

**MULTILINGUAL EDUCATION: TEACHERS' BELIEFS AND LANGUAGE USE
IN THE CLASSROOM**

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Dedicated to my parents for their support throughout my career

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Abstract

In a time when research in multilingual education challenges the monolingual assumptions that are still the rule when teaching and learning languages in multilingual schools, this present study looks into the beliefs of teachers regarding language education and their language use as well as their students'. The aim of the study is to analyse the extent to which a multilingual focus is already used in the context of Basque multilingual education and the pedagogical basis for its implementation or extension. Teachers and students from primary and secondary education schools from different sociolinguistic areas participated in this study. Quantitative and qualitative data were collected by means of questionnaires, interviews, observations of the language classes and writing assignments. The results of the study show important insight into the persisting beliefs in language separation that contradict the use of languages by teachers and students in the multilingual classroom. The results also indicate that a multilingual focus is not really implemented but the observations of the classes and the written production show that there is a pedagogical basis for the implementation and extension of multilingual pedagogies.

Keywords: Multilingualism, multilingual education, third language acquisition, writing skills, focus on multilingualism, teachers' beliefs, code-switching

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INTRODUCTION

The multilingual context of the Basque Country offers an immense possibility to study the phenomenon of multilingualism that appeals to so many researchers nowadays. Our context has appealed to us from the point of view of language education in a multilingual region. In the Basque Country there has been a shift from Basque-Spanish bilingual education to multilingual education with the increasing importance of English both as a school subject and an additional language of instruction.

In a time when schools aim at multilingualism and at educating children to achieve a high level of multilingualism so that when they leave school they are well prepared for a global world, it is interesting to see how that is done. For the last decades languages have been taught in isolation; one language at a time and one teacher per language in many cases under the belief that it promotes more effective language learning. But in recent years, researchers have started to challenge those views and appeal for a more holistic point of view both in education and in research, on the basis that multilingual speakers are not the same as monolingual speakers. That new trend has triggered a few questions; do multilingual teachers realize of the potential that using all the languages in their students' repertoire offers when learning additional languages? What is the real language use in the "one language only" classroom where the teachers and students are multilingual? And could multilingual speakers have different competences than monolingual speakers? Reflecting on those questions, we have designed a study that has resulted in the thesis that we proceed to present in this volume.

The aim of this thesis is to explore the extent to which some of these new trends that adopt a multilingual focus are already used in Basque language education. A related aim is to explore if there is a pedagogical basis to implement this approach or to extend its implementation. In order to achieve these aims we focus on three interrelated themes. On the one hand, we are interested in seeing what teachers think and belief regarding multilingualism and language teaching and learning. On the other hand, we want to investigate language use in the foreign language classroom. And in addition, we are interested in finding out more about the skills multilingual speakers have and the strategies they use when writing in three languages.

This thesis is organized in five chapters. In chapter 1, we go over the existing theoretical background in the field of language education and multilingualism that is relevant for this thesis. This chapter is at the same time divided in five sections. The first section is dedicated to multilingualism in general. The second section deals with new trends in the research field of multilingualism and with the new approach of “Focus on Multilingualism” specifically. In the third section we present the theoretical background in the study of beliefs and more specifically of teachers’ beliefs about multilingualism. In the fourth section we introduce current theories in the field of code-switching. The fifth section is dedicated to presenting some theoretical background about the field of research of writing skills of multilingual students.

Chapter 2 of the thesis covers the rationale for the thesis, the research questions and the context in which we have conducted our PhD project. We present in more general terms what the educational system in the Basque Country is like, because that is where our research project for this thesis takes place.

Chapter 3 outlines the details of the methodology we have used. In this chapter we will present the different groups of participants who took part in this project, and we will also give specifics of the instruments we used to collect the data. We will explain the procedures we followed to analyse the data and some other aspects of the methodology.

In chapter 4 we present the results of our study. This chapter consists of three sections. Section 1 includes the results of the study we conducted on teachers' beliefs about multilingual education in order to answer our first research question. Section 2 contains the results of the study we carried out on code-switching in the foreign language classroom in order to answer our second research question. And the 3rd section encompasses the results of the study we conducted on the writing skills of multilingual writers in order to try to answer our third research question.

Chapter 5, the final chapter, contains a discussion of the conclusions we reached after analysing the results of our research project for this thesis and taking into account the existing theoretical frameworks we applied in our studies of multilingualism and language use in the context of education. This chapter includes six sections. Section 1 is the introduction to the discussion. Section 2 discusses the main results of the study we conducted on teachers' beliefs about multilingual education and draws a number of conclusions. In section 3 we discuss the results we obtained on the study of code-switching in the foreign language classroom. In section 4 we provide a discussion of the results about our study on the writing skills of multilingual writers. In section 5 we present some general conclusions about the whole study. In section 6 we present some of the limitations of this study and a number of suggestions for future studies.

CHAPTER 1

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

This chapter is meant to give insight into a number of current theoretical notions that we have taken into consideration when we were in the process of designing our study, after which we carried out the actual research, including the collection of the data, and the different analyses and finally, the drawing of conclusions about our findings.

We discuss ideas on multilingualism current in the last decade and the new directions research on multilingualism has taken. Following this, we focus on beliefs and in particular on teachers' beliefs about multilingualism. We also provide a new theoretical model based on existing categorizations in a number of studies on code-switching and related to multilingual educational contexts. Finally, we also explore a number of theoretical premises related to the domain of writing in different languages by multilingual speakers.

In general, multilingualism in education is the central axis of this whole research study and the other theoretical notions we present are connected to multilingualism and move around it.

1.1 Defining multilingualism

Multilingualism is a contemporary phenomenon found worldwide. In the schools around the globe bilingual students outnumber monolingual students (García, 2009) and according to Cenoz (2009) “multilingualism is more common than monolingualism” (p. 5). In part due to that fact,

multilingualism has seen an increasing interest among scholars in recent years. Our aim in this section is not to give an extensive overview report about multilingualism but rather to give sufficient general information to set the context of our investigations in the schools in the Basque Country and it also allows us subsequently to analyse and discuss our findings.

The term multilingualism has covered an array of meanings, some of them closely related to bilingualism. Bilingualism on one hand is defined as the “ability to use two languages in communication” (Cenoz, 2009, p. 3) and Bhatia and Ritchie (2013), in their introduction to *The Handbook of Bilingualism and Multilingualism*, come to say that bilingualism and multilingualism refer respectively to “the knowledge and use of two languages and the knowledge and use of three and more languages” (p. xxi). In addition, multilingualism is defined by the European Commission (2007: 6) as “the ability of societies, institutions, groups and individuals to engage, on a regular basis, with more than one language in their day-to-day lives”. From this definition we see the current tendency to include bilingualism within multilingualism; bilingualism is not anymore related only to the use of two languages and multilingualism to the use of three or more languages, both terms refer to the use of more than one language. Notwithstanding the variety of definitions of multilingualism as well as of bilingualism both terms refer to the “coexistence, contact and interaction of different languages” (Wei, 2013; p.26). Both phenomena are defined from a variety of perspectives, theoretical and practical, and highlight such aspects as the use and the learning of languages (Aronin & Singleton, 2012).

Some of the definitions of multilingualism refer to the proficiency level of the speaker (Aronin & Singleton, 2012; Edwards, 2013). In most cases, the

proficiency level is considered to be native-like in all the languages of the multilingual speaker. In the bilingual speakers' case, it refers to a speaker of two languages with native-like command of both languages. It is expected the speaker to have the same command in each of the languages as of a native monolingual speaker of each of the languages. Baker (2011) regards the native-like proficiency level to be excessive but he also considers a minimal knowledge of a language uncertain.

As the definition provided by the European Commission (2007: 6) suggests, multilingualism is a phenomenon related to an individual as well as to a society or community. Multilingualism is a feature of an individual who may possess knowledge of and may use a number of languages and also it is a feature of a society or community that uses a number of different languages. Multilingual individuals can be speakers of a minority language who also speak the dominant language of the region they live in and also immigrants who need to learn the language or languages of the host country as well as their own first language. Traditionally there are more multilingual speakers in a region with a minority language than in a monolingual region. They happen to be bilingual and "increasingly multilingual" (Gorter & Cenoz, 2012; p. 184). Usually, citizens from regions with a minority language learn from an early age their regional minority language as well as the dominant language in the region and in many cases learn a third foreign language at school. But not only regions with minority languages are multilingual communities, nowadays due to globalization and mobility there are plenty of opportunities for languages to be in contact and with the spread of English as a lingua franca multilingualism has spread to other areas resulting in more multilingual speakers.

Multilingualism and the coexistence of different languages within a community have brought about a variety of issues, for example, the role of each language in the community or the need of language maintenance (Bhatia, 2013). Over time, minority languages were disregarded in educational contexts because the aim was to teach the dominant language. However this has changed within the last decades due to the wider acceptance of protection and promotion of linguistic and cultural diversity (Gorter & Cenoz, 2012). Education may play an important role in language promotion and revitalization of a minority language. Multilingualism in education may be an outcome in regions with a minority language, a dominant language and a foreign language coexisting and taught in schools. Cenoz (2009) defined multilingualism in education as “the use of two or more languages in education provided that schools aim at multilingualism and multiliteracy” (p. 4).

1.1.1 Current change of direction in multilingual research

Nowadays, the manner in which multilingualism and multilingual speakers are viewed upon is starting to change. The increasing number of multilingual speakers all around the world due to globalization and mobility has caught the attention of linguists lately. As May (2014) well describes in his edited book with the telling title *The Multilingual Turn*, linguists are now interested in “the dynamic, hybrid and transnational linguistic repertoires of multilingual speakers” (p. 1). He refers to linguists such as Makoni and Pennycook (2012) who talk about “lingua franca multilingualism” (p. 447), Canagarajah (2011) who uses the term *codemeshing* and García (2009) who uses the term *translanguaging*, to only mention some. Those authors all refer to multilingual speakers’ use of languages putting multilingualism in the forefront rather than

monolingualism. What they want to emphasize is that multilingual speakers use all the languages in their repertoire as overlapping and complementing one another to create a type of complex language that suits their needs. For decades languages have been looked upon from the point of view of monolingualism. And now those scholars suggest not looking at multilingual speakers as a combination of two or more monolingual speakers because they are individuals who do not compartmentalize the languages in their repertoire in their minds.

Similarly, Lin (2006) says that languages are not solid entities with fixed boundaries and scholars such as Cenoz and Gorter (2011, 2014) and Cummins (2014) propose to break through the boundaries among the languages of a multilingual speaker. Multilingual speakers use the languages in their repertoire according to their communicative needs. They might use one language for a certain activity and another for a different activity. While they navigate from one language to another according to their needs, monolingual speakers will always use the same language for all communicative purposes.

García (2009), as we mentioned before, uses the term *translanguaging* to refer to multiple discursive practices. The term translanguaging was originally used in Wales. Williams (2002) and Baker (2006) used this term in relation to the use of Welsh and English in educational practices when referring to the pedagogical use of the two languages inside of the same lesson. Baker (2011) explains that the term refers to one language being used for input (reading and listening) and another language for output (speaking and reading). He added that through this planned use of two languages the students gain knowledge and understanding and they make meaning and shape experiences. García (2009) extended the term to mean

more than the alternation of languages for input and output in the classroom. She defines translanguaging as the “multiple discursive practices in which bilinguals engage in order to make sense of their bilingual worlds” (p. 45), broadening the meaning to multiple discursive practices that are common in multilingual settings. And Creese and Blackledge (2010) use the term translanguaging in a similar way and they mention practices in multilingual settings where languages are used as a resource of the speakers (see also García & Wei, 2014; Cenoz & Gorter, 2015). Translanguaging is used as an umbrella term for different practices and research on translanguaging often focuses on the analysis of multilingual practices which are hybrid and without hard boundaries.

1.1.2 Language separation in multilingual educational contexts

Despite some differences, multilingual speakers’ ability to communicate has almost always been measured from the point of view of monolingualism and comparing the ability in each of the languages to the ability of native speakers of the languages in the repertoire.

Language education in multilingual settings is still ruled by monolingual views that have dominated for many years. Those monolingual views are characterized by the idealization of the native speaker as the benchmark to reach and by looking at one language at a time. The belief that languages must be kept in isolation in educational contexts has prevailed for decades. However, recent studies around the world show that teachers and learners do in fact use their first language (L1) and second language (L2) in multilingual contexts, in the foreign language classrooms (Levine, 2011; Littlewood & Yu, 2011; Costa, 2011; Lin, 2015). This use can take the

form of code-switching and can also be intended for communicating and interacting purposes.

A growing number of studies (see, for example, García, 2009a, 2009b; Cenoz & Gorter, 2015; Lewis, Jones & Baker, 2012, Swain & Lapkin, 2013; Turnbull & Dailey-O’Cain, 2009) emphasize the potential that the systematic and functional use of L1 in foreign language teaching might have. Limiting the use of L1 in the foreign language classroom, with the hope that students will become bilingual, or multilingual, through monolingual immersion classes, excludes the student’s L1 from being a learning resource. This language separation occurs in language immersion classes as well as in English medium instruction (EMI) classes. In the Canadian French immersion classes, L1 was decided not to be used “in order to prevent [it] from interfering with the acquisition of the L2” (Ballinger, 2015, p. 35). Similarly, one of the aims of Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL), from the perspective of L2 learning, is to “promote more effective L2 learning via greater exposure to L2 input” (Lo, 2015, p. 272) because in some countries where CLIL has been implemented students have limited exposure and opportunities to use the target language in their everyday lives (see also Ruiz de Zarobe, Sierra & Gallardo, 2011).

The support of the strict language separation policy has led education decision makers, school administrators, teacher trainers, publishers and teachers to reject the use of another language except the target language, because they all believe that this is the best possible practice. As a consequence, many teachers are rather reluctant to admit that they do code-switch or use another language in their lessons (Lin, 2006). Even if

schools' aim is multilingualism as an outcome, the people involved in education are still oriented by monolingual views, creating limitations to the relationship between the languages (Cenoz & Gorter, 2014).

In contrast to language separation policies, Lewis, Jones and Baker (2012) use translanguaging as a pedagogical strategy in Welsh-medium instruction that systematically uses one language for input and another language for output in the same lesson. Other scholars look at teachers' and students' use of their L1 or other languages as a resource when acquiring additional languages or in Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) or content-based instruction context (including immersion) where learning tasks are complex (Luk & Lin, 2015; Swain & Lapkin, 2013). Macaro (2009) adds that banning the use of the L1 in the communicative second language (L2) classroom "may in fact be reducing the cognitive and metacognitive opportunities available to learners" (p. 49). Lin (2015) also brings up that in a science through the medium of English class, engaging students in an explicit comparison of L1 (Chinese) and L2 (English) through cognates will "provide a fruitful learning opportunity deepening on the cognitive processing of the scientific concepts" (p.84). Similarly, Ballinger (2015) considers that the students' other languages can be seen as resources rather than as a burden. A step further is the active use of the L1 in pedagogical interventions to develop metalinguistic awareness and enhance language acquisition and (bi)literacy skills (see, for example, Arteagoitia & Howard, 2015; Ballinger, 2013; Lyster, Quiroga & Ballinger, 2013).

1.2 Focus on multilingualism

The monolingual view that establishes hard boundaries between languages has been challenged in many different ways. For example, Cenoz and Gorter (2011, 2014) refer to the use of the whole linguistic repertoire in *Focus on Multilingualism*. The study of multilingual discourse practices in and outside the classroom shows that languages are not separated. We will briefly discuss their approach here, because we will apply it later in this study.

With the model *Focus on Multilingualism*, Cenoz and Gorter (2011, 2014) propose to take into account the whole multilingual speaker rather than the monolingual speaker of more than two languages. In their model, they consider to move from those monolingual assumptions onto multilingual views. Multilingual speakers are not unreal perfect native speakers of several languages, but real people who navigate between languages according to the communicative situations. They are not deficient or weak communicators because they are not native speakers of their second, third, or fourth language. They are stronger communicators than monolingual native speakers because they can use their linguistic resources in more communicative situations with more monolingual and multilingual speakers.

The approach Focus on Multilingualism is a holistic approach characterized by three dimensions:

1. The multilingual speaker,
2. the whole linguistic repertoire, and
3. the wider social context.

This approach proposes that the multilingual speaker is not the same as a combination of several monolingual speakers, and thus should not be compared to monolinguals. Their competence is different from the competence of monolingual speakers. Although they might use languages for the same purpose as monolinguals, the manner in which multilingual speakers use those languages is different from the way in which monolinguals use their language. In addition, when taking multilingual speakers holistically, we can learn about the way in which they acquire a third or additional language and the effect their prior linguistic knowledge might have.

The multilingual speakers' whole linguistic repertoire refers to the way in which all the languages in their repertoire are connected. This approach suggests that when all the languages in the repertoire are connected they also support each other in their development. So by making the boundaries created among the languages in one's repertoire lighter with this model, the languages can act as "connected growers" (De Bot, Lowie & Verspoor, 2007; De Bot, 2008). The languages can perform as subsystems that assist the learning of other languages. This means that by acquiring a skill in one language, it can support the learning and acquisition of another skill in the same language but also in another. For example, by increasing vocabulary knowledge, consequently the reading and listening comprehension skills would grow, and thus vocabulary knowledge helps the growth of the listening and reading comprehension skills. Similarly, connected growers aiding the learning and acquisition of an additional language would for instance be related to communicative skills; if a multilingual learner acquires the skill to organize his message in a logical sequence and then he or she organizes a message in a logical sequence in another language, that skill has worked as a connected grower. In order to see how the languages

in a multilingual speaker's repertoire support each other, it is necessary to look at the whole picture instead of looking only at part of the picture.

The wider social context is considered very important in the Focus on Multilingualism approach. This is because multilingual speakers build up their competences during social interaction. Multilingual speakers make use of their languages fluidly and navigate from one language to another as the communicative need requires. This is different from the monolingual speakers who only use one language for all communicative needs. In fact, the social context shapes the multilingual speaker's language practices.

This new approach can well be applied to language education where third language acquisition can benefit from an understanding of how multilinguals use their languages and develop the learning of additional languages.

1.3 Language teachers' beliefs about multilingualism

Teachers' beliefs are considered important because of their link to the decisions teachers make in the classroom (Lucero, Valcke & Schellens, 2013; Pajares, 1992; Young & Walsh, 2010). Beliefs can have a significant influence on pedagogical practices. Teachers may accept new approaches and teaching strategies to a more or less extent according to their beliefs. The study of beliefs is important both for pre-service and in-service teachers (Fischl & Sagy, 2005).

Beliefs have been defined as "propositions individuals consider to be true and which are often tacit, have a strong evaluative and affective component, provide a basis for action, and are resistant to change" (Borg, 2011, pp. 370-371). In the case of language teachers, the propositions

considered to be true are opinions and ideas about learning and teaching languages. However, it is important to acknowledge that the study of beliefs is based on reported information and this has some methodological limitations.

The study of beliefs in language learning has a long tradition when it comes to examining learners' beliefs. There are references to learners' beliefs already in early studies about the "good language learner" (see Jeoffrion, Marcouyeux, Starkey-Perret, Narcy-Combes & Birkan, 2014). Borg's (2003) conceptualization of *teacher cognition* has been a valuable theoretical contribution to the study of teachers' beliefs. According to Borg (2006, p. 82), *teacher cognition* refers to "beliefs, knowledge, theories, attitudes, images, assumptions, metaphors, conceptions and perspectives about teaching, teachers, learning, students, subject matter, curricula, materials, instructional activities and self." Teacher cognition receives the influence of previous learning experiences (schooling), contextual factors, professional coursework (experience in pre-service and in-service programmes), and classroom practice (teaching) (Borg, 2006). According to Borg, the influence of schooling and contextual factors is unidirectional but the other two relationships are bidirectional. Professional coursework and classroom practice not only influence teacher cognition but are also influenced by it. According to Borg (2006), cognition, context, and experience interact with each other in a dynamic way in language teaching.

Nishino (2012) proposed the *Model of Teacher Beliefs and Practices for Communicative Language Teaching*. In this model, classroom practices are influenced by teachers' beliefs, contextual factors, and perceived teacher efficacy. Nishino highlights the important relationship between teachers' beliefs, teaching practices, and teaching contexts.

The importance of context is also highlighted by other scholars (see, for example, Barahona, 2014; Jeoffrion et al., 2014; Yang & Gao, 2013). In fact, “contextual factors” can be seen as consisting of complex series of contextual conditions such as public examinations, curricular decisions by the institutions, or parents’ and students’ expectations which all can contribute to shaping teachers’ beliefs. In the case of teachers’ beliefs about multilingualism, the relative status of the languages in society and the institutional decisions about the curriculum, including the textbooks and materials used, can influence teachers’ beliefs. At the same time, parents’ expectations and motivations about the different languages can potentially have an important role in teachers’ beliefs about multilingualism. Teachers can also have beliefs related to previous learning and teaching experiences and their own pre-service and in-service training.

An important line of research in the study of teachers’ beliefs is their relationship with teacher practices. Basturkmen (2012) reviewed a number of studies on teachers’ stated beliefs and concluded that the correspondence between beliefs and practices is limited. In many cases, teachers considered that external factors made the correspondence more difficult. Basturkmen (2012) highlights the relationship between beliefs and practices as interactive. Beliefs can influence teaching practices but practices can have an influence on beliefs as well. After this short discussion of teachers’ beliefs in general, we turn now to the importance of beliefs for multilingualism and teaching of languages.

1.3.1 Multilingualism and teachers' beliefs

Some beliefs are widespread within the context of multilingual education and they are shared by many teachers and education professionals. Cummins (2014) identified some of these far-reaching beliefs which he calls *monolingual instructional assumptions* in French immersion programmes in Canada that have influenced research and teaching languages in schools. According to Cummins (2014) these assumptions are:

- Instruction should be carried out exclusively in the target language without recourse to students' L1;
- No translation between L1 and L2 is appropriate in French immersion programmes;
- Within immersion and bilingual programmes, the two languages should be kept completely separate (pp. 9-10).

He criticizes these assumptions one by one and he explains how they are being challenged nowadays. The same assumptions are also widespread in multilingual education in Europe where they are being challenged by proposals that argue for pedagogies that soften the hard boundaries between languages (as we saw already in one of the previous sections). Nevertheless, monolingual beliefs have a strong tradition and are still widespread in education.

In addition, these views are characterized by using monolingual native speakers' competence as a reference and by isolating languages from each other in the context of the classroom (Young & Walsh, 2010). According to such monolingual views language learners have to make progress in the direction of achieving what in reality turns out to be an impossible goal. The learners have to become ideal native speakers of the target language,

who are perfectly competent in all skills in different communicative contexts. This unreachable goal creates a sense of frustration in many learners. The view means that ideally a multilingual person is a perfect native speaker of several languages. It also implies that multilinguals should be balanced and possess the same level of competence in different languages. Cenoz and Gorter (2011, 2014) with their model *Focus on Multilingualism* consider that this ideal “monolingual speaker” has to be replaced by a more realistic “multilingual speaker”, as we have already seen in the previous section.

Research on teachers’ beliefs about monolingual versus multilingual views regarding multilingual speakers is limited. Griva and Chostelidou (2012) did not compare these two views, as we will do in our study, but they asked 120 foreign language teachers in Greece about their beliefs regarding multilingualism in general. Their results indicated that multilingualism is believed to be very positive. Another interesting result is related to the teaching of English from an early age. Most Greek teachers who participated in Griva and Chostelidou’s study considered that foreign languages (English in most cases) should be introduced in kindergarten because children can learn them more easily. However, one third of the teachers thought that children have to develop a firm foundation in their mother tongue before a foreign language is introduced.

Another deeply-rooted idea that reflects monolingual views is the need to keep languages separate from each other in order to learn them better. As Cummins (2007) points out, this idea emerged from the direct and audio-lingual methods for second language teaching, but it is still accepted in contemporary methods as well. The belief that languages should be kept separate is also reported in a study on teachers’ beliefs conducted by De Angelis (2011). Participants in this study were 176 schoolteachers from

Italy, Austria, and Great Britain who had immigrant students in their classes. Teachers answered a questionnaire on teachers' beliefs about multilingualism, home language maintenance, and classroom practices in relation to home languages. The results indicated that teachers believe that multilingualism has several advantages. However, they strongly conceive of languages as separate entities, and some teachers believe that languages have to be learned one at a time.

However, we know that the linguistic repertoire of multilingual students has developed in a social context. At the same time, multilingual speakers engage in language practices and use their linguistic resources to shape this context. The use of different languages in school contexts and code-switching can be affected by the status of the languages. Chimbutane (2013) reports on this bi-directional relationship in his study on teachers' beliefs about code-switching in bilingual schools in Mozambique between Portuguese and African languages. He observed that on the one hand African languages are used in the foreign language classroom even if teachers believe that it is better not to mix languages (see also Heugh, 2015). On the other hand, Chimbutane also explains that in the content classes with African language as medium of instruction the lack of tradition of using African languages in education plays a role because teachers and students are more familiar with Portuguese as academic language than their first languages. In the next section, we will look in more detail into the phenomenon of code-switching.

1.4 Code-switching in the multilingual classroom

Code-switching has been defined as “the mixing, by bilinguals (or multilinguals), of two or more languages in discourse, often with no change of interlocutor or topic” (Poplack, 2001, p. 2062). The mixing of languages might occur at any level of linguistic structure but we are interested in the mixing that takes place within a single utterance.

So far in this thesis the terms translanguaging and code-switching have been used and the distinction between the two is not always clear because as we have already seen translanguaging is used in different ways. A distinction could be made between pedagogical and spontaneous translanguaging. Pedagogical translanguaging refers to planned strategies such as the alternation of input and output but can also include other strategies such as comparisons between languages or the use of cognates to develop language awareness (Cenoz & Gorter, 2016). Spontaneous translanguaging can be seen as closer to code-switching but the difference between the two can be found as related to the different ideologies regarding the concept of language. García and Wei (2014: 22) explain the difference in the following terms:

Translanguaging differs from the notion of code-switching in that it refers not simply to a shift or a shuttle between two languages, but to the speakers’ construction and use of original and complex interrelated discursive practices that cannot be easily assigned to one or another traditional definition of a language.

As we can see it is the traditional definition of language that is different when explaining spontaneous translanguaging vs. code-switching. In this

thesis we have made the decision to use the term code-switching instead of spontaneous translanguaging for two reasons: first, because in the context of Basque, Spanish and English, it is common to assign specific practices to each of the languages and second, because there is a longer theoretical tradition in the study of different types of code-switching in the classroom. The term translanguaging will be used for pedagogical translanguaging aimed at the development of metalinguistic awareness.

The use of L1 in L2 immersion and in English medium instruction (EMI) classes varies in amount. Some studies show that teachers and students use limited or no L1 and it may decrease as the students' L2 ability increases (Lo, 2015; McMillan & Turnbull, 2009).

The use of L1 in immersion L2 classes has been studied mainly from the point of view of teachers' code-switching and much less about how students code-switch. According to Littlewood and Yu (2011), studying students' code-switching is challenging because they tend to switch to their L1 as soon as they can, thus it is difficult to account for all language switches. Code-switching produced when working in small groups is different from the code-switching when working as a whole class in regards to its function. Some studies (Swain & Lapkin, 2000; Storch & Aldosari, 2010, Ghorbani, 2011) reported students' use of L1 and its different functions in pair/group work activities. Swain and Lapkin (2000), in a study of the use of L1 (English) in immersion French classes, concluded that, contrary to the teachers' belief, the students actually used little L1 and was mainly when off-task, when working in pairs. Similarly, Storch and Aldosari (2010) also concluded that the students in pair/group work used the L1 "to a limited extent" (p. 372) and that the type of task seemed to have a greater impact on the amount of L1 used. The students' use of the

L1 has been identified to be mainly for socializing and for collaborative talk (Swain & Lapkin, 2000; Costa, 2011; Storch & Aldosari, 2010).

When analysing teachers' language use, many scholars disagree as to whether L1 should be used in the foreign language classroom or, when used, how it should be done. Littlewood and Yu (2011) stated that the debate on using L1 and the target language in the foreign language classrooms will remain with us for a long time due to the deeply rooted belief of language separation in order to maximize the use of the target language. The use of L1 in the form of code-switching in second language acquisition has been extensively studied (Levine, 2011; Macaro, 2005, 2009; Swain & Lapkin, 2000; Lewis, Jones & Baker 2013; Lin, 2013) but not so much in CLIL or EMI lessons. Some studies on the use of L1 in the CLIL classes (Gierlinger, 2015; Costa, 2011) reveal the potential of code-switching as a pedagogical tool and/or learning support instrument. Gierlinger (2015) suggests that the study of CLIL teachers' beliefs and the use of code-switching would be important because the similarities found in the characteristics of the code-switching in CLIL lessons tell us that its use might not be casual. Lin (2015), also proposes that the monolingual immersion approaches need to give way to a more systematic and research-based potential use of L1 in CLIL contexts.

However, code-switching and multilingual practices are not often encouraged in CLIL classrooms. Based on the premise of more target language exposure, advocates of the EMI methodology discourage the use of L1 and/or L2 because then the learners do receive less input of the target language and they may not be pushed to actively produce target language output (Loewen, 2014).

In the Basque Country, the beliefs against mixing languages in the classroom are still strong among the teachers and school administrators. The use of only the target language in the English classroom is influenced by monolingual beliefs that teachers develop in their pre-service courses (Arocena, Cenoz & Gorter, 2015). It is also related to the limited exposure to English that students have outside the school (Arocena & Popma, 2014).

1.4.1 Functions of code-switching

In this section, we will show some of the functions of code-switching as they have been identified and categorized by other researchers. The studies discussed here focus mainly on the use of the first language (L1) in the foreign language classroom. The study of such code-switching is mainly from the standpoint of the teachers' use of the L1 in foreign language teaching. Those studies have shown that code-switching in the classroom is not without meaning, but they occur for a purpose, with different functions.

We have made a selection among the scholars who have studied the phenomenon of code-switching in the target language and in CLIL classrooms. We will present five different, but overlapping, categorizations of code-switching and its functions. These categorizations were proposed by Gierlinger (2015), Lo (2015), Lin (2006), Lewis et al. (2013), and Littlewood and Yu (2011). Our selection is based on the fact that these authors carried out their studies in CLIL and EMI classrooms (Gierlinger, 2015; Lo 2015; Littlewood & Yu, 2011) or in bilingual education programmes (Lin, 2006; Lewis et al., 2013) which is in accordance with our current study into the use of L1 and L2 in the L3 content based instruction and the language instruction class. All these researchers have

found rather similar functions of code-switching in the classroom but their terminology is slightly different in some cases.

To begin with, Gierlinger (2015) conducted a study in five secondary schools in Austria. He carried out a qualitative study of CLIL classrooms through the medium of English where the majority language of the students' was German but others' mother tongues were included too. On the basis that there are few studies on the use of the L1 in CLIL classrooms and that it is not clear whether its use is an aid or an obstacle to learning, he proceeded to study the complexity of teachers' L1 use in the CLIL classroom. He analysed when the teachers used the L1, whether that code-switching had any pedagogical orientation or was instead an emergency tool used in a random and unprincipled manner. Gierlinger concluded that teachers do indeed code-switch quite often and he identifies two main categories of teachers' code-switching; regulative and instructive code-switching. He then subdivides the two main categories further into five subcategories. In table 1 below, we show the categorization of code-switching by teachers according to Gierlinger (2015).

Table 1: Gierlinger’s categorization of code-switching

Main Category	Subcategory	Function
Regulative code-switching	Classroom and task management	Giving instructions, making announcements, opening and closing lessons, regulative floor taking, homework reminders, passing out hand outs, etc.
	Behaviour management	Checking on pupils’ behaviour, telling jokes, anecdotes or any other language anxiety reducing measure, encouraging remarks, etc.
Instructive code-switching	Content-focused	Code-switching to ensure the conceptual understanding and development of subject knowledge.
	Word-focused	Quick translations of any expected lexical problem.
	Deficit-focused	Teacher’s acknowledgement of her lack of knowledge of an English word.

As we can see in Table 1, Gierlinger identifies two subcategories within the regulative category; (1) classroom and task management code-switching and (2) behaviour management code-switching. Classroom and task management refers to language interventions by the teacher to support the setting up of the learning environment. Its function is to clarify regulative and administrative issues such as opening and closing lessons and giving instructions necessary to create an appropriate learning environment, it may often support the students’ implicit language learning. The second

subcategory, behaviour management code-switching, refers to language intervention by the teacher for interpersonal and rapport-building purposes. Its function is to regulate situations that interfere with the lesson and to create a positive learning environment, for example by telling jokes or giving encouraging remarks.

Gierlinger identifies three subcategories within the instructive category of code-switching: (1) content-focused code-switching refers to any code-switching that teachers perform in order to ensure the conceptual understanding and development of the subject knowledge. (2) Word-focused code-switching is understood as a bridging category between language learning and conceptual development, when the teacher gives quick translations of any expected lexical problem. And (3) deficit-focused code-switching refers to any code-switching instance that teachers perform when they do not know a certain word in English.

Gierlinger, by describing the categorization and functions of code-switching he identifies in his study, highlights that teachers in the CLIL classroom code-switch “with a clear pedagogical orientation, [it] is not carried out haphazardly nor unprincipled and neither does it primarily operate as an emergency tool” (p. 17). With that he means that teachers code-switch for teaching purposes and they do so following some teaching principles. He concludes that CLIL teachers appeared to code-switch for learning and cognitive enrichment purposes.

The second study we have selected was carried out by Lo (2015). With this study, she sought to address the concern of CLIL advocates on the injudicious and unplanned use of the L1 in CLIL classrooms. She analysed teachers’ use of the L1 to answer the question whether that use is “in a

judicious way in response to students' need and the dual goals of CLIL" (p. 273). By which she means whether the code-switching happens in a thoughtful manner in order to aid the students in their learning process and a warranty for both content and language learning. She carried out the research in five secondary schools in Hong Kong where the students' ability in L2 (English) was varied. Lo, similar to Gierlinger, identifies two main categories of the code-switching functions of teachers, what she calls slightly different, the social or affective function and the pedagogical function. The subcategories she identifies in her study are derived from studies by other authors' (e.g. Canagarajah, 1995; Lin, 2006). Lo's categorization of teachers' L1 use is presented in Table 2.

Table 2: Lo’s “Functions of teachers’ use of L1” (Lo, 2015, p. 279)

Major Categories		Subcategories
Social or affective functions		1.Referring to shared cultural norm or social value
		2.Building up warmer and friendlier atmosphere or building up rapport to students
Pedagogical functions	Classroom management	3.Managing discipline
		4.Comments on students’ behaviours
		5.Giving instructions or commands
		6.Encouraging class participation
		7.Arousing students’ attention or focus
	Content transmission	8.Explanation of difficult concepts
		9.Parallel translation
		10.Providing annotations or examples in students’ daily life to explain an unfamiliar topic or concept to students

In Table 2 we see that Lo included two subcategories within the main category of social or affective functions. These two subcategories are the use of code-switching to refer to a shared cultural norm or social norm and second, to build up warmer and friendlier atmosphere or rapport with students. Within the second main category of pedagogical functions, she makes two further distinctions; one is the use of code-switching to manage the classroom and the other is for content transmission. Within the first subcategory we see that she identifies five functions: the use of code-switching for managing discipline, students’ behaviour, giving instructions

or commands, encouraging class participation and arousing students' attention or focus. Within the second subcategory of content transmission we find three functions: the use of code-switching to explain difficult concepts, translate and provide annotations or examples to understand unfamiliar topics or concepts.

The nine functions of code-switching Lo identifies are both for social and pedagogical reasons. This is because CLIL teachers use the L1 in order to achieve both content and language learning and always taking into consideration their context and their students' needs. This may also be applied in any other immersion and language classrooms.

Other authors have categorized functions of code-switching without subcategories by directly categorizing each type of function. One of those authors is Lin (2006) who distinguishes seven functions of L1 in the L2 classroom, which we will discuss next.

Lin analysed the use of bilingual pedagogical practices in a science classroom in Hong Kong. This classroom was in an Anglo-Chinese secondary school. After the analysis, she suggested a framework of when, how, with whom and for what purpose those bilingual pedagogical practices should be used. This is summarized in Table 3.

Table 3: Lin's categorization of code-switching functions

(1) A teacher can strategically use L1 when she/he wants to appeal to a shared cultural value, or to address students as a member of the same cultural community, and to invoke some L1 cultural norm or value.
(2) A teacher can intentionally use L1 to highlight to students that what she/he is saying is of such grave or urgent importance (e.g., for disciplining) that the usual rule to use L2 has been suspended.
(3) A teacher can deliberately use L1 if she/he wishes to arouse student interest, establish a warmer and friendlier atmosphere, or build rapport with her/his students.
(4) Teachers can give a quick L1 translation for L2 vocabulary or terms. Providing an L1 translation can promote bilingual academic knowledge and help students understand the subjects in both L1 and L2. Giving the Chinese meaning can also help students form richer multiple conceptual connections as the Chinese counterparts of English terms are often made up of common Chinese words that can sometimes enable students to infer, recognize and understand the meaning of the term better.
(5) Teachers can deliberately use L1 to provide annotations or examples that help relate an unfamiliar L2 academic topic to the students' familiar L1 daily lives. This can help make school less alienating and more meaningful and relevant.
(6) Teachers can purposefully use L1 to encourage class participation and discussion and to help elicit the knowledge and experiences that students bring into the classroom and help transform that contribution into L2. For example, students can be permitted to discuss or work on a group task in Chinese initially and with the teacher's help produce an English version at the end.
(7) If a student asks a question in L1, the teacher can help her/him rephrase it in L2.

Lin's seven functions of the use of L1 in the L2 classroom are not grouped under two main categories. However, we can see in Table 3 that functions 1, 2 and 3 have a more affective and social nature; these are code-switching to relate to the students' culture, to deal with discipline and to set up a friendlier atmosphere. Meanwhile, functions 4, 5, 6 and 7 have a more

pedagogical purpose; these are code-switching for vocabulary and content transmission, for making unfamiliar topics meaningful and relevant, for encouraging class participation and for providing students with L2 language. We can see so far that Lin's functions of code-switching do to some extent overlap with the categorization and functions seen in Table 1 and Table 2. So we will later on, in this section, present the similarities and differences among these authors' categorization of code-switching.

Lewis et al. (2013) categorize the use of two languages in the classroom in nine types. Their categorization is mapped from the use of two languages in bilingual classrooms; it goes beyond mere code-switching. They analysed 100 bilingual lessons from elementary and secondary schools across Wales. We have decided to take their categorization also into account because their study is carried out in bilingual classrooms and they have analysed how two languages are used, their allocation and their purpose in the lessons. Table 4 shows their categorization of the use of two languages in immersion lessons.

Table 4: Lewis et al.'s categorization of the use of two languages

Type 1. Monolingual use of one language (L1 Welsh)
Type 2. Monolingual use of one language (L2 Welsh)
Type 3. Monolingual use of one language in mixed L1/L2 classrooms
Type 4. Translanguaging
Type 5. Translation (for the whole class)
Type 6. Translation of subject-related terminology
Type 7. Translation for L2 learners (L2 Welsh or L2 English)
Type 8. Combinations of concurrent two-language use
Type 9. Teacher responds to student's language

In Table 4 we see the use of two languages Lewis et al. identified in their study. The frequency in which the nine types happen differs depending on the learners' age and the language development level. They estimated that teachers particularly used monolingual approaches (types 1, 2 and 3) and translation (types 5, 6 and 7) for L2 learners who have not sufficiently developed the minority language (L2). In addition, concurrent two-language use (type 8) and translanguaging (type 4) are used once the learners have developed both languages relatively well. These authors refer to translation in type 7 as code-switching that goes beyond the translation of the terminology and it is usually used when talking to a smaller group rather than to the whole class. They also referred to a language use pattern as code-switching when teacher responds in the students' language (in type 9). Lewis et al. describe type 4, translanguaging, when the input language and the output language are systematically varied.

Lewis et al. also pointed out that children seem to “find two-language use both natural and pragmatic” (p. 130). They actually observed that there were occasions when the students would have liked to work bilingually, without restrictions “to achieve maximally” (p. 130) concluding that teachers could learn from children about the benefits of using two languages jointly in the lessons.

The final study that we have selected that takes code-switching into account is that by Littlewood and Yu (2011). They developed a framework to orient teachers in the use of the students' L1 in the foreign language classroom in order to maximize the learning of the target language. This framework comes as a response to the discrepancy in foreign language teaching on whether teachers should use the students' L1 in the target language classroom. They analysed previous studies, for example the use

of English in the French target language classroom in Canadian secondary schools as reported by Turnbull (2001) and by Turnbull and Arnett (2002) as well as the use of Korean in the English target language classroom in South Korean high schools reported by Liu, Ahn, Baek and Han (2004). Littlewood and Yu contrasted those studies with their own study in Hong Kong and Mainland China on the use of Cantonese and Putonghua in junior-secondary-school in English target language classrooms. Based on that study, they developed a framework for balancing the use of the students' L1 and the target language in the foreign language classroom.

