions, Cambra (1997) in fact observes that the use of a FL is often felt to be unnatural when participants speak the same L1. It is somehow embarrassing or strange for speakers sharing the same L1 to adopt the TL as spoken medium.

The result yielded by this study's investigation of whether different CS patterns can be observed at two distinct levels of learning of FFL is that beginners do actually resort more to the L1 and L2 than learners who have progressed further in their studies of the language. Teachers also use the L3 more with the more advanced

learners. This reflects the observation in Bremnes (2013) which is based on a Norwegian sixth form context. However L1 and L2 use remains important at the A1+ level for both categories of speakers, and this corroborates findings in international studies stating that it is not only beginners who feel the need for L1 use in the FL classroom (Macaro 2001). When interviewed, the two teachers involved in this study claim that the determining factor influencing language distribution in their lessons is learners' level of competence (i.e. whether it is a gifted or a weaker group), rather than the stage in their learning process, so much so that sometimes they feel they can use the L3 more with a beginner than a more advanced class.

The motivations for using CS, listed by the two interviewed teachers, remain at a rather superficial level, and they fail to mention any of the series of CS functions identified above. This reflects the probability that they are not formally aware of the possible functions of language switching in class, and that they were not trained to reflect about them. They both firmly believe that ideally interaction in FFL lessons should be exclusively carried out in the TL, therefore embracing the more traditional TL-only ideology. Nevertheless, experience has led them to realize that classroom realities call for a more flexible approach. Both teachers invoke mixed ability groups of learners as the main factor which renders CS mandatory. An attempt by one of them to instaur a TL-only environment led her to conclude that such a setting is fit for more gifted learners and demotivates the rest of the class which will be unable to understand what is going on.

The teachers also refer to a certain laziness on the learners' part, thus echoing Abela (2011) whose failed experience in the application of a TL-only experiment led her to conclude that students dislike more talk in the TL. In reality, it is difficult to judge either the teaching or the learning side for lack of effort to use the TL more extensively and/or more meaningfully, without having been in a situation where one can observe classroom dynamics over a long period of time. Surely though, the teachers as responsible adults should not forgo their role as leaders in the classroom in order to please the learners and should not abdicate from their need to push the learners a step further whilst not accepting "laziness", if it is really the case that learners are manifesting this attitude. Educators need to work on their relationship with the learners whilst ensuring that their academic role of making students practise the FL is fulfilled well, through relevant and purposeful activities and linguistic behaviour.

## *5.1 Interpretation of Results from the Sociolinguistic Perspective*

To return to the macro-level issues raised in 1.1, how is social meaning created and negotiated in this specific context, as a product of the observed interaction? Certainly, the criterion of the frequency of CS recorded in the corpus echoes the pervasiveness of CS in the discourse of most Maltese individuals, as described

above. It was attested that the L1 was by far the dominant code in this corpus, at the expense of the L3. The L2 was relatively little used. Let us keep in mind that the population of Church schools is, as we hinted before, constituted of a very homogeneous group: single-sex, Catholic, non-migrant, largely Maltese-speaking learners. Teachers, aware of this configuration, and sensitive to it, thus elect the main language of their public as main medium of instruction in what is probably an effort at making their explanation of content, activities and expectations as widely understood as possible.

At the same time, the limited use of English is a sure sign that the more voluntary type of CS which tends to be used by some Maltese speakers in an effort to impress and to display social standing is absent from this context. English was used, as we saw, for conveying technical, metalinguistic terms, school-related terms and expressions with which any Maltese stretch of speech is commonly interspersed. The adoption of Maltese may thus reflect, on the teachers' part, a will to achieve convergence, to accommodate towards the speech of their students (Giles and Powesland 1975; Giles and Smith 1979), in an effort to show solidarity with them. The relegation of the TL to a secondary place in their spoken production may be a sign that this relationship is verging on complicity, a possible reflection of teachers' acknowledgment of the subject matter's difficulty and of their willingness to bridge the knowledge gap as a result of this recognition. Teachers may be reacting to the need to approach their learners as members of the 'same' group, for their own well-being and especially for the sake of their subject. As members of the academic staff and moreover as bearers of a FL to which Maltese learners have no exposure outside the classroom, these teachers may subconsciously feel that they run a double risk of themselves (and consequently their subject) being rejected as foreign or as 'outsiders' to the in-group.

## 6 Conclusion

The greatest cause for concern identified through these classroom observations is the imbalance between the amount of teacher and learner talk. This discrepancy shows that a very different interactional and organisational arrangement marks the two observed FFL classrooms than for instance what Stoltz (2011) observed in the Swedish FFL context, where learner talk accounted for 64.3% of the total number of words produced. It is not perhaps unrealistic to believe that such situations reflect the reality of FL classrooms, and not only those, in Malta. The dominance of teacher-talk was also observed in the Italian as a FL context in Camilleri Grima and Caruana (2016).

What seems to be causing this is teachers' directing of closed questions to the learners, of the "what" or "who" or "when" type, for instance. Thus learners' scope for speech is limited to one-word or a couple of words replies. Teachers should be more adventurous and challenge their learners with open questions of the "why" and "how" type, and plan activities encouraging learner interaction.

Teachers are of course pressured by syllabus demands and examination setup and have themselves been exposed to a traditional method of learning. The problem is that their own method of teaching, as Bremnes (2013) concludes for the Norwegian context, focuses on grammar, text comprehension and on sentence analysis, translation and construction. No spontaneous communication by the learners occurs in the TL, which is mostly used to show examples. Learners know rules but are unable to form longer stretches of speech. Other research conducted on the Maltese context corroborates the situation of the teacher as dominant figure (Camilleri Grima 1995; Muscat and Farrugia 2012), and learners' extreme discomfort and difficulty to express themselves in French are the main observations in Bondin (2014), whose aim was to study spoken interaction between FFL learners.

The study is of course limited by the very small number of teachers recorded in their lessons, which calls for caution against any generalisation of observations made. It would also be interesting to extend the study of the functions fulfilled by CS from the learners' perspective, and to obtain learners' views on language use in the FFL classroom.

Further recordings of other teachers' lessons, perhaps in different school contexts, would be helpful. For instance, it would be interesting to question and verify whether different configurations of language use would emerge in FFL classrooms in the private, English-speaking schools. It is very likely that functions fulfilled by and values associated with the different languages would reveal themselves as radically distinct from what was observed in the homogeneous Maltese-dominant context of the Catholic schools. And it is also legitimate to wonder what is happening as regards language use and attitudes in the State schools, where the substantial influx of non-Maltese speaking migrant children is mostly being absorbed.

Overall, the study of the functions realized through the movement between languages leads us to conclude that CS is a useful tool in a mixed ability setting, and protects learners from demotivation and confusion. Teachers' language switching helps learners understand better, as the majority of Maltese FFL teachers themselves maintain from experience (Bezzina 2016). It helps learners contribute verbally in class, to some extent. It is a time-saving strategy enhancing clarity and aiding content and classroom management. Teachers seem to lack formal training in the language distribution issue and wish they could benefit from this (Idem.), and this certainly needs to be tackled in their preparation and in continuing professional development.

The CS pattern observed is certainly far removed from the number of studies in which teachers show very negative attitudes towards CS, which often is the case when the learners' L1 is not the dominant language of the country or the school, as in Ramirez and Milk (1986). The strong position of Maltese as official and national language explains the difference from such contexts. The teachers' reaching out to their learners through CS between their native language and the TL shows very clearly that within the Maltese FFL classrooms observed, CS is not at all the subject of negative attitudes and is not seen as a deviation from a norm, but as a helpful strategy for bilinguals to exploit their language repertoire in a more effective way. The observed realities call for a more in-depth study of a perhaps measurable effect

that the use of CS may be having on learners' academic achievement and of the ways in which it may be contributing to forging their attitude to language varieties present in the Maltese context.

| Transcription conventions | |
|---|---|
| *Italics* | : speech produced in English |
| **bold** | : speech produced in French |
| Normal | : speech produced in Maltese |
| /, //, /// | : pause – brief, medium, long |
| _____ | : overlapping speech |
| bu- | : interrupted words |
| da= | : suppression of a phoneme or syllable, normally a feature of informality |
| ? | : interrogative intonation |

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# Understanding Linguistic Features of Estonian-Latvian Bilingual Speech


**Anna Verschik and Elīna Bone**

**Abstract** The current paper is a case study of Estonian-Latvian individual bilingualism. Estonian and Latvian belong to different language families (respectively Finnic branch of Uralic and Baltic branch of Indo-European). The case is instructive because it demonstrates that there is no significant differences between impact in imposition (L1 Estonian > L2 Latvian) and in adoption (L2 Latvian > L1 Estonian). This is at odds with Thomason and Kaufman (Language contact, creolization, and genetic linguistics. University of California Press, Berkley, 1988) who argue that impact of L1 is in phonology and grammar and impact of L2 mostly in lexicon, semantics and non-core morphosyntax. The data are analyzed in Code-Copying Framework (CCF, Johanson L, Code-copying in immigrant Turkish. In Extra G, Verhoeven L (eds) Immigrant languages in Europe. Multilingual matters, Clevedon, pp 197–221, 1993; Contact-induced change in a code-copying framework. In Jones MC, Esch E (eds) Language change: the interplay of internal, external and extra-linguistic factors, Contribution to the sociology of language, vol 86. Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin, pp 285–313, 2002) because it takes into consideration bidirectionality of contact-induced language change and provides a holistic view on lexicon and morphosyntax (they are not separated in CCF). The similar character of adoption and imposition can be explained by (1) cognitive factors (lack of strict boundaries between the systems, also demonstrated by compromise morphosyntax); (2) individual factors (balanced bilingualism, individual linguistic flexibility), (3) structural factors (material similarity in common borrowings and common internationalisms) and (4) certain sociolinguistic factors (two countries with a fairly similar sociolinguistic and political history, roughly equal prestige of both languages, no normative pressure, lack of bilingual community).

**Keywords** Language contacts · Balanced bilingualism · Latvian · Estonian · Usage based approach · Code copying

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## Abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| ACC | Accusative |
| ADES | Adessive |
| ALL | Allative |
| DAT | Dative |
| GEN | Genitive |
| ILL | Illative |
| IMPERS | Impersonal |
| INF | Infinitive |
| LOC | Locative |
| NOM | Nominative |
| PART | Partitive |

## 1 Introduction

The article discusses bidirectional impact (L1 > L2 and L2 > L1) in a balanced individual Estonian-Latvian bilingual, whose L1 is Estonian and L2 is Latvian. According to generalizations made by Thomason and Kaufman (1988), in language maintenance situation L2 affects non-basic lexicon (code-switching, borrowing) in the beginning and later also semantics, prosody and intonation, and non-core morphosyntax. Heavier borrowing may occur in more intense contact situation. Language shift outcome is similar to L2 acquisition in the sense that L1 grammatical patterns and phonology ("accent") affect the target language. In the case of language shift, these features may disappear in the next generation or may become a new norm (for instance, fixed stress on the first syllable in Latvian is a result of shift from Finnic to a variety of Baltic; see Arkadiev et al. 2015: 10). Whether language shift eventually occurs or not, L1 impact is expectable in structure but not in lexicon (with some minor exceptions). However, in the present case the impact of L1 (Estonian) and L2 (Latvian) is very similar: Estonian lexical items are inserted into Latvian clause and vice versa, and mutual influence in non-core morphosyntax appears as well. From a theoretical point of view, it would be instructive to investigate why this happens.

Although bidirectionality is not a novel concept in linguistics (Pavlenko and Jarvis 2002), different linguistic disciplines focus on either L1 > L2 impact (bilingualism studies, SLA) or on L2 > L1 (mostly contact linguistics). Still, with the shift towards a bilingual individual (Matras 2012, 2013) and the growing understanding of the importance of individual linguistic-biographical trajectories for language contacts (repertoire approach, Blommaert and Backus 2011; usage based approach, Backus 2012, 2015) it becomes evident that a bilingual individual is not a mere representative of a certain bilingual community but an initiator of innovation, relevant in and for him- or herself. Since any innovation starts in a bilingual

individual (recall the famous quote by Weinreich 1953: 71 about a bilingual's brain as a locus of bilingualism), it is reasonable to look at individual manifestations of bilingual communication.

In this paper we do not challenge Thomason and Kaufman (1988) but rather ponder why the impact in both directions is more or less symmetrical despite the fact that the participant is not an early/simultaneous bilingual. It has to be noted that the languages belong to different language families and there is no Estonian-Latvian bilingual community to talk about (see more Sect. 2.1). Balanced (symmetrical) bilingualism is a standard topic in bilingualism and psycholinguistics (Duyck 2005; Van Hell and Dijkstra 2002, see discussion in Laka et al. 2013) but participants of such studies come from a different sociolinguistic settings and have become bilinguals under different circumstances (bilingual household, early contact with another language etc.). Such cases as the present one are not represented much in the contact linguistic literature, although what we find here is a natural outcome in a language contact situation.

We choose to analyze our data within the Code-Copying Framework (hereafter CCF), proposed by Johanson (1993, 2002). CCF has several merits: (1) the processes in imposition (L1 > L2) and adoption (L2 > L1) are considered in the same terminological framework, which provides with the same analytical metalanguage; (2) contact-induced change in morphosyntax, semantics and lexicon are also viewed in the same terminological framework, allowing thus a holistic picture of all contact linguistic phenomena; (3) CCF is compatible with usage based approaches that introduce cognitive dimension into contact linguistics (Verschik, submitted for publication).

The article is organized as follows. We start a brief overview on the Estonian-Latvian language contacts and describe the participant and data. This is followed by a short presentation of CCF. Then we analyze the data separately for adoption and imposition and provide a discussion and conclusions.

## 2 Estonian-Latvian Language Contacts and the Data

### *2.1 Estonian-Latvian Language Contacts*

Estonia and Latvia are neighbouring countries with population 1.3 million (Statistics Estonia) and 1.9 million (Central Statistical Bureau of Latvia) respectively. According to Office of Citizenship and Migration Affairs of Latvia 2189 ethnic Estonians lived in Latvia (1 July 2016) and 1716 ethnic Latvians lived in Estonia (Statistics Estonia, Population and Housing Census of 2011). These figures include students who come to Estonia/Latvia for the study period only and do not necessarily learn the language of the country. Thus, we cannot speak about Estonian community in Latvia or vice versa as macro level communities.

Estonian is Uralic (Finnic branch) and agglutinating with strong fusional tendencies, while Latvian is Indo-European (Baltic branch) and fusional. At the same time, the peoples share political and sociocultural history and both Estonian and Latvian have been impacted by the same languages (varieties of German, Russian, nowadays English). Common typological features in the two languages, such as quotative mood, analytic superlative, possessive pronouns etc. have been described in the literature (Junttila 2015; Muižniece et al. 1999; Stolz 1991; Suhonen 1988; Vaba 2010), as well as mutual impact and convergence (Balode and Holvoet 2001: Zeps 1962). The local variety of Latvian, spoken by the participant, belongs to so-called Livonian-like dialect where the Finnic impact (a result of a previous language shift, i.e., Balode and Holvoet 2001, 25–32) is the strongest. The most prominent Finnic-origin features are disappearance of long vowels in non-stressed syllable (Latvian *runāt* > Livonian-like *runat* 'to speak') and collapse of gender system (Uralic languages lack gender category and Baltic languages have two genders): Latvian *viņa ir gudra* > Livonian-like *viņš(č) i(r)gudrs* 's/he is smart' where 3SG masculine personal pronoun *viņš(č)* is generalized for both genders and the agreeing adjective has masculine gender marker *-s*.

As it will be shown in the subsequent sections, common lexical items of (Low) German and Finnic origin and similar internationalisms provide a common ground that facilitate copying ("borrowing", "convergence" in the traditional terms) but the lack of congruence (for instance, differences in argument structure and in word order) does not hinder copying.

So far Estonian-Latvian language contact research has been mostly conducted in the tradition of historical linguistics and dialectology (for instance, Vaba 1997, 2010; Bušs 2009) modern contact linguistic research based on naturalistic data is lacking. For instance, Vaba (1999: 535–541) describes Estonian-Latvian bilingualism in a border town of Valga/Valka, yet the article does not provide any language use examples and concentrates rather on the sociolinguistic situation in the town than actual language use. Under the Russian Empire Valga/Valka was one town and Estonian-Latvian bilingualism was spread in the border area then much more back then than it is presently. The advent of lingua francas such as Russian in the Soviet era and English nowadays, combined with the lack of interest in each other's languages and current language teaching climate (only "big" languages are taught at school), have led to decline of border area bilingualism. Now it is an individual phenomenon, limited to mixed families and non-numerous migrants.

## *2.2 The Participant and the Data*

The data has been collected by the second author. The participant was born on 1935. She is an ethnic Estonian who has lived in Latvia for almost 40 years. She was born and lived in Pärnu, a city in South-Western Estonia before her move to Latvia. The participant graduated from secondary school in Estonia and worked as bookkeeper.

Her first husband was an ethnic Estonian and they lived in Estonia. Her both children are Estonians and they live in Estonia and went to school there. They have no knowledge of Latvian.

The participant's second husband was an ethnic Estonian who had been born and lived in Latvia, and at the age of 40 years she moved to her husband's home town Ainaži which is situated very close to the Estonian-Latvian border. Her second husband was an Estonian-Latvian bilingual. His both parents were Estonian-speakers and they had lived in Ainaži, too. Their home language was Estonian but they were able to speak also in the local variety of Latvian (Livonian-like dialect, whose Finnic-influenced features were described in 2.1). The husband graduated from a Latvian-medium school and, therefore, was proficient in Standard Latvian.

When she moved to Latvia, in the beginning she spoke a little Russian that was a lingua franca of the Soviet era and a compulsory subject at school. In Latvia she worked at a fur farm. She is fluent in Livonian-like dialect and can read in Standard Latvian but not write. The participant never had any formal instruction nor Latvian textbooks. She learned the Livonian-like dialect variety at work and by communicating with locals. For the sake of simplicity we use the label "Latvian" as a cover term in our examples, unless the difference between Livonian-like dialect and Latvian is relevant for the analysis. For the sake of brevity, we use the label "regional" for Livonian-like dialect in explanation of examples.

Her speech exhibit all major traits of Livonian-like dialect (the already mentioned Finnic origin features as gender confusion, loss of long vowels in unstressed position and others, like overgeneralization of 3rd person form for all persons and numbers, loss of final unstressed vowel; see Balode and Holvoet 2001). During the recent years she would watch only Estonian television because there is some kind of technical problems to see Latvian television. She also reads Latvian newspapers.

Now she lives alone but has friends with whom she speaks Latvian. With her children and grandchildren who live in Estonia she speaks Estonian. Thus, each language is reserved for separate domains, yet communication with the second author who is Estonian-Latvian bilingual reveals that languages are in fact not separated.

The data were collected in February 2013 and from 14 June to 20 September 2015 by recording natural conversation. The interviews were transcribed and non monolingual utterances as well as shift from one language to the other were marked and analyzed. The length of a conversation session is 50–60 min and interviews together lasted for ~10 h. The interviews were recorded at the participant's home. The first session started with a semi-structured interview (biographical questions, details on her language proficiency and use) and followed with unstructured conversation.

The participant was aware of the reason why data were collected and gave her permission to use the data. Personal information is not disclosed and names of persons mentioned during the conversations were removed.

## 3 Code-Copying Framework

For the data analysis we use CCF developed by Johanson (1993, 2002). CCF is a holistic framework that considers all contact phenomena as the same mental operation (copying). Given that contact-induced processes in lexicon (traditionally referred to as code-switching, borrowing) and morphosyntax (structural borrowing, convergence, loan translations etc.) are linked and one may lead to another (Backus 2004), it appears reasonable to apply the same metalanguage to both lexicon and morphosyntax (Verschik 2008: 202).

According to Johanson (1993: 200, 1999: 39), varieties in contact are called codes. In bilingual communication there occurs code interaction, subdivided into code copying and code alternation. Code copying means that items and patterns from the model code are copied into the basic code, while code alternation means shifting to another code (longer stretches like clauses, sentences etc.). Code alternation corresponds more or less to alternational code-switching in Muysken's (2000) terms. Intra-clausal code alternation in (1) occurs when items from one code are inserted into a clause of another code without being incorporated into it. Extra-clausal code alternation implies change between clauses as in (2). Estonian is given in italics and Latvian in bold; three dots (…) designate a pause.

(1)
*Naersin siis… **mazdēls man** on paras tead see on ülipikk tead.*
'Then I was... laughing this grandson of mine is just you know that (he) is extremely tall you know.'
Latvian *mans mazdēls*, regional *mazdēls man*, Estonian *minu pojapoeg ~ pojapoeg mul* 'my grandson'

(2)
Participant: *Võtame veel vä?* 'Shall we take more?'
Elīna: *Ei aitab*. 'No, it is enough.'
Participant: ***Liksim tur uz trepem tagad... es viss laik doma ka likt to ķirbsēkl iekša.***
'Let's put there on the stairs… I think all the time to put those pumpkin seeds.'

In CCF items and patterns from the model code are not borrowed or taken over but rather copied from the model code into the basic code. The model code is not deprived of anything and a copy lives its own life in the basic code, so to speak. Every linguistic item has four types of properties: material, semantic, combinational and frequential (Johanson 2002: 291–292). Depending on whether all or just certain properties are copied, copies are subdivided into global, selective and mixed copies. CCF sees the lifecycle of a copy as a continuum: unlike in other models that seek to distinguish between code-switches and borrowings on formal criteria, CCF states that a copy may or may not become habitualized and then conventionalized. What is conventionalized (in whatever shape) become an element or a feature of a basic code.

Global copies correspond to insertional switches in other terminological frameworks. For instance, in the phrase *vajag to nutitelefon* 'need this smartphone' Estonian *nutitelefon* 'smartphone' is a global copy, inserted into Latvian utterance.

Selective copying means that only one or some properties are copied but not all. It can be copy of phonological features, argument structure, meaning etc. For example, in the Estonian utterance *Septembris ja oktobris tulevad külla* '(they) will come to visit in September and October' the participant renders the names of the months in their Latvian version (stress on the first syllable *séptembris*, *óktobris*, unlike in Estonian *septémber*, *októober*).

Mixed copying appears in multi-word items, compounds, analytical verbs, and so on. A copy of a multi-word item has one component that is copied globally and another selectively. Backus and Verschik (2012) emphasize the importance of mixed copying because this demonstrates links between lexicon and other language levels. For instance, both Latvian *mugurkauls* 'backbone' and Estonian *selgroog* 'backbone' are compounds with the same structure: *back* + *bone* (Latvian *mugur* + *kauls*, Estonian *selg* + *roog*). Mixed copy *selg-kaulim* consists of Estonian *selg* 'back' and *kaulim* 'bone' (dative). The mixed copy appears in the Latvian clause:

(3)
***Vajadzej operacijas*** *selg*-***kaulim.***
'Needed surgery for the spinal cord.'

As mentioned in the introduction, CCF gives attention to directionality. The copying process from L2 > L1 is called adoption. In the case of adoption, speakers of a sociolinguistically-dominated code A insert copies from a sociolinguistically-dominant code B. The copying process from L1 > L2 is called imposition where copies sociolinguistically-dominated code A are inserted into sociolinguistically-dominant code B (Johanson 2002: 290).

However, there are situations where sociolinguistic dominance is difficult to determine. For sure, in the present case Latvian (regional) is a majority code but given the relations between Latvian and Estonian, hardly the situation can be compared to this of, say, Turkish in Germany or Polish in Lithuania. Moreover, what is L1 (sociolinguistically-dominated code) for one segment of population is L2 for another, that is, dominance in the terms of proficiency/order of acquisition and in the terms of status and prestige are not the same thing. In this participant, Estonian is her L1 and Latvian L2, so copying from Estonian to Latvian is labelled as imposition and copying from Latvian to Estonian as adoption.

## 4 Analysis

This section starts with the description of copying and code alternation in adoption (Sect. 4.1) and then in imposition (Sect. 4.2). In Sect. 4.3 code alternation will be considered.

## *4.1 Adoption (Latvian L2 > Estonian L1)*

### 4.1.1 Global Copying

For global copying a frequent reason why it happens is semantic specificity of a copied item. It has been frequently discussed in the literature that nouns are the primary candidates for switching/borrowing (or global copying in the terms of CCF). The reason why nouns are susceptible for global copying is their particular, specific meaning (Backus 2001; Backus and Verschik 2012)

In example (4) the participant talks about a man whom the locals call *kurpnieks* 'shoemaker' because he had worked all his life as shoemaker.

(4)
*Siis ta mulle riisus mul seal kõik see vana* ***kurpniek*** *niitis rohu maha kõik jätab maha.*
'Then he raked for me there everything, that old **shoemaker** cut the grass and leaves everything on the ground.'
Latvian *kurpnieks*, regional *kurpniek*, Estonian *kingsepp* 'shoemaker'

The whole phrase *see vana kurpniek* 'that old shoemaker' shows that she talks not about any shoemaker but this specific person. Apparently, she would talk about this shoemaker in Latvian and this is why the Latvian equivalent "pops up". In the terms of usage based approach, the more frequently an item or a pattern is used, the more entrenched in the individual's mind it becomes. "Having" a unit in the individual lexicon is dependent on the degree of entrenchment in the individual mind (Blommaert and Backus 2011: 6).

It is often believed that core vocabulary (including terms for family members) is not copied easily. Yet the participant copies family terms from the regional variety: *mās* 'sister', *mazdēls* 'grandson', *onkul* 'uncle', *māsica* 'cousin'. Again, these appear not as general terms but as a reference to the particular persons, the participant's relatives, although all of them live in Estonia and she would communicate with them in Estonian. Similarly to (5), this might be caused by the fact that participant is used to talk about the family in Latvian and the Latvian version is more entrenched than the Estonian one. Another possible explanation is the introduction of contrast between new/the most relevant information and the rest.

(5)
***Mās*** *helistab!*
'**Sister** calls!'
Latvian *māsa*, regional *mās,* Estonian *õde* 'sister'

In (6) there is a reference to a particular person, the participant's husband. Their relatives speak both Estonian and Latvian and always have called participant's husband in Latvian *onkul(is)* 'uncle'. This is why Latvian *onkul* 'uncle' is entrenched

in the participant's lexicon and she uses the lexical item because she has heard in Latvian. Also she repairs herself with Estonian *onu* 'uncle' and continues in Estonian.

(6)
*Siis need käisid siin siis nad kutsuvad ikka et V* [husband's name]
*on nende* ***onkul*** *onu noh natuke noh läti keeles räägib.*
'Then these (people) came here then they still say that V is their **uncle** uncle, well, a little, well, speaks Latvian.'
Latvian *onkulis*, regional *onkul*, Estonian *onu* 'uncle'

There are instances when real or perceived material or structural similarity can facilitate copying, for example the same word order, common internationalisms and lexical borrowings from the same source. Such examples occur in contacts between closely related languages with a lot of material similarity (Praakli 2009) but actually any kind of similarity (bilingual homophones in the terms of Clyne 2003, the same argument structure, word order, etc.) makes an item more susceptible to copying.

Similarity is often described in structural terms but it also can be interpreted as a cognitive phenomenon (bilingual individual is able to notice similarity between structures and/or items across languages and establishes equivalency between the two). Borrowed lexicon of (Low) German origin (in the terms of CCF, conventionalized global copies) creates an overlap that facilitates copying. For example, both Latvian *skurstenis* and Estonian *korsten* 'chimney' are a copy from Low German *schorstēn* 'chimney'. Standard Latvian *skurstenis* yields Livonian-like *skursten*. This renders the lexical item even more similar in shape to Estonian *korsten*.

(7)
***Skursten*** *on ära.*
'**Chimney** is gone.'
Latvian *skurstenis*, regional *skursten*, Estonian *korsten* 'chimney' (<Low German *schorstēn*)

Example (7) is an intermediate between global and selective copying: one may conclude that the common lexeme appears in Latvian version because material properties are copied from Latvian.

Not only nouns but other parts of speech are subject to global copying. It has often been observed that pronouns and other closed class items are difficult to borrow, yet there are plenty of examples of borrowed pronouns in a wide range of languages (see Blokland 2012 for the literature review and for Uralic languages in particular). In example (8) the participant copies determinative pronoun *abi divi* 'both'.

(8)
*Ta saatis selle… lapsed ära… ja siis me* ***abi divi*** *jõime.*
'She sent away children of this… children away … and then **both of us** drank.'
Latvian *abi divi*, Estonian *meie mõlemad* 'both of us'

Several previous examples show that similarity facilitates copying; yet similarity and isomorphism are not a necessary prerequisite for copying, and the presence of a "morphosyntactic conflict" (such as conflicting word order, difference in argument structure and so on) is not an obstacle for it. The following example (9) shows that the "conflict" can be resolved through emergence of a compromise form that does not exist in two separate monolingual grammars. A global copy from one language affects morphosyntax of the other:

(9)
*Nüüd läks Tallinnasse ja lapsed läksid ka sinna… ja natukese aja pärast läks tema ka* ***uz*** *sinna* ***Amerika****.*
'Now (he) went to Tallinn and the children went there too… and after some time he also went **to** there **America**.'
Latvian *uz Amerik-u* onto America-ACC SG, Estonian *Ameerika-sse* Ameerika-ILL

Here Latvian has a prepositional phrase *uz* + ACC and Estonian has a noun in illative (directional internal local case), so the word order differs in the two languages. The participant goes back to Estonian (*sinna* 'there') but does not remain in the Estonian mode, so to say. The common place name is rendered as a compromise: unlike in Estonian *Ameerika* 'America', the second vowel is short, the stress is on the first syllable and neither Estonian nor Latvian inflectional morphology is added.

Both languages are rich in inflectional morphology and provide a good opportunity to see what happens in the terms of morphological integration. Analysis of other language pairs where both language have a highly developed inflectional morphology (Russian and Estonian, for instance) show that at least for nouns the addition of inflection morphology of the basic code is not compulsory. There are instances of full integration, complete lack of inflectional morphology and intermediate cases (Zabrodskaja and Verschik 2014). Addition of case marking does not depend on the compatibility of a copied stem with the noun declension system of the basic code: sometimes case inflection is not added, although the copied stem can be easily fitted into the declension system.

Some globally copied noun stems are fully integrated into the basic code (Estonian in this case). In (10) Estonian allative marker *-le* has been added to the Latvian stem *māte* 'sow':

(10)
*Mina ostsin neid ja panin siis tead noortele… siis* ***māte-****le seda vitamiini.*
'I bought them and put then you know to the young (piglets)… then to the **sow** this vitamin.'
*māte-le* sow-ALL 'to the sow'
Latvian *māt-ei* sow-DAT SG 'to the sow'
Estonian *emise-le* sow-ALL 'to the sow'

Although nouns are prevalent among copies, copying is not limited to them. In (11) the verb form *vedis* 'took/brought' (3SG) is a global copy from the Latvian

verb stem *ved-* and Estonian imperfect tense marker *-is* is added to the stem *ved-* 'to take/carry (by vehicle etc.)'. The participant was talking in Estonian about her past that with colleagues they always travelled somewhere in summer. Copying of the Latvian verb stem *ved-* was facilitated by the preceding Latvian personal name. This is a borderline case where Latvian personal name triggers copying of Latvian verb and the whole utterance (subject Latvian personal name + Latvian verb) can also be analyzed as code alternation.

(11)
***R*** [Latvian personal name] ***ved-****is meid lennujaama siis Moskvas tuli ümber istuda.*
'**R took** us to the airport then in Moscow had to change (plane)-.'
Estonian: *vii-s* take-PAST 3SG 'took'

Copying of discourse pragmatic words (discourse markers, discourse particles, pragmatic particles) is a well-known and widely attested phenomenon in contact linguistics (see seminal paper by Salmons 1990; also Maschler 1994, 2009; Matras 1998). A possible explanation is that discourse markers belong to meta-level, as they do not change the meaning of the utterance, i.e. do not belong to the propositional level (Maschler 1994) and only convey speaker's attitudes. Conjunctions are classified by some scholars (Wertheim 2003: 154–155) under discourse markers because, although they do not convey speaker's attitudes, they do not belong to propositional level either. Conjunctions show links or hierarchy of different utterances. Matras (1998) proposes a cover term "utterance modifiers" that encompasses discourse particles and conjunctions. According to him, utterance modifiers direct and regulate linguistic-mental processing activities in bilinguals. Choosing among the system creates a certain cognitive load and bilinguals may sometimes "reduce the overt representation of the "grammar of directing" to just one set of elements" (Matras 1998: 291).

In the data discourse particles copied from Latvian are conjunctions, relative pronouns and particles (metacommentary, evaluatives, see a possible classification in Wertheim 2003: 182–208). For instance, conjunction: Latvian *un* 'and', metacommentary: Latvian adverb *tur* 'there', relative/interrrogative pronoun *kas* 'there, what, who', evaluative: Latvian particle *nē* 'no'.

In (12) Latvian conjunction *un* 'and' is copied onto Estonian utterance:

(12)
*Paremat kätt on K* [Latvian personal name] *maja noh* ***un*** *need on K lapselapsed.*
'On the right is K's house, well, **and** these are K's grandchildren.'
Latvian *un*, Estonian *ja* 'and'

In (13) Latvian negative particle *nē* 'no, not' is copied:

(13)
*Ikl… **nē** Ikla* [ Estonian place name] *ei Salacgrivas* [Latvian place name] *koolis.*
'Ikl… **not** Ikla, no, in school in Salacgrīva.'
Latvian *nē*, Estonian *ei* 'no'

According to Matras (2009: 208), negators are elements that have pragmatic-semantic saliency among grammatical categories, that is, they express some essential and salient semantic relations that are likely to have some kind of structural manifestation in every language. So inasmuch as discourse markers are being copied, copying of the Latvian negative particle is expectable.

### 4.1.2 Selective Copying

The following example (14) demonstrates how a global copy may affect morphosyntax of the model code and cause selective copying.

(14)
*Ol-i* ***vecen-i*** *külas.*
Be-PAST:3SG old (lady)-NOM PL in guest
'**Hags/old ladies** visited me.'
Latvian *bija veceni*, Estonian *olid vanamutid*
Latvian 3SG = 3PL *bija* 'he/she/it was, they were'
Estonian 3SG *oli* 'was', 3PL *olid* 'were'

In Baltic languages, there is one verb form for 3SG and 3PL (*bija* '(s/he/it) was', '(they) were'). The global copy from Latvian *veceni* 'old (ones)' is nominative plural. The copy 'drags along' its combinational properties from the model code: the Estonian verb *oli* 'was' is in singular (cf. plural *oli-d* '(they) were') and thus follows the Latvian pattern. In different terms, Backus (2004) has pointed out cases when a code-switched item affects morphosyntax of the matrix language. In a long run, this may lead to structural changes and morphosyntax of two languages gradually becomes more similar.

An analogous case is presented in (15), where a global copy from Latvian triggers Latvian argument structure. In other words, this is in accordance with the observation that insertion of lexical items from another language affects morphosyntax of the whole clause (Auer and Muhamedova 2005).

(15)

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Tegi* | ***māsica*** | *nime* | *peale* | *maja.* |
| made | cousin | name:GEN | on | house |

'Assigned house to (her) **cousin**.'
Latvian *uz vārd-a* on name-GEN
Estonian *nime-le* name-ALL

Word order and argument structure differ in Latvian and Estonian: the former has prepositional phrase *uz* 'on(to)' + genitive and the latter noun in allative (external directional local case). Although Estonian postpositional phrases are sometimes used interchangeably with the allative case form (*laua peale* ~ *lauale* 'onto a/the table') because their semantics is the same, there may be a subtle stylistic difference

in some contexts, and in this particular meaning ('to assign to somebody, to register in one's name') the allative form is conventionalized in Standard Estonian. This is a borderline case where Latvian insertion triggers the choice of argument structure that is conventional in Latvian and more marginal in Estonian (in the terms of Heine and Kuteva 2005: 44 ff. it is called minor use pattern).

In (16) a common internationalism appears in its Latvian shape and, although Estonian inflectional morphology is added, the choice of nominative plural follows Latvian grammar.

(16)
*Seal* *teha-kse* ***analīs**-i-d*
there take-IMPERS sample-STEM-NOM PL.
'There they take **samples**' (blood, tissue etc.).
Estonian *analüüs-e* sample-PART PL
Latvian *analīze-s* sample-NOM PL

In adoption global copies prevail, which is expectable in language maintenance. To put it differently, these are mostly content words from L2 in L1. The reasons for global copying are semantic specificity, entrenchment of certain lexical items for particular contexts, and prominence of an item at the discourse pragmatic level (Backus and Verschik 2012: 139–142). The most copied type of content words were nouns, but also some adverbs, verbs and rather few discourse markers were copied. Selective copying was facilitated by similar shape of lexical items (common conventionalized copies from varieties of German, internationalisms) and material properties were copied. Selective combinational copying means that argument structure was copied. No mixed copies occurred in adoption, probably because the data is limited.

In Sect. 4.2 copying in imposition will be described and then compared to copying in adoption.

## *4.2 Imposition (Estonian L1 > Latvian L2)*

In this section Latvian is shown in italics and Estonian in bold.

### 4.2.1 Global Copying

In (17) the participant speaks of the same shoemaker as in (4). Earlier the lexical item for 'shoemaker' was a global copy from Latvian onto Estonian clause, here it is vice versa.

(17)
*Kur* *viņi nāk* *tas* ***kingsepp*** *kurpnieks nāk* [points at the window].
'Where they come this **shoemaker** shoemaker comes.'

Note, however, that the participant repairs herself and after insertion of the global copy from Estonian she repeats the same word in Latvian and continues in Latvian. In the discussion of (4) it was argued that probably Latvian *kurpniek(s)* is more entrenched in the participant's lexicon because the lexical item refers to a particular person who lives in the neighbourhood. The reason for copying in (17) may be contrast/emphasis: the topic is highlighted by the means of copying.

In contrast to example (10) where noun stem is fully integrated into the basic code, in (18) a global copy of an Estonian stem does not receive Latvian inflectional morphology. In common spoken Latvian *smārtfons* is a conventionalized global copy from English *smartphone* (Standard Latvian has *viedtālrunis* but this is not used much in informal speech). Estonian has *nutitelefon* (smart + phone), which is a combinational selective copy (in other terms, loan translation) from English.

(18)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Vajag* | *to* | ***nutitelefon.*** | |
| Needed that:ACC | | smartphone-? | |
| '(like I) need this **smartphone**.' | | | |
| Latvian: | | | |
| *Vajag* | *to* | *smārtfon-u* | *(viedtālrun-i)* |
| Needed that:ACC | | smartphone-ACC SG | |
| Estonian: | | | |
| *Vaja* | *se-da* | *nutitelefon-i* | |
| Need | this-PART | smartphone-PART | |

The demonstrative pronomen *to* 'that' is in accusative case but does not agree in case with Estonian *nutitelefon* that is in nominative and lacks morphological marking. There are no structural obstacles for adding Latvian case markers: the noun would fit into Latvian noun declension system (1st declension) and hypothetically one may imagine something like *vajag to nutitelefon-u* where *-u* is 1st declension accusative singular marker. Apparently, unlike for a monolingual, for a bilingual complete morphosyntactical integration is not necessary for production/perception because s/he would understand how compromise forms function anyway.