Littlewood and Yu's framework, presented in Table 5, makes two distinctions based on the previous literature: first core goals referring to teaching the target language and framework goals referring to managing the classroom (Kim & Elder, 2005), and second strategic uses to serve pedagogical purposes and compensatory uses of the students' L1 to respond to a perceived problem (Pennington, 1995).

Table 5: Littlewood and Yu's framework of L1 use

<p>1. <u>Use of the L1 to achieve core goals:</u></p> <p>1.1 Strategic use of the L1 as planned aid to achieve language learning goals: Deliberately exploiting the L1 as a basis for learning (using the L1 for clarifying meaning, using the L1 as input or stimuli for TL use).</p> <p>1.2 Compensatory use of the L1 as an ad hoc 'crutch' to achieve language learning goals: The unplanned use of the L1 to deal with communication difficulties.</p> <p>2. <u>Use of the L1 to achieve framework goals:</u></p> <p>2.1 Strategic use of the L1 for affective and interpersonal support: The use of the L1 as a reassuring tool.</p> <p>2.2 Compensatory use of the L1 as an aid to classroom management: The use of the L1 for optimal set-up of the learning environment (for opening and closing lessons, managing the transition from one episode to the next, giving instructions...).</p>

In Table 5 we can see the two main uses of the L1 suggested by Littlewood and Yu. One would be more for learning reasons, as for clarifying meaning and to ease communication (1) and the other would be more for social and management reasons (2).

In order to achieve core goals or language learning goals (1), Littlewood and Yu distinguish a strategic use of the L1 (1.1) and a compensatory use of the L1 (1.2). On the one hand, the strategic use would be for example to use the L1 for clarifying the meaning of words, structures or sentences as well as the use of the L1 as input or stimuli to use the target language so that the students could progress faster. On the other hand, the compensatory use of the L1 would be when the teacher decides to use the L1 to deal with communicative difficulties that may arise. This unplanned use of the L1 may decrease as the students' level in the target language (TL) increases.

In regard to the use of the L1 to achieve framework goals, Littlewood and Yu also distinguish a strategic and a compensatory use of the L1. The strategic use would be to use the L1 for affective and interpersonal support, such as to reassure students when talking about a personal matter. And the compensatory use of the L1 would be for example when the teacher uses the L1 for classroom management reasons such as the opening and closing of the lesson or to give instructions of a task to complete.

We see that these uses of the students' L1 to maximize the learning of the target language can have more or less presence in the classroom depending on the target language skills the learners have developed. Thus, the strategic and compensatory use of the L1 might decrease as the learners' ability in the target language increases.

After presenting the five different categorizations, subcategorizations and functions of code-switching, next, we will present the similarities and differences we see among those categorizations and functions of code-switching and the use of L1 in the target language classroom. Thereafter in the next section, we will present our own code-switching function table that we have developed by taking into account the similarities and differences we found.

First of all, we have noted that all these authors, some more specifically than others, have distinguished two main reasons to use the L1 in the foreign language classroom. One is a more social reason and the other a more pedagogical reason. When we look in more detail, we see that various code-switching functions identified by the authors seem to overlap. For example, code-switching to create affectively a more inviting and friendlier learning atmosphere is categorized by Gierlinger (see table 1) as *regulative*

code-switching and more specifically as *behaviour management with language anxiety reducing function*. Under Lo's categorization (see table 2) that type of code-switching has a *social and affective function* and is for *building up warmer and friendlier atmosphere*. This latter Lo has taken from Lin's function number 3 (see table 3), *to establish a warmer and friendlier atmosphere*. Littlewood and Yu (see table 5) classify the same within the category of *the use of the L1 to achieve framework goals*, for *affective and interpersonal support as a reassuring tool*. That type of code-switching in these authors' opinion has not an instructive or pedagogical function but an affective and regulative function.

Second, we see that these authors also have overlapping categorizations with respect to distinguishing code-switching to encourage class participation. According to Gierlinger, *encouraging remarks* have a *regulative behaviour management* function and not instructional, while Lo categorizes it as *pedagogical classroom management* function. That coincides with code-switching according to Lin's number 6, *to encourage class participation*. Littlewood and Yu also categorize this as *using the L1 as stimuli for TL use to achieve core goals*, or instructional goals.

We note again that there is some overlap with the categorization of code-switching to give instructions or commands. Gierlinger distinguishes a range of functions (*giving instruction, making announcements, opening and closing lessons...*) within the *regulative classroom and task management* subcategory. Lo, meanwhile, includes such functions (*managing discipline, giving instructions or commands, arousing students' attention or focus*) within the *pedagogical classroom management* subcategory. This is the extended function categorization of what Lin identifies as number 2 *to highlight the importance or urgency of what he/she is saying* while

suspending the *usual rule to use L2*. Littlewood and Yu classify this use of L1 *to achieve framework goals* or for social and management reasons as *the compensatory use of L1 as an aid to classroom management*.

Third, we also find other similarities among the categorization of code-switching functions by these authors. For example, they agree in categorizing the translation of a word or concept as being instructional or pedagogic. Gierlinger categorizes that type of code-switching as *instructive code-switching with content and word focused* function. Lo also describes it as having *pedagogical function with content transmission purpose*, specifically numbers 8, 9 and 10. Lin defines it, number 4, as *to promote bilingual academic knowledge and help students understand the subject by giving a quick translation of vocabulary and terms*. In the same manner, Littlewood and Yu classify that use of the L1 as *a planned aid to achieve language learning goals*. We recognize Lewis et al.'s types 5, 6 and 8 as having a similar function of promoting bilingual academic knowledge.

We have found another similarity between Lin's number 7, *the teacher can help (the student) rephrase in L2*, and Littlewood and Yu's *compensatory use of the L1 to deal with communication difficulties*. In both cases the teacher can use the L1, in combination or not with the L2, to help the student produce in L2.

Fourth, we have also encountered a few striking differences among the categorization of code-switching made by these authors. For example, we see that types 1, 2 and 3 of Lewis et al.'s typology of two-language arrangement in bilingual classrooms (*monolingual use of one language*) are not observed in CLIL or EMI classes. Their type 4, *translanguaging* is not mentioned by any of the other authors. However, we realize that Lewis et

al.'s type 4 has similarities with Lin's function 6, *students can discuss and work in L1 and produce a final work in L2*, and with Littlewood and Yu's *strategic use of the L1 as planned aid to achieve language learning goals*.

Gierlinger's categorization of *instructive code-switching with deficit focused function* is not found in any of the categorizations by other authors. He identified teachers' code-switching due to *lack of knowledge of an English word* but none of the other authors we have analysed did so.

As stated above, based on the analysis of the different categorizations proposed by these authors, we will now develop our own scheme of functions of code-switching.

1.4.2 Our scheme of code-switching functions

We present here a table of code-switching functions that we have developed by taking into account the similarities and differences we have found and presented above.

We have developed our scheme of code-switching on the one hand, based on those similarities and differences we have found and on the other hand, following the direction set up by Gierlinger (2015), Lo (2015), Lin (2006), and Lewis et al. (2013) and the suggestions of Littlewood and Yu (2011) for an optimal use of the L1 for maximizing the learning of the target language.

Next we present in Table 6 the new Regulative-Instructional code-switching scheme (RICS) in which we distinguish between two main categories, each with a number of subcategories and the related function of code-switching. The categories and subcategories refer to the classification

of the type of code-switching and the function refers to the reason or purpose of code-switching.

Table 6: The Regulative-Instructional code-switching scheme (RICS)

CATEGORY	SUBCATEGORY	FUNCTION
Regulative	Behaviour/Classroom management	Managing discipline, making announcements and giving instructions.
	Social and affective	Reducing language anxiety, building up warmer and friendlier atmosphere and building up rapport with students.
Instructional	Vocabulary transmission	Quick translations of words and parallel translations of subject-related terminology.
	Content transmission	Explanations of difficult concepts and translations to ensure conceptual understanding of subject knowledge.
	Language awareness/Translanguaging	Development of language awareness/the use of two or more languages in a planned and systematic manner.

In Table 6 we see the two main categories that we want to separate. The first main category we call *regulative code-switching* and it consists, on the one hand, of behaviour and classroom managerial code-switching. This is the case when the L1 is used for managing discipline, making classroom announcements and giving instructions. On the other hand, the category consists of social and affective code-switching. In that case, the L1 is used to reduce language anxiety, to build up a friendlier and warmer atmosphere as well as rapport with the students. In general, the regulative code-

switching is using the L1 for maintaining a learning environment in the classroom.

The second main category, the *instructional code-switching* is the use of L1 for pedagogic purposes. This includes the use of L1 for vocabulary transmission, which is usually a quick translation or a parallel translation of words or subject related terminology. The category also includes the use of L1 for content transmission in the form of explanations of difficult concepts or translations to ensure conceptual understanding of subject knowledge. The category instructional code-switching also includes the use of two or more languages in a planned and systematic manner, which we will refer to as *translanguaging* following Lewis et al. (2013).

In addition to the code-switching categories and functions identified by previous researchers which we summarize in a new scheme in Table 6, we also recognized a number of other features of code-switching. We present those features in Table 7 because they are worth taking into account when studying language use in a multilingual setting. The features refer to the concrete characteristics of the code-switching instances in the case that we are studying in Basque education. In a multilingual context, such as the Basque Country, where students and teachers share the L1 and L2, and in addition an L3 is taught, it seems important to look at which are the languages used when code-switching and who is departing from the use of the target language (TL). In such contexts, the code-switching does not always occur by combining the TL with the L1, it might also be in combination with the L2 or even using both L1 and L2 in the same utterance. In those cases, we are interested to see what the reason of using one language, the minority or the dominant, or using both in the same utterance might be. In addition, we looked at possible reasons why teachers

code-switch in higher level TL classrooms. We differentiated between different types according to whether they do so spontaneously, as a result of a request, as a follow-up to students' code-switching, to break the pedagogical use of the TL or to introduce cognates. When the students code-switch, it is interesting to see how and why they do so taking the language and the type of reason into consideration.

In Table 7 we present the overview of the features we have differentiated according to three main categories each with several subcategories.

Table 7: Code-switching features

Main category	Subcategory
CS Producer	Teacher
	Student
CS Language	L1
	L2
	L1 and L2
CS Type	Spontaneous
	Requested
	Deliberate
	Follow-up
	Break in pedagogical use of TL
	Translation with cognates

As shown in Table 7, we find it meaningful to differentiate who is the producer of the code-switching (the teacher or a student), into which language the code-switch occurs (L1, L2 or L1 and L2) and the type of code-switching we can distinguish (spontaneous, requested, deliberate, follow-up, break in pedagogical use of TL or translation with cognates).

The code-switching can be produced by the teacher or by a student or students and we are interested to see whether the reason for code-switching varies depending on the producer. Regarding the type of code-switching, the spontaneous code-switching refers to the code-switching that is done without a prior planning. The code-switching may also occur upon request; this is for example, when someone (the teacher or a student) asks for the meaning of a word. A deliberate code-switching refers to the type of code-switching produced consciously, for example, to clarify the meaning of a concept. The code-switching that happens as a follow-up refers to the instance when someone code-switches after someone else's code-switching. For example when the teacher repeats what a student has said in another language to reaffirm what the student has said. Code-switching of the type of break in pedagogical use of TL indicates the code-switching, usually by the teacher, to highlight a message that would have not been transmitted successfully without code-switching. This is what Lin (2013) calls "a radical break in the English pedagogic frame" (p. 7).

We also added the subcategory of translation with cognates as means of vocabulary expansion. Cognates are words that in different languages are etymologically related and thus have similar form and meaning. The reason for including this is that we encountered this in our lessons and it is done for potential instructive reason. Some authors have shown an interest in cognate recognition instruction to promote more effective language learning. Lubiner and Hiebert (2011) conducted a study on Spanish-English cognates and concluded that if bilingual students learn to infer the meaning of cognates, they will have access to much more general academic words present in a variety of content areas. They added that if bilinguals (Spanish-English) are taught to identify cognates their comprehension in English will enhance. In a more recent study of the role of the L1 Spanish on the

literacy development of the Latino students in the USA, Arteagoitia and Howard (2015) found that Spanish word knowledge contributed to both English word knowledge and English reading comprehension. Escamilla, Hopewell, Butvilofsky, Sparrow, Soltero-González, Ruiz-Figueroa, and Escamilla (2014) recommend teachers to explicitly instruct students on what cognates are and how they work across languages on the bases that “knowing cognates can help students become more sophisticated readers and writers in both languages” (p. 71).

1.5 Writing skills of multilingual students

In this section we examine studies carried out in the field of writing paying attention to proficiency, cross-linguistic transfer and influence and the process of writing by multilingual students.

1.5.1 The effect of bilingualism on L3 writing proficiency

Research on multilingualism, shows that bilingualism has an influence on general proficiency in the third language. For example, Bild and Swain (1989) and Swain, Lapkin, Rowen and Hart (1990) conducted studies in Canadian bilingual programmes to compare the proficiency level attained by learners of French as L2 and immigrant students who were learning French as L3. The results indicated that bilingual students’ performance in French was higher than those of monolingual students. Other studies on third language acquisition were also conducted in regions where one of the languages is a minority language. In Spain, English is learned as L3 in bilingual regions and several studies have compared the learning of English by monolingual Spanish speakers and by bilingual speakers who speak Spanish and a regional language. One of those studies was carried out in

the Basque Country by Cenoz and Valencia (1994) and they reported the positive effect of bilingualism on the acquisition of the L3 when comparing the writing skills of bilingual and monolingual learners of English. A replication study was carried out in Catalonia by Sanz (2000). She compared the acquisition of L3 by 77 monolingual Spanish secondary students and 124 bilingual Spanish/Catalan secondary students and confirmed the results obtained by Cenoz and Valencia (1994). Another study involving Catalan, Spanish and English was carried out by Safont (2005) who focused on more specific writing abilities by comparing the acquisition of requests in English by Spanish-monolinguals and Catalan-Spanish bilinguals. Her results show that bilinguals have developed a higher level of pragmatic awareness and obtained better scores than monolinguals when formulating requests in English as third language.

Some other studies in the Basque Country have looked at writing skills in English as a third language. One of the studies carried out in the Basque Country is that of Sagasta (2003) with 155 secondary school students. Half of the subjects in the study used Basque at home and the other half used Spanish at home and both groups had Basque as the main language of instruction. After analysing the students' writings (a letter to a host family in England) using the profile created by Jacobs, Zinkgraf, Wormuth, Hartfiel and Hughey (1981), Sagasta came to the conclusion that those students who used Basque at home outperformed their peers in writing in Basque, probably because they are high users of Basque outside school. The results in Spanish showed that there were no differences among the students who spoke Basque at home and those who spoke Spanish at home (see also Cenoz, Arocena & Gorter, 2013). She concluded that students transferred the writing skills acquired through instruction in the minority language when writing in the dominant language. The students who spoke

Basque at home also performed better in English. The results confirmed the influence of the level of language competence in each language because those students who scored high in Basque and Spanish also scored high in English. “Students who make active use of the minority language in the Basque Country are highly competent speakers of both Basque and Spanish and it is probably this degree of bilingualism that gives them an advantage over their mainly Spanish-speaking peers when confronted with a third language (...) language use outside the curriculum plays an important role as results in this study” (p.40) She also found that all the measurements (*fluency, grammatical complexity, lexical complexity* and *accuracy*) in Basque, Spanish and English were highly correlated in the case of the students who used Basque at home, thus writing in each of the languages is not an independent process.

The Basque Institute for Research and Evaluation in Education (ISEI-IVEI, 2015) evaluated the writing competence in English of 2,833 students in 2nd grade of the compulsory secondary education. In this evaluation the students enrolled in model D schooling (Basque as medium of instruction) outperformed their peers enrolled in the other two models, model A (Spanish as medium of instruction) and model B (roughly 50-50% in Basque and Spanish).

Some other studies conducted in the Basque Country have related writing to other factors in language learning. For example, Doiz and Lasagabaster (2004) analysed the level of proficiency in English of two groups of students enrolled in the last two grades of secondary education; both of the same age but with different amount of exposure to the foreign language English. One group started with English lessons at age 8 and the other group started at age 11. The results showed that those who had had a longer

exposure to English scored higher than the other group and that the differences in the overall score between both groups were significant. Significant were also the differences in score of the writing dimensions *organization*, *vocabulary* and *language use*, but not in the other two dimensions of *content* and *mechanics*.

Also in the Basque Country, Ruíz de Zarobe (2010) carried out a study with students who had had CLIL lessons and students who had had traditional English as a foreign language lessons. The study involved the analysis of these students' writings. The outcomes show that CLIL students achieved higher scores than those in regular programmes when writing in English as a third language.

1.5.2 Cross-linguistic interaction and multilingual writing

As we have been saying, multilinguals have traditionally been compared to native speakers of different languages and they have been expected to be a combination of two or more individuals. However, various academics lately have proposed to replace this monolingual lens by a multilingual lens which looks at multilinguals' skills from a holistic perspective without isolating their skills in each of the languages (Cook, 2013; Cenoz & Gorter, 2011, 2014; García, 2009; Cummins, 2014). This multilingual view has some implications when looking at the writings by bilinguals and multilingual speakers

According to the concept of multicompetence developed by Cook (2013), the languages used by multilinguals are part of a connected system. Cook considers that the L1 and L2 are overlapping in the mind of the bilingual speaker. When researching second language acquisition (SLA) attention

has been paid to the effects of the first language on the second; phenomena such as transfer and cross-linguistic influence have always been seen as being from the L1 to the L2. However, as the languages are connected in the language user's mind it is possible for the L2 to influence the L1.

Studies on cross-linguistic *influence* and cross-linguistic *transfer* refer to the influence various languages can have on one another (Odlin, 2012; Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008; De Angelis, 2007). The term *transfer* denotes to move something from one place to another, in this case from one language into another, and in reference to transfer across languages, it usually denotes from the L1 into the L2. The term *influence* evidences having an effect on something else, in this case, a language causing an effect on another. Traditionally, researchers have focused on the influence the L1 has on the L2, but in the last years the study of cross-linguistic influence has also focused on the influence of the first and second languages on third language acquisition and on the influence of the L2 and additional languages on the first language.

Multilingual speakers due to their extensive linguistic repertoire have more than one language at their disposal as source. Having more than one source bears to multiple and multi-directional interaction among the languages (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008). Studies in third language acquisition report that L3 learners are influenced by their first and second languages (Cenoz, Hufeisen & Jessner, 2001; Cenoz, 2009; De Angelis, 2007). Cross-linguistic influence can occur not only from the L1 but also from the non-native languages because a multilingual speaker has more than the L1 to transfer from. The influence of the non-native language has been found in lexis, phonetics and phonology, morphology and syntax, pragmatics and discourse (De Angelis, 2007; Safont, 2005). De Angelis (2007) even talks

about transfer occurring from more than one language at the same time, which she calls “combined cross-linguistic influence (CLI)” (p.132). This phenomenon usually happens when the languages involved belong to the same family and to the same subgroup within the family. It has also been found out that multilingual speakers tend to transfer from languages that are typologically closer. For example, Cenoz (2003) found that Basque-Spanish bilinguals who are learning a third language transfer more lexical terms from Spanish than from Basque both when Basque is the L1 or the L2. Apart from typology, L2 status and language proficiency in the source and target languages have been identified as factors that can affect cross-linguistic influence (Hammarberg, 2001; Bardel & Falk, 2007; De Angelis, 2007).

Another interesting aspect of cross-linguistic influence is reverse transfer, which is the influence from a later acquired language back to an earlier acquired one. There are some studies that show that bilinguals’ L1 is affected by their L2 in aspects such as phonology (Zampini & Green, 2001), lexicon (Spivey & Marian, 1999), syntax (Cook, Iarossi, Stellakis, & Tokumaru, 2003) and pragmatics (Pavlenko, 2003). Tsang (2016) analysed reverse transfer in the case of Chinese students who had acquired English as a second language and French as a third language and found evidence of reverse transfer in writing. Cenoz and Gorter (2011) saw that multilinguals borrow items they need in one language from the other languages in their repertoire. They found that those borrowings were transfers and influences that happened multi-directionally and emphasized that multilinguals are individuals that cross the boundaries among languages established by monolingual instructional assumptions. When multilinguals face a limitation when writing in a weaker language, they tend to draw on the full scope of their linguistic repertoire to solve those

limitations. This can also be seen in the study conducted by Tullock and Fernández-Villanueva (2013). In this study, conducted in Catalonia in Spain, the participants were 26 upper secondary students enrolled in a trilingual school (German/Spanish/Catalan) and learning two foreign languages (English and French). The results showed that multilingual writers do employ all the resources in their linguistic repertoire to overcome lexical limitations by code-switching and borrowing from multiple languages. They also concluded that it was more likely to activate the languages used daily and thus borrow more from those languages. These findings are consistent with proposals that take the whole linguistic repertoire into account using the resources multilinguals have in their minds (Cook, 2013; Cenoz & Gorter, 2011, 2014; García, 2009; Cummins, 2014).

Cross-linguistic influence is obviously related to the interaction of different systems in the multilingual speaker's mind but this interaction can go beyond the borrowing of linguistic elements across languages. Some studies have explored the interaction between languages in multilingual writing.

Cenoz and Gorter (2011) conducted an exploratory study on the writing abilities multilinguals achieve and the writing strategies multilinguals use. After analysing the compositions written by 165 secondary education students in three languages, Basque, Spanish and English side by side, they found that multilinguals share some strategies across the different languages in their repertoire. They reported that cross-linguistic interaction was not limited to grammar, vocabulary or spelling but also to content and organization. They found that the student who uses an organizational strategy in one language uses the same strategy in the other languages. For

example, students would organize paragraphs in the same way in different languages or use similar strategies when writing about different topics in each of the three languages. Cenoz and Gorter (2011) emphasize the multilingual learner as an individual with two or more languages in his or her repertoire that develops writing competences acquired in one language and shares across languages. This finding has an important potential for language teaching because similarities in content and organization highlight the importance of integrating languages in the curriculum and reinforcing the same writing strategies in different languages.

Another research study looking at writing from a multilingual holistic perspective was reported by Soltero-González, Escamilla and Hopewell (2012). This study looks at teachers' perceptions when evaluating emerging bilinguals' writing abilities in Spanish and in English. A group of 36 bilingual teachers in the USA were asked to assess writing compositions of their emerging bilingual students, in Spanish and English, after being trained to use a rubric to measure strengths and weaknesses as well as the bilingual strategies used by the students. With the study, the researchers aimed at showing how a "holistic bilingual view" (p. 72) better captures the writing abilities of bilinguals and the transfers of those abilities across languages. Through the holistic bilingual lens and comparing the students' writings in both languages, the teachers could find out about the writing competences students have achieved as bilinguals. Soltero-González et al. added that emerging bilinguals use all their linguistic resources when learning to write in two languages and "employ a variety of bilingual strategies at the word, sentence, and discourse level" (p.86). They show how students transferred across languages at the level of syntax, phonetics and lexis. Interestingly, some of the transfers at the lexis level were "*nativized*" so that words originating in one language were changed

morphologically to incorporate the structure of the other language (e.g. ‘spláchate/to splash yourself)’ (p. 79). Soltero et al. (2012) concluded highlighting the need for a more holistic assessment tool to evaluate bilinguals’ language proficiency and also the need for teachers to “use a holistic bilingual lens when interpreting the writing of emerging bilingual children” (p. 86).

Another study showing the interaction between the languages used by multilinguals in writing was carried out in South Tyrol, Italy by De Angelis and Jessner (2012). They conducted the study with 8th grade students who attended an Italian school; their L1 was Italian, L2 was German and L3 was English. After analysing the students’ written compositions in each of the languages they concluded that there is a strong interdependence among the three languages as those who wrote longer in the L3 English also performed better in the L2 German. Another study is the one carried out by Muñoz (2000) in the Spanish region of Catalonia. She found significant correlations between Catalan, Spanish and English so those who scored high in the L1 and L2 also scored high in English (L3). Kobayashi and Rinnert (2013) in a study conducted in Japan also confirmed the interaction between languages. They carried out a longitudinal case study of a multilingual writer (L1 Japanese, L2 English and L3 Chinese) and analysed this writer’s written essays and composing processes as related to individual and social factors. After examining the essays in Japanese, English and Chinese, Kobashi and Rinnert found evidence that the writer crossed the boundaries among the three languages. For example, in addition to using the same discourse type in the three essays, there were other common text features such as the topic sentence and components of the conclusion and the use of personal examples in the three essays. The

authors also found other features that were shared in two out of the three essays.

In sum, it can be said that all these studies indicate that there is an important interaction between the languages multilinguals have in their linguistic repertoire. However these relationships are not usually taken into account when assessing multilingualism.

In fact, the assessment of multilingual students' writing ability has followed the same direction as instruction has for the last decades. Multilingual students' proficiency in writing has also been measured under a monolingual lens, assessing writing ability in each of the languages in the repertoire of the multilingual student and comparing it to the proficiency level of a native speaker of each of the languages. However, authors such as Cenoz and Gorter (2011) have started to recommend not using the monolingual speaker as the reference because multilingual speakers have "special characteristics when learning and using languages" (p. 367). The studies in this section show the need for a more holistic multilingual view when assessing multilingual speakers' language abilities. Some are the voices that have lately emerged demanding a change of view regarding the assessment of multilingual speakers and taking into account all the languages in their repertoire in combination rather than in separation. For example, Shohamy (2011) states that using monolingual-based testing tools discriminates some of the abilities and knowledge of multilinguals. She also adds that as those assessment tools are for testing monolinguals they only accept one variety of the language, the native variety, which is almost unreachable for L2 learners. Shohamy points out that there is a need to look into the advances in language learning, teaching and use and to incorporate the findings in constructing an assessment tool that takes into account the

unique competences and advantages bilinguals possess even if they are not proficient in a language. It seems that the growing interest in a multilingual view rather than the monolingual view when researching multilingualism has also affected the assessment of multilingual speakers' writing proficiency even though most assessment of multilingual writing is still carried out from a monolingual perspective (Cenoz & Gorter, 2016).

In general, to summarize the sections on the theoretical background related to the beliefs of teachers regarding multilingual education, code-switching in the language classroom and the writing proficiency and skills of multilingual students, it must be said that a non-native language teacher is also an L2 or L3 user who has acquired the additional language or languages. So he or she can guide and model the learning of those languages to the students and can also code-switch and translate for the students, activating all languages in their linguistic repertoire. In this way, previously learned languages can support the acquisition of additional languages.

In this chapter we have presented the theoretical framework on which we base our research questions. We have examined the concept of multilingualism in general and we have presented new approaches in multilingual research and education through a focus on multilingualism. The theoretical background on beliefs and more specifically in relation to multilingualism and teachers' beliefs, have also been presented. We have also introduced the code-switching categories and functions applied by other researchers in this field and after analysing them, we have proposed a new code-switching framework with categories and functions of code-switching. In addition, we have included a proposal for code-switching analysis with features that are present in multilingual classrooms. Finally a

summary of current theory and research done in the field of writing skills of multilingual students has been outlined.

Next, in chapter 2, we will present the rationale, the research questions and the context in which we have carried out our research.

CHAPTER 2

RATIONALE, RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND CONTEXT OF THE STUDIES

In the previous chapter we have presented the theoretical background that is relevant for the aim of this thesis so as to provide the basis for the three studies that have been carried out in Basque multilingual schools. In this chapter we look at the rationale of the studies, the research questions and the context.

2.1 Rationale

As it has already been said in the introduction, the aim of this thesis is double. On the one hand, we aim at exploring the extent to which a multilingual focus is already used in the context of Basque multilingual education. On the other hand, we aim at finding out if there is a pedagogical basis to implement or to extend the implementation of a multilingual focus in Basque schools.

These aims are related to the new trends in the study of multilingualism that we have seen in the previous chapter which are particularly relevant in the Basque Country because all students have at least three languages in the curriculum. Furthermore, there have been some attempts to integrate the different languages. Recent educational regulations for primary and secondary education aim at focusing on what the languages have in common by developing multilingual competences (Basque Government, 2016).

In order to achieve the aims of this thesis triangulation was used as a strategy to obtain data from three different studies. According to Jang, Wagner and Park (2014) triangulation “involves independent data collection and analysis and joint interpretations at a synthesis stage” and “is used to confirm and cross-validate findings while offsetting biases associated with different methods” (p. 129). Triangulation in this thesis involves obtaining data from teachers, from the interactions between teachers and students and students among themselves and from students. The participants in the three studies were either from the two last years of primary school or from the last three years of secondary school. It is in the last years of primary school when the students get different teachers for school subjects and integration becomes more challenging. As it has already been said in the introduction, education in the Basque Country has shifted from Basque-Spanish bilingualism to multilingualism as an aim for all students. The three studies here look at multilingualism including at least three languages. Study 1 examines teachers’ beliefs, Study 2 code-switching in the classroom and Study 3 students’ written production. The advantage of triangulation is that we obtained information both from teachers and students and from interaction between them by using different instruments as we will see in the next chapter.

2.2 Research questions

The main aim of this research study is to analyse to what extent there is a multilingual focus already used in the context of Basque multilingual education and to finding out if there is a pedagogical basis to implement or to extend the implementation of a multilingual focus in Basque schools.

Taking into account the aim of this thesis a number of aspects of language use and language education will be examined by answering the following research questions:

1. What are the beliefs of teachers concerning multilingualism?
 - 1.1 What are the beliefs of teachers concerning the multilingual speaker?
 - 1.2 What are the beliefs of teachers concerning the whole multilingual repertoire?
 - 1.3 What are the beliefs of teachers concerning the influence of the social context?

2. What are the characteristics of code-switching in the English language classroom?
 - 2.1 When does code-switching happen in the English language classroom?
 - 2.2 What are the functions of code-switching in the classroom?
 - 2.3 How do multilingual speakers take advantage of (or miss opportunities to use) their language resources?
 - 2.4 Does multilingual teachers' perception of their language use match with the observed language use in their classes?

3. What are the writing skills of multilingual writers?
 - 3.1 Are there any differences in writing competence between the students who use Basque with their parents and those who use Spanish with their parents?
 - 3.2 Are there any differences in the cross-linguistic transfers between the students who use Basque with their parents and those who use Spanish with their parents?
 - 3.3 What characteristics do multilingual writers transfer across languages?

2.3 The context of the study

This section provides general information regarding the educational system in the Basque Autonomous Community (referred to as the Basque Country throughout this thesis). We will focus mainly on the educational level about which we carried out this PhD project and we will present different aspects of multilingual education in the Basque Country.

Education in the Basque Country is compulsory for students between the ages of 6 and 16; nevertheless, most children go to pre-primary school from the age of 3 and attend day-care centres from an earlier age (0-2). Although pre-primary education is not compulsory it is part of the educational system. Compulsory education is structured in two levels: primary education and secondary education. Primary education serves students aged between 6 and 12 years old and secondary education caters students from 12 to 16 years of age.

Primary education consists of six grades grouped in three cycles; grades 1 and 2 correspond to the first cycle, grades 3 and 4 correspond to the second cycle and grades 5 and 6 are the third cycle. In secondary education there are 4 compulsory grades and there are two additional non-compulsory grades for those students (aged 16-18) aiming to continue their education at the tertiary level. In this study, we focus our research on the last two years of primary education, thus the third cycle, as well as on the last three grades of compulsory secondary education.

There are two types of schools in the Basque Country: public and private. Public schools belong to and are fully funded by the Basque Government. Private schools can be either fully funded or partly funded by the Basque

Government, but parents need to pay a fee. Private schools can be of religious orientation or not. Within the private schools there are those known as *concertadas/itunpekoak* (English=under an agreement, meaning that they are partially funded by the Government) which are usually Catholic schools, and those known as *ikastolak*, which are Basque medium schools organized in a network (*Ikastolen Elkartea*).

The educational system in Spain is, in general terms, the same all over the state. The general educational laws of the central Spanish Government prevail over the regional laws of the Basque Government and thus put limits on its autonomy. The end result for the educational system is a complex whole of laws, regulations and decrees. Nonetheless, there are differences according to the languages of instruction and the subjects in the curriculum. In the Basque Country Spanish and Basque are both official languages and compulsory in education. In 1982 the Law of Normalization of the Basque was passed and according to that law both languages Basque and Spanish became compulsory in schools and the law also defined three linguistic models (Etxeberria & Etxeberria, 2015). In addition it was stipulated that all parents have the right to choose the model of language education they would like to enrol their children in. These are the three bilingual models:

- Model A: Instruction is in Spanish and Basque is a subject. Originally this model was intended for Spanish L1 students who wished to be instructed in Spanish.
- Model B: Both Spanish and Basque are languages of instruction for about 50% of the time. Originally this model was intended for Spanish L1 students who wished to be bilingual.

- Model D¹: Instruction is in Basque and Spanish is a subject. Originally this model was intended for Basque L1 students who wished to be instructed in Basque.

Over the years, instruction in model A has declined and model D has increased due to a variety of reasons as we show in Figure 1. One important reason is that, as research shows (Gardner, 2000), students enrolled in model D become proficient in both Basque and Spanish while the other two models do not guarantee the same high level of proficiency in Basque. As a consequence, nowadays most children in the Basque Country receive instruction in Basque regardless of their mother tongue.

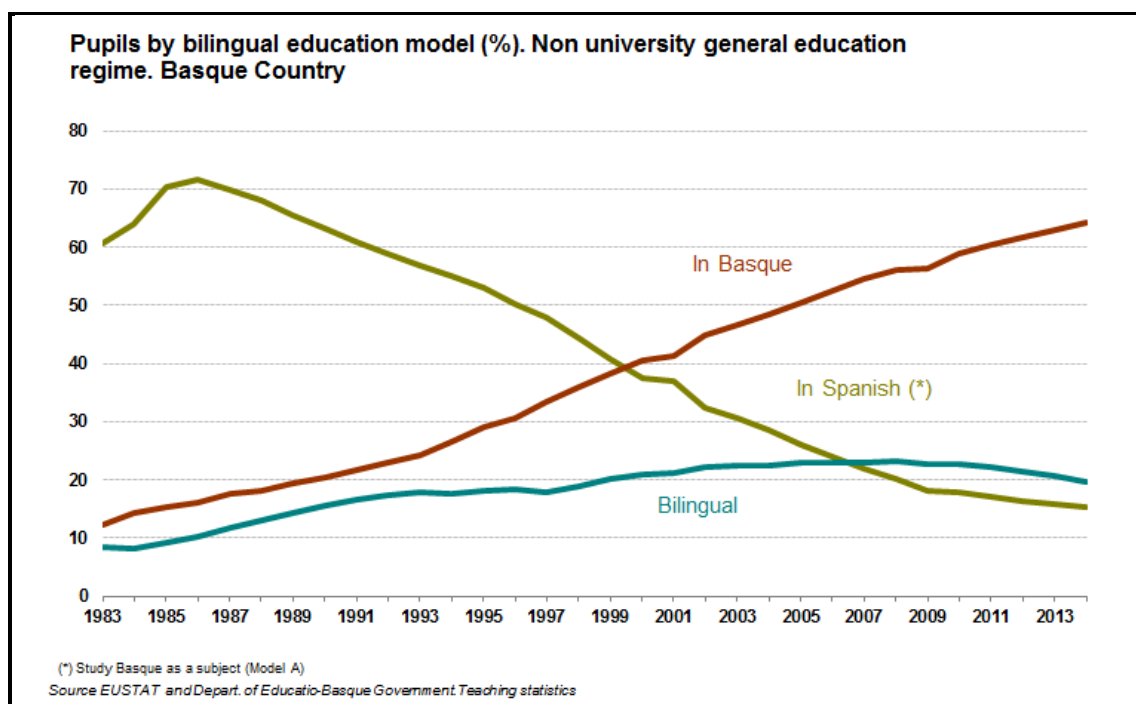


Figure 1: Evolution of enrolment in the three bilingual models.

Apart from the use of both Basque and Spanish for instruction, English has a firm presence in the Basque schools too. In both primary and secondary compulsory education, English is taught alongside Basque and Spanish in

¹ There is no model C because there is no letter “c” in the Basque alphabet.

all three bilingual models and is often used as an additional language of instruction. Thus nowadays, education in the Basque Country is considered to be multilingual because the Basque students receive their education in at least three languages: the minority language Basque, the dominant language Spanish and the foreign language English. All schools in the Basque Country aim at multilingual education for all students regardless of the type of school since “it (multilingual education) is spread to all schools” (Cenoz, 2009, p. 49). Due to the increasing interest of parents for their children to learn English and due to the limited exposure to English outside school, English was introduced in pre-primary schools starting in the 1990’s. Nowadays it is taught starting in pre-primary level when students are four years old and sometimes even at the age of three.

In the case of the *Ikastolak* network it was decided to introduce English at the age of four with the purpose of taking advantage of the ability to learn languages in those early years and increase the total amount of time offered to English throughout compulsory education (Elorza & Muñoa, 2008). In the case of the public schools, the early introduction of English in schools was also done in order to provide students with more instruction time and thus be able to have instruction through the medium of English in higher grades (Cenoz, 2009). Nowadays, and as a result of the idea that an earlier start with the foreign language and thus a longer exposure to it would result in higher proficiency levels (Gorter & Cenoz, 2011), English is offered from the age of four (or earlier) in 90% of the schools even though it is not compulsory until the age of six (Cenoz, 2009).

Around the mid 1990’s, the Department of Education of the Basque Government designed a project to implement English as a medium of instruction in secondary school influenced by the teaching through the

medium of Basque, the immersion programme in Canada, Content Based Instruction (CBI) and Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) (Cenoz, 2009). Initially only a few schools took part in that project but many other schools started to follow and also taught content through the medium of English. Now it is a practice implemented widely in public and private schools. In the public schools each school decides what content subject to teach through the medium of English², but it usually comprises a few units in the last cycle of primary education and social and natural science subjects in compulsory secondary education. The network of *Ikastolak* has a multilingual project (*Eleanitz Project*³) in place for students from age 4 to age 16. This includes the teaching of certain units of Science, Geography, Music, Technology, History, Literature and ICT through the medium of English in the first two years of compulsory secondary education (12-14 years old) and the teaching of social science (Geography and History) through the medium of English in the last two years of compulsory secondary education (14-16 years old). Thus the three languages can be used to teach content in the schools but since the language education policy strongly aims at the revitalization of the minority language, the position of Basque in schools is on average much stronger than of the other two languages.

The minimum number of hours of instruction for each language is specified by the Basque Department of Education in its curriculum guidelines. We show in Table 8 the minimum hours of instruction per language and per educational grade.

² http://www.hezkuntza.ejgv.euskadi.eus/r43-5473/eu/contenidos/informacion/dia2/eu_2023/adjuntos/decretos_curriculares/dc_educ_basic_e.pdf

³ http://www.eleanitz.org/public/Eleanitz_Project

Table 8: Minimum number of hours of instruction per language and per grade

Subject	Primary school grades						Secondary school grades			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4
Basque Language and Literature	4	4	4	4	4	3.5	4	4	3	3
Spanish Language and Literature	4	4	4	4	4	3.5	4	4	3	3
English/EMI	2	2	3	3	2.5	2.5	4	3	3	3

Since both kindergarten and pre-primary are not compulsory, there are no minimum hours of language instruction prescribed. In primary school, Basque and Spanish have to be taught for at least 4 hours per week in the first five grades whereas for at least 3,5 hours in the last year of primary education. English has to be taught for at least 2 hours per week in the 1st cycle (grades 1 and 2), for at least 3 hours in the 2nd cycle (grades 3 and 4) and for at least 2.5 hours per week in the 3rd cycle (grades 5 and 6). The Department of Education, Language Policy and Culture of the Basque Government has presented a new plan, *Heziberri 2020*⁴, to be implemented by the year 2020. In this plan, the hours of instruction of each language are also defined. The minimum hours of instruction of Basque and Spanish remain unchanged and the hours of instruction of English are incremented in the last cycle of primary education, from 2.5 hours to 3 hours per week in 5th and 6th grades.

In compulsory secondary education, the teaching of Basque and Spanish needs to be for at least 4 hours in the first two grades and for at least 3,5 hours in the last two grades. The instruction of English has to be for at least 4 hours weekly in the first grade and for at least 3 hours in the last three

⁴ <https://www.euskadi.eus/y22-bopv/es/bopv2/datos/2016/01/1600141e.pdf>

grades. However, according to the new plan *Heziberri 2020*, the hours of instruction of English in the last year of compulsory education are increased from 3 hours to 4 hours per week.

Regarding the language used for instruction, in principle each school (or schools' network) decides which subjects are taught through the medium of which language but in the case of Basque and Spanish, it depends on the bilingual model. Most schools follow one model, but there are also many schools that have two streams, for example a B and a D model can be found in the same school for different groups of children. Many schools also shift gradually over the grade years from one model, for example A, to the next, for example B. In the case of English medium instruction, it is most common that Social Studies and Natural Sciences in secondary education are taught through English but not all schools follow the same pattern and there are many variations.