In (19) the common internationalism is copied in its Estonian version *euro* 'euro', while Latvian has *eiro*. In Latvian *eiro* does not fit with any declension class and therefore is indeclinable. Estonian *euro* is declined in a usual way (nominative plural *eurod* 'euros' etc.). With all numerals except 'one', partitive singular is required in Estonian: *kaks eurot* 'two euros'. The material properties are copied from Estonian but the item is treated according to the rules of the Latvian grammar, i.e., remains indeclinable.

(19)
*Slimnica maksa div* ***euro*** *un tur ir divdesmitastoņ* ***euro.***
'Hospital costs 2 **euros** and there 28 **euros.**'
Estonian *kaks eurot* PART SG
Latvian *divi eiro* NOM SG for all cases

In (20) the participant speaks Latvian and after Latvian *bij* 'was/were' repeats the same in Estonian *oli* 'was', continuing afterwards in Latvian. It is and evidence that both languages are activated at the same time:

(20)

| *Man* | *bij* | ***oli*** | *tas* | *bij* | *vakar* | *un* | *bij* | *tik* | *labi.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I:DAT | was | was | it | was | yesterday | and | was | so | good |

Literal meaning: 'At me was **was** it was yesterday and it was so good.'
'I had had it was yesterday and it was so good.'

Not only content words but also discourse markers are globally copied from Estonian. These are conjunctions: *et* 'that', *ja* 'and', *aga* 'but', *või* 'or'; markers of metacommentary and deixis: *ju* (intensifier), *oota ~ oot-oot* 'wait', *vaata* 'look', *vat* 'here, here it is' (demonstrative), *tead* 'you know', *noh* 'so, well'; evaluatives: *ai jumal* 'oh god', *ei* 'no'; onomatopoetic words*: vääks* 'aah-aah' (sounds produced by an infant)*, nurr* 'mew-mew', *auh* 'bow-wow', *uha-uha* 'woo-woo' (sound of ambulance siren) etc.

According to Matras (2009: 194) the set of connectors is often high on the borrowability hierarchy. The first are 'vulnerable' due to the clash of expectations; this leads to the borrowability hierarchy based on contrast: *but* > *or* > *and*. The first two are present in imposition. In (21) Estonian conjunction *aga* 'but' is copied onto Latvian utterance:

(21)
*Tur ir tagad tas ir… tas kūrorti tur* ***aga*** *kūrorti visi tukši.*
'There is now this is… Here resorts there **but** all resorts are empty.'
Estonian *aga,* Latvian *bet* 'but'

According to Keevallik (2001: 125–127), *oota (oot-oot)* 'wait' seems to be used in extensive as well as in somewhat shorter thinking periods because speaker is being preoccupied with thinking or formulating, i.e. not immediately able to express herself. Also the reason for holding on may succeed the pause after *oota (oot-oot)* 'wait'. In (22) participant speaks in Latvian and copies Estonian *oot-oot* 'wait' and repairs herself back to Latvian *pagaid* 'wait'. After *pagaid* 'wait' she pauses.

(22)
***Oot-oot*** *pagaid… uz Igauņ robeža uz Igauņi puse Latvija.*
'**Wait-wait** wait… on the Estonian border on the Estonian side in Latvia-.'

Example (23) contains a global copy of onomatopoetic *vääks* 'aah':

(23)
*Es tur pie D [Estonian personal name] bij tur vienreiz aizved tur un … man man neie… ieksa tu zina mazais puik tas* ***vääks vääks vääks*** *mazais skuķs tur dejo un lēka.*

‘I (was) there at D’s place, once I was there, (she) took me there and … my my (great-grandson) does not go… inside you know little boy he (makes like) **aah, aah, aah,** a small little girl dances there and jumps.’

Compared to adoption, discourse markers occurred more often in imposition; this will be discussed in Sect. 5.

### 4.2.2 Selective Copying

In imposition, selective copying is facilitated by similarity in material properties and sometimes also by similar conceptualization of fixed expressions. As in adoption, there is some copying of argument structure.

In (24) the prepositional phrase *uz laukiem* ‘in the countryside’ is modelled on Estonian *maal* ‘in the countryside’. In both languages the use is idiomatic and both languages build on similar semantics, using the word for ‘field’ in Latvian and ‘ground/earth’ in Estonian. The difference is in combinational properties: Latvian has locative plural *laukos*, literally ‘in the fields’ (from *lauks* ‘field’) and Estonian has adessive singular *maal*, literally ‘on the ground’ (from *maa* ‘earth, ground’). Estonian adessive is external static local case with the meaning ‘on a surface’. This logic is copied onto Latvian: in non-figurative meaning adessive roughly corresponds to Latvian prepositional phrase *uz* ‘on(to)’ + GEN SG/DAT PL: for example *uz kalna* ‘on a/the hill’, *uz kalniem* ‘on (the) hills’. The prepositional phrase *uz laukiem* does not have a figurative meaning ‘in the country’ but a direct meaning ‘to the countryside’ in Latvian.

(24)
*Meitai dzīvo* ***uz laukiem*** *tie ari tur brauc.*
‘Daughter’s (friend) lives **in the countryside** they are going there, too.’
Latvian *lauk-os* field-LOC PL ‘in the fields’, Estonian *maa-l*
earth-ADES ‘on the land’

Thus, in (24) the semantics of the figurative expression comes from Estonian and the Latvian construction is well-formed according to monolingual grammar rules but has a different meaning. In the terms of Backus and Dorleijn (2009) this instance qualifies as loan translation.

In (25) *või* ‘or’ is a copy from Estonian. In Latvian *vai* ‘whether’ is an interrogative particle of a Finnic origin (conventionalized global copy from Finnic). The shape of *või* and *vai* is similar; technically, this is the same Finnic stem with a slightly different shape and meaning in the two languages.

(25)
*Un māsa tūlīt… māsa arī bij klāt tur un un un ta pras* ***vōi… vōi*** *vini var maksat tas?*
‘And the nurse… immediately the nurse was nearby and and and asks **whether… whether** she can pay that?’
Estonian *või* ‘or’, Latvian *vai* ‘whether’(interrogative particle)

The meanings in both languages are not identical, albeit similar. It cannot be argued for sure that the participant realizes the common origin, but material similarity facilitates copying.

### 4.2.3 Mixed Copying

In Sect. 3, example (3) demonstrated mixed copying. In our data, no mixed copies occurred in adoption but there are several instances thereof in imposition.

Latvian *nieres* in Estonian is *neerud* 'kidneys' and *vēzis* (regional *vēz*) corresponds to *vähk* 'cancer'. In Latvian 'kidney cancer' is *nieru vēzis* kidney (GEN PL) + cancer and in Estonian *neeruvähk* kidney (GEN SG) + cancer. In both languages 'kidney' is a conventionalized global copy from (Low) German *nere* 'kidney'. As in several other instances, material similarity facilitates copying here as well. The participant paused and gave herself some time to rethink and to find an appropriate word. In this case (26) mixed copy consists of Estonian (modified) *neerus* 'kidney' and regional Latvian *vēz* 'cancer'.

(26)
*Un viņi nomir vinim bij* ***neer****…* ***neer*** *vēz* ***neerus*** *vēz.*
'And he died he had **kidney**… **kidney** cancer **kidney** cancer.'
Estonian *neeruvähk*, Latvian *nieru vēzis* 'kidney cancer'

Sometimes it is hard to unambiguously assign a copy to a particular which type of copies, and there are border-line cases. Consider (27), especially the copied item *narret* 'tease'. Latvian *nerrot* 'to tease' and Estonian *narrima* 'to tease' are derived from the stem *narr* 'jester, fool', a global copy from (Low) German *narre* or German *narren* 'tease'. Estonian has *narr* 'jester, fool, strange person' and *narrima* 'to tease, to fool', while Latvian has *nerrs* 'jester, fool, strange person' and *nerrot* 'to tease, to fool'.The verb form is a combination of the Estonian version of the stem and the Latvian infinitive marker:

(27)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Durn-am* | *var* | ***narr****-et.* |
| Fool-DAT | can | fool-INF |

'One may **fool/tease** a fool.'

The examples in this subsection imply that material similarity due to common origin of lexical items (Finnic, Low German) is probably the main reason for selective copying in imposition.

### *4.3 Alternation*

In his writings, Johanson does not dedicate much space to code alternation because code copying is the main focus of his theorizing in CCF. Yet looking at alternation can be useful, as it would provide a more general view on one's linguistic repertoire. The participant alternates between languages both at inter- and intra-clausal level. Alternation is mostly smooth and goes hand in hand with copying of one-word lexical items.

In (28) some dense copying appears in the second utterance by the participants. The participant speaks in Estonian and switches to Latvian then she stops and realizes that she switched to Latvian and corrects herself. With Latvian *ir* 'is' she switches once more to Latvian (bold) and then continues again in Estonian (italics).

(28)
Participant: *Mina siis kaabin lahti.*
'I will dig out (the seedlings).'
Elīna: *Mhm…nojah talle siis ei meeldi ja siis kaobki.*
'Mhm yes it (mole) doesn't like it then and then will disappear.'
Participant: *Aga meil siin* ***tas kaķ iet un kaķ****... kass* ***ir*** *aga tema vist ei saa kätte.*
'But in our place here **this cat goes and cat** cat (there) **is** but it probably cannot get it.'

The next two examples (29) and (30) demonstrate a different kind of alternation than in (28). In (28) the participant was not referring to anybody else's speech neither quoting anyone. In the subsequent examples she quotes something that was uttered in a language different from the one she is currently using.

Example (29) illustrates alternation between Latvian, Russian and Estonian. The participant was educated during the Soviet era, so she has some proficiency in the Russian language. The Russian part of the utterance reproduces something said in Russian by another person (quotation). Russian does not appear in the data in other occurrences. Here Russian is underlined. In the longer stretch in Estonian, some global copies of Latvian stems appear.

(29)
***Tie māt bij visi tādi… visi tadi labi nu edinati bij piens un viss tas un kuceni aug lieli un tad un beigas tad viņi nak un redz:*** gospodi-gospodi takie balsie kak svinja [stresses the last word]. *Vaata siis oli jälle sügisel see ära tapmine no ja siis olid need* ***aun****-ed, noh. Ära räägi….ja siis ma käisin apteegis oli selline vitamiin holosass… mina ostsin neid ja panin siis tead noortele… siis* ***māte****-le seda vitamiini söögi sisse ja kui hakati neid* ***kuceni****-t(d) söötma siis panin nendele ka … no ja siis ükskord jälle tuleb see vana see suur*: gospodi, gospodi takie balsie takie balsie *et* ***nevar būt nevar būt*** [slightly louder and in a theatrical manner] **man nāk smiekls.**

**Table 1** Copies in adoption and imposition

| | Global copies | Discourse markers | Selective copies | Mixed copies | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Adoption (Latvian > Estonian) | 20 | 5 | 5 | – | 30 |
| Imposition (Estonian > Latvian) | 18 | 29 | 3 | 3 | 53 |

'**These you see were all such… all were such, well, well nourished, there was milk and everything and all that and kits grew big and then and finally then she comes and sees**: my goodness, my goodness, so big as a pig. Look, then there was again slaughtering in autumn, well, and then there were these **lambs**, you know. Nothing to talk about… and then I went to the drug store there was the vitamin Cholosas I bought them and then gave to the young ones, you know… then to the **sow** (I put) this vitamin in its food and when they started feeding these **kits**, I put for them as well… And then once again there comes this old this big (woman): my goodness, my goodness, so big so big, like, **it cannot be, it cannot be… this made me laugh**'

In (30) participant quotes her relative who talked about her boyfriend in Latvian.

(30)
*See mees on kah eestlane. Kes neid teab, mis elu neil on.* ***Man ļoti labs draug. Man ļoti, ļoti labs draug****. Ja hakkavad minema siit, tema E* [boyfriend's name] *võttis käe alt kinni läksid sinna taha pidu platsile kus oli see kontsert avamine.*
'That man is also Estonian. Who knows what kind of life they live.
**My very good friend. My very very good friend**. And they started walking, this E of hers took her hand, (they) went there behind the festival square where was that opening of the concert.'

When talking to a balanced Estonian-Latvian bilingual, the participant alternates between languages very smoothly. Such constant, dense alternation already has become a manner of her speech and at times it is difficult to say which language is the base language.

To summarize, a comparison of copies in adoption and imposition is provided in Table 1.

## 5 Discussion

As expected, global copies (mostly nouns but also some verbs, one pronoun and several discourse markers) prevail in adoption. Global copying can be explained with a wish of emphasis or contrast, and also with semantic specificity and

entrenchment of certain lexical items in a certain usage context. The more an item or a pattern is entrenched, the more easy it is activated. There are some borderline cases that may be interpreted both as global or selective copies in the case of common or similar material properties (internationalisms, conventionalized copied from German). Yet material similarity was not a necessary for copying to take place: some copying of argument structure occurred without facilitation.

In the same vein, in imposition the share of global copies was the highest among all types of copies. As in adoption, nouns prevail, yet some verbs and discourse markers are copied, too. Here there is a slight difference between adoption and imposition: more discourse markers (both in the terms of types and tokens) are copied from Estonian (L1) into Latvian (L2).

Based on Matras (1998: 285–286) who says that utterance modifiers come from pragmatically dominant language, it can be assumed that the participant's pragmatically dominant language is Estonian because more pragmatic markers are copied from Estonian into Latvian and only few in the opposite direction. Pragmatically dominant language is not necessarily the sociolinguistically dominant language but the language that in a given moment is regulating, shaping and directing the discourse (Matras 1998: 286). Verschik (2014b: 51) notes that pragmatically dominant language (as language dominance in general) can change through the lifespan. It may be suggested that dynamics of pragmatic dominance is somehow related to the frequency, quality (variety of genres) and quantity of usage, as well as to cognitive restructuring in multilinguals.

No mixed copies occur in imposition and very few in adoption. Other research that employs CCF and is focused on adoption in contacts between unrelated languages, found that the number of mixed copies is higher than that of selective copies (for instance, Kask 2016 on English-Estonian and Verschik 2014a on Estonian-Russian code copying); yet it is too early to draw conclusions. The very low number/absence of mixed copies may be partly explained with a limited nature of the data in this study.

In imposition, selective copying occurs due to material similarity of items in Latvian and Estonian. There are single instances of argument structure copying. If rendered in the terms of SLA tradition, it means that transfer of L1 grammar is minimal, which looks very much unlike typical L2 acquisition. As mentioned in the introduction, this is at odds with the model proposed by Thomason and Kaufman (1988) as well.

The participant's speech demonstrates smoothness and lack of hesitation, alternation and copying occur without visible difficulties, and normal speech flow maintained throughout. Compromise forms give evidence of non-separation and coactivation of two languages. Based on this, it can be argued that bilingual mode is habitual for the participant.

## 6 Conclusions

The data demonstrate more or less symmetrical picture in adoption and imposition (what is copied, to what degree, the number of occurrences etc.). The question is, what an explanation may be to this discrepancy with Thomason and Kaufman (1988) observation on the nature of L1 > L2 and L2 > L1 impact. A possible reason of the discrepancy may lie in the sociolinguistic circumstances of this particular participant: the speaker's Estonian-Latvian bilingualism is an isolated case and there is no bilingual community to speak about. This would imply that an individual's linguistic behaviour may differ with and without a community. Clearly, if there is no bilingual community, there are no community norms and no reference group. The participant seems to be fully integrated into her local Latvian environment. A further question is to what extent and to what cases of bilingualism Thomason's and Kaufman's model is applicable.

The symmetry in imposition and adoption can be explained with structural and cognitive factors. Usually typological distance/proximity is considered a factor affecting language contacts outcome: for instance, congruent lexicalization in Muysken's (2000) terms means that grammatical structures are similar and a grammatical frame may be filled with lexical material from either language.

Estonian and Latvian have many similar features but still not to an extent as in closely related languages (see Praakli 2009 on Finnish-Estonian language contacts where there is a lot of material similarity). Common internationalisms and common conventionalized global copies from (Low) German facilitate copying. The speaker establishes equivalency between such items across the languages (see Clyne 2003 discussion on facilitation in transfer for more details). Still, lack of similarity does not hinder copying because, as it was demonstrated, a global copy may "bring along" its morphosyntactic properties and impact structure, increasing structural similarity (Backus 2004).

From a cognitive point of view, it has been demonstrated in psycholinguistic research that both languages can be activated all the time (also "non-native" language is activated when "native" language is used, see Duyck 2005; Van Hell and Dijkstra 2002). Even if Estonian and Latvian are reserved for communication with different speakers in different contexts, a complete separation in bilingual mind is unlikely. Thomason (1997) calls the situation when two varieties are used in non-overlapping contexts code alternation (not to be confused with Muysken's (2000) code alternation that designates a certain type of code-switching). She believes that despite functional separation of the languages, cognitively the languages are not (entirely) separated, and the results of language contact in this case would be similar or indistinguishable from those caused by code-switching. Besides, one cannot totally exclude code-switching even if alternation is a predominant mode (Thomason 2001: 136–137). This is demonstrated by the participant when talking to the second author, herself a Latvian-Estonian balanced bilingual. During the conversation the participant does not stick to one language but smoothly goes back and forth.

From the perspective of usage-based approach to language contacts (Backus 2012), it can be said that entrenchment of material from both languages is high and both languages can be easily activated. The smoothness of copying/alternation shows that bilingual mode is not novel for the participant: although Estonian and Latvian are used in different situations with different interlocutors, there has been enough opportunities in the participant's life when the languages are simultaneously activated, so code copying mode as such has become entrenched, too.

Thus, similar cases of late balanced bilingualism can contribute not only to SLA and bilingualism studies but to contact linguistics as well. It is an area where a recently proposed approach that combines contact linguistics and cognitive linguistics can be applied.

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# Part II
# Language Teaching Aspects of Bilingualism

# Learning Fractions Through Two Languages in an Elementary Classroom: The Interrelation of Maltese and English with the Mathematics Register(s)


**Marie Therese Farrugia**

**Abstract** In many mathematics classrooms in Malta, both English and Maltese are used for verbal interaction during the teaching/learning process. This is because Maltese is generally the students and teachers' home language, whereas English is the assumed academic language for mathematics. Believing that the academic language of a subject should be taught explicitly I carried out a teaching experience to support Maltese children to make periodic shifts from using oral informal Maltese, or a mix of Maltese and English, to expressing mathematical ideas through English. My theoretical assumption was that learning mathematics constitutes the appropriation of a discourse, and my focus was the development of the *spoken* mathematics register. The children were 8 to 9-year olds and the topic was Fractions. In my analysis of the classroom data I drew on Prediger, Clarkson and Bose who distinguish between everyday, school and technical mathematics registers and I explore how Maltese and English interrelated with these registers. I conclude that Maltese and English – used separately or together as an integrated system –fulfilled specific functions in terms in relation to the registers. Hence I offer a particular example of the pedagogic application of translanguaging to the Maltese context.

**Keywords** Mathematics registers · Translanguaging · Elementary mathematics education

Teaching and learning in Malta is generally conducted through Maltese and English. Maltese, a language with Semitic roots, is the national language and is spoken by more than 90% of the population (Camilleri Grima 2015a). Maltese is a co-official language together with English, the language of Malta's last colonisers. Malta was a British colony from 1800 until independence in 1964. English is recognized as an important global language and is crucial for the local tourism industry (Camilleri Grima, ibid). Camilleri Grima (2013) describes an interesting sociolinguistic

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situation in Malta wherein English and Maltese are used – either separately or together – for the same purposes. She offers illustrations related to civil administration, the media, church services and education, noting that ours is an unusual phenomenon of language contact for an ethnically homogenous group. Camilleri Grima (2013) comments that at times Maltese and English are so intertwined that further linguistic debate is needed on whether such a pattern constitutes a mixed code rather than code-switching. In schooling both languages are often used within the same lesson. In her study of various subject lessons, Camilleri (1995) noted that the main reason for the use of English was the English-language textbooks; furthermore, 'technical' terms were retained in English even if Maltese equivalents existed. Switching between the languages also allowed for a flexible and comfortable mode of communication. While research (Camilleri 1995; Gauci 2011; Sultana 2014) and anecdotal evidence suggest that the vast majority of teachers use both languages, the *degree* to which a teacher uses each language depends on their preferences, confidence and beliefs, and even on their head of school's preference (Camilleri 1995). Camilleri notes that drawing on two languages serves as a pedagogical tool; this supports García and Kleyn's (2016) observation that code switching is commonly practised in post-colonial education contexts, where the medium of instruction is often different from the language spoken by the students, and the students' language is used to aid comprehension. In this paper I explore the use of Maltese and English in a mathematics education context.

## 1 The Aims of the Study

The language of instruction for mathematics is a subject of debate in Malta. Some teachers and policy-makers argue in favour of using English only. They cite the reasons that textbooks and examinations are in English, that using English helps students develop the language and that, to date, there is no standardised Maltese academic language for school mathematics. (This despite the fact that the EU Commission produces a multitude of papers in technical Maltese for various areas, since Maltese is an official EU language). These arguments are often accompanied by a negative view of code-switching. Favouring English over local languages is a common occurrence in ex-colonies as in the cases of Singapore (Pakir 2004), Hong Kong (Tavares 2015), Tanzania (Kajoro 2016), Kenya (Graham 2010), India and South Africa (Hornberger and Vaish 2008). On the other hand, other Maltese educators argue that students' understanding of mathematics should take priority and therefore both Maltese and English should be used. Meyer (2016) explains that in many countries all over the world there are learners who are learning in a language which is not their first language. Meyer notes that in many of these settings, the first language is used and considered as a resource that can aid access to mathematics. Such settings have been described in South Africa (Setati and Adler 2001), the U.S. (Moschkovich 2007), Wales (Jones 2009), Malaysia (for science) (Then and Ting 2011) and Pakistan (Halai and Muzaffar 2016).

Morgan (2007) believes that students should be provided with access to higher status forms of language and various researchers offer advice on how to teach mathematical language explicitly (Gibbons 2015; Murray 2004; Sammons 2011; Setati et al. 2010). Bresser et al. (2009) argue that second-language learners have the dual task of learning the second language and content simultaneously. Indeed, some writers offer recommendations on how to focus on mathematical expression with second language learners (Coggins et al. 2007; Gibbons 2015; Melanese et al. 2011). As a teacher-educator/researcher with an interest in mathematics education, I wished to explore the inter-relationship between the use of Maltese and/or English and mathematical language. The study described in this paper had two aims. As a teacher-educator I wished to experience first-hand the process of engaging children in the use of mathematical language; I wished to encourage the students to use topic-related terminology, so as to support them in expressing concepts and ideas encompassed by the terminology (Lee 2006). As a researcher I wished to investigate the relationship between the medium of instruction and mathematical expression. Thus I posed the research question: "*How do Maltese and English interrelate with the mathematical register in an elementary classroom?*" I conducted a series of lessons wherein I supported Maltese-speaking children to move from the more informal Maltese and/or switching between Maltese and English, to expressing mathematical ideas through English, the academic language of the discipline. I viewed the use of both languages positively; following García and Li Wei (2014), I considered 'translanguaging' as a speaker's construction and use of original and complex language practices or, as defined by García and Kleyn (2016), the "deployment of a speaker's full linguistic repertoire" (2016: 14). García and Kleyn actually reject what they consider to be socially and politically defined boundaries of named languages (e.g. English/Maltese). In this article, I use the term 'translanguaging' but my stance is what García and Kleyn call a 'weak version' of translanguaging, i.e. supporting named language boundaries but calling for a softening of these boundaries.

## 2 Theoretical Framework and Research Design

I now outline my guiding theoretical framework, together with the research design adopted (context and approach).

### *2.1 Theoretical Framework*

Learning mathematics can be viewed as a participation in a practice or 'apprenticeship' (Lave and Wenger 1991). As a student progresses in their learning, they move from what Lave and Wenger call "peripheral" to "full" participation (p. 37), which involves learning the tools of the activity. In a similar vein, Rogoff

(1995) writes about *guided participation* and *participatory appropriation*. The former refers to the mutual involvement of individuals, including communication, in a collective valued activity, whereas the latter refers to the process by which individuals transform their understanding of, and responsibility for, activities through their participation in the 'discourse' at hand. In the context of the mathematics classroom, learning may thus be taken to be the appropriation of, and participation in, the practice of the discourse of mathematics. This is turn implies engaging in mathematical thinking (Gutiérrez et al. 2010). My focus in this study was on *spoken* discourse, which was used in relation to other elements such as diagrams, written text and objects. For the purpose of analysing the classroom interaction, I drew on literature on registers. Halliday and Hasan (1985) define a register as a configuration of meanings appropriate to a particular function of language. This view assumes that language is strongly contextualised (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004). Hence, the language brought into play in contexts where mathematics is the topic at hand can be considered as a 'mathematics register'. The mathematics register includes not only vocabulary, but also modes of argument and styles of meaning (Halliday 1978). As explained by Morgan (1998), there is not just one mathematics register; for example, the language used in a primary classroom is different to that used in a University lecture; the text found in an infants' workbook is far removed from an academic paper. Yet, all these texts could classify as making use of a mathematics register. Focusing on written mathematics, Morgan (1998) lists characteristics of the register as the presence of symbols, diagrams, specialist vocabulary and conciseness; she also notes grammatical structures such as the use of the imperative and nominalization. These characteristics render a text more 'formal' or more 'mathematical' and a number of them would also be present in a *spoken* register.

Clarkson (2009) addresses the issue of formality by offering a three-tiered model that includes three types of language. Informal language tends to include idioms specific to the age group and locality and 'shorthand' language. In the more mathematical structured language, there is an increase in the use of full sentences and in written texts, informal jottings decrease and writing becomes more structured. Finally, academic mathematical language consists of specialised language that allows the expression of precise mathematical thinking. Clarkson points out that each of these three varieties of language can be conducted through a first or other language. Bose and Clarkson (2016) refine the afore-mentioned model to read 'everyday register', 'school register' and 'technical register', stressing the dynamic between the three and the possibility of each being conducted in different languages. Prediger et al. (2016) link the registers with other representations. The everyday register is context embedded and can include concrete representations, informal graphics but rarely symbolic representations. The school register – which is the language of textbooks and teachers' speech – has less personal references and uses numeric, graphical and symbolic representations, but generally not algebraic representations. Finally, the technical register is similar to the school register but has an even higher economy and unambiguousness; it includes structural and quantifiable

relations and is further de-contextualised. Prediger et al. (ibid, 212) stress that the boundaries between the registers "are not hard and rigid, but permeable and at times quite fluid". This is due to the overlap between the contexts in which they are used, in particular the school and technical registers.

Another consideration of registers that I found helpful for my analysis was that offered by Chapman (2003). Chapman highlights that informal and formal mathematics registers are not mutually exclusive, but that 'mathematical language' is *a matter of degree* depending on two aspects. The first (drawing on Walkerdine 1988) relates to a continuum between metaphoric and metonymic elements. By 'metaphor' is meant the use of a non-mathematical context and discourse as a starting point to lead the learner to mathematical discourse. For example, a teacher might encourage children to put sets of coloured blocks together to model addition. The blocks constitute a representation which is a metaphoric context for addition. On the other hand, the symbolisation "4 + 3 = 7" or the expression "four add three equals seven" are metonymic structures that represent a mathematical generalisation. Chapman (2003) explains that the less metaphoric, and the more metonymic, elements present in a statement the more 'mathematical' that statement is. So, for example, "Thirty cents is what fraction of a dollar?" which contains a metaphoric context of money is less mathematical than "Find the value of two to the power of five" (Chapman 2003, p. 113). The second (drawing on Hodge and Kress 1988) is a question of modality or certainty. Chapman suggests that the higher the modality, the more 'mathematical' a statement sounds. So, for example, "Eighteen divided by three is six" (ibid, p. 143) has higher modality than "Does it make sense to say three is a multiple of one?" (p. 160).

## *2.2 Research Design*

I chose to carry out a case study, since this type of study allows the researcher to address a 'how?' question, asked about a contemporary event (Yin 2014). Furthermore, as stated by Stake (1995), a case study allows the complexity and detail of a situation to be brought to the fore. An education official, who was an acquaintance of mine, suggested a school where I was likely to be welcomed and I approached the Head of school. Hence, the choice of school was opportunistic (Wellington 2000). The Head of school then identified a teacher who was willing to accept me into her Grade 4 class (8–9 year-olds). I was open to teach any topic and the teacher, whom I call Ms. Louise, wished the topic Fractions – which had been covered earlier in the year -to be revised. Ms. Louise felt that whereas the children had mastered fractions of regions (for example, shading one eighth of a circle divided into eight equal parts), she felt that the children had not fully mastered fractions of quantities (for example, identifying one third of a set of 12 books). The five lessons I delivered were video-recorded with the consent of the children themselves

and their parents. If consent was withheld by either, then the child was placed out of camera view although they still participated fully in the lessons.

The home language of all 16 children was Maltese. They had daily lessons of both Maltese and English, as is normal practice in local schools. One-to-one discussions with six children prior to the lessons revealed a positive attitude towards English. Furthermore, I noted no resistance to English on the other students' part during the lessons I delivered, nor during three lessons delivered by Ms. Louise which I observed to familiarise myself with the classroom context. It is beyond the scope of this paper to describe the interactions during her lessons, but suffice it to say that the main language used by Ms. Louise to teach mathematics was Maltese, with English interspersions. The transcript below gives an illustration. The topic at hand here is 'smaller than/greater than' and the respective symbols < and >. Ms. Louise is referring to written English text projected on the whiteboard and to a 'crocodile' metaphor as a memory aide. (Maltese or mixed speech is shown in the left-hand-side column, Maltese in **bold** font; the translated speech is shown in the right-hand-side column; pseudonyms are used).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Ms. Louise: | **Hawnhekk għandkom** explanation **qasira ta' dak li għadna kemm għamilna**. **Xi jfissru s**-signs **u kif nużawhom. Qegħdin tarawhom pereżempju dawn in-numri?** *(Touches two numbers shown on the whiteboard)*. Three hundred eighty five and four hundred fifty eight. **Issa, Karl, minn dawk iż-żewġ numri, liem hu l-kbir?** | **Here we've got a short** explanation **about what we've just done**. **What the** signs **mean and how to use them. Can you see these numbers, for example?** *(Touches two numbers shown on the whiteboard)*. Three hundred eighty five and four hundred fifty eight. **Now Karl, which of these two numbers is the bigger?** |
| Karl: | Four five eight. | Four five eight. |
| Ms Louise: | **U qiegħed fuq in-naħa tal-**left **jew tar-**right? | **And is it on the** left **or on the** right? |
| Karl: | Right. | Right. |
| Ms Louise: | **Mela, l-ħalq tal-kukkudrill jrid jiftaħ lejn in-naħa …?** | **So, the crocodile's mouth is going to open toward the …?** |
| Karl: | **Tar-**right. | **The** right. |

I acknowledge that in this study I served the double role of teacher and researcher and that thus I was instrumental in creating the data. For the lessons, I planned language and mathematics objectives alongside each other, as recommended by Gibbons (2015). At times I interwove the two languages while at other points I emphasised English mathematics language. The general whole-class approach I used was typical of that with which the children were familiar. The main difference was that I used more English than Ms. Louise did, since this was a necessary feature of my teaching and research objectives. Of course, I also had my own particular teaching style in terms of resources, questioning techniques and so on. Following the lessons, I viewed the videos in order to analyse the classroom interaction, now applying the notions of everyday, school and technical registers and reflecting on how I, and the children, used Maltese and English to express these.

## 3 Data and Analysis: The Use of the Registers

The 'coming-and-going' across registers – and these in one language or another – has been noted by Bose and Clarkson (2016), Prediger and Wessel (2011) and Prediger et al. (2016). The relevance of this idea in a Maltese context is the focus of the forthcoming discussion.

### *3.1 The Everyday Register*

In order to establish an informal relationship with the children I used Maltese for social talk (e.g. during the lunch break). Furthermore, as we settled down to a lesson, I interacted informally with the students in Maltese. For example, in the following excerpt, the children were entering the classroom after an Art lesson.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Child 1 (unseen) | *(Child 1 moves from one desk to another and is one of the children who does not wish to show up on the video).* | |
| Child 1 | **Miss, minn hawnhekk ma nidhirx [fil-vidjow].** | **Miss, I don't show up [in the video] from here.** |
| Author: | (*Claps hands*). **Ħa nibdew**. | (*Claps hands*). **We're going to begin**. |
| Child 2 (unseen) | **Miss, ħa mmur naħsel idejja**. | **Miss, I'd like to go to wash my hands.** |
| Author: | (*Addressing child 2*). **OK**. | (*Addressing child 2*). **OK**. |
| Author: | (*Addressing Glen who has sat at a different desk to usual*). **Glen, tista' toqgħod hemm, jekk trid… jew inkella ejj' hawn** (*indicating his usual seat*). | (*Addressing Glen who has sat at a different seat to usual*). **Glen, you may sit there if you like, or else come here** (*indicating his usual seat*). |

However, this classroom talk is not what is meant by Prediger et al. (2016) when they refer to the everyday register. Rather, Prediger et al. had in mind talking informally about mathematics. As an illustration they give the following oral text (ibid, p. 206): "*Yesterday I was at a sale, in my favourite shop. The sale meant that I received a 10€ discount … Since I paid in cash, the sales clerk gave me another discount …*" In my study it was difficult for this register to be observed, since once the lesson started, the school register was called into play immediately. Frobisher et al. (1999) note that fractions are little used outside the classroom, apart from halves and quarters. Rather, the school topic 'Fractions' marks the beginning of a journey toward rational number understanding and proportional reasoning (Lamon 2006). In fact, any reference we made to 'everyday life' was somewhat contrived: for example, we spoke about a pizza divided into four equal parts with exactly five mushroom slices placed neatly on each part, or a flowerbed partitioned into sections, with exactly six flowers in each section. Admittedly, I might have planned more specifically to tap into the everyday register, but given the data available, I can only conjecture that talking about fractions in an everyday register is likely to be done in

Maltese, and include the everyday words **nofs**(*half*) and **kwart***(quarter)*. Other curricular topics may lend themselves better to exploring the everyday register.

## *3.2 The School Register*

Having settled down to a lesson, I began to use both languages. The excerpt below gives an illustration.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Author: | **Mela, aħna l-ġimgħa l-oħra tkellimna fuq, pereżempju** circles, rectangles **… u xxejdjajna l-biċċiet, sewwa? Illum ġibt dawn il-pizez miegħi** (*touches IWB on which are projected three circular pizzas cut into pieces, with mushroom slices on each*). **Dawn huma pizez tondi. Qegħdin maqsumin fil-biċċiet, li huma** equal parts. (*Touches first pizza*). **Mela din** into two … two HALVES. (*Touches second pizza*). This pizza is divided into four, so we call them q … | **So, last week we spoke about, for example,** circles, rectangles **… and we shaded the pieces, right? Today I brought along these pizzas** (*touches IWB on which are projected three circular pizzas cut into pieces, with mushroom slices on each*). **These are round pizzas. They are divided into pieces that are** equal parts. (*Touches first pizza*). **So this** into two … two HALVES. (*Touches second pizza*). This pizza is divided into four, so we call them q … |
| Children: | Quarters. | Quarters. |

The style of interaction, wherein children 'fill in the blanks' with a short response is a common whole-class teaching approach. However, at other parts of the lessons, I encouraged the children to give longer and more open-ended responses, in an attempt to engage them in more discourse and hence thought. For example, during one lesson I introduced the Cuisenaire rods. These are wooden (or plastic or virtual) rods of different standard colours that are utilised to focus on numerical relationships. For example, the white rod is a 1 cm cube and may be taken to be a unit, or '1'. The red rod is double the length of the white rod, and can therefore be considered as '2'. The light green rod is three times the length of the white one and is therefore '3' and so on, up to the orange rod, which is '10'. We were using software that was projected on the interactive whiteboard and the children were offering their ideas.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Zak: | **Miss, dak taqbad il-**white … **u … mhux id-**double **tiegħu, it-**three **pereżempju**. | **Miss, you pick the** white **one** … **and … not its** double, **[but] the** three **for example.** |
| Carlton: | (*Referring to a comparison between a white rod and a purple rod).* **Jekk tagħmel tliet' oħra, tiġi bħall-oħra.** | (*Refering to a comparison between a white rod and a purple rod).* **If you put three more, it'll be like the other one.** |
| Maxim: | The yellow is half of orange. | The yellow is half of orange. |

The described interaction contains elements that prompted me to consider the discourse as a school register. That is, there was evidence of the language progressing along the continuum of formality. First, there was a mix of personal and impersonal elements ("Miss, you pick the white one"/"the yellow is half of orange"); second, sometimes everyday phrasing was used, while at other times topic-specific vocabulary was used ("if you put three more, it'll be like the other one"/"one fourth"); third, there was a metaphoric element to the discussion (dragging virtual coloured rods on the whiteboard); finally, modality of the statements varied (for example "the yellow is half the orange" had high modality, whereas "not the double, the three, for example" less so).

Maltese and English contributed to the same function, namely the school mathematics register. Alternation was usually unmarked, and the participants interwove the languages to the point of creating a fully integrated system (Canagarajah 2011). On the other hand, there were times in the lesson when I purposely prompted the conversation *as a whole* to be carried out in English. The children followed my lead in using English and this resulted in them using English in relation to different mathematical processes and hence 'ways of saying' that form part of the school register. Examples are illustrated below.

| | |
|---|---|
| Justification | Because the pizza is divided [into] four groups, four slices. |
| Description | The circle is cut into three equal parts. |
| Expression of relationships | The yellow [rod] is half of orange [rod] |
| Argumentation | Miss, that's what I was talling [telling] you! Because it's in the Table of 2! |
| If/then reasoning | If you draw, you shade them all, [then] they will become a whole. |
| Reflection/self-correction | Two, four, six. And it is in three groups. Ah! It's half … it becomes three because it's a half. |

All the above statements canbe expressed in Maltese with English insertions, as in "**Naħseb li din** two thirds. **Għandi raġun**?" [**I think that this is** two thirds. **Am I right?**]. However, by encouraging the use of English, a new function for the language was established, namely, using English to express the school register. Thus two possibilities for the school register became available during the whole-class discussions: a mix of Maltese and English, and English alone. I found that supporting the children's use of English was easiest to sustain during whole-class discussions, since I found it to be unrealistic to expect them to continue to use English during paired work. In the latter situation, they quickly slipped back into mixing the languages, which of course, I accepted.