Teacher education in the Basque Country is different for future primary school teachers and future secondary school teachers. Pre-primary and primary school teachers need to hold a Bachelor's degree from a university in one of the subject areas of specialization available: pre-primary education, primary education, special education, physical education, foreign language (English) education or music education. Future secondary education teachers usually obtain first a Bachelor's degree in their area of specialization and then later a postgraduate certificate in pedagogy and didactics for their school subject. In addition, and in order to be able to teach the Basque language or to teach through the medium of the Basque language, teachers need to hold the certificate of language proficiency (*Euskararen Gaitasun Agiria-EGA*). This certificate of proficiency can be acquired through an examination. After the Law of Normalization of the

Basque language was passed in 1982, the number of teachers with high levels of fluency and literacy in Basque has tremendously increased to “80% of public school teachers (...and) approximately 63% of the teachers in the private network” (Cenoz, 2009, p. 67).

Thus education in the Basque Country is multilingual and this study was designed to explore the beliefs of language teachers and the language use by teachers and students in such context and its outcomes.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

In the previous chapters we have described the multilingual context of education in the Basque Country and we have provided a theoretical background on multilingualism, beliefs, code-switching and multilingual writing. In the second chapter, we presented the rationale, the research questions that we want to answer in our study and the context of this PhD project. Our research questions cover three main aspects of language use in the context of multilingual education and the study has been designed as having three parts.

The three studies that together constitute this PhD project on multilingual education are related to the data collected in the context of a much larger project carried out over a period of five years. That project was called “*The Added Value of Multilingualism and Diversity in Educational Contexts*” and consisted of a comparative investigation of different aspects of multilingual education in two European regions, the Basque Country and the Province of Friesland in the Netherlands. In both regions three languages are used as language of instruction in education; a minority language (Basque and Frisian), a dominant language in society (Spanish and Dutch) and a foreign language (English in both cases). The project was carried out based on an agreement between the Government of the Basque Autonomous Community (Department of Education, Language Policy and Culture) and the Fryske Akademy (Mercator European Research Centre on Multilingualism and Language Learning) that ran from 2009 to 2014.

As a result, a series of five reports was published on topics related to multilingual education in the Basque Country and in the Province of Friesland. The first report, published in 2010, was entitled “*Frisian and Language Education in Friesland; the role and position of Frisian in the province of Friesland and in Frisian education*” (Douwes, Hanenburg & Lotti, 2010). The report describes the Frisian educational system in detail and focuses on the position of Frisian and the other two languages in education.

The second report was published with the title “*Frisian and Basque Multilingual Education: A Comparison of the Province of Friesland and the Basque Autonomous Community*” (Arocena, Douwes, Hanenburg, Cenoz & Gorter 2010). The aim of the report was an in-depth comparison of the education systems in both regions, with a special focus on the teaching and learning of languages.

The third report had as a title “*Multilingualism in Secondary Education: A Case Study of the Province of Friesland and the Basque Autonomous Community*” (De Vries & Arocena, 2012) and it contains a more specific description of the use of languages inside and outside the classroom of secondary school students. In addition, teachers’ attitudes towards languages and their use in schools were presented.

The fourth report is entitled “*The multilingual classroom in primary education in the Basque Country and Friesland*” (Arocena & Gorter, 2013). This report focuses on the experiences and the needs of language teachers in primary education.

The fifth and final report is “*English language teaching in secondary education and the use of English outside school; a comparison of the Basque Country and Friesland*” (Arocena & Popma, 2014). The report deals only with a comparison about English, its teaching inside the schools and its use among young people in society outside the school. A particular focus was placed on the didactics of English language teaching in secondary education and on the exposure to and use of the English language by secondary school students.

The five reports can be read independently from each other and also separate from this thesis. The current PhD project is based upon, but not a part of, the larger project described above. Our project is derived from a need to go beyond the policy oriented comparison of two situations and to study more in-depth the situation of multilingualism and multilingual education in the Basque Country. It is based on a large part of the data that were collected in the previous project, but that had not been analysed as thoroughly as they will be here. As it has already been said in the previous chapter, this thesis was designed to have three different parts, each of which was conceived of as a separate study and each study corresponds with the three main research questions that were presented in chapter 2.

3.2 Methodologies of the three studies

In this section we will describe the different methodologies that we have used in order to collect and analyse data for each of the three studies that together build up this PhD project.

For a better understanding of the reality of multilingualism in the Basque schools this PhD project explores from three different angles language

teaching and language learning and how multilingual speakers use their languages in a formal, academic context. We collected different sets of qualitative and quantitative data by using different instruments which were all part of the three studies of this project.

Study 1 about teachers' beliefs was designed with the aim to answer our research question *What are the beliefs of teachers concerning multilingualism?* including the sub-questions derived from that main question. Study 2 on code-switching to and from English, was developed around the research question *What are the characteristics of code-switching in the English language classroom?* and its related sub-questions. In study 3 about writing, we aim to answer the research question about *What are the writing skills of multilingual writers?* and its related sub-questions.

We will present in the next sections for each study a description of the sample of subjects that participated in the study. We will also describe the instruments used to collect the data during each stage and we will give an explanation of the data collection procedures and how the data were subsequently analysed.

3.2.1 Study one: teachers' beliefs

In this section we will present the methods used to collect the data for this study on teachers' beliefs. First, we describe the subjects that participated in the study and second, we describe the instruments used for collecting the data. Third, we explain the procedures we followed to collect the data and how we carried out its subsequent analysis.

Participants

In this study, we selected a group of 33 teachers from Basque primary schools. For the purpose of collecting data to study the beliefs of teachers regarding multilingual education, we needed a group of teachers that could somehow represent different sociolinguistic and socioeconomic areas in the Basque Country. The first step was to select a number of primary schools and thereafter, at each school, the selection of the teachers to be interviewed.

The criteria we used to select the schools were as follows.

- 1) We wanted to have schools in the three provinces that constitute the Basque Autonomous Community (so from Araba, Bizkaia and Gipuzkoa).
- 2) The schools had to have a size of at least 200 students at the primary school level.
- 3) We needed to have schools representing the three most common types of schools in the Basque Country: public, *concertadas/itunpekoak* (government funded private schools) and *ikastola*.
- 4) The schools had to be located in different sociolinguistic and socioeconomic environments.

More or less at random we started to contact several primary schools in different places in the Basque Country and we found ten schools that confirmed their willingness to participate. The geographical distribution of schools according to the three provinces is as follows: one school in the province of Araba, three schools in the province of Bizkaia and six schools in the province of Gipuzkoa. The number of students enrolled in the schools varied from the smallest school that served about 200 students to the largest centre that served about 600 students from pre-primary and

primary level. In terms of the type of school, three schools were public, other three were private from the network of *Ikastolak* (*Ikastolen Elkarte*, the Federation of Basque Schools) and the other four schools were *concertadas/itunpekoak* schools. The sociolinguistic environment also varied and six schools were located in more Basque speaking areas (> 40% Basque speakers) and four schools in more Spanish speaking areas (<40% Basque speakers).

Once the ten schools had confirmed their participation, through the direct contact with the school management, we could proceed to select the teachers of each school. The prerequisite for the teachers to participate in the study was that they had to be language teachers in the two highest grades of primary education (students aged 10 to 12) who taught at least one language (which could be Basque, Spanish or English). Because these are primary school teachers, most of them combine teaching a language as a subject with teaching content areas as well but it is in these last two years of primary school when the distribution of specific times for each of the three languages takes place. This was very important for our study because it is when the isolation of the languages becomes more evident. In the end we succeeded to interview a total of 33 teachers.

This group of primary school teachers has the following characteristics. Among the 33 teachers, 26 were female and seven male. So we have an overrepresentation of women, but this reflects rather well the ratios in primary education nowadays. Their ages varied from 22 to 59 years, the average age is 43.6. Obviously some of them were young teachers starting their careers, most of them were middle-aged teachers and there were also a few that were close to retirement (teachers can under certain conditions retire at 60 years of age). It seemed like a rather well chosen distribution

over the different age categories. As can be deduced from the ages, their teaching experience varied from one or two years in cases of young beginning teachers, to up to 38 years in the case of the teacher with most years of experience. On average, the sample had taught for 19.6 years, so most can be called well-experienced teachers. The mother tongue of these teachers was Basque for 22 participants and Spanish for 10. One teacher declared that she has both languages as her mother tongue. Compared to the population in general this is a strong overrepresentation of Basque speakers, but it has to be remembered that the changes in education have focused a lot on having all teachers acquire high levels of fluency and literacy in Basque (see section 2.3 in chapter 2).

Instruments

In this section we will describe the details of the instrument we used to collect the data in the teachers' study. We used a semi-structured interview schedule (see Appendix A). The schedule was designed to gather information from these teachers who all teach at least one language in the upper two grades of primary education. The schedule was developed in collaboration with researchers in the Province of Friesland in the Netherlands because we were working together in a larger comparative project (see section 3.1 in this chapter). The interview schedule was piloted first in two interviews and based on that experience the schedule was further fine-tuned for the purpose of collecting data on language use, language instruction and teachers' beliefs, opinions and needs regarding multilingual education. After the schedule was finalized the same version was used in both regions, in the Basque Country as well as in the Province of Friesland. Further details can be found in the descriptive report for the grant-giving organization (Arocena & Gorter, 2013) and based on the

reported data an academic article was published (Arocena, Cenoz & Gorter, 2015).

The interview schedule consisted of five sections. First, two short sections on (1) the teacher's background and (2) general organization of the school, thereafter two longer sections on (3) language beliefs and (4) language practices, and finally, a short section where a few questions on (5) testing/evaluation were discussed.

Some examples of the questions we asked the teachers are (see Appendix A for the complete interview schedule):

- What are the goals of language learning and the levels to achieve?
- What do you think about the use of English as medium of instruction?
- What is your opinion on CLIL and immersion?
- In your opinion, what are the advantages and disadvantages of multilingualism?
- What are the most useful teaching techniques for language learning?
- Do you allow code-switching among the students?
- Can students answer in a different language than the language of instruction?

All questions were open-ended and depending on the answer given, a topic could be probed further and the teacher could be asked to elaborate on his or her answer. The questions were in particular aimed at the exploration of the language beliefs and language practices of the teachers in the context of multilingual education.

Data collection and analysis

The interviews were conducted at the schools, thus in the workplace of every teacher. Usually the interview took place during a break or right after school was over. The interviews were conducted in the language of the teacher's choice. All of our interviewees chose to be interviewed in Basque except one who preferred to be interviewed in Spanish, her mother tongue.

We carried out the interviews spread over a period of two months. It was more time consuming because in order to prepare for conducting the interviews, we observed one language lesson taught by each one of the interviewees. The field notes that were taken during those lesson observations were then used as input and a supporting aid during the interviews themselves. The advantage of this procedure was that we already knew something about the teaching style of the teacher and we could also probe deeper into some events that had taken place in the classroom. Another advantage was that the teachers knew us already personally before we carried out the face-to-face interview and thus it was easier to establish rapport. It also made it easier to obtain permission for the voice-recording of the interviews which were held individually with each of them. After the interviews were completed, we proceeded to transcribe the voice recording in Basque (or one case Spanish) and then translate the transcript into English. The reason for the translation was that these interviews were part of the comparative project with Friesland and the researchers in both regions had to be able to read the transcripts. The interview protocols were then entered into, coded, and analysed with help of the *Atlas.ti* programme for qualitative data analysis (QDA). The coding of each interview was done in three steps. First of all, the answers were coded following the different items as they were listed in the interview protocol. The second step was to organize those initial codes into more

specific codes in order to distinguish more in detail between different kinds of information and different opinions. The third and last step was to rearrange the coding bearing in mind the research questions. Once these three preparatory steps were taken, we organized all transcripts systematically into categories according to the final codes. During the preparation of the descriptive report, we then could analyse the different themes treated during the interviews and grouped together and we could select quotes that could be used in the report, taking frequency and repetition, saliency and relevance into account.

For the current study, we only used the transcripts of the interviews carried out in the Basque Country. We went over all the interviews repeatedly in the Basque version of the transcript and we also listened again to relevant parts of the audio recordings and during that process focused especially on the questions and answers which are related to our first general research question and its sub-questions about teachers' beliefs on multilingualism.

3.2.2 Study two: code-switching in the English classroom

The second study was designed to answer the second research question: *What are the characteristics of code-switching in the English language classroom?* And it comprises the following sub-questions: *When does code-switching happen in the English language classroom? What are the functions of code-switching in the classroom? How do multilingual speakers take advantage of (or miss opportunities to use) their language resources? and Does teachers' perception of their language use match with the observed language use in their classes?*

In this section we will present the methodological aspects of this study. First, we give the characteristics of the subjects who participated in the study. Second, we will describe the instruments we used to collect the data and third, we will explain the procedure we followed to collect the data and how we did the subsequent analysis.

Participants

In the second study, our aim was to analyse the phenomenon of code-switching in the English language classroom. For that purpose we wanted to study the use of languages by the teachers as well as their students in the upper grades of obligatory secondary education. It was decided to look at code-switching in English language classes so as to have the opportunity to observe the interaction of the three languages. If Basque or Spanish languages classes had been chosen the presence of English would have been exceptional.

On the one hand, we studied the language use of two teachers from two different secondary schools. Their schools were located in a similar sociolinguistic environment. On the other hand, the participants were all the students enrolled in grades 2, 3 and 4 of the compulsory secondary education of these two schools. This population of students were similar according to their middle-class socio-economic background.

The selected schools, numbered here in the text as School 1 and School 2, belong to the network of *Ikastolak*, schools that specifically promote the use of Basque in all spheres of life. The instruction of all subjects, except the language subjects Spanish and English, is done through the medium of Basque (model D, the only model these schools offer). In the last few years, the network of *Ikastolak* has implemented a programme of teaching

the content subjects Geography in grade 3 and History in grade 4 of secondary school through the medium of English. At the time we collected data, both our schools participated in that English medium programme.

We got permission to observe the lessons taught by two female teachers, one teacher in each school. As we learned, both teachers, numbered here as T1 and T2, had extensive teaching experience. T1, at School 1, had taught for more than 13 years and T2, at School 2, for 18 years. At the moment of the data collection T1 and T2 were both teaching English as a subject as well as the lessons of History and Geography through the medium of English. In addition, T2 also taught Basque and Spanish, the other two language subjects in the curriculum. Both teachers had received specific in-service training for English medium instruction (EMI) offered by the school network of *Ikastolas*. T1 had only taught History and Geography through the medium of English during one academic year, thus the year of our observations was her second year. T2 had taught History and Geography through the medium of English for two academic years so it was her third year. For both teachers we observed English as a subject lessons and History through the medium of English lessons in grade 4. We did not observe any of the Geography lessons or, in the case of T2, any of her Basque or Spanish lessons.

We can briefly give some characteristics of the students in the classes we observed. In total there were 134 students: 80 students in School 1 and 54 in School 2. In School 1 we observed grades 2 and 3, while in school 2 we observed the lessons of grades 3 and 4. All these students are bilingual in Basque and Spanish, in the sense that they can speak both languages. In terms of language background, 72.4% of them reported that Basque is their mother tongue, 8.2% said that Spanish is their mother tongue and 18.7%

reported to have both languages as their mother tongue, in addition there is a student whose mother tongue is another language. The remaining 0.7% refers to the student who reported to have another language as mother tongue; this was a recently arrived student from Pakistan. According to what they reported in the short questionnaires they filled out for us, 50% receive more than 4 hours of English instruction per week, 19.8% receive 3-4 hours of English instruction and 30.2% receive 2-3 hours of English instruction. Some further details about the teaching of English and EMI can be found in the descriptive report prepared for the grant-giving organization (Arocena & Popma, 2014). In Table 9 we show the mother tongue of the students distributed according to grade and school.

Table 9: Number of students and their mother tongue according to school and grade (absolute numbers)

Mother tongue	Grade 2			Grade 3				Grade 4			TOTAL
	Basque	Spanish	Both	Basque	Spanish	Both	Other	Basque	Spanish	Both	
School 1	35	5	8	25	4	3	0	N/A	N/A	N/A	80
School 2	N/A	N/A	N/A	19	1	7	1	18	1	7	54
TOTAL	35	5	8	44	5	10	1	18	1	7	134

Looking at Table 9, we can see the distribution of students and the language their mother tongue by school and by grade. The participants in this study who were enrolled in 2nd grade belong to School 1 and 35 of them had Basque as their mother tongue, five had Spanish and eight students reported that both languages were their mother tongue language. Regarding the students enrolled in 3rd grade whose mother tongue was Basque, 25 were from School 1 and 19 from School 2. In the same grade, four students from School 1 and one from School 2 reported to have Spanish as their mother tongue. And three students from School 1 and seven from School 2 said that both languages were their mother tongue

language. One student from School 2 and enrolled in 3rd grade had another language as mother tongue language. All the students in 4th grade were from School 2 and among them 18 students' mother tongue language was Basque, one students' mother tongue was Spanish and seven students had both languages as mother tongue language.

Instruments

In this study we used different tools and techniques for data collection. The two teachers were interviewed using a semi-structured schedule about their language use and their students' language use in the foreign language classroom (see Appendix B). The interview schedule included questions such as “Do you exclusively use English or do you use other languages for instruction? If you use other languages, what is the purpose?” and “Can you give examples of when you use one and when another or other languages?” The interviews lasted, on average, for 43 minutes with each teacher.

A researcher and a research-assistant observed 19 lessons, both taking ethnographic field notes. The lessons were also audio-recorded for possible transcription and later more in-depth analysis.

Next to note-taking we also used the observation scheme *Communicative Orientation of Language Teaching* (COLT) created by Spada and Fröhlich (1995) and which can be used “to describe particular aspects of instructional practices and procedures in L2 classrooms” (p. 1), as those authors suggest. We opted for using this observation tool because it is an extended scheme that allows a close look at what happens inside the classroom and it provides a detailed description. The whole scheme

consists of two parts but for our study, we only used a modified Part A because it could meet our needs.

Part A of the COLT scheme focuses on seven features: (1) Activities and Episodes, (2) Time, (3) Participant Organization, (4) Content, (5) Content Control, (6) Student Modality, and (7) Material. In this study, we focus on the three features that are of interest to us in relation to code-switching: (1) Activities and Episodes, (3) Participant Organization and (4) Content.

The ‘activities and episodes’ feature describes a range of different aspects of instruction. An activity can include one or more episodes; episodes are smaller units within an activity. An example of an activity could be a writing task, and its episodes can comprise the introduction to the writing activity task, the discussion of the topic aloud, the organization of the writing, the writing itself, and the reading aloud of the written production. The number of activities that constitute a lesson varies according to the nature of each lesson.

The COLT observation scheme does not indicate the precise types of episodes, although it suggests a few, such as “the teacher introduces dialogue, teacher reads dialogue aloud” (p. 14). Because we are in particular interested in identifying the types of episode when code-switching happens, we recognized and included nine different types of episodes. This is possible according to Spada and Fröhlich (1995): “(...) *depending on the user’s purpose, there is scope for adaptation in the categories on the COLT scheme. For example, the user may find that a category (or set of categories) is not useful for a particular program or purpose. In this case, the category/ies can be discarded or adapted. Similarly, if the scheme fails to capture a feature considered to be*

important to a particular study, it can be added. As long as consistency in the definition and coding of the categories is maintained, there is considerable scope in the revisions one can make to the scheme. It must be remembered that observation schemes are simply ‘tools’ for research and should serve rather than direct it” (p. 10).

The nine types of episodes we identified for observation are presented in Table 10.

Table 10: Types of episodes

Type of episodes	Description of episodes
<i>Management</i>	Classroom/behaviour related management episodes.
<i>Introduction to task</i>	Episodes when the task to do is introduced or explained.
<i>Work on task</i>	Episodes where the students are involved in working to complete a task.
<i>Check task</i>	Episodes when teacher and students go over the completed task.
<i>Review task</i>	Revision of previously done task or previously learned language related content.
<i>Instruction/explanation</i>	The instruction or explanation of a linguistic aspect.
<i>Homework assignment</i>	Episode when homework is assigned.
<i>Closure</i>	The closure to the lesson.
<i>Interruption</i>	Interruption by another teacher or students usually entering the classroom with an announcement or request unrelated to the lesson.

In addition to the teacher interview schedule and the observation schemes and note-taking, we used a short background questionnaire to collect further data about the students. The questionnaires were distributed among the students during the first class and before we proceeded with the observation of their classes. It took the students about 20 minutes on

average to answer all the questions. The questionnaire includes items related to the students' use of languages at home, at school and outside school, their own evaluation of their skills in Basque, Spanish and English and their age and gender among others (see Appendix C).

Data collection and analysis

In both schools we spent one whole week collecting data during which we followed the teaching schedule of the teacher. We attended their lessons, observing language use and taking ethnographic field notes, while at the same time audio-recording for later in-depth analysis of specific code-switching instances. The field notes were used as an aid when analysing the data collected with the COLT scheme. During the observations we filled in the COLT Part A form and later on entered those data in SPSS for quantitative analysis.

The interviews with the two teachers were carried out at the end of each week of observations with them. The interviews were recorded and thereafter transcribed and analysed with *Atlas.ti* (a QAD tool for the qualitative analysis of large bodies of data).

A total of 19 lessons were observed: four in grade 2, eight in grade 3 and seven in grade 4. The lessons of the 2nd and 3rd grades were all English as a subject and the lessons in the 4th grade were three of English as a subject and four lessons of History through the medium of English. Teaching English as a subject is also intended to be completely through the medium of English. All lessons were allocated 55 minutes in the timetable of the school, however, the real length of the lessons varied and they could be a bit shorter, but of course, could never exceed the formally allocated time.

The transcripts of the audio-recordings of the lessons we observed were analysed by focusing on all code-switching episodes. We used both a qualitative analysis (through Atlas.ti) and a quantitative analysis (using SPSS). We counted as an instance of code-switching each time an utterance was produced in a language that was not English, the target language of all the lessons. When different interlocutors would produce the code-switch, it was counted as one instance; so even if the same word or clause was repeated by a different person it counted as one instance of code-switching. For example in the following interaction, we counted two code-switching instances:

T1⁵: What was ‘shrink’?
Ss⁶: ‘encoger’ (Spanish=to shrink)
T1: ‘encoger’ (Spanish=to shrink), to become smaller.

In the example, although the teacher repeats the word uttered first by the students, there are different interlocutors (the teacher and the students). After the question by the teacher in English the students answer by code-switching upon the teacher’s request into Spanish and then, in the next turn, they are followed by the teacher. Thus we have counted this as two instances of code-switching.

Once we identified all code-switching instances, we proceeded to analyse the different functions they can have during a lesson. For that purpose we developed a scheme of the code-switching categorization and functions based on the insights and ideas resulting from our analysis of the

⁵ T1 stands for teacher 1.

⁶ Ss stands for more than one student.

categorizations and functions of the publications by other authors. This is the *Regulative-Instructional Code-switching Scheme* (RICS) that we presented in chapter 1, section 1.4.2 (see Table 6).

We also presented in chapter 1, section 1.4.2 the features, classified into main category and subcategories, of code-switching that we identified as being meaningful in a multilingual context (see Table 7).

In study 2 we had two participating schools, as well as two teachers, one per school, and 134 students in total. The code-switching instances that we observed were analysed using the code-switching scheme and an additional scheme of code-switching features.

3.2.3 Study three: multilingual writers

The third study was designed with the objective to answer our third research question: *What are the writing skills of multilingual writers?* Related to the main question are four more specific sub-questions: *Are there any differences in writing competence between the students who use Basque with their parents and those who use Spanish with their parents? Are there any differences in the cross-linguistic transfers between the students who use Basque with their parents and those who use Spanish with their parents? What characteristics do multilingual writers transfer across languages?*

In this section we will present first the participants in the study, then we will describe the instruments we used to collect the data and finally we will explain the procedure we followed to collect the data and its subsequent analysis.

Participants

In this study the aim was to analyse different aspects of writing by multilingual speakers. The participants were 70 students in the 3rd year of the compulsory secondary education from three different schools. The three schools were model D schools, where Basque is the language of instruction in all subjects except for Spanish and English lessons. The schools are each of a different type of school that exists in the Basque Country. That is to say, one school is a public school, the second is from the network of *Ikastolas* and the third is *concertada*, a private school that receives government funding. One school is located in the town of La Puebla in the province of Araba, the other two schools are located in the province of Gipuzkoa; one in the town of Andoain and the other in the capital of the province, Donostia-San Sebastián.

In the 3rd grade in the three schools combined in total there were a few more than 70 students and we intended to include them all, but in the end we only took into consideration the students who had completed all four assignments we gave them: the background questionnaire and writing three compositions in the three languages.

The average age of the 70 students was 14.6 years and 47% were male and 53% were female. In terms of the students' language use with their parents we found that 53% spoke Basque with at least one of the parents and 47% did not use Basque with their parents. None of the participants reported to use an additional language at home.

As is obvious, these students have at least three languages in their linguistic repertoire. First, the minority language Basque which is the main language in the school. Second, Spanish, the dominant language in surrounding

sociolinguistic environment and in society at large, but which is the second language in school. Third, there is English, which is for them a foreign language because it only has a small presence in society. Just a few of these students were also enrolled in French lessons at the school, so it was thus their fourth language. For this study we will only take into consideration the three school languages Basque, Spanish and English.

Instruments

We used two instruments for the data collection. On the one hand, we used a background information questionnaire (see Appendix C) to gather information about, among others, age, gender, school and different aspects of their language use. This questionnaire is the same we used to gather information from the students in our study 2 on code-switching. On the other hand, we collected compositions written by the students in the academic context of their schools. Each student wrote three compositions, one in each of the languages; Basque, Spanish and English. The students were given a different picture for each of the languages but the directions for the task were exactly the same: *“Describe in your own words what you see in the picture or tell a story about the people in the picture (minimum 25 lines)”*.

We chose this task and the illustrations by taking into account the criteria as formulated by Jacobs et al. (1981) in their book on *“Testing ESL composition: a practical approach”*. The topic of the composition has to be *realistic*, thus it has to mirror what people normally do when using language, for example, a task students usually do when at school. The topic also has to be *appropriate*; appropriate for the age, educational level and interest of the writers. Another criterion to bear in mind is that the task needs to be *understandable*; the topic has to be easy to understand for all

writers. The task also has to be *personal*, personal in the sense that the writer should know something about the topic and be able to give his or her own perception of it. The topic of the composition also needs to be *feasible*; it has to give the opportunity to write a connected discursive text. The topic must also be *reliable*; it has to provide an adequate and representative sample of the writer's ability. And finally, the topic must be *fair*, in other words, fair to complete in the allocated time, fair to all writers and not biased for some, so the topic needs to be broad enough for all writers to have something to write about.

Taking those seven criteria into account, we selected three illustrations, one for each language. For the composition in Basque we provided the students with an illustration of a leisure park including a swimming pool where people of different ages are involved in a variety of activities. For the composition in Spanish we used an illustration of a farm with different animals and people engaged in various activities. And for the English composition we selected an illustration of a house where there were people and pets in different rooms and busy doing all kinds of things.

Data collection and analysis

We visited each of the participating schools on three different days. We took the students' timetable into consideration and on the first day we went to their Basque language lesson and after explaining the reason of our visit, we asked the students to first of all fill in the background information questionnaire. The second step was to ask them to write the composition in Basque. Two days later, during their Spanish language lesson, we asked them to write a composition in Spanish and again two days later we did the same during the English language lesson. These compositions were

completed every other day (Monday, Wednesday and Friday) and within a week.

The information collected through the questionnaires was entered into and then analysed using the SPSS programme for quantitative statistical analysis. The written compositions were all scored using the profile created by Jacobs et al. (1981) for evaluation of compositions. This profile uses a five-component scale, “each focusing on an important aspect of composition and weighed according to its estimated significance for effective written communication” (p. 91). The components to be rated are *content* (how well they understood and developed the topic; 30 points), *organization* (how organized, fluent and cohesive the text is; 20 points), *vocabulary* (how sophisticated, effective and appropriate the vocabulary is; 20 points), *language use* (how well complex constructions and grammar are used; 25 points) and *mechanics* (how effectively punctuation and spelling are used; 5 points). They add up to a total of 100 points. After all the compositions were rated, the scores were entered into and analysed using SPSS.

Once the evaluation scores of the compositions were given, we analysed them further for cross-linguistic transfers and multilingual features. This was done first by entering the written texts as a document into Word and then using the programme Atlas.ti (QAD). There a set of codes were developed and the coding was done according to the directionality of the transfer and the type of transfer. All cross-linguistic transfers identified were thereafter numerically coded and entered into SPSS for further quantitative analysis as well.

The analysis of the multilingual features was done using the Atlas.ti programme. The multilingual features across the three compositions of each of the students were done by using different codes. The codes were based on the *content* and *organization* dimensions of the writing profile created by Jacobs et al. (1981). Additional codes were included for other features not identified in the profile, such as the type of writing strategies used by the students.

3.2.4 Summary of methodology

In this chapter we have given a detailed outline of the methodology as we have used it when carrying out these studies. It has two main parts: the introduction and the specific sections on the methodology of each of the three studies. For ease of reference for the reader, in the next table, Table 11, we provide a summary of the participants, the different data collection instruments and the software programmes which we have used to analyse the data in order to answer our research questions.

Table 11: Summary of the information about the methodology

RESEARCH QUESTION	PARTICIPANTS	NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS	INSTRUMENTS	ANALYSIS
Study 1: teachers' beliefs	Teachers	33	Interview schedule	Atlas.ti
Study 2: code-switching in the English class	Teachers	2	Interview schedule	Atlas.ti
	Students	134	Background questionnaire	SPSS
	Teachers and students	2+134	COLT-Classroom observations	SPSS
Study 3: multilingual writers	Students	70	"Testing ESL composition"	SPSS Atlas.ti
			Background questionnaire	SPSS

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

In this chapter we will present the results of the three studies that make up this research project. We will follow the same order as the research questions we presented in chapter 2. Regardless of the participants' home language, we will use L1, L2 and L3 according to the school's definition of them. Thus L1 denotes the minority language Basque, L2 refers to the dominant language in society Spanish and L3 means the foreign language English. Consequently, we will refer to the three languages in the whole research study in that manner.

4.1 Teachers' beliefs about multilingual education

In this section we will look at the principal elements regarding the beliefs teachers have about multilingual education in order to answer the following research question and sub-questions:

Research Question 1: What are the beliefs of teachers concerning multilingualism?

1.1: What are the beliefs of teachers concerning the multilingual speaker?

1.2: What are the beliefs of teachers concerning the whole multilingual repertoire?

1.3: What are the beliefs of teachers concerning the influence of the social context?

First we will look at the general advantages and disadvantages of multilingualism that the teachers have mentioned in the interviews. Then we will discuss the outcomes in terms of the three dimensions of the Focus on Multilingualism we presented in chapter 1 (section 1.2). We will present teachers' beliefs about the multilingual speaker and about language achievement levels, their beliefs about the whole multilingual repertoire of the students which are divided according to the teaching through the minority language, teaching through English, and their beliefs on cross-linguistic uses of language. We will discuss the influence of the social context in terms of their beliefs about the influence of parents, of the media, including television and social networks and, finally, the influence of society in general.

4.1.1 Beliefs about the general advantages and disadvantages of multilingualism

We have collected important insights from the primary school teachers into their beliefs about multilingualism in education. When we asked them about their general views on the advantages and disadvantages of multilingualism almost all teachers could highlight several advantages. Overall, they mentioned a range of rather similar advantages and only a few teachers expressed some doubts or could mention a disadvantage of multilingualism. We show next some typical answers that illustrate well the ideas of the teachers regarding the advantages of multilingualism.

T2⁷: *“I am very happy with multilingualism. The more languages you know the better. I do not see any disadvantages.”*

T5: *“I do not see any disadvantages. Multilingualism is interesting, helping; it opens you as a person.”*

T9: *“[you become more] clever, because you are able to read two books. [It gives you] more options to communicate, more opportunities to get to know other cultures”.*

T11: *“Better skills in languages, more opportunities to communicate, they also say that we have more developmental skills. I do not see any disadvantages.”*

T12: *“To pass along the skills you have in one language into another, so you will use the three languages well.”*

T13: *“It is good for the brain.”*

T20: *“I do not think it has any disadvantages. To be multilingual gives you many opportunities.”*

T24: *“It opens the world.”*

The first quote from T2 expresses a widely held opinion on the positive dimensions of multilingualism about ‘the more languages the better’ quite well. The next quotes express some more other general advantages; for example T9, T11 and T24 referred to the ability to communicate with speakers of other languages and to get to know other cultures, which was repeated by some other teachers as well. A positive relationship of multilingualism to intelligence was also mentioned as shown with the quotes by T9, T11 and T13. And some teachers also expressed socioeconomic advantages in terms of future jobs, as it is the case of T20. An interesting advantage of multilingualism that a few teachers mentioned is about the relationships between languages as T12 expresses. T24

⁷ T refers to the teacher interviewed for this study and the number indicates a unique identification code.

probably expressed in a single short sentence all the previously mentioned advantages; to communicate and learn about other people and cultures as well as to have better job opportunities in a globalized world. We have found that for these teachers as teachers in schools where three languages play an important role, it is of significance that they have positive attitudes towards the teaching of the three languages and to multilingualism in general.

However, not all is good about multilingualism and a few disadvantages were also mentioned. Only a few teachers identified disadvantages as we show next.

T3: *“Learning a language requires taking time off another language.”*

T24: *“It requires a lot of effort.”*

T22: *“Knowing a language gives you wealth, the ability to change from one [language] to another is also good. But at this moment it is not realistic. Our students do not learn well either of the languages”.*

T28: *“It is difficult to achieve the highest level in all languages.”*

T32: *“Luckily we are bilingual in here, the second language is learned in a natural way but the third becomes harder, we struggle, you need time.”*

T33: *“Sometimes I have doubts; how well do they [students] master their mother tongue first and then their second and third [languages]? I do not know. I have doubts.”*

In these quotes we see that the disadvantages of multilingualism expressed only by some of the teachers are mainly in terms of a higher study load, a lack of sufficient time to learn the languages equally well or the difficulty to acquire the same high level in all languages. T3, in the first quote, also shows her concern about multilingualism taking time away from another

language or other languages. This concern is probably related to the status of the languages and when she says “another language” she probably refers to the minority language Basque. In addition, T22 and T33 add an interesting observation about multilingualism but with possible negative outcomes: the concern that their students will not acquire any of the languages at a sufficiently high level.

4.1.2 Beliefs about the multilingual speaker and language achievement levels

We will now look at the beliefs teachers have in relation to the multilingual speaker, we try to answer our first research sub-question:

1.1: What are the beliefs of teachers concerning the multilingual speaker?

The first research sub-question refers to how teachers view their students as multilingual speakers in terms of the goals of language learning. We asked the teachers whether their aim was that their students become like native speakers in all three languages and thereafter, whether the same level of language proficiency could be achieved for each language.

On the issue of the native speaker as an ideal, we have found that the responses seemed superficially to indicate a split of opinion among the teachers; 20 out of 33 teachers gave positive answers that started with “yes” or “*that would be good*”. They confirmed that their conceptualization of attainment levels was derived from the concept of native speaker. In contrast, the second group of 13 teachers gave a negative answer, for example, “*nobody gets a native level*” (T10). These teachers did not seem to think that a native speaker level is an adequate aim for their

students now, or in the future. However, a closer look at each of the statements given by the teachers makes clear that the initial answer tended to be further qualified and elaborated upon so that in the end most teachers agreed in important ways about the native speaker as an important, but unreachable, goal, as we can show with the next excerpts from the interviews.

T14: *“That would be great but it is not possible in all cases. Even if you get a high level you will not have a native speaker’s natural sound and flow.”*

T20: *“That would be the ideal but I do not think that by the time they get to DBH4 [final year of obligatory secondary education] they can achieve that level.”*

T21: *“Yes [we should achieve a native speaker’s level]. Reality shows that balanced bilingualism at this age is not possible”.*

T22: *“We should get that level, it would be ideal, but I do not think it is that way. I do not have the same level in Spanish as I do in Basque.”*

T25: *“It would be good but it is difficult.”*

From the teachers’ answers we infer that a native speaker level may be seen as desirable. However, as we see in the quotes above, the initial positive answer in all these cases is followed by a further clarification that hints at the opposite. It seems that for many teachers the native speaker is the ideal, but at the same time they agreed that in reality this level may not be achieved or at least it is hard to reach. This perspective led a teacher, T22, to reflect on her own skills and the thought about not having the same level in the two languages she speaks is probably shared by many teachers. Even if these teachers agree that the aim for their students is to become bilingual

in Basque and Spanish at high levels, this belief does not imply complete equality.

The question about the aim of a native speaker, led also to some reflections on the more specific aims for English, and there many teachers added a further qualification. We show some of their responses in the next quotes.

T4: *“[The level to achieve] In English to be able to have a basic conversation.”*

T6: *“No, languages are for communicating, so the students should get a communicative level.”*

T8: *“In Basque and Spanish yes [native speaker’s level], in English, we should aim at that but not yet.”*

T10: *“Nobody gets a native level. They are not native, but they should have almost that level. I have not a native level in English but I communicate well.”*

T12: *“Enough to communicate.”*

T24: *“It is difficult, but we should aim at that [native] level in each language, not just in Spanish, also in English. Thanks to technology there are opportunities to practice speaking with native speakers.”*

T31: *“It would be great if they [students] achieved that [native] level but it is not the reality, teachers are not native speakers. If teachers are not native speakers how are the students going to get that level?”*

Here we see that the aim for English is in these cases not the native level, except for teacher T24. The response given by T24 expresses some teachers’ desire to get a high level in the three languages. However, these teachers have in common a certain concern that the ideal of the native speaker is too hard to attain. Their colleagues who negatively answered the

question about native speaker norms usually stated that they aim for “communication” skills (as in the answers of T4, T6 and T12). Teacher T10 adds that when referring to her own skills, it is not a native level, but she has a sufficiently high level in English to be able to communicate well. T24 and T31 express an interesting thought; the need to be exposed to and use the language with native speakers in order to achieve a native level. While T31 sees non-native speaker teachers as an added difficulty in order to achieve that level, T24 sees the opportunity that technology offers as positive to counterbalance that situation and interact with native speakers.

The answers show that most Basque teachers seem to agree that they want their students to get a high level in both Basque the minority language and Spanish the dominant language, but more of an intermediate level in English. These responses reflect the importance the teachers give to each of the three languages and the level they want their students to achieve.

4.1.3 Beliefs about the whole multilingual repertoire of the students

We will look now at the beliefs teachers have in relation to the whole repertoire of languages of the students, trying to answer our second research sub-question:

1.2: What are the beliefs of teachers concerning the whole multilingual repertoire?

This section has two main parts: (1) teaching through the medium of the minority language and through the medium of English and (2) cross-linguistic language use such as code-switching, transfer, and translations. These aspects will be considered in answering the second research sub-

question about the beliefs of the teachers concerning the whole multilingual repertoire.

(1) Teaching through the minority language and through English

The role of the minority language Basque as a medium of instruction was explained in chapter 2. The teachers have a positive opinion about the use of the minority language for instruction and completely accept Basque, so there is no need for elaborate answers. When we asked the teachers to give their views about using Basque their answers show that not a single teacher looked negatively upon the use of the minority language; most of them believe it is “*natural*” or “*good*” and several teachers spoke out explicitly in favour of the use of the minority language. We show some of the answers in the next textbox; most are very short because teaching through the medium of Basque is taken for granted.

T4, T2, T17 and T28: “*I think it is good.*”

T10 and T12: “*It is very good.*”

T14: “*It is great.*”

T15: “*It is natural.*”

T24: “*It should be that way*”.

A few teachers express their concern towards the status and usage of the minority language outside the academic context. We show next some of their opinions.

T1: *“Basque is not yet at the level of Spanish in the streets, so it is good to boost Basque in that sense [as medium of instruction]”*

T6: *“It is clear that if we do not follow that policy [of medium of instruction] Basque usage in the Basque Country would not be achieved”*

T19: *“In this case it is fine, but in other towns, where Basque is not spoken, they end up hating it [Basque].”*

T26: *“It [the situation of Basque] is good here, but not in other places where there is a Spanish speaking environment”.*

Reading these quotes by teachers T1, T6 and T26, we can see that these teachers understand the importance of using Basque in the academic context of the school in order to strengthen its situation outside school. However, teacher T19 is aware of possible negative consequences teaching through Basque might bring about in certain sociolinguistic areas where less Basque is spoken when she observes: *“they end up hating it”*.

To summarize, all teachers we interviewed believe that using the minority language for instruction is positive, because it reinforces the use of Basque.

There is a contrast between the teaching through Basque and the teaching through English. Overall, English is the third language (L3) taught in schools, and the teaching of English is an important issue in the educational system. We found that the teachers' beliefs about the use of English as a medium of instruction are quite different from their views about the minority language as a medium of instruction. The issue is not whether English should be taught or not, because that is taken for granted, but their ideas are different when it comes to issues such as when to start, how much

instructional time should be devoted to English and which pedagogical approaches to use.

Most teachers relate teaching through English to CLIL and for most teachers CLIL is related to teaching content matter through English, but not so for Basque. Twenty-three teachers out of 33 are in favour of using English as language of instruction and they think it is beneficial as we can see in the responses given in the next textbox (usually they gave a simple, short answer, without much elaboration).