### *3.3 The Technical Register*

At certain parts of the lessons, I encouraged the use of the technical register in order to prompt more precise or more generalised statements. This was done through English since this is the assumed academic language for mathematics. One method

of encouraging the children to use the English register was to provide sentence frames (Bresser et al. 2009). For example, the sentence frame "The [COLOUR] rod is [FRACTION] of the [COLOUR] rod" prompted children to give statements such as "The red rod is half the purple rod". Guided participation includes observation and listening (Rogoff 1995) on the children's part, and my modelling served to make the terminology explicit and to show the children what language and knowledge I wished them to draw on. At times I prompted them to use English simply by using it myself. Since the children were already familiar with English – in general and with its use for mathematics lessons – they followed my lead. One such activity dealt with diagrams of divided pizzas which were projected on the whiteboard. Each circular pizza was divided into equal parts (halves, thirds, etc.) and on each part there were an equal number of mushroom slices. For a pizza divided into quarters, with four mushrooms on each part, I asked the children 'What is a quarter of sixteen?' By looking at the projection, the children could immediately answer 'four', since this was perceptually evident. I then asked for reasons for their answer.

| | |
|---|---|
| Rachel: | …because four times four is sixteen. |
| Carlton: | …because the … four plus four plus four plus four is sixteen. |
| Sandra: | …because sixteen divided by four equals four. |

For a pizza divided into two with three mushrooms on each part, examples of reasons were:

| | |
|---|---|
| Daniela: | …because six is even. |
| Rachel: | …because double three is six. |

This activity was carried out to help the students to link fractions of regions (equal parts of a circle) with fractions of sets (mushroom slices), by articulating the multiplicative relationship embedded in the context. Hence the language I encouraged was intended to help them focus on this relationship. The above-cited statements qualify as examples of the technical register since a high proportion of the words consisted of mathematical vocabulary (*times*, *equals* etc.), the statements were concise, were of high modality and indicated a move away from the metaphoric base of pizzas to state a mathematical generality or abstraction (metonymy). The statements were said in English thanks to my prompting in this direction. All the above statements can be uttered in a mix of Maltese and English, for example "**ghax** six **huwa** even" [**because** six **is** even], but I wished to encourage the children to practice the technical register in the 'standard' register available to us. To date no *standard* academic Maltese mathematics register has been established, nor is a mixed code considered to be standard. Once again, it was the whole-class discussion that proved to be the most suitable for the encouragement of the technical register, since I could channel the discussion accordingly through what Lewis, Jones and Baker (Lewis et al. 2012, p. 665) refer to as "teacher-led translanguaging".

I generally overlooked the children's occasional errors of grammar, structure or pronunciation so as not to overemphasise form over function. However, when technical expressions were used, I did rephrase or correct where necessary. For example:

| | |
|---|---|
| Naomi: | Twelve divided four is three. |
| Author: | Yes, twelve divided BY four is three. That's a good reason. |

| | |
|---|---|
| Maxim: | Two divided by six equals three. |
| Author: | Ok, just be careful because we don't say 'Two divided by six' but it's the other way: 'SIX divided by two is three'. |

The correction was done so as to expose the children to more standard ways of saying as part of learning the discourse of mathematics, and because in the case of the technical register, language itself is key to encompass the mathematical idea at hand.

## *3.4 Register Use During Pair-Work*

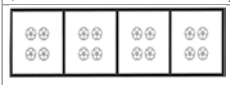
During whole-class discussion I had an element of control over the interaction, but during paired activities, children communicated as they wished. In these contexts, the students used a mix of both languages. For example, in the illustration below, Sandra and Sammy are working on a worksheet that consisted of statements to be completed like '*The white rod is _____ the yellow rod*'.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Sandra: | (*Reading the worksheet*). 'The white rod is … the yellow …' (*Places a yellow rod and two white rods*)  | |
| Sammy: | *(Looking at the arrangement)*. **Trid ohra hux? U ohra u ohra**. | *(Looking at the arrangement).* **You need another one, right? And another and another.** |
| Sandra: | **Ehe.** | **Yes.** |
| Sammy: | (*Passes on three more white rods and watches Sandra place them*). | |
| Sammy: | **X'tiġi?** | **What is it? [What's the answer?]** |
| Sandra: | One fifth. | One fifth. |

In terms of registers, I would consider the above to be the school register due to the mix of informal and occasional mathematical words. I cannot consider the conversation to be expressed in an everyday register, because the context is a mathematical model, not an everyday situation; on the other hand there are not enough formal elements to consider the stretch to be technical. Here distinct functions of the two languages can be noted: English was reserved for reading the written text and for stating fractions, while other communication was carried out in Maltese. From my

observations of Ms. Louise's lessons, this was typical use of the languages and evidently, this mix served as the 'language of comfort' (Bose and Choudury 2010) for the children's conversations.

Another example is the excerpt below illustrating Carlton and Daniela carrying out a worksheet task. They had to figure out the fraction shown by one part of a flowerbed, glue a matching paper strip next to it (e.g. a strip showing *¼ of 16*), write the answer (*4*) and colour the part.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Daniela | *(Looks at the third example on the sheet)*  | |
| | **Mela…** Four, eight, twelve, sixteen. **Ara,** one fourth of sixteen. | **So...**Four, eight, twelve, sixteen. **Look,** one fourth of sixteen. |
| Carlton: | **X'tiġi?** | **What is it?** |
| Daniela: | One fourth of sixteen. **Mela, l**-answer **tal-**one fourth of sixteen equals … four. **Isa, waħħal!** | One fourth of sixteen. **So, the** answer **of** one fourth of sixteen equals … four. **Come on, stick it!** |
| Carlton: | **Aħjar inpinġuhom, ta**. | **We'd better colour them**. |
| Daniela: | **Hux inpinġuhom! F'aħħar**. | **Oh, don't bother! [We'll do that] at the end**. |

Similarly to Sandra and Sammy, Carlton and Daniela used Maltese for general communication and English for the mathematical terms and fractional expressions, although here more mathematical terms were used. It is interesting to note that while Sandra had read *written* text in English, Daniela read the *diagram* in English, illustrating the close link between a visual model and the development of the technical register (Prediger and Wessel 2011).

## 4 Conclusions Drawn from the Data

The lessons conducted allowed me to draw theoretical and practical conclusions with regard to the Maltese bilingual experience of learning mathematics.

### *4.1 Teasing Out the Registers*

Prediger et al. (2016) stress that the boundaries between the registers are not hard and rigid and through the analysis of my data it became clear that drawing clear lines between the two registers was challenging. I present and discuss a transcript to illustrate this point; at this point in the lesson the children and I were talking about a projected image of a rectangle of which two fifths were shaded.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Ian: | Two fifths. |
| 2 | Author: | Give me a sentence. The FRACTION … shaded …is … |
| 3 | Ian: | The fraction shaded is two fifths. |
| 4 | Dulcie: | Shaded, it will be five fifths. |
| 5 | Maria: | ALL the parts are equal. |
| 6 | Zak: | The not-shaded are three fifths. |
| 7 | Carlton: | If you draw, you shade them all, they will become a whole. |
| 8 | Ella: | That, em, that you can cut, cut it in different ways (*undecipherable speech*). |
| 9 | Author: | Can you give me a sentence with the word 'numerator' and 'denominator'? |
| 10 | Kylie: | (*Referring to the words attached to the board*). The first one is the numerator and the second one is the denominator. |
| 11 | Yolande: | (*Indicating the fraction 2/5 written on the board*). The denominator is on the bottom…five. |
| 12 | Dulcie: | (*Pointing to a paper strip that was detaching from the board. On this strip was written the word 'numerator'*). Miss, the numerator is going to fall. |
| 13 | Author: | OK. (*Secures the paper strip on the board*). |

If I consider conciseness and impersonality as features of technicality, then such a register can be noted in interaction lines 1, 3, 4, 5 and 6. Other interactions are 'less' technical as follows: line 11 gives a concise statement about the denominator, although expressed rather informally ("on the bottom"); human agency is evident in lines 2, 7 and 9, although these interactions still contain mathematical vocabulary; line 8 contains no topic-specific vocabulary; lines 10 and 12 contain statements about the denominator and numerator, but do not deal with their mathematical significance. The conversation contains a certain metaphoric element, since it is tied to the context of a shaded rectangle; modality is high in a statement like "The fraction shaded is two fifths" (line 2), but lower in the line 9, "Can you give me a sentence …?" Carlton's statement (line 7) is note-worth because it includes the 'if … then' reasoning. This type of reasoning was noted by Morgan (1998) to be a particular feature of mathematical text.

Whereas in the classroom it is not necessary for a teacher or students to be constantly aware of the mathematical degree of their talk, in theory it is useful to confirm other researchers' views on the continuity and fluidity of mathematical language.

## *4.2 The Use of English and Maltese*

Since the children participating in this case study were familiar – and comfortable – with the interweaving of English with Maltese, it was possible for me to setup a 'translanguaging space' wherein the children's language practices were brought together (García and Wei 2014). The most 'natural' code for expressing the school register was a mix of Maltese and English, but with some prompting, the children also expressed themselves in English, thus participating in a new style of discourse. More technical articulations were done through English.

| LANGUAGE | REGISTERS | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Everyday | School | Technical |
| Maltese (L1) | | | |
| Mixed code | | | |
| English (L2) | | | |

**Fig. 1** Inter-relating of languages with registers

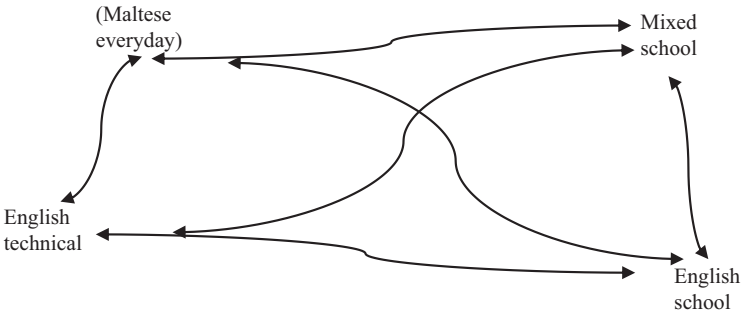



**Fig. 2** Movement through registers – 'shifting sands'

Prediger and Wessel (2011) offer a model presenting the everyday, school and technical registers being used in either L1 or L2. My study allows me to add to this. Figure 1 shows the interconnectedness of languages and registers (shown shaded) based on my data. The cell linking Maltese with the everyday register is conjectural for the topic fractions, but I might assume its use for other curricular topics.

My data brought to mind the metaphor of 'shifting sands' as the children and I moved between the options. Figure 2 gives a diagrammatic representation of the shifts.

Hence, translanguaging in local mathematics classrooms is a fluid process as students build their communicative repertoires.

## 5 Significance and Implications of the Study

My study supports international research that highlights the beneficial uses of translanguaging. It offers a scenario of English being targeted together with a discipline, a dual emphasis that finds a parallel in Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) contexts (Baker 2011). However, as I discuss further in Farrugia (2017), my approach was a 'variety' of CLIL, in that I gave dual attention during only *parts* of the lessons, while other parts maintained the common practice of integrating both languages. This approach allowed me to put into practice research

recommendations for learning mathematical discourse in general, and in bi/multilingual classrooms in particular.

My study shows that with explicit attention to both mathematics and language objectives, it is possible to use both Maltese and English in pedagogically helpful ways. While internationally this is not a new idea, it has important implications for the local scene, namely that the local debate with regard to medium of instruction need not be restricted to an either/or option (code-switching or English). Rather, educators might embrace the perspective of translanguaging and recognise that different language practices might be used and/or developed as part of the process of teaching-learning mathematical discourse. Of course, attention to English (general and mathematical) would need to be tailored according to the students' age and confidence with the language.

Through my role as a teacher-educator, I have frequent contact with pre-service and in-service teachers and, through discussion, I hope to be able to share my reflections on language use in our mathematics classrooms. Ultimately, my study shows that the languages – separate or together – can serve very specific functions in terms of mathematics registers. Consequently, I recommend that the everyday, school and technical registers as expressed through Maltese and English be recognised, valued and investigated further.

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# Are Classroom Requests Similar in All EFL Settings? Focusing on a Young Multilingual Learning Environment


**Pilar Safont**

**Abstract** For the last 20 years a considerable amount of studies have examined L2 pragmatic production in classroom discourse (see Bardovi-Harlig K. Developing pragmatics. In: Ortega L, Cumming A, Ellis N (eds) Agendas for language learning research. Language Learning 63:68–86, 2013, for a review). Nevertheless, most research to date still ignores the multilingual background of language learners. Research on classroom pragmatics from a multilingual perspective is still scant but findings point to the peculiarities of L3 pragmatic production and development (Alcón E. Multilingua 32(6):779–799, 2013; Portolés L. Multilingualism and very young learners. Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin, 2015; Safont P, Portolés L. Pragmatic awareness in early consecutive third language learners. Current findings from research on multilingualism. In: Safont P, Portolés L (eds) Learning and using multiple languages. Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Cambridge, pp 218–237, 2015). In order to contribute to this line of research, the present study seeks to examine multilingual requestive behaviour from a pragmalinguistic and a sociopragmatic viewpoint. In so doing, previous research from a monolingual and a multilingual perspective is taken into account. We have considered the specific request forms used and modification devices accompanying them (Alcón S, Safont EP, Martínez-Flor A. RÆL: Revista Electrónica de Lingüística Aplicada 4:1–35, 2005), the goal of the request (Dalton-Puffer C, Nikula T. Appl Linguist 27:241–267, 2006) and the classroom register (Christie F. The language of classroom interaction and learning. In: Unsworth L (ed) Researching language in schools and communities. Functional linguistics perspectives. Cassell, London, pp 184–205, 2000) in which these goals may be embedded. Data for the study comprise transcripts from twelve video-recorded English as L3 lessons involving 268 learners (m.a. = 8.4) and 12 teachers (m.a. = 43.2). Results confirm previous findings in multilingual learning environ-

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ments and they contradict results from SLA-based studies. Interestingly, this study points to the role of the language program in classroom requestive behaviour. We conclude by acknowledging the importance of adopting multilingual perspectives in the analysis of multilingual students.

**Keywords** Requests · Multilingualism · Young learners · Classroom discourse

## 1 Introduction

The present paper aims to contribute to research on classroom discourse and pragmatic behaviour by focusing on one aspect that has raised much interest over the last decades (Bardovi-Harlig 2013), namely that of the learning environment. As argued by Bardovi-Harlig (2014), studies on this issue have accounted for the effect of ESL vs EFL settings (Bardovi-Harlig and Dornyei 1998; Schauer 2007) and, above all, the role of study abroad contexts (Alcón 2013). Nevertheless, new learning contexts have arisen especially in the European continent that might not be simply included under the EFL general umbrella term. We particularly refer to CLIL (i.e. content and language integrated learning) and L3 (i.e. third language) language learning programs. In fact, existing research analysing classroom discourse has signalled out interesting differences between the pragmatic performance of teachers and learners in EFL and CLIL settings (Dalton-Puffer 2005; Llinares and Pastrana 2013). Similarly, recent findings point to the peculiarities of L3 pragmatic production and development (Alcón 2013; Portolés 2015; Safont 2013; Safont and Alcón 2012; Safont and Portolés 2015).

The present study is also motivated by the results obtained in a previous analysis of L3 classroom discourse in which learners' use of pragmatic formulas was examined (Safont and Portolés 2016). These findings pointed out the effect of the language model adopted by the school and the fact that most pragmatic formulas related to the manipulation of others category (Girard and Sionis 2004), which involved the use of requests.

On that account, this study seeks to further examine requestive behaviour in the L3 English classroom. In so doing, we examine teachers' and learners' use of requests from a pragmalinguistic and a sociopragmatic viewpoint. Therefore, we consider the request forms employed (i.e. pragmalinguistic) and the conditions involved in the use of these forms (i.e. sociopragmatic). For this purpose, we will consider the specific formulas used and peripheral modification devices (Alcón et al. 2005; Alcón 2008) accompanying them, as well as the goal of the request (Dalton-Puffer and Nikula 2006) and the classroom register (Christie 2000) in which it may be embedded. This may also allow for comparison with previous studies focusing on requests in classroom discourse (Dalton-Puffer 2005; Dalton-Puffer and Nikula 2006). Yet, while former studies deal with CLIL and EFL settings, our focus is on a multilingual learning environment where English is learnt as a third language.

Therefore, we may say that our goal is to analyse young learners' and teachers' requests in naturally occurring classroom discourse. Taking our main purpose into account, we shall next present the theoretical background underlying our study which includes previous research on the use of requests in the English classroom.

## *1.1 Requestive Behaviour in the Classroom. Forms, Goals and Register*

Classrooms are instances of educational discourse in which requests are very often produced. Given their threatening nature and possibilities for mitigating or aggravating them, they constitute an interesting pragmatic formula that has received a great deal of attention in the last decades. Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) in their seminal work on IL and cross-cultural pragmatics provided the main tenets for ongoing research on the use and acquisition of request forms by language learners. These authors took into account Brown and Levinson's (1987) directness to politeness continuum as well as Leech's (1983) distinction between pragmalinguistics (i.e. linguistic forms used to perform requests) and sociopragmatics (i.e. social conditions that may affect such choice) in their suggested taxonomies. Due to this fact, most studies to date (Alcón 2013; Economidou-Kogetsidis and Woodfield 2012) have adapted an adopted their taxonomies of request forms (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989) and mitigation devices (Faerch and Kasper 1989).

In a previous paper (Safont 2008), a detailed description of the speech act of requesting is provided with a focus on its two main constituents, the head act and its peripheral modification items. For the purposes of our analysis we shall next summarise its main constituents. As far as the head part is concerned, Trosborg's (1995) taxonomy of request strategies best illustrates the possible forms to encode speakers' intention since it is based on Austin's (1962) and Searle's theories (1975), Brown and Levinson's reformulations (1987) and Blum-Kulka et al.'s adaptations (1989). This classification of request acts realisations is constituted by three main categories namely those of indirect (e.g. It's cold in here), conventionally indirect (e.g. could you close the window?) and direct (e.g. close the window) request strategies. The peripheral modification items accompany the request head act with the purpose of varying politeness levels and decreasing threatening conditions. Alcon et al. (2005) present a typology based on previous work from Cross-cultural and IL Pragmatics (Faerch and Kasper 1989),the studies by House and Kasper (1981), Trosborg (1995), Nikula (1996), Hill (1997), Márquez Reiter (2000) and Achiba (2003) in which they distinguish between internal and external modification items. The internal subtype includes those devices that syntactically modify the request head act (e.g. *Would you mind* closing the window), while external modifiers as their name suggests refer to external variation of the request formula. These theninclude some optional clauses that soften the threatening or impositive nature of the request head. (e.g. Could you close the window *as it is getting really cold in here*?).

According to Alcón et al. (2005), learners not only need to have knowledge of linguistic elements and devices (pragmalinguistic competence), but also knowledge of social and interactional factors (sociopragmatic competence) for performing the act of requesting. Sociopragmatic competence may determine the use and interpretation of request modification items. In this sense, we should not only consider request forms and peripheral modification items, but also the sociopragmatic conditions involved in learners' and teachers' choice. More specifically, attention should be paid to those sociopragmatic factors that relate to the learning environment. The educational context allows for little variability in terms of sociopragmatic conditions involving power or distance, as the teacher-student relationship already implies fixed roles. Yet, the request goal may influence the use of specific formulas and link to their degree of imposition (Dalton-Puffer 2005). Previous studies dealing with classroom discourse distinguish between requests for action and information (Dalton-Puffer 2005; Dalton-Puffer and Nikula 2006) and examine their occurrence within the regulative or instructional classroom discourse type. According to Christie (2000), regulative discourse involves the interactional framework in which the activity is organised and the instructional register thus transmits the actual content.

As argued by Dalton-Puffer (2005, 2015), CLIL settings offer the sociopragmatic conditions that allow for the use of a wider range of request forms including direct but also indirect formulas and modification items. According to some scholars (Llinares and Nikula 2016) these gains seem less obvious in teacher-centred classrooms. On the contrary, EFL settings have been traditionally linked to direct and unmodified request forms. We wonder whether the discourse we analyse here will also show specific discourse patterns that may resemble those of EFL or CLIL settings. Dalton-Puffer (2005) and Dalton-Puffer and Nikula (2006) have examined the presence of request acts in the English classroom from a discourse-pragmatic perspective. While these studies deal with English as a foreign language (henceforth EFL) and Content and Language Integrated learning (henceforth CLIL) settings, they also share specific characteristics with our multilingual language learning context. As argued by Dalton-Puffer (2005: 1278) "CLIL or EFL classroom is asymmetrical discourse with unequal distribution of knowledge, power and speakers". This is also the case of the learning environment in which our data were collected. Furthermore, the target language in the three learning contexts is English. While CLIL settings include not only instruction of the target language but through that language (i.e. Maths course in English), EFL settings focus on the language exclusively (i.e. English course). Our setting also refers to the teaching of English courses bearing more similarities to EFL than CLIL contexts. However, English is not a second but a third language in our case. There is now evidence that distinguishes third from second language acquisition, both quantitatively, and above all, qualitatively. Such difference also applies to pragmatic production and awareness (Safont 2005, 2013) of third language learners.

Requestive behaviour in the classroom has been analysed in interventionist studies dealing with instruction, and using various elicitation techniques (see Alcón 2008, 2013 for an overview). Nevertheless, as argued by scholars dealing with prag-

matics and young language learners (Bardovi-Harlig 2015; Llinares and Pastrana 2013; Nikula et al. 2013) more studies are needed that account for what actually takes place in the classroom and, thus, adopt a naturalistic approach in its analysis. An early attempt was that of Lorscher and Schulze (1988) who examined requests occurring in an EFL classroom in Germany. As argued by these authors, most request formulas produced were direct and unmodified, and there were very few instances of polite (i.e. conventionally indirect) behaviour. Besides, these authors also point to the topicality of discourse and the lack of instances related to interpersonal communication. Dalton-Puffer (2005) criticises this interpretation as any act of interaction is in fact an example of interpersonal communication. We completely agree with that idea which has too often been related to classroom discourse also referring to its artificiality (Ellis 1992). It is high time we consider classroom discourse within its own nature and specific sociopragmatic conditions. This perspective might help entangle how pragmatics may develop in instructional settings.

Such approach was followed by Dalton-Puffer (2005) in her analysis of requests occurring in the CLIL classroom. In this setting, English is a foreign language and it is also used to teach content, hence, as a medium of instruction. The author examined six lessons and particularly focused on the pragmatic routine used for requesting, the request goals and the classroom register in which they were performed. Results deriving from Dalton-Puffer's research (Dalton-Puffer 2005) reveal a clear pattern that links the request goal to the type of classroom discourse in which it may appear. The instructional register included requests for information which were direct, while the regulative register involved the use of requests for actions which were conventionally indirect. As argued by the author, and contrary to all expectations, the classroom shows a wide amount of formal possibilities for request realization providing a rich language environment for learners in terms of pragmatic input. Furthermore, there were many instances in which teachers mitigated their requests making use of internal and to a lesser extent external modification items. Nevertheless, Dalton-Puffer also states that there is little variability in those forms learners used for making requests, which mainly referred to asking for information, hence, involving direct forms. We agree with the author in that the educational discourse implies unequal distribution of speaking rights, thus being the teacher in absolute control of the interactional negotiation of discourse. Another aspect that is also related to her results is that of the L1 culture. In Dalton-Puffer's study (Dalton-Puffer 2005), the surrounding L1 culture has a strong influence on what is said in the classroom. Being in a bilingual community with two different language programs in education, we wonder how these may also affect classroom requests.

In a similar instructional setting, Dalton-Puffer and Nikula (2006) conducted a contrastive analysis involving 17 lessons corresponding to either Austrian or Finish CLIL classrooms. Participants of the study belonged to grades 5–13; that is to say, 11–18 year old students took part in the study. These authors focused on requests used by teachers and students as part of the regulative and instructional register. Their study also analysed the effect of the request goal involved as well as the students' age. Results from this study point to the use of direct forms in the instructional register, while requests made in the regulative register displayed a wider

range of forms, also including request modifiers. As argued by the authors, not only the activity type and age of students but also their L1 may have influenced the type of requests found in the classrooms analysed. While requests for action in Finnish groups were direct, they were more indirect in Austrian ones, especially in younger students. Age also appears as an influential factor. These findings would be in line with previous research on L1 requests where conventional indirect forms appear, as children get older and gain more command on their linguistic resources, given the syntactic complexity attached to many conventional indirect forms (Ervin et al. 1987; Becker-Bryant 2009). However, results from children acquiring English as an L3 contradict these findings since as early as four, a trilingual boy started using conventionally indirect forms and peripheral modification devices in all his three languages (Safont 2013). We should point out here that his L1 and L2 are positive-politeness oriented languages hence not the reason for the boy's use of indirect forms. We may thus look at the learning environment as a potential factor influencing early multilingual pragmatic behaviour. As it is the case of the present study, the learning environment is a bilingual community where English is learnt as a third language.

The overall purpose of this paper is to provide a descriptive account of those request forms produced in the L3 primary education classroom by adopting a pragmalinguistic and a sociopragmatic perspective. We'd like to find out whether the requestive pattern in the L3 classroom shares characteristics with that of the traditional EFL classroom, or whether it also points out its own peculiarities. This last aspect would confirm existing research findings on young L3 requestive behaviour. In so doing, we shall contribute to research on early L3 and IL pragmatics.

In order to achieve this goal, the following research questions have been formulated:

RQ1:Will the requestive pattern in the L3 classroom be similar to that in other EFL or in CLIL settings? What request types are more often used?
RQ2: What goals appear in each discourse type examined?
RQ3: Is there a role for the language program adopted?

Taking into consideration the above research questions, the hypotheses deriving from previous research on EFL and CLIL settings (Hypotheses 1 and 2) and multilingual learning environments (Hypothesis 3) are the following:

HYP 1 Most request formulas will be unmodified direct forms as in EFL settings (Dalton-Puffer 2005; Dalton-Puffer and Nikula 2006).
HYP2 The instructional register will include requests for information which will be direct forms, while the regulative register will include requests for action which will be conventionally indirect and may be accompanied by modifiers (Dalton-Puffer 2005; Dalton-Puffer and Nikula 2006).
HYP3 The language program adopted will have an effect on the requestive behaviour of the classroom. (Safont and Portolés 2016)

# 2 Method

## *2.1 Data*

Data have been taken from twelve lessons involving 268 students and 12 teachers. The lessons were video and audio-taped and they were transcribed for their subsequent analysis. The lessons are subdivided as follows: six lessons belong to schools that adopt a Spanish-based program, that is, two languages are mainly promoted, Spanish and English, and six lessons belong to schools that adopt the Catalan-based program. These last schools follow an immersion program where Catalan is the means of instruction in most subject courses, and the learners are also exposed to Spanish and English in some courses. The goal in immersion schools is to promote multilingualism so that by the end of primary education students are familiar with three languages, Catalan (minority language of the speech community), Spanish (majority language), and English (foreign language). Data may be best summarised as follows (Table 1).

As previously mentioned, the present study uses discourse analysis to investigate naturally-occurring classroom requests. As suggested by some scholars (Bardovi-Harlig 2015), we believe that requestive behaviour in the L3 classroom is best analysed without constraints or tailor-made data elicitation techniques. Following Williams' (2014) terminology, the approach we follow is interactional where observation of intact classes takes place. Instead of a CA micro-analysis, or examination of feedback turns, more attention is put on the pragmatic analysis of discourse. Therefore, we have examined speech that occurred naturally in classrooms. Yet, we understand that classroom discourse is dynamic and complex and long-term analyses are also needed. We have considered all instances of requestive behaviour including both teacher and student's turns, and, as in other studies describing classroom requests (Jakonen 2016), questions are also considered instances of requests.

## *2.2 Data Collection Procedure and Analysis*

As mentioned earlier in this paper, the goal of the study is to provide a pragmalinguistic and a sociopragmatic account of requests employed in the English as an L3 classroom. In so doing, we have considered request forms and peripheral modification items employed (i.e. pragmalinguistic perspective), as well as the goals of the

**Table 1** Data sources and language program adopted in the schools examined

| | Lessons | Learners | Teachers | Number of words | Requests instances |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Catalan-based | 6 | 134 | 6 | 43,311 | 953 |
| Spanish-based | 6 | 134 | 6 | 46,457 | 851 |
| Total | 12 | 268 | 12 | 89,768 | 1804 |

request forms used and the register in which such goals appear in discourse (i.e. sociopragmatic perspective). Our units of analysis were request forms and the goals they performed, and we counted them as they appear in classroom discourse. The following table may best illustrate the procedure followed for data coding and further analysis.

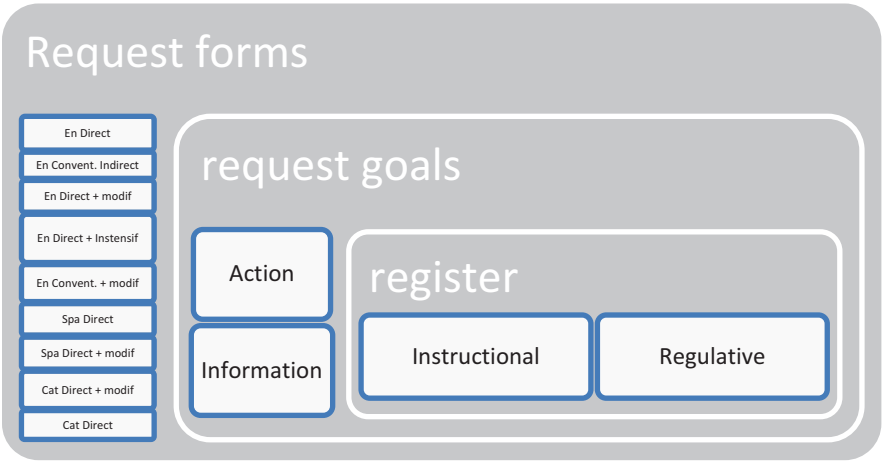
Previous studies on EFL and CLIL settings adopted a monolingual approach in the identification of request forms as only those ones produced in English (i.e. the learners' L2) were considered. As mentioned before, we have followed a multilingual perspective in our analysis and all learners' and teachers' languages (i.e. Catalan, Spanish and English) have been taken into account. As shown in Table 2 above, the request types and modification forms examined include direct and conventionally indirect forms in English, Spanish and Catalan. We have thus adapted the taxonomy employed in previous studies (Alcón et al. 2005; Safont 2008) as no instances of indirect or opaque forms were found in the corpus. Some examples for such codification are shown below.

**Example 1**

```
01 T: ok, stop, stop, enough, shh[direct request + intensifier –
Regulative - Action](.) Jose, please, can you tell me [modifier +
conventionally indirect request – Instructional - Information]
what's the weather like today?
02 S: err, it's /mondai/
03 T: no, no, the weather [direct
request - instructional – information]
```

For purposes of reliability, a senior researcher and applied linguist coded part of the data, the inter-rater reliability index was 0.9, as there was agreement in 95% of cases. One-sample Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests showed that the values for the request

**Table 2** Request forms, goals and classroom register used for data coding and analysis



forms examined were not normally distributed. In all cases the null hypothesis was rejected. Therefore, we employed the Friedman, Wilcoxon signed ranks test, and Mann Whitney U tests in order to identify whether reported differences in our results were statistically significant. Spearman correlation tests were also employed in order to confirm part of the results obtained during the hypothesis testing process.

## 3 Results and Discussion

### *3.1 Results and Discussion Related to RQ 1& HYP 1*

The first research question of this study wondered about the requestive pattern in the L3 classroom. The hypothesis related to this first research question predicted that the request formulas would be direct unmodified instances as in EFL settings (Dalton-Puffer 2005; Dalton-Puffer and Nikula 2006). In order to test this first hypothesis and provide an answer to the first research question, all request forms were analysed on the basis of the type of form and accompanying (or not) modifiers.

The boxplot below shows the type of request forms found in classroom discourse (Fig. 1).

As shown by the boxplot above, most request forms are direct and unmodified. In fact, according to our results from a Wilcoxon signed ranks test ($Z = -2.516$; $p = 0.012$), the difference between the amount of unmodified and modified request forms is statistically significant. Hence, we may say that our first hypothesis is confirmed by our findings. Interestingly, we may also see that an important amount of requests are modified and they also include indirect formulas. In that sense, one

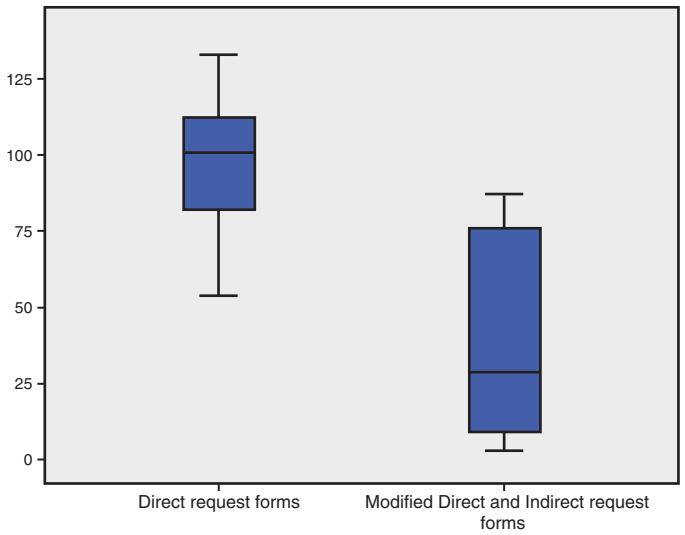



**Fig. 1** Boxplot unmodified and modified request forms

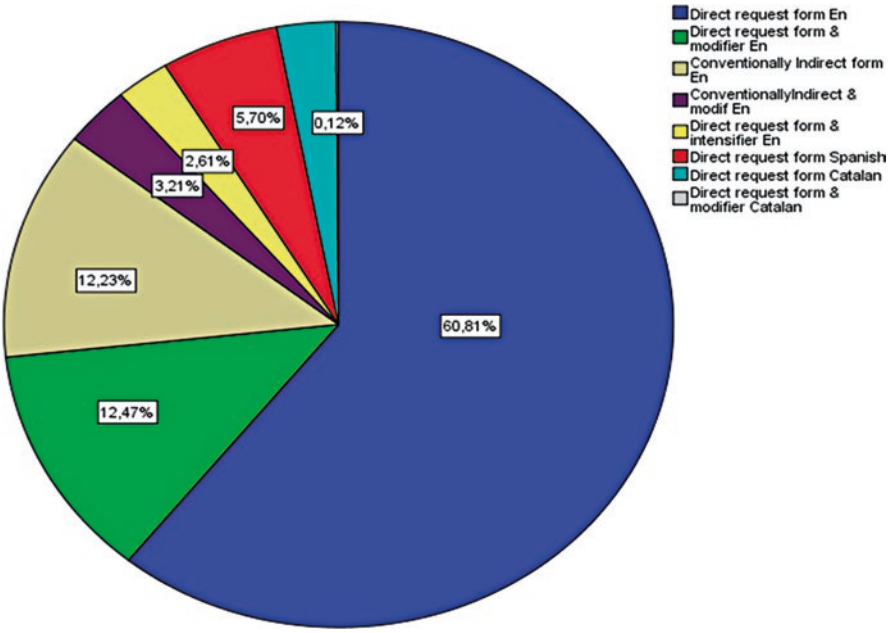



**Fig. 2** Request subtypes and frequency of use

could argue that the L3 classroom also allows for some variability including direct and conventionally indirect forms.

If we observe specific request types (see Fig. 2), we may see that over 60% are direct forms in English. However, there are also other types of forms that either include the use of modifiers or the use of other languages as well.

The second type of forms that appear more frequently in our corpus are those of direct request forms accompanied by a modifier and conventionally indirect requests as shown in the following excerpt.

**Example 2**

```
01 T:      January February: what's the weather like in this
season?
02 Joa:  °snowy°
       (the T cannot hear Joan)
03 T:    come on, what's the weather like in January? In January,
it's:
04 Joa:   snowy
05 T:     snowy, that's ok, so Joan repeatplease, in January it's
snowy
06 Joa:   in January it's snowy
07 T:     and Marta Paez, what's the weather like::?
```

Example 2 above shows the use of an imperative direct request 'repeat' and external modifiers 'please' and 'so Joan'. Furthermore, the direct request 'what's the weather like?' appears modified by 'come on' which in this case acts like an intensifier, yet since the question is followed by another direct request of an elliptical subtype 'In January it's:', this acts as an expander thus, neutralizing the effect of the intensifier, and downgrading the threatening nature of the original direct request in this turn. We believe that these instances of modification would not have been found if an elicitation technique had been employed. In this sense, our findings also point to the relevance of the research method used in identifying pragmatic behaviour (Bardovi-Harlig 2015).

The answer to our research question refers to the fact that while the L3 classroom shares the requestive behaviour of EFL contexts (Dalton-Puffer 2005), it also presents modified requestive behaviour and a variety of forms including direct and conventionally indirect instances being produced by both teachers and learners. Therefore, it may also be stated that some characteristics are shared with other language learning contexts, like that of CLIL (Dalton-Puffer and Nikula 2007). However, further research is here needed to find out whether this difference between our findings and that of other EFL settings is due to the peculiarities of L3 classroom or to the monolingual perspective adopted in most studies on classroom requests. In fact, should a monolingual perspective be adopted in this study the use of direct request would increase (up to 75%) and less variety would be present in our data.

### *3.2 Results and Discussion Related to RQ2& HYP2*

In order to further examine the requestive pattern of the L3 classroom, a sociopragmatic perspective is adopted that focuses on the interactional and contextual factors affecting the use of requests. Our second research question wondered about the request goals and the register in which they appear. In this sense, the second hypothesis predicted that the instructional register would include requests for information which would be direct forms, while the regulative register would include requests for action which would be conventionally indirect and might be accompanied by modifiers (Dalton-Puffer 2005; Dalton-Puffer and Nikula 2006). According to our results, direct and conventionally indirect request forms are found in both regulative and instructional discourse. The pattern, unlike predicted by previous research, seems to point to more conventionally indirect forms in instructional discourse, while regulative discourse allows for both direct and indirect request forms. Results from the Wilcoxon signed ranks test show that the difference between regulative and instructional discourse in terms of conventionally indirect forms is statistically significant ($Z = -3.076$; $p = 0.02$) not being the case of direct forms ($\underline{Z} = -1.415$; $p = 0.157$). Therefore, we may state that our second hypothesis is not confirmed by our findings.

**Example 3**

(REGULATIVE REGISTER)
01 T: open the book come on

( the T helps individually the ss)
02 T: five minutes to write the questions
03 sn: cinco minutes?
04 T: yes::.now four
(4 minutes)
05 T: ok stop writing!finish!stopstop!stopwriting!first we are
06 going to check the exercise above we are going to listen to the
07cd player check the answerswe are going to check the exercise
08 above *el de arriba*
09♪one two three listen to me one two three be quiet please♫
(they correct the exercise with the Cd player)

10 T: now Irene and Hugo stand up take your activity booksplease

(the T prepares two chairs face to face)
11 T: this is an interview, now Hugo you are going to ask her the
12 questions ok ready?

(INSTRUCTIONAL REGISTER)

13 Hug: can you play football?
14 Ire: no
15 sn: I can't
16 T: shhhshhh
17 Hug: can you swim?
18 Ire: yes::
19 T: yes?
20 Ire: yes I can
21 Hug: can you drums?
22 T: can you PLAY the drums?
23 Ire: no
24 T: no:::

25 Ire: I can't
26 Hug: can you dance?
27 Ire: no
(REGULATIVE REGISTER)
28 T: no she can't. now Irene TO Jugo ask him the questions
(INSTRUCTIONAL REGISTER)
29 Ire: can you play football?
30 Hug: yes I Can

Example 3 above shows instances of conventionally indirect forms in blue in the instructional discourse, and direct forms underlined in the regulative register. As shown in lines 04, 19 and 24, the teacher makes use of elliptical phrases which are often employed as samples of direct requests within the regulative and instructional register. There are also instances of conventionally indirect forms in both registers unlike predicted by previous research. This discrepancy with former studies may be due to either the politeness orientation of the L1 or L2 in each instructional setting or to classroom dynamics. In fact, as mentioned before, teacher-centred classrooms allow for little variability in terms of pragmatic input, and this would be the case of some EFL lessons examined in other studies (Dalton-Puffer 2005).