T1: *“I think it is good.”*

T3: *“It is also good.”*

T5: *“It is good.”*

T11: *“It is good*

T13: *“I think it is very good.”*

T14: *“It is great.”*

However, although most teachers give a positive opinion on the use of English as medium of instruction, we also found that not all the teachers are convinced that it is a good idea, and not all teachers want to give priority to CLIL. We can provide some examples of teachers who express their reservations.

T2: *“I think it is also, good but I see that the main language should be Basque and most subjects [should be] taught through Basque.”*

T4: *“One or two follow but the rest do not (...) many students get lost.”*

T9: *“It is fine but it would be fine also to teach through Spanish because, even if their home language is Spanish, their level is low. Spanish should also have a place because it is not ensured.”*

T11: *“It depends on the level; if they have a good level then it is good.”*

T12: *“Good. In my opinion it would be better through the medium of Basque, we are in the Basque Country.”*

T22: *“I think we have enough with two languages, and we should teach Basque well and not English and other nonsense. And once you have the two languages well acquired then you can include the third. To teach some English yes, the basic, but I am not in favour of what is done here; to reduce hours in some subjects in order to give importance to English, when they do not know Basque.”*

T33: *“Well, it is okay to have one class in English, but I think they have enough with getting to know their own mother tongue well.”*

As we see in these examples these teachers in general have concerns about the lack of sufficient language abilities of all of their students. Even if they have a positive attitude they may see the lack of proficiency of the students in English as too much of an obstacle (as in the case of T4 and T11). The concern is also related to the time allotted to teaching through English as it might mean reducing the time for the other two languages which also need more time of dedication (as stated by T2, T9, T22 and T33).

We also found that teachers who have experience in teaching through English report that their original doubts have been overcome once the results have been positive.

T15: *“I had my doubts, but the students did well, the surprise was good. So we have implemented it in primary Grades 5 and 6.”*

T21: *“Very good. As far as research articles we have read, in long term the students do well. I believe it is the right thing to be immersed in three languages.”*

Through the explanation by T15, it seems the beliefs about English are influenced by their experience or lack thereof. However, T21 summarizes the idea of English being good for the students because schools have not taken the initiative to teach through the medium of English lightly but have taken into consideration academic research on the subject.

(2) Beliefs on cross-linguistic uses of language

Teachers in the Basque Country are convinced that languages should be separated to a large extent. Nevertheless, at the same time they are aware that cross-linguistic use of languages, such as code-switching, occurs regularly, because in a setting where students and teachers both speak more than one language, code-switching is bound to happen. One of the teachers even considers those situations as being an advantage of multilingualism and multilingual speakers as shown with the next utterance.

T17: *“To be able to adapt the register and language when the situation requires is fundamental.”*

During the interviews the teachers confirmed that code-switching frequently happens spontaneously in their classroom. Yet, teachers believe it is better not to allow their students to code-switch because they want only the language of instruction to be used. Almost all teachers try to correct their students when they switch between languages, but they always try to do so in an encouraging manner. We show in the textbox below several quotes from teachers who encourage their students to use only the language of the lesson.

T6: *“I correct them [students] if we are in the Spanish language class. More than correcting I encourage them to use Spanish.”*

T7: *“If a student responds in Basque in an English or Science [through the medium of English] class, I repeat in English and encourage them to repeat in English, I would not reprimand him.”*

T20: *“If they speak in Spanish in the Basque class I do not tell them it is wrong, I just say it in the right way.”*

T22: *“I encourage them to use the languages correctly. We encourage them to reply in Basque.”*

T29: *“We encourage them to use one language. In this case English.”*

T32: *“I encourage them to use the language of the class, Basque.”*

T33: *“I tell them [students] to try not to code-switch.”*

These quotes show how important it is for the teachers to use only the language of the lesson and thus encourage the students to use only that language. However, as teacher T7 expresses, there are no negative consequences for the students if they use another language during the lesson. Since code-switching happens naturally and quite frequently, we also found several teachers who actually emphasize that they do not want to correct the students all the time due to the negative effects it might

produce. In the following textbox we include some quotes to show the reasons given for allowing code-switching.

T3: *“We cannot constantly correct them, they would be quiet.”*

T6: *“If you correct them all the time they get embarrassed.”*

T7: *“If you are teaching and a student feels sick you need to use Basque because the kid feels safer.”*

T10: *“If you start correcting everything the student gets tired.”*

T13: *“It [code-switching] is a very rooted habit. It is in us, very rooted. It is hard for us not to do it.”*

T14: *“We want them [students] to use the language they need. Depending on their needs I use the three languages.”*

T17: *“I do alternate [languages] in order to be understood.”*

T19: *“As soon as you start telling them [students] to use Basque their face expressions change and they get tired of it.”*

T22: *“I do not want to be saying ‘in Basque, please’ all the time. If I have to say it everyday I get tired.”*

The quotes by teachers T3, T6, T10 and T19 show that one of the reasons for not correcting the students at all times is the discouragement it may produce; the students get tired, embarrassed and they would refrain from participating in the lesson. T22 mentions that having to repeatedly remind the students is tiring even for the teacher. Another reason, as expressed by T7 and T14, is the importance of having a comfortable, friendly and warm atmosphere where all the needs of the students are served. The need to be understood, shared by other teachers, is expressed by T17. And another reason, probably the most common in multilingual settings, is that code-switching is natural to multilingual speakers, as T13 puts it, it is rooted in them thus hard to refrain from.

At primary level all or almost all subjects are taught by the same classroom teacher, including Basque and Spanish. However, it is not the case for the English teacher, who usually is a specialist in English and thus teaches English across the grades. This fact has important consequences for language teaching. The teachers have become aware that there are skills and concepts that are the same in different languages and thus they see the need for coordination among language teachers.

T6: *“Because I teach both Basque and Spanish I make links to each subject (...) With the English teacher we do comment on the students’ progress but not about coordination of the subjects as we do with Basque and Spanish.”*

T7: *“We want to work on ‘integrated language treatment’ and from now on, we do intend to have meetings with teachers of all languages together.”*

T9: *“We [grade teachers] do not have that type of communication [coordination among language teachers] with the English teachers.”*

T10: *“We have to unify the language teaching, there is a teacher who is getting trained.”*

T24: *“In primary school we do not meet by subjects, so we do not have language meetings.”*

The quotes from teachers T6, T9 and T24 show the lack of communication and coordination of the Basque and Spanish language teachers with the English language teacher. As they mention this is the case because the English teacher, who is specialized in only the teaching of English, is not a grade teacher and there are not language specific meetings, rather there are grade meetings. Some schools are convinced of the importance of an integrated treatment of all languages and some of their staff members

attend specific training courses as expressed by T7 and T10. These teachers refer to a way of programming the languages in the curriculum that allows for the transfer of what is learned in one language to the other languages. This attitude reflects an openness to change from a separated to a more coordinated approach.

Because the Basque teachers are strict about language separation, they do not use translation as a strategy in their classes. That is their last recourse: *“translation would be the last thing to do”* (T31) when facing misunderstanding.

To summarize, we find a contrast between beliefs and practices of these teachers; Basque teachers believe in language separation but in practice they do and have to allow for mixing.

4.1.4 Teachers’ beliefs about the influence of the social context

We will look next at the beliefs teachers have concerning the influence of social context. We aim at answering our third research sub-question:

1.3: What are the beliefs of teachers concerning the influence of the social context?

There are several factors outside the school which can have an influence on the students’ learning of languages. Our third research sub-question concerns the beliefs of the teachers about the social context in relation to multilingualism as an aim for the students. The factor social context was not perceived in the same way by all teachers. We have grouped the beliefs

into three broad factors: (1) the influence of the parents, (2) the influence of the media, and (3) the influence of society in general.

(1) Influence of parents

Parents do have an important influence on their children and on the learning of languages, all teachers agree on this. One teacher is even convinced that *“the parents have more influence than we do”* (T28). It is an opinion which was not uttered in the same words by other teachers but it seems like a feeling shared by many. We only show a few quotes collected in the next textbox.

T4: *“[Parents have] big influence.”*

T10: *“[Parents have] big influence.”*

T13: *“Parents have a big influence.”*

T14: *“They [parents] completely influence their children at this age [primary education].”*

T27: *“Parents have a big influence on their children.”*

T33: *“Their [parents’] influence is big.”*

Parents influence different aspects of the students’ educational process. One of the teachers (T27) points to the modern day circumstances where both parents work and as a consequence they do participate less in the daily lives of their children and they communicate little with them. We show in the next textbox those utterances.

T1: *“It is necessary that they [students] work at home and it is necessary that parents make sure that they work at home.”*

T27: *“Parents, due to work, they are very little with the children, therefore, they have little communication with them. They participate very little in their children’s lives. They want them to go to extracurricular classes, sports...”*

T30: *“Those homes where correct language is spoken, the students show (...) they speak a more informal Spanish than what we require here. They need to read more.”*

T33: *“The hobby of reading starts at home. If parents read and pass on reading as a hobby, it is noticeable in class.”*

These quotes reflect the teachers’ desire for parents to participate more actively in their children’s lives in order to support and expand what the students learn in school. T1 and T27 highlight the importance of parents working with their children at home, probably helping with the homework. And T30 and T33 share the concern about the absence of reading as a habit, also influenced by the parents.

As far as the parents’ influence on language learning, the teachers we interviewed agreed that the students’ attitude towards a language is highly influenced by their parents’ attitude. We show in the next textbox some responses we collected about the influence of parents on the attitude students have towards languages.

T6: *“The parents’ attitude towards a language influences their [students’] attitude.”*

T15: *“The way the student thinks is reflective of what the parents think.”*

T21: *“Their [parents’] attitude towards a language influences students’ attitude.”*

T24: *“The attitude [is influenced by the parents].”*

T32: *“Direct influence on the attitude towards a language.”*

We see in these quotes that the teachers believe that the attitude students show towards languages reflects the parents’ attitudes. Some teachers even sense the influence of parents through the language attitudes the children bring to the school which they have acquired from their parents. The parents’ expectations have consequences for language learning aims, because the attitudes of the parents are not the same towards each of the school languages.

The desire for English is strong among parents and their attitude toward English as well as toward Basque is important for the teachers. These teachers mentioned that many parents send their children to English language academies or private lessons which create differences between students and that, in turn, have had an influence on their own teaching of English. In regards to Basque, some parents’ indifference toward the language makes the students only use Basque in the school. We show some of those responses in the next textbox.

T2: *“They want their children to know more than one language so they send them to academies to reinforce Basque and English.”*

T5: *“Parents are very interested in their children learning English. English for them is more important than mathematics.”*

T7: *“English is very popular nowadays (...) Parents are ready to do anything for their children to learn English, even sending them to academies after school.”*

T9: *“Students go to academies for English. That does not happen with Basque.”*

T10: *“They [parents] are changing, maybe because they are younger and they have a different attitude towards Basque.”*

T13: *“A boy told me last year that his parents had told him that in a few years everybody would use only one language and that language would be English. That is the type of comments they hear at home. So at school they use Basque but not outside.”*

T14: *“English is better accepted because it is a world language while Basque is just local.”*

T16: *“Parents give more importance to English [than to Basque].”*

T19: *“Some parents have told me that they did not care if their children were doing bad in Basque (...) I know that those parents will enrol their children in English academies, they will find it more important to learn English.”*

T23: *“Parents want children to use the three languages. Parents give a lot of importance to English. Many [children] are sent to academies.”*

T26: *“Parents want them [children] to learn English and some send their kids to private lessons.”*

T28: *“If they [parents] only speak Spanish with them [students] they will keep using only Spanish. Parents decide what language their children will use for out of school activities, to watch TV...”*

T29: *“Parents really want English.”*

From the variety of quotes above we get confirmation that English is extremely important for parents and that their ideas are passed on to the children. Teachers also shared the belief that parents sometimes have different valuations of the learning of English and of Basque as expressed by teachers T9, T14, T16 and T19. As a result, and in more negative terms, as T13 and T28 sense, Basque is only used at school in some cases. However, T10 seems to see ‘the light at the end of the tunnel’ when she says that as younger parents are entering schools these bring a more positive attitude towards Basque, probably because they have also studied through Basque themselves.

It is obvious that the teachers when they are confronted with this type of opinions of the parents, directly or through the students, they may face a dilemma as to what language to give priority. Interestingly, the way English is taught is not always appreciated by the parents, at least that seems to be what some teachers have experienced as we show in the quotes in the next textbox.

T7: “The parents question the methodology because current parents are from a very grammar oriented and academic English, so they are concerned about Science in English. They had many doubts until they saw the programme was implemented.”

T33: In the case of English [the parents want] more and more every time; Science is in English but some are not very convinced yet.”

It may be clear that the parents mentioned in these quotes can sometimes pose challenges for teachers and they need to convince parents that the teaching approach they chose for English is the right one.

Concluding this section, we can say that the teachers believe that parents have a lot of influence on the attitudes of their children, more in particular about the learning of languages and that the ways the children think are usually a reflection of the parents' attitudes and expectations. This implies that they give a high value to learning English, and that Basque as a minority language is valued, but not always that much in practice. Besides the parents there are other sources of influence on the language attitudes of the students and we turn to those in the next section.

(2) Influence of the media: television and social networks

Society in general, and television, social media, and computer games in particular, are among the sources that influence the language attitudes and learning processes of the students. In the Basque Country there are two television channels through Basque and numerous channels in Spanish. There are several programmes for children, some in Basque but many more in Spanish. With a few exceptions, programmes that were originally in English, for example American series or movies, are dubbed into Basque (and on other channels into Spanish); in digital broadcasts the original sound can usually be made available.

Most teachers are convinced that television has a strong influence on children at this age. Many of the teachers also observe that television influences their language learning process. A large number of teachers also pointed to a shift in the interest of children at around 12-13 years. In the next textbox we show some of the responses we collected regarding the influence of television on the attitudes towards language learning.

T2: *“They watch TV in Spanish. It is more attractive, the Basque television does not offer anything for this age, only for little ones and older ones.”*

T3: *“[TV has] big influence. But it is all Spanish, not Basque. For this age there is nothing attractive in the Basque television.”*

T6: *“Big influence. Our students know Spanish due to television. I think it is good. If they watched TV in English I think they would learn English too. There are more options for them in the Spanish TV than in the Basque TV.”*

T13: *“90% of the influence comes from television, it is huge. When they are little they watch the Basque TV but when they reach the age of 12-13, they choose other more attractive channels which are in Spanish.”*

T19: *“They do not watch TV in Basque. They watch it when they are younger but at this age they move on to Spanish speaking channels and watch other type of series.”*

T23: *“At this age, students choose their own programmes on TV. They tend to choose the Spanish channels since they are more attractive to them.”*

T30: *“Most watch TV in Spanish; the most attractive programmes for this age are in Spanish. [TV has] Big influence.”*

The teachers repeatedly answer that when children are younger they may watch television in Basque, but once they become a little older most of preteen students start to watch television predominately in Spanish. For these teachers this implies that from that age onward their students obtain less support for Basque from television and they feel that as teachers of Basque they have to struggle against the influence of Spanish. One of the reasons mentioned is the lack of sufficient attractive programmes in Basque for this age group. Some teachers who want to support English language learning, believe that having television programmes in English would help

their students to advance more: *“This is not an English speaking area...we need TV in English, more input”* (T4).

Today, social media such as *Facebook* and *Twitter* also can have a strong influence. They can influence the students’ language use and they may have an effect on their knowledge and use of Spanish, but also of Basque. One teacher observed: *“Those [students] in 5th and 6th grades do use them [social media]. There they mainly use Spanish but are using Basque more and more”* (T33). So in contrast to television, the social media may provide some support for Basque. From their answers we also get the idea that these teachers are aware that English has a strong place among the priorities of the parents and that English is needed when using new technologies, or as one teacher expressed it: *“With new technologies if you do not know some English you are lost”* (T4).

In summary, the views of teachers about the influence of television and social media are related to general differences in society regarding the use of the three languages in the media. The minority language Basque is believed to receive support from television (up to a certain age) and from social media (once the students start using them). Learning English from television programmes, social media, or new technologies is seen as a possibility but it hardly plays a role according to the beliefs of these teachers. This does not come as a surprise given the relatively modest presence of English in Basque media and society. The dominant language Spanish is both reinforced by the old media (TV/radio/newspapers) and the new media (Facebook, Twitter, internet, etc).

(3) Influence of society in general

The teachers perceive the wider social context as an important factor which facilitates language learning of Basque when there is a strong presence of Basque in the direct environment of the school. In contrast, if Basque is used much less in the social context and it remains confined to the classroom, the context may become an obstacle for the learning of Basque. This sounds all rather as an obvious truth, but it is interesting to note how the teachers share certain beliefs about the mechanisms of this influence. For example, they draw attention to differences for Basque in different geographic parts of the Basque Country as we show with the next quotes.

T4: *“This is a good environment to learn Basque, better than in other Basque areas.”*

T10: *“They only use Basque here at school; everything they do outside is in Spanish.”*

T17: *“The environment here is very Basque, so Spanish and English are foreign to them.”*

T19: *“If the language is not spoken in your area you only use it at school.”*

T30: *“In the case of Basque, an obstacle would be not to use it outside the school.”*

In the textbox we see quotes from teachers who perceive the social context as having a positive influence because Basque is spoken outside the school. In general, these teachers are not concerned at all about the influence of the context on the learning of Spanish because it is the dominant language of society. However, teacher T17 does put Spanish at the same level as

English saying that both languages are “foreign” in the language environment where his school is located, but this is more of an exception. In many cases, teachers believe that in less Basque-speaking areas there is not enough Basque exposure.

In general, the teachers’ beliefs reflect the importance of the social context, in the sense that the multilingual competence of the students is not only a matter of the school or of their teaching, but is also influenced to a large degree by the immediate social surroundings of the school in the town or village and the position of the different languages in society in general.

Here we end our presentation of our results about the teachers’ beliefs regarding multilingual education and different aspects related to it. We have tried to provide a description and analysis of the most important dimensions of the beliefs teachers have about multilingualism, in particular as far as it concerns multilingual speakers, their repertoire and the influence of the social context.

4.2 Code-switching in the foreign language classroom

In this section we will look at the principal outcomes of the second study about code-switching in the English language classroom. We will try to answer the second research question and its related sub-questions:

Research Question 2: What are the characteristics of code-switching in the English language classroom?

2.1: When does code-switching happen in the English language classroom?

2.2: What are the functions of code-switching in the classroom?

2.3: How do multilingual speakers take advantage of (or miss opportunities to use) their language resources?

2.4: Does multilingual teachers' perception of their language use match with the observed language use in their classes?

4.2.1 Classroom didactics and code-switching

In this section we present the instances of code-switching that we have found when we focus on the instructional features of the lessons. In the chapter on methodology, in section 3.2.2, we have already described the instructional features as they are included in the COLT (Communicative Orientation of Language Teaching) scheme. Here we will look at three features: the type of episode, participant organization and content (of the lesson). A first more limited report about the didactics of the same lessons was published previously in Arocena and Popma (2014). Here we analyse more in detail because we are interested to see when code-switching occurs. As was mentioned before, we have observed lessons in the English as a foreign language classes and in History through the medium of English

classes. They provide the data to attempt to answer the first research sub-question:

2.1: When does code-switching happen in the foreign language classroom?

(1) Type of episode

In order to answer this question we have observed in two schools 19 lessons of English as a subject and History through the medium of English (see also the methodology chapter 3, section 3.2.2). For each lesson we distinguished a number of activities that varies according to the nature of each lesson. In the 19 lessons we counted in total 79 different activities, so on average we found that an English lesson consisted of 4.2 activities. Each activity was further divided according to episodes. The number of episodes in each activity can vary. In total, we distinguished 184 episodes divided over nine different types and thus we found that on average an activity consisted of 2.3 episodes. The next step was to look into the instances of code-switching in each of the nine types of episodes that occurred at different times throughout the lessons.

In figure 2 below, we present the distribution of the code-switching instances per type of episode that we found in the observation of the 19 lessons. In total, we accounted for 267 instances of code-switching.

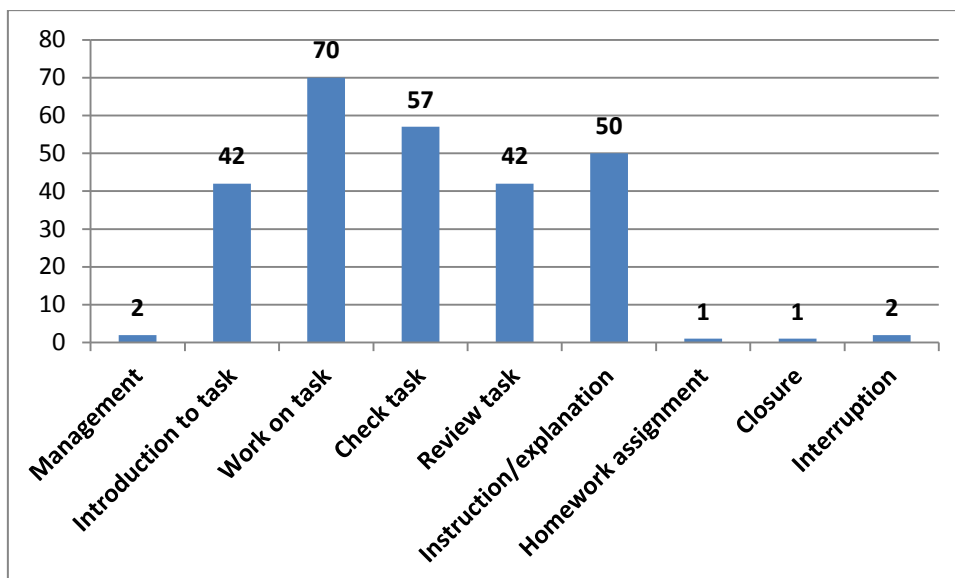


Figure 2: Distribution of code-switching instances per type of episode (N=267)

Figure 2 shows the distribution of the 267 instances of code-switching and we can see that code-switching occurs most frequently, 70 times, when the students are working on a task. This means that when they are involved in some type of lesson related task where there is some type of oral language use. Then, the second most frequent type of episode with 57 code-switching instances, happens as they are checking the task, this is correcting or going over a previously done task. The third most frequent are 50 instances while the teacher gives instructions or explanations of a linguistic aspect. Taken together the first three types of episodes they account for two thirds (66.2%) of all instances of code-switching. We observed a further 42 instances of code-switching while the teacher introduces the task, and we observed also 42 instances of code-switching during the revision of the task of previously learned material. During the other types of episodes there is very little code-switching going on. Thus, at the time of closing the lesson we observed also one code-switching instance, there were two code-switches when managing the group's behaviour or classroom matters, and another while assigning homework. There were two more code-switching instances as the lesson was

interrupted by another teacher or student that entered the classroom. All in all we can see that code-switching is almost completely related to episodes closely related to the tasks that the students have to work on, and very little to the opening, closing and management of the class by the teacher.

(2) Participant organization

The next feature we are interested in is ‘participant organization’ and its relationship to code-switching. This feature describes the manner in which the students are organized when working. We are using three basic patterns of organization according to the COLT scheme; (whole) class, (small) group and individual. We should note that during one episode, more than one type of participant organization can occur, this is known as ‘combination’. For example, we can find that while students are working in small groups the teacher intervenes by explaining something to the whole class because she has noticed it is creating a difficulty when completing the task. Thus we have a combination of two types of participant organization in that example: group and whole class organization. Notice further that a small group can also be in pairs.

We show the distribution of code-switching instances according to the type of participant organization in figure 3 below. This distribution shows the number of code-switches found during the time the students and the teacher are working together as a whole class or the students are working in small groups or individually.

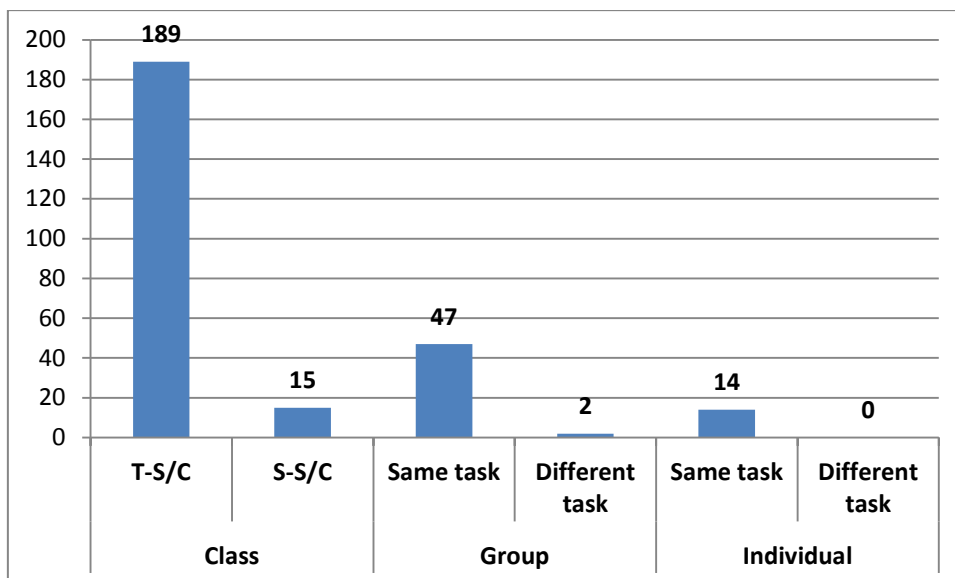


Figure 3: Distribution of code-switching per type of participant organization

Explanation:

T-S/C: Teacher to student or to class

S-S/C: Student to student or to class

Figure 3 shows that by far most code-switching instances occur while the students work together as a whole class (204 instances). Even more specifically they occur while the teacher leads the activity (T-S/C), because then we observed 189 instances of code-switching, which is 70.8% of all instances of code-switching. When the students work together as a class but the students lead the activity (S-S/C), for example a presentation to the class, there are 15 code-switching instances. During the time the students are working in small groups, they mainly work on the same task and there are 47 instances of code-switching observed while working in that manner. There are two instances of code-switching that we observed when the students work in small groups and in different tasks. These were two occasions when differentiation was happening due to students' ability in the L3. While working individually and on the same task, we observed 14 instances of code-switching. It is obvious that there is no code-switching

when the students work individually on different tasks as they are not supposed to communicate among each other at those moments.

We observe that the largest number of code-switches happens while the students are working as a whole class and led by the teacher, which are all diversions from the one language ideology that the teachers try to adhere to (see section 4.1.3 in this chapter).

(3) *Content*

The feature ‘content’ describes what the activity/episode is about, in other words, what the theme is. This category measures to what extent the focus of instruction is on meaning or on form. There are three areas of content differentiated by Spada and Fröhlich (1995):

1. *Management*: Focusing on meaning it collects the teacher’s procedural and disciplinary directives.
2. *Language*: Focusing on form, it exposes four language aspects teachers attend to: form per se (grammar, vocabulary, pronunciation and spelling), function, discourse and sociolinguistics. These language features can occur in isolation or in combination.
3. *Other topic*: Focusing on meaning, it records the episodes’ topic or theme. Every episode has a topic or theme. The topics are categorized as either narrow or broad. Narrow topics refer to “the classroom and the students’ immediate environment and experiences (e.g. personal information, routine, school, family and community topics)” (Spada & Fröhlich, 1995, p. 17). And broad topics refer to those that go “beyond the classroom and the students’ immediate environment and experiences (e.g. international events, subject-matter instruction and imaginary/hypothetical events)” (Spada & Fröhlich, 1995, p. 17).

We will use these distinctions to find out when and where instances of code-switching occur according to the area of content of the lessons. It is important to bear in mind that the three content areas and their subcategories can be the exclusive focus of an activity or episode but in most cases they occur in combination. We include an example to make this clear (see excerpt 1). In the case of episode 95 it was described as episode ‘instruction/explanation (of grammar)’ (Figure 2). In the excerpt below, the main focus is on form, language, more specifically on grammar, however, the focus is on function too (in this case explaining the grammar) and discourse (in this case it is describing the process of how to write cohesive sentences using certain words). In this case, the focus on form per se (grammar) is combined with the focus on meaning, other topics (broad topic; the episode 95 is about comparing living conditions in the 1300’s and in the 1900’s in England).

Excerpt 1: Example of combination of content areas (episode 95)

T: Instead of ‘baina’, can you think of any other translation? This is typical; they are synonyms, ‘however’.

S1: ‘hala ere’

T: ‘hala ere, sin embargo’. It’s the same as ‘baina, pero’.

Taking the example above into consideration, we see that one instance of code-switching will occur when the main focus of the episode is on form per se (grammar, function and discourse) and in combination with focus is on meaning (broad topic). Thus it is only one instance of code-switching marked under three aspects of ‘language’, and also under the ‘other topics’ as broad topic. Thus the same instance of code-switching has been marked four times.

In figure 4 below we show how the code-switching instances are distributed according to the content of the episodes.

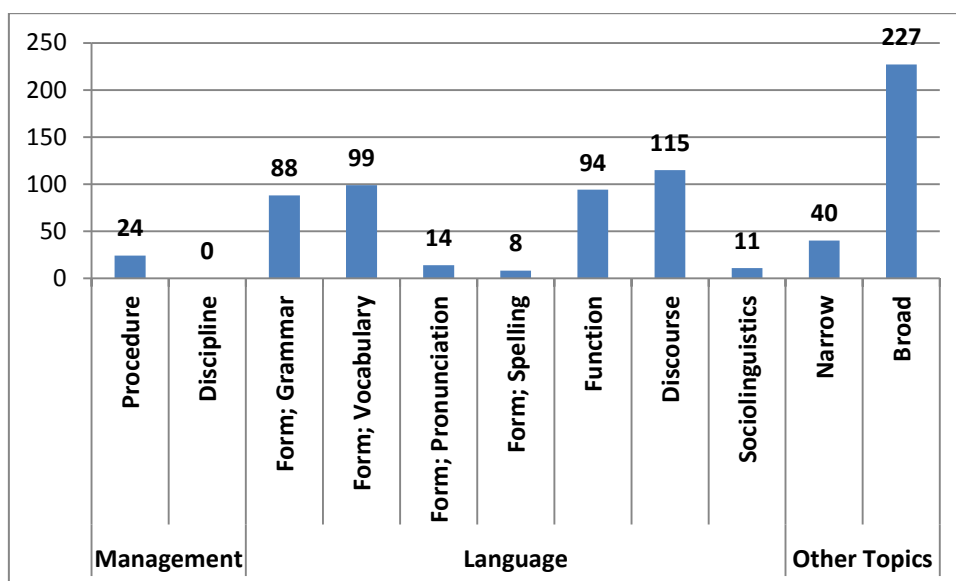


Figure 4: Distribution of code-switching instances per content area

In figure 4 we can see that the distribution of the code-switching instances we observed varies depending on the content of the lesson. We observed that 24 instances of code-switching happened when the focus of the episode, the content, was on management (procedure or discipline). The 24 instances of code-switching occurred more specifically while the teacher was giving procedural directives such as ‘open your books’ and none while the directives were disciplinary statements such as ‘you are being too loud’.

In addition, we see that when the focus of the episode was more on form, added up a number of 209 times when the focus was on language per se: 88 times code-switching occurred while there was grammar instruction, 99 times when there was vocabulary instruction, 14 times while there was pronunciation instruction and 8 times while there was spelling instruction. Also when the focus is on language, we observed that 94 times when there was code-switching, the type of language used was more functional or

communicative, of the type of requesting and explaining. Furthermore, 115 times that there was code-switching, the type of language used was discursive. This is for example the case when the language used was a combination of sentences in a cohesive and coherent way, such as when describing something. We also observed that 11 times the code-switch was of the type of sociolinguistics, which is appropriate to particular contexts, such as the use of informal versus formal address in language.

The topic of the content can be narrow (within the students' immediate environment) or broad (beyond the immediate environment of the students). We observed that, when code-switching occurred, the topic was narrow 40 times and the topic was broad 227 times.

Looking again at these results of our study in terms of the classroom didactics, we found that instances of code-switching mainly occur when the students and the teacher are working on task (type of episode), together as a whole class and the activity is led by the teacher (participant organization). It occurs when the focus of the instruction is on form and more precisely on vocabulary and grammar, the language used is the discourse type and the topic of the episode is broad, thus goes beyond the students' proximate environment in terms of content.

In this section we have looked into when code-switching occurs in terms of classroom didactics and we have presented a quantitative analysis. This provides an answer to our first research sub-question about when code-switching occurs. In the next section, we move on to look into the functions of code-switching and there we present a qualitative analysis.

4.2.2 Code-switching functions

In this section, we will show the functions of code-switching found in our study, focusing on our second research sub-question:

2.2: What are the functions of code-switching in the classroom?

We are going to present the findings according to our own categorization of code-switching functions which is based on what other researchers have proposed and as we have developed the *Regulative-Instructional code-switching scheme (RICS)* in chapter 1, section 1.4, including some additional categories and characteristics of code-switching that we have recognized. The main categories are the *regulative* and the *instructional* functions of code-switching and our additional categories are who is the producer, into which language and what is the type of code-switching.

Among all code-switching instances that we have encountered in our study, as we saw before there were 267 instances, we have made a selection in the following qualitative analysis to give illustrative examples of our categorizations of the functions. We will present the excerpts following the order of Table 6 shown in chapter 1, section 1.4.2, and that we reproduce here.

Table 6: The Regulative-Instructional code-switching scheme (RICS)

CATEGORY	SUBCATEGORY	FUNCTION
Regulative	Behaviour/Classroom management	Managing discipline, making announcements and giving instructions.
	Social and affective	Reducing language anxiety, building up warmer and friendlier atmosphere and building up rapport with students.
Instructional	Vocabulary transmission	Quick translations of words and parallel translations of subject-related terminology.
	Content transmission	Explanations of difficult concepts and translations to ensure conceptual understanding of subject knowledge.
	Language awareness/Translanguaging	Development of language awareness/the use of two or more languages in a planned and systematic manner.

First, within the (1) regulative category, we will present the code-switching instances belonging to the subcategories ‘behaviour/classroom management’ and ‘social and affective’. Then, and within the (2) instructional category, we will present the code-switching instances belonging to the subcategories ‘vocabulary transmission’, ‘content transmission’ and ‘language awareness/translanguaging’. In all cases, after first describing the code-switching instance’s function, we then also describe the characteristics we have identified as ‘producer’, ‘language’ and ‘type of code-switching’.

The following excerpts show at least one example of each of the different functions and characteristics.

(1) Regulative code-switching

The following two examples show how code-switching can happen for regulative purposes.

Excerpt 2: Regulative code-switching with classroom management function

*Ls1: S1- English3B-Obs1*⁸; (The teacher introduces the next activity which is a preparation activity for the ‘bingo’ game they will have to play the following lesson.)⁹

T1: *And how many bold words?*

S: (counting) *one, two, three, four, five, six, seven!*

T1: *Seven! In bold means ‘en negrita’¹⁰. So you have to guess the meaning of the words that appear in this way, in bold.*

In excerpt 2 the teacher code-switches for regulative purposes. Her code-switching has a classroom management function to prevent a lack of understanding of her instructions and proceedings. The teacher, while giving instructions, code-switches from English to Spanish which is her own L2 and for most students as well. The teacher probably chose that language because the students and she commonly use Spanish when referring to the terminology found in printed writing. We can see how the

⁸ Ls1 stands for lesson number one. The lessons were numbered in the order of observation. S1 stands for school one (out of two). English3B stands for 3rd grade English lesson of group B (there are two groups, A and B, in each grade). Obs1 means that this was the first observation we carried with that group and subject.

⁹ The researchers’ comments and explanations are in parentheses.

¹⁰ The code-switching appears between inverted commas and underlined.

teacher takes advantage of how multilingual speakers can navigate between languages as they use their multilingual repertoire according to their needs. The teacher produces the code-switch from English into Spanish and back. As far as the type of code-switching is concerned, this is obviously a deliberate code-switch that aims at conveying the meaning of a word that it is crucial to understand the task at hand in order to complete it. We can see how she decides to translate the keyword “bold” because when she asked for the amount of bold words many students hesitated and only one responded, probably inferring that several others did not understand its meaning.

Excerpt 3: Regulative code-switching with affective function

Ls1: S1-English3B-Obs1; (The teacher and students are checking the homework and a late-comer enters the classroom.)

S: ‘Barkatu, berandu etorri naiz’. (Sorry, I am late)

T1: ‘Lasai!’ (Don’t worry!)

Excerpt 3 is another example of regulative code-switching. But in this case, it has an affective function of building up a warmer and friendlier atmosphere. When a late-comer enters the room and apologizes, the teacher responds in Basque with a kind “don’t worry!” It is produced by the teacher but as a follow-up (type) of the language Basque which the student used. Notice that the teacher could have replied in English maintaining the only-English rule of the class but she chose to use the student’s L1 to lighten up the situation that was probably uncomfortable for the student.

(2) *Instructional code-switching*

The next three examples demonstrate how code-switches can be used for instructional purposes.

Excerpt 4: Instructional code-switching with vocabulary transmission function

Ls12: S1-English2B-Obs2; (Before writing a comparison the teacher reviews with the class the expressions used for comparing and contrasting.)

T1: *Can anybody tell me what it (whereas) means? Or what you think it can mean?* (silence) *It's for contrasting.*

S1: (incomprehensible)

T1: *No? And if I put it this way?* (she writes a sentence on the board) *Whereas in the 1900s...*

S2: *'Nahiz eta'*

T1: *'Nahiz eta'. 'Sin embargo, aunque' in Spanish. In Euskera? 'Hala eta gustiz ere, nahiz eta'. So what are we going to do? We are going to put the translation. Let's write the translation in Euskera and in Spanish.*

In excerpt 4 the code-switches clearly belong to the instructional category. In this case they are used for vocabulary transmission purposes. The teacher starts by asking the meaning of “whereas” and helps the students with an example. She successfully gets the meaning in Basque (*nahiz eta*) from a student, and then she confirms it by repeating it in Basque and adds the Spanish translation (*sin embargo, aunque*). So first a student is the producer and in response to the teacher’s request, and then the teacher is the producer and since they are reviewing the expressions already learned

and used, the teacher's code-switching is deliberate because she wants to confirm the student's answer. Then, we can see that she gradually introduces synonyms in Basque (*hala eta gustiz ere*) and in Spanish (*aunque*), probably so that the students understand better the meaning and how they can use the word "whereas" in a sentence.

Excerpt 5: Instructional code-switching with content transmission function

Ls7:S2-English3A-Obs1; (The teacher has made a list of new vocabulary on the board for the students to copy with their definitions in English, one of the words is "curfew" and she proceeds to explain its meaning).

T2: I think this word appears in text 7 (pause) it's the last word in text 7 (pause) ok. 'Curfew' is a word used more in conflicts, in conflicts' situation. If you find curfew in a country, it means that people cannot go out their houses at night. They might decide: 'there is a curfew at 10 o'clock at night'. This means that after 10 o'clock nobody can be out, if not you might be arrested. That is what curfew really means. And maybe there is somebody who can think of a translation in Basque or Spanish. (Pause) So the translation can be?

S1: 'Toque de queda'.

T2: 'Toque de queda'. It probably doesn't mean anything to you, anyway.

S2: 'de queda'?

S3: and in euskera?

T2: 'Toque de queda'. Do you have 'toque de queda' at home?

S3: and in euskera? (the teacher hasn't heard and nobody translates it)

In excerpt 5, the code-switching is also instructional with content transmission function. The teacher explains the difficult concept "curfew" and asks the students to translate it to ensure that they understand. In this

case, a student produces the code-switch and the language used is Spanish. This is actually a requested code-switch; the teacher asks the students to translate, either in Basque or Spanish. Another student requests the translation into Basque but the teacher misses it and no other student either produces it.

Excerpt 6: Instructional code-switching with language awareness function

LS21: S2-History4A-Obs3; (The teacher is going over an exam with the students, specifically over questions that caused some difficulty.)

T2: The second one, B, some people had problems with the word 'insignificant' I think. 'Significant' means 'important', it's important, not in numbers. It's like in Basque, 'significant' 'esanguratsua'. 'Esanguratsua' is 'important'.

In excerpt 6, the code-switching is also instructional. In this case the teacher code-switches for language awareness/translanguaging purpose. So this is also a teacher produced code-switch and the language used is Basque. It is deliberate code-switching for the students to understand the concept “insignificant” which seems to have been difficult. We have noticed that this teacher, and specifically with the 4th grade students, does not code-switch often, in this occasion, she is aware that her students could only think of one meaning (insignificant=meaningless). As she later on explained in her interview:

“I don't think it is a good idea for the teacher to be translating all the time. It is not only for vocabulary, it is also for concepts. I did with 'esanguratsua' because I don't think they made the connection 'esanguratsua/esan nahi' =

'significant'. 'Esanguratsua' is 'important' in Basque so why not in English? So they see the connection, 'significant' is not only 'meaning' it is also 'important'. They understood 'significant' as 'meaning' so that's why I did that."

By applying a scaffolding technique, she first removes the negative prefix (in/significant) for morphological awareness, then presents a synonym (important) and ends up translating into Basque to ensure the correct conceptual understanding. It is important to notice here how the teacher succeeds in language and content transmission as well as trying to expand the students' morphological awareness to expand the knowledge of vocabulary and increase their literacy skills in the target language. So thus it is a code-switch with language awareness function. Interestingly, although the teacher purposefully code-switches and she is aware of it, she apologizes for having to use translation (*I don't think it is a good idea for the teacher to be translating at all times*) as if she believes it is not right to use such resource and she presents it as if it was an exception.

We observed that in some cases the code-switching was as a result of a request; sometimes by the students and other times by the teacher. When the students requested a translation it was due to a lack of understanding and when the teachers requested a translation it was in order to check the students' knowledge or understanding. The requests could occasionally include the language into which to code-switch, but not always, most of the times it was Basque, the basic language of instruction at the school. We have also found, but fewer times, that the teacher uses both Basque and Spanish in the same utterance, as for example in the following excerpt.

Excerpt 7: Instructional code-switching in two languages with vocabulary transmission function

Ls1: S1-English3B-Obs1; (The students are preparing the vocabulary and definitions for a reviewing ‘bingo’ game.)

S: *What is ‘earthquake’ in Spanish?*

T1: *‘Terremoto’* (pause) *‘lurrikara’*.

The code-switch in excerpt 7 is also instructional and it has the function of vocabulary transmission. The student specifically requests the teacher to translate into Spanish, which she does, but she adds the Basque translation too. This is probably done to reinforce their command of this word in Basque because in the students’ multilingual repertoire, the Spanish word is commonly used as a loanword when talking about earthquakes in Basque outside the formal context of the school. We can see once more that the teacher aims to expand the student’s multilingual repertoire as well as at the same time reinforcing formal standard Basque.

In regard to the type of code-switching ‘break in the pedagogical use of target language’, we have found one instance of it. We show it with the next excerpt.

Excerpt 8: Code-switching as a break in the pedagogical use of the target language

Ls16: S2-History4A-Obs2; (They are discussing the answers and when talking about one, the teacher gives her opinion.)

T2: *The country of the ‘chapuza’ (=blunder), everything is valid.*

This code-switching by the teacher in excerpt 8 is an example of what we have identified as a break in the pedagogical use of the target language. In this case, it is not a code-switching with instructional function of vocabulary transmission because the teacher neither translates nor clarifies the meaning of a difficult word or concept. She spontaneously uses a word in Spanish (*chapuza*=blunder; badly done job), not as a follow-up or upon request either. She actually decides to code-switch in order to implicitly add a message. By adding this word in Spanish, she implicitly conveys her opinion: “this is what I think about that country”. Lin (2013) calls this type of code-switching “a radical break in the English pedagogic frame” (p. 7).

Another phenomenon regarding language code-switching we have observed is the two-language use for pedagogical reasons. Following other authors, we have called it *translanguaging*. We recognized, in twelve occasions, the use of input/output translanguaging as described by Lewis et al. (2013) (see also Chapter 1, section 1.4). We identified two translanguaging instances in teacher T1’s lessons and ten in teacher T2’s lessons. But in contrast to the findings by Lewis et al. (2013), we noticed that our teachers were enabling, but not always controlling the use of the languages. The phenomenon can be seen in the following two excerpts.

Excerpt 9: Instructional code-switching with translanguaging as pedagogical function

Ls12: S2-English4A-Obs1; (The students are working on “Current Affairs; the Arab Awakening”. They had to search information and prepare a presentation for their classmates on the political situation of a certain country.)

T2: Most of you weren't watching the news a week before and now you are watching the news and listening to the language, which is (pause) I'm very happy with that. That was objective number one, watch the news in Basque or Spanish, if possible in English.

In excerpt 9 we see that the teacher encourages the students to watch the news in English but accepts that they are watching in Basque and Spanish and then producing the presentation in English. This is an example of translanguaging where the input language is the L1 and L2 and the final production is in L3. It is true that the teacher cannot control what the students do outside the classroom but she knows that using primary documents in one language and then preparing the outcome in the target language is a strategy multilingual speakers have and use. Although there is no code-switching in this excerpt, the encouragement of using translanguaging as means of collecting information has an instructional function.

In many cases the students were deliberately using both languages to increase understanding and complete the task. We were able to observe the students discuss among themselves in L1 and produce in L3, as for example in the following excerpt.

Excerpt 10: Code-switching among students

LS11: S2-History4B-Obs1; (The students are working in groups; they have to put some events in a time-line.)

S1: '¡Apunta!' (Spanish=Jot down!) Mila bederatzireun eta hogeita hamabi' (Basque=Nineteen thirty two) *The Second World War.*

S2: 'Ez, hori ez da' (Basque=No, it isn't that). (Pause) ¡Mira (Spanish=look)! Hogeita hemeretzi zan' (Basque=It was thirty nine).

S1: 'Ez, hogeita hamasei.' (Basque=No, thirty six)

S2: 'Ez, hogeita hemeretzi.' (Basque=No, thirty nine) (They continue discussing the dates for a few more seconds)

In excerpt 10 the students are spontaneously using Basque, with a couple of expressions in Spanish, while discussing when those events happened but their final production is in English. In this excerpt we can clearly see that the students code-switch to mediate understanding. In addition to that, we notice that the students discuss in Basque, the minority language, but then intertwine some expression in Spanish, the dominant language in society. In the first utterance S1 says '¡Apunta! (jot down!) and later S2 inserts '¡Mira!' (Look!).

After presenting examples of regulative and instructional code-switching, and of translanguaging, we will present examples of using translation with cognates in the foreign language classrooms.

4.2.3 Translation with cognates

In this section we try to answer our third research sub-question:

2.3: How do multilingual speakers take advantage of (or miss opportunities to use) all their language resources?

We have included translation with cognates in our list of code-switching features (see table 7) that we have observed because we believe explicit instruction on cognate recognition has a positive effect on expanding the vocabulary knowledge in the target language as well as on reading comprehension skills in the target language.

We observed the use of cognates in three occasions. Teacher T1 used cognates twice and teacher T2 did on one occasion. They happened with the combination of Spanish and English. In order to understand the meaning of a term in English, the teacher produced its cognate in Spanish. In the three occasions our two teachers used Spanish-English cognates because both languages are typologically more similar than Basque and English. The three uses of translation with cognates are actually examples of missed opportunities to use multilingual resources, in this case to do cross-language relationships.

Excerpt 11: Code-switching with cognates

Ls3: S1-English2B-Obs1; (While working individually on an activity from the book a student asks the teacher what “ancestors” means.)

T1: ancestors? (pause) the same as in Spanish? ‘ancestros’? No idea? (pause) Your ancestors are your great, great, great grandparents.

S: ‘antepasados’?

T1: exactly!

In the excerpt above, the teacher deliberately uses the cognate ‘ancestros’ in Spanish but it seems unfamiliar for the student so she explains the meaning with a definition. Finally, a student produces a synonym also in Spanish: ‘antepasados’. The teacher in this case avoids translating the word beyond the cognate and tries to convey the meaning with a definition unlike other times that she translates directly into the requested language. Although the teacher succeeds in conveying the meaning, the first cognate in Spanish, ‘ancestros’, is not as frequently used as its synonym ‘antepasados’. In this case, the students now have two synonyms for the English word ‘ancestor’, expanding the knowledge of vocabulary in both Spanish and English. However, unlike in other cases, the teacher this time does not provide the Basque equivalent and misses the opportunity to expand the knowledge of vocabulary in the three languages.

Excerpt 12: Code-switching with cognates

Ls1: S1-English3B-Obs1; (The students are working in groups of four, preparing the words and their definitions for the ‘bingo’ game. Some students ask the teacher for the meaning of certain words, in this case ‘shock absorber’.)

T1: *For example, if you don't know ‘absorber’ look for ‘to absorb’*
(a student says something)

T1: *‘Absorber’ (Spanish=To absorb), but what is ‘absorber’*
(Spanish=To absorb)? (...) *Maybe you have to look in the dictionary,*
no? Do you understand?

In excerpt 12, the teacher uses, deliberately, the cognate ‘absorber’ in Spanish in order to help the students understand the meaning of ‘shock absorber’. However, the students do not seem to know the meaning in Spanish either, so she suggests they should use the dictionary to improve their Spanish too. In this case, the teacher, who is the same as in excerpt 11, does not give the definition nor does explain the meaning, she just opts for telling the students to use the dictionary.

Excerpt 13: Code-switching with cognates

LS21: S2-History4A-Obs3; (They are checking the answers of an activity on “The Scramble of Africa”.)

S: The Europeans thought that the Africans were uncivilised (mispronounced) and that they were savages (pronounced as the Spanish ‘salvajes’=savages).

T2: They were...in English? ‘salvajes’ in English? Does anybody know the word?

S: savages (Spanish pronunciation again)

T2: Savages (correct pronunciation). Slowly, again, because I want you to improve your pronunciation.

In this excerpt, the teacher actually thought that the student had produced the Spanish word ‘salvajes’ because of the mispronunciation of the student. Thus she asks for its equivalent in English. She uses the Spanish word probably as the repetition of what she thought the student had produced. It is not a requested, deliberate or spontaneous code switching; it is produced as a follow-up due to the misunderstanding caused by the mispronunciation of the student. In this case, the teacher aims at expanding the students’ linguistic knowledge.

In the three excerpts (11, 12 and 13) we see the presence of cognates but we can say that the teachers do not go beyond the mere mention of them. They actually passed by the opportunity to promote vocabulary knowledge through the approach of cognate awareness. In these cases, the teachers seem unaware of the potential cognates have as a source of vocabulary growth.

As shown above, we observed the use of purposeful and planned translanguaging, or the use of all their language resources in a planned manner, in a limited number of cases. We said that code-switching can happen spontaneously or planned; as seen in excerpt 10, multilingual speakers spontaneously make use of all the languages in their repertoire for communicative purposes. We are interested in the planned use of those languages in order to enhance the teaching and learning of a foreign language.

There are aspects of language learning that are transferable from one language into another. Through translanguaging, or the planned and systematic use of all the language resources, the students could improve their multilingual skills in the three languages, in our case, in Basque, Spanish and English. At the same time, the students could develop and acquire multilingual and multicultural awareness too. Thus, we noticed that there were some missed opportunities to use all their language resources in the classroom that could have benefited the learning of the L3 and strengthen their knowledge of L1 and L2. These opportunities were natural opportunities that came up during the lessons but the teachers did not take advantage of, for example the three occasions when cognates were merely mentioned. We will show some of those clearly missed opportunities next.

The first missed opportunity we noticed was in school 1. In the 3rd grade, the students were learning about ‘Natural Disasters’, the vocabulary related to the different adverse events, their causes and consequences. We noticed that the vocabulary was sometimes hard for the students to remember which was taught in the traditional manner of memorizing it, together with definitions in L3. At some occasions the students had to define the new vocabulary terms themselves. The vocabulary related to the topic of

Natural Disasters in English has many cognates in Spanish, some even in Basque; e.g. ‘*volcano, tornado, typhoon, lava, explosion, eruption, tectonic plates, collision, violent, impact*’. A good activity to use the L1 and L2 in a planned and functional manner would have been to look for cognates in two or three languages. This could have helped the students learn the concepts easier due to the significance and the connections they would have made in their minds. Thus, when having to define the words, the students would have had easier to come up with their own definitions rather than having to look them up in the dictionary.

During the same unit, we identified another missed opportunity for planned and systematic use of L1 and L2 in the L3 classroom. The 3rd grade students also had difficulty with some compound words related to Natural Disasters; e.g. ‘*shipwreck, shockwave, earthquake, firebreak, runway, skyscraper...*’. Working with compounds through analysis of word formation in the three languages could have increased their morphological awareness. For example, an activity could include component identification (*ship+wreck*), components’ meaning (*ship=Spanish ‘barco’ and Basque ‘ontzi’; wreck=Spanish ‘resto’ and Basque ‘hondakin’*) and extended compound formation and derived words in different languages (English: *ship+yard*; Spanish: *barc+aza=barge*; Basque: *bel+ontzi=sailing boat*). Compound words in Basque and English share some characteristics such as word order. The students’ whose L1 is Basque understand easily the phenomenon of word formation through compounds due to the high number of compound words in Basque. The knowledge of compound words and word formation can later on help with more advanced texts and their comprehension.

In the same school, the 2nd grade students had been learning about ‘Living Conditions’ in England during different periods of time. The activity they had to work on during our observation time was to compare and contrast the living conditions of two periods of time of their choice (i.e. *The Middle Ages and The Industrial Revolution of the 18th century*). Before composing the written text, they reviewed comparing and contrasting expressions with the teacher’s help. This activity was done by making a list on the blackboard and then translating the expressions into L1 and L2. The meaning of the expressions did not create any problems for the students but some expressions were harder to use in sentences and the teacher gave examples orally in English. To ease the students’ understanding and to learn the process of comparing and contrasting, a good cross-language activity would be to compare and contrast in two languages, one being the L1 or the L2 by preference of the students, and the other the target language. Creating sentences and comparing the word order for example. By means of scaffolding, once the students had compared and contrasted in their strongest language for example, they could have moved on to translating and creating the final text in the target language.

In the same unit, we identified another missed opportunity to take advantage of all their language resources. The students had to write a mind map (scheme) as an aid for organizing their ideas before writing the final comparing and contrasting text. The teacher had to remind the students what a mind map was and how to write it because some students did not seem to understand or to remember. We noticed that the students tended to write similar sentences all the time because they were depending on their books. A good cross-linguistic activity would have been to make the connection to what they have already learned in their L1 and L2 language classes about the use of organizational charts and to let the students write

the mind map in the language of their choice. They could start by writing short sentences, in the nominal form for example, and then, with the help of the teacher or other peers, translate them into English paying attention to how those sentences are formed. This scaffolding technique (Lin, 2015) would help the students increase the quality of the sentences in the target language and even the amount of information.

Multilingual speakers can also take advantage of all their language resources for differentiation purposes according to students' language ability. In one of the groups, there was a newly-arrived student from an Asian country. This student, although from 3rd grade, was placed in this group during the English class. We noticed that, in the English lessons, this boy was always working on his own and did not participate in the lesson or with his peers. He sometimes worked together with both languages Basque and English, but always using worksheets and rarely asking the teacher any question. The planned and functional use of different languages can be helpful for a student in this situation. For example, when this student's peers were reviewing grammar (verb tenses in English) he could have joined the class, and using simpler vocabulary, he could have compared how to conjugate the verbs in all the languages in his repertoire, without forgetting his mother tongue language.

To summarize, we see that teachers sometimes make cross-language relations, for example when translating with cognates, but in other occasions they miss opportunities to use all the students' language resources in the classroom.

4.2.4 Teachers' perceived and observed language use

In this section we will describe the teachers' views on language use, which we collected by means of interviews. We will present their views and make links to what we observed in their lessons in order to answer our fourth research sub-question:

2.4: Does the teachers' perception of their own language use match with the observed language use in their classes?

The way the teachers use their languages in the classroom is regulated by their ideas of a monolingual assumption of language separation. As one of our teachers claimed during the interview *"I speak in English 99% of the time. One hundred per cent? I try!"* The English language teachers want to use, accept and encourage the use of only the target language in their classrooms. However, there are occasions when they do use and also accept the use of Basque and Spanish and this usually happens with a purpose, for example, for vocabulary transmission (see excerpt 4).

In the multilingual context of the lessons in the Basque schools we observed, the moments when teachers chose to use another language it is very often Basque, the L1 at school, as reported by T1: *"I use Spanish when there are cognates, otherwise I translate into Basque. I do that to ease their understanding."* Teachers T1 and T2 make reference to the use of cognates in Spanish and we observed during the lessons that they translated some English words into their cognate counterpart in Spanish. However, they did not use the opportunity to expand cognate awareness any further in order to increase for example students' comprehension skills in the target language.

It is interesting in this context where language separation is intended, that teacher T2 makes a reference to her students being multilingual and to multilingualism as a potential. She also reflected on being more than just the English teacher: *“I’m a language teacher, not an English language teacher. I think that if I can help them with Basque as well, it’s a good idea.”* She adds that she is a language teacher that sees the importance of making connections to what the students learn in the other subjects: *“The other day when we were talking about the adjectives ‘loud, noisy’ about the young people, we were talking about what they do in Spanish and in Basque, talking about organization, how to show opinion, how to show... I don’t think they remembered because a girl was like ‘ah! Subjektibitatea’ (English=subjectivity) or something like that. I think that we have to link the things they do in other classes; history, math... I don’t think we are just language teachers, we are teachers, when we can of course, I don’t think I can help them in mathematics but when I can... that’s the idea”*. We can infer from that last sentence that the teacher is aware of the importance of making connection to other languages and other subjects but it is not always easy probably due to their strongly rooted beliefs in language separation and subject separation probably.

The perception that teachers have about language use by their students differs from what we observed during the lessons; according to the teachers in the interviews, the students use quite a lot of L1 and L2 in class. The teachers usually do not allow students to do so, especially when they are working as a whole class, because, according to teacher T1, *“it is the only place they use English”* and they want to maximize the input. However, when the students work in pairs or in small groups the teachers reported to be more flexible with the rule and allow the students to use the other two languages, as teacher T1 reported *“I allow them but I try to encourage*

them to use English when they use other languages". Teacher T2 also responded "*In principle no, but I let them use it for the same purpose as I use it, like to clarify something*". In our study we observed that the students do indeed use some Basque and Spanish when working in small groups but overall not that much. This conception of the teachers could be due to their desire that the students only use English at all times.

We found that the teachers contradict themselves with their actions regarding the allowance of the use of the Basque and Spanish in the classroom. The teachers' desire that their students use English at all times makes them to be quite strict with language use in the classroom. During the observations, it became clear that both teacher T1 and teacher T2 are rather strict about not using other languages than English. We frequently observed that teacher T1 and teacher T2 reminded students to only use English. The following excerpts are examples of that.

Excerpt 14: Request to use only the target language

Ls4: S1-English3B-Obs2; (Class starts with the rehearsal for the 'bingo' game. The teacher reminds them that they have to explain and define the words without using Basque or Spanish.)

T1: Now, student A will work with student B but you cannot use Basque and you cannot use Spanish. You have to be able to explain the meaning of these words in bold. Spanish and Basque forbidden! Translation forbidden!!

Excerpt 15: Request to use only the target language

Ls16: S2-History4A-Obs2; (The students start working in groups and when the teacher realizes they are using Basque, she utters:)

T2: *In English!* (a bit later to a specific student, again) *In English!*

Excerpts 14 and 15 show T1 and T2 reminding their students to use only English even when they are working in small groups or in pairs. Even though T1 reported that, “*(they/students) are not punished*”, we can see in excerpt 14 that at least in some occasions, she strongly demands the use of only English by explicitly forbidding the use of the other two languages. T2 added that as means of encouragement “*they know that I give an extra point for using a lot of English*”. So as a strategy to make the students use only the target language the teachers even reward the use of English. The students actually know very well that in the English classroom they ought to use only English, the following excerpt demonstrates that awareness.

Excerpt 16: Awareness of only target language use

Ls11: S2-History4B-Obs1; (The P.E. teacher enters the room with an announcement. He is speaking in Basque and one of the students reacts.)

S: *In English!*

P.E.T: *No, in Basque!*

T2: (Laughing) *You're allowed to speak in Basque!*

In this excerpt, it is the student who even repeats the rule of only English in this class and they actually demand anyone who enters that classroom to do the same. Although the P.E. teacher uses English to inform of his intention

to use Basque, teacher T2 'allows' him to use Basque breaking with the rule of only English in the classroom. This situation seems to be contradictory but everyone was aware of the humorous situation that the artificiality of the rule creates.

Using only English is not always an easy task for the students. These students we observed had been learning English since kindergarten, for about 12 years, and we noticed they could manage pretty well in English, especially when they used the language for academic purposes. However, when we observed them using the language for a different purpose, the situation was different. In one case, the students in 4th grade had to decide who were going to be the group members for the next task. The teacher had already suggested who the members of each group were going to be but the students disagreed. The reason was that there were a couple of students who nobody wanted to work with due to, according to them, their lack of interest and effort. The teacher let the whole class discuss and try to come to an agreement which lasted for more than twenty minutes. The following is only an excerpt of that discussion but we collected many more instances of the students using Basque during the same discussion and the teacher repeatedly demanding the use of English.

Excerpt 17: Request to use only the target language

Ls20: S2-English4B-Obs1; (There is a discussion going on with the teacher in order to balance the groups. There is a student writing the names and making lists of group members on the board.)

S1: *'Izen danak idatzi ditut'* (I have written all the names)

T2: *In English, in English! In English, please!*

(...)

S1: *If we do the groups then we know how we are going to ...*

S2: *'Baina zer nahi dezu? Azkeneako...'* (But what do you want? By the end...)

S3: *'Ta nei zer esaten diazu!'* (And what are you telling me!)

T2: *E, e, e, in English!*

Analyzing the excerpt above, it seems easier to keep the students using only English, thus, keep the languages separate, when working on a task. This last excerpt shows that when the students need to use the language in order to come to an agreement, and when it is not academic language and they are off-task, they tend to use Basque which is a stronger language for them. The discussion lasted 26 minutes, this is just an excerpt and the use of the L1 went on as the discussion became longer and more intense. During our classroom observations, we could see the students use English but neither in extended conversations nor for off-task purposes. We can infer from this excerpt and the whole discussion that these students who have a reasonable command of English, might probably not feel comfortable using English beyond the direct academic tasks at hand in the classroom.

4.3 Language proficiency and multilingual writers

In this section we will present the findings of our study on language competence and multilingual writers.

We will present the findings according to our third research question and its sub-questions which are the following.

Research Question 3: What are the writing skills of multilingual writers?

3.1: Are there any differences in writing competence between the students who use Basque with their parents and those who use Spanish with their parents?

3.2: Are there any differences in the cross-linguistic transfers between the students who use Basque with their parents and those who use Spanish with their parents?

3.3: What characteristics do multilingual writers transfer across languages?

We will show the scores the students who speak Basque with their parents and the students who speak Spanish with their parents get in their compositions in the three languages.

4.3.1 Writing competence

Our first research sub-question was whether there is any difference in competence level in each of the languages according to the language used with parents.

3.1: Are there any differences in writing competence between the students who use Basque with their parents and those who use Spanish with their parents?

In order to answer that question, we looked at the total mean scores the students achieved in each of the languages. Then we looked at those scores by comparing both groups of students, those who use Basque with their parents and those who use Spanish with their parents. The total scores of the writings in each of the compositions, shown in Table 12, indicate that the students achieve similar proficiency level in Basque, the basic language of instruction in the school, and Spanish, the second language in school, and a lower level in English which is their third language in school. The standard deviation is also similar in the Basque and Spanish compositions and larger in the English compositions, which reveals that the scores in English vary more.

Table 12: Total mean scores and standard deviation of compositions

	N	Mean	Standard Deviation
Basque composition	70	87.83	6.27
Spanish composition	70	86.00	6.06
English composition	70	68.81	10.62

We conducted an independent-samples t-test to compare the total scores of each language composition for those students who use Basque with their

parents and those who do not use Basque with their parents. We found that there is no significant difference in the total scores in the Spanish compositions ($t(68) = 0.71, p = 0.48$) and there are significant differences in the total scores in the Basque compositions ($t(68) = 2.60, p = 0.01$) and in the total scores in the English compositions ($t(68) = 2.77, p = 0.01$). The students who use Basque with their parents obtained significantly higher scores in Basque and English than their peers who use Spanish with their parents.

We also looked closer at each of the components of the compositions; *content, organization, vocabulary, language use* and *mechanics*. We wanted to see how the students performed in each component regarding each of the school languages. We show first the mean scores in each of the components and in each of the languages. We show the results in Table 13.

Table 13: Mean scores in each of the component of the compositions according to language

	N	BASQUE		SPANISH		ENGLISH	
		Mean	Standard Deviation	Mean	Standard Deviation	Mean	Standard Deviation
Content (30 points)	70	26.96	1.91	26.36	1.93	22.09	3.36
Organization (20 points)	70	18.19	1.56	17.68	1.32	15.51	2.64
Vocabulary (20 points)	70	17.23	1.62	17.14	1.35	12.59	2.27
Language Use (25 points)	70	20.89	2.31	20.63	1.73	15.18	3.17
Mechanics (5 points)	70	4.57	0.58	4.19	0.68	3.45	0.82

As could be expected from the total mean averages, the students perform similarly in the five dimensions of the compositions in Basque and Spanish. For each dimension their scores for Basque are higher than for Spanish, but the differences are too small to be significant. We can conclude that the students can write in Basque and Spanish equally well.

However, when we look at the scores for the English compositions, we see that the lower average scores are mainly due to higher difference in *content*, *vocabulary* and *language use*, and less in *organization* and *mechanics*. Again the standard deviation tells us that there is quite a bit of variation among the students in terms of their writing skills in English.

We conducted independent-samples t-tests to compare the mean scores in each of the five components of the compositions for each of the languages for those students who use Basque with their parents and those who do not use Basque with their parents. The results are shown in Table 14, Table 15 and Table 16.

Table 14: Independent-samples t-test for each component of Basque compositions according to both groups of students

	Basque L1		Spanish L1		T	S
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD		
Content	27.08	1.87	26.82	1.87	0.57	.57
Organization	18.49	1.34	17.85	1.73	1.72	.08
Vocabulary	17.68	1.29	16.73	1.80	2.54	.01
Language use	21.57	1.90	20.12	2.49	2.74	.00
Mechanics	4.78	0.41	4.33	0.64	3.42	.00

Table 15: Independent-samples t-test for each component of Spanish compositions according to both groups of students

	Basque L1		Spanish L1		T	S
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD		
Content	26.45	2.17	26.26	1.64	0.40	.68
Organization	17.81	1.38	17.53	1.25	0.88	.37
Vocabulary	17.20	1.44	17.08	1.25	0.39	.69
Language use	20.66	1.91	20.59	1.53	0.17	.86
Mechanics	4.36	0.70	4.00	0.61	2.30	.02

Table 16: Independent-samples t-test for each component of English compositions according to both groups of students

	Basque L1		Spanish L1		T	S
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD		
Content	22.65	3.24	21.47	3.43	1.47	.14
Organization	16.00	2.35	14.95	2.85	1.67	.09
Vocabulary	13.35	2.29	11.73	1.94	3.17	.00
Language use	16.27	2.96	13.95	2.97	3.25	.00
Mechanics	3.72	0.75	3.15	0.79	3.05	.00

In Table 14, Table 15 and Table 16 we can see that in Basque and English there are no significant differences in scores for both groups of students in *content* and *organization* but there are significant differences in *vocabulary*, *language use* and *mechanics* for the two home language groups. The significant differences indicate that Basque L1 students obtained higher scores than students with Spanish L1 both in Basque and English. In Spanish, there are no significant differences in scores (.05 level) for those who use Basque with their parents and those who do not use Basque with their parents in *content*, *organization*, *vocabulary* and *language use*, and there are only some significant differences in *mechanics*. In this case, Basque L1 speakers also obtained higher scores than Spanish L1 students.

This demonstrates that the Basque speaking students are somewhat better in writing in Basque, as could be expected, but these students have similar skills in writing in Spanish compared to their Spanish speaking classmates (except for *mechanics* where the Spanish speakers do slightly better).

In English writing skills the Basque speaking students score significantly better on average on three of the five components.

We further wanted to see whether the scores among the writing skills in the three languages are related. So we checked for correlation among each of the five components of the compositions written in each of the languages. In Table 17, we show the correlation among each of the components of the compositions across the languages.

Table 17: Correlation among each of the components across the languages

	Basque and Spanish	Basque and English	Spanish and English
Content	.335**	.362**	.524**
Organization	.156	.172	.436**
Vocabulary	.267*	.336**	.253*
Language Use	.143	.302*	.262*
Mechanics	.450**	.322**	.472**

*Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

The results shown in tables 14, 15 and 16 indicate that the scores of each of the different components in each of the languages are more or less strong related to each other. The correlations between the languages are particularly significant for *content* and *mechanics* which means that a student who writes the *content* well (or poorly) in one language, is more likely to do so as well (or poorly) in the other two languages; the same goes for *mechanics* (spelling, etc.). The correlations for *vocabulary* between the languages are also significant. The correlations are weaker for *language use* and *organization*, although there is a significant correlation between *organization* in Spanish and English, as well as for *language use* between Basque and English and between Spanish and English. Overall these outcomes mean that a multilingual writer who scores high on one component in one language, also does it in the other two languages. In the whole table there are only three relationships that are not statistically significant.

4.3.2 Multilingual features across languages

In this section we will show a number of multilingual features we come upon in the compositions. First of all, we will show the cross-linguistic transfers we have found multi-directionally, focusing on lexical and syntactical transfers, and secondly, we will present some of the writing strategies that multilingual writers transfer across their languages. We will refer to the languages as they are considered in D model schools: L1 is Basque, L2 is Spanish and L3 is English, however, when we refer to the language the students speak with their parents we will say ‘Basque or Spanish spoken with parents’.

4.3.2.1 Multi-directionality in language transfer

In this section we focus on our second research sub-question:

3.2: Are there any differences in the cross-linguistic transfers between the students who use Basque with their parents and those who use Spanish with their parents?

Lexical transfer

We have found 416 cases of lexical transfer from one language to another in the compositions written in three languages. It must be said that some students use quite a lot of transfer and others none at all. First we will present the lexical transfers in a table and then we will give examples of each possible direction, focusing on the languages involved, from which language to which language the transfer has been made.

To summarize the multi-directionality of the lexical transfers we present in Table 18 the number of each of the transfers according to the languages involved and taking into consideration the language the students speak at home with their parents.

Table 18: Number of multi-directional lexical transfers according to language spoken with parents

	L1 to L2	L2 to L1	L1 to L3	L3 to L1	L2 to L3	L3 to L2	TOTAL
Basque with parents (N=37)	8	65	1	3	104	0	181
Spanish with parents (N=33)	1	121	5	7	99	2	235
TOTAL	9	186	6	10	203	2	416

From L1 to L2:

We found nine examples of Basque lexical transfer in the Spanish compositions. Eight of them are in the compositions of students who use Basque with their parents and one in the composition of a student who uses Spanish with parents. For example, student nr 100 who speaks Basque with his parents employs three Basque words in his Spanish composition as we show in the next excerpt (transferred lexical items underlined):

Excerpt 18: Spanish composition of student nr 100

Spanish: “...*junto a ellos se encuentran las vacas con sus txekorras. En uno de los arboles esta un cabi lleno de polluelos y huevos... y encima de una meta de paja se encuentra un gallo que canta...*” (**Translation:** “... next to them there are the cows with their calves. On one of the trees there is a nest full of chicks and eggs ... on top of a haystack there is a rooster singing...”)

This student has actually taken the Basque word *txekorra* (English=*calf*), kept its original spelling but added the Spanish plural marker *-s* (instead of the Basque *-k*) to adapt it to the Spanish morphology. With the second word, *cabi* (English=*nest*), the student has actually adapted it to the Spanish orthography (from Basque *kabi* to Spanish *cabi*). And the third word *meta* (English=*haystack*) has remained unchanged because it does not need any morphological or orthographic adaptation in its singular noun form to look like Spanish which it obviously would not be. In three other students' compositions we found lexical transfers where the Basque original spelling was kept and three others where the spelling of the Basque words was adapted to Spanish orthography.

In the next excerpt from the Spanish composition of student nr 148 we show an example of a Basque word adapted to the Spanish orthography.

Excerpt 19: Spanish composition of student nr 148

Spanish: “...*Una niña está acariciando una oveja y una cabra se sube a un tramánculo amarillo por que tiene miedo de un niño...*” (**Translation:** “... A little girl is stroking a sheep and a goat climbs a bulky object because it is afraid of a little boy...”)

Student nr 148 speaks Basque with his parents; he has included a Basque word *tramankulu* (English=*bulky object*) in his Spanish composition adapting the orthography to *tramánculo*. This student has replaced the Basque *k* with the Spanish *c* and added the needed stress mark on the second *á*. In addition the last vowel *u* has become *o* as it is common in Spanish.

We also show the excerpt from student nr 154 who speaks Spanish at home and transferred from Basque into his Spanish composition.

Excerpt 20: Spanish composition of student nr 154

Spanish: “...*ai (hay) una cabra que se va a caer por una chirristra...*” (**Translation:** “... There is a goat that is going to fall down a slide...”)

Student nr 154 included the word *chirristra* from the Basque *txirrista* (English=slide). It is quite common to hear Spanish speaking children in the Basque region using this loan from Basque. This student has actually modified the spelling to adapt it to the Spanish orthography. It is interesting to note that these students, who are able to adapt the Basque words, demonstrate a high degree of awareness of Spanish spelling rules.

From L2 to L1:

In the Basque compositions we found 186 instances of lexical transfer from Spanish. Students who use Basque with their parents make 65 transfers and students who use Spanish with their parents have 121 times transferred a lexical item. In all cases, the transfers are Spanish words but adapted to the Basque orthography and morphology. For example in the Basque composition of student nr 004 who uses Spanish with his parents we found eight instances of lexical transfer from Spanish into Basque. We show next an excerpt from his Basque composition.

Excerpt 21: Basque composition of student nr 004

Basque: “...tobogan bat, balanzin bat eta eskailera moduko kolunpio bat ... ume ugari daude flotadoreekin ... neskatila bat bakarrik dago tronko batzuen gainean...” (**Translation:** “...a sled, a rocking horse and a ladder-like swing... there are a lot of children with floaters... there is a little girl alone on some logs ...”)

This student, as almost all of them, has adapted the spelling of *balacín* (English=*sled*), *columpio* (English=*swing*) and *tronco* (English=*log*) by replacing the *c* with *z* or *k*, depending on pronunciation, because there is not *c* letter in Basque spelling. The Spanish word *flotador* (English=*floater*) has taken the Basque suffix *-ekin* (English=*who or what with*) needed morphologically to denote plural and the case inflection indicating instrumental aid (the technical name in Basque is the *sociative case*).

Student nr 147, who speaks Spanish with her parents, is the only one who has transferred a Spanish word keeping the original Spanish orthography, *sombrilla* (English=*parasol*). In Basque there is no *m* before *b* and there is no *double l* letter in the alphabet either. The next excerpt is taken from the Basque composition of student nr 147.

Excerpt 22: Basque composition of student nr 147

Basque: “...Gero jan tokia daukagu 2 mahi daude baten ez dago inor eserita baino badago sombrilla eta ur baso bat erorita...” (**Translation:** “...Then we have the picnic area there are 2 tables nobody is sitting in one but there is a parasol and a fallen glass of water ...”)

From L1 to L3:

In the English compositions we have found six Basque lexical transfers. Three students who speak Spanish with their parents used five Basque words in their English compositions. In the composition by student nr 156 we found twice the Basque word *solairum* (English=*floor*) as we show in the next excerpt.

Excerpt 23: English composition of student nr 156

English: “...In the second solairum on the left are bedroom...
In the threer solairum is the...”

This student has taken the Basque word for floor, *solairu*, and added the *-um* suffix, probably influenced by words like *museum* in English, thinking that it could become an existing English word. Student nr 149 who speaks Spanish with her parents included two Basque words in her composition: *jokoa* (English=*game*) and *desordenatuta* (English=*untidy*), in both cases the words are kept with their Basque morphological cases untouched and presented between inverted commas. Next we show an excerpt from the English composition of student nr 149.

Excerpt 24: English composition of student nr 149

English: “...In the bedroom they are the people playing to the one “jokoa”...The house is very “desordenatuta”...”

Another student who uses Spanish with her parents, student nr 130, included the word *montatzeko* (English=*for assembling*) in her composition. This is a verb that the student has decided to leave with the Basque suffix *-tzeko* (case inflection that denotes *for/to/in order to*). We have found two more lexical transfers in her English composition: *kaja* (English=*box*) and *tximenea* (English=*chimney*). These two words are actually Spanish words but the student has used the Basque spelling: Spanish *caja* (Basque *kaxa*) and Spanish *chimenea* (Basque *tximinia*). Thus they are actually Basque orthographic transfers rather than Spanish lexical transfers, probably what De Angelis (2007) calls “combined cross-linguistic influence” (p.132). All these transfers were presented between inverted commas. The use of inverted commas shows that the student is aware of the fact that they are not English words, that they are actually transfers. We show next another excerpt from the same student, nr 149, where these two words appear.

Excerpt 25: English composition of student nr 149

English: “...a lot of toys, for example a “montatzeko” pieces... a lot of objects, for example 8 umbrella, “kaja”...The house have a “tximenea”...”

The sixth lexical transfer from Basque to English that we found was in the composition written by a student who speaks Basque with her parents. Student nr 108, used the Basque word *ganbara* (English=*attic/loft*) also within inverted commas to show an awareness of the fact that it is a transfer. The next excerpt is from her English composition.

Excerpt 26: English composition of student nr 108

English: “...*she is doing the homework in the “ganbara”...*”

From L3 to L1:

We have found ten instances of lexical transfer from the English into the Basque compositions. Seven transfers are made by students who use Spanish with their parents and three are by students who speak Basque with their parents. Six of the transfers consist of the same word, *picnic*, although an English word it can be considered an established loan in both Basque and Spanish languages, although there are alternatives in the standard language, but probably considered as puristic. We will show how the students incorporated that word in their Basque compositions in the next excerpts.

Excerpt 27: Basque composition of student nr 007

Basque: “...*ume batzuk daude picnic bat egiten...*”
(**Translation:** “...there are some children having a picnic...”)

On the one hand, as we show in the excerpt above, student nr 007 who speaks Spanish with her parents kept the word as it is in English, *picnic*. On the other hand, in the next excerpt, student nr 001 who also speaks Spanish with his parents, adapted it to the Basque spelling, *piknik* (no letter *c* in the Basque alphabet).

Excerpt 28: Basque composition of student nr 001

Basque: “...*bi ume eta bere ama kanping modukoan piknik-a jaten...*” (**Translation:** “...two children and their mother in something like a camping eating the picnic...”)

In addition to adapting the word to the Basque spelling, student nr 001 has used a hyphen when adding the definite article, *piknik-a* (English=*the picnic*). He probably wants to denote that it is a loan. He also uses the word *camping* with the Basque spelling, *kanping*. So this student has adapted both loans to Basque orthography. Another student who used the English word *picnic* is student nr 015. We show next an excerpt from his Basque composition.

Excerpt 29: Basque composition of student nr 015

Basque: “...*familia bat agertzen da “piknik” bat egiten... Piknika eta dutxaren artean beste familia bat dago.*” (**Translation:** “...there is a family having a picnic... Between the picnic and the shower there is another family.”)

Student 015 speaks Basque with his parents and he has used the word *picnic* twice, in one case with Basque spelling and within inverted commas, “*piknik*”, and the second time with the same spelling, without inverted commas and adapted to the Basque morphological need, *piknika* (English=the picnic). In the first case, which is the first sentence of a paragraph, the student acknowledges that it is a loan by using inverted commas but in the second case, which appears as the first word in the next paragraph, he does not. So from a paragraph to the next, from a distance of 84 words in between, this student varies the way in which he portrays the loan.

We show next an excerpt from student nr 147 who also uses the word *picnic* in her Basque composition.

Excerpt 30: Basque composition of student nr 147

Basque: “...Badaude ere bai bi ume *piknika* egiten...”
(**Translation:** “...there are also two children having the picnic...”)

In the excerpt above we see how student nr 147, who speaks Spanish with her parents, uses *piknika* (English=the picnic). She uses the word with the Basque spelling and with the definite article ending.

We show next the excerpt of student nr 134 who speaks Spanish with his parents and also used the word *picnic* in his Basque composition.

Excerpt 31: Basque composition of student nr 134

Basque: “...Azpikaldean ikusi dezakegu jendea piknikak egiten...” (**Translation:** “...Below we can see people having (the) picnics...”)

Student nr 134 also used the Basque spelling and adapted it morphologically with the plural definite article, *piknikak* (English=the picnics).

So, most students who used the English word *picnic* adapted it to the Basque spelling and morphology. This is probably because it can be considered an established loan since it is very common to use it in both Basque and Spanish.

We showed in excerpt 28 that student nr 001 has used the word *camping* also adapted to the Basque spelling. We found the same word in the Basque composition of student nr 152. He uses Spanish with his parents and has included two English words in his Basque composition. We show an excerpt from his composition.

Excerpt 32: Basque composition of student nr 152

Basque: “*Irudi (h)onetan kanping bateko piszinak dira...bere lagunek bitartean waterpoloan jolasten...*” (**Translation:** “In this picture they are the swimming pools of a camping [site]...his friends meanwhile playing water polo”)

In the case of the word *kanping*, student nr 152 has used the Basque spelling, *k* instead of *c*. The other word he has included is *waterpoloan* (English=at water polo). In this case, he kept the original English spelling and attached the needed morphological ending *-an* to denote *to play a sport*, in Basque it is said *to play at a sport*. He also uses the word as one word instead of the two words in English, *water polo*. Similarly, student nr 127 who speaks Basque with his parents has used the English word tennis in his Basque composition as we show next.

Excerpt 33: Basque composition of student nr 127

Basque: “...Zelaian bi mutikok tennisean jolasten dute...”
(**Translation:** “...Two boys on the field play tennis...”)