As illustrated in example 4 below, requests for information (I) are included within the instructional register, that is, where the actual content is transmitted. In lines 05 to 15 the teacher is retrieving information from the students as they deal with the days of the week. Request for action (A) appear mainly within the regulative register, that is, the interactional framework within which activities are to take place.

**Example 4**

REGULATIVE
01 T: Javier finish (2.0) Angela finish (3.0) °come on° Joan please
02close your book. (A)
(3.0)

REGULATIVE
01 ok:: (3.0) PLEASE let me see who is silent (5.0)(A)
02T: jaumecome here(A)
03Alb: *etdiu que vages.*
04T: alberto, don't translate(A)

INSTRUCTIONAL
05jaumecan you tell me the days of the week? (I)
06 Jau: Monday Tuesday WednesdayThursday ehh Friday mmm Saturday Sunday

```
07 T:   and today is:::
08is today Monday?
09    boys and girls is today Monday?
10 SS: No::::
11 T: it's today Tuesday?
12 SS: no::::
13 T:  is today Wednesday
14 SS: No::::
15 T: is today Friday?
```

Regarding the request goal, our results are in line with Dalton-Puffer's (2005) findings. In fact, requests for action mainly appear in the regulative discourse (m. r. = 7.50), while requests for information are widely used in the instructional discourse type (m. r. = 6.50), being such difference statistically significant as our results from the Wilcoxon signed ranks test ($Z = -2.831$; $Z = -3.076$; $p < 0.005$) show.

Although our second hypothesis is not confirmed, we may say that results are partly in line with previous research. Therefore, the role of the request goal in the production of specific forms seems to be inconclusive. Further research may thus be needed that accounts for the interplay with other variables like that of the educational context.

### *3.3 Results and Discussion Related to RQ3& HYP3*

The third research question dealt with the role of the language program adopted by the school in L3 requestive behaviour. As mentioned before, our data has been taken from a Spanish-based (i.e. focus on the majority language as means of instruction) and a Catalan-based program (i.e. the minority language as means of instruction – also termed bilingual immersion program). In the light of previous findings, the fourth hypothesis of the present study predicted a clear role for the language program adopted in teachers and learners' use of requests in classroom discourse. We have subdivided our results as they refer to the effect of the language program in (a) the request forms used and (b) the goal of the requests.

Regarding the request forms found in classroom discourse, we may say that there is a role for the language program in the use of modified direct requests in English as they appear more frequently in the Catalan-based (m.r. = 9.5)than in the Spanish-based schools (m.r. = 3.5) being such difference statistically significant ($Z = -2.956$). There are also more instances of conventionally indirect forms including modifiers in the Catalan (m.r. = 8.5) than in the Spanish-based (m.r. = 4.5) classrooms ($Z = -0.971$), as well as more direct requests in Catalan (m.r. = 8.4; $Z = -2.298$); while we find more instances of Spanish direct requests(m.r. 8.5; $Z = -2.000$) in the Spanish-based subgroup. All the differences reported above are statistically significant ($p < 0.05$). Results from the Spearman correlation test further confirm our findings ($r < 0.8$; $p < 0.05$) .

Interestingly, while the difference in terms of direct requests in English is not statistically significant, if we take into account direct requests in all languages, we find that the Spanish-based (m.r. = 9.17) subgroup makes a more frequent use of these forms than the Catalan based one (m.r. = 3.83), being such difference statistically significant ($Z = -2.627$; $p = 0.009$). This would be in line with previous research on EFL classroom discourse (Safont and Portolés 2016) as more direct forms were employed in the Spanish than in the Catalan-based classroom.

Regarding the goal of the request form, we find that requests for information in the instructional register are more frequent in the Spanish-based classroom (m.r. = 8.83) than in the Catalan-based one (m.r. = 4.17) being such difference statistically significant ($Z = -2.299$; $p = 0.02$). These results are also confirmed by Spearman results ($r = -0.693$; $p = 0.012$). In line with findings mentioned above, we find that these requests for information include direct request forms in most cases. Hence, it seems that the Spanish-based classroom provides learners with more direct pragmatic input than the Catalan one. Similar results were obtained in previous studies (Dalton-Puffer 2005; Nikula 2006) dealing with a majority language as basis for the language program in which EFL classes were conducted. It might also be worth mentioning that most requests for information are produced by teachers. Hence, our findings may reveal a teacher-centred pattern in the EFL classroom of Spanish-based programs. In fact, this is in line with results from a previous study (Safont and Portolés 2016) in which teachers in Spanish-based classrooms initiated most requests for information.

In light of our findings, we may state that our third hypothesis is confirmed. In fact, our results indicate the influence of the language program adopted in the request forms used and the request goal performed. These results are in line with previous research on the effect of the language program (Safont and Portolés 2016) in learners' use of specific pragmatic routines. Considering previous and present results, we may state that the language program has an effect on young learners' pragmatic comprehension (Portolés 2015) and on the use of certain pragmatic routines (Safont and Portolés 2015, 2016). In fact, as argued by Gorter (2013), the language program influences discourse skills of teachers and learners, and this has been the case in our study too.

Summing up, we may state that the results of this paper are in line with previous studies conducted in multilingual settings. They also show that the L3 classroom shares characteristics with both CLIL and EFL settings. Requests used in the L3 classroom also include some degree of modification and variability while they also share characteristics with other EFL contexts. Our findings confirm previous research on the pattern related to the goals of the request produced, but they contradict some of those studies dealing with the classroom register and the request forms employed. There may be a role for the L1 and L2 as it has also been argued by other scholars. There are different requestive patterns in the two language programs examined in terms of the request forms used. As mentioned above, this confirms the role of the language program in the pragmatic production of instructional settings.

## 4 Conclusion

The present study aimed at contributing to research on the effect of the learning environment on the pragmatic behaviour of English teachers and learners. The main goal was to find out whether pragmatic discourse in the L3 classroom would differ from or could be included within the EFL general umbrella term. For that purpose, we took into account previous studies in EFL and multilingual settings. On the basis of previous research in EFL settings, we hypothesized that (i) most requests forms would be direct and unmodified and that (ii) requests for information would mainly appear in the instructional register. Our results have partly confirmed these hypotheses. While most request forms were direct and unmodified, we have also identified modified requestive behaviour and more variability in the use of these pragmatic forms than the one described in previous studies. The classrooms examined shared characteristics with EFL and CLIL settings in terms of the forms employed. However, the sociopragmatic variables analysed were not in line with previous EFL and CLIL research. For that reason, further research would be needed to account for sociopragmatic development in the young L3 classroom. Yet, we may state that results from our second hypothesis have provided us with more information on third language learners' pragmatic production which contributes to existing research on early L3 learners' pragmatics in multilingual learning settings.

Considering research in multilingual settings, it was predicted that (iii) there would be significant differences in the use of request forms in Catalan and Spanish-based classrooms. This last hypothesis has been confirmed by our results which implies that the language program adopted does play a role in teachers' and learners' pragmatic behaviour. However, as we used non-parametric tests in the analysis of our data, more studies dealing with the multilingual learning environment and a normal distribution of data values are needed to corroborate our results.

This study is subject to a number of limitations as we have considered one pragmatic aspect (i.e. requests) and one specific age group (i.e. 8/9-year-old students). It may be worth accounting for other pragmatic targets and a wider range of age groups in order to be able to generalise results that call for the peculiarities of third language pragmatic production. Nevertheless, we believe that our findings are relevant to the extent that they further confirm previous findings and they also include a different perspective in its analysis. We might have contributed to research on L3 pragmatics and IL pragmatics by focusing on the learning environment. Adopting a multilingual perspective and tackling data in authentic classroom discourse may have enabled us to widen the scope of expected results from IL pragmatics studies. In any case, what seems obvious is that the type of pragmatic input found, in this case direct request forms, bears relevant connotations as far as the expected learning outcome is concerned. As shown in many studies (see Alcón 2008 and 2012 for a review), learners tend to produce unmodified direct requests. Too often these results have been linked to either transfer from the learners' L1 (and L2 in our case) or lack of pragmatic knowledge. Maybe it's not just learners' or their L1's fault, maybe

more attention should also be paid to the teachers' pragmatic competence so often ignored or taken for granted. In fact, we may agree with the idea that most pragmatic input does not come from textbooks; and teachers' output affects learners' pragmatic learning and development.

Finally, the role of the language program, that was also confirmed in previous studies (Portolés 2015; Safont and Portolés 2016), raises the need that policy makers in bilingual communities make informed choices when modifying existing curricula. To sum up, we could say that multilingual learners deserve multilingual approaches in their teaching as they do in the analysis of their pragmatic behaviour.

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# Teaching English in a Multilingual Classroom: Addressing Challenges Through Teacher Education and Development


**Daniel Xerri**

**Abstract** As many societies evolve into multicultural entities consideration needs to be given to the challenges and opportunities associated with teaching English within a multilingual context. By means of a study conducted at a primary school in Malta, this article discusses the beliefs and experiences of a group of teachers adapting to a new classroom reality. It shows how they endeavoured to surmount a number of difficulties with minimal support from outside the school. This article underscores the role that effective teacher education and development can play in assisting such practitioners.

**Keywords** Multilingualism · Multiculturalism · Teacher education · Teacher development · English language teaching

## 1 Introduction

Acknowledging that English is being learnt in an increasingly multilingual classroom puts pressure on educational leaders, policymakers and curriculum designers to address the needs of teachers in what is relatively a new environment in certain countries. Nations that might have formerly consisted of bilingual citizens are now composed of a multilingual population. Coelho (2012: xiii) points out that "Balancing the demands and needs of two linguistic communities becomes more challenging with the arrival of new communities speaking a variety of different languages." This is certainly true of Malta where the majority of the population speaks the national language, Maltese, as well as the other official language, English. However, the composition of Maltese society is changing dynamically and this is obviously mirrored by the composition of the classroom. Besides the learners

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themselves, teachers also experience the repercussions of such change. Their experiences warrant empirical investigation in order to identify the means by which the learning of English in a multilingual environment can be enhanced.

By means of a study conducted at a primary school in Malta, this article seeks to explore some of the challenges that teachers are facing when teaching English within the context of classrooms made up of multilingual learners. This case study sought to identify the attitudes, beliefs and practices of a group of teachers whose classes consist of a large number of students living in Malta but originating from households having a variety of L1s other than Maltese. These teachers work at a school that caters for the residents of a town with an immigrant community representing around 100 nationalities. Over the past few years they have had to reposition themselves from teaching English as a second language to speakers of Maltese as an L1, to teaching English to multilingual learners. These teachers are expected to teach Standard English but this does not preclude the use of other varieties in the classroom, including Maltese English. This article examines the experiences of these teachers in seeking to overcome the difficulties presented by the increasingly multilingual context in which they operate. The findings of the study serve as the bedrock for a consideration of how teacher education and development courses can aid practitioners to address the challenges of teaching English to multilingual learners.

## 2 Teacher Education and Development

In order for teachers to develop learners' English language proficiency in a multilingual classroom they need to be equipped with the pedagogical and linguistic skills required for them to operate effectively. Unfortunately, educational authorities and school leaders in a variety of contexts sometimes ignore this basic notion. For example, a Teacher Training Agency study in England shows that "many newly qualified teachers, whatever their specialization, feel that their training has not prepared them well for working with pupils from a wide range of cultural and linguistic backgrounds" (McPake et al. 2007: 106). Costa and Coleman (2013) found that 77% of Italian universities having English-taught programmes do not provide teacher training for their academic staff, 15% had provided a language course, and only 8% a methodology course. Costley (2014: 288) describes how English as an Additional Language (EAL) "is not a tangible or recognised curriculum entity in England, even though for many teachers multilingual classrooms are an everyday reality. Although the number of EAL learners is increasing, funds and resources previously ring-fenced for EAL are decreasing". This obviously has implications for teacher training since it makes it difficult for trainee teachers to develop an understanding of the needs of EAL learners without the necessary preparation. Similarly, Baecher and Jewkes (2014) point out that in the USA many teacher education programmes under-prepare candidates for the task of teaching English Language Learners, students who are learning English in addition to their first language. They maintain that "To effectively ready early childhood teachers for the critical work they need to do

in our increasingly diverse schools, several factors need to come together in early childhood teacher preparation programs" (Baecher and Jewkes 2014: 51). Arthur Shoba (2013: 379) explains that "Failure to provide adequate professional preparation means that teachers are forced to rely uncritically on the pedagogies to which they themselves have been exposed as learners, since they lack alternatives to them." The main risk of having insufficiently prepared teachers in the classroom is that they might unwittingly fail to provide learners with what they are entitled to in order for them to fully benefit from the opportunities associated with English language proficiency.

Teachers responsible for teaching English need to have a high level of competence in the L2 in order for them to act as role models for their learners. The perceived lack of proficiency of non-native English speaking teachers is one of the reasons why employers might prefer recruiting native speakers. However, this is ironic because as Ellis (2004: 104) points out, "The profession contains within it… the paradox that some teachers are preparing students for multilinguality without having a very clear idea of what it is and what it might be like to achieve it." When she compared monolingual and multilingual teachers in Australia, she found that the latter "referred spontaneously to their own language learning when describing their approach to teaching ESL [and this] suggests strongly that it is a resource for them" (Ellis 2004: 105). Kirkpatrick (2006) questions the tendency in certain countries to favour native speaker teachers of English. In his opinion educational authorities

> need to recognise the advantages associated with multilingual local teachers who are expert users of English. Far from being classified as somehow inferior to native speaker teachers as is all too often the case at present, these teachers should in fact be held up as ideal role and linguistic models for their students. It is these teachers upon whom governments and institutions should be spending their resources to ensure that they receive training and opportunities for professional development. (Kirkpatrick 2006: 17)

Pre-service teacher education programmes ought to ensure that the English language needs of practitioners are regularly addressed. Shin (2008:62) affirms that "Teacher candidates should be provided with opportunities to improve their written and spoken English throughout their teacher training program, through language courses that are designed for the non-native English speaking teacher in mind." Such language training would help to ensure that the L2 does not act as a stumbling block to effective learning, especially when it is being used as the language of instruction for other subjects apart from English. For example, Floris (2014: 57) reports how students and teachers in Indonesia recognize the importance of English as the medium of instruction but at the same time feel concerned that "the language barrier seems to affect the students' academic performances". For this reason she insists that "Equipping students and teachers with the necessary skills before and during the implementation of [English as the medium of instruction] is the responsibility of the educational institution" (Floris 2014: 58). If English is going to feature heavily in young people's learning experience then pre-service language training is fundamental. Furthermore, it should be complemented by in-service

training courses that are not solely restricted to methodology but aim to provide teachers with L2 support throughout the course of their career.

In addition to language competence, teachers require the necessary language awareness in order for them to identify and address learners' difficulties in the target language. This might entail training teachers on form-focused instruction. Research shows that form-focused instruction enables second language learners to use the language fluently and accurately (Doughty and Williams 1998; Ellis 2001; Larsen Freeman and Long 1991; Lightbown 2000; Norris and Ortega 2000; Spada 1997). In integrated form-focused instruction the learners are made to notice language forms while engaged in communicative or content-based activities and in this way become aware of the link between language and functions. Integrated form-focused instruction has been shown to maximise success in the learning of vocabulary and grammar, improve scores in writing, and increase levels of interest and motivation amongst second language learners (Elgün-Gündüz et al. 2012). Equipping teachers with the knowledge and skills to analyse language during communicative activities is beneficial for learners. Lightbown (2014: 18) posits that

> by providing more instructional time and ensuring that it includes a balance of meaning-focused and language-focused activities, the teacher/gardener can hope to nurture seedlings that will continue to grow and flourish after they leave the protected garden of the classroom and face the gale outside.

Language awareness training complements language and methodology training and helps to ensure that learners of English have access to the expertise of a teacher who can truly assist them in attaining the necessary level of proficiency.

Finally, teacher education and development should also target practitioners' beliefs and attitudes since these play a major role in shaping pedagogy. Altan (2012: 491) affirms that "teacher education programmes should encourage prospective teachers to explore their beliefs, pay attention to any unrealistic beliefs or misconceptions they may hold, and challenge such beliefs with new information and knowledge." By encouraging collaboration between lecturers teaching on an early childhood education programme and a TESOL programme, Baecher and Jewkes (2014) sought to enhance trainee teachers' beliefs in relation to the pedagogy to use with young English language learners. Training aimed at developing teachers' beliefs and attitudes enables them to reevaluate their professional practices and identity in an attempt to maximize their effectiveness when teaching the L2.

## 3 The study

The study was conducted at a primary school (henceforth School Y) of around 800 learners situated in the northwest of Malta, a country that recognizes English and Maltese as official languages and whose population is largely bilingual. A quarter of the school population was made up of learners originating from a variety of countries and speaking a wide array of first languages. To cater for the needs of learners

**Table 1** Study participant information

| Teacher | Gender | Years teaching | Years at school Y | Year group taught |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| T1 | M | 11 | 11 | Complementary |
| T2 | F | 11 | 11 | 2 |
| T3 | F | 3 | 2 | 3 |
| T4 | F | 15 | 12 | 4 |
| T5 | F | 7 | 7 | 5 |
| T6 | M | 10 | 6 | 6 |

who might not speak English or Maltese, the school organized inclusion classes that addressed the language needs of these learners. Moreover, one Language Support Teacher (LST) was meant to help the class teachers with the task of teaching English and Maltese to these learners.

Semi-structured interviews were held with six teachers at School Y. These face-to-face interviews were held in a one-to-one manner and were audio recorded and subsequently transcribed. Each interviewee was asked whether he or she preferred doing the interview in English or Maltese. Given that all the interviewees opted for Maltese each transcript had to be translated into English. Permission to conduct these interviews was granted by the Head of School and the Director of Research and Development within the Ministry for Education. Every teacher gave his or her consent for the interview to be recorded and for it to be used in the study.

The selection of teachers was made on the principle of representation of genders, level of teaching experience, and year groups taught. As shown by Table 1, the six teachers who participated in this study were on average quite experienced and had spent a number of years teaching at School Y.

Each teacher was responsible for teaching a class belonging to 1 of the 6 year groups that constitute primary education in Malta. Even though the study did not involve the participation of a Year 1 teacher, Teacher 1 (henceforth T1) acted as a complementary teacher and hence had experience of teaching Year 1 learners. A complementary teacher addresses the literacy needs of learners from any year group who are found to require special assistance based on a class teacher's assessment using a core competences checklist for Maltese and/or English (Directorate for Quality and Standards in Education 2012: 17).

## 4 Challenges

The teachers complained that the main challenge of teaching English in a multilingual classroom was the mixed ability profile of their classes. Learners at different language levels were grouped together in a class and in certain cases the gap was so pronounced that native speakers were working alongside absolute beginners. In fact, the teachers explained that "some students come to us with no knowledge of English. They are thrown in the deep end and miraculously they manage not to

drown" (T5). Such a situation vexed most teachers and learners with one interviewee saying, "At times you feel as frustrated as those students who come to this school without knowing any English. You obviously triple your efforts to allow such students to communicate and integrate but it's frustrating at times" (T1). The teachers' exasperation was mainly driven by the lack of support they were offered. One teacher claimed, "You're most often alone in dealing with a class of varying abilities. Some of them are very fluent while others fail to understand a word you say" (T3). Another interviewee maintained, "We've been forgotten. No one is interested in us because we're unlike other schools with a Maltese majority… We hardly receive any support in dealing with mixed ability classrooms" (T4). This same teacher felt annoyed by the fact that "in my class I have native speakers and students who don't speak English. This kind of mixed ability is unfair" (T4). What made the situation even worse was the fact that some of these teachers had classes made up of around 24 learners. This led one interviewee to demand, "Take everything away from me but give me a smaller group to work with. This would be the best kind of help I could get" (T5). Being expected to teach mixed ability classes, these teachers did their utmost to provide all pupils with an enriching learning experience. However, in order to do so they required adequate support and training, the lack of which intensified the level of difficulty.

The challenge of mixed ability classes was compounded even further by the fact that the teachers sometimes found very little support from the parents of pupils who were just beginning to learn English. This was because most often the parents themselves did not speak English and hence were unable to assist their children with the task of learning the target language. This led one teacher to comment that "when some parents attend Parents' Day I find it harder to communicate with them than with their child" (T5). Another teacher asserted, "I find that Maltese students are much more fluent in English than some of the foreigners. They have more support at home and find it easier to pick up the language" (T2). The suggestion was made that "there needs to be a whole family approach. Unless the students' parents are also trained in developing English language skills there isn't going to be drastic improvement" (T5). Such an approach would enable learners and their families to integrate much more easily in Maltese society and to profit fully from participation in a variety of social institutions, including education.

Another challenge mentioned by these teachers consisted of the time and effort required in order to prepare their lessons, preparation with which they were also deprived of support. All of them seemed to agree with the complementary teacher who said, "We work three times as much as teachers in other primary schools" (T1). Given that translation was most often a necessary part of their lesson preparation, these teachers spent long hours engaged in a task that other primary school teachers did not have to do. One teacher pointed out, "I have to translate everything into English, even materials meant for subjects traditionally taught in Maltese" (T4). The complementary teacher expressed a similar sentiment when he affirmed, "We have to translate most of the materials we use, especially for Social Studies and Religion… It involves hours of preparation" (T1). Furthermore, during lessons the teachers felt compelled to rely on some of the learners to act as interpreters in order

for them to be understood by the entire class. One of the teachers indicated that this was an unavoidable measure: "Sometimes I have to use a translator or else students don't understand me, which is very frustrating for them and me" (T2). In order to create tailor-made resources for their learners these teachers had to devote plenty of time and energy. The level of autonomy that they were expected to operate within was so extreme that they were provided with no support whatsoever.

## 5 Preparation for Context

When asked about how prepared they felt to teach English to mixed ability learners from a range of language backgrounds, all the teachers declared that their preparation was a result of experience rather than pre- or in-service training. One teacher affirmed, "I feel prepared only because I've been here for eleven years and I've seen the number of foreign students grow. A teacher fresh out of university isn't prepared to teach at this school" (T1). A colleague of his agreed and maintained, "I now have plenty of experience but when I first came here it was really tough for me since university hadn't prepared me for this kind of reality" (T2). She went on to say, "At university no one prepares you to teach students who are unable to communicate in Maltese and English. We always took it for granted that we'd be teaching Maltese students" (T2). Another interviewee stated, "What I've learnt, I've learnt through experience. My degree was of little help to me and in-service courses are usually divorced from my classroom's reality" (T4). The lack of preparation provided by training led some of these teachers to narrate episodes of exasperation from their career: "Not at all prepared! University doesn't prepare you for this. Most of the things we did at university were unrealistic… When I was posted to this school I experienced a massive culture shock. I was prepared to give up on teaching" (T5). These teachers seemed to indicate that the training they received had little value in endowing them with the knowledge and skills needed to teach English to a multilingual class made up of mixed ability learners. The only form of preparation they received was on the job.

The teachers defined experience in terms of a number of elements, the main one being mentoring and collegial support. The interviewees shared the complementary teacher's sentiment when he claimed, "If it weren't for the fact that we mentor new teachers until they adapt to this school's specific environment, their lives would be hell" (T1). He went on to say that "Our biggest strength as a staff is that we help each other to develop professionally given the lack of support we receive from the outside" (T1). Mentoring was closely associated with another defining characteristic of experience, i.e. practice. As one teacher put it, "I learnt on the job. Practice and my colleagues' help were crucial" (T3). Similarly, another teacher claimed, "Initially at this school it's always difficult, any year group, any class… Most of the skills I developed to teach at this school were a process of trial and error. You need to adapt and experiment and bank on your colleagues' support" (T6). These teachers implied that gaining experience through practice was "a question of adaptation"

(T5). These findings seem to suggest that teacher education courses at pre-service level need to integrate as much as possible the classroom realities that trainee teachers will encounter once they graduate. Moreover, teacher educators need to ensure that trainees profit from the prowess of classroom teachers so that they are provided with the most relevant training possible. Despite having its disadvantages, the recent introduction of School-Centred Initial Teacher Training in England means that "trainee teachers will be able to benefit from the expertise and knowledge that schools have" (Costley 2014: 289) in relation to the needs of EAL learners. The emphasis the interviewees placed on mentoring and practice illustrates how when training is found to be inadequate teachers' only recourse is to marshal their efforts in order to adapt to the situation as best as they can.

## 6 Training Needs

The teachers identified a number of needs that they would like training to target. Chief amongst these was the need for training that supplied them with the necessary knowledge and skills to teach English to mixed ability classes. One teacher demanded that "University needs to devise specialised training for teachers working with students who don't speak English and Maltese" (T1). This request was also made by an interviewee who asserted, "I need training on how to handle classes of mixed language abilities. I'd like concrete ideas on how to do this, not the usual waffle. How can I truly address the needs of all my students?" (T3). These teachers indicated that they required training on "the methodology to use with absolute beginners complemented by adequate resources" (T2). Such training was necessary because, as one teacher pointed out, "Sometimes the gulf between levels in a class is extreme. I have students who are still learning the Roman alphabet while others are preparing for Form 1. Differentiated teaching is easier said than done, especially if I wasn't shown how to go about it" (T6). These teachers seemed to be clearly aware that there exists an imbalance between the stress placed on educational rhetoric championing differentiated teaching and that on practical techniques they could exploit in order to cater for all learners' needs.

The teachers specified that training allowing them to teach English in a multilingual context would be highly beneficial. They were conscious of the fact that they were using English as the medium of instruction for practically all the subjects on the curriculum but perhaps not effectively harnessing the opportunities afforded by this to maximize learners' engagement with English. One teacher remarked, "We teach all the subjects in English but sometimes we don't realise that this is an opportunity to teach English too. Perhaps it's because we've never been shown how to do it" (T5). A colleague of hers explicitly identified the kind of training that this would consist of: "I'd like training on how to teach English in a multilingual classroom. Something on CLIL would also be very useful since we already use English for most subjects" (T4). These teachers implied that CLIL training would provide them

with the means to capitalize on the teaching of different subjects in order to teach English in almost every single lesson and not just once a day.

## 7 Implications

The above findings indicate that the teachers who participated in this study had to contend with a set of challenges for which they were not adequately prepared at either pre- or in-service level. The lack of support they received made it very hard for them to cater for the needs of learners of mixed language ability within a multilingual class. They were aware of the opportunities of a multilingual classroom environment and sought to take advantage of this as often as possible. However, they felt stressed by the inordinate amounts of preparation that they were required to do with minimal assistance. The only support they could count on was that provided by their colleagues and while this seemed to strengthen their sense of collegiality, the teachers felt almost isolated from the rest of the educational system.

No matter how unique their learners' needs are, teachers must be guaranteed considerable support. The teachers at School Y felt as if they were being ignored because their learners did not represent the majority of students in Maltese primary schools. According to one interviewee, "The school has gained a reputation for being made up of a foreign majority and this has led some people to see it as abnormal and hence to be ignored" (T4). If teachers are made to feel as if they have to fend for themselves without the possibility of relying on any assistance from outside the school they are going to find it much harder to face the challenges posed by a multilingual classroom environment in which learners of varying levels of ability are equally entitled to succeed.

One of the best forms of support that teachers can probably receive is that constituted by tailor-made training that takes into account their specific context and needs. It is for this reason that one of the interviewees maintained that "In-service courses require a total revamp. Currently, they only focus on the mainstream context. We need training that is relevant to our needs" (T1). For example, CLIL is highly beneficial for those teaching English in a multilingual classroom. Training on CLIL would ideally include an opportunity for teachers to develop their beliefs and attitudes in relation to the pedagogy to use with respect to the L2. Moreover, as indicated by some of this study's findings, teachers might not only require training in methodology but might also need language training, especially if English is their second language and they are expected to act as linguistic role models for their students. At pre-service level, teachers would benefit from regular English language training as part of their teacher education programme and this should continue whilst they are active practitioners. Such training should not only aim to enhance teachers' proficiency but should also bolster their language awareness.

Developing an understanding of teachers' proficiency in English and level of language awareness might help to identify the best form of language training to suit their needs. Shin (2008: 60) points out that "For non-native speakers who have not

had regular and extensive contact with English and, therefore, have not had the opportunity to develop high levels of written and oral proficiencies, the psychological stress of teaching English can be overwhelming." Hence, any language training that would ensue from an empirical investigation into teachers' competence in English will need to develop not only their knowledge and skills but confidence as well.

## 8 Conclusion

As the classroom environment evolves to accommodate multilingual learners who live in a multicultural society, the demands on teachers of English change. While there are various benefits to learning and teaching in a multicultural classroom (Xerri 2016), adequate measures need to be taken to ensure that teachers' knowledge, skills and beliefs enable them to engage in the most effective pedagogical practices possible. This is of prime importance if they are to support their learners in developing a satisfactory level of proficiency in the global language and thus by extension having the possibility of becoming players in the global arena of business, politics, science, culture, and education. English language proficiency is not a panacea to social injustice; however, it can be empowering for young people if they are given the opportunity of adding it to their linguistic repertoire. At the same time, an appreciation of the value of translanguaging as a means of enhancing language learning needs to be inculcated in both learners and teachers. According to Garcia (2009: 140), "Translanguaging is the act performed by bilinguals of accessing different linguistic features or various modes of what are described as autonomous languages, in order to maximize communicative potential." Teacher agency in this respect is fundamental and hence teacher education and development need to adapt to the emerging scenarios in which teachers are expected to operate. This might entail "a rethink of language teacher education. Existing models need to be adapted and new models developed in order to deal with the new teaching and learning situations and new forms of access to knowledge which now exist" (Deyrich and Stunnel 2014: 83). In this way, teachers of English in a multilingual classroom will be able to operate more effectively.

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# Bilingualism with English As a "Second Language" and/or Broad Plurilingual Repertoires: A Swiss Point of View


**Georges Lüdi**

**Abstract** Based on puristical ideologies the roots of which can be traced back to the dawn of human metalinguistic discourse, many people continue to consider mixing languages as a threat to the integrity of a language, a betrayal of linguistic loyalty or even as a risk to the development of a child's personality. In contrast to these prejudices—and from the perspective of a language education policy—it is argued that there are intrinsic cognitive and social values of plurilingual repertoires and that schools should foster their construction in the official language of education, in students' home languages as well as in foreign languages. The underlying concept of bi-/plurilingualism is not that of a kind of addition of two or more monolingual competences, but rather that of a set of skills in different languages, from perfect to very partial, seen as an integrated whole, i.e. a set of resources that are shared and jointly mobilised by the actors. Empirical research on the usage of languages in everyday life reveals the creativity of mixed teams that rely on a myriad of different communicative strategies, dictating for example accommodation to speakers of other languages in a concern for efficiency, and not just fairness. Of course, such behaviour is grounded in the prerequisite of plurilingual repertoires. Therefore we will make a plea for teaching and learning several foreign languages before, at, outside and after school.

**Keywords** Bilingualism · English · Lingua franca · Plurilingual repertoires · Communicative competence

*I need Nuggi* ("I need a lollipop"), said our grandson, who was acquiring simultaneously English and Swiss-German, at the age of 2.5 years. We admired his linguistic creativity without the slightest fear that he might have problems separating his languages in the future, considering his mixed utterances as a normal indicator of an emerging bilingualism. Today he is 5 years old and fluent in both languages even if

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English as the language of his living environment in Cambridge (Mass.) is clearly dominant—and occasionally he still mixes his languages.

It is true that—based on puristical and normative ideologies the roots of which can be traced back to the dawn of human metalinguistic discourse—many people continue to consider mixing languages as a threat to the integrity of a language, a betrayal of linguistic loyalty or even as a risk to the development of a child's personality as expressed in an exemplary form by a linguist in the nineteenth century:

> If it were possible for a child to live in two languages at once equally well, so much the worse. His intellectual and spiritual growth would not thereby be doubled, but halved. Unity of mind and character would have great difficulty in asserting itself in such circumstances. (Laurie 1890, 15)

Even today, paediatricians, speech therapists and pedagogues sometimes share this view and discourage parents from bilingual or even plurilingual education. This concerns early child bilingualism as well as forms of constructing plurilingual repertoires as an aim of educational systems.

In this context—and from the perspective of a language education policy—a series of questions arises:

1. Is there an intrinsic value in plurilingual repertoires?
2. Should schools foster their construction and which level of competence should be achieved in the official language of education, in students' home languages and in foreign languages?
3. How should parents and teachers handle learners' frequently occurring mixture of the various languages in their repertoire?
4. What about the use of English and/or a plurality of languages in the family, during leisure and at the workplace in daily life?
5. What conclusions should be drawn from the empirical research on the usage of languages in everyday life, for linguistic representations of politicians, members of the educational systems, employers, parents, etc.?
6. In due consideration of a global trend towards English as *lingua franca* in the non-English- speaking world, would it not be more appropriate to give up the idea of fostering diversified repertoires in students and to concentrate on learning English better?

## 1 Communicative Competence As the Goal of Language Learning and Teaching

Since Hymes (1972), it has become widely accepted that the goal of language education should consist of a communicative competence. An important corpus of research culminated in an official definition in the form of can-do-statements as they are prototypically proposed for different levels and skills in the Council of Europe's' *common framework of reference* (CEFR [2001] 2011). With reference to Switzerland,

we can find them in official policy documents from 1998 onwards (*Concept général…*). For example, the syllabus for 11 years of compulsory school in French-speaking Switzerland (PER) (http://www.plandetudes.ch) determines that students must develop "the ability to speak and to participate in debates" in two foreign languages, German and English. It is a minimum target in oral production for all students that remains far short of perfect skills. But it is realistic, and corresponds with, for example, basic requirements for vocational training. Such is the case for apprentices in polymechanics (this time in German-speaking Switzerland) who should develop the skill to "read and interpret specialized texts in English as they appear in their professional practice (textbooks, journals, reports, web pages, manuals), to understand brief statements and oral instructions, and to produce them themselves". Similar pragmatic goals have been developed for upper secondary and for higher education.

As far as the number of languages is concerned, there is a broad consensus in Europe (the European Union as well as the Council of Europe) that communicative skills should be acquired in two foreign languages in addition to the official school language. This means that students whose home language differs from the official school language (e.g. migrant children) acquire generally at least four languages. However, we will see in the following section that this consensus is coming under increasing scrutiny.

## 2 From an "Additionist" to an "Integrative" View of Plurilingual Repertoires

There is a broad consensus among specialists that bi-/plurilinguals enjoy several social as well as cognitive advantages (Hakuta 1985; Hakuta and Diaz 1984; Nisbett 2003; Bialystok 2005, 2009; Compendium 2009; Furlong 2009; Berthoud et al. 2013). Generally speaking, individual multilingualism appears to favour creativity, be it in linguistic terms (the ability to choose between two mental lexica, the emergence of hybrid linguistic forms), at a cognitive level (broader access to information and alternative ways of thinking and perceiving the world), at an interactional one (greater flexibility in adjusting to new communicative contexts) or even at a strategic level (modes of negotiation, decision-making, problem-solving or monitoring action) (Lüdi et al. 2013). In business too, linguistic and cultural diversity can turn into a competitive advantage (Akinci and Pohl 2008, 26). Harzing and Pudelko (2013) suggest that multinationals that have linguistic duality may have a competitive advantage over those that are monolingual. One of the reasons might be that mixed teams can make optimum use of the "in-between spaces" or "third spaces" between different languages and cultures (Bhabha 1994). Thus, in order to allow heterogeneous groups to outperform homogeneous groups in both quantity and quality, new ways of thinking and managing cultural diversity in a functional and practical manner have been observed in business studies (Yanaprasart 2016).

But what does individual plurilingualism mean in this context? Two models concur in public and scientific discourse. The first conceives a bi-/plurilingual competence as a kind of addition of two or more monolingual ones. It is represented by Bloomfield's conception that requests a "native-like control" in each language, such that it would be impossible for listeners to distinguish the speaker from a native speaker (Bloomfield 1933). However, this view does not match the observations in the field even if it is shared by a majority of the general public actors (and most probably by many linguists and educators too).[1] In fact, perfect bilinguals or ambilinguals may exist, but are very rare (Dewaele et al. 2003). The second view draws upon a functional conception of plurilingualism, defined as the ability to interact, even imperfectly, in several languages in everyday settings (CEFR [2001] 2011). A set of skills in different languages, from perfect to very partial, is seen as an integrated whole which is more than the sum total of its parts. Incidentally, the term plurilingual "competence" or "multicompetence" (Cook 2008) has been amended to "repertoire" (Gumperz 1982; Gal 1986; Lüdi 2006; Moore and Castellotti 2008; Lüdi and Py 2009, etc.), defined as a set of "resources"—both verbal (registers, dialects and languages) and non-verbal (e.g. mime and gestural expression)—that are shared and jointly mobilised by the actors in order to find local solutions to practical problems (Mondada 2001; Pekarek Doehler 2005). The underlying view of human activities and cognition is interactional, and language is seen as emergent (Hopper 1998; Larsen-Freeman and Cameron 2008) from "doing being a speaker of a language" (Mondada 2004).

The intrinsic cognitive and social values of plurilingual repertoires mentioned before are also, if not mainly, grounded in this second view.

## 3 How Normal, Useful: Or Dangerous: Is Language Mixing?

But if we admit partial competences in one or several languages in our definition, we must reopen the case for language-mixing. Everyone knows that in the "real world", different kinds of mixtures occur, be it in the classroom, at the workplace, during leisure or inside the family. As far back as 1883 Schuchardt had already claimed, from a linguistic point of view, that the phenomena of mixing are omnipresent: „es gibt keine völligungemischte Sprache".[2]

But they are often disprized as signs of degeneration, as "shameful, inadmissible, even in a sense damned (…), associated with social representations of unclean" (Cadiot 1987, 50). Their illegitimacy is grounded in the hypothesis that languages are autonomous, clearly separated (and separable) codes and that they are used in distinct contexts. Hence the stigmatising term of "double semilingualism" for bilingual children (Hansegard 1968; Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa 1976; Haugen 1977;

[1] See also Halliday et al. (1970) concept of "ambilingualism."

[2] See Hugo Schuchardt: *Slawodeutsches und Slawoitalienisches. Dem Herrn Franz von Miklisich zum 20. November 1883,* Graz (1884), S. 6.

see Baker 2001 for critical remarks). In contrast, an important corpus on plurilingual speech, code-switching and code-mixing in multilingual communities and families has made evident that these phenomena are not only very frequent, i.e. "normal", functional and legitimate in situations mutually defined by the interlocutors as appropriate, indicators of a plurilingual competence rather than deficiency—and that they are also rule-governed (Sankoff and Poplack 1979; Poplack 1980; Grosjean 1982; Heller 1988; Myers-Scotton 1993; Auer 1999, etc.).

This also holds true in linguistically mixed settings outside bi-/plurilingual communities as has been illustrated, for example, by numerous recordings in educational and work contexts in the framework of the DYLAN-project (Berthoud et al. eds. 2013) providing evidence that plurilingual speech is a frequent, largely accepted and efficient communicative strategy.

It is useful, however, to distinguish different patterns: (a) the use of translinguistic markers (*formulation transcodique*) as a communicative strategy to accomplish intercomprehension in a less mastered language beyond the current skills of the speaker by inserting words from other languages in one's discourse; (b) code-switching as an interactional strategy to realise specific discursive functions; (c) bilingual speech applied by teachers to strengthen students' awareness of interconnections between the languages (metalinguistic function) in order to foster the construction of a plurilingual repertoire, including the gradual acquisition of the ability to separate their languages. Indeed, one of the challenges of teaching foreign languages is to promote this separation without renouncing the communicative and educational benefits of (a) and (b).

In this context, one has to mention many clichés about the quality of English in an increasingly globalised world, e.g. the saying that bad English is the language of good science. In fact, while very good skills in standard English are the ideal goal of any teaching/learning of English—extensive language courses and language trips are ways to achieve this goal—, a majority of speakers in science and business continues to have approximate skills only. This means that we have to distinguish more clearly between standard English—either in its British or in its American, Australian, etc., variant—and the so-called "international English" or "English as *lingua franca*" as the common language of communication. In other words, even if House (2001) is right in saying that "English is already Europe's *lingua franca* and it's time for politicians and educators to acknowledge this" (Juliane House, *Guardian Weekly*, 19 April, 2001), ELF remains generally far from "pure" because many speakers may consciously or unconsciously draw on other languages in their repertoire which feed into their idiolectal form of the *lingua franca.* For example, this may be the case for a scientist who mainly works in German or Japanese and is presenting his research results in English at an international conference. "*Lingua franca*", in other words, is not a simple, straightforward category, but may often be an instance of "thick standardisation" (Usunier 2010), in which the underlying elements, stemming from other languages, inform the visible or audible utterance.

> ELF is per definition a multilingual and multicultural situation and this fact is bound to affect the interaction and also the use of potential idioms. (Pitzl 2009: 315)

> Hybrid forms and flexible usage is a characteristic of ELF which has been shown to be effective in multilingual communication. (Böhringer et al. 2010)

Indeed, the analysis of a large corpora on the subject of ELF (see also Mauranen 2006; Hülmbauer and Seidlhofer 2013) has confirmed the hypothesis that ELF could be called another form of "plurilingual speech". As House (2003, 573f.) puts it:

> Rather than measuring ELF talk against an English L1 norm, one might openly regard ELF as a hybrid language ± hybrid in the sense of Latin hibrida as anything derived from heterogeneous sources. (…) Here I would further differentiate between phenotypical hybridity, where the foreign admixture is manifest on the surface (transfer is isolable), and genotypical hybridity, where different mental lexica or, in a Whorfian way, different underlying 'Weltanschauungen' and conceptual sets, may be operative in ELF speakers. (2003, 573f.)

In the eyes of many opinion leaders, the quality of the general public's English must be improved. But how can it be done? This leads to the question of what role English plays in the aims of general education.

## 4 How Many Languages Should Educational Systems Teach Compulsorily?

In Europe, many documents adopted by the Council of Europe as well as by the European Commission make a plea in favour of multilingualism. The *White Paper on education and training. Teaching and learning—Towards the learning society* (European Commission 1996), the *Recommendation R(98)6concerning modern languages* (Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe 1998) or the *Recommendation 1383on Linguistic Diversification* (Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe 1998) demand that educational systems should aim at functional plurilingualism for all citizens in at least three European languages. Explicitly, the Council of Europe wants:

> … [to] promote widespread plurilingualism by encouraging all Europeans to achieve a degree of communicative ability in a number of languages (…) by diversifying the languages on offer and setting objectives appropriate to each language. (Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe 1998)

For the European Commission:

> …proficiency in several Community languages and (inter)cultural competence are seen as indispensable for the free movement of people within the Union and for the development of understanding between the citizens of Europe. They are essential for the preservation and development of cultural wealth and traditions and are characteristic of European society. (European Commission 1996)

Similar aims are included in the new language law in Switzerland (*Federal Act on the National Languages* of 2007 (https://www.admin.ch/opc/de/official-compilation/2009/6605.pdf)). The *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment* (CEFR 2011) provides the necessary technical tools to achieve this aim.

The reality, however, looks rather different. In 2009, 94.3% of pupils in the European Union learned English in general programmes in upper higher education, but only 26.0% learned French and only 23.1% German; and the proportion for the latter two languages dropped to 23.0% and 18.9% respectively in 2014 (Source: Eurostat). No wonder, "Europe has the strongest English proficiency of any region in the world" (Source: EF English Proficiency Index 2015). Nevertheless, an earlier survey among the European national workforces, published in 2013, "showed a significant English skill deficit in almost every group evaluated" except in Belgium, Denmark, the Netherlands, Norway and Sweden (Source: https://www.euractiv.com/section/languages-culture/news/european-workers-lack-basic-english-language-skills-survey). In combination with the dominant social representation that English is by far the most important language for professional success, these figures trigger a broad movement among large sectors of European society to invest every possible effort in improving the population's English skills (e.g. by abandoning the dubbing of television and movies in order to ensure frequent exposure to a variety of English accents in everyday contexts from childhood and onwards)—and to reduce the (compulsory) teaching of other languages. This is even happening in Switzerland. In contradiction of the legal requirements that prioritize a second national language, certain German-speaking cantons plan to abandon teaching French as a second national language at primary school in order to foster the effective learning of English. Among the alleged arguments we find a supposed overload of the pupils and the fact that the teaching of French misses the target of communicative competence anyway, but the students' listlessness is also cited. As an apprentice who learned French at school but continues with English only in his vocational training puts it:

> Yes, I don't like this language, French, at all, with all the *accents aigus* and so. And I don't see any use for this language. English is useful at an international level, and also for the internet. But you can use French nowhere. (Philippe G., translated from Swiss German)

This tendency is in line with a complaint that Europe (here: the European Union) lacks deliberative democracy because of an insufficient "competence of the audience to evaluate evidence and draw conclusions from it" leading to the conclusion that every effort should be invested in the creation of a consistent "community of communication" grounded in a single *lingua franca,* i.e. "English in its second language international form" (Wright 2011).

Yet it would be counterproductive to give up the teaching of other languages. Of course, we do not deny the role of English as the language for international communication. But many empirical investigations revealed that the dominance of English at the workplace in different European countries is a stereotype more than an accurate picture of the actual practices, even in multinational companies (see, for

example, Andres et al. 2005; Lüdi et al. 2005; Berthoud et al. 2013; for Switzerland and Truchot 2015, for France). When a senior executive in the pharmaceutical industry tells us that the internal communication among the local workforce takes place in English, this only holds true for cases where allophones are present—and not even then in all cases. For example, the self-recording of a local technician in a pharmaceutical multinational in Basel during two full consecutive days revealed that 40% of the time he spoke Swiss-German, 34% Standard German, 26% in a mixture of Standard German and Swiss-German, and only 0.2% in English and even less in French at 0.01%.

This language choice cannot only be attributed to his language skills. In fact, the exclusive use of English may upset all those who, even though they speak it very well, resent the reduction in the status of local languages. Such frustration, in fact, can even be seen in the discourses of managers—the very people who assert the status of English as the corporate language. Maurice M., who has a leading HR function in another multinational company, thus refers to a "dominance of English verging on arrogance", and emphasises the benefits of local languages (see Lüdi et al. 2016, 67ff.):

> In my language I speak differently, more freely, more openly, with more self-confidence, more self-assurance … A lot of ideas really do get lost if you simply opt for English in such situations [advanced professional training], because then not everyone feels equally, feels equally comfortable (Maurice M., <Agro A>).

What makes these comments particularly significant is that he himself is highly bilingual in German and English. Furthermore, the same idea has been expressed by company management experts:

> Assimilation into the dominant organisational culture is a strategy that has had serious negative consequences for individuals in organisations and the organisations themselves … Those who assimilate are denied the ability to express their genuine selves in the workplace; they are forced to repress significant parts of their lives within a social context that frames a large part of their daily encounters with other people. (Fine 1996, 494)

In other words, it is concern for efficiency, and not just fairness, that dictates accommodation to speakers of other languages—and ways of organising work in plurilingual teams based on inclusion strategies that are grounded in the prerequisite of plurilingual repertoires, be they constructed in formal educational contexts or through lifelong learning.

## 5 Plurilingual Communication in a Context of Linguistic Diversity

These observations do not minimise the value of English, but stress the importance of alternatives to ELF in order to meet the challenges of daily working life—and this does not only mean the choice of other languages. It is true that secular

linguistic representations often hinder the acceptance of alternative models of implementing plurilingual repertoires. They postulate that speakers of different languages live in separate "monoglossic" territories whose inhabitants speak only one language; if necessary, such a monolingualism is imposed by the oppression of linguistic minorities following the principle: one territory, one state, one language. Even today, this ideology constitutes the basis of many language policy measures (and prevents, for example, the French government from signing the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages).

However, in contrast to a kind of stubborn search for monolingual communicative solutions to the problems raised by the increasing linguistic diversity, many people rely in very different ways on their broad plurilingual resources. This starts with new management strategies. In the DYLAN project, we investigated especially the case of "mixed teams" at work. As part of the so-called "diversity management", companies seek greater diversification of both their customers and the labour market, i.e. the profiles of their employees (Cornet and Warland 2008). More and more often, mixed teams are not only accepted but actively sought despite—or because of:

> …different points of view, cultural- and country-specific skills, an understanding of diverse customer groups, opportunities for employees to develop to their full potential [sc. the] availability and use of multiple knowledge domains. (Köppel and Sandner 2008: 11, 56)

The advantages are numerous: mixed teams are (a) more dynamic in the construction of knowledge, (b) more effective and (c) more creative. But this only applies if the teams manage to find optimal forms of internal communication.

The easiest solution for many managers seems to be:

> …[to] install a common corporate language and HARMONIZE internal and external communications through general rules and policies, driven by the assumption that one language fits all communication needs. (Piekkari and Tietze 2011: 267)

This unique language may be the language of the corporate headquarters (e.g. Italian in Italy), the language of key customers (e.g. Spanish for a company exporting the bulk of its production to Latin America) or, as suggested above, English as the international *lingua franca*. In doing so, companies tend to minimize the costs and side effects of linguistic diversity.

But, in practice the members of mixed teams often do not stick to the *one-language-fits-all-needs* ideology and choose from a multitude of alternative solutions. Seeking a balance between the two basic principles of progressivity (where interaction is moving forward without wasting time at the risk of misunderstandings and failures in communication) and intersubjectivity (where the demand for, explanations, reformulations, etc. takes time, but ensures mutual understanding) (see Mondada 2012), various strategies are selected such as:

- Everyone speaks his/her language and understands that of the interlocutors (*lingua receptive* (ten Thije and Zeevaert 2008), also sometimes called the Scandinavian or the Swiss model);

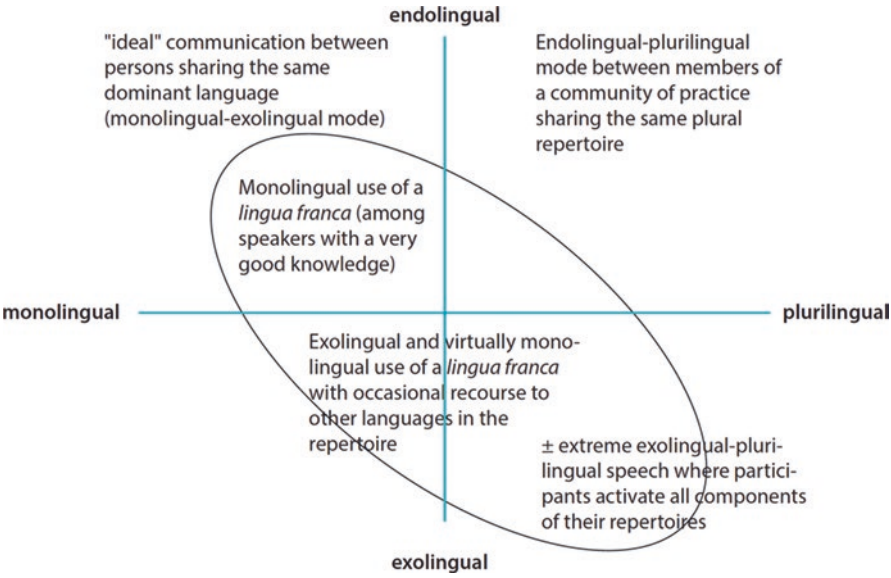


**Fig. 1** Diversity of communication strategies in multilingual settings

- Use of a *lingua franca*, be it English, the local language or any other language (for example Russian in the Commonwealth of Independent States or the Eurasian Economic Union);
- Trans/multi-/pluri- or translanguaging, i.e. plurilingual speech in its various forms;
- Simultaneous or consecutive interpretation, by professionals or by peers.

These methods are not mutually exclusive and are often not chosen definitively, but constantly renegotiated during the interaction. They can be categorised according to a coordinated system formed by two axes, one between exolingual and endolingual communication (Noyau and Porquier 1984), according to the overlap between the participants' repertoires, the other distinguishing between monolingual and plurilingual communication based on the number of languages used (see Lüdi et al. 2013, 2016, 13). The figure also illustrates the different meanings of the use of a *lingua franca* (Fig. 1):

We have found examples of plurilingual speech in service encounters (e.g. at a ticket counter of a railway station (Lüdi et al. 2009, 46)), between staff members and patients in healthcare settings (see the example mentioned below), in the Swiss armed forces (Lüdi 2016), etc. Further, there is ample evidence that, well beyond the simple mutual understanding, the use of several languages in mixed teams generates processes that favour the construction and dissemination of knowledge because, and not in spite of, plurilingualism. As a senior manager on a multinational pharmaceutical company puts it:

> Now for the first time I had to run a meeting with a completely new group, ten completely new people, so you bring them together and find a language, and er it's a mixture of Basel dialect, standard German and English, and this was the Esperanto we worked out between us […] then creative processes really got going and we discussed the whole thing in our Esperanto gibberish (Tobias B., senior manager, <Pharma A>).

A team from the University of Lausanne analysed a plurilingual work group in a basically German-speaking law school which included Francophone students. The class was about judgments of the Federal Court that are published in French. The researchers showed that the systematic confrontation of conceptual networks in both languages not only led to the understanding of the legal terminology in the other language, but contributed substantially to the development of juristic competence among students, both German- and French-speaking (Gajo et al. 2013). Meanwhile, research on the jurisdiction within the European Union has emphasised the decisive advantages of "multilingual and multicultural legal reasoning" (Kjaer and Adama 2010) in the case of parallel legislation in several languages. Let us add that in extreme cases the borderline between languages gets somewhat porous, e.g. when a kind of "Pan-Romance" form of speaking emerges as in a sequence between a Swiss doctor and a patient from Portugal:

**1 M** **so hat esdochnochgeklappt**
so finally it worked
**2 P** **vousparlezfrançais!**
do you speak French?
**3 M** **<französisch. > (°oder°) spanisch?**
French ((looks embarrassed)) or Spanish
**5 P** **espanisch.ja**
Spanish ((blend of German 'Spanisch' and 'Español'))
**6 M** **siekommenvonportugalhabichgehörtja.**
I've heard you're coming from Portugal, don't you?
**7 P** **°portugal°**
**8 M** **ja. (tratamos) en con español.**
yes let's try in with Spanish
**9 P** **<eetabo.>**
okay ((very fast; probably Portuguese «estábem/bom»))
**10 M** **ok. (..) bueno. (.) puedeexplicarme eh [tusproblemas] síntomas.**
okay good can you explain me what your problems symptoms are
**11 P** **[eh tengoma!l]e.**
**12 a** **la cabeza?**
I have headache
**13 M** **mmh**
**14 P** **eh duo-dolores y e (bri tisas)?**
and pain and ((incomprehensible word, possibly a blend of Portuguese ?vertigems'))

**15 M** **mmh**
**16 P** **y me doiletambemmoito la laspalda.**
and I feel also heavy pains in the the shoulder ((mixture of Portuguese, Spanish and Italian))
**17 M** **la columna! due[le.]**
you feel pain in your back
**18 P** **[la ]columna me doi molto! y e: (..) e +<cui> un poco+**
I feel heavy pain in my back and a little here ((language mixing; touches her neck))
**19 M** **ähä a- +aquí+**
I understand here ((points to his neck; writes down everything P says))
**20 P** **sí.hopensato que la gri!pe? +porqu+ la ot[ra ] settimana**
yes I thought it could be a flu because last week((mixing))
**21 M** **[mmh]**
**22 P** **mine [(niña) (…) gr]ipe! yahora]**
my daughter flu and now

Here, the mixed speech allows for a reliable diagnosis in the medical consultation. Similar forms of "linguistic bricolage" (Levy-Strauss 1962: 27) are today even exploited in advertising as illustrated by the bilingual and quadrilingual headlines, respectively, of the airlines Vueling (Spain): *Flying hoy means más frecuencia* and Swiss (Switzerland): *volare to vingt-deux new destinations in ganz Europe.*

## 6 Conclusion

On the one hand, we have made a plea for teaching and learning several foreign languages at, outside and after school. Faced with an almost universal tendency to restrict the acquisition of foreign languages to English alone, we have insisted on the fact that the communication needs within linguistic communities and in mixed teams are far too complex to be met by a single *lingua franca*. This implies that learners acquire the best possible skills in each of their languages. At the same time, we advocate pragmatic, i.e. realistic aims in language classes taking into account the fact that most students will not reach excellence. This includes the learning of ELF which represents, in most cases, a form of "hybrid" speech. On the other hand, we insist precisely on the advantages of plurilingual talk ("trans- or plurilanguaging"), and this on two levels. First, teaching methods allowing for translinguistic markers boost the potential for constructing plurilingual repertoires by making students aware of bridges between the different components of their "multicompetence" and allowing them at the same time to separate their languages gradually. Second, mixed forms of implementing such an integrated competence in multilingual settings were presented as a genuine—and largely accepted—form of communication, allowing members of different language communities forming the global

society to respond successfully and dynamically to the challenges of the modern world and to give companies and institutions of Higher Education that admit or even foster them a competitive advantage. Third, we conceive the rough use of a *lingua franca,* including English, as one possible form of mixed speech. In reality, the interlanguage of learners—and therefore the myriad varieties of ELF—is a social construction where grammar emerges from usage (Hopper 1998) and "languaging" does not precede the language (in the sense of Saussure *langue*) or e-grammar.

Provided that language learning and teaching should prepare people for the needs and challenges of personal and professional life, minimal targets in single languages are not enough. What students need is a multicompetence that represents, to believe the experts, the key to more complete information, changes our perception of objects and experiences, provides a deeper and more accurate access to conceptual networks, determines our participation spaces, influences the organisation of interaction and forms of negotiation and leadership, and helps us to solve problems and make better decisions (Compendium 2009; Berthoud et al. 2013). We will continue, of course, to learn specific languages and strive to use them in a monolingual mode (Grosjean 1985), but within the framework of fostering the construction of various forms of plurilingual resources. This means that we do not want to establish an antagonism between ELF and plurilingual speech, not only because ELF is already, in most cases, a form of hybrid speak, but also because many speakers with extremely diverse repertoires do not have other options. Nevertheless, for us it is a prerequisite that young people be given the opportunity to learn more foreign languages than just English to allow them to benefit fully from the advantages of plurilingualism and alternative communicative techniques.

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# Part III
# Language Education Aspects of Bilingualism

# Stop the Deficit: Preparing Pre-service Teachers to Work with Bilingual Students in the United States


**Johanna Ennser-Kananen and Christine Montecillo Leider**

**Abstract** This chapter explores the education of bilingual students from an American teacher education perspective. Bilingual students in the United States are often diminished to their student status of "English Language Learner" (ELL). Not only does this ELL designation assume a one-size-fits-all approach to education for and understanding of bilingual children, but the label itself implores a deficit perspective which neither captures nor values bilingual children in the United States. Driven by the goal to model and introduce assets-based pedagogies to our pre-service English as Second Language (ESL) teachers, the main question guiding our work was, *as teacher educators, how can we challenge pre-service teachers to not only acknowledge but act against ingrained deficit perspectives for working with bilingual students?* To address this question we first synthesize relevant approaches in the areas of bilingualism and teacher education, focusing on funds of knowledge, translanguaging, and challenging deficit language. We then present key moments from our own work as teacher educators that illustrate the complexity of pre-service teachers shifting or attempting to shift towards assets-based pedagogical practices. The chapter concludes with recommendations for teachers and teacher educators about how to not only acknowledge but integrate and actively support bilingual students in American public schools.

**Keywords** Bilingualism · Translanguaging · Pre-service teachers · Teacher education

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> As immigration rises in America thousands of families arrive with inability to communicate their needs and wants. Formal ESL education in schools allows the opportunity for students to expand their minds and receive the tools needed to survive and excel as a US citizen. – Sarah, fieldnotes (2015).

> Growing up speaking two languages and having to learn English as a third gave me advantages in my literary and language development, but it was a struggle that I had to go through. I chose ESL because I want to help those who face the same obstacles as me. – Jenny, fieldnotes (2015).

> I want to teach ESL because I can see how it changes lives. I get to work with students from all over the world as they come together to make better lives for themselves and their families. – Molly, fieldnotes (2015).

The quotes above illustrate examples of pre-service teachers' commitment to advocating for and working with bilingual students. While at surface these quotes may seem inspirational they, however, also demonstrate the ingrained deficit perspective that many pre-service teachers must work to undo. As teacher educators, we are devoted to supporting pre-service teachers in developing not just the pedagogical tools, but also the critical perspectives necessary to effectively work with bilingual students in the United States. Specifically, we work with pre-service teachers who are preparing to teach English as a Second Language (ESL) to bilingual students in urban public schools. Our University is a private, predominantly white institution and the majority of our pre-service teachers are white, middle class females. While there is no question that many of our pre-service teachers feel genuinely committed to supporting bilingual students, their underlying perspectives are often deficit based, which, unintentionally, affects their abilities to best meet the needs and tap the assets of bilingual students.

In this chapter we discuss our own work as teacher educators who prepare pre-service teachers to work with bilingual students. We open with a brief overview of the bilingual student experience in the United States. We then discuss critical frameworks for working with bilingual students using an assets-based approach. Our final section presents suggestions and strategies for teacher education, based on our own work as teacher educators. We conclude by charging teacher educators to continue to challenge our current practices in preparing pre-service teachers to work with bilingual students.

## 1 The Context: Socio-political Climate on Preparing Pre-service Teachers to Work with Bilingual Students

There is no question that the cultural and linguistic diversity in the United States has been on the rise with an increasing number of bilingual students and families residing in the United States. There are over 300 reported spoken language (US Census Bureau 2015) with Spanish, Chinese, Arabic, Vietnamese, and Hmong currently listed as the top 5 spoken languages (Office of English Language Acquisition;

OELA 2015). While there are millions of bilingual students in the United States (American Community Survey; ACS 2014), that is students who speak more than one language in the home, only about half of those students are labeled as English Language Learners (ELL) or English Learners (EL), a status designated by performance on state mandated assessments of English Language Development (National Center for Education Statistics; NCES 2016). It is worth mentioning that only students labeled as ELL/EL are mandated to receive English language development support. In the United States, educational efforts at both policy and pedagogical levels (Shin 2013) have largely focused on supporting the English language development for bilingual students.

Although no national policy exists in the United States determines the medium of instruction (MOI) in public schools, so-called "English only" policies at the state and local level can and have been implemented for public education contexts, most importantly in California (English Language in Public Schools Statute, Proposition 227), Arizona (English as the Official Language Act, Proposition 103), and Massachusetts (MA English in Public Schools Initiative, Question 2), with the Californian one to be withdrawn in 2017.

A common argument of administrators and policymakers is that exclusive immersion into the English language will enhance language acquisition and produce better student outcomes of standardized tests, a claim that has not been substantiated by reliable research (Auerbach 1993). Rather, there is convincing evidence for the harmfulness of English only policies (August et al. 2011). Especially in combination with a scarcity of resources and punitive accountability systems, such policies have led to students failing, underperforming, or being forced out of school (Gándara and Hopkins 2011; Menken 2008). In contrast, students in bilingual programs have shown to outperform their peers in English immersion programs, especially in reading (Valentino and Reardon 2015). The harmfulness of English only policies and their underlying ideologies extends beyond school environments, causing difficulties in (former) students' workplaces, colleges, and families (Wright 2004). In addition, not only have assumed-to-be-objective tests and assessments been shown to be unreliable, for example when they misidentify bilingual students as qualifying for special education services (Macswan and Rolstad 2005), and discriminatory due to their linguistic complexity, which persists across subject areas and despite accommodations (Menken 2008), restrictive language education policies, for example in Massachusetts, have also been found guilty of perpetuating racism and linguicism as they, among other things, fail to provide mechanisms that challenge deeply ingrained structural racism at the state level, look at bilingual students from a deficit perspective, and overfocus on learning English at the expense of using and developing all languages on bilingual students' repertoire (Viesca 2013).

In addition to discriminatory policies, the detrimental effect of teachers' deficit perspectives on their students has been well documented. Students from minoritized backgrounds who are ethnically or racially different from their teachers are often associated with lower academic achievement and behavioral problems. For example, in a Texas-based study with 65 African-American and 65 white elementary school teachers, a significant number of participants lowered their behavioral

expectations and gave lower scores to students with African American first names compared to those with white ones (Anderson-Clark et al. 2008). Such discriminatory dynamics also affect teachers' referral decisions in gifted and talented programs (Elhoweris et al. 2005), may extend well into secondary school and beyond college graduation (Brown and Lively 2012) and, although they can be alleviated through diversification of teaching staff, have been found to persist even when students of color are taught and evaluated by teachers of color (McGrady and Reynolds 2013).

Negative teacher perceptions are not only triggered by racial stereotypes and ideologies, but also by linguistic ones. For instance, in contexts where educational policies are permeated by monolingual norms, like Flanders in Belgium, a study with 775 secondary school teachers found that teachers with a stronger adherence to monolingualism were more likely to have lower expectations of linguistically and ethnically minoritized/non-dominant students (Pulinx et al. 2015). Relatedly, research from the same context has shown that teacher practices that tolerate multilingualism can mitigate the damage of restrictive (in this case Dutch-only) policies and increase students' sense of inclusion in a school community (Van Der Wildt et al. 2015).

As this body of literature powerfully shows, teacher perceptions play a critical role for the success of culturally and linguistically minoritized students, or, as McCardle et al. (2005) put it, "[t]he challenge for non-English speaking students … is not only to overcome linguistic barriers, but also overcoming low expectations and low academic achievement" (p. 1). We contend that this is not merely the students' challenge but, as their teachers and their teachers' educators, also ours. One part of our response to this challenge is the work we present here of educating preservice teachers within and towards asset-based approaches of language teaching.

## 2 Moving Toward an Asset-Based Approach: Frameworks for Preparing Pre-service Teachers to Work with Bilingual Students

Given the monolingual and racist hegemonies and ideologies that persist in our society, we as language teacher educators read academic literature through the lens of its potential to affect social change. Specifically, we ask how existing research and theories can help our teacher candidates advocate for the bilingual students and youth in their classrooms and schools. In recent years, we have found changing deficit language, tapping funds of knowledge, and promoting translanguaging to be especially powerful tools for this work.

## *2.1 Deficit Language*

Deficit perspectives are ingrained in education. When we introduce the concept of deficit based language to pre-service teachers we do so by explicitly talking about how deficit perspectives often manifest in the default language that educators use to describe students. For example, students who read below grade level are often described as students that "can't" do a particular literacy skill and bilingual students are often referred as "not having vocabulary". Similarly, we label students as "struggling readers" and "English language learners". By focusing on what bilingual students *can't* do, we cannot truly capture student ability and, consequently, fail to support bilingual students. In this section, we make the case that these labels are rooted in implicit biases and perpetual use of this language upholds a deficit perspective of bilingual students. While we believe language practices in education as a whole need to move toward a more asset-based approach, given our particular interest in bilingual and immigrant students, for this chapter we focus specifically on the use of the "English language learner" and "English learner" labels in American public schools.

In the United States, federal law has required states to identify and support English language learners (Linquanti 2001). English language learners (ELLs) are bilingual students who have been designated by their state and district as having "sufficient difficulty" succeeding in the classroom due to emerging English proficiency. While identifying and supporting students labeled as ELLs is not new, the labels we use keep changing. Although the ELL label is still widely used, the US Department of Education's Office of English Language Acquisition (OELA) has more recently adopted and encouraged the use of English learner (EL), rather than English language learner (OELA 2015). While we agree that EL (and ELL) is less deficit focused than its historical predecessors (e.g., students with LEP – limited English proficiency), we argue for labels which promote students' full linguistic repertoire. In line with the work of Ofelia Garcia (2009b) and Mileidis Gort (2008) we support the use of "emergent bilinguals" and "emergent biliterates" (for a comprehensive overview on the use of "emergent bilinguals" we recommend Garcia et al. 2008). The use of bilingual and biliterate holistically not only recognizes students' full linguistic repertoire – we use it synonymously with "multilingual" -, it also avoids a problematic emphasis on or prioritizing of the English language. The use of "emergent" recognizes that language development is a process and, especially for younger bilinguals, takes into account that students develop several language simultaneously (Gort 2008). Like all terms, "emergent bilingual" and "multilingual" are far from perfect. For example, the terms do not differentiate between second and foreign language learners, and, if we understand language learning as a lifelong process, could be extended to all human beings, thus erasing the specific characteristics, needs, and assets of culturally minoritized learners. In addition, Motha (2014), in reference to Matsuda and Duran (2013), has pointed out

that "[e]very time we use the word 'multilingual' as a proxy for the term *nonnative*, we contribute to a social imaginary of monolingual American identity and support consequent policies and practices" (pp. 53–54). While we acknowledge these important critiques, we believe that, at this point, emergent bilinguals is the best available label.

## 2.2 Funds of Knowledge

When we introduce pre-service teachers to the concept of "funds of knowledge" and its underlying theories in our language teacher education classes, we do so with the goal of supporting pre-service teachers in better understanding their students' life realities and serving them more effectively, a goal we share with Luis Moll. Moll and his research team conducted extensive interviews with members of Arizona's Mexican-American working-class communities in Tuscon of the 1990s. This groundbreaking work was the first systematic attempt to abandon a deficit model of educating bilingual low-income students by tapping their community resources or "funds of knowledge" (Moll 1992). This new focus on "historically accumulated and culturally developed bodies of knowledge and skills essential for household or individual functioning and well-being" (Moll et al. 1992, p. 133) has laid the foundation of an assets-based approach to education, in which teachers build on the prior knowledge and skills that their students bring to the classroom. The funds of knowledge approach has since been further developed and applied across many disciplines, content areas, and contexts. For example, it has served as theoretical foundation for studies in literacy (e.g., Carter 2015; Moje et al. 2004) and cultural studies (e.g., González 2005) and contributed to the field of STEM (teacher) education (González et al. 2001; Mejia and Wilson 2015; Turner and Drake 2016). It has been applied to contexts ranging from early childhood (e.g., Clift et al. 2015; Hedges 2015) to college education (Cooper 2016) and continues to promote work with marginalized and underserved communities, such as African American students (Freeman 2016). The funds of knowledge approach has further been developed to include "dark knowledge" (Zipin 2009) and "politicized knowledge" (Gallo and Link 2015), which speaks to the importance of integrating sensitive and taboo topics into these days' curriculum and instruction.

## 2.3 Translanguaging

Although the origin of the term is usually traced back to Cen William, who used "translanguaging" to describe the practice of English-Welsh bilingual students to read in one language and write in the other, the translanguaging terminology and

framework has been applied and further developed across a wide range of contexts (e.g., Canagarajah 2011a, b; Creese and Blackledge 2010; García and Wei 2014; Hornberger and Link 2012; Lewis et al. 2012). One of its key scholars and advocates, Ofelia García, defined translanguaging as the "act performed by bilinguals of accessing different linguistic features or various modes of what are described as autonomous languages, in order to maximize their communicative potential" (García 2009a, p. 140). Thus, translanguaging underlines the purpose of language use to make meaning and communicate, which determines bilingual students' use of linguistic resources beyond what is traditionally perceived as "a language". In other words, translanguaging encompasses all types of linguistic exchanges in which linguistic resources are used flexibly and across traditional language boundaries for the purpose of making meaning.

Not unlike funds of knowledge, the concept of translanguaging was created with the intention of providing a framework that views and describes bilingual students from an assets-based perspective. This important feature of the translanguaging approach, which García and Leiva have describes as "its potential in liberating the voices of language minoritized students" (García and Leiva 2014, p. 200), is what makes it attractive to us as language teacher educators. In contexts where bilingual students have traditionally been evaluated through monolingual norms, a translanguaging framework can rectify the situation by abandoning the notion of languages as stable units that are (connected yet) separate and instead recognizing the flexible use of various linguistic resources (e.g., lexicon, grammar, but also styles and identities) as normal and valuable language practice of bilingual students. In order to do this, translanguaging has far transgressed the theoretical and descriptive realms of scholarship. It is not merely a theoretical framework or a descriptive tool, it is also a pedagogical approach that increases bilingual students' chances for academic achievement by recognizing the value of all their linguistic resources and leveraging them for further language and content learning (García 2012). In their "guide for educators", Celic and Seltzer (2012) offer a plethora of strategies to teachers of bilingual students that activate the students' linguistic resources and leverage them to access and develop academic language and content.

For any assets-based approach to be effective, it is vital that schools and teachers not only learn about their students' linguistic, cultural, and familial backgrounds, but also tap the existing funds of knowledge and all their existing and emerging linguistic resources to design their curriculum and instruction. In educational contexts that are dominated by white middle-class teachers and students, such an endeavor usually implies a paradigm shift. In this sense, moving from a deficit perspective towards and assets-approach is far more challenging, contested, but also more impactful than pre-service teachers or teacher educators, like us, sometimes realize.

## 3 Teacher Education: Suggestions and Strategies from the Field on Preparing Pre-service Teachers to Work with Bilingual Students

As language teachers educators, we have become increasingly aware of the complexity of paradigm shifts, especially when ideologies and attitudes about linguistic practices and education are involved. To help us and our pre-service teachers move towards an assets-based approach of educating emergent bilinguals, we have developed a number of strategies, including (a) strategies to recognize deficit perspectives, (b) strategies to challenge deficit perspectives (e.g. in conversations and teaching materials), (c) strategies to learn about students' lives, and (d) strategies to design student-centered, culturally sustaining (Paris 2012) instruction.

When pre-service teachers first start to critically question the deficit perspectives they have encountered or assumed throughout their educational trajectories, they are often struck with disbelief or disappointment about their own experiences and assumptions. To avoid defensiveness, we openly talk about our realizations of our own deficit perspectives and encourage our pre-service teachers – and ourselves – to ask questions about (their assumptions about) their students ("What makes you think that he is not motivated to do homework?") rather than provide answers ("He probably does not care about his grades."). One helpful activity in our teacher education classes has been to make a list of "silent assumptions" we collectively have, especially in situations of conflict or frustration. Simple acts such as choosing a book for students to read, assigning homework, or correcting errors may be based on an array of assumptions teachers have about their students' family life, socioeconomic status, cultural and racial affiliations and feelings of belonging, life experience, interests, opportunities, and beliefs. For instance, assumptions we collected in our teacher education classrooms regarding homework included "He is not interested in the topic.", "My students have next to no support from their parents.", and "They don't care about school." Making such assumptions explicit, has helped us and our pre-service teachers to recognize our own biases and instead begin to gather the information we needed in order to understand why students did not complete their homework. As a result of our discussions in class, some of our pre-service teachers initiated conversations with their students about their perceptions of homework assignments and found that some of them considered them optional, while others simply did not have the time and space to work outside of school. These findings triggered them to modify their instruction or provide additional resources to their students, for example extended library access or supervised homework time before class. Overall, we learned that noticing, recognizing, and actively interrupting our biases is the first step towards making our classrooms more inclusive.

In order to get to know their students, we sometimes encourage our pre-service teachers to carry out interviews with their students and their family members. If this is too time-consuming, we co-design lesson and unit plans with our pre-service teachers that are likely to elicit important information from students. Such lessons may, for example, include the production of multilingual, multimodal texts like

collages of themselves, photo essays of their home or community, or social media texts (e.g. buzz feeds) about their schooling experience and linguistic preferences. These texts allow even emergent multilingual students to communicate complex issues and can provide important information about students' life realities, prior schooling, and linguistic repertoires.

## *3.1 Teaching and Learning About the Deficit Language*

At present, unfortunately, the federal label used to refer to bilingual students remains "English Learner", which consequently millions of teachers and education stakeholders continue to use. Teacher educators, however, can and should, explicitly address the issues associated with this label. We present the issue and offer suggestions on how teachers and teacher educators can take action. Perpetual use of "English Learner" positions teachers to view students as deficient. As noted above, the focus on *English* Learner, implicitly prioritizes English as students' language, giving no attention to additional language(s) that a child may already speak (or still be developing). Second, the focus on English *Learner* explicitly others students carrying the EL label, suggesting that students are not capable of engaging in what is considered "mainstream" academic work due to the fact that they are still developing English. Relatedly, "English Learner" positions students to see themselves as deficient. Contrary to the "English Learner" label, English is not the only thing students are learning and/or know. Many ELs are developing not one, but two (or more) languages (Gort 2008) and older ELs may not only speak, but also be literate in another language(s). Further, the very use of *English* equates ability to process and demonstrate knowledge to ability to process and demonstrate knowledge *in English*. Given these (sometimes unintentionally) deficit based effects of the EL label, we are concerned with the ongoing use of the EL label. We believe the use of EL positions teachers to view their students as incapable and positions bilingual students to view themselves as deficient.

In our own work as teacher educators, we have taken small steps to work toward breaking this cycle with the next generation of teachers. First, we explicitly dialogue about the problematic use of the EL and ELL labels. Pre-service teachers are learning the language of education, thus, rather than teaching and using labels that we do not believe in, we suggest intentional appreciation and use of more asset based language and labels. Further, when dialoguing with our pre-service teachers, we call them out on their language use (e.g., "why are you referring to your student at not having English?), and vice versa, and ask them to reflect and explain why perpetual use of these deficit labels are detrimental to both teaching and student learning (e.g., "if you keep referring to them as the *lowest student* how might that affect your instruction or their learning?).

Cathy (all names are pseudonyms), for example, during a lesson plan workshop was discussing how she was struggling to "make the lesson easier for my lower ELL students" (Cathy, fieldnotes, 2016). This became a conversation on the assumptions

and unintended consequences when language such as "lower" and "ELL". Students were able to unpack how using ELL put so much emphasis on *English* that Cathy was unable to focus on knowledge that her students may already possess. Further, Cathy was able to understand how in her use of "lower" it was assumed that students earlier along in their English language development were not as capable as other students and she was unintentionally teaching these students less. Dialogue is important, but more importantly, we move forward with action. We have adopted Garcia's (2009b) recommendation of "emergent bilinguals", not only for ourselves, but we also clearly articulate our expectations to our pre-service teachers to do the same. We have not only observed pre-service teachers work their way through this in class ("My ELL, I mean emerging bilingual student"), but have also had pre-service teachers share their own experiences of how intentionally changing their own language practices has initiated critical dialogue with others ("He asked me why I used emerging bilingual and I was able to explain the implicit biases and deficit perspectives associated with ELL").

## *3.2 Teaching and Learning About Funds of Knowledge*

In our work with pre-service teachers, a concern that has continuously surfaced is a tension they felt between their professional responsibilities, in particular their task to assess students, and an assets-based approach that is focused on their students' existing skills and knowledges. For example, one pre-service teacher remarked in class, during a somewhat heated discussion around uncovering deficit assumptions, that "I am a teacher, isn't it part of my job also to say what my students can't do? I feel like it's not really honest to only talk about their assets because, then, what is the point of even going to school?" (Ashley, fieldnotes, 2015). Other comments included "I am not judging, just assessing." and "I have to identify their gaps. They are not st-, it's not a secret, they know why they are in my class" (both: Kathleen, fieldnotes, 2015). Several pre-service teachers have made similar remarks, often linking their need to talk about students' "areas for improvement" to assessment and learning theories as well as their role as (ESL) teachers.