In this case student nr 127 has also maintained the English spelling, *tennis*, and added *-(e)an* to denote *to play a sport*. So he wrote *tennisean* (English=at tennis) in his composition.

From L2 to L3:

We found 203 instances of lexical transfer from Spanish to English. These transfers were made in three ways; (1) unchanged, (2) unchanged and within inverted commas and (3) adapted somehow to look more like English. In 73 instances, about one-third, the Spanish words were unchanged and thus have kept their original form. In 30 cases the Spanish words are unchanged but inserted within inverted commas. In 100 cases, almost half of all cases, the Spanish words have been somehow adapted to look English and in two cases the Spanish words have Basque spelling and

are within inverted commas. We presented these two latter cases already in the section dedicated to lexical transfers from L1 to L3.

Among all the unchanged Spanish lexical transfers, 33 were made by students who speak Basque with their parents and 40 by those who speak Spanish with their parents. Among the first group of students we find student nr 015, who used four Spanish words in his English composition; *lavabos* (English=*sinks*), *bañera* (English=*bathtub*), *lavadora* (English=*washing machine*) and *baston* (correct *bastón*; English=*walking stick*).

Excerpt 34: English composition of student nr 015

English: “...*In the toilet is a mirror and under the mirror are two lavabos. Also is a bañera and a lavadora...he take the baston of his grand mader (=mother)...*”

Among the students who speak Spanish with their parents we have student nr 014, she has included one word twice; *desvan* (correct *desván*; English=*attic, loft*).

Excerpt 35: English composition of student nr 014

English: “...*In the 3rd floor there is a desvan. In the desvan is a girl playing...*”

Sixteen lexical transfers of unchanged Spanish words between inverted commas were made by students who speak Basque with their parents and

14 were made by students who speak Spanish with their parents. Among the first group of students we have student nr 122 who has used Spanish words in that form four times, once more without the inverted commas and once more adapted. We show an excerpt of his composition in English.

Excerpt 36: English composition of student nr 122

English: “...the “lavadora” for the clothes...it is a “cajones” to guard the clothes... she is “echar” the things to the basura... The “tejado” of the house is brown...”

In the excerpt above we see that student nr 122 has included *lavadora* (English=*washing machine*), *cajones* (English=*drawers*), *echar* (English=*to throw away*) and *tejado* (English=*roof*) all unchanged and between inverted commas. However, he has also included the word *basura* (English=*dustbin*) without the inverted commas. It is most likely he just forgot. He also included the word *guard* derived from the Spanish *guardar* meaning *to keep/to store*. In that latter case, the student does not acknowledge the loan as he tries to incorporate it adapting it so it looks more like an existing English word.

One of the students who speaks Spanish with their parents is student nr 149, he uses two Spanish words in his composition as we show in the next excerpt.

Excerpt 37: English composition of student nr 149

English: “...*she have two “hijos”...The “niños” are playing with the toys...*”

Student nr 149 has kept the two Spanish words in their original form and he has inserted them between inverted commas; *hijos* (English=*children* as in sons and daughters) and *niños* (English=*children* as in babies, toddlers and underage). With the use of inverted commas the student acknowledges that he has inserted loan words. We also found Basque lexical transfers in this student’s English composition that we presented in the section dedicated to lexical transfer from L1 to L3.

Out of the 100 modified L2 lexical transfers that we have found in the L3 compositions, 55 were in the compositions written by students who speak Basque with their parents and 45 in the compositions written by those who speak Spanish with their parents. The students take these words from the Spanish lexicon and usually change the ending of them, sometimes adding English suffixes, such as *-y*, *-ic*, *-ed*, and other times dropping the last vowel in the Spanish word. Among those who speak Basque, we present excerpt 38 of student nr 124.

Excerpt 38: English composition of student nr 124

English: “...the house was *thrie plants* and six room's *cidchen*, bedroom, bath room and the living room and other room in the *thrie plant*... and a *alform* with the form of the heard is beautiful... In the bathroom is one *electrodomestic* for clean...”

(Meaning: “... the house has three floors and six rooms: kitchen, bedroom, bathroom and the living room and another room in the third floor... and a rug with the form of the heart is beautiful... in the bathroom there is a home appliance to wash...”

This student wrote the word *plant* twice, derived from the Spanish *planta* instead of the English *floor*. She also uses *alform* derived from the Spanish *alfombra* meaning *rug* in English and *electrodomestic* from the Spanish *electrodoméstico* instead of the English *home appliance*. Student nr 124 tried to create words in English out of the Spanish words using the technique of dropping what in his mind could be the Spanish ending of the word.

In the composition written by student nr 006 who speaks Spanish with her parents, we found seven Spanish modified words that we show in the next excerpt.

Excerpt 39: English composition of student nr 006

English: “...Is very decorated with television, cadres, clock, table, a plant, the computer...and have planed the plats, is estresated because the food is bad... They have adorns in the bedroom. In this block in the middle there are a cest with rop ... In this block in the right there is the toilet, the espejo, the dutch, and the clothes cleaner....” (**Meaning:** “... It is very decorated with television, framed paintings, a clock, a table, a plant, the computer ... and he has placed the plates, he is stressed out because the food is bad... They have ornaments in the bedroom. In the middle of the floor there is a basket with clothes... in the right hand side of this floor there is the toilet, the mirror, the shower and the washing machine...”

As we show in the excerpts, student nr 006 has included *cadres* from the Spanish *cuadros* (English=*framed paintings*), *plats* from the Spanish *platos* (English=*plates*), *estresated* from the Spanish *estresado* (English=*stressed out*), *adorns* from the Spanish *adornos* (English=*ornaments*), *cest* a modification of the Spanish *cesta* (English=*basket*), *rop* derived from the Spanish *ropa* (English=*clothes*) and *dutch* a modification of the Spanish *ducha* (English=*shower*). Notice that this student also includes another Spanish word, *espejo* (English=*mirror*) but without any adaptation to it. It is also interesting to see that although he has first used the word *rop* from the Spanish *ropa* he then later uses the English *clothes cleaner* for *washing machine*, so he does know the actual word *clothes*.

From L3 to L2:

In the Spanish compositions we have found two instances of transfer from English. In both cases it is the same word and both times they were used by students who speak Spanish with their parents. Student nr 106 uses it in the singular form, *pony*, as we show in the next excerpt of his composition.

Excerpt 40: Spanish composition of student nr 106

Spanish: “...*tambien hicimos cola para montar en un pony muy menudo...*” (**Translation:** ...we also queued up in order to ride on a little pony...)

Student nr 133 uses the same word but in the plural form, *ponys* as we show in the next excerpt of his composition in Spanish.

Excerpt 41: Spanish composition of student nr 133

Spanish: “...*mientras los otros caballos juegan con sus crias es decir con los ponys...*” (**Translation:** ... in the meanwhile the other horses play with their offsprings, that is, with the ponies...)

The spelling of *ponys* would be incorrect in English (correct=*ponies*) but the student takes the singular form and adds the *-s* at the end as it is done in Spanish to mark the plural form.

The word *poni* is accepted by the Spanish dictionaries but not the English version *pony*. So we have considered them a loan because in both cases the students have kept the English spelling.

To summarize this section we must say that the lexical transfers were by far done most from the Spanish to either the Basque or the English compositions. Further, that the lexical transfers from English were mainly loan words that are well-known and quite established in the other two languages. The transfers were marked by using inverted commas so as to acknowledge transfer or, in other cases, by adapting the words to look more like the target language of the composition. This was done by adding the morphological endings or orthographic changes needed in the case of transfers into Basque, orthographic changes in the case of transfers into Spanish and by dropping the end of the words or adding in some cases an ending to the word in the case of transfers into English.

Syntactic transfer

In this section we present the syntactic transfers that we found in the compositions written in the three languages. In total, we found 213 syntactic transfers from one language to another in these 210 compositions (3 times 70 for each language). We will present the syntactic transfers focusing on the languages involved, from which language to which language the transfer is made. We did find transfers from L1 to L2, from L2 to L1, from L2 to L3 and from L3 to L2, but we did not find any syntactic transfer either from L1 to L3 or from L3 to L1. We will also consider the language these students speak with their parents.

In order to summarize the multi-directionality of the syntactic transfers we present in Table 19 the number of those transfers according to the

languages involved and considering the language the students speak at home with their parents.

Table 19: Number of multi-directional syntactic transfers according to language spoken with parents

	L1 to L2	L2 to L1	L2 to L3	L3 to L2	TOTAL
Basque with parents (N=37)	10	23	43	0	76
Spanish with parents (N=33)	6	54	75	2	137
TOTAL	16	77	118	2	213

From L1 to L2:

The syntactic transfers from the Basque to the Spanish that we found are related to word choice. We found 16 syntactic transfers; 10 of them were produced by students who speak Basque with their parents and six by two students who speak Spanish with their parents. In five out of 16 cases, the students have included the Spanish verb *estar* (English=*to be in a place*) instead of *haber* (English=*to have*) which is used to denote *there is* or *there are*. This is because in Basque it is the same verb *egon* (English=*to be*) that is used with both meanings of *there is/there are* and *to be* (in a place). Four of the students who did that transfer spoke Basque with their parents, the fifth spoke Spanish.

We show two examples, one of a student who speaks Basque with parents, student nr 100, and the other from a student who speaks Spanish with parents, student nr 147.

Excerpt 42: Spanish composition of student nr 100

Spanish: “...*En una esquina de la parcela está una casita para los pollos...*” (**Translation:** ... On a corner of the plot is a little house for the chicken ...)

Student nr 100 wrote *está* (English=*is*) instead of *hay* (English=*there is*). We next show an excerpt from the Spanish composition of student nr 147.

Excerpt 43: Spanish composition of student nr 147

Spanish: “...*En la parte izquierda están unas ovejas...*” (**Translation:** ... On the left side are some sheep...)

Student nr 147 used the verb *están* (English=*are*) instead of *hay* (English=*there are*).

The other cases of transfer are actually related to morphology. Some students used the incorrect preposition in Spanish influenced by the preposition used in Basque in those cases. For example, student nr 001 who speaks Spanish with her parents wrote five times the same location phrase using the preposition used in Basque. We show an excerpt of her Spanish composition next.

Excerpt 44: Spanish composition of student nr 001

Spanish: “...a la parte izquierda del recinto... a la parte de arriba había...” (**Translation:** ... to the right hand side of the enclosure ... to the upper side there was...)

Student nr 001 inserted the preposition *a* (English=*to*) instead of the correct *en* (English=*in*) used in this prepositional phrase to denote location influenced by the Basque *ezkerretara* (English= to the left) and *eskubitara* (English=to the right).

Similarly, student nr 105 who speaks Basque with her parents wrote a prepositional (time) phrase using a preposition that is used in Basque in that phrase and in Spanish does not take a preposition. We show this case in the next excerpt from the Spanish composition of student nr 105.

Excerpt 45: Spanish composition of student nr 105

Spanish: “...recordamos esos momentos especiales vividos en el fin de semana...” (**Translation:** ... we remember those special moments lived at the weekend...)

Regarding the prepositional usage of student nr 105, she has inserted the preposition *en* because the expression at the weekend in Basque, *astebukaeran*, takes the preposition *in/at* while in Spanish it needs no preposition at all, the correct form is [X] *el fin de semana*.

From L2 to L1:

We found 77 instances of syntactic transfer from Spanish to Basque. Fifty-four are from students who speak Spanish with their parents and 23 were in the compositions written by students who speak Basque with their parents. The students who use Basque with their parents transferred mainly Spanish expressions into Basque, as it is the case of student nr 158 and student nr 160 whose transfers we show next.

Excerpt 46: Basque composition of student nr 158

Basque: “...*ondoan soroslea dago beti bezala bihurrienei bronka botatzen...*” (**Translation:** ... next there is the lifeguard as usual reprimanding the naughtiest...)

Student nr 158 translated the Spanish expression *echando la bronca* (English=*reprimanding*) into Basque as *bronka botatzen*, literal translation, instead of the correct form *errieta egiten* (English=*reprimanding*).

Excerpt 47: Basque composition of student nr 160

Basque: “...*gurasoek lasai egon dezakete eguzkia hartzen edo siesta bat botatzen...*” (**Translation:** ... parents can be relaxed sunbathing or taking a nap...)

Similarly student nr 160 wrote *siesta bat botatzen* (English=*taking a nap*) from the Spanish *echando una siesta*, which is a literal translation, instead of the Basque *lo kuluxka egiten* (English=*taking a nap*).

The students who speak Spanish with their parents transferred morphological aspects of the Spanish language as well as the Spanish word order. We show an excerpt from the composition written by student nr 002. In her composition we actually found six syntactic transfers.

Excerpt 48: Basque composition of student nr 002

Basque: “...*besteak eseritak daude...mutiko batzuk futbolera jolasten daude...*” (**Translation:** ...the others are sitting down...some boys are playing football...)

The morphological transfer in the phrase *besteak eseritak daude* (English=*the others are sitting*) is the plural marker *-k* attached to the participle *eserita*. In Spanish, the participle *sentados* has to agree in number and gender with the subject, as *los otros están sentados* (English=*the others are sitting down/sat*). In Basque the participle *eserita* (English=*sitting down/sat*) never takes the plural marker regardless of the subject's number.

As we show in excerpt 48, another morphological transfer that we found in the composition of student nr 002, as well as in other students' compositions, is in the phrase *futbolera jolasten* (English=*playing [at] football*) from the Spanish *jugando al fútbol*, instead of the correct Basque *futbolean jolasten* (English=*playing [in] football*). In that case the preposition used in Basque and Spanish are different, English does not take any preposition when talking about playing sports, the Spanish speakers used the Spanish preposition.

Many of the students who speak Spanish with their parents transferred the Spanish word order. For example, student nr 004 wrote *ere esan dezakegu parke bat dagoela* instead of *parke bat dagoela ere esan dezakegu* (Englsh= *we can also say that there is a park*).

From L2 to L3:

We found 118 syntactic transfers from Spanish into the English compositions. We found 43 transfers in the compositions written by students who use Basque with their parents and 75 in the compositions of students who speak Spanish with their parents.

Ninety one of the transfers concern null subject or the omission of the subject. Both Basque and Spanish allow null subject but English does not. Thus, this transfer is not only influenced by the L2 but by the L1 as well. We show next two examples of this type of transfer. One is from the composition written by student nr 124 who speaks Basque with her parents and the other is from the composition written by student nr 125 who speaks Spanish with his parents.

Excerpt 49: English composition of student nr 124

English: “... *Is a big family...* *was a television and in the bathroom is one...*”

In the excerpt 49 we see that student nr 124 omitted the subject in those sentences. This is due to the influence of Basque and Spanish that are pro-drop languages or zero subject languages. Both languages allow the

omission of the subject as the verb includes that information. So we see that student nr 124 writes ____ *is a big family* instead of *it is a big family*.

Excerpt 50: English composition of student nr 125

English: “...to right ____ *is a badroom (bathroom) and left ____ is a one bedroom...*”

In excerpt 50 we see that student nr 125 also omits the subject in his English composition, again influenced by both Basque and Spanish.

In addition to the omission of the subject, we found ten cases related to word order. These are all adjective-noun placement related. In both Basque and Spanish the adjective follows the noun while in English the adjective comes before the noun. For example student nr 012 who speaks Spanish with her parents wrote *one table yellow* and *one window different*. We show an excerpt from her composition next.

Excerpt 51: English composition of student nr 012

English: “... *In the second floor there are three diferents rooms, in the right ____ is a bathroom with mirrou (mirror), bath... ...In the threeth (third floor) there are two differents rooms on the left there is a pink room with one bed, one window different, one chear (chair) and one table yellow...*”

We see a few syntactic transfers in the composition of student nr 012. First of all the adjective-noun order influenced by the L1 and L2; we see that she

wrote *one table yellow* and *one window different*. However, we also see that in other cases she writes the correct order as in *a pink room*. Student nr 012 also transfers the omission of the subject as we see in the phrase *___ is a bathroom*. In addition, she transfers the plural marker of the adjective in *two different_s rooms*. This is influenced by Spanish. In Spanish the adjectives need to agree with the noun in number and gender but not in Basque or in English.

Student nr 102 who does speak Basque with her parents also used the adjective-noun order influenced by both the L1 and L2. We show an excerpt from her English composition.

Excerpt 52: English composition of student nr 102

English: “...*In this house you can see on the primer piso (English=floor) on left a family happy in the room...*”

In excerpt 52 we see that student nr 102 wrote *a family happy* instead of *a happy family*, this can be influence of both, of Basque and of Spanish.

The rest of the syntactic transfers concerns word choice. They are actually literal translations from Spanish. We show next a couple of examples, first from the composition of student nr 105.

Excerpt 53: English composition of student nr 105

English: “...We gave the invitations to the friends and anybody is going to lost this special celebration.”

Student nr 105 who speaks Basque with her parents wrote *anybody (nobody) is going to lost (lose) this special celebration* instead of *miss* because in both Basque and Spanish to miss an event is said with the verb *perder/galdu* (English=*to lose*). We show next an excerpt from the English composition of student nr 139 who also used the wrong word due to literal translation from Spanish.

Excerpt 54: English composition of student nr 139

English: “...It is three o'clock and they are *beging to do the food ...*”

Student nr 139 speaks Spanish with her parents and in excerpt 54 we can see that she wrote *they are beging (starting) to do the food* instead of *make/prepare the food*. This transfer is influenced by Spanish because in Spanish the verb to do is used when talking about making or preparing food (*hacer la comida*).

From L3 to L2:

We only found two syntactic transfers from English to Spanish. Both transfers were actually in the same composition, the composition of student nr 007 and both cases are related to word order. Student nr 007 speaks

Spanish with his parents and we show the excerpt from his composition next.

Excerpt 55: Spanish composition of student nr 007

Spanish: “...*vi unos prismáticos tirados en el verde césped...
cuatro cerditos rosas se revuelcan en el marrón barro...”
(**Translation:** ...I saw some binoculars laying on the green
lawn...four little pink pigs are rolling in the brown mud...)*

In these two cases student nr 007 placed the adjective before the noun as it is done in English while in Spanish and Basque the adjective goes after the noun. However, in the same sentence we see that he has maintained the correct order in the phrase *cerditos rosas* (English=*pink pigs*).

To summarize the section, we have seen that the syntactic transfers we found are mainly word choice, literal translations of more specific expressions, word order and morphological transfers of the incorrect preposition or the plural marker. In some cases, the transfers can be influenced by both the L1 and L2 into the L3, such as the subject omission or the adjective-noun order.

4.3.2.2 Transfer of writing strategies

We will describe in this section some of the writing strategies we discovered that these multilingual writers use across the three languages they have in their repertoire and which they have used to write the compositions in each language. In this section we try to answer our third research sub-question:

3.3: What characteristics do multilingual writers transfer across languages?

In chapter 1 (section 1.2) we presented the “Focus on Multilingualism” approach which proposes that all the languages of a multilingual speaker can support each other and in their development towards further acquisition of the languages, they can perform as connected growers. So what is learned in one language can support the acquisition of the same or similar phenomenon in another language. During the analysis of the compositions we came across several instances where students use the same or very similar writing strategies in two or three of their compositions. These shared strategies are examples of how languages interact as connected growers. In this section we will present and describe some of those strategies.

Through the analyses of all the compositions, we have seen that there are positive correlations among the scores obtained in each of the five composition components across the languages (see section 4.3.1 in this chapter). Thus a student who scores high in one of the components in one language is also likely to score high in that same component in the other two languages. Moreover, we have seen that the students perform rather similar on the five components or dimensions of the compositions in

Basque and Spanish, so their scores on *content*, *organization*, *vocabulary*, *language use* and *mechanics* are related. On two of the dimensions, *organization* and *mechanics*, they perform almost the same in Basque, Spanish and English.

In addition, we have noticed that individual students tend to use similar writing strategies independently of the languages they write in. Those strategies are related mainly to two of the composition components: *content* and *organization*. Although we have also found correlations among the scores in the dimensions *vocabulary*, *language use* and *mechanics*, those dimensions are more language specific and therefore, seem less transferable. We have decided to focus our next analysis on the two dimensions that are more clearly open to transfer.

We will first show the shared writing strategies we have seen within the *content* dimension and secondly we will show the writing strategies related to *organization*. We follow this order because it is the order in which Jacobs et al. (1981) present the components of compositions.

A. Content

Jacobs et al. (1981) describe what they call “the criteria for excellent writing” (p. 91). Regarding the content dimension there are four descriptors: *knowledgeable*, *substantive*, *thorough development of thesis* and *relevant to assigned topic* (p. 92).

The criteria for the descriptor *knowledgeable* refer to whether there is understanding of the topic and whether the information and facts used are pertinent to the topic. This descriptor is specific to the topic assigned, however it is somehow transferable if we take into account that the student

who knows how to stick to the topic in one language will be able to do so in any language. We provided a different picture for the composition in each of the languages and therefore the topic was different. Notwithstanding the different topic, the students who use pertinent information and facts in one language should be able to do so with any topic in any language since it is a cognitive process.

The descriptor *substantive* is in regard to the number of points discussed. The criteria for this descriptor are whether there are several points discussed and whether there is sufficient detail included. This descriptor is somewhat transferable from the point of view that this is a cognitive process and the student can learn in a language how to discuss main points of a topic, using concrete details such as illustrations, definitions, comparisons and so on. Then, those strategies can be applied when writing in another language.

The descriptor *thorough development of thesis* comprises the specific methods used to develop the topic. These methods can be comparing and contrasting, using illustrations and definitions and adding facts or personal experiences, to mention some, in order to convey a sense of completeness. To learn how to develop a topic when writing, is a cognitive process that can be learned in one language and then it can be applied again when learning how to write in another language.

The descriptor *relevant to assigned topic* is in relation to the relevance of the information included in the composition. The criteria refer to whether all the information is clearly pertinent to the topic and whether extraneous material is excluded. This is also another cognitive process that can act as a connected grower and support the acquisition of writing skills in another

language. If the writer is able to discriminate the relevant information from the irrelevant in one language, then he or she is able to do so in any language because this ability is not language specific, rather it is a cognitive process.

Out of these four criteria descriptors of content, we found that our multilingual students use comparable writing strategies across the compositions, but related mainly to the descriptor *substantive* and to the descriptor *thorough development of thesis*, the other two descriptors seem less applicable. Thus we will next focus on those two descriptors and we will present our findings in relation to them.

We will first present the descriptor *thorough development of thesis* and then the descriptor *substantive*. In addition, we will present one more strategy that we can distinguish in our materials but which Jacobs et al. (1981) do not mention.

As far as the descriptor *thorough development of thesis* is concerned, we found that our multilingual writers use specific strategies to develop the thesis or the topic of the composition and they actually repeat those strategies across their languages. To begin with, we gave them the option to write either a description of the picture provided or a story related to that picture. Given that option, 53% (n=37) of the students wrote either three times a description in each of the languages or a story in each of the languages. The other students, 47% (n=33), chose to write a combination of two descriptions and one story or two stories and one description. We noticed that among these latter ones, about half (n=16) wrote a story in both Basque and Spanish and a description in English. For a better

overview, we show in Table 20 the selection of description or story according to language.

We must say that in the case of two compositions the distinction of whether it was a story or a description was not clear since they were a kind of combination of both. In those two cases, we decided to choose the type of writing that most stood out. Thus we were able to classify all compositions according to the two options: description or story.

Table 20: Selection of composition type according to language and number of students

Basque	Spanish	English	N. of Students	Total Percentage
Description	Description	Description	31	44
Story	Story	Story	6	9
Story	Story	Description	16	23
Story	Description	Description	8	11
Description	Story	Story	4	6
Description	Story	Description	3	4
Story	Description	Story	1	1
Description	Description	Story	1	1
TOTAL			70	100%

In Table 20 we also can add up the students who chose to write a description in English, which is 82% (n=58); rather than writing a story in English: 17% (n=12). Another pattern we can recognize is that taken together the majority of the students, 77% (n=54), chose to write the same type of writing in both Basque and Spanish, either at least twice a story or twice a description.

We now turn to the second descriptor *substantive*, which is related to whether there are several main points discussed and whether those points are described in detail and using originality. The 70 compositions include different degrees of detail. However, we could identify that regardless of the amount of detail used by a student to discuss his or her topic, each student includes and discusses comparable aspects of the topic by using the closely similar strategies across the languages. For instance, in order to describe the things that happen in the picture or to tell a story based on the picture, many students focus on the persons who are depicted in the picture. In order to do this, some students choose to invent names for all the characters in the picture and other students used colours to describe what they look like, using phrases like “the boy in the red t-shirt” or “the black-haired girl”.

Analyzing this specific feature we noticed that students come up with a name for their characters when they write a story and they tend to use more often colours to identify the characters and objects when they write a description. The use of names and colours could be considered in agreement with the descriptor *substantive* as a way to discuss several points in an original way and to include a sufficient level of detail. We will give some illustrations below of the use of names to tell the story about the characters and then of the use of colours to describe the people and objects in the pictures.

As far as the use of names is concerned, we found 14 students (20%) who gave names to their characters in at least two of their compositions. Studying in more detail, we noticed that 13 of those students who gave a name to their characters did so in a story. Of those 13 students, four wrote three stories in Basque, in Spanish and in English. Another six students

wrote a story in Basque and in Spanish but a description in English, two wrote a story in Spanish and in English and one student wrote a story in Basque and in English. All those students included names for their characters in the stories but not in any of the descriptions. However, there is also one student who wrote three descriptions and used names for his characters, this is student nr 122 (see excerpt 56).

Here we will present a number of excerpts from the students' compositions to illustrate the results. The selection of the excerpts was done in order to most adequately show the use of the same strategies across the languages. We aimed to avoid repeating the same compositions, so we only include the excerpts of one student per strategy, although as it is clear from the numbers given above there were more students who used the same strategy.

The next excerpts are from the compositions written by student nr 122 to depict the use of names.

Excerpt 56: Taken from the compositions of student nr 122

Basque: ...*Julen*, txirristatik jaisten ari da, irrifarrez... *Eñautek* gustora hartzen du... *Eneko* igerileku txiki horretan dago.,...
(**Translation:** *Julen* is sliding down the slide... *Eñaut* happily takes it ... *Eneko* is in that little swimming pool... ..)

Spanish: ... *Pedro*, está alucinado con esa cabra... *Juan* tiene cogido un conejo blanco.... *Pepe* y *José* están alucinados...
(**Translation:** ... *Pedro* is amazed with that goat ... *Juan* has taken a white rabbit ... *Pepe* and *José* are amazed...)

English: ...his name is *Peter*...*Paul* is playing guitar ... *Mark* is show to *Ryan*, his new Game Boy ...

In these three excerpts from student nr 122 we see that he chose to use first names for his characters. The names fit with the languages he was writing in. In his Basque composition we see the Basque names *Julen*, *Eñaut* and *Eneko*. In his Spanish composition he used the Spanish names *Pedro*, *Juan*, *Pepe* and *José*. And in his English composition the English names are *Peter*, *Paul*, *Mark* and *Ryan*. This feature shows a clear sensitivity towards the languages. Actually, we noticed two different strategies among the students who included names for the characters in their stories and descriptions. The two strategies are on the one hand, language sensitivity and on the other hand, social context sensitivity, where depending on the contents of the story or description Basque and Spanish names could be used.

Next to student nr 122 we actually found only two more students who showed similar sensitivity towards names in agreement with the languages of all three stories. Student nr 113 and student nr 136 also named the characters in their compositions, all of the type story, according to the language they were writing in. In addition, we found four other students who included names fitting to the language in two of their compositions, also of the type story. The other seven students combined Basque, Spanish and English names in at least one of the compositions.

We discovered another feature that was repeated quite often. We identified it as the usage of names sensible to social context. What we mean by this is that seven out of the 14 students who included names in at least two of their compositions, actually combined Basque and Spanish names mainly in their Basque and Spanish compositions. Only student nr 135 combined Basque, Spanish and English names in his English story. None of the other

students did this in his or her composition in English, they only used English names.

In addition, there were 19 students who included names in only one of their compositions. We mention them because 11 of these students demonstrated language sensitivity and used language specific names and eight of these students combined names, usually Basque and Spanish but one student included English names too.

We show next the excerpts from the three compositions by student nr 108. All three of her compositions are stories.

Excerpt 57: Taken from the compositions of student nr 108

Basque: ... Juan 10 urteko mutila da ... Karlos eta Maria eguzkia hartzen ... Amanda eta Julen(ek) kometa bat ekarri zuten... (**Translation:** "... Juan is a 10 year-old boy ... Karlos and Maria are sunbathing ... Amanda and Julen brought a kite...")

Spanish: ... Klara está jugando con los conejos... Su hermano, Aitor, esta jugando con las cabras. Alvaro está dando de comer a las gallinas... (**Translation:** "... Klara is playing with the rabbits... Her brother Aitor is playing with the goats... Alvaro is feeding the hens ...")

English: ... Ann has 9 years old ...Peter and Susan are talking with their parents ...

In the excerpts from student nr 108 we see that in her Basque and Spanish stories she has included names common in Basque, *Julen* and *Aitor*, and names more common in Spanish, *Juan*, *Karlos*, *Maria*, *Klara* and *Alvaro*. There is one name that could be seen as English, *Amanda*, but perhaps also as Spanish. It is interesting to note that she has actually changed the spelling of two of the Spanish names, *Karlos* (=Carlos) and *Klara* (=Clara) to adapt them to the Basque context because there is no *c* letter in the Basque alphabet. In her English story she has only used English names, *Ann*, *Peter* and *Susan*.

We think that this use of combined language names in the Basque and Spanish compositions is driven by the context in which the students live. Their social context is bilingual, as both languages Basque and Spanish are present in their social environment so are there Basque and Spanish names. For example in their classrooms, there will be students with Basque names and students with Spanish names, thus they do not see such a clear distinction between Basque and Spanish names but they do in English. This is what we call to be sensitive to the social context.

We said that students used the strategy of naming their characters in their stories and in their descriptions they more often use colours to identify the characters and objects. We will now show how students used that strategy in at least two of their compositions. We found six students who used colours to describe the appearance of people and objects. For example student nr 007 wrote three descriptions and she used colours in all three compositions. In the case of students nr 010, nr 132, nr 142 and nr 159, is similar although they all wrote three descriptions but only used colours to describe people's appearance in their Basque and Spanish compositions.

In addition, student nr 009 wrote a story in Basque, another story in Spanish and a description in English. We show excerpts from her compositions to illustrate how she has used both strategies: the use of names and the use of colours.

Excerpt 58: Taken from the compositions of student nr 009

Basque: ... Jon eta Mikel pilota pasatzen, Tania txirristan behera eta Josu, Julen eta Andoni egitura urdinean jolasten... Aitor, bainu jantzi gorriarekin koltxoneta berde baten gainean etzanda... Aritz, ile urdin gizona, igerian zegoen. Garazi, ile laranjaduna uretan sartua. (**Translation:** ... Jon and Mikel passing along the ball, Tania sliding down the slide and Josu, Julen and Andoni playing on the blue construction... Aitor wearing a red bathing-suit lying down on a green floater... Aritz, the man with the blue hair, was swimming. Garazi, the ginger-haired was in the water.)

Spanish: ...Susana, una niña de pelo negro... Al lado de este espacio estaban los conejos. Eran seis, blancos, negros o marrones... Javi era rubio, el otro Angel, era moreno y finalmente Patricia era castaña... (**Translation:** ... Susana, a black-haired girl ...Next to this space there were the rabbits. They were six, white, black or brown... Javi was blond, the other Angel was dark-haired and finally Patricia was brunette...)

English: ... In the livingroom are six persons and a white dog... In the kitchen is a boy cooking, a table with seven chairs, a green fright (=fridge), a oven and selfs. In the stair is a child goin up with a red t-shirt... In the bedroom of the third floor is a pink bed and a purple self (=shelf).

Regarding the use of names in the story, student nr 009 also made a distinction between Basque names, *Jon, Mikel, Aitor* in the Basque story and Spanish names, *Susana, Angel, Patricia* in the Spanish story. Student nr 009 did not use names for the people in her description in English, but she did use the system of using colour to describe who she was talking about, in this case for the clothes they wear. She also used colours to describe the animals and objects both in her stories and in her description. The strategy used to describe the appearance of the people in her compositions was used once in English but more often in her stories both in Basque and Spanish.

There is another strategy within the descriptor *substantive*, as described by Jacobs et al. (1981), because we have found that many students decided to use a strategy of enumerating the people, animals or objects. These students included the number of items across their descriptions and stories. This strategy is used to describe the details of the main points of the topic. It is a writing strategy used by 18 students when describing the number of people, animals, objects...; in this case, all compositions are of the type description. For example, student nr 147 wrote a description in each language and applied the numbers strategy to describe the number of people and objects. We show some excerpts from her compositions next.

Excerpt 59: Taken from the compositions of student nr 147

Basque: ...*Gero jan tokia daukagu 2 mahi daude ... beste mahia aita bat bere bi seme-alabekin dago eserita... hiru emakume eguzkia artzen hari direla. ... Badaude ere bai bi ume piknika egiten....* (**Translation:** ... then we have the picnic area, there are two tables ... at the other table there is one father sitting with his two children... three women that are sunbathing... There are also two children having a picnic...)

Spanish: ...*En la parte superior de la hoja, hay tres caballos en una caseta ...al lado de los caballos hay otros dos ballados, en una cinco caballos y en el otro hay dos vacas ...hay tres niños ...* (**Translation:** ... at the top of the sheet, there are three horses in a hut...next to the horses there are other two fences, in one there are five horses and in the other one two cows... there are three boys ...)

English: ...*on the kitchen is one dad preparing a lunch or a diner, on the other room are 6 people, two grandparents speaking of our things, then are two boys stand, and on the other part a parents...*

It is remarkable how in the excerpts from student nr 147 in her three descriptions we see how she has systematically enumerated the people, animals and objects in the pictures.

We found six other students who also used the same strategy in two of their compositions; two students used numbers to count the people, animals or objects in the Basque and English compositions, three other students did so

in Spanish and English and one student uses numbers in the Basque and Spanish compositions (all of them descriptions).

Besides these two descriptors, *thorough development of thesis* and *substantive* which we took from Jacobs et al. (1981), we identified one more writing strategy that the students transfer across their compositions. When we compared the three writings of each of the students one by one in detail, we observed that individual students use the same writing strategy in their three languages or in at least two of the languages.

Another writing strategy we detected concerns the use of exactly the same standing expression. We found that 40 students (57%) use the same expression across their compositions. There are 14 students who used the same expression in the three languages and 26 more students used similar or the same expression in two out of three compositions. We noticed that among the latter ones, 21 do write the same expression in the compositions in Basque and in Spanish, three in Basque and in English and two in Spanish and in English.

We analysed these repeated expressions across the languages more in detail and we found 23 students who repeated expressions at the beginning of their compositions, often in the opening sentences. Among those we selected student nr 123 and we show the first line in each of his descriptions next.

Excerpt 60: Taken from the compositions of student nr 123

Basque: *Marrazki honetan ikusten da laku bat erdian...*

(**Translation:** In this picture it is seen a lake in the centre...)

Spanish: *En la imagen se ve una granja de animals...*

(**Translation:** In the picture it is seen an animal farm...)

English: *In this picture we can see one house...*

Student nr 123 decided to start each of the descriptions with a similar sentence, *in this picture we can see...* Actually, it is a kind of formula that was used by 16 of our multilingual writers, so it is quite common, even when these compositions were written on different days with some time in between. All 16 students chose to write a description of the picture and they all began their descriptions using similar phrases, such as “*The picture we see here...*” or “*What we see in this picture...*” Among the students who decided to write a story there are three that opened their stories with the well-known phrase “*Once upon a time...*” But they did so only in their Basque and Spanish stories (Basque=*Behin batean...*; Spanish=*Erase una vez...*) because these three students (nr 005, nr 102 and nr 103), had written a description in English.

We also came upon other expressions that were repeated at the beginning of the compositions across two or three languages, but that seemed not related to a description or a story as a type of writing. These are also fixed expressions but seem more of the students’ individual choice. For example, among the students that used similar or the same expressions in two

compositions we can show what student nr 106 wrote, who started the Basque and Spanish compositions using exactly the same formula.

Excerpt 61: Taken from the compositions of student nr 106

Basque: *Atzo, astelehenean irteera bat egin genuen nire gelakide guztiok...* (**Translation:** “Yesterday, on Monday all my classmates took a fieldtrip...”)

Spanish: *Ayer, lunes nos llevaron a toda la clase a...* (**Translation:** “Yesterday, Monday my whole class was taken to...”)

In the two excerpts we see that student nr 106 started his stories in Basque and Spanish referring to a fieldtrip that his classmates and he took the day before, *on Monday* (even though the compositions were written with a two-day interval). We encountered more instances of individual students using the same expressions across their compositions not only at the beginning, but also in the further textual development of the composition or at the end.

A total of 21 students repeated similar expressions during the development of their compositions across the languages and three more students ended their compositions with very similar expressions. We will show the use of some of those ending sentences, in this case by student nr 116. He wrote three descriptions. His Basque and Spanish descriptions end in a similar manner, as the next excerpts demonstrate.

Excerpt 62: Taken from the compositions of student nr 116

Basque: ... *Hori dela eta, nik esango nuke toki hau aproposa dela familiarekin etortzeko, bai asteburu batean bai oporretan, ongi pasa eta eguzkia hartzera.* (**Translation:** "... Because of it, I would say that this place is appropriate to come with the family, both during a weekend and on holidays, to have a good time and sunbathe.")

Spanish: ... *En definitiva, viendo que la gente se lo pasa bien en este lugar, parece un buen sitio para pasar un fin de semana.* (**Translation:** "... Definitely, seeing that people enjoy in this place, it seems a good place to spend the weekend.")

In both Basque and Spanish student nr 116 used similar expressions to finish the descriptions, commenting on the place, on spending time, having a good time, and mentioning the weekend. Other students who repeated expressions across the languages wrote for example about family outings (student nr 102), family celebrations (student nr 105), or emphasizing the beautiful scenery (student nr 122).

The examples of writing strategies given in the excerpts above refer to the dimension of *content*. In the next section we will provide examples related to the dimension *organization* of the compositions and we will again discover similarities across languages.

B. Organization

Organization is another dimension of writing that turns out to be transferable across languages. Multilingual writers can use the same organizational strategies in all of their languages. For the dimension organization Jacobs et al. (1981) include six descriptors as criteria for excellent writing. These six descriptors are (1) *fluent expression*, (2) *ideas clearly stated/supported*, (3) *succinct*, (4) *well-organized*, (5) *logical sequencing* and (6) *cohesive* (p. 93).

As far as the descriptor (1) *fluent expression* is concerned Jacobs et al. (1981) refer to whether the ideas flow and build one on another, whether there are introductory and ending paragraphs and whether there are transition elements used. That the ideas flow and build on one another seems a transferable feature because a person who is able to put down ideas fluidly using linking words and transitional elements can –in principle– do so in any language. It will depend on the proficiency level in each of the languages but in itself the knowledge of how to build on ideas is transferable. The feature of including introductory and ending paragraphs can be easily transferred; it is a strategy that can be learned in one language and then applied in another.

The descriptor (2) *ideas clearly stated/supported* refers to whether there is a clearly stated central idea or focus on the whole text. It also refers to whether the topic sentence of each paragraph supports and directs the text. The descriptor (3) *succinct* is pertinent to whether all ideas are concise to the topic without using any digressions.

Regarding the general organization of the writing, the descriptor (4) *well-organized* refers to a text that is distinctly formed in separate paragraphs. It

means that the ideas are clearly indicated within and between paragraphs with a beginning, middle and end to the text.

The criteria for the descriptor (5) *logical sequencing* relates to the manner in which the development of the text is in a coherent manner, using particular succession techniques such as time order, space order or order of importance. This descriptor also refers to the use of appropriate transitional markers to indicate the development of the text.

The last descriptor (6) *cohesive* refers to the content of the paragraphs; whether each paragraph reflects a unique purpose and whether all paragraphs in combination unify the whole text.

We will present here how our students use the same or similar organizational strategies across their languages by referring to these six descriptors. As far as (1) *fluent expression* is concerned, we found that 25 students write a clear introductory sentence, rather than a whole paragraph, in all three compositions. An additional 25 students start their writings with an introductory sentence in both Basque and Spanish but do not do so in English. Two other students include an introductory sentence in Spanish and English or in Basque and English compositions, but not in the third language. So a bit more than a third use an opening sentence in three languages, another third in two languages and the rest does it only in one language or not at all.

We now show excerpts from the three compositions written by student nr 103.

Excerpt 63: Taken from the compositions of student nr 103

Basque: *Bazen behin laku handi bat, non jende asko zijoan egunero bainu bat edo eguzkia hartzera...* (**Translation:** Once upon a time there was a big lake where a lot of people went everyday to swim or to sunbathe...)

Spanish: *Había una vez, un valle pequeño, donde había muchos animales, y que gratuitamente se podía visitar, y jugar con los animales...* (**Translation:** Once upon a time, there was a small valley, where there were a lot of animals and that it could be visited for free and play with the animals...”)