As these pre-service teachers expressed frustration about a conflict they felt between moving towards and assets-based approach to (language) teaching and having to address students' areas for growth, it was important to us to discuss some of the underlying ideologies of this conflict. In some cases, we were able to enter a productive conversation, during which we collaboratively phrased questions about the tension the pre-service teachers were feeling, including "What are 'gaps' and 'areas for growth'?", "Who decides what they are?", "How is this decision made?", "How can we know for sure what a bilingual student can (not) do?", "How do we communicate those areas for growth to the student?", and "How do we make sure we both support our students but also challenge them to grow?" We used this conversation as a springboard into reflecting and learning about culturally and linguistically fair assessments, which helped pre-service teachers become aware of the inadequacy

of many traditional assessments and tests which do not capture their students' funds of knowledge. In one class, our pre-service teachers were struck by a Hailey's example of her 18-year-old student from Mexico, who had escaped socio-economic hardship and deprivation and built a life in the US, but barely received passing grades in his high school classes. Hailey commented how his knowledge about migrating, dealing with authorities, finding housing, building networks, and knowing who to trust was "worth nothing" (Hailey, fieldnotes, 2015) at school. This comment made us aware that we needed to carve out more spaces for pre-service teachers to translated their students' "politicized funds of knowledge" (Gallo and Link 2015) into instruction and assessment. For instance, Hailey's student's funds of knowledge could be leveraged for instructional goals and activities such as synthesizing information from various resources, crafting arguments, and writing narratives that fulfill high-school level ELA (English Language Arts) as well as WIDA standards (World-class Instructional Design and Assessment, the ESL standards for Massachusetts).

In the course of the discussion, the pre-service teachers tried to disentangle their own deficit biases from state-mandated or national standards and tests that define student success and failure. Although we identified several ways to address students' areas for growth adequately in our classrooms by building on their funds of knowledge, we also noticed a need for addressing tensions between national/state policies and assets-based (or other humanizing) pedagogies more explicitly in our teacher education program. For example, we plan on integrating more explicit analyses of local and national standards based on existing literature (e.g. Viesca 2013), and model instructional design that both meets and challenges these standards.

In sum, dialoguing with our pre-service teachers about their students' funds of knowledge has opened up important spaces of professional and personal development for all of us, but also challenged us to improve our teacher education program to include more, more explicit, and more scaffolded opportunities for increasing the academic performance of minoritized/underserved students.

### *3.3 Teaching and Learning About Translanguaging*

In the discussions about translanguaging, what has surfaced repeatedly is the pre-service teachers' concern about violating principles of language teaching that revolve around challenging students linguistically and helping them to stay in the Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD; Vygotsky 1978), where second language acquisition has been shown to happen (e.g. Ohta 2000; Lantolf and Appel 1994). More generally speaking, as students come to understand the concept and approach of translanguaging, they sometimes see it to be in conflict with traditional second language acquisition theories they have previously studied. As one of our pre-service teachers, Chelsea, put it: "What if translanguaging is the easy way out? Out of the ZPD, I mean, you know, when they are forced to use English […] and didn't you say we need to push them, push output?" (Chelsea, fieldnotes, 2015). In a similar vein, some of our pre-service teachers recognized the value of their students'

home languages for the acquisition and development of English, but did not see them as valuable beyond that. For instance, we kept noticing activities in their lesson plans that invited their students to use all their available languages, or at least their L1s, in order to ensure comprehension of English expressions ("Turn and talk in your L1: What do these words mean?", lesson plan Amy, fieldnotes, 2016), but rarely was translanguaging permitted as a means of communication in its own right.

Although not always as explicitly, many of our students seemed to share Chelsea's concerned question about how translanguaging, the recognition and use of bilingual students' linguistic resources, could be reconciled with the idea of challenging students, especially by encouraging output in the target language with the goal of acquiring that language. The underlying argument here is one that has been used frequently by opponents of bilingual education: Maximum exposure to and use of the target language are helpful, if not necessary, for language development. Translanguaging is seen as an interruption of this premise. There are several strategies we have found useful at this point in a discussion: (a) reviewing the concepts that are being used (here ZPD, pushed output, translanguaging) to see if they are necessarily in conflict with each other or can be reconciled, (b) examining the history of the argument, e.g. its use by the anti-bilingual education initiative English for the students of Massachusetts, as well as the ideologies that undergird it, for instance the notion of what Heller (1999) has termed "parallel monolingualism", i.e. the separate acquisition of more than one language, (c) reading and interpreting classroom data that provide examples of how translanguaging supports language development by enabling students to produce and comprehend more complex language and content. Beneath the concern about conflicting theories seems to be a question about how to acknowledge and tap students' existing resources, especially those of language minoritized students, without perpetuating either the students' disadvantage or ideologies of language purity/separation or parallel monolingualism. This is when the integration of different concepts and theories has been helpful to us as teacher educators. While promoting a translanguaging approach to language education, we also remind future teachers to challenge their students, warn them against over-scaffolding or lingering scaffolding, and show them how the use of translanguaging makes new and complex language, content, and identities accessible and useable to (emergent) bilinguals, as several scholars before us have done (e.g., Collins and Cioè-Peña 2016; Creese and Blackledge 2010; Canagarajah 2011a; Makalela 2015).

Another notion we plan to revisit more thoroughly in our classes is the one of the dichotomy of academic versus non-academic languages. Flores (2016) aptly problematizes these concepts as follows:

> White middle class children are positioned as coming from homes where they are socialized into academic language while language-minoritized children are positioned as coming from homes where they are socialized into non-academic language. This often leads to self-fulfilling prophecies where teachers overdetermine language-minoritized students to be linguistically deficient and unable to meet the demands of the Common Core Standards. (Flores 2016, para 2)

In response to such deficit positionings and in order to tap and legitimize bilingual students' language resources, Flores provides a standards-based bilingual Spanish-English reading lesson plan which he designed with his colleagues Allard and Link (available at https://educationallinguist.wordpress.com). Such examples can serve as excellent models for our pre-service teachers to interrupt deficit discourses and debunk racist and linguicist assumptions that denigrate bilingual students' language practices.

Although, as we do this work, we realize that we are limited by a lack of research and theory on how to teach, assess, and develop translanguaging skills (Canagarajah 2011b), some of our pre-service teachers have developed excellent lesson plans that integrate translanguaging practices with high expectations for bilingual students. We are optimistic that resources, such as the recently published volume *Translanguaging with multilingual students* (García and Kleyn 2016), will be valuable resources for real-life classroom examples of students who used translanguaging to enhance comprehension as well as production of complex spoken and written texts while at the same time making translanguaging a legitimate classroom practice that is not merely subject to the acquisition of the target language.

## 4 Paradigm Shift: Questions on Preparing Pre-service Teachers to Work with Bilingual Students

As teacher educators, we are committed to challenging pre-service teachers to not only recognize ingrained deficit perspectives, but actively work to undo deficit thinking. In our work we have found that methods classes must begin by explicitly discussing how pre-service teachers, while well intentioned, often start with a default deficit perspective. Recognizing and acknowledging these perspectives, however, is only a first step. Critically discussing and unpacking these beliefs and practices must be integrated throughout pre-service teachers' educational experience. Finally, as teacher educators, we must actively call out our students and challenge them to move away from linguist, racist, and deficit-oriented practices; thus, modeling for pre-service teachers that we must "practice what we preach".

We recognize that our suggestions for teaching education are only a small piece of the work necessary in preparing pre-service teachers to work with bilingual students. We also want to recognize and appreciate the scholars who have inspired us to move toward a more critical approach to teacher education. Finally, we recognize that there is still much more work to be done, perspectives to be challenged, and questions to be addressed. Thus, we conclude our chapter with a series of questions that we hope teacher educators, like ourselves, hold at the forefront of their work in preparing pre-service teachers to work with bilingual students.

- How do we teach pre-service teachers to balance between supporting and challenging their students (linguistically but also in terms of content, identities, aspirations, etc.)?

- How can we charge pre-service teachers to actively challenge the deficit perspectives that are so ingrained in education, both within their own practices and among their colleagues?
- How can we encourage pre-service teachers to engage in ongoing development and reflection once they enter the classroom, particularly given that many teacher education programs consist of a 1 year graduate program?
- In recognizing that a paradigm shift in teacher education, particularly within in language education, is a developmental and ongoing process, what support can we provide, and how can we follow up with, pre-service teachers upon graduating from their teacher education program?
- What do we, as teacher educators, do for ourselves as we also go through these paradigm shifts?

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# Discursive Techniques in Heritage Language Education


**Corinne A. Seals**

**Abstract** Research in bilingual and second language education has a long-established tradition of examining discursive strategies and types of feedback for learners (e.g. explicit correction, recasting, etc.). The type of strategies and feedback used have traditionally been based on reaching a native speaker standard. However, this poses a problem for heritage language education (HLE), as heritage languages have their own linguistic structures which are systematic and different from the native speaker structures (Andrews. Slavic East Eur J 45:519–530, 2001; Montrul. The acquisition of heritage languages. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2016). For example, Heritage Russian has a systematic grammar that is different from that found in Standard Russian (Isurin, Ivanova-Sullivan. Heritage Lang J 6:72–104, 2008; Polinsky. Heritage Lang J 6:40–71, 2008). Furthermore, based on this knowledge, heritage language scholars have widely advocated for developing and using methods for HLE that speak to the unique needs of these speakers and learners (e.g. Hornberger, Wang. Heritage language education: a new field emerging. Routledge, New York, 2008; Lao, Lee. J Southeast Asian Am Educ Adv 4:1–21, 2009; Lo Philip. Ling Educ 21:282–297, 2010; Martin-Beltran. Ling Educ 21:257–281, 2010).

This study empirically investigates discursive teaching techniques in HLE by focusing on a case study of a Russian heritage language program in the United States from 2011 to 2013. The discursive moves, along with types of feedback given to learners, are examined through emergent coding and interactional sociolinguistic discourse analysis. Learners' uptake and responses are also examined. Additionally, the most prevalent discursive techniques are examined, concluding that the purpose they are serving is to move heritage language speakers' Russian phonology closer to that of Standard Russian, while positioning them as competent heritage language speakers, still contextualized within English dominant education.

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## 1 Introduction

A great deal of research in recent years has investigated various aspects of heritage language acquisition and education. From this research, critical insights have been gained, including the fact that heritage language speakers are often discouraged from maintaining their heritage languages by a variety of stakeholders, which leads to decreased investment in their own heritage language education (e.g. Duff 2001; King and Mackey 2007; Lo Bianco 2008; Lo Bianco and Peyton 2013). Furthermore, research has shown the important role that teachers in particular play in whether or not heritage language speakers continue to identify with their heritage language(s) and continue to invest in learning it/them (e.g. Menard-Warwick 2009; Seals 2017; Seals and Kreeft-Peyton 2016; Winter and Pauwels 2006). As such, it is even more important then to reach a greater understanding of how teachers can best support heritage language maintenance.

One research finding which has already had a major impact on heritage language education is that heritage language speakers are not using a "flawed" variety of the standard language. Rather, heritage language speaker communities have developed their own systematic linguistic systems that share some, but not all, of the features of the recognized dominant standard variety (Andrews 2001; Isurin and Ivanova-Sullivan 2008; Montrul 2016; Polinsky 2008). However, these differences do not detract from the fact that the heritage language is its own legitimate, systematic variety. This finding has been crucial for reframing language education, so that instead of attempting to "correct" heritage language speakers, many programs now recognize heritage language speakers' linguistic validity and instead work to empower them by metacognitively teaching them what the linguistic differences are and how they may be perceived by various audiences (Hornberger and Wang 2008; Lao and Lee 2009; Lo Philip 2010; Martin-Beltran 2010).

The current chapter contributes to this area of research by investigating via a qualitative analysis of naturally occurring classroom data what types of discursive feedback heritage language teachers can provide to support students' heritage language identities and investment.

## 2 Theoretical Framework: Positioning and Discourse in Heritage Language Education

In order to investigate the role of feedback for heritage language speakers, the current research utilizes an interactional sociolinguistic approach to discourse analysis, wherein heritage language classroom discursive interactions are analyzed. Interactional sociolinguistics draws upon the full scope of observed interaction, as

well as the researcher's sociocultural knowledge of the participants and context to interpret the naturally occurring interactions. To further interpret the findings, the framework of *positioning* is used.

The theory of *positioning* examines how interlocutors discusively identify each other in any given context (Davies and Harré 1990; van Langenhove and Harré 1999). This context includes topics, as well as events, location, all conversational participants, and overhearers. Participants continuously reposition themselves discusively, as well as others. Drawing upon the overarching theory of discursive positioning can assist in discovering the perception of heritage language speakers' proficiency in the heritage language and as well as the majority language in language learning contexts (e.g. Martin-Beltran 2010). This can be done through a close examination at the discursive level of how school representatives and stakeholders position and re-position students as members or non-members of various discourse communities (Lo Philip 2010: 291). This negotiation and renegotiation is done through "small 'd' discourse"(spoken or written text) and "big 'd' Discourse", which includes "ways of being in the world, or forms of life which integrate words acts, values, beliefs attitudes, and social identities, as well as gestures, glances, body positions, and clothes… so as to take on a particular social role that others will recognize" (Gee 1996:127).

This is particularly important for heritage language speaking students, due to the fact that "for HL learners there are two ever-present macro Discourses… heritage Discourse and dominant Discourse" (Lo Philip 2010: 291, drawing upon Wang 2004). Heritage Discourse (with a capital "d") include the many ideologies and stances related to heritage languages, such as when a heritage language variety is considered legitimate or not, as well as which heritage languages are used by diasporacommunities in a host country. Teachers in particular are influential gatekeepers in students' identity negotiation, as teachers can positioning heritage language students as speakers or not of legitimate languagevarieties. Students in turn constantly discursively negotiate and re-negotiate their identities within the learning context.

In this chapter, I detail the classroom interaction that a heritage language teacher has with her students and show how she positions the students as legitimate heritage language *speakers* rather than merely heritage language *learners*or speakers of a non-legitimate language variety. I argue that in positioning the Russian heritage language students this way, she simultaneously supports their language learning and their multilingual identity development as speakers of both Russian and English.

## 3 Methodology

The present data come from 3 months of data collection in 2012, which was part of a larger 3 year school ethnography that took place 2010–2012 at a mainstream primary school in the Western United States. The data were collected within the heritage language classroom, which at that time existed within the mainstream school. Heritage language students would be "pulled out" of class at pre-determined times

(usually during elective activity time) to attend their heritage language lessons. Lessons were either in a small group setting or one-on-one with the instructor, depending on how many students there were for each heritage language. The classroom sessions were via audio and video recording once per week, the time during which the focal Russian heritage language speakers (Darya, Elena, and Alla) met with their teacher, Vera. (see Seals 2013; Seals and Kreeft-Peyton 2016 for a full overview of data collection).

Vera is originally from Ukraine, from where she moved 20 years ago, holds a Master's degree in Education, and is a fluent speaker of Ukrainian, Russian, and English. She is a member of the local Ukrainian and Russian communities and had been teaching at the focal school for over 15 years. At the time of the recordings, Darya was 11 years old. She is the youngest of eight children, was born in the United States, and her mother is from Latvia and father is from Ukraine. Elena and Alla are sisters, and at the time of the study, they were 10 and 6 years old, respectively. They are the fourth and fifth of seven children, were both born in the United States, and both of their parents are from Ukraine.

To analyze the disursive techniques used in the heritage language lessons, I qualitatively coded all discourse events that were audio and video recorded over the course of a 3 month classroom ethnography, which is the focus of the current chapter. The coding was done using the grounded theory approach, a qualitative discourse analysis approach, by which the categories of discursive moves emerge from the data. As such, no categories or specific research questions exist in the beginning because the focus is on letting the data speak for itself. An example of categories that emerged include*self-translation by the instructor* and *evaluative praise given*. The further categories relevant to the current chapter are presented in the next section below. All coded recordings were then compiled for each of the heritage language students and analyzed individually and together through interactional sociolinguistic discourse analysis (see Gumperz 1982, 2001).

## 4 Findings and Analysis

### *4.1 Macro-analysis*

When analyzing the data together, it is apparent that Vera (the Russian heritage language instructor) uses the same range of techniques for each student for the most part during the heritage language instruction. Noticeably, for all students, Vera makes most use of *recasts (repeating the error to the learner in a corrected form but in a naturalistic way)*, *metacognitive input in English (overtly telling the learner what learning process is or should be occurring at that moment)*, and *direct instruction/directions given (giving the learner directions in an unmitigated way)*, either in English, Russian, or both. Other techniques such as *explicit correction (overtly and directly correcting the learner's error)*, *prompting (beginning the target utterance to cue the learner's response)*, and *self-translation (instructor translating her own*

*utterance from one language to another)* occur much less often for all of the students.[1] Additionally, the strong presence of learner output by each of the students shows that they are often given the discursive floor during the lessons and have many opportunities to practice Russian and display their knowledge of the language. These discursive events are explored in-depth below.

## *4.2 Micro-analysis*

The multiple teaching methods that Vera discursively uses to create an environment reinforcing internalization of a bilingual Russian/English speaker identity can be seen in Excerpt 1 below. In the below example, Vera is working with student Elena on reading and translating a Russian story for comprehension. Elena has just read a page of the story in Russian about a storybook fox who is playing in the snow, and Vera asks her to explain what is happening in English. Both a transliteration and a gloss, when needed, are given next to the transcribed talk.

**Excerpt 1: Multiple Methods Used by Vera in Heritage Language Instruction**

(00:30:49)

| | | **Transliteration** | **Gloss** |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 Vera: | Hm. | | |
| 2 | What do you think she's doing? | | |
| 3 | Лиса заметает следы хвостом | *Lisa zametayet sledy xvostom.* | 'The fox is covering her tracks with her tail' |
| 4 Elena: | She's cleaning off her tail | | |
| 5 Vera: | Yeah. | | |
| 6 | She's kind of- | | |
| 7 | Uh, заметает. | *zametayet* | 'sweeping' |
| 8 | Kind of like sweeping, | | |
| 9 | away her, | | |
| 10 | paw prints, footprints. | | |
| 11 | With the tail. | | |
| 12 | The tail is long and she's just like sweeping it away. | | |
| 13 | I don't know if they really do it or not, | | |
| 14 | but this is just expression. | | |
| 15 | How many words? | | |

[1] Due to space constraints, a full discussion of implicit and explicit correction techniques is outside the scope of the current chapter. For a detailed review of previous studies, see Ellis et al. (2006).

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 16 | Сколько слов? | *Skol'ko slov?* | 'How many words?' |
| 17 Elena: | Four. | | |
| 18 Vera: | Четыре слова. | *Chetyre slova.* | 'Four words.' |
| 19 | And remember we talked about that, | | |
| 20a | in the English language probably different number | | |
| 20b | of words depending on how you translate the sentence. | | |
| (00:31:33) | | | |

In line 2 of the above excerpt, Vera initiates a comprehension check for meaning in English of the Russian story. In line 3, she then repeats the line of the story that she is referencing. Elena responds with her content-based translation in line 4. It is interesting to note that Elena does not try for a word-by-word translation as many foreign language students attempt to do; rather, she directly attempts a content-based translation like a native speaker would. However, Elena's translation is slightly off, as she interprets the sentence to mean that the fox is cleaning her own tail, instead of the correct meaning that the fox is using her tail to clean the tracks. In line 7, Vera identifies the Russian word that has been misinterpreted by Elena and recasts Elena's translation in lines 5 through 11. Vera then elaborates further on the translation in line 12 and provides metacognitive feedback about it being "just an expression" in line 14. Vera then immediately transitions to the next question in line 15, asking how many words are in the initial Russian sentence from the story, which she then translates into Russian in line 16, indicating that she wants Elena to answer in Russian. Elena answers in English instead, though, in line 17, but Vera recasts her answer into Russian in line 18. Vera then concludes by providing metacognitive feedback to Elena, reminding her about how translations can be made up of different lexical counts in each language.

Excerpt 1, above, shows the multiple techniques used by Vera in the heritage language lesson, as she moves between a comprehension check for meaning in English, recasts in both English and Russian of Elena's answers, and metacognitive feedback in English. Throughout all of these techniques, Vera continually positions Elena as a Russian language speaker, asking her to interpret a story that she just read in Russian and recasting her English response in line 18 into Russian. Even when Elena makes an error in her Russian to English translation, Vera does not overtly correct her, but rather recasts her explanation and then elaborates more fully on it to provide a visual image of the action from the story, which indicates that Vera is interpreting the error as a lack of comprehensive understanding of the character's actions by Elena instead of a mistranslation. Repeatedly throughout the lessons, as illustrated through the excerpt above, Vera positions the students as proficient heritage speakers of Russian who also hold bilingual language abilities in English and Russian, able to transition between both languages. This supports the students' multilingual identity development as speakers of both Russian and English, and it

allows Vera more time to provide metacognitive feedback instead of explicit correction.

Discursive actions in the heritage language classroom work to socialize the students as speakers of Russian and reflect and shape their interactional positioning in the classroom. For example, palatalization is an important marker in Russian phonology during communication because it functions as a sociolinguistically meaningful variable in Russian. Here I define *sociolinguistically meaningful phonological variable* as a phonological variable that is marked and indexes a particular schema or stereotype when observed by the interlocutor. Palatalization is a phonological variable that has been shown time and again to be sociolinguistically meaningful in Russian and indexes the Russian language itself (e.g. Kapatsinski 2010; Padgett 2003; Seals 2010).

Palatalization occurs in Russian when production of the consonant is followed by a secondary articulation during which the tongue presses to the hard palate in the mouth. This can be exemplified through the comparison of two ways of pronouncing the Russian word *svyet* /svʲɛt/ 'light': [svʲɛt]vs. [svɛt]. The first instance is palatalized and is how it would be pronounced by a native Russian speaker. Palatalization is often difficult for native English speakers, however, and the second instance is not uncommon to hear from them when they speak Russian. Palatalization is extremely common in Russian, occurring at least once in most words, and it has been pointed to by researchers as a critical feature of acquisition when learning Russian phonology (Gildersleeve-Neumann and Wright 2010; Larson-Hall 2004; Zharkova 2005).

Therefore, it can be assumed that acquisition of palatalization is also an important consideration in the Russian heritage language classroom. Indeed, any time the students would not produce palatalization when it should be produced in Russian, or when they would struggle to produce a Russian lexical item as palatalized, this was addressed by Vera. As the following examples show, however, Vera usually corrected the students' palatalization implicitly through recasts and repetition.[2] In Excerpt 2 below, Alla, the youngest student, has difficulty pronouncing a palatalized word in Russian, *samolyot* [saməlʲot] 'airplane', and Vera works with her repeatedly on this until Alla is able to produce the word with palatalization.

**Excerpt 2: Vera Works with Alla on Russian Palatalization**

(00:11:45)

| | | **Transliteration** | **Gloss** |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 Alla: | *Reshoshka?* | | |
| 2 Vera: | Решётка. | *Ryeshyotka* | 'Grill' |
| 3 Alla: | *Bye:-* | | |
| 4 Vera: | Белка. | *Byelka* | 'Squirrel' |
| 5 Alla: | Белка. | *Byelka* | 'Squirrel' |
| 6 | *Samalōt.* | | |
| 7 Vera: | Самолёт. | *Samolyot* | 'Airplane' |

[2] Palatalization was evaluated auditorily as well as acoustically with the phonetic software PRAAT.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 8 Alla: | *Samalō:t.* | | |
| 9 Vera: | Say *yō:t.* | | |
| 10 Alla: | *Yōt.* | | |
| 11 Vera: | Самолёт. | *Samolyot* | ‘Airplane’ |
| 12 Alla: | *Samalō:t?* | | |
| 13 Vera: | Say *lyōt*. | | |
| 14 Alla: | *Lyōt*. | | |
| 15 Vera: | Самолёт. | *Samolyot* | ‘Airplane’ |
| 16 Alla: | *Samalōt.* | | |
| 17 Vera: | *Lyōt*. | | |
| 18 Alla: | *Lyōt*. | | |
| 19 Vera: | *Sa:-* | | |
| 20 Alla: | *Sa.* | | |
| 21 Vera: | *M*[$^{1}$*a:*]- | | |
| 22 Alla: | [$^{1}$*Ma*]. | | |
| 23 Vera: | *L*[$^{2}$*yō:t*]. | | |
| 24 Alla: | [$^{2}$*Lyōt*]. | | |
| 25 Vera: | Okay. | | |
| (00:12:20) | | | |

In the above example, Alla displays the ability to produce a palatalized Russian word first in lines 3 through 5, when she repeats Vera’s pronunciation of *byelka* (‘squirrel’). However, Alla then has trouble pronouncing the palatalization in line 6, pronouncing the Russian word *samalyot* /samalʲot/ (‘airplane’) as an English speaker who has difficulty with palatalization would: [samalot]. Vera immediately provides a recast in line 7, but Alla shows difficulty with the palatalization again in line 8. Vera, specifically addressing the missing palatal sound /j/, tells Alla to just pronounce the palatalized end of the word in line 9. After Alla successfully produces this in line 10, Vera again says the entire word in Russian in line 11. However, Alla again pronounces the unpalatalized form of the word in line 12 and indicates that she is aware that she did not change something that should have been changed by her high rising terminal tone at the end of the word. Vera again addresses the palatalized sound in line 13, and Alla repeats it in line 14. However, when Alla once again pronounces the unpalatalized version of the word in line 16, Vera has Alla repeat each individual syllable of the word with her in lines 17 through 24.

Crucially, Vera never once issues a direct correction or explicitly acknowledges that Alla’s palatalization is where the pronunciation mistake lays. Thus, Vera never challenges Alla’s heritage Russian speaker identity by indicating a problem with her palatalization. And yet, palatalization so strongly indexes the Russian language that Vera recasts and repeats the word with Alla for 19 turns in the conversation. By continuing to practice Russian palatalization with Alla, Vera strengthens Alla’s performance as a native Russian speaker without challenging her Russian heritage speaker identity by positioning her as a non-native speaker of Russian through explicit correction.

Recasts and persistent repetition of Russian phonology were in fact frequent in the heritage language lesson data. While the most common implicit corrections that Vera made were to the students' palatalization errors, she also corrected other phonological features of the students' Russian. For example, in Excerpt 3 below, Darya, the oldest student, is practicing Russian vocabulary with Vera, and she encounters difficulty with regressive assimilation, which is also a feature of native speakers' Russian language (Samokhina 2004, 2010). Vera uses recasts and repetition to help Darya reach native-like pronunciation of the word *myagkaya* /mʲagkaja/ 'soft' with the native realization [mʲaxkaja] vs. non-native [mʲagkaja], ending with metacognitive feedback on the regressive assimilation within the word. In the transcript below, brackets with superscript numbers signify overlapping speech, while brackets without superscript numbers signify phonetic transcription without overlap.

**Excerpt 3: Vera Works with Darya on Regressive Assimilation in Russian**

(00:08:23)

| | | **Transliteration** | **Gloss** |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 Vera: | Густа:я: | *Gustay:ya:* | 'Thi:ck:' |
| 2 Darya | :Густа:я: | *Gustay:ya:* | 'Thi:ck:' |
| 3 Vera: | Н:е:жная | *N:ye:zhnaya* | 'D:e:licate' |
| 4 Darya: | Н:е:жная | *N:ye:zhnaya* | 'D:e:licate' |
| 5 Vera: | [¹Суха:я] | *Suxa:ya* | 'Dr:y' |
| 6 Darya: | [¹Суха:я] | *Suxa:ya* | 'Dr:y' |
| 7 Vera: | Су[²хая] | *Suxaya* | 'Dry' |
| 8 Darya: | [²Сухая] | *Suxaya* | 'Dry' |
| 9 Vera: | Read it yourself. | | |
| 10 Darya: | Трава: | *Trava:* | 'Grass:' |
| 11 | Зелё:ная | *Zyelyonaya* | 'Gree:n' |
| 12 | [Mʲa](..)[kina] | *Mya*(..)*kina* | |
| 13 Vera: | Uh uh. | | |
| 14 Darya: | [Mʲa]- | *Mya-* | |
| 15 | [Mʲa:](..)[ki]- | *Mya*:(..)*ki-* | |
| 16 | [¹Ma:]- | *Ma*:- | |
| 17 Vera: | [¹Mʲa:x](..)[²ka:ja:]. | *Mya:g(..)ka:ya:* | 'So:(..)f:t:' |
| 18 Darya: | -[²ka:ja:]. | *-ka:ya:* | -'f:t:' |
| 19 | [Max]- | *Maxh-* | |
| 20 | [Max]- | *Maxh-* | |
| 21 | [¹Mʲɛ]- | *Mye-* | |
| 22 Vera: | [¹Ja] | *Ya* | |
| 23 | [²Mʲa]. | *Mya* | |
| 24 Darya: | [²Mʲa]. | *Mya* | |
| 25 | [Mʲa:xʲa]- [x]- [ka]. | *Mya:xya- xh- ka.* | |
| 26 | [Mʲaxi]- | *Myaxi-* | |
| 27 | Okay. | | |
| 28 Vera: | Slow down. | | |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 29 Darya: | [Mʲa:]- | *Mya:-* | |
| 30 | [Mʲa]- | *Mya:-* | |
| 31 Vera: | [Mʲa:g]- | *Mya:g-* | |
| 32 Darya: | [Ma:]- | *Ma:-* | |
| 33 Vera: | [[1]Mʲa:g]- | *Mya:g-* | |
| 34 Darya: | [[1]Mʲa:g]- | *Mya:g-* | |
| 35 Vera: | -[[2]ka:]- | *-ka:-* | |
| 36 Darya: | [[2]ka:]k | *ka:k* | ‘li:ke’ |
| 37 Vera: | -[[3]ja]. | *-ya* | |
| 38 Darya: | -[[3]ja]. | *-ya* | |
| 39 Vera: | But [[4]when we say]- | | |
| 40 Darya: | [[4]Mʲa:]- | *Mya:-* | |
| 41 Vera: | Uh huh. | | |
| 42 Darya: | [ka:ga]! | *ka:ga!* | |
| 43 | [[1]Ka]! | *Ka!* | |
| 44 Vera: | [[1]@ @] | | |
| 45 | That’s okay. | | |
| 46 | When we say it fast, | | |
| 47 | it sounds like [mʲax]. | *myaxh* | |
| 48 | We don’t say [g]. | | |
| 49 | Мягк:ая. [mʲaxkaja] | *Myagk:aya* | ‘So:ft’ |
| 50 Darya: | [Mʲa:xksaja]. | *Mya:xksaya*. | |
| 51 Vera: | Easier, right? | | |
| 52 Darya: | Yeah. | | |
| 53 Vera: | Because when you say *mya:gukaya*, [mʲa:gu:kaja | | |
| 54 | it’s kind of hard to pronounce those sounds. | | |
| 55 | So try to say мягк:ая. [mʲaxk:aja] *myagk:aya* | | ‘so:ft’ |
| 56 Darya: | Мягк:ая. [Mʲaxk:aja] | *Myagk:aya* | ‘So:ft’ |
| 57 Vera: | Much better, right? | | |
| 58 Darya: | Mhm. | | |
| 59 Vera: | Okay. | | |
| (00:09:34) | | | |

In lines 1 through 8, Darya repeats each Russian word after Vera, copying her phonology and pronouncing the words in a native-like manner. In line 9, Vera tells Darya to continue saying the words herself, without Vera saying them first. Darya pronounces the Russian words in lines 10 and 11 in a native-like way, but then she encounters trouble in like 12 when she tries to pronounce *myagkaya* /mʲagkaja/ ‘soft’ natively as [mʲaxkaja] vs. the non-native pronunciation [mʲagkaja]. To smoothly pronounce this lexical item in Russian, regressive assimilation must take place so that the /g/ is pronounced more like [x]. Similarly to Excerpt 2, Vera works

with Darya to break down the word into individual syllables and then slowly put them back together in lines 17 through 38. In lines 24 through 26, Darya stumbles over the word three times in a row and then becomes very frustrated, switching back to English in line 27. Vera picks up on Darya's frustration and tells her in English to "slow down" in line 28. Darya then continues her attempt to say *myagkaya* with Vera modeling the syllable-by-syllable pronunciation of the word until line 38. Vera then unsuccessfully attempts to interrupt Darya's frustrated attempts in line 39 to provide metacognitive feedback, but Darya continues until she yells her final attempt in line 43. Vera defuses the frustration in line 44 through brief laughter and then metacognitively explains the regressive assimilation of the word to Darya in lines 45 through 48, modeling its pronunciation in line 49. Darya then attempts to say the word again in line 50, coming close but not quite pronouncing it correctly. However, Vera does not correct her but acknowledges that she got closer to the correct pronunciation by asking "Easier, right?" in line 51. Vera then repeats a shortened version of her metacognitive explanation in lines 53 through 54 and tells Darya in line 55 to try saying *myagkaya* once more. Darya correctly says the word in line 56, and Vera acknowledges this in line 57.

Once again, Vera does not explicitly correct the student's Russian mispronunciation, instead opting to use recasts, repetition, and metacognitive explanations. Even through Darya struggled with *myagkaya* for quite some time, Vera continued to work with her for almost 50 conversational turns until Darya finally produced the word with native-like regressive assimilation. Even in Vera's metacognitive feedback in line 39 and again in lines 46 through 48, she focuses on how "we" as Russian speakers pronounce the word, including Darya in that category, again positioning her as a Russian heritage speaker instead of a non-native learner.

Excerpt 3, above, also shows the additional feature of *style matching* that Vera makes use of in the heritage language lessons. *Style matching* is when a feature of one speaker's linguistic style, in this case – prosody, is matched by an interlocutor. Style matching can serve both interactional needs and identity management (Fuller 1996; Niederhoffer and Pennebaker 2002). Repeatedly throughout the classroom data, the students match their prosody to Vera's when speaking Russian. This phenomenon is repeated, whether they are reading entire stories or merely going over new or familiar vocabulary words. A look back at Excerpt 3 (copied again below) shows an example of Darya style matching Vera's prosody.

**Excerpt 3.2: Darya Style Matches Vera's Prosody**

(00:08:23)

| | | **Transliteration** | **Gloss** |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 Vera: | Густа:я: | *Gusta:ya:* | 'Thi:ck:' |
| 2 Darya: | Густа:я: | *Gusta:ya:* | 'Thi:ck:' |
| 3 Vera: | Н:е:жная | *N:ye:zhnaya* | 'D:e:licate' |
| 4 Darya: | Н:е:жная | *N:ye:zhnaya* | 'D:e:licate' |
| 5 Vera: | [ˈСуха:я] | *Suxa:ya* | 'Dr:y' |
| 6 Darya: | [ˈСуха:я] | *Suxa:ya* | 'Dr:y' |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 7 Vera: | Су[ˀхая] | *Suxaya* | ‘Dry’ |
| 8 Darya: | [ˀСухая] | *Suxaya* | ‘Dry’ |
| (00:08:32) | | | |

In line 1 of Example 3.2, Vera pronounces *gustaya* (‘thick’) with elongated /a/ and /ja/ sounds. Darya matches Vera’s prosody in line 2 when she says *gustaya* with exactly the same elongated sounds. Satisfied with Darya’s pronunciation of that word, Vera moves on to *nyezhnaya* (‘delicate’) in line 3, this time elongating the /n/ and the /je/ sounds. Again, Darya matches Vera’s prosody in line 4. Vera then moves on again in line 5 to *suxaya* (‘dry’), elongating the first /a/ sound. Anticipating the prosodic pattern, Darya matches Vera’s style again in line 6, saying the word with the same prosody and at the same time as Vera. Vera then quickly repeats *suxaya* in line 7, and Darya catches up with her to finish the word together in line 8.

By leading Darya in this prosodic style, which Darya repeats, Vera positions herself as an expert in the language and Darya as a speaker-in-training. However, this does not detract from Darya’s position as a heritage speaker of Russian, as Vera frequently uses this technique with her and rarely stops to correct her pronunciation, thus allowing her to maintain her success in native-like Russian pronunciation. Likewise, when Darya style matches to Vera, she recognizes her expertise with the language and attempts to master native-like pronunciation herself through repetition of Vera’s style, which is especially shown by Darya’s overlap with Vera in line 5 while maintaining prosodic matching. All three students, Darya, Alla, and Elena, practice prosodic style-matching often with Vera during the heritage language lessons, and through this, they learn native-like Russian prosody from her without sacrificing their positions as heritage speakers of Russian.

## 5 Conclusion

This chapter investigated how Alla, Elena, and Darya are positioned as Russian heritage language speakers in a mainstream primary school heritage language program. The heritage language instructor, Vera, is a member of the local Russian language community and is strongly invested in the students’ heritage language maintenance. She positions her students as *speakers* of both English and Russian who benefit from additional practice. Vera uses a variety of discursive methods in her classes with Alla, Elena, and Darya, modifying her methods as best fit the needs of each individual student. As discussed previously, Vera makes the greatest use of recasts and metacognitive feedback, allowing her students to receive corrective feedback without challenging their identities as Russian language *speakers*. By using much less explicit correction in the heritage language lessons, Vera maintains their positioning as speakers of the language, rather than novice *learners*.

Even when addressing issues of sociolinguistic markedness in Russian, such as the students’ accurate application of palatalization and regressive assimilation, Vera

corrects students' mistakes implicitly while still making sure that they produce the words accurately by native Russian speaker standards. This again positions the students as heritage language *speakers* working on their language skills, therein protecting their identities as Russian speakers. Vera also teaches the students to utilize style matching, which they use on a regular basis to learn native-like Russian pronunciation by repeating the words that Vera models for them in the way that she models them. This allows Vera to position the students as native speakers in training.

When Vera does overtly correct the students' language errors, she still does so in a matter that maintains the students' identities as heritage language speakers of Russian. Vera concentrates her efforts on helping the students maintain their own Russian heritage language speaker abilities and identities. Her weekly positioning of the students as bilingual speakers of Russian and English positively influences their multilingual identity negotiation (see Seals 2013), therein showing the power of teachers' discursive moves in heritage language education.

In sum, the findings for this chapter speak to the crucial role that heritage language instructors play in the current and future identity negotiation of heritage language speakers. This supports prior research findings on the importance of instructors' self-awareness of their own roles in students' investment in the heritage language(s) as well as their own sociolinguistic identity negotiations (e.g. Menard-Warwick 2009; Norton 2013; Seals 2017). By examining how feedback can be presented in ways both instructionally helpful and non-threatening to heritage speaker identity, teachers can improve heritage language speakers' skills, while simultaneously supporting their multilingual identities.