English: *In this picture I see one house...*

Student nr 103 started his compositions in Basque and Spanish with similar introductory sentence while in English he used a simpler sentence. He actually wrote a story in Basque and Spanish and a description in English. The first sentences in his compositions agree with the writing genre: story versus description.

The next excerpts are written by student nr 010. This student included an introductory sentence in his three compositions.

Excerpt 64: Taken from the compositions of student nr 010

Basque: *Testu honetan pantano honen deskribapena egingo dut...* (**Translation:** In this text I am going to make the description of this reservoir...)

Spanish: *En este texto voy a hacer una descripción del dibujo de arriba...* (**Translation:** In this text I am going to make a description of the picture above...)

English: *In this picture I see one house. In the house are seven rooms: a bedroom, chicken room, bathroom...*

Student nr 010 although wrote a description in each language, he started his Basque and Spanish compositions exactly with the same sentence but he did not write the same in English. He actually has a straight forward introductory sentence in the English composition; *In this picture I see one house* and continues with the description instead of *I am going to describe a house* more in line with what he wrote in the other two languages.

In addition to an introductory sentence we also encountered that multilingual writers use similar closing sentences in the three or at least in two of their compositions. In general, these students include one sentence instead of a longer closing paragraph. For example, student nr 108 wrote three stories and used rather similar closing sentences as we show in the following excerpts from her compositions.

Excerpt 65: Taken from the compositions of student nr 108

Basque: ...*Maisu eta andereñoek ondo pasa zutela ikusirik hurrengo urtean berriz itzuliko zirela erabaki zuten.*

(**Translation:** The teachers, seeing that they had a good time, decided to return the following year.)

Spanish: ... *Lo han pasado genial y van a volver el curso que viene otra vez.* (**Translation:** ...They had a great time and will return the following school year again.)

English: ...It was a great house and great day!!

In these excerpts we see that student nr 108 has ended her compositions with almost identical sentences in Basque and Spanish and quite a similar end in English, including the comment on the good time the characters had and in Basque and Spanish she added that they would return to that place next year.

Regarding the descriptor (4) *well-organized*, which refers to the text being cut into separate paragraphs, we found that among our students, 30 organized their ideas in distinguishable paragraphs in all of their three writings. The rest of the students, 40, did not use paragraphs at all, in any of their writings. So we can notice that those who organize their ideas in paragraphs do so in all the writings and those who do not do it are also consistent in all their writings. Perhaps this is an emergent element of their writing that distinguishes different stages of development.

Another writing strategy related to the fourth descriptor, *well-organized*, is the arrangement of the text with a clear beginning, a middle and an end. These elements are mainly found in the stories rather than in the descriptions. In the descriptions, we noticed that our students use the next organizational strategy (5) *logical sequencing*.

It refers to systematic development of the ideas rationally by using a particular progressing order. Many of our multilingual writers, especially those who chose to write a description, proceeded to do so by using place adverbs. Many described what they could see starting from the top of the picture and using expressions such as “on the top left corner”.

Among the 30 students who wrote a description in each Basque, Spanish and English, we found that 17 use location adverbs to guide their descriptions but we also found that same feature among the students who wrote two descriptions and a story. Student nr 157 wrote three descriptions and used that feature of logical sequencing through use of location adverbs in all of them; we show excerpts of her writings next.

Excerpt 66: Taken from the compositions of student nr 157

Basque: ...*Irudiaren gohiko ezker aldean txiringitoa dago... eskubirago socorrista dago... goialdeko eskubian jolas toki...*

(**Translation:** "... on the top left of the picture there is a snack bar... a little to the right there is the lifeguard... at the top right there is a playground...")

Spanish: ...*Abajo a la derecha hay cuatro cerdos... A la izquierda hay un espacio... Arriba, cruzando el río...*

(**Translation:** "... At the bottom right hand side there are four pigs... On the left there is a space... At the top, across the river...")

English: ...*On the right are flowers... On the left is the TV room... On the top of the house...*

As we see in the excerpts of student nr 157 above, she used the same strategy to describe the pictures with the help of location adverbs.

We have not included examples of the students using strategies related to the three descriptors (2) *ideas clearly stated/supported*, (3) *succinct* and (6) *cohesive* across the compositions because then we would have to include their whole texts. However, when we analysed the correlations among the scores of each of the five components of the compositions written in the three languages, we found that they are related. The correlation for *organization* between Spanish and English was significant, thus those students who state their ideas clearly, concisely and cohesively in Spanish do so in English too (see section 4.3.1 in this chapter).

In addition to these writing strategies, mainly based on Jacobs et al. (1981), we came upon some others that are related more to the style of writing that these students use in their three compositions. These are features we noticed for individual students in each of their writings and they strengthen our ideas that multilingual speakers do not keep strict boundaries among the languages in their repertoire.

We found, for example, that student nr 150 uses a very similar writing style across his three compositions. This student wrote a story in Basque, another story in Spanish and a description in English. We show next a few excerpts from his three writings to demonstrate this feature.

Excerpt 67: Taken from the compositions of student nr 150

Basque: ... *Hain da polita natura, uraren soinua, txorien kantu gozoa... Hurrengo gunea, etxola, soroslea, baso zabala...*

(**Translation:** “Nature, the sound of water, the singing of the birds... are so beautiful... In the next area, the hut, the lifeguard, the wide forest...”)

Spanish: ... *Otra casita estaba construida para los pollos, gallos, ovejas y cabras... Como por ejemplo las ranas, los conejos, pájaros...*

(**Translation:** “...Another little house was built for the chickens, roosters, sheep and goats... As for example the frogs, the rabbits, birds...”)

English: ...*On the living-room are meeting all the parents and all animals. Dog, cat, bird, hamster...*

In the excerpts we see that student nr 150 tends to use commas to list sequential items. In the Basque story he lists the wonders of nature and the occupants of an area, among other items, while in his Spanish story he itemizes the animals in the farm. In English meanwhile, as he wrote a description, he lists the animals he sees in the picture. Although we did not focus on the *mechanics* of writing as a criterion as described by Jacobs et al. (1981), this feature is obviously related to it.

In the two stories written by student nr 150 we also discovered another feature that was repeated at the discursive level. He included himself in the stories but since he wrote a description in English, he did not carry that feature over to his English composition. We show next some additional excerpts from his Basque and Spanish stories to illustrate the way he uses the I-perspective.

Excerpt 68: Taken from the compositions of student nr 150

Basque: ... Mikel naiz, 32 urte ditut... Hamairu urte daramazkit urrael eder eta lasai honen inguruan bizitzen....
(**Translation:** “I am Mikel, I am 32 years old... I have lived in this beautiful lake for thirteen years...”)

Spanish: ... Yo me llamo Juan y tengo 17 años. He ido durante 4 años a la guardería... (**Translation:** “My name is Juan and I am 17 years old. I have gone to the nursery for 4 years...”)

The strategy of including oneself in the story, as student nr 150, could fall in the *content* dimension. That writing strategy is a feature we found in the compositions of 12 other students. As student nr 150, all of them included

themselves in the stories they wrote, but not in the descriptions. To give the details, there were two students who included themselves in their three stories, other nine students included themselves as characters in the stories in Basque and Spanish but not in the description in English, and two more students used the I-perspective and included themselves as characters in the stories they wrote in Spanish and English but not in the description in Basque.

While we were looking at similarities among the three compositions of individual students the three stories by student nr 136 stood out. This student's stories share more than one strategy. We will show some excerpts to present the writing strategies she repeated across her three stories.

Excerpt 69: Taken from the compositions of student nr 136

Basque: *Ene! Ez al duzue notatzen jada?...* (**Translation:** “Oh my! Don't you already notice it?...”)

Spanish: *Todo está listo. La clase de la Señorita...*
(**Translation:** “Everything is ready. Miss' class...”)

English: *One thing is certain: on Sally's home anybody can be in silence...*

In these first three excerpts above we show the very first line of each of her stories. Each of her stories started in a similar manner, using an attention-drawing phrase to attract the attention of the reader. A second technique student nr 136 used, is the introduction of character names. She gives names to the characters in agreement with the language of the composition.

So in Basque she uses Basque names, the main character for example is called *June*¹¹, in the Spanish story we find *Pablo* among the characters and in English the main character is called *Sally* (as can be seen above).

A third writing strategy that student nr 136 used is the use of dialogues. She was actually the only student who used dialogues as a writing technique, but we found it interesting to look at the way she used that strategy and in the next additional excerpts from her three stories it can be seen.

Excerpt 70: Taken from the compositions of student nr 136

Basque: *Amona beregana gerturatu eta esan dio:*

- *Oso ausarta zara June. Begira uretan zaude!*

- *Egia da amona. Egia da!*

(**Translation:** “Grandma has approached her and said to her:

- You are very brave June. You are in the water!

- It’s true grandma. It’s true!”)

Spanish:

- *¿Qué te ocurre?*

- *Nada. Me da mucha pena irme de aquí.*

(**Translation:** “- What’s wrong?

- Nothing. I’m sad for leaving this place.”)

English: *“Oh, My God!” “Who is shouting?” sayed Carol. “I think is Sally. Something is not ok”*

¹¹ “June”, not to be confused with English “June” of same spelling but different pronunciation, is a Basque name originating from the Middle Ages according to *Euskaltzaindia*
http://www.euskaltzaindia.eus/index.php?option=com_eoda&Itemid=204&lang=eu&testua=June&view=izenak

In the excerpts above we see she not only makes use of dialogues but this student is also able to distinguish the way dialogues are portrayed in writing in each of the languages. For example, in Basque and Spanish dialogues are preceded by hyphens while in English they are inserted between quotation marks. Similarly, this student is aware of the differences among the way question marks and exclamation marks are written in each of the languages. While in Basque and English there is only one question and exclamation mark at the end of the phrase, in Spanish there is also an upside-down mark at the beginning of the phrase. This feature is also part of writing *mechanics*.

We actually found that in general, with some exceptions, our students know the punctuation rules in the languages in their repertoire quite well. As far as the use of the question marks is concerned, all students who included them in their compositions did so correctly and according to the rules of each language. However, in regard to the use of the exclamation marks, we found that students nr 139 and nr 152 used exclamation marks in their Spanish compositions wrong. Both students only used the exclamation mark at the end of the sentence and missed it at the beginning. Student nr 139, as we show next, used that punctuation mark correctly in English, but did not include it in the Basque composition. It is interesting to observe that the exclamation marks were repeated.

Excerpt 71: Taken from the compositions of student nr 139

Spanish: ... *Y los animales también se están divirtiendo mucho, pero sobre todo, comen mucho!!* (**Translation:** "... And also the animals are having a good time, and above all, they eat a lot!!")

English: ...*But, she hasn't found anything!!!*

We reported already before that the correlation among the compositions in each of the languages was significant for the dimension *mechanics*. In general, student nr 136 (see excerpts 69 and 70) is a clear example of a multilingual writer who knows what she can transfer from one language to another and who also knows the distinct characteristics of each language.

In summary, in this section we have presented the writing strategies and some other features that multilingual writers carry across the languages in their repertoire. There are cognitive as well as discursive processes that can be transferred in writing between different languages such as Basque, Spanish and English.

This chapter presents the results of our data analyses of the three studies in relation to the three main research questions. In the following chapter we will proceed to discuss the conclusions based these results.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

5.1 Introduction

In this final chapter we will discuss the conclusions we have come to after investigating the existing literature and theory, carrying out the different types of fieldwork, presenting the analysis of the results of the three research studies and reflecting upon them. In order to present our discussion in an orderly and meaningful manner, we have organized this chapter in five different sections. After this brief introduction we dedicate the first section to the discussion of our Study 1 on multilingualism more in general about teachers' beliefs. The second section includes the discussion concerning Study 2 which was about code-switching in the English classroom and the third section consists of the discussion related to the final Study 3 on the skills of students as multilingual writers. In a final section of this chapter we will discuss some limitations of our research studies and we will also discuss a number of implications of our studies for future research.

Through the presentation of the discussion about the three studies, we also give an answer to the three main research questions which we formulated earlier in chapter 2 (section 2.2) and which we discussed in relation to the results in chapter 4. As we explained before, in order to answer our three main research questions, we carried out three independent empirical studies; each study was designed around one central question and thus we will also discuss the conclusions in separate sections in terms of the division of the research questions.

5.2 The beliefs of teachers regarding multilingualism

In this section we discuss our first research question which concerns teachers' beliefs. Our research question number 1 was broadly formulated as "*What are the beliefs of teachers concerning multilingualism?*" In order to be able to answer the first research question, we interviewed 33 teachers who work in ten different primary schools in the Basque Country, where the minority language Basque, the state language Spanish, and English as a foreign language are part of the curriculum (see chapter 2). On the basis of the data we obtained in this first study we could conclude that all of these teachers in general hold very positive beliefs about multilingualism. The teachers we interviewed give, among others, as their opinion that multilingualism offers the possibility to communicate with and learn about other people and cultures. They also mention that they value the ability of multilingual speakers to adapt to different situations by means of switching from one language to another. A positive view of multilingualism was also reported by Griva and Chostelidou (2012), who found that Greek foreign language teachers associated multilingualism with the ability to communicate in different cultural and linguistic environments and the openness to other languages and cultures. Our results are also in agreement with De Angelis (2011), who carried out a study in which teachers also believed that knowing several languages was important. The teachers in her study viewed multilingualism mainly as beneficial cognitively.

The teachers in our study could only bring up a few negative aspects about multilingualism and the things they said are related to the effort and time required to learn languages or, what was most frequently mentioned, the impossibility for a speaker or learner to achieve an equally high proficiency level in all the languages. Some of our teachers reported that one language

may interfere with the learning of an additional language as the teachers in the study carried out by De Angelis (2011) believed. These results are in line with similar results from studies about teachers' beliefs in for example Austria, Italy, Great Britain, or Greece (see e.g. Griva and Chostelidou 2012 and De Angelis 2011).

We probed deeper and explicitly asked the teachers to provide their beliefs about the three dimensions of “Focus on Multilingualism” approach: 1) the multilingual speaker, 2) the whole linguistic repertoire, and 3) the wider social context. Their answers provide useful insights into their monolingual and multilingual ideologies. In the next subsections we will present the conclusions we have come to regarding those three dimensions which match with sub-questions which we formulated for each dimension.

5.2.1 Beliefs of teachers concerning the multilingual speaker

Most of these Basque teachers believe that the ideal monolingual speaker has to be a reference for each of the languages, so for Basque, Spanish and English. At the same time the teachers are aware that achieving such competence of the ideal native speaker is an unreachable goal for all three languages for their students. They observe tensions between the real and the ideal, but in their beliefs they seem to consider the competence each time for one language at the time. In the interviews no one made reference to the fact that their students are emergent multilinguals who therefore are different from monolingual speakers. Based on the results we can conclude that the goals for competence in the Basque language these teachers have for their students are very ambitious; this seems to be related to the way they perceive the strength of the language education policy.

5.2.2 Beliefs of teachers concerning the linguistic repertoire

The beliefs these teachers have about the linguistic repertoire confirm the “monolingual instruction assumptions” as they were identified among others by Cummins (2014). These beliefs are pervasive and persistent among the primary school teachers in the Basque Country. However, at the same time their beliefs are quite complex. On the one hand, there is a strong idea that isolating languages in the classroom is the optimal teaching strategy and that using translation is only a last possible recourse. On the other hand, some teachers are convinced that the teaching of the three languages should be coordinated in the curriculum and (language) teachers should collaborate more. In general, there is a strong presence of beliefs that go against mixing of languages, which is a conviction related to the position of Basque as the main language of instruction in the school and at the same time Basque as a minority language in society dominated by Spanish. We have observed that there is a general belief in the schools and in society at large that code-switching has negative consequences for the weakest language. We also saw that the opinion about using only the target language in English lessons is equally strong and this may have been further influenced by monolingual ideologies spread in pre-service and in-service courses. Simultaneously, the teachers understand that the teaching of the three languages in an integrated language curriculum could enhance the use of students’ linguistic and metalinguistic resources and could enhance learning (Cenoz & Gorter, 2015). We can conclude that such beliefs among teachers about integration show a trend towards a somewhat more multilingual ideology.

Overall, Basque teachers believe strongly that teaching English is important and teaching through the medium of English is also thought of as

a good thing. However, some teachers express their concerns related to the language ability in English of the students and about the time that needs to be dedicated to English because it might imply reducing the time dedicated to the minority language and thus could negatively affect the competence in Basque. As far as teaching through the medium of the minority language is concerned the teachers are part of a longer tradition and they take Basque for granted as medium of instruction. As we mentioned before, this is not the case in other regions in Europe where minority languages are taught, due to factors such as a shortage of materials, deficiencies in teacher training and a lack of teaching through the medium of the minority language. Not only can we observe this in the case in other regions of Europe (Arocena & Gorter, 2013; Riemersma & De Vries 2011), but those problems were for example also reported by Chimbutane (2013) in relation to African languages being used as academic languages in bilingual schools where Portuguese used to be the medium of instruction.

5.2.3 Beliefs of the teachers concerning the social context

Our study confirms the role of the social and educational context in the development of teachers' beliefs (Basturkmen, 2012; Borg, 2006; Nishino, 2013). Teachers are convinced that parents and social media have an important influence on the learning of languages. Teachers notice that parents value the learning of English higher than the learning of the minority language and their concern is that parents transmit such opinions to their children.

As far as the media are concerned, the most important influence seems to come from television. Teachers believe that television influences the process of learning languages of the young students. According to the

teachers, young students get relatively little Basque and English from social media such as Facebook. Teachers' beliefs further reflect the importance of institutional support for the minority language in wider society and the (negative) effects of little use that is made of English in the wider social context. We can conclude that their beliefs affirm the importance of social context regarding the multilingual competence of their students. Their attitudes reflect the fact that the students' language ability is not only a matter of school but also a matter of the school's surroundings and the status and use of the languages in society in general.

An important implication for teacher training could be to incorporate more clearly a critical attitude toward monolingual assumptions and also an awareness of the importance of treating the students as multilingual speakers in their own right.

Nowadays we observe in the literature that monolingual ideologies in multilingual education are replaced by multilingual ideologies that soften the boundaries between languages so as to use the resources multilingual speakers have at their disposal. The results of our study point out that monolingual assumptions are still strongly rooted among the Basque teachers we interviewed. More research evidence on the advantages of multilingual approaches needs to be disseminated among teachers to influence their beliefs and to move their practices in the direction of a "focus on multilingualism".

5.3 Code-switching in the English language classroom

In this section we will discuss the outcomes of our second research question. That question was formulated as: *“What are the characteristics of code-switching in the English language classroom?”* We will next discuss the main findings of our second study that focused on answering the second research question and its four sub-questions about 1. *“When does code-switching happen in the English language classroom?”* 2. *“What are the functions of code-switching in the classroom?”* 3. *“How do multilingual speakers take advantage of (or miss opportunities to use) their language resources?”* 4. *“Does multilingual teachers’ perception of their language use match with the observed language use in their classes?”*

In our second study we could demonstrate that in the English language classroom notwithstanding an ideology of language separation, actually both Basque and Spanish, the first and second languages of the students, are used. Thus we could provide evidence that the use of the L1 and L2 in the foreign language classroom as well as in English Medium Instruction classes occurs and it does so for different purposes. While some other studies question whether other languages should be used in the target language classroom at all and if they are used in what amount this should be done, we present the potential of using the students’ L1 and L2 with pedagogic purposes.

Our findings suggest that the use of the students’ L1 and L2, whether in the form of code-switching or in the form of planned and systematic use, could benefit the learning of the L3 as well as at the same time strengthen the L1 and L2.

Our first research sub-question aims to analyse when code-switching happens in the English language classroom and we will outline the conclusions we have come to.

5.3.1 Code-switching in the English language classroom

Our first sub-question was formulated as: “*When does code-switching happen in the English language classroom?*” We found many instances of code-switching distributed throughout the lessons that we observed. Our study shows that the largest amount of code-switching occurred while the students were working on task, which means that they were involved in working to complete a task. Although we also found code-switching while the students were working in small groups, the majority we observed happened while they were working together with the teacher as a whole class and the task was led by the teacher. Our outcome confirms similar findings by Storch and Aldosari (2010) and by Gündüz (2014).

This study also reveals that the students who have about 12 years of English as a foreign language instruction, do use code-switching at different levels depending on the manner their work is organized. Like us Gündüz (2014) also found that when working as a whole group and led by the teacher the code-switching consists of short phrases and is used mainly for vocabulary understanding or clarifying purposes. In contrast, while working in small groups, we observed that the code-switching of the students is more extensive and usually of the type identified by others as code-switching for off-task socializing and collaborative talk (Swain & Lapkin, 2000; Storch & Aldosari, 2010; Costa, 2011). Further our study confirms the finding by Lewis et al. (2013) that learners seem to use two

languages in very natural and pragmatic ways with the aim of succeeding in school.

We looked in detail at the content feature as described in the COLT scheme and we observed that when the focus of instruction is on meaning, and more specifically on management, the teachers code-switch to give directives such as instructions. The teachers never do it while they were managing discipline, which is contrary to the studies of Gierlinger (2015), Lin (2006) and Lo (2015) who found that L1 is used in the classroom for purposes of discipline management. The cases when we observed the teachers having to deal with disciplinary issues, they exclusively used the target language. Thus this seems to suggest that when teachers and students have a more extensive experience in the foreign language classroom, they are able to deal with disciplinary issues in the target language. Littlewood and Yu (2011) drew similar conclusions when they stated that as the students gain more experience in the target language, the teachers in dealing with disciplinary issues use less the first language and more the target language. However, it has to be remembered that we only observed two teachers' lessons and a larger sample might give more insight in this matter.

This study also shows that code-switching occurs when the focus of instruction is on form, more specifically, as in our case, when working on vocabulary and grammar and the type of language used is discursive. When the focus of instruction is on meaning, most code-switching happens when the topic is broad or not related to the classroom or the immediate environment.

In the foregoing we have seen *when* code-switching occurs during the teaching of the foreign language. In the next section we want to address our second research sub-question about the functions of code-switching and the conclusions we have come to.

5.3.2 Functions of code-switching in the classroom

Our second research sub-question was *stated as*: “*What are the functions of code-switching in the classroom?*” To address this question, we have used our new developed scheme (see Table 6 in chapter 1, section 1.4.2). The findings in this part of the study show that code-switching can be categorized as regulative and instructional. Most of the code-switching instances we observed were instructional and they were intended to ease the understanding of new and difficult vocabulary items and concepts. Our observations were in agreement with the information provided by the teachers in the interviews. The teachers do code-switch deliberately to check for the students’ understanding. Usually when a code-switch is requested by a student, it is due to lack of knowledge of a word or concept.

These findings agree with Gierlinger’s (2015) conclusion that teachers’ code-switching is pedagogical and not an emergency tool, and also, as Lo (2015) stated, teachers use the students’ L1 for content and language learning purposes. Our findings in this regard provide evidence that teachers and students do not use their L1 or L2 injudiciously but they do it for learning and for cognitive purposes as well as in response to the students’ needs. Sometimes those needs are affective and the teachers respond using their L1, usually as a follow-up to the language used by the student.

In the next section we will discuss the conclusion to which we have come regarding our third research sub-question about how multilinguals use their language resources.

5.3.3 Multilingual speakers' language resources

Our third sub-question looked into the resources of multilinguals and it was formulated as: “*How do multilingual speakers take advantage of (or miss opportunities to use) their language resources?*” In a multilingual educational context such as the Basque Country teachers and students share more than one language, and we wanted to analyse whether and how multilingual speakers take advantage of all their language resources or miss opportunities to use them.

First of all, we must say that in this study we found evidence that the beliefs against mixing languages in the Basque schools' classrooms are still strong (Arocena, Cenoz & Gorter, 2015; also chapter 4, section 4.1). Secondly, due to those deeply rooted beliefs, many opportunities to enhance the teaching and learning of the foreign language seem to be somehow missed. We can infer that through experience, teachers start seeing the benefits of breaking the monolingual barriers and thus the use of the L1 in foreign language classrooms might not be casual but purposeful (cf. Gierlinger, 2015).

On many occasions the code-switching observed in this study is not casual or random, especially when teachers make use of cognates in order to aid the learning of new vocabulary and concepts. Researchers have not long ago started to note the benefits of cognate recognition instruction in L2 English classrooms because it can enhance students' comprehension skills,

especially in academic reading (Proctor & Mo, 2009; Lubiner & Hiebert, 2011; Arteagoitia & Howard, 2015; Escamilla et al. 2014). But although teachers know that they can use cognates for understanding vocabulary, they do not make use of them with the full potential it can have and are thus missing opportunities, for example to enhance reading comprehension in the third language (Arteagoitia & Howard, 2015). The more experienced and senior teacher in this study attempted to break the language separation barrier for pedagogical purposes by allowing students to use primary documents or sources in the L1 or L2 and having the final production in the L3. This approach was found only a couple of times in this study, confirming the finding by Lewis et al. (2013), that the use of the input/output translanguaging is not widespread, although it has been proven pedagogically effective.

Lyster et al. (2013) suggested the importance of instruction on morphological awareness in order to develop biliteracy skills and our more experienced teacher was also aware of the importance of learning aspects such as word formation with prefixes and making links to the other two languages as well as to other content subjects. However, although her experience helped, she went past some important opportunities to use those multilingual resources of her students. This might be due to the lack of training in applying these strategies and to the pressure to keep languages separate. It shows that although the teachers' experience guides them to make such links, they might not be ready yet to implement them.

We also observed one more missed opportunity to use the students' language resources in the case of the newly-arrived student. As Cummins (2009) reports, when newcomer students are encouraged to write in their L1, then translate into English with peer or other help, their output in

English scaffolds and this enables them to use “higher order and critical thinking skills much sooner than if English is the only legitimate language of intellectual expression in the classroom” (p. 319). Thus by not including that student’s L1 as aid to acquire the other languages in school the learning process was slowed down.

In order to expand the use of the L1 and L2 in the L3 classroom, we interviewed the two teachers participating in this study and thus we tried to answer our fourth research sub-question about their perceptions of language use versus what we observed. We will discuss it in the next section.

5.3.4 Multilingual teachers’ perception versus observed language use in classroom

The final sub-question of this second study was formulated as “*Does multilingual teachers’ perception of their language use match with the observed language use in their classes?*” In regard to the teachers’ perception of their language use and the actual language use they displayed during the lessons, we must say that in general their perception matches with what we could observe. However, as far as the students’ language use is concerned, the teachers believe that the students use less English, the target language, than what they actually do. We found that experienced teachers are aware of their code-switching but hesitate to use the L1 and L2 in the L3 classroom for pedagogical purposes. Costa (2011) reported that the teachers in her study were aware of their code-switching but not of their students’, thinking that the students make use of code-switching less than they actually do. In our study the teachers showed awareness of their students’ code-switching, and actually believed that they code-switched

more often than they really did, which is contrary to Costa's (2011) findings.

Littlewood and Yu (2011) reported that code-switching by the students was challenging to study due to the students' tendency to code-switch very frequently. In our study we did not find that tendency from the students, but we did find that the students tended to use mainly the L1 and sometimes the L2 when they were working in small groups, both for socializing and negotiating the production of the task. This corroborates earlier findings that students use their L1 for collaborative work and socializing and when they are working off-task and in groups or pairs (Costa, 2011; Swain & Lapkin, 2000). We recognize the difficulty in counting and analysing lots of instances but in fact our students did not code-switch all that often. The reason is probably as Lo (2015) suggested, that students' use of the L1 decreases as their competence in the foreign language increases, and our students have been studying English for about 12 years. Notwithstanding the students' relatively high ability in the foreign language, they tend to use more L1 when dealing with non academic situations. The fact that the 4th graders argued in Basque when having to negotiate about group membership shows that multilingual speakers navigate between languages according to their communicative needs.

Our study shows that in the multilingual context of the Basque Country, other languages (Basque and Spanish) are used in addition to the target language in the English foreign language lessons, where the norm is to use only the target language. Although the teachers in this study have adopted monolingual instructional assumptions (Cummins, 2014) there are many diversions from that ideal norm; they mean to use only the target language but in practice, they also use the L1 and L2 for a purpose, typically to ease

understanding and to clarify more complex vocabulary and concepts. Therefore, there is a contradiction between the norm and what really happens in the classroom. The teachers are aware that they code-switch but they are cautious when admitting to what extent they code-switch; that finding confirms what Lin (2006) reported for teachers in Hong Kong. The teachers maintain their beliefs because they know that the classroom is the only place where the students are exposed to English as the foreign language. It can also be due to the pressure to comply with the official school policy and with parents' expectations, which happens as well in other contexts like Canada and Hong Kong (McMillan & Turnbull, 2009; Lo, 2015).

In this study we witnessed a dichotomy between the teachers; on the one hand, through their experience and beliefs, allow for code-switching and the use of the other languages than the target language up to a certain point especially when it has an instructional function. And on the other hand, they are hesitant to admit the use of the L1 and L2 in the L3 classroom and they believe that the exclusive use of the target language will ensure maximal exposure and input (McMillan & Turnbull, 2009).

The results of this study show the need for more research on the benefits of multilingual approaches in English language instruction and also a need for changes in teacher training courses in order to transform monolingual beliefs and practices into more multilingual beliefs that will allow the use of cross-language resources for pedagogical reasons.

5.4 The writing skills of multilingual writers

A third study was designed to investigate about the writing skills of multilingual students and with the purpose of giving an answer to the third research question (*“What are the writing skills of multilingual writers?”*) and its sub-questions about writing competence, language transfer and transfer of writing strategies across the languages.

As we saw in the chapter on the results of this study (chapter 4, section 4.3), in general the students perform similar when writing in Basque and Spanish but their scores in English show that the level of proficiency in the foreign language is substantially lower. The students involved in our study speak either Basque or Spanish with their parents and are all enrolled in model D schooling (Basque medium). Thus we focused on their writing skills while differentiating according to the language spoken with their parents. We will summarize and discuss the writing skills of these multilingual speakers taking into account our research sub-questions on writing competence, multi-directionality in language transfer and transfer of writing strategies.

5.4.1 Writing competence and home language Basque or Spanish

The first sub-question was formulated as *“Are there any differences in writing competence between the students who use Basque with their parents and those who use Spanish with their parents?”* In regard to the first sub-question we found, on one hand, that when the students are writing in Spanish the differences in the overall scores are not statistically significant between students who speak Basque with their parents and students who speak Spanish with their parents. On the other hand, we

found that when the same students write in Basque or in English the differences between the two home language groups were significant in regard to their overall scores. Our outcomes are in agreement with the results obtained by Sagasta (2003) in a study where she compared the writing skills in Basque, Spanish and English of a group of students who used Basque at home and another group of students who did not use Basque at home. Similar to our study, all the students received their education through the minority language Basque and the results show that the students achieve a good level of proficiency in the dominant language Spanish. Thus studying through the medium of Basque does not hold back proficiency in the dominant language.

Our results also show that those who speak Basque with their parents perform better in Basque and English than the students who speak Spanish with their parents. This brings us to the fact that using a language outside school, in this case Spanish, aids its acquisition and learning and here this is only in the case of Basque and the Basque speakers at home. Sagasta (2003) also found that the Basque speaking students in her study outperformed the Spanish speaking students in writing in Basque, as she stated, probably because of the higher use of Basque outside the school. In the case of English, although exposure and use outside school is minimal, those who speak Basque with their parents outperform those who speak Spanish with their parents. This is probably so because a high level of bilingualism is believed to help obtain better levels. When acquiring a third language bilingual students have shown to score higher in the L3 as seen in other previous studies (Bild & Swain, 1989; Swain et al., 1990; Sanz, 2000).

Our results of this study, in relation to the five dimensions of writing as defined by Jacobs et al. (1981), were slightly different from those found by Sagasta (2003). We showed that in writing Basque and writing English there are no significant differences in scores for the students who use Basque with parents and the students who use Spanish with their parents in the two dimensions of *content* and *organization*. However, we did find significant differences between the two groups regarding the three dimensions of *vocabulary*, *language use* and *mechanics*. In Spanish writing there are no significant differences in four out of five writing dimensions; *content*, *organization*, *vocabulary* and *language use*, but the differences are significant in the dimension *mechanics*.

We also found significant correlations between the writing dimensions in the three languages, thus the students who do well in one dimension in one of the three languages also do well in the same dimension in the other two languages. These results are consistent with the results found by other researchers (Muñoz, 2000; Sagasta, 2003; De Angelis and Jessner, 2012).

5.4.2 *Cross-linguistic transfers and home language*

The second sub-question on the writing study was formulated as “*Are there any differences in the cross-linguistic transfers between the students who use Basque with their parents and those who use Spanish with their parents?*” Cross-linguistic transfers happen multi-directionally (De Angelis, 2007; Cenoz & Gorter, 2011). We analysed the transfers considering both students who speak Basque with their parents and those who speak Spanish with their parents and then we looked at the direction of the transfer, from which language into which language. As we explained in chapter 4 (section 4.3) with the results, we focused on two types of

transfers: lexical and syntactic. As far as the lexical transfers are concerned, we found that in general the students who speak Spanish with their parents produced more lexical transfers than the students who speak Basque with their parents. The transfers by these students with home language Spanish came mainly from Spanish into Basque. The lexical transfers these students make when they are writing a Basque composition are Spanish words adapted to Basque spelling and morphology. When they write in English they sometimes include Spanish words unchanged, other times adapted to look more English but not always succeeding, thus creating words considered to be erroneous. At other times these students insert Spanish words into the English composition by using quotation marks to make clear that the word is not English.

The students who speak Basque with their parents transferred Basque lexicon into their Spanish compositions but much less often. When they did they usually adapted them to the Spanish orthography and morphology, but not always. In addition, the students who speak Basque with their parents did not transfer their L1 lexicon into English, except for one case.

Regarding the adaptation of loan words into the morphology and orthography of the target language in which the students write, which Soltero-González et al. (2012, p. 79) called “*nativization*”, we can observe an interesting difference depending on the language that is being used. That is, lexical transfers from Spanish into Basque or from Basque into Spanish were so-called *nativizations*, but when the lexical transfers are from the Basque or Spanish into the English or from the English into Spanish this is not the case. The reason could be that because when Spanish words are *nativized* into Basque most often those are words that are actually used in everyday life by many bilingual speakers and thus somehow accepted in

informal conversations. For example, we found the words *pistina* (English=*swimming pool*) and *sokorrista* (English=*life guard*) in many of our Basque compositions and we know their use is widespread in society although they are loans from the Spanish language and not accepted in the Basque dictionaries. In the case of Basque into Spanish, we found only nine transfers, which shows on the one hand that it is not very common and on the other hand, when it happens they are always nativized, although in this case as far as we know they are not as widespread in everyday informal conversations.

The lexical transfers from the L3 into the L1 and L2 were few but they were mainly words that although they are of English origin they are quite widespread among the speakers of Basque and Spanish. Words such as *water polo* and *picnic* are accepted by the Spanish dictionaries but the Basque dictionaries only accept *picnic* as *piknik*. And the word *kanping* that we saw in one of our Basque compositions is not accepted by the Basque dictionaries. Similarly, in the case of *pony* that we found in two Spanish compositions it is not accepted by the Spanish dictionaries as such, the correct spelling is *poni*, but its usage is widespread among the speakers of Spanish. Thus we can conclude that the L3 lexical transfers made into the L1 and L2 are usually words that are already widely used by the speakers of Basque and Spanish.

In contrast, when the students do not seem to know a word in English, they do not always nativize them, but they use other strategies to show that they are including a loan word. For example, they maintain the original form inserting them between quotation marks and at other times without the quotation marks. Just a few students dared to use the some kind of nativization technique, so we found words such as *solairum* (from the

Basque “solairu”, *floor* in English) and *alform* (from the Spanish “alfombra”, *carpet* in English). Probably this is also because these students are not aware of or do not know the correct morphology and/or orthography in English. Moreover, these students do not or hardly use any English in their everyday life and are not accustomed to do so in informal conversations.

Almost half of the total number of lexical transfers over all compositions together was found in the English compositions. It is interesting to observe that when writing in English, Spanish speakers transferred more Basque lexicon than the Basque speakers who actually transferred more from Spanish into English. So both groups of students when writing in English, they transferred more from their L2 rather than from their home language. With our results we cannot confirm what Tullock and Fernández-Villanueva (2013) found in their study that the students more likely transferred lexicon from the languages they used more at a daily base.

We can generalise saying that our students transfer lexicon multi-directionally and when it is from the L1 to the L2 and from the L2 to the L1 they do not use acknowledgment markers such as quotation marks, they rather nativize them by adapting the morphology and orthography to the language of destination. While when the transfer is from the L1 or L2 into the L3 they either leave the words as they are in the language of origin or use quotation marks to acknowledge that they are borrowings.

In the case of syntactic transfers, we found again that the students who speak Spanish with their parents produce more transfers than the students who speak Basque with their parents. We noticed when we looked in more detail, that syntactic transfers were made mainly from the students’ home

language. For example, speakers of Basque made syntactic transfers from Basque into the Spanish and English, while speakers of Spanish at home, although sometimes also transferred from Basque, they mainly transferred from their first language Spanish. These transfers were made into Basque and English.

The syntactic transfers from the first language into the second language were primarily word choice, specifically verb choice. This seems to be influenced by the use of a single verb in one language that denotes two meanings in another language or the other way around and we found that the students were not always able to distinguish those both meanings and usages. For example, in the case of syntactic transfers from Basque to Spanish, we found this phenomenon various times. The Basque verb *egon* can be used as *to be in a place* or as *there is/are* but in Spanish there are two different verbs to denote *to be in a place* (*estar*) and *there is/are* (*hay*). So, a few students used the incorrect verb in Spanish due to the influence of Basque. Another Basque transfer into the Spanish composition that we found was the use of the incorrect preposition.

The syntactic transfers from Spanish into Basque were mainly incorrect translations of Spanish expressions into Basque and clearly the influence of Spanish morphology, such as the use of plural in verb participles as in *eseritak* from the Spanish *sentados* instead of *eserita* (English=*sitting down/sat*) and in participial adjective *erosoak* from the Spanish *cómodos* instead of *eroso* (English=*comfortable*).

The syntactic transfers into English are mainly the use of the null subject, word order and word choice as a result of literal translations from Spanish. For example, using the verb *miss* instead of *lose*, to denote “to miss an

event” (from “*perder [un evento]*” in Spanish). We included the omission of the subject in the section of syntactic transfers from Spanish into English, although they could actually be classified as transfers from both Basque and Spanish, because both languages allow for the omission of the subject.

With regard to syntactic transfers from English into Spanish we only found two cases and both were in the Spanish composition of the same student. In both cases it was the adjective noun order influenced by English. Our students did not make any syntactic transfer either from English into Basque or from Basque into English.

To conclude we can say that we found a tendency in the students’ writings to transfer syntactic elements from their home L1. However, all students also transfer at a lower level, from their L2. As far as the transfers found in the English compositions are concerned, they come all from the schools’ L2 which is Spanish, which is also the second language for the Basque speakers and first language for the Spanish speakers. In general, our findings in this area strengthen what other researchers have noted before (Odlin, 2012; Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008; De Angelis, 2007). They also found that transfer can come from different languages, as De Angelis (2007) and Cook (2013) stated that transfer is not always from the L1 into other languages, but it can originate from the L2 or the L3.

5.4.3 What characteristics do multilingual writers transfer across languages?

In our final research sub-question we asked “*What characteristics do multilingual writers transfer across languages?*” It aimed to analyse the

features that strengthen the assumption we have used throughout all our studies, namely that multilingual speakers are not two or more monolinguals in one mind where boundaries are set between the languages. To prove the point in yet another way we looked side by side at the three writings of each of the 70 secondary school students that participated in our study. Our aim was to analyse in depth the characteristics and features that support the basic idea that multilingual writers share certain writing strategies across languages.

We said before in chapter 4 (section 4.3) that the scores of the English compositions were lower than the scores of the Basque and Spanish compositions. However, we also found that the differences in the scores between the composition in Basque and Spanish and the compositions in English on the dimensions *content*, *organization* and *mechanics* are smaller in points than the scores on the dimensions of *vocabulary* and *language use*. The reason for these smaller differences can be that these emergent multilinguals may not yet have achieved proficiency in vocabulary and language use in their third language English, but they are able to use strategies to develop the central thesis and organize their writing based on what they acquired in the other two languages in which they are more proficient. Similarly, the ability to use punctuation correctly (a part of the dimension *mechanics*) can improve in the weaker language using the knowledge acquired in the other two languages. To give a simple example, if a student knows that there is a need to use a full stop at the end of each sentence in one language, he or she can transfer that knowledge into another language.

Features that are characteristic for multilingual writers are those that can be found across the languages in their (writing) repertoire. The first

characteristic that we found regarding the content of the compositions is the choice of the type of text. In the assignment we gave the option to write a description or a story and it turned out that 53% of all students chose to write the same text type in the three languages. This supports the idea that the multilingual individual does not think independently in each language. The multilingual student might have a preference regarding the text type for this kind of assignment and does apply it in all the languages. However, we also found that 23% of the students wrote a story in their L1 and L2 and then a description in English, their L3. This fact makes us think that since the L3 is their weakest language, they may have chosen to write a description because seems to require less writing skills.