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# The Evolution of Bilingual Education in Monolingual Contexts: An Andalusian Case Study


**María Luisa Pérez Cañado**

**Abstract** This chapter focuses on Andalusia (southern Spain) as a case study to illustrate the evolution of bilingual education in a setting with a firmly entrenched monolingual model. It will begin by expounding on the chief traits of the two plans which have bolstered bilingual education in this monolingual context –the *Plan de Fomento del Plurilingüismo* (*Andalusian Plan for the Promotion of Plurilingualism*) (2005) and the *Plan Estratégico del Desarrollo de lasLenguas* (*Strategic Plan for the Development of Languages*) (2017)-, tracing their origins and showcasing how they conform to the *zeitgeist* of broader European policies and regulations. It will then canvass prior investigations carried out into the way in which these plans have played out, according to the chief stakeholders involved. The bulk of the chapter will be devoted to reporting on the outcomes of a large-scale program evaluation which has just been conducted in this context via two governmentally-funded research projects into the way in which CLIL programs are currently working, according to the key players involved in their grassroots implementation. Data, methodological, investigator, and location triangulation are all employed to gauge language teachers', content teachers', and teaching assistants' perspectives through questionnaires and semi-structured interviews in both Primary and Secondary education vis-à-vis L2 competence development, methodology, materials and resources, evaluation, coordination and organization, and teacher training and mobility. The outcomes will provide a comprehensive picture of where the process of implementation of CLIL programs currently stands in this monolingual context and to trace their evolution over the course of the past decade.

**Keywords** CLIL · Monolingual settings · Program evaluation · Teacher perspectives

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## 1 Introduction

Considerable strides have been taken in Europe over the course of the past two decades in order to take the so-called bilingual turn in language education. High hopes have been pinned on CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning)[1] to bolster plurilingualism on our continent and this European approach to bilingual education has been heralded as the potential lynchpin "that will help to move from monolingual education systems into bilingual ones, or from bilingual systems into multilingual ones" (Doiz and Lasagabaster 2017, p. 1).

This remit is a particularly tall order in contexts with a deep-seated monolingual tradition, lack of extramural exposure to languages other than the mother tongue, and deficient levels of foreign language mastery. Such is the case of the autonomous community of Andalusia, a region in the south of Spain, where the shift from a monoglot to a polyglot mentality has implied "fairly major upheavals for education" (Lorenzo 2010, p. 4) in the last decade. This shift has been channeled via two milestone documents which have provided a solid top-down push to plurilingual education in this region: the *Andalusian Plan for the Promotion of Plurilingualism* (henceforth, APPP) (2005) and the *Plan Estratégico de Desarrollo de las Lenguas en Andalucía* (henceforth, PEDLA) (2017).

The present chapter will strive to provide a comprehensive picture of the evolution of this plurilingual education model which has been operative in the autonomous community of Andalusia from 2005 until the present. In doing so, it will begin by expounding on the chief traits of the two plans which have bolstered bilingual education in this monolingual context –the APPP and the PEDLA-, tracing their origins and showcasing how they conform to the *zeitgeist* of broader European policies and regulations. It will then canvass prior investigations carried out into the way in which these plans have played out, according to the chief stakeholders involved. The bulk of the chapter will be devoted to presenting the outcomes of a recent investigation (cf. Acknowledgements) into this issue which has used data, methodological, investigator, and location triangulation to carry out a large-scale program evaluation of where the process of CLIL implementation stands in this monolingual context. The chapter will conclude by exploring where these outcomes lead us by identifying the chief challenges to conquer and by mapping out an agenda for the future of CLIL development. This overview of plurilingual education in Andalusia will offer insight into the strengths and weaknesses of the APPP/PEDLA and will capitalize on their threats and opportunities in order to contribute to a success-prone implementation of the ambitious language policies it has set out to achieve.

[1] CLIL is defined as "a dual-focussed education approach in which an additional language is used for the learning and teaching of both content and language" (Marsh and Langé 2000, p. 2). The emphasis on both teaching and content points to the very hallmark of CLIL: it involves a "two for one" approach (Lyster 2007, p. 2), where subject matter teaching is used at least some of the time as a means of increased meaningful exposure to the target language.

## 2 The Theoretical Backdrop

### *2.1 From the APPP to the PEDLA*

The origins of the APPP hark back to the experimental bilingual sections which were introduced in 26 Primary and Secondary schools in Andalusia from 1998 to 2004. After signing a collaboration protocol with the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Andalusian educational authorities launched Spanish-French sections in 1998, where at least one subject was taught through the medium of French. This pilot program was extended to include Spanish-German sections in 2000, with a total of 18 French and 8 German bilingual sections being included in Andalusian schools by 2004. It was, however, the official approval of the APPP in 2005 which caused the exponential growth of the number of schools who joined the experience, particularly with English bilingual sections (Cabrera Linero 2009). From 2005 to 2008, the APPP was set in motion, and from 2009 to 2013, the onus has been on the implementation of the *Bilinguals School Program*, whose full application is envisaged to take place from 2014 to 2020. The increase in participating centers since the launch of the APPP is visually presented in the table below (Table 1):

Andalusia now has more bilingual schools than any other monolingual community in Spain and plans to have introduced this model in at least 1500 schools by 2020. A total of 9,735 teachers and 361,185 students are at present participating in CLIL programs. This has caused it to fast become an example to follow among other autonomous communities and to earn the European Language Label Award in 2006 for its contribution to multilingualism.

The APPP, subsumed within the so-called Second Modernization of Andalusia Junta de Andalucía 2005), is the regional government's answer to the demands of our complex, unstable, and globalized society and to conform to the *zeitgeist* created by European language policies and regulations. It can consequently be framed

**Table 1** Chronological overview of the number of schools participating in the APPP

| Academic year | Number of schools |
|---|---|
| Experimental phase: 1998–2004 | 26 |
| 2005–2006 | 140 |
| 2006–2007 | 251 |
| 2007–2008 | 402 |
| 2008–2009 | 519 |
| 2009–2010 | 694 |
| 2010–2011 | 762 |
| 2011–2012 | 804 |
| 2012–2013 | 993 |
| 2013–2014 | 1,064 |
| 2014–2015 | 1,188 |
| 2015–2016 | 1,260 |

against the backdrop of a series of European documents which it seeks to counter: the 1995 EC White Paper on Education and Training, which established the MT + 2 initiative; the Council of Europe's encouragement of plurilingualism; the ECML's (European Center for Modern Languages) support to implement innovative language teaching reforms across member states; the Lisbon Summit's (2000) emphasis on the need to improve the quality and efficiency of educational systems; or the worrying outcomes of successive Eurobarometers in terms of Spaniards' language competence.[2]

Against this background, the APPP was approved with two chief objectives: to improve mother tongue language skills and to promote plurilingual and pluricultural competence in the Andalusian population (Junta de Andalucía 2005, p. 25). Methodologically, it implements Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL); favors communicative language teaching, exposure to authentic input, and lifelong learning; and uses an integrated curriculum, the English Language Portfolio (ELP), and the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR) to determine contents and adjust assessment criteria. These are among the 13 objectives which the Plan outlines as general actions, and which also involve pushing the introduction of the first foreign language forward to Infant and Primary Education, increasing the number of hours of language study in the curriculum, promoting exchange and study visits abroad, fostering the sharing of good practices, favoring innovation in methods and materials, or stepping up teacher training. Sixty-one further actions are also set forth, primarily associated to the five pillars or subprograms into which the Plan is articulated and which thus become its cornerstones: the *Bilingual Schools Program*, the *Official Language Schools Program*, the *Teachers and Plurilingualism Program*, the *Plurilingualism and Society Program*, and the *Plurilingualism and Cross-culturalism Program* (Junta de Andalucía 2005).

The first of these pillars comprises 17 actions, essentially affecting teacher training, the incorporation of different types of teachers, the logistical aspects of L2 and L3 inclusion in the curriculum, training for parents, and financial support for equipment, language immersion initiatives, and teacher incentives. In turn, the *Official Language Schools* (OLS) *Program* subsumes 12 actions, related to the reconfiguration and expansion of OLSs, the training of OLS teachers, course design and distance learning, and the development of research and innovation plans within OLSs. The third program -*Teachers and the APPP*- includes 11 actions, basically pertaining to teacher training initiatives, the sharing of good practices through the creation of a catalogue, the establishment of study licenses and exchanges, and the review of recruitment and employment issues, especially for non-linguistic area teachers (NLAs). Four are the actions encompassed within the *Plurilingualism and Society* strand, involving an increase in FL learning for parents and adults; collaboration with Andalusian public radio, TV, and other media; and the promotion of extra-

[2] Indeed, according to the latest European Commission (2012), Spain is "the bottom rung of the foreign-language knowledge ladder" (Lasagabaster and Sierra 2009, p. 7), with 54% of its citizens admitting to being monolingual and only 18% being capable of holding a conversation in two other European languages.

curricular activities in public schools. Finally, the *Plurilingualism and Cross-curricular Program* contains six actions, concerning attention to cross-cultural diversity, FL training for teachers who work with immigrant students, being responsive to the needs of immigrant children by establishing linguistic adaptation initiatives or incorporating their most widely spoken languages as first FLs, and piloting a program for mixed schooling. Other organizational and assessment actions or measures are also propounded, essentially encouraging the evaluation of each of these sub-strands of the Plan.

A re-visioning of this initial program and a realignment of its core objectives with the more updated Andalusian linguistic scenario has been favored by the more recent PEDLA (Junta de Andalucía 2017). This strategic plan has been launched in February 2017 with four overarching goals: to improve Andalusian students' communicative competence in all languages (mother tongue and foreign languages), to increase the students' level according to the CEFR in at least one foreign language, to upgrade language teaching methodologies, and to augment the amount of stakeholders with a C1 level. These broad goals are broken down into six more specific objectives, with their concomitant lines of action.

The fist of them strives to *consolidate the achievements of the APPP* vis-à-vis the intense didactic renewal it brought about. Four chief actions will be deployed to guarantee this initial remit: increasing the amount of bilingual schools, with a target number of 1,500 by 2020; upgrading teachers' language level to a C1; boosting the role of teaching assistants; and moving from bilingual to plurilingual education by introducing a second foreign language and reinforcing the number and variety of languages offered. A second important strand affects *teacher training*, which will be bolstered by the PEDLA in cooperation with universities, Teacher Training Centers, and Official Language Schools. A series of key areas come to the fore as particularly worthy of attention on this front: linguistic upgrade, methodological training (where student-centered methodologies acquire a particularly sharp relief, including project-based learning, the flipped classroom, Design Thinking, and the full incorporation of ICTs), the use of the European Language Portfolio and the e-ELP,[3] job shadowing, and attention to diversity. A third objective on which the PEDLA hinges involves *stepping up research* into the effects of bilingual programs and their evaluation. This goal will be fuelled by bringing back study licenses and creating educational innovation projects through which universities and schools carrying out grassroots practice can liaise. *Increasing extramural exposure to the foreign language* is also envisaged as key objective, whose attainment will be pursued via subtitling rather than dubbing TV programs, encouraging participation in Erasmus+ programs, and bolstering e-Twinning and other types of exchanges. *Favoring interculturality* also runs through the PEDLA as an integral action, especially as regards the full incorporation of immigrant students into CLIL programs. The creation of a resource center for online intercultural education will be promoted to lift barriers on this score. Finally, a last noteworthy objective which underpins the PEDLA is the *improvement of Andalusian students' language level*. The goal is for at least 50% of

[3] The electronic English Language Portfolio.

them to reach an A2 level at the end of Primary Education, a B1 level by the end of Compulsory Secondary Education (CSE), and a B2[4] level upon the conclusion of Baccalaureate. Linguistic immersion, especially through Erasmus+ and e-Twinning programs, will be used as a stepping stone to work towards this goal.

## *2.2 Prior Research*

The flurry of interest and sweeping changes generated by the APPP and the PEDLA have spawned a remarkably broad array of publications on CLIL in the Andalusian community. They can be classified into four broad categories: *quantitative research*, *qualitative investigations*, *studies with a mixed research design*, and *critical approximations* to the research conducted.

Despite this clear predominance of practitioner accounts in the Andalusian bibliography on CLIL, there have been important *quantitative studies* conducted into its functioning in our immediate context. Here, the work of the research groups led by Francisco Lorenzo in Pablo de Olavide University and by Daniel Madrid at the University of Granada deserves to be foregrounded. The investigation which has undoubtedly had the greatest dissemination and impact in Andalusia is that conducted by Lorenzo et al. in the academic year 2006–2007 (Casa and Moore 2008; Lorenzo et al. 2009a, b). These authors, commissioned by the *Consejería de Educación* of the *Junta de Andalucía*, administered skills-based language tests to 1,768 students participating in English, French, and German bilingual sections in 61 randomly selected schools across the whole of Andalusia. The French and German language cohort had received CLIL education since Primary level, as it was part of the bilingual sections pilot program implemented prior to the APPP, whereas the English language sections had only been running for a year and a half when the study was conducted. It is an instance of cross-sectional research, as it applied these tests to fourth-grade Primary students and second-grade CSE students. This quantitative data was complemented with questionnaires administered to teachers, students, and parents, and with SWOT analysis interviews with coordinators.

Many of these lacunae presented by this investigation were superseded by the study coordinated by Madrid (Madrid and Hughes 2011). Conducted by six researchers and ten collaborators, this 3-year investigation has provided valuable information on the effects of CLIL programs in Primary and Secondary Education on the L1, L2, and subject matter knowledge. It has also probed its repercussions on cultural competence and attitudes towards the target language and culture. The data collection phase took place in 2007–2008 and worked with a casual and non-probabilistic sample of 314 students: 146 in sixth grade of Primary Education and 168 in fourth grade of CSE. It compared CLIL and non-CLIL strands in bilingual public schools with a private school where 50% of instruction takes place in the L2

[4] Please see the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* at https://www.coe.int/t/dg4/linguistic/Source/Framework_EN.pdf for further information on these levels.

and with a charter monolingual school, all of them in the city of Granada. English and Spanish language and subject matter tests (Natural and Social Sciences at Primary level and Social Sciences in Secondary Education) were carefully designed and piloted, and subsequently applied. In the case of the English test, the four skills were sampled.

These investigations have been complemented *qualitatively* through needs and SWOT analyses and case studies. Rubio Mostacero (2009) carried out needs analysis interviews with 20 teachers in four Secondary schools in the province of Jaén in June 2005, with a view to designing a training course for NLA teachers on the basis of her outcomes. She initially drafted a course model based on her prior experience and subsequently revised it in two successive phases: after conducting the needs analysis and after subjecting it to the critical scrutiny of the interviewees and the local Teacher Training Center. In turn, Cabezas Cabello (2010) interviewed over 100 teachers and 30 coordinators in 30 Primary and Secondary schools implementing English, French, and German bilingual sections in the APPP in all eight Andalusian provinces. His aim was to carry out a SWOT analysis of APPP implementation and to contrast top-down and bottom-up approaches to the Plan. Finally, Tobin and Abello-Contesse (2013) worked exclusively with teaching assistants participating in English bilingual sections in public schools of Andalusia to determine how they were used and to investigate the cultural component of their job. Longitudinal case studies were carried out with seven informants, using guided, semi-structured interviews which were repeated three times over an 8-month teaching period.

Research-wise, a final set of investigations (Pérez Cañado 2016a, b; Lancaster 2016) can be classified as presenting a *mixed research design*, since they are instances of survey research, which Brown (2001) characterizes as mid-way between qualitative and statistical research. They have both designed, validated, and administered original questionnaires to geographically comprehensive samples (574 respondents in Pérez Cañado and 745 informants in Lancaster), using multiple triangulation (data, investigator, and location), factoring in intervening variables for each of the cohorts involved, and carrying out both within- and across-cohort comparisons. Pérez Cañado (2016a, b) conducted a needs analysis of language teacher training for bilingual education across the whole of Europe in order to canvass the current level and training needs which pre- and in-service teachers, teacher trainers, and bilingual coordinators had on five main fronts: linguistic and intercultural competence, theoretical underpinnings of CLIL, methodological aspects, materials and resources, and ongoing professional development. In turn, Lancaster (2016) focused on stakeholder perspectives of CLIL development in the monolingual province of Jaén and polled teacher and student perceptions of the way CLIL schemes are playing out vis-à-vis teacher and student competence; methodology; materials, resources, and ICT; evaluation; mobility; improvement and motivation towards English; and coordination and organization.

The final series of publications worthy of mention is also quite recent and comprises *critical approximations* to the studies carried out on CLIL in the Andalusian context. They have been primarily led by Bruton (2011, 2012, 2013, 2015), García Lopez and Bruton (2013), Pérez Cañado (2011, 2012), and Cenoz et al. (2013).

Which are the overarching conclusions which can be reached as regards the research outcomes of CLIL programs within the APPP? To begin with, as *assets* or *strengths*, the quantitative studies (Lorenzo et al. 2009b; Madrid and Hughes 2011) conducted reveal an unequivocal support for a CLIL route over traditional non-CLIL instruction. Indeed, CLIL groups invariably outstrip their non-CLIL counterparts on foreign language competence; content knowledge taught through the FL is not watered down, as CLIL students also perform satisfactorily in the subject matter taught in the second language, assimilating this knowledge at the same high level as the monolingual control groups; and the development of the native language is not at all curtailed, even when the amount of L2 exposure is increased to 50%. Furthermore, cognitive, cultural, social, affective, and intellectual benefits for students participating in bilingual programs have been documented (Cabezas Cabello 2010), together with increased motivation towards FL learning (Lancaster 2016). Methodologically, student-centered pedagogies are being incorporated to a greater extent, especially task-based, project-oriented and cooperative learning options. Materials are considered to be more authentic, communicative, interesting, and innovative, and they are incorporating ICTs to a much greater extent, which are furthermore more readily available. Coordination and collaboration among teachers is equally being stepped up, especially in the elaboration, adaptation, and implementation of the integrated language curriculum. Opportunities to travel and to experience multicultural contact also increase for both students and teachers, and encouragement to participate in exchanges, visits, or projects abroad is documented. Finally, teacher training has also been enhanced: there is greater attendance to teacher training courses on CLIL, completion of linguistic upgrade courses in Official Language Schools, and participation in linguistic study abroad programs. The overall picture which transpires from the studies conducted in Andalusia is that CLIL programs within the APPP have been enthusiastically embraced by participating stakeholders and they have garnered acceptance and prestige in the community. Indeed, research outcomes evince a tangible commitment and preparedness to invest time and resources in the CLIL enterprise, with traditional monolingual education being increasingly equated with second-rate education, "drip-feed education" (Vez 2009, p. 8) or moving on the slow track to language learning (cf. Cabezas Cabello 2010; Lancaster 2016; Pérez Cañado 2016a, b).

There are, however, many *weaknesses* or *challenges* which still need to be redressed (cf. Cabezas Cabello 2010; Pérez Cañado 2016a, b; Lancaster 2016; Rubio Mostacero 2009; Tobin and Abello-Contesse 2013. There are conspicuous lacunae in terms of the linguistic and intercultural competence of teachers: accurate pronunciation in the FL needs to be improved, both BICS (Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills) and CALP (Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency) (Cummins 1999) need to be worked on, and a focus on form needs to run through CLIL programs. Furthermore, the vast majority of bilingual teachers are still not familiar with the theoretical underpinnings of CLIL, evincing an almost complete lack of knowledge about the precursors of CLIL; its origins, driving forces and models; its features, assets, and pitfalls; the theory of language and learning underlying it; or the effects and functioning of CLIL in evidence-based research.

Greater guidelines also need to be provided within materials and resources for the design and adaptation of materials, the elaboration of the integrated curriculum, the implementation of collaborative teaching, and the use of Web 2.0 tools. Methodologically, considerable strides still need to be taken in order to incorporate student-centeredness fully, ensure homogeneity in the development of CLIL programs, cater to diversity, and prepare TAs to work with students and teachers. Ongoing professional development is another major area for future work, as attendance to university conferences and Masters on CLIL needs to be fostered, together with the obtention of study licenses for further studies or research, and participation in exchange and mobility programs and methodological upgrade courses. Finally, a series of false myths or misconstrued perceptions (cf. Pérez Cañado, forthcoming for a full account) need to be debunked for smooth sailing on the CLIL front, including the erroneously held beliefs that content and L1 learning lag behind in CLIL programs (a theory which research has shot down), that language teachers now take the back seat (their role is more heightened than ever in preparing students to cope successfully with the grammar and lexicon covered in the content classes), or that subject-matter lessons should merely summarize contents in the FL (this led to what Lasagabaster and Sierra 2010 termed the "Valencian fiasco").

Together with these pitfalls, certain flaws detected in the existing research also need to be superseded. Indeed, although the studies thus far conducted are invaluable endeavors commendable for contributing to push the field forward, they present potentially serious *methodological problems* which could skew the results obtained. Bruton (2011, 2012, 2013, 2015), García Lopez and Bruton (2013), Pérez Cañado (2011, 2012), and Cenoz et al. (2013) have all pinpointed the chief criticisms which can be leveled at these studies and which require action in order for "CLIL to evolve […] in a pedagogically coherent fashion and for research to play a critical role in its evolution" (Cenoz et al. 2013, p. 5). These attested shortcomings can be classified into three main categories: variables, research design, and statistical methodology (cf. Pérez Cañado 2016c for a complete overview of these deficiencies and their potential solutions).

Furthermore, largely discrepant findings have been yielded by top-down and bottom-up investigations: while the former have sung the praises of CLIL (e.g., Lorenzo et al. 2009b), the latter (e.g., Cabezas Cabello 2010) have been a reality check. Thus, a balance needs to be orchestrated between both views and further research which overcomes the afore-mentioned limitations needs to be conducted. Indeed, the single most widely consensual affirmation in the specialized literature is that solid empirical research is still sparse and that, consequently, the field is very much open to scrutiny. In García Lopez and Bruton's (2013, p. 269) words, "… there is still much research to be undertaken to offer a representative picture of the benefits and drawbacks of the implementation of CLIL classes in public schools in Andalusia".

It is precisely this niche which the present study seeks to address, by replicating in more updated circumstances research which supersedes some of the lacunae presented by the studies summarized above. A large-scale program evaluation, framed within a broader governmentally-funded research project, is here proposed.

It focuses explicitly on CLIL program evaluation in Andalusia, incorporates four different types of triangulation, bases instrument design and validation on the latest CLIL research, factors in and controls for identification variables, and works with the most numerically representative sample of similar studies hereto conducted with the ultimate aim of providing empirically sound data to continue pushing CLIL implementation forward in monolingual contexts.

## 3 The Study

### *3.1 Objectives*

The broad objective of this investigation is to conduct a large-scale multifaceted CLIL evaluation project into stakeholder perspectives of the current mise-en-scène of CLIL programs vis-à-vis L2 competence development, methodology, materials and resources, evaluation, coordination and organization, and teacher training and mobility. It will canvass teacher perceptions (and, within them, language teachers, subject teachers, and teaching assistants) of the way in which CLIL programs are being implemented in one of the autonomous communities in Spain which has the most firmly entrenched monolingual tradition: Andalusia. Two key metaconcerns drive the study and serve as cornerstones for this project. They are presented and broken down into component corollaries below:

*Metaconcern 1* (Needs analysis)

1. To determine teacher perceptions vis-à-vis L2 competence development in CLIL classes at Primary and Secondary education level.
2. To determine teacher perceptions of the type of methodology which is being implemented in CLIL classes at Primary and Secondary education level.
3. To determine teacher perceptions of the type of materials which are being employed in CLIL classes at Primary and Secondary education level.
4. To determine teacher perceptions of the type of evaluation which is being carried out in CLIL classes at Primary and Secondary education level.
5. To determine teacher perceptions as regards coordination and organization in CLIL classes at Primary and Secondary education level.
6. To determine teacher perceptions of the main training and mobility needs required for successful CLIL teaching.

*Metaconcern 2* (Within-cohort comparison)

7. To determine if there are statistically significant differences vis-à-vis CLIL program development within the cohort of teachers in terms of age, gender, type of teacher, administrative situation, type of school, language level, and teaching experience.

### 3.2 Research Design

The present investigation is an instance of primary research, and within it, of survey research, as it includes interviews and questionnaires (Brown 2001). There are three characteristics which this author ascribes to survey research: it is data-based, employs interviews and questionnaires, and is mid-way between qualitative and statistical research, as it can make use of both these techniques. Within it, what Denzin (1970) terms *multiple triangulation* has been employed, specifically of the following four types:

- *Data triangulation,* as multiple sources of information have been consulted to mediate biases interjected by people with different roles in the language teaching context: non-linguistic area teachers, English language teachers, and teaching assistants.
- *Methodological triangulation*, since multiple data-gathering procedures have been drawn on: questionnaires and interviews.
- *Investigator triangulation*, due to the fact that different researchers have analyzed the open-response items on the questionnaire and interviews, written up their conclusions and collated their findings.
- *Location triangulation*, given that language learning data has been collected from multiple data-gathering sites: Primary and Secondary schools.

### 3.3 Sample

The project has worked with an ample cohort of teachers in the autonomous community in question. The overall study has had a significant return rate, as the surveys and interviews have been conducted with a total of 2,633 informants. Specifically, in Andalusia, the total number of teachers has been 234. The most representative cohort has been that of content teachers (with 135 participants), followed by language teachers (91 in all) and a more reduced number of teaching assistants (8) (cf. Fig. 1). In terms of gender, women (57.7%) slightly outnumber their male counterparts (42.3%) (cf. Fig. 2).

Roughly equal percentages of teachers are 40 or younger (48.6%) or older than 40 (51.4%). The majority of the practitioners polled have a B2 level (52.1%), followed by those who have a C1 (21.7%) and a C2 level (17.9%). A very meager amount of teachers have a B1 level (6.3%), A2 (0.8%), or A1 level (1.3%). Most of the teachers in the sample have either 1–10 years of teaching experience (40.3%) or have been teaching from 11 to 20 years (33.5%). 19.8% have between 21 and 30 years of teaching experience, 2% have been teaching for less than a year, and 4.4% have more than 30 years of experience. The vast majority have been involved in CLIL teaching for either 1–5 years (54%) or 6–10 (35.1%), so the majority of teachers in the sample have been involved in Andalusian bilingual programs practically from their outset and are consequently quite experienced.

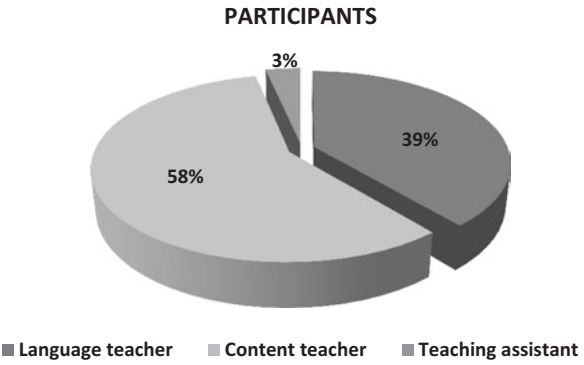


**Fig. 1** Breakdown of the overall sample in terms of cohort

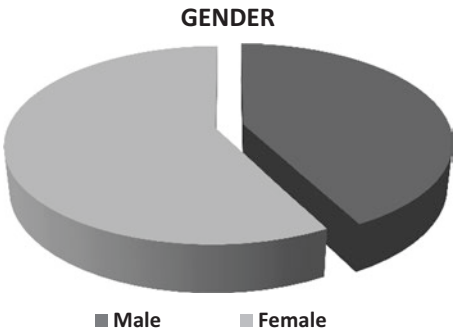


**Fig. 2** Breakdown of the overall sample in terms of gender

## *3.4 Variables*

A series of *identification (subject) variables* have been contemplated, related to the individual characteristics of the stakeholders who have been polled through the questionnaire and interview. The identification variables for the teacher cohort are specified below:

- Type of school
- Age
- Gender
- Nationality
- Type of teacher
- Administrative situation
- Level of English
- Subjects taught
- Overall teaching experience
- Teaching experience in a bilingual school

### 3.5 Instruments

The study has employed questionnaires (self-administered and group-administered), which Brown (2001) subsumes within *survey tools*, to carry out the targeted program evaluation. Three sets of questionnaires (one for each of the overall cohorts: teachers, students, and parents) have been designed and validated in both Spanish and English. They include, in line with Patton's (1987) question types, *demographic or background questions* to elicit biographical information from the respondents (which correspond to the identification variables) and *opinion or value questions* to probe stakeholder perceptions regarding CLIL program development. The latter questions are exemplified in the form of 61 items within the teacher questionnaire.

A double-fold pilot procedure has been adopted in the editing and validation of the questionnaires, which has entailed, firstly, the expert ratings approach and, subsequently, a pilot phase with a representative sample of respondents (263 informants with exactly the same traits as the target respondents). Their responses allowed us to continue refining the questionnaires in terms of ambiguities, confusion, or redundancies and enabled the calculation of Cronbach alpha for each of the surveys in order to guarantee their reliability or internal consistency. The latter was ascertained by means of the extremely high coefficients obtained for the questionnaires: 0.940 for the student one, 0.931 for the teacher equivalent, and 0.895 for the parent survey (cf. Pérez Cañado 2016c for a detailed rendering of the design and validation of the questionnaires and for access to the final versions for each of the three cohorts[5]).

In turn, interviews are the second tool which has been employed for qualitative information gathering. Semi-structured interview protocols have been used, where clear-cut questions have been established beforehand, but always with a view to allowing further elaboration on each of the areas of concern. The questions comprised in the interviews correspond to ten main thematic blocks[6] parallel to those included in the questionnaires for the comparability of both instruments (cf. Appendix 1). Face-to-face focus group interviews have been conducted with the teachers in each school. Roughly 60 min have been allocated to the teacher interviews. Two researchers have recorded the main ideas which have come to the fore in an extended protocol and digital recordings have been made with prior authorization on the part of the interviewees. Prior to conducting the interviews, the researchers who have acted as interviewers have been trained in order to develop common basic guidelines and offer clear directions to the respondents.

[5] Available at http://revistas.cardenalcisneros.es/index.php/PULSO/article/view/217/187.

[6] L2 use in class; L2 development in class: discursive functions; competence development in class; methodology and types of groupings; materials and resources; coordination and organization; evaluation; teacher training and mobility; motivation and workload; and overall appraisal.

### *3.6 Data Analysis: Statistical Methodology*

The data obtained on the questionnaires has been analyzed statistically, using the SPSS program in its 21.0 version. Descriptive statistics have been used to report on the results obtained for metaconcern 1 (objectives 1–6). Both central tendency (mean, median and mode) and dispersion measures (range, low-high, standard deviation) have been calculated. In turn, for metaconcern 2 (objective 7), the ANOVA, t test and Mann–Whitney *U* test have been employed to determine the existence of statistically significant differences within groups, in terms of the moderating and identification variables considered. For the analysis of the interview protocols, Grounded Theory analysis (Glaser and Strauss 1967) has been employed to code the data and draw meaning from it. Data coding, memoing, and conclusion drawing for the responses on the semi-structured interview have been used in order to categorize, synthesize, and identify emerging patters in the open-response data.

## 4 Results and Discussion

### *4.1 Program Evaluation*

In line with the first metaconcern (objectives 1–6), our study has allowed us to paint a comprehensive picture of teacher perspectives à propos the chief curricular and organizational aspects of CLIL programs within our monolingual context. Regarding the *students' L2 competence development*, the teachers polled invariably consider that CLIL programs have had positive repercussions on their pupils' English level and understanding of how languages work and how their mother tongue and foreign language interrelate (items, 2, 6, and 7). This was one of the chief objectives of the APPP (cf. Sect. 2.1), which thus seems to have been attained, according to the teachers surveyed. The latter also uphold that the bilingual program has positively impinged on their students' confidence, motivation, and participation in the CLIL classroom (items 8, 9, and 10): *"They're more fluent and capitalize to a greater extent on the opportunities they have to speak"*, as one teacher underscores in the interviews. They harbor a more skeptical outlook, however, on their students' current level of oral, written, and intercultural competence in English (items 12, 13, and 14), so that room for improvement on this front is still documented (cf. Fig. 3).

Considerable strides appear to have been taken with respect to *methodology*, a finding which points to the consolidation of similar trends discerned in the most recent previous studies (Lancaster 2016; Pérez Cañado 2016a, b). Task-based language teaching (TBLT) ("*Now everything is focused through tasks*"), project-based learning (PBL), cooperative learning ("*Group work has been enhanced*"), and the CEFR are extensively incorporated (items 5, 16, 18, and 20), but there are still two

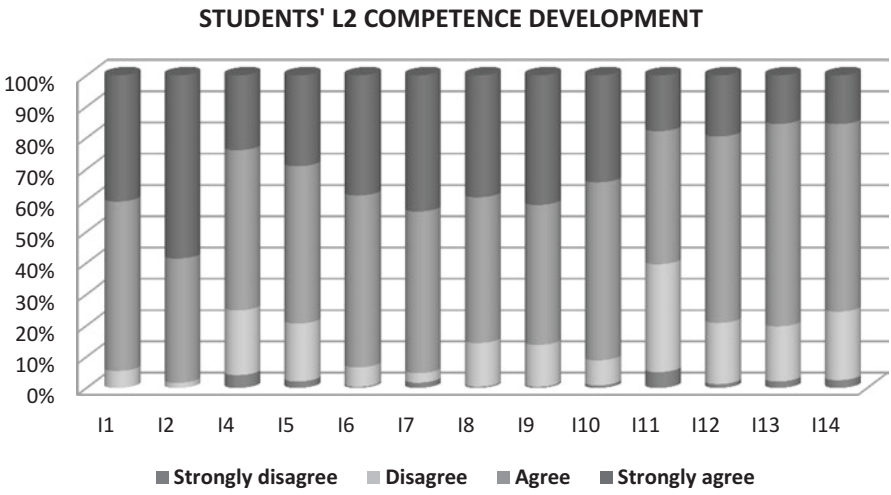


**Fig. 3** Teacher perspectives of students' L2 competence development

main niches to be filled on this score, also diagnosed by the afore-mentioned studies and from which, consequently, little or no progress appears to have been made: the Lexical Approach and the ELP (items 17 and 21). Thus, the PEDLA's emphasis on the latter is fully congruent with our findings and particularly pertinent in the present situation.

In regards to *materials*, more conspicuous progress is documented. Bilingual materials are now considered to be communicative, interesting, and innovative (items 24 and 26). Although teachers tend to rely more heavily on materials adaptation (item 23) in the bilingual classroom, the offer of authentic materials (item 22) appears to have increased as well. However, catering to diversity (item 27) is still a glaring lacuna which continues to confirm previous tendencies discerned (Cabezas Cabello 2010; Lancaster 2016). On the technological front, our outcomes mirror those of the latest investigations (Lancaster 2016; Pérez Cañado 2016a, b): online materials, multimedia software and interactive whiteboards are all capitalized on within the CLIL class (items 28, 29, and 31), but this does not occur with blogs, wikis, webquests, and e-Twinning (items 30 and 32), which still require heightened attention, in line, again, with one of the chief lines of action of the PEDLA. Materials would also benefit, according to the stakeholders surveyed, from including further guidelines in Spanish for parents (item 33). This is fully in keeping with the findings for the parent cohort (cf. Pérez Cañado, in press), as those with a lower socioeconomic level clamor for further orientation on this front in order to feel empowered to participate in their children's bilingual education to a greater extent (cf. Fig. 4).

Similar strides appear to have been taken with respect to *evaluation*. According to the cohort under scrutiny, the traits which are theoretically ascribed to

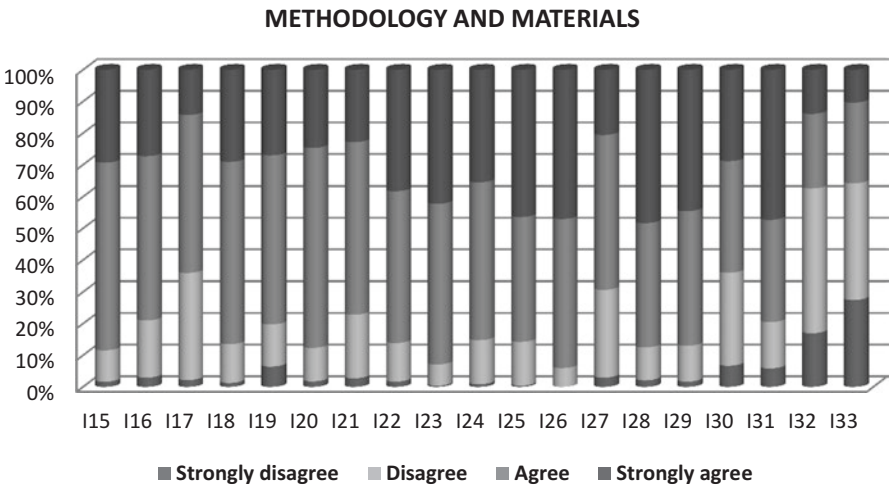


**Fig. 4** Teacher perspectives on methodology and materials

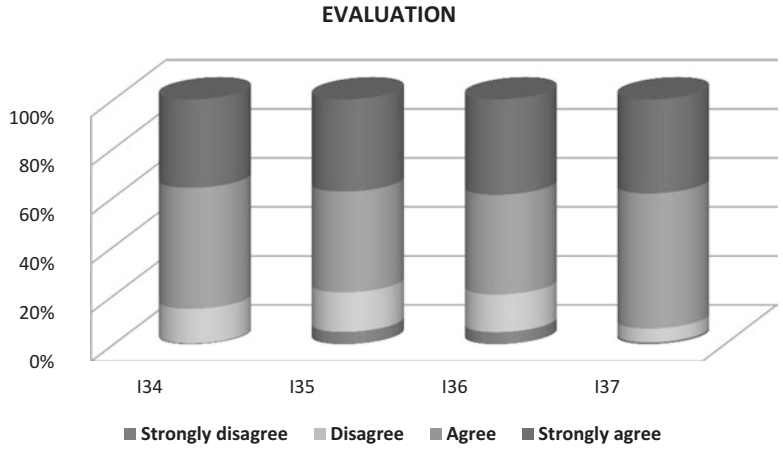


**Fig. 5** Teacher perspectives on evaluation

student-centered evaluation are indeed trickling down to grassroots CLIL practice, as they claim evaluation is now diversified, ongoing, and holistic (item 37): "*They work a lot beyond the traditional class and all these activities comprise an important percentage of the final grade*". Furthermore, all the contents taught are held to be assessed (item 34), a more oral approach is considered to run through evaluation (item 36), and contents are awarded priority over linguistic accuracy (item 35), something which was not always the case in prior studies (e.g. Lancaster 2016) (cf. Fig. 5).

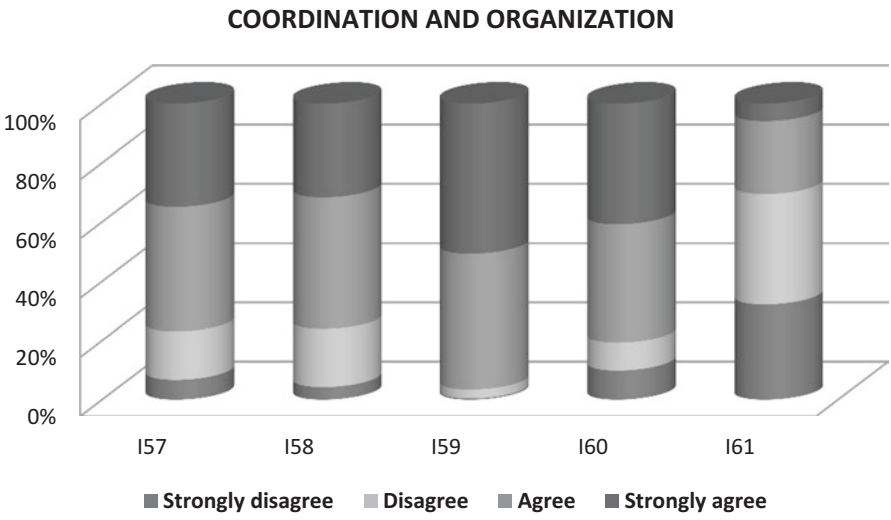


**Fig. 6** Teacher perspectives on coordination and organization

Less positive results surface for *coordination* and teacher training. Within the former thematic block, an increase in coordination is documented (items 59 and 60), but the integrated language curriculum still appears as a sore spot for participating teachers (item 58), in line with prior studies (Pérez Cañado 2016a, b). More worryingly, educational authorities' support is found to be wanting. Indeed, in the interviews, it transpires, for example, that the weekly time allotted to coordination is regarded as patently insufficient (item 61). Extra hours outside the official schedule need to be resorted to in order to adequately plan ongoing collaborative projects, which negatively impinges on the teachers' workload and motivation: the increased workload associated with partaking in bilingual schemes is not considered to be paying off as much as in previous investigations (Lancaster 2016). These findings merit further reflection and consideration given the importance which teachers' commitment and motivation have in guaranteeing a success-prone implementation of CLIL programs (Fernández and Halbach 2011) (cf. Fig. 6).

Finally, a very interesting rift can be detected between the training needs which teachers consider they currently have and the actual *teacher training* initiatives in which they have engaged. Indeed, the practitioners in our sample have an extremely self-complacent vision of their linguistic and intercultural level, motivational capacity, and current training needs (especially language teachers) (items 41–48). This clearly signposts the notable progress which has been made on this front since Lorenzo et al.'s (2009b) and Rubio Mostacero's (2009) studies, where many CLIL teachers only had a B1 level and where language issues were pinpointed as one of

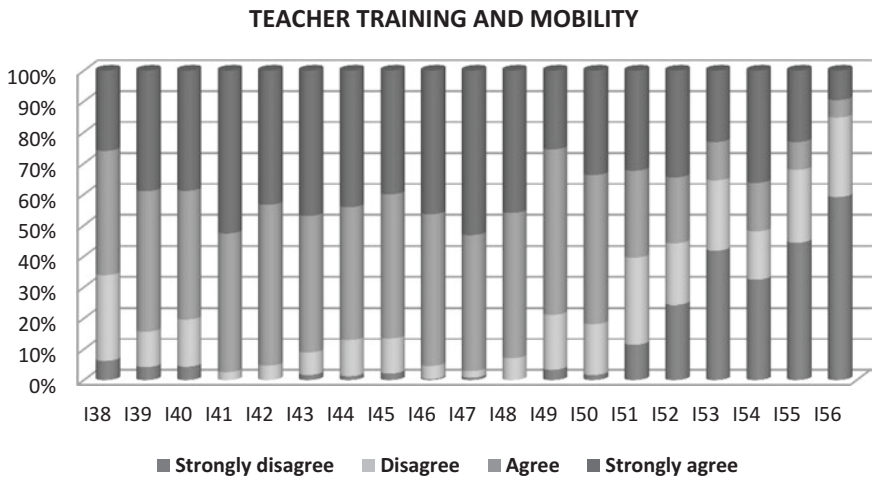


**Fig. 7** Teacher perspectives on training and mobility

the faultlines of CLIL, without which methodological training was not even contemplated. This overwhelmingly positive outlook accords with latest studies in Andalusia (Lancaster 2016; Pérez Cañado 2016a, b), where a similar view was harboured as regards linguistic and intercultural competence. However, when asked about the teacher training initiatives in which they have partaken, teachers claim to have received scant general training on CLIL (item 51), to have scarcely participated in exchange programs and linguistic and methodological upgrade courses abroad (items 53, 54, and 55), and to have practically never received study or research licenses (item 56). Thus, the reactivation of the latter within the PEDLA seems to be a welcome and well-grounded decision according to our current outcomes. There seems to be greater familiarity with the official plans and the theoretical underpinnings of CLIL (items 49 and 50), but these are still not fully mastered. Thus, the theory underlying bilingual education and ongoing professional development still need to become preferential areas of attention in teacher training programs, something in line with the findings of Lancaster (2016) and Pérez Cañado (2016a, b) (cf. Fig. 7).

## *4.2 Within-Cohort Comparison*

If statistically significant differences are considered within each cohort in terms of the identification variables (metaconcern 2 – objective 7), equally interesting findings emerge. It is curious to note that the greatest number of within-cohort differences cluster around three main variables: type of teacher, English level, and teaching experience in a bilingual school. However, interesting –albeit more

reduced- differences can also be discerned for age, gender, administrative situation, and overall teaching experience.

A very meager amount of differences transpires, to begin with, in terms of *age*. Teachers over 40 years of age appear to harbor a more positive outlook of their students' oral and written competence in English, tend to rely more on authentic materials, have a greater knowledge of the theory underpinning CLIL, and have participated to a greater extent in teacher training initiatives.

Turning now to *gender*, our outcomes evince that women are invariably the ones who have a more optimistic opinion of their students' interest and participation in the bilingual classroom, seem to be incorporating diversified evaluation procedures and student-centered methodologies to a greater extent (especially cooperative learning, PBL, the CEFR, and the ELP), consider that collaboration runs through the preparation of materials and the integrated curriculum to a greater extent than their male counterparts, and are the ones who more actively participate in linguistic and methodological training abroad.

Pertaining to *administrative situation*, the only noteworthy differences discerned affect the thematic block pertaining to teacher training and mobility. Interestingly, the rift between perceived training needs and participation in teacher training schemes is mitigated for civil servants with a permanent post, as both are high for this subgroup. Indeed, they consider that increased training is necessary for absolutely all types of teachers and are the ones who have, accordingly, participated to a greater extent in general training on CLIL, language courses in Official Language Schools, exchange programs, and linguistic and methodological upgrade courses abroad.

These outcomes are fully congruent with *overall teaching experience*. Those teachers with ten or more years of experience are the ones who have benefitted to a greater extent from general CLIL training and methodological courses abroad. Thus, an important pedagogical implication accruing from these findings is that measures should be taken to orchestrate a fair balance in the way in which these training actions are assigned to ensure that all teachers, regardless of age bracket, administrative situation, and teaching experience, can access them adequately.

If we now focus on the three variables which yield the greatest number of statistically significant within-group differences, very interesting and distinct patterns emerge. To begin with, as regards *type of teacher*, it transpires that language teachers are much more critical of their students' written and oral skills in the FL than content teachers, who harbor significantly more positive views of their students' language competence and of the positive effects of CLIL on participation, interest, and self-confidence than their linguistic area counterparts. This finding clearly points to the greater focus on form favored within the language subjects, as opposed to the increased emphasis on CALP and on meaningful, unconscious, and communicative language learning which runs through content subjects.

Conversely, from the methodological standpoint, it is the language teachers who seem to be incorporating student-centered methodologies to a greater extent (especially TBLT and PBL). However, materials are more enthusiastically embraced again by content teachers, who consider them to be more interesting, innovative, communicative, and adapted to different learning needs than language teachers. The same occurs with evaluation, which is more positively valued by non-linguistic area practitioners in terms of diversification, formativeness, and the oral component. Language teachers are again more critical on this score and award more importance to language accuracy than their content area colleagues.

Finally, the pattern for training is clear and fully concurs with that ascertained in prior investigations (Lancaster 2016; Pérez Cañado 2016a, b). Content teachers have the lowest linguistic, intercultural, and theoretical levels, and are clearly the cohort who stands in greatest need of increased training. It is this not surprising that they have engaged in linguistic training in Official Language Schools to a greater extent. Heightened attention and incentives should be provided to this cohort, as their motivation also appears to be significantly lower given the substantial effort they are making in order to bring bilingual programs to fruition. Setting up Masters specifically geared at this type of CLIL teacher would be a possible solution to counter these deficiencies, something which is currently being done by Andalusian universities (cf. Pérez Cañado 2015).

These results are mirrored by those found for *language level*. It is striking just how much the English competence of teachers can impinge on the diverse curricular and organizational aspects of CLIL program development. Two broader take-aways emerge from the within-group comparisons on this variable: first, that the higher the linguistic level of the teacher, the more positive his/her outlook of bilingual program; and second, that having an adequate mastery of the foreign language is a *sine qua non* for the correct development of methodological, materials-related, and evaluation issues.

Indeed, teachers with a C1/C2 level invariably and across the board have a more positive opinion of their students' language level, participation, self-confidence, and motivation in the English classroom. They also employ PBL, the Lexical Approach and cooperative learning to a greater extent, and have a more optimistic outlook on the communicative, collaborative, and innovative nature of materials.

As was the case with type of teacher, those practitioners with a lower linguistic level are not as confident in their oral and written competence and have participated more in language upgrade courses in Official Language Schools and less in methodological upgrade courses abroad, as language mastery needs to be attained prior to engaging in them. Consequently, language level, far from being a fully covered need, should still figure prominently on the teacher training agenda, particularly BICS, fluency, and the language for daily communication and interaction in the classroom (Ruiz Gómez 2015). Thus, contrary to previous investigations where this aspect seemed to be mastered, our study has revealed that we cannot let our guard down vis-à-vis taken-for-granted issues in CLIL teacher training.

Finally, *experience in bilingual programs* appears to exert the same effects as a higher English level: the more prolonged the experience, the more valued these programs are in all their facets. This is more intensely felt on the first block considered, where, once again, those teachers with more than 5 years of experience in CLIL programs have a significantly more positive view of students' language competence, participation, and interest in the bilingual classroom. These more experienced practitioners also harbor a more optimistic outlook on evaluation and coordination. It also seems that a longer period of participation in bilingual schemes endows teachers with a greater knowledge of the official plan and of the theoretical underpinnings of CLIL. Finally, these more experienced teachers are the ones who have benefitted most from all types of teacher training initiatives. Thus, it appears that time and experience (as Hughes 2010 also underscores) are crucial for the full extent of bilingual schemes to be appreciated.

## 5 Conclusion

The present chapter has provided a detailed rendering of the language policies which have been set in place in Andalusia, a monolingual community striving to promote plurilingual education. Two ambitious and forward-thinking plans (the APPP and the PEDLA) have been heralded as a "welcome innovation" and "a major step forward" (Tobin and Abello-Contesse 2013, p. 224) in attaining the functional bilingualism pursued by the Andalusian educational authorities in response to European mandates. The theoretical and methodological foundations that underlie both plans have initially been charted. The chief research outcomes related to their functioning have then been provided by canvassing prior studies conducted in this region. Updated research results have then been offered stemming from a very recent investigation which has explored the perspectives of the key players in CLIL programs (language teachers, content teachers, and teaching assistants) using methodological triangulation (questionnaires and interviews) and location triangulation (Primary and Secondary school settings in Andalusia).

Three overarching conclusions can be gleaned from the 10-year trajectory of Andalusia's push for plurilingual education. A first of them is that vast amounts of money, effort, commitment, and motivation have been pumped into the CLIL enterprise on the part of the chief stakeholders involved, all of which have placed Andalusia conspicuously on the CLIL implementation and research map. Secondly, it has transpired that the history of Andalusian CLIL has been one of implementation, of continuous stocktaking to determine how the program has been playing out, and of unwavering troubleshooting and tweaking of the problematic areas detected in order to keep CLIL implementation on track. Finally, our outcomes have allowed us to ascertain that considerable progress has been made from the initial mise-en-scène

of CLIL in Andalusia to the present-day scenario. Although certain authors such as Hughes (2010) consider that approximately 20 years are needed for CLIL initiatives to come to fruition, our findings evince that 10 years into CLIL implementation, we are already reaping many of its benefits.

Indeed, to begin with, CLIL programs seem to be exerting positive effects on students' language level and motivation, interest, and participation within the bilingual classroom. Linguistically speaking, a conspicuous improvement in teachers' linguistic proficiency has been documented (from a B1 in initial studies to a majority of teachers with a B2 and C1 levels at present). However, our findings on this score highlight that linguistic competence is still a top priority, especially for non-linguistic area teachers. Increasing the offer of C1 and C2 courses, especially focused on Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills, should thus become a preferential area of attention, particularly considering the positive impact which language mastery has on the adequate development of CLIL programs, according to our results. As regards methodology, materials, and evaluation, notable strides have been taken over the past decade, as student-centered methodologies (especially TBLT, PBL, and cooperative learning) are being incorporated to a greater extent, evaluation is notably more diversified and formative, and materials are now considered innovative, interesting, ad motivating. Nonetheless, difficulties in these areas persist, particularly rooted in the full incorporation of the ELP and ICTs (particularly e-Twinning) in the bilingual classroom, the need for increased guidelines and support for parents, and the provision of attention to diversity, which surface as some the key niches to be addressed. The picture which transpires for coordination and teacher training and mobility is not as positive. Support from the authorities to favor coordination and ongoing professional development are still glaring lacunae, together with the provision of linguistic and methodological training abroad, which should be attuned to all types of teachers, irrespective of age, administrative situation, and years of experience.

Thus, future pedagogical decisions should be governed by empirical evidence such as that stemming from this study and future replications of it. As with any innovative initiative, "hard work must be done to make certain that the goals are achieved" (Tobin and Abello-Contesse 2013, p. 225). Hard work compounded with ongoing stocktaking, stalwart research, solid training, and unfailing motivation. Hard work which may indeed pay off, particularly considering that the APPP and the PEDLA -and CLIL within them- may well prove to be the lynchpin to tackle the current foreign language deficit in our region.

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# Proyecto MON-CLIL: Los Efectos del Aprendizaje Integrado de Contenidos y Lenguas Extranjeras en Comunidades Monolingües: Un Estudio Longitudinal

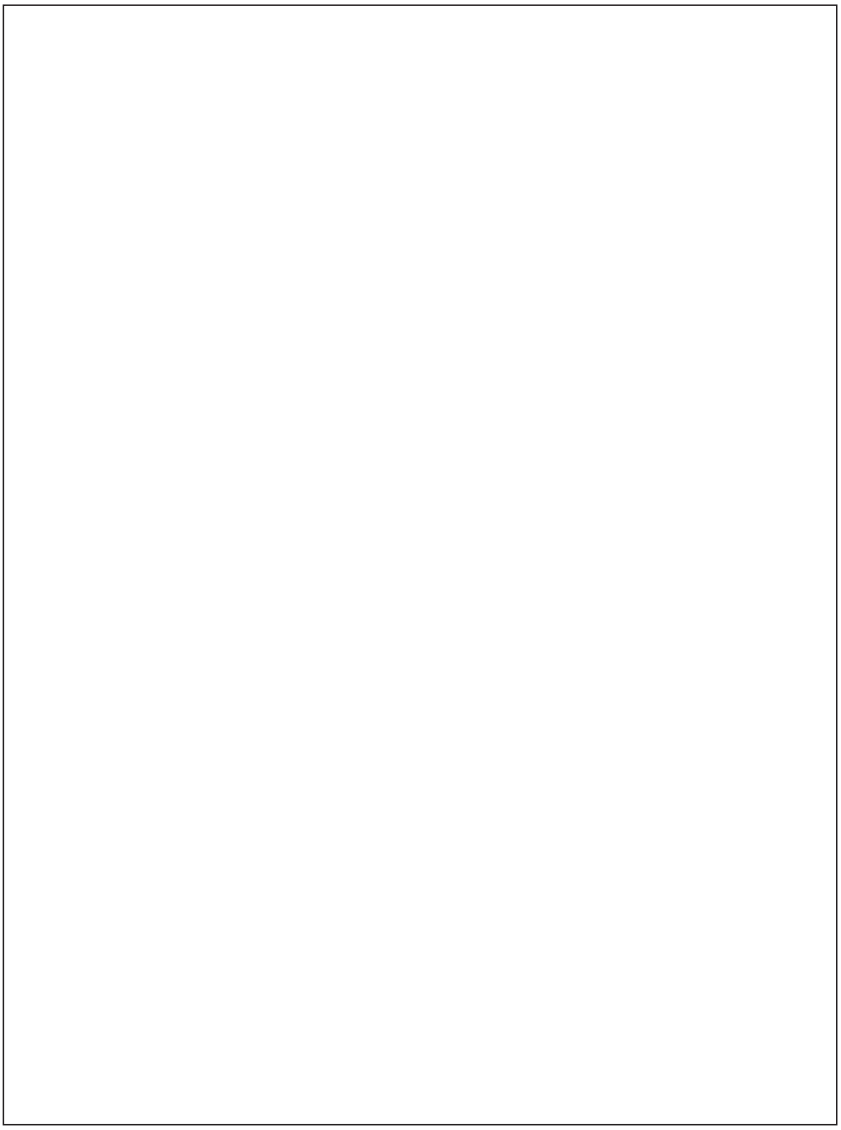
## *Interview Protocol*

### Teachers

1. SCHOOL: _____
2. GRADE: □ 6th PE □ 4th CSE
3. SUBJECT: _____
4. TYPE OF TEACHER:
   - □ Language
   - □ Non-linguistic area
   - □ Teaching assistant
5. ARE YOU A BILINGUAL COORDINATOR IN YOUR SCHOOL? □ Yes □ No
6. AGE: _____
7. SEX: □ Male □ Female
8. NATIONALITY: _____
9. ADMINISTRATIVE SITUATION:
   - □ Civil servant with a permanent post
   - □ Civil servant with a temporary post
   - □ Supply teacher
   - □ Other: _____
10. YOUR FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEVEL IS:
    - □ A1
    - □ A2
    - □ B1
    - □ B2
    - □ C1
    - □ C2
11. OVERALL TEACHING EXPERIENCE:
    - □ Less than 1 year
    - □ 1-10 years
    - □ 11-20 years
    - □ 21-30 years
    - □ Over 30 years
12. TEACHING EXPERIENCE IN A BILINGUAL SCHOOL:
    - □ Less than 1 year
    - □ 1-5 years
    - □ 6-10 years
    - □ 11-15 years
    - □ Over 15 years

1) L2 Use in Class

Do you consider your level of English adequate to participate in a bilingual program?
To what extent would you say you use English in class? Can you give a rough percentage?
Do you think your students' level of English has improved as a result of their participation in a bilingual program?
Do you think your students' mastery of the contents taught through English has improved as a result of their participation in a bilingual program?
Do you think your students are participative in class and do they use English to do so?



2) L2 Development in Class: Discursive Functions

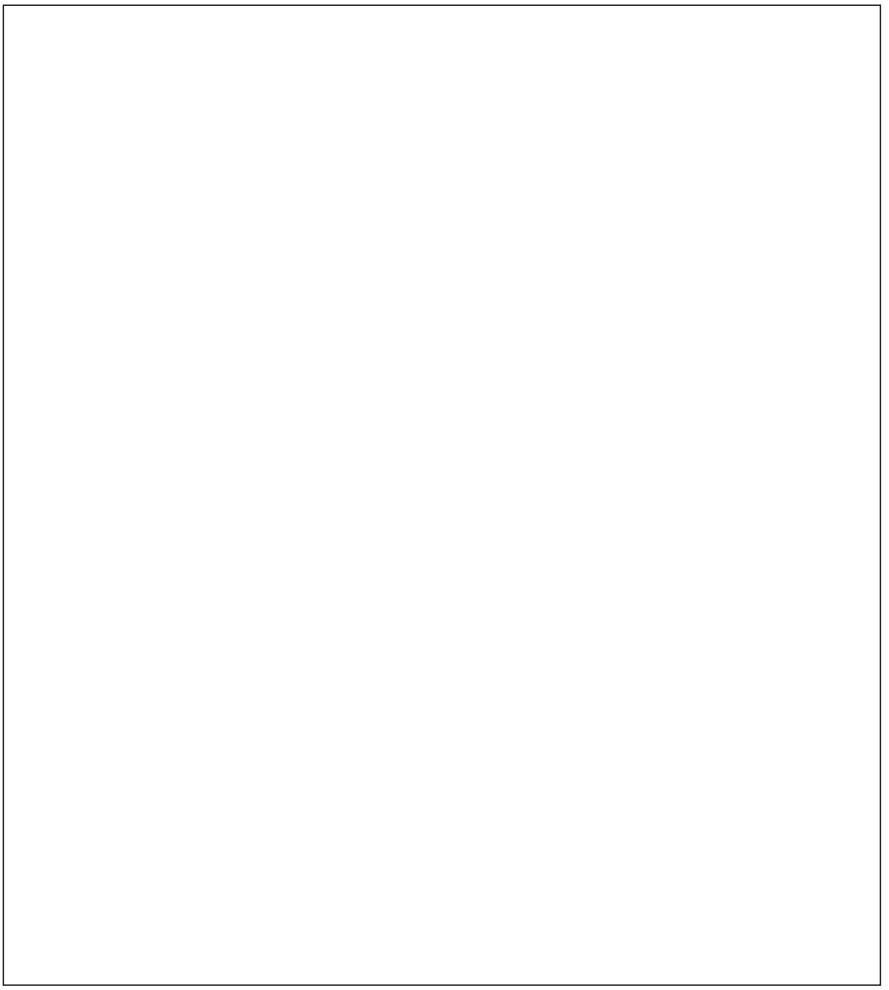
For which discursive functions do you chiefly use English in class: *transmissive* or *interactional*?

***EXAMPLES:*** *Giving instructions*
*Presenting the topic*
*Transmitting contents*
*Doing activities*
*Solving doubts and explaining difficulties*
*Asking questions*
*Correcting tasks*
*Consolidating and reviewing knowledge*
*Classroom management and organization*
*Interacting with students/teachers*
*Applying and transferring knowledge to other situations*
*Providing feedback*

3) Competence Development in Class

Which competencies –*linguistic*, *intercultural*, and *generic*- do you consider you develop in class?

***EXAMPLES:*** *Oral comprehension*
*Written comprehension*
*Oral production*
*Written production*
*Oral communicative interaction (listening + speaking)*
*Written communicative interaction (reading + writing)*
*Critical thinking*
*Creativity*
*Learner autonomy*
*Metalinguistic awareness*
*Intercultural awareness*



4) Methodology and Types of Groupings

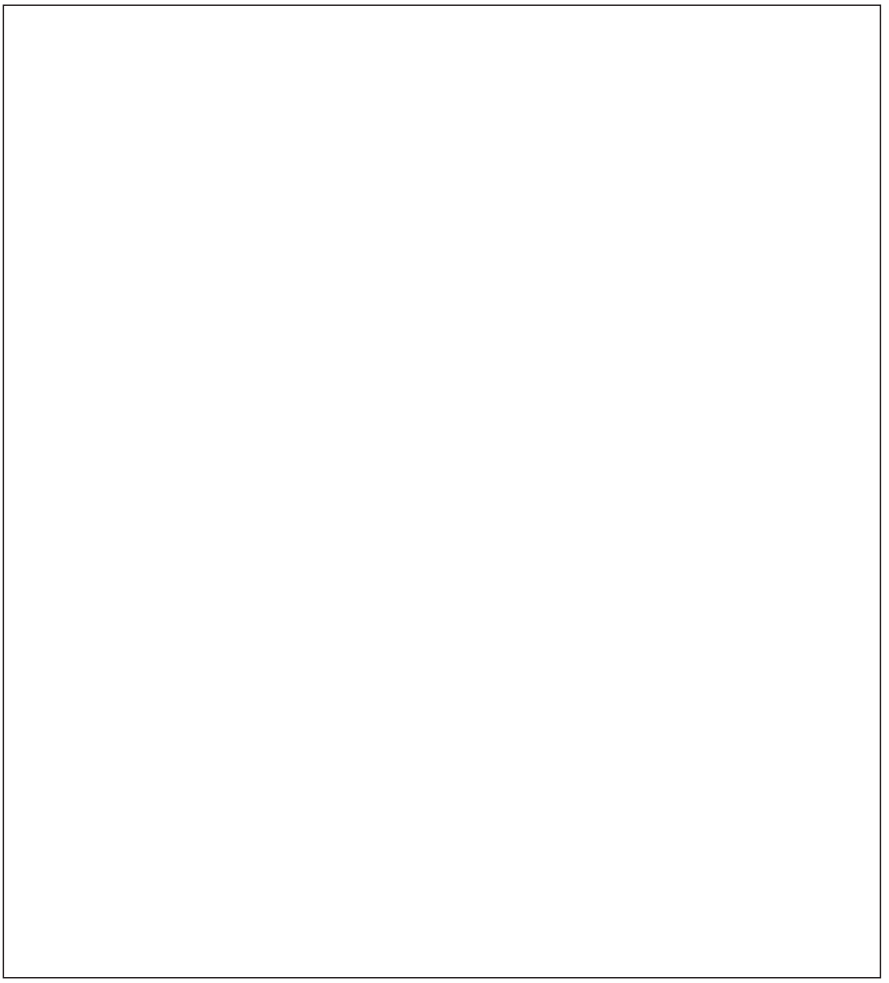
Which methodologies, types of groupings, and activities do you employ in class? Would you say they are traditional or innovative / teacher-fronted or student-centered / deploy higher-rank or lower-order cognitive processes?

***EXAMPLES:*** *Task-based language teaching*
*Project-based learning*
*Cooperative learning*
*The lexical approach*
*CEFR*
*ELP*
*Lockstep lecturing*
*Group work*
*Pair work*
*Autonomous work*
*Open vs. single-answer activities*
*Activities which involve memorizing, understanding, and applying vs. those which entail analyzing, evaluating, and creating*

5) Materials and Resources

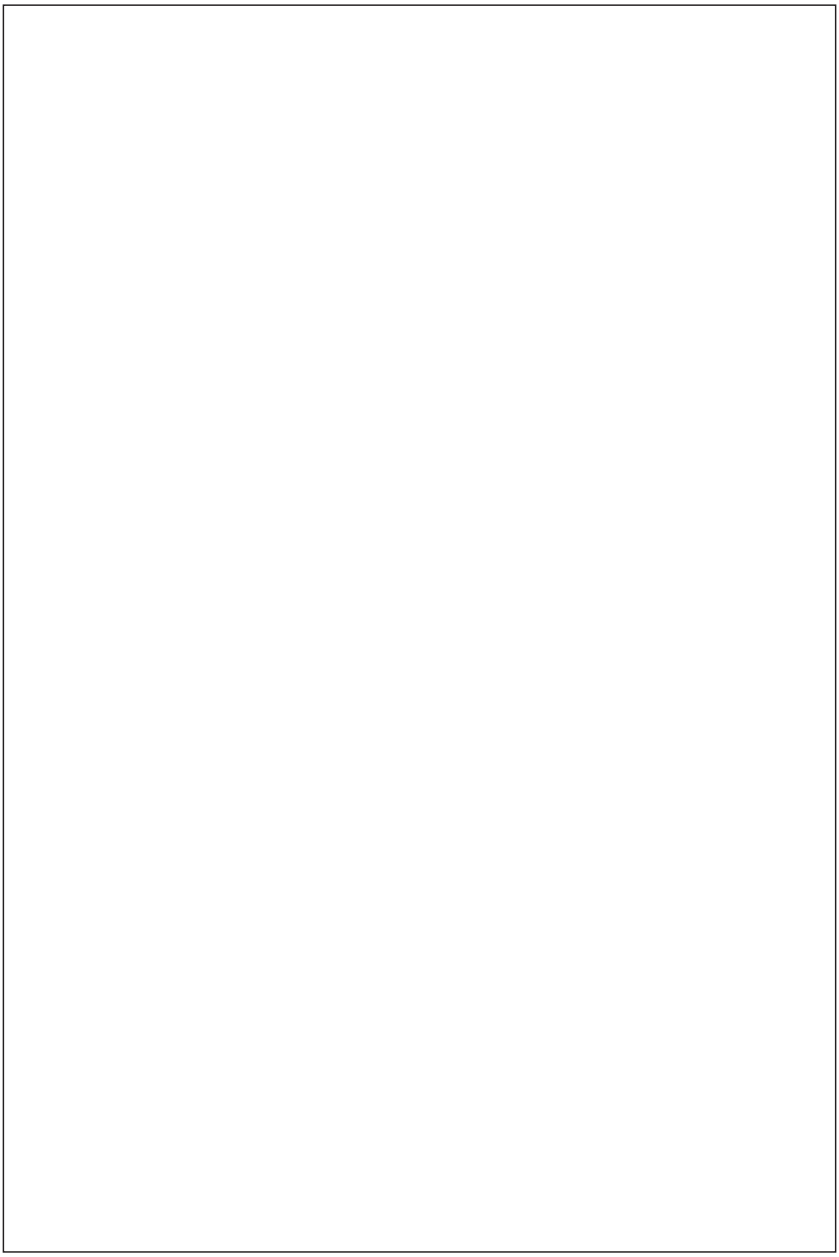
Which materials and resources do you use in class?

***EXAMPLES:*** *Authentic materials*
*Adapted materials*
*Originally designed materials*
*Textbooks*
*Specific software*
*Online resources*
*Blogs*
*Wikis*
*Webquests*
*Electronic whiteboards*
*e-Twinning*



6) Coordination and Organization

Are you developing the integrated curriculum for languages?
Is there sufficient communication and coordination between the teachers involved in the bilingual program? And with the bilingual coordinator?
Do you receive enough support from the school and the educational authorities?



7) Evaluation

How do you carry out evaluation in class? Which instruments and criteria do you use? What importance do you award to linguistic aspects (L2) and to subject content? Which aspects have greater weight in the final grade? What percentage of the grade do you give to each of them?

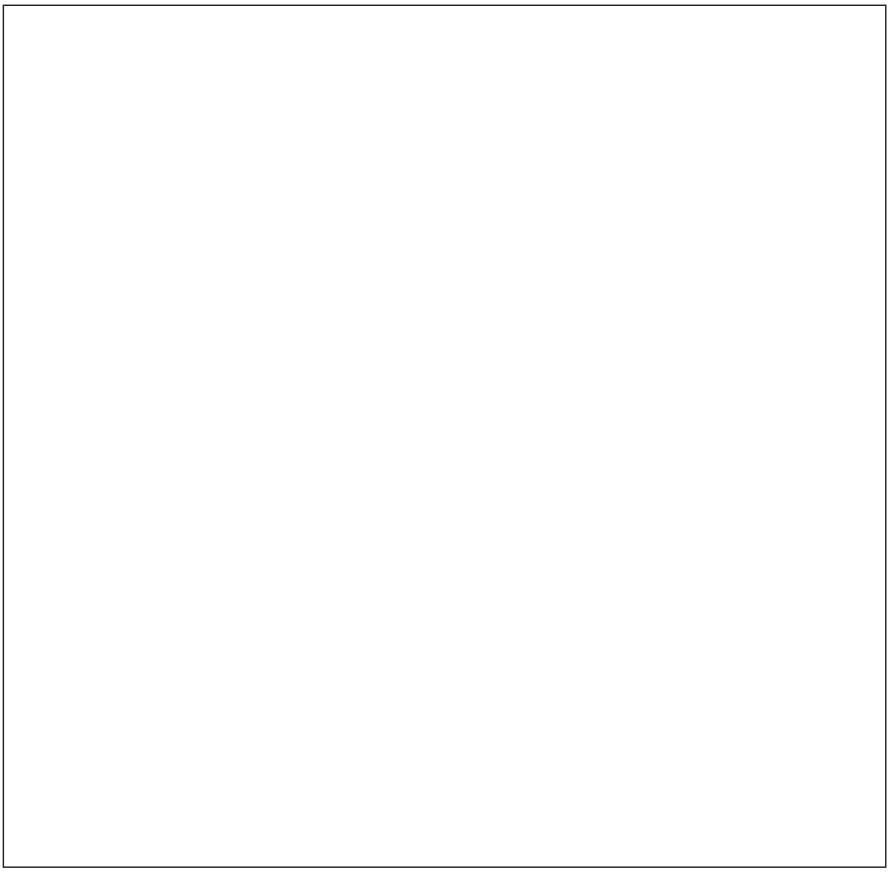
***EXAMPLES:*** *Holistically / formatively /summatively / in a diversified way*
*In English and Spanish*
*Prioritizing content knowledge/ language competence*
*Emphasizing oral/written aspects*
*Fostering self-assessment (e.g., through the European Language Portfolio)*

8) Teacher Training and Mobility

Do you think you have sufficient training to participate successfully in a bilingual program?
In which training /mobility initiatives have you participated?
In which do you think you would benefit from participating?

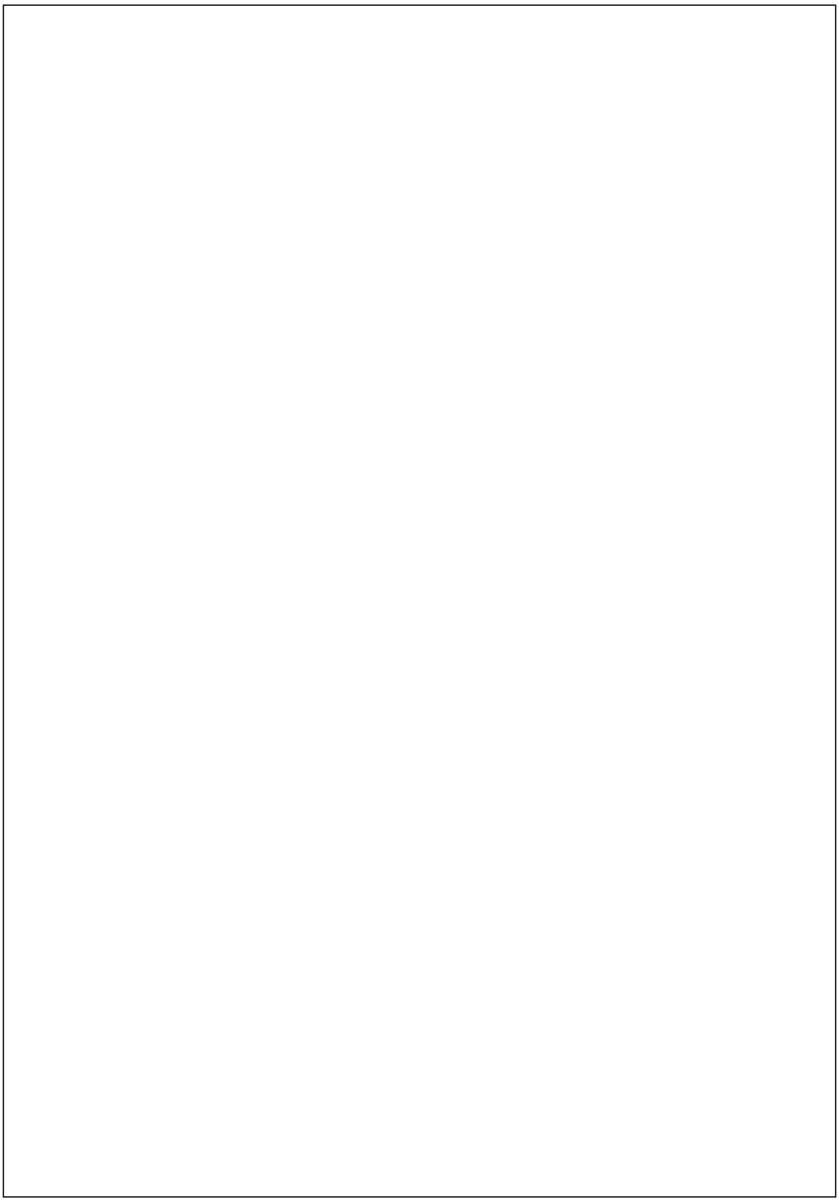
***EXAMPLES:*** *Language upgrade courses*
*Methodological courses*
*Exchange programs*
*Study/research licenses*
In which CLIL aspects do you require more training?

***EXAMPLES:*** *Theoretical underpinnings of LCIL*
*Your regional plan for the promotion of plurilingualism*
*Linguistic aspects*
*Intercultural aspects*
*Student-centered methodologies*
*ICT use*
*Classroom research*
*Research outcomes into the effects of CLIL*



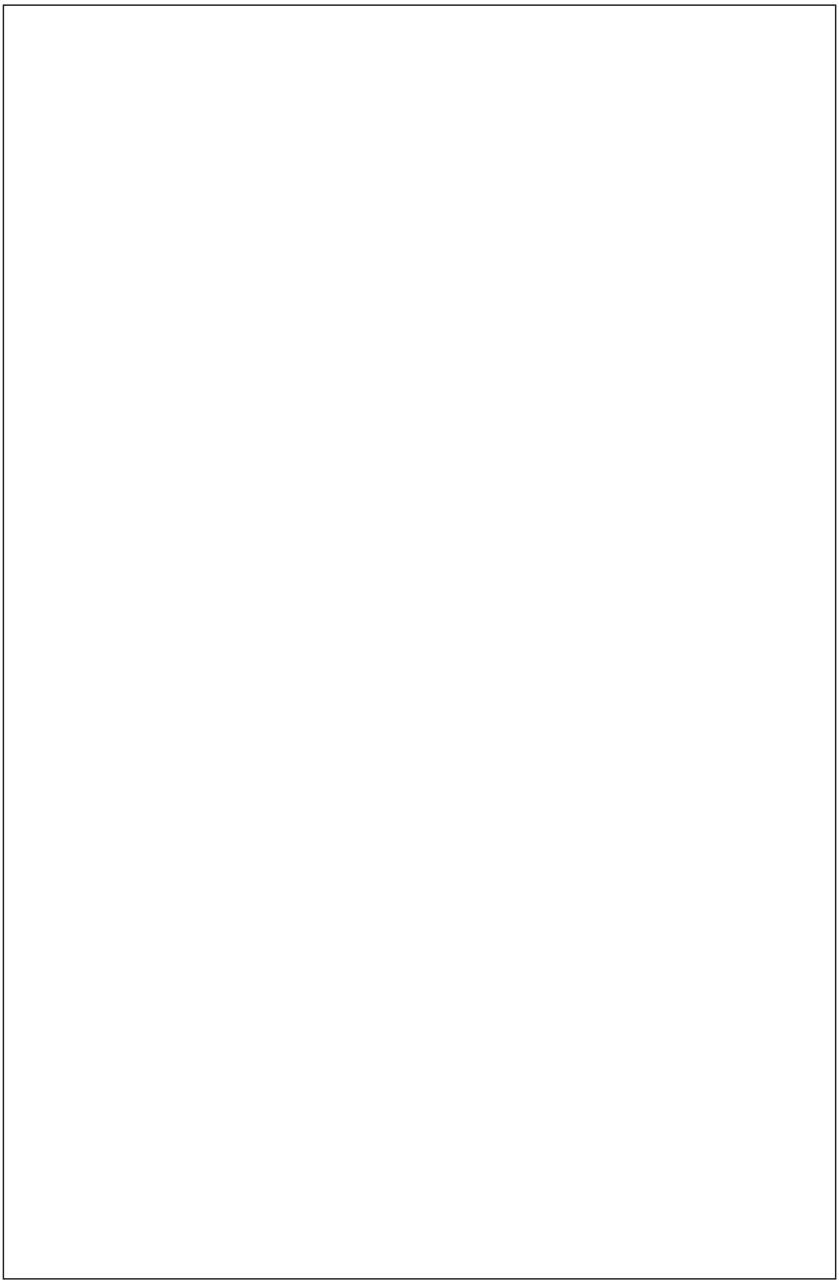
9) Motivation and Workload

Does participating in a bilingual program entail a greater workload?
Is it worth it? Are you more motivated?
Do you think your students are more motivated as a result of partaking in a bilingual program?



10) Overall Appraisal

Which are, in your opinion, the chief difficulties which your school has encountered in the successful implementation of the bilingual program?
And its most outstanding strengths?
What is your overall appraisal of the program?



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