We deduce that writing a description is probably seen as easier than writing a story and also that these students do not always rely on their L1 and L2 to support the acquisition of the English language. As Cenoz and Gorter (2014) noted, the languages in the multilingual speakers' repertoire need to be activated in order to function as supporting the acquisition of another language. In this case we assume that Basque and Spanish have not been activated in the acquisition of writing skills in English. The fact that languages are strictly separated in the schools due to the monolingual assumptions (Cummins, 2014), does not allow to activate other languages in the students' repertoire and function as aid in the process of the acquisition of the third or additional language.

A second characteristic of these multilingual student writers is that they use specific strategies when they discuss the topic of their composition and they repeat those strategies when writing in the three languages. One of those strategies, related to the content dimension, is the use of names for the characters in their stories and some also use names in the descriptions.

This strategy of using names brought up another interesting feature of multilingual writers which is the ability to distinguish names according to the language used and also in combination as a result of the sociolinguistic context surrounding them. We saw some students using names belonging to the language they were writing in, once again influenced by language separation assumptions, and other students combining names originated in their first and second language when writing in either of those languages. This latter students' use of names from both languages reflects their bilingualism and the bilingual world they live in.

In fact these multilingual writers use a variety of strategies that are transferred or recurrent in all the languages in their mind. Some of those strategies are to use colours to describe the clothing the characters are wearing or the colour of the hair of people. Another example is to enumerate the people and the objects in the picture. Whatever strategy they use, either to name the characters or describe their appearance, they use it in more than one language which reinforces the idea that they are not as if they were three monolinguals thinking different in each of the languages they know.

The multilingual mind is more apparent when a writer uses the same expression in all of his or her compositions. We noticed that when they repeat the expressions across the languages they are more successful doing so in their strongest languages, in their first and second languages. Once more this could be because it is harder to express in their weaker language what they express in their strongest languages due to their limitations in vocabulary and grammatical structures.

The third characteristic of multilingual writing we analysed was *organization*. We looked at whether the students used, for example, paragraphs to fluently express their ideas, whether they included an introductory and an ending paragraph and also whether they were able to build on their ideas. We first noticed that they did not have complete introductory and ending paragraphs but they did have introductory and ending sentences. However, they used those introductory and ending sentences in Basque and Spanish but not in English. This ability has nothing to do with the level of proficiency in a language but it is more a general skill that can be easily transferred. If one is able to distinguish the beginning and the ending of a story or a description in one language, one should be able to apply this in other languages, more or less regardless of language ability.

These multilingual students also shared another important characteristic when they had to organize their texts. Those who organized their writings in paragraphs did it in all three languages and those who did not apply paragraphs were consistent and did not use paragraphs in any of the languages. In a way each of them was able to transfer the strategy across languages because it is more a personal choice rather than dependent on a language.

We found a fourth characteristic of multilingual writer related to the dimension of organization. This is the use of logical sequencing strategies. Those students who wrote descriptions used location phrases and adverbs to guide their writings and they did so in the two or three descriptions that they wrote.

In addition we found other multilingual writing strategies that certain individuals share across two or three languages. These were related to the mechanics dimension, as in the case of a student who had preference of listing items using a series of commas. Or related to content in the case of the student who included himself as one of the characters in the two stories he wrote. Regardless of the individualized writing strategies the students used, they did in at least two of their compositions.

Kobayashi and Rinnert (2013) also found evidence that multilingual writers cross the boundaries among the languages in their linguistic repertoire when writing in three languages. In their study, they found the use of the same discourse type in the three compositions as we found in our students' compositions. Similar to our case, they also found common text features such as the topic sentence and the inclusion of personal examples in the three compositions written by a Japanese multilingual person.

By itself multilingual writers are not different from monolingual writers, but what it is needed is to see them as multilingual writers in their own right rather than as if they were monolingual writers of different languages. If we only look at each of their writings in isolation, we do not get the whole picture. The moment we look at the three compositions of each student side by side, we come to the conclusion that we need a multilingual perspective when assessing the writing skills of multilingual students. Our results contribute to what researchers such as Shohamy (2011) and Soltero-González et al. (2012) voiced before, that there is a need to take into account in a holistic manner the characteristics and abilities of multilingual speakers rather than assessing them with a monolingual yardstick. Doing so, emergent multilinguals can get a more fair assessment of their abilities

and they will be considered as competent communicators rather than to believe that they are not proficient.

De Bot et al. (2007) talked about “connected growers” that support the acquisition of additional languages. The characteristics found in our multilingual students’ compositions can be considered connected growers, in the sense that certain skills learned in one language help other skills to grow in another language or languages. For example, if emerging multilinguals learn how to organize ideas in different paragraphs in their strongest language, which is part of the organization of a text, that skill can also help to grow the ability to develop the thesis in a substantive manner which is part of the content. We conclude to say that in order to have connected growers across languages there is a need to activate all languages in the classroom (Cenoz and Gorter, 2014).

In summary, we see that multilingual individuals write similar using the same writing strategies in whatever language they write. In addition, it is necessary to activate all languages in their repertoire in order to transfer some skills from the strongest languages onto the weakest languages. And the assessment of multilingual writers should be done holistically taking all languages into consideration rather than in isolation to see a complete picture of their abilities, otherwise we might make the mistake of considering emerging multilinguals unskilled.

5.5 General conclusion

In this section we will present the general conclusion as related to the aim of this thesis, that is, the extent to which a multilingual focus is already used in the context of Basque multilingual education and the pedagogical basis for its implementation or extension. This general conclusion was drawn after analysing the data, the results and comparing with previously done research in the field of multilingualism regarding teachers' beliefs, language use in the foreign language classroom and writing by multilingual speakers.

First of all, we looked at the beliefs language teachers hold in relation to the teaching and learning of languages. And we saw that the Basque teachers hold in general very positive beliefs about multilingualism. Regarding the competence to achieve in all the languages, they believe that the native-speaker level is the ideal but hard to achieve. These teachers do not mention that their students are emergent multilinguals rather than a combination of monolingual speakers. And in addition they view code-switching in the language classroom as something that has negative consequences for the weaker languages.

Second, when we looked at code-switching in the foreign language classroom, we saw that it happens although the teachers rather see their students and themselves using only the target language due to the strong language separation policy. Code-switching usually happens for vocabulary and content transmission and sometimes when the students are working in small groups and discussing the task. We proposed a scheme for the functions code-switching could have in the language. But we also witnessed some missed opportunities to code-switch or use the other two

languages in a planned and systematic manner to aid the learning of the weakest languages and strengthen the others. Here we propose to take into account the functions of code-switching to do so. The teachers in this study showed that through their experience they were starting to see the benefits of code-switching when it was for a purpose but were hesitant to do so or admit that they code-switched due to the language separation policy and the beliefs that languages are best learned in isolation.

Third, we looked at the writings in three languages of multilingual students to prove once more that they are not a combination of two or more monolingual individuals in one mind. We found characteristics in their writings that show that multilinguals share certain writing strategies across the languages breaking the boundaries that the monolingual views and language separation policies set.

Thus to conclude, we would like to say that although language teachers do sometimes use other languages in their classrooms they do not feel it is right because they are not trained to do so and monolingual assumptions have been strongly set in their minds. Since languages are kept separated in the schools, the assessment of emerging multilinguals is done also one language at a time and teachers do not see the full picture of their emerging multilingual students and as a consequence they are often evaluated as having a low proficiency in each language. So there is a need for a more holistic point of view in education starting from training teachers and school administrators on the potential of using all languages in the linguistic repertoire of the students and then looking at the students as emerging multilinguals rather than a combination of two or more monolinguals. And finally, the assessment of emerging multilinguals should also be reviewed. Taking into consideration the aim of this thesis we

can say that even if there are three languages in the curriculum monolingual ideologies are pervasive as we can see in the teachers' beliefs. A multilingual focus is not really implemented but the observations of the classes and the written production show that there is a pedagogical basis for the implementation and extension of multilingual pedagogies. In fact, there is a tension between monolingual ideologies based on the idea of the monolingual native speaker and hard boundaries between languages and the real practices of the classroom where interaction between the languages can be observed. The analysis of the written production confirms this interaction and clearly shows that students could benefit from a multilingual focus.

5.6 Limitations of this research study and suggestions for future studies

In this section we will present the limitations of this PhD thesis and we will provide some suggestions for future studies in the field of language use in multilingual contexts.

A first general note of caution should be made about the applicability of this study. The temptation to generalize the results of any study should not go any further than the samples and the contexts they represent.

In regard to the first study we conducted on teachers' beliefs about multilingualism it is important to acknowledge that the study of beliefs is based on reported information and this has some methodological limitations. When relying on reported information we must bear in mind that it might not always reflect reality. In the case of teachers' reported information it might not realistically reflect what occurs in the classroom. Teachers might be eager to please the researcher and respond differently to what they actually believe, they might also act differently to their beliefs

due to a variety of reasons such as time constraints, parents influence, school's language policy... Or they might as well be unaware of their practices in the classroom and their beliefs might not match their actual practice. For that matter, it is important and we recommend carrying out observations of the interviewees' lessons when possible. Although we observed at least one of each teacher's language lessons to support and contrast the information provided during the interview and expand that information when possible, we recommend observing probably more than one lesson per interviewee.

The number of teachers interviewed and the number and type of schools they worked in, although quite ample, might as well limit the results to a certain context and population. So, one need to be cautious when generalizing the results.

The second study we carried out was on the phenomenon of code-switching in the foreign language classroom. The main limitation to this study is probably that it cannot be generalized due to the small number of teachers and schools used for the study. Although the number of lessons observed across different grades is quite large, we only gathered data from the lessons of two teachers from two different schools. Both schools with similar sociolinguistic backgrounds, however, the data collected and analysed cannot be generalized to other sociolinguistic regions. In addition, the presence of the observers/researchers in the classrooms might alter the reality of the language use in the classroom. Teachers and students might feel intimidated thus limiting their oral participation during the lesson and even have the feeling that they have to comply with the language policy at all times. In order to avoid such case we collected the data through a whole week and observed each group's dynamics at least twice. Nevertheless, we did not notice that either the students restricted their participation due to

our presence or that the teachers and students tried to stick to the target language only rule.

However, with this study we have tried to offer a little insight into how code-switching strategies can be improved to achieve more. Since one of the shortcomings of code-switching studies is that they tend to be descriptive and rarely interventionist, with the section of missed opportunities we tried to show how the use of the L1 and L2 can contribute to the learning of specific aspects of the L3 and sometimes even reinforce the knowledge of all the languages in the students' repertoire. This is probably the direction future studies in the field of code-switching should take.

Our third study was on the writing skills of multilingual speakers; the main limitation to this study might be the instrument itself. We used three illustrations, one per language, to gather writing samples of the students. Although this technique is widely used in this type of research, the length restriction might have been too much and in the future a longer writing sample could give more insight in the ability of the students and also in the type of transfer.

After examining the three studies, we can say that there is more need to continue studying multilingualism and multilingual speakers from a more holistic point of view rather than from a monolingual view.

This study could contribute to the field of multilingual education. Teachers, administrators and language policy makers could understand better the value of each of the languages in the multilingual speaker's repertoire as a resource for the learning of an additional language and at the same time, for strengthening other languages.

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APPENDIXES

Appendix A: Teacher interview; Beliefs

Irakaslearen jatorria

Orokorra: (zenbait ezaugarri pertsonal)

- Adina, unibertsitate titulua lortutako urtea, zenbat urte lanean, ikastetxe desberdinen kopurua
- Zein talde, kurtso, irakasten
- Lanposturako prestakuntza: kalitatea, alde onak eta txarrak
- Lanaren barruan jasotako prestakuntza
- Ikastetxearen komunitate (herria) berdinean bizi
-

Hizkuntzarekin lotua:

- Lehen hizkuntza
- Hizkuntza gaitasunak, trebetasunak (hizkuntza guztietan) 4 trebetasunak
- Hizkuntzen biografia (bizitzan izandako hizkuntzekiko eskarmentua: e.g. erraza edo zaila bigarren hizkuntza ikastea; urruneko herrialdeetan izan; oporrak beste herrialdeetan; zein hizkuntza erabili beste herrialdeetan; familian beste hizkuntzaren bat hitzegiten duenik, zein hizkuntza
- Hezkuntza elebitasunean prestatua?

Antolamendua – lana

Orokorra:

- Ikastetxeko eta taldeko ikasle kopurua
- Ikastetxeko irakasle kopurua (lanaldi osoa/erdia...)
- Bileren maiztasuna; talde gisa edo lankideen artekoak? Zertaz hitzegiteko (hizkuntzen irakaskuntzaren esparruan)
- Lankideen arteko erlazioa (autonomia edo kolaborazioa, elkarlana); bata bestearekin komentatu irakaskuntza estrategiak, arazoak?
- Nork diseinatzen du kurrikuluma? Autonomia edo kontrolatuta aurrera eramaterakoan kurrikuluma?
- Zein ikasliburu edo material erabiltzen dira hiru hizkuntzetan? fotokopiarik? arbel digitalik?
- Nork erabakitzen du zein testuliburu edo material erabili? Zein maiztasunekin aldatzen dira?
- Zein teknologia dago erabilgarri?: ordenagailuak? arbel digitala?
- Ikastarorik eskeintzen al da? Zeri buruz? parte hartzeko animatzen?
- Gurasoen papera ikastetxean (laguntzaile...)
- Zein bigarren hezkuntza ikastetxeetara joaten dira hemengo ikasleak (batxilergoa, lanbide eskola)
-

Hizkuntzen esparruan:

- Zein da ikastetxeko hizkuntza politika ofiziala? Euskararen aldekoa, babestzailea?
- Hizkuntzekiko helburuak (ikastetxeko lan plangintzan); hizkuntza helburuak lehen hezkuntzako mailarik gorenetan?
- Hizkuntza koordinatzaileak ba al dago? zeintzuk dira bere eginkizunak?
- Hizkuntza asignatura gisaren garrantzia edo beste asignaturak
- Integratzen al dira hiru hizkuntzak beste ikasgaietan?
- Etorkin kopurua ikastetxean; zein hizkuntza dute jatorrizkoa?
- Prestakuntza gehiagorik behar al duzu hizkuntz esparruan? Hizkuntzen gaitasun maila hobetu nahi al duzu eta nola?
- Zer egingo zenuke desberdin hizkuntzen irakaskuntzari lotuta, dirua eta denpora kontutan izan gabe?

- Kontakturik ba al duzu gurasoekin hizkuntzei buruz?
- Zure ikasle bakoitzaren gurasoen hizkuntza ezagutzen al duzu?

Ideologia – hizkuntza sinismenak

- Hizkuntza jakituraren helburua: zein maila lortu behar
- Helburua jatorrizko hizkuntza (nativo) duen baten maila lortzea al da? (adibidez euskera lehen hizkuntza duen batek gaztelera Euskaditik kanpoko gaztelar baten maila izan beharko luke?)
- Euskararen bitartez edozein ikasgai irakastea (erabiltzen al dute? nola sentitzen dira?)
- Ingelesaren bitartez edozein ikasgai irakastea (erabiltzen al dute? nola sentitzen dira?)
- Garrantziaren arabera ordenatu ondorengo trebetasunak/gaitasunak hiru hizkuntzetan: entzumena, hizkera, irakurketa, idazketa
- Alfabetatze trebetasunen garrantzia (irakurketa eta idazketa) hizkuntza bakoitzean
- Hitzegiterakoan erraztasuna izatearen eta tono natural bat izatearen garrantzia
- Zein da zure iritzia ikasleek edo zuk hitzegiterakoan hizkuntzaz aldatzearena? Zuzendu egiten al dituzu?
- Ze iritzi duzu gaztelera ama hizkuntza duten ikasleei euskeraren bitartez irakasteari buruz? Eta ze iritzi duzu besltaldera egiteari buruz? Eta ingelesaren bitartez irakasteari buruz?
- Beste ikasgai batzuk ingelesaren bitartez irakasteari buruzko iritzia: inmersioari buruzkoa (gaztelera L1 eta euskeraren bitartez ikasi, CLIL...)
- Zeintzuk dira ikasleek duten zailtasun handienak gaztelarekin?
- Eta euskerarekin? eta ingelesarekin?
- Zein oztopo eta zein erraztasun daude hizkuntza bat ikasterakoan?
- Ba al dezute aholku serbitzurik? Zein paper edo garrantzia du aholku serbitzuak irakasterako orduan? erabiltzen al duzu? Hizkuntza bat ikasterakoan gurasoek duten eragina
- Eta gizarteak duen eragina: TV, jokoak...
- Zein da beraiantzat arrakasta duen heziketa eleanitza?
- Eleaniztasunaren alde onak eta alde txarrak
- Zein izango litzateke irakasle berri batentzat gomendiorik onena?

Hizkuntza praktikak (jarduerak)

- Hizkuntza erabilera ikasgelan: arau orokorrak, benetan gertatzen dena
- 4 trebetasunen irakaskuntza: entzumena, hizketa, irakurketa eta idazketa (hiru hizkuntzetan; nola egiten da hau?)
- Hizkuntzen alde desberdinen irakaskuntzarik bai? ahozkerak, hiztegia, sintaxia edo gramatika, nola aurkeztu edo eztabaidatu? besterik?
- Ikasliburuen metodologia edo beste metodologia zehatzen bat jarraitzen duzu? edo zure estrategiaren bat? beste osagarririk (fotokopiak)?
- Nolako enfasia idazkerari? eta ahozko lanari? portzentairik ematekotan, orduetan?
- Zeintzuk dira hizkuntza irakaskuntzako teknikarik erabilienak? istorioak, testuak kopiatu, lehen gramatika eta ondoren hizkuntza, ikasleei hitzegiten utzi?
- Erabiltzen al dituzu zuzenketa teknika desberdinak; adibidez, zuzenean zuzendu beharrean akatsa esaldia parafraseatu era zuzena emanez...
- Egiten al dituzue itzulpen ariketak?
- Arauen garrantzia; zenbateko garrantzia du adibidez ortografia zuzentzeak?
- Kasurik egiten al diezu euskerakadei eta erderakadei? Ze sentzutan? (onartu)
- Uzten al diezu “code-switching” egiten? Adibidez, uzten al diezu zuk erabiltzen duzun hizkuntzaren gain besteren bat erabiltzen gelan?
- Erantzun al dezakete ikasgaia ematen den hizkuntzaz aparte besteren batean?
- Bereizten al dituzu adibidez hizkuntza bat talde osoari zuzentzerakoan eta beste bat bakarka ikasle bati zuzentzerakoan?
- Hizkuntza desberdian erabiltzen al dituzu gelan eta gelaz kanpo?
- Hitzen bat zaila denean bai euskaraz edo bai gaztelera, itzultzen al duzu beste hizkuntzara (gaztelera edo euskerara)?
- Egiten al duzu bereizketa “differentiation”? adibidez, gela batean hizkuntza maila desberdinak baldin badaude, ariketa eta lan desberdinak prestatzen al dituzu ikaslearen beharren arabera?

- Kontzientzia linguistikoa erakusten al diezu? “language awareness” edo horri buruzko ariketarik egin?
- Irakasten al diezu zerbait hizkuntzaren egoerari buruz bai Euskal Herrian eta bai Espainian eta Europan?
-

Ebaluaketa

- Nola neurtzen da ikaslearen aurrerapena?
- Ebaluaketa sasoiaren bukaerako notaren bitartez?
- Nola egin ahal da ikasle bakoitzaren aurrerapenaren kalitatezko ebaluaketa? Zer egin behar litzateke horretarako?
- Zeintzuk dira erronkarik handienak hizkuntzen helburuak betetzerako orduan; agian trebetasun bat besteak baino zailagoa da lortzea? Edo zuri zaila egiten zaizu ikasleek trebetasunen bat lortzea?
- Zein hizkuntza erabiltzen da ebaluaketa egiteko orduan, nahiz eta azterketa ingelesari buruz izan edo beste bi hizkuntzei buruzkoa?
- Azterketak hizkuntza batean dira edo beste biak ere onartzen al dituzu?
- Ikasle batek hizkuntzak nahasten dituenean idatzizko lan batean, nola ebaluatuko zenuke?
- Eta ahozko lanean (aurkezpena, eztabaida lana...)
- Zeintzuk dira bigarren hezkuntzako ikastetxeetatik jasotzen dituzuen komentarioak hizkuntzen mailari buruzkoak?

Appendix B: Teacher interview; Code-Switching

1. As an English teacher, what is the language of instruction in your class? Do you exclusively use English or do you use other languages as well?
 - a. If you use other languages, what is the purpose?
 - b. Can you give examples of when you use one and when another or other?
 - c. What do you think about using only English as medium of instruction?

2. Do you allow students to use other languages but English in your class, when teaching to the whole group?
 - a. If so, what is the purpose? If not, why not?
 - b. When students work in groups or in pairs, do you allow them to communicate among themselves in another language but English?
 - c. And outside the classroom, what is the language of communication the students use with you?

3. Does the environment, parents, peers, media... influence on the students' motivation to learn English?
 - a. What do parents think about the early start of English instruction? And what do you think about it?
 - b. To which extent are the students exposed to and use English outside the school? Do you think it might influence their motivation to learn the language?

4. What is the training you received in order to become an English teacher?
 - a. Do you think it was enough and appropriate?
 - b. In your opinion, does anything else need to be added in order to improve teachers' formation?
 - c. Do you participate in in-service training? Who organizes them? What type of in-service training is available for English teachers (for you)?
 - d. Do you do anything else on your own in order to have the skills necessary, in your opinion, to be an English teacher?

5. What instructional material do you use in your lessons?
 - a. Are you satisfied with the material you are provided? Why or why not?
 - b. Do you use additional material? Do you create it yourself or do you get it from other sources? Why?
 - c. What is the language used in that material? If there are other languages used in the material, what is the purpose? Or when are they used?
 - i. Do you include the use of ICT in your lessons? Why?
 - ii. Do you think the material meets the needs of our students'?
 - iii. What do the students think about the material?

6. What are the main objectives you want to be covered in your lessons? Are they the same as the objectives of the school?
 - a. *(To be asked if we see the interviewee is comfortable)* Do you think the schools' general objectives for English are realistic? Why?

Appendix C: Students' background information questionnaire

MESEDEZ, BETE EZAZU GALDESORTA HAU

1. IZENA:.....

2. MAILA:.....

3. NESKA MUTILA

4. ADINA:.....

5. NON BIZI ZARA:.....

6. ZEIN DA ZURE GURASOEN LANBIDEA?

AITARENA.....

AMARENA.....

7. ZEINTZU DIRA ZURE GURASOEN IKASKETAK? JAR EZAZU 'X' BAT DAGOKION LAUKITXOAN

	AITA	AMA
LEHEN MAILAKOAK		
BATXILLERRA		
UNIBERTSITATEKOAK		

8. ZEIN HIZKUNTZA ERABILTZEN DUZU? JAR EZAZU 'X' BAT DAGOKION LAUKITXOAN

	EUSKARA	ERDARA	BIAK
AMAREKIN			
AITAREKIN			
ANAI-ARREBEKIN			
LAGUNEKIN			
ESKOLAN			

9. EBALUATU EZAZU, 1ETIK 10ERA, HIZKUNTZA HAUETAN DUZUN GAITASUNA (10 lehen-hizkuntza maila da)

EUSKARA

Ulermena
Mintzamena
Irakurmena
Idazmena

Baterez

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Oso ongi

GAZTELERA

Ulermena
Mintzamena
Irakurmena
Idazmena

Baterez

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Oso ongi

INGELESA**Baterez****Oso ongi**

Ulermena
Mintzamena
Irakurmena
Idazmena

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

10. INGELESEZ ANTOLATZEN DIREN UDALEKUETAN PARTE HARTU DUZU AZKEN 5 URTEOTAN?

INOIZ EZ

BAI NOIZ? 2004an 2005ean 2006ean
2007ean 2008ean

11. INGELESEZ EGITEN DEN HERRIALDEETAN IZAN ZARA?

INOIZ EZ

BAI NOIZ?

MESEDEZ AZALDU ZENBAT DENBORA PASATU DUZUN JOAN ZAREN BAKOITZEAN ETA ESAN EA KLASEETARA JOAN ZAREN

.....
.....
.....

12. AKADEMIA BATERA EDO KLASE PARTIKULARRETARA JOAN ZARA EDO ORAIN JOATEN ZARA?

INOIZ EZ

BAI NOIZ? 2004an 2005ean 2006ean
2007ean 2008ean

MESEDEZ AZALDU ASTEAN ZENBAT ORDUZ IZAN DITUZUN (EDO ORAIN DITUZUN) INGELES KLASEAK IKASTETXETIK KANPO

.....
.....
.....

13. IKASTOLATIK EDO INSTITUTOTIK KANPO HITZEGITEN AL DUZU INGELESEZ?

INOIZ EZ

BAI NOREKIN?

NOIZ?

14. ZENBAT URTEKIN HASI ZINEN INGELESA IKASTEN IKASTOLAN?

.....

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LABURPENA

Jarraian datozen lerroetan ingelesez idatzitako “*Multilingual education: teachers’ beliefs and language use in the classroom*” (“Hezkuntza eleanitza: irakasleen usteak eta hizkuntzaren erabilera ikasgelan”) doktorego tesiaren euskarazko laburpena aurkezten dugu.

Sarrera

Euskal Herriko testuinguruak izugarritzko aukera eskaintzen du eleaniztasunaren fenomenoak ikertzeko, eta horregatik hainbeste ikertzaile erakartzen ditu. Ikertzaile gisa, testuinguru horretan gu erakarri gaituen arloa hizkuntzen irakaskuntza izan da. Azken urteetan, Euskal Herriko hezkuntza elebiduna izatetik eleanitza izatera pasa da ingelesaren garrantziaren ondorioz.

Gaur egun, ikastetxeen helburuetako bat da ikasleak eleaniztun izatea, mundu globalizatu baterako prest izan daitezen. Azken hamarkadetan hizkuntzak bakarka irakatsi dira, isolatuta: hizkuntza bat-irakasle bat; kasu gehienetan, horrela hizkuntzaren jabetasuna sustatzen deneko ustean. Baina azken urteotan, ikerlari batzuk uste horiek zalantzan jartzen hasi dira, esanez beharrezkoa dela ikuspuntu holistikoa bat bai hezkuntzan eta bai ikerketan, hiztun eleaniztunak ez direlako hiztun elebakarren batura.

Ikuspuntu berri horrek galdera batzuk piztu ditu guregan: konturatzen al dira irakasleak zein onura izan dezakeen ikasleen erreperorioan dauden hizkuntza guztiak erabiltzeak beste hizkuntza bat ikasterakoan? Zein da hizkuntzen erabilera ikasgela eleaniztuetan bai irakasleek eta bai ikasleek bi hizkuntza baino gehiago hitz egiten dituztenean? Eta gaitasun ezberdinak al dituzte hiztun eleaniztunek eta hiztun elebakarrek? Galdera horien inguruan hausnartuz diseinatu dugu gure ikerketa eta orain aurkeztera goazen tesi hau da emaitza.

Tesi honen helburua da aztertzea zenbateraino zabaldua dauden euskal ikastetxeetan ikuspuntu eleanitza kontuan hartzen duten joera berriago horiek. Horretaz gain, aztertu nahi da ea ikuspuntu hori inplementatzeko oinarri pedagogikorik edo inplementazioa zabaltzeko aukerarik ba dagoen.

Tesi hau bost kapitulutan antolatuta dago. Lehenengo kapituluan tesi honen ikerketaren oinarri teorikoei begiratzen diegu. Bigarren kapituluan tesi honen zergatia eta ikerketa egitean erantzun nahi izan diren ikerketa-galderak aurkezten dira, eta, aldi berean, ikerketaren testuingurua ere ematen da. Hirugarren kapituluan tesi honetan erabilitako metodologia eta prozedurak azaltzen dira. Tesia hiru ikerketek osatzen dutenez, bakoitzaren laginari buruzko xehetasunak, datuak biltzeko erabilitako neur-tresnen ezaugarriak, datuen bilketa eta azterketaren prozedura azaltzen ditugu. Ondoren, laugarren kapituluan, tesia osatzen duten ikerketen emaitzak jasotzen dira, aurretik aurkeztutako ikerketa-galderen arabera egituratuta. Amaitzeko, bosgarren kapituluan ikerketaren emaitzak eta ondorio nagusiak laburbildu eta interpretatzen ditugu, eta, bestalde, gure ikerketaren mugak eta aurrera begirako ikerketa-ildoak iradokitzen ditugu.

I. Oinarri teorikoak

Eleaniztasuna munduan oso zabaldua dagoen fenomeno da. Hiztun elebidunak eta eleanitunak hiztun elebakarrak baino gehiago dira gaur egun munduan (ikus García, 2009; Cenoz, 2009). Horregatik, ikerlarien arlo honetako interesa handitzen ari da azken urteotan.

Eleaniztasunari buruzko hainbat definizio ematen dira. Bhatia eta Ritchiren (2013) arabera, eleaniztasuna da hiztunek hiru hizkuntza baino gehiago jakitea eta erabiltzea. Eta Europako Batzordeak dio (2007:6) “gizarteek, erakundeek, taldeek eta gizabanakoek duten gaitasuna egunerokoan

hizkuntza bat baino gehiago erabiltzeko” dela. Azken finean, definizio guztiek hizkuntzen arteko ukipena eta interakzioa azpimarratzen dute.

Hizkuntza gutxituak dauden herrialdeetan ohikoa izan da eleaniztasuna, hiztunek ama hizkuntzaz gain gizartean nagusia den hizkuntza ere ikasi behar izan dutelako; gaur egun, hiztun horiek eleaniztun bihurtzen hasi dira (Gorter eta Cenoz, 2012). Horiez gain, gaur egun globalizazioari eta mugikortasunari ezker hiztun eleaniztunen kopurua hazten ari da munduan zehar.

Esan bezala, gaur egun aldatzen ari da eleaniztasunarekiko eta pertsona eleaniztunekiko ikuspuntua. Zenbait ikerlarik diotenez, (May, 2014; Makoni eta Pennycook, 2012; Canagarajah, 2011; García, 2009) hiztun eleaniztunek beren erreperiotorioko hizkuntza guztiak erabiltzen dituzte komunikatzeko beharraren arabera. Beraz, egileok diote hiztun eleaniztunak ezin direla elebakarren konbinaketa bezala tratatu. Ildo horretan, beste zenbait ikerlarik (Lin, 2006; Cenoz eta Gorter, 2011, 2014; Cummins, 2014) diote hautsi egin behar direla hizkuntzen arteko mugak, hiztunek ez baitute mugarik jartzen eta hizkuntza batetik bestera mugitzen direlako komunikatzeko beharraren arabera.

Azkenaldian *translanguaging* terminoa erabili ohi da (Baker, 2011; García, 2009; Creese eta Blackledge, 2010; García eta Wei, 2014; Cenoz eta Gorter, 2015) hizkuntzen arteko mugarik gabeko eta hibridoak diren jarduera eleanitzez aritzeko.

Cenoz eta Gorterrekin (2011, 2014) *Focus on Multilingualism* ereduaren proposatzen dute. Proposamen honekin diotena da (1) hiztun eleaniztuna ez dela hiztun elebakarraren berdina, (2) erreperiotorio linguistiko osoan hizkuntzak elkarren artean lotuta daudela eta (3) testuinguru sozial zabala garrantzitsua dela hiztunek bertan eraikitzen dutelako hizkuntza gaitasuna.

Hezkuntza eleanitzean, uste batzuk oso zabaldurik daude, horietako zenbait dira Cumminsek (2014) Kanadan identifikatu zituen *irakaskuntzako uste elebakarrak*. Horien arabera, (1) irakaskuntza ikaslearen lehen hizkuntza erabili gabe egin behar da, helburu-hizkuntzan, (2) ezin daiteke itzulpenik egin eta (3) lehen hizkuntza eta helburu-hizkuntza banatuta mantendu behar dira. Gogoan izan behar da irakasleen usteak garrantzitsuak direla ikasgelan hartzen dituzten erabakiekin lotura dutelako (Lucero, Valcke eta Schellens, 2013; Pajares, 1992; Young eta Walsh, 2010).

Ikerketek erakusten dutenez (De Angelis, 2011), Cumminsek (2014) identifikatutako uste horiek Europan ere oso zabalduak daude. Horiez gain, bigarren hizkuntza bat ikasterakoan jatorrizko-hiztunaren gaitasun maila erreferente izan behar denaren ustea ere oso zabalduak dago (Young eta Walsh, 2010).

Ikastetxeetan hizkuntzak zorrotz bereizten direnez, irakasle askok eta askok ez dute adierazi nahi kode-aldaketak egiten dituztenik klasean. Poplackek (2001: 2062) honela definitzen du kode-aldaketa: “Elebidunek (edo eleaniztunek) bi hizkuntzatan edo gehiagotan egiten duten nahastea diskurtsoan, sarritan hizlaria edo gaia aldatu gabe”. Irakasleek kodez aldatzen dutenik adierazi nahi ez duten arren, ikerketek erakusten dute bai irakasleek bai ikasleek munduan zehar beraien lehen hizkuntza erabiltzen dutela bigarren hizkuntzen klaseetan (Levine, 2011; Littlewood eta Yu, 2011; Costa, 2011; Lin, 2015). Bestalde, gaur egun ikerlari askok diote ikasleen ama hizkuntza, edo errepertorioan dituzten beste hizkuntzak, erabiltzeak onurak dituela hizkuntzak ikasterakoan (Arteagoitia eta Howard, 2015; Ballinger, 2013; Lyster, Quiroga eta Ballinger, 2013).

Tesi honetan kode-aldaketa eta translanguaging terminoak erabili ditugu; horien arteko ezberdintasuna askotan ez da erraz ikusten. Guk translanguaging pedagogikoaren eta berezkoaren arteko ezberdintasuna

izan dugu kontutan. Pedagogikoak hizkuntzen aldaketa estrategia antolatu gisa erabiltzea esan nahi du; berezkoak, aldiz, kode-aldaketaren itxura gehiago du, hizkuntzen aldaketa naturalki egiten delako. Guk lan honetan kode-aldaketa terminoa erabiltzea erabaki dugu, gure testuinguruan hizkuntza bakoitza praktika zehatz bati lotuta dagoelako.

Oraindik gai eztabaidatsua da irakasleek bigarren hizkuntzako klaseetan lehen hizkuntza erabili beharko luketen edo ez (Littlewood eta Yu, 2011). Euskal Herrian ere, bigarren hizkuntzako klaseetan lehen hizkuntza erabiltzea gai eztabaidagarria da, hizkuntzen bereizketa zorrotza oso zabalduta dagoelako. Helburu-hizkuntzaren erabilera soilak, irakasleek prestakuntza ikasketetan hedatzen dituzten uste elebakarren eraginaren ondorio da (Arocena, Cenoz eta Gorter, 2015).

Autore batzuek atzerriko hizkuntza geletan lehen hizkuntza erabiltzeak dituen arrazoiak eta funtzioak aztertu eta kategorizatu dituzte. Lan honetan, ondorengo autoreek aurkeztu dituzten kode-aldaketen kategoriak eta funtzioak aztertu ditugu: Gierlinger (2015), Lo (2015) eta Littlewood eta Yu (2011) aukeratu ditugu ingelesaren bitartez irakasten diren beste ikasgai batzuetako ikasgeletan egin dutelako ikerketa. Eta Lin (2006) eta Lewis, Jones eta Baker (2013), berriz, hezkuntza elebidun programetan aztertu dutelako kode-aldaketa fenomenoak.

Autore horiek guztiek diotenez, kode-aldaketa ez da edonola egiten. Kode-aldaketek funtzio bat dute bigarren hizkuntzako geletan, eta bai irakasleek bai ikasleek arrazoiren batengatik egiten dute hori.

Ikerlari hauen kode-aldaketen kategorizazio eta funtzioen arteko berdintasunak eta ezberdintasunak aztertu ondoren, funtzioen eskema bat sortu dugu.

1.taula: Kode-aldaketa arautzaile-hezitzaile eskema

KATEGORIA	AZPI-KATEGORIA	FUNTZIOA
Aurutzailea	Portaera/Ikasgela kudeaketa	Diziplina kudeaketa, berri ematea and jarraibideak ematea.
	Sozial eta afektiboa	Hizkuntza antsietatea murriztea, giro atsegina eta lasaia sortzea eta ikasleekin erlazio ona garatzea.
Hezitzailea	Lexikoaren transmisioa	Hitzen itzulpen azkarra eta ikasgaiari buruzko terminologiaren itzulpen paraleloak.
	Edukiaren transmisioa	Eduki zailen itzulpenak eta gaiaren edukiaren ulermena ziurtatzeko itzulpenak.
	Hizkuntza kontzientzia/ Translanguaging	Hizkuntza kontzientziaren garapena/bi hizkuntza edo gehiagoren erabilera era antolatu eta sistematiko batean.

Kode-aldaketen kategoriaz eta funtzioez gain, beste zenbait ezaugarri ere identifikatu ditugu. Ezaugarri horiek esanguratsuak dira testuinguru eleanitz batean beste hizkuntza bat ikasterakoan. Guk antzeman ditugun ezaugarrien artean lehenengoa eragilea da, hau da, zein den kode-aldaketa eragiten duena (irakaslea edo ikaslea). Bigarren ezaugarria hizkuntza da: zein hizkuntzatarara egiten den kode-aldaketa (lehen hizkuntzara, bigarren hizkuntzara edo lehen eta bigarren hizkuntzatarara). Eta guk antzeman dugun hirugarren ezaugarria mota da, hau da, nolakoa den kode-aldaketa (berezkoa, eskatutakoa, jakinaren gainean egindakoa, jarraipen gisa egindakoa, helburu-hizkuntzaren erabilera pedagogikoarekin apurtzekoa edo hitz erro-kideen bitarteko itzulpena).

Zenbait ikerketek erakutsi dute elebitasunak ondorio positiboak dituela hirugarren hizkuntzaren jabetzean (Bild eta Swain, 1989; Swain, Lapkin, Rowen eta Hart, 1990). Hizkuntza gutxitua duten zenbait herrialdeetan ere egin dira ikerketak, eta aurkitu da ikasle elebidunek gaitasun handiagoa dutela hirugarren hizkuntzan elebakar diren ikasleek baino (Cenoz eta Valencia, 1994; Sagasta, 2003; Doiz eta Lasagabaster, 2004; Sanz, 2005).

Elebidunen eta eleaniztunen artean, hizkuntza batek bestearengan eragina izaten du, kasu askotan hizkuntza batetik bestera transferentziak eginez (Odlin, 2012; Jarvis eta Pavlenko, 2008; De Angelis, 2007). Ohikoa da lehen hizkuntzatik bigarren hizkuntzara gertatzen diren transferentziei erreparatzea, baina azken aldian, hirugarren hizkuntzaren jabetzea ere ikertu da (De Angelis, 2007).

Pertsona eleaniztunek hizkuntza erreperitorio zabala dutenez, hizkuntza bat baino gehiago dituzte sorburu eta eragile gisa. Beraz, hiztun horiek egiten dituzten transferentziak ez dira lehen hizkuntzatik soilik gertatzen, ez eta bigarren edo hirugarren hizkuntzetara soilik ere. Gauza bera gertatzen da hizkuntzen arteko eraginarekin: bai transferentziak bai eragina askotariko norabidetan izan daitezke (De Angelis, 2007; Tullock eta Fernández-Villanueva, 2013; Cenoz eta Gorter, 2011).

Eleaniztunek hizkuntza batetik bestera pasatzen dute une bakoitzean behar dutena, hizkuntzen arteko mugak hautsiz. Transferentzia horiek, adibidez, lexikoak, morfologikoak eta pragmatikoak izan daitezke.

Baina badira hiztun eleaniztunak hizkuntza batetik bestera pasatzen dituzten beste zenbait ezaugarri eta estrategia ere. Adibidez, De Angelis eta Jessnerrek (2012) Italiako Hego Tirologo ikastetxe batean hiru hizkuntzatan idatzitako idazlanak aztertu ondoren, hiru hizkuntzen artean elkarren

menpekotasuna handia zegoela ikusi zuten. Beraz, hiztun eleaniztunen buruetan erlazioren bat egon behar du hizkuntzen artean.

Halere, hiztun eleaniztunen idazlanak aztertzen dituzten ikerketa gutxiegi daude baieztatzeko hizkuntzen artean mugak malguak direla. Japonian, Kobayashi eta Rinnert (2013), pertsona eleaniztun baten hiru idazlan aztertu ondoren, ohartu ziren hark hizkuntzen arteko mugak gainditzen zituela. Adibidez, diskurtso mota berdinak, adibide pertsonalak, ezaugarri mota berdinak eta amaierako paragrafoan osagarri berdinak erabiltzen zituen hiru idazlanetan. Ikerlari horiek beste zenbait ezaugarri ere topatu zituzten, bi idazlanetan agertzen zirenak. Cenoz eta Gortterrek (2011) ere aztertu zituzten pertsona eleaniztunak hiru hizkuntzatan egindako idazlanak, eta ohartu ziren idazleek antzeko estrategiak erabiltzen dituztela hiru idazlanetan.

Beraz, garrantzitsua da pertsona eleaniztuna osotasunean hartzea, hark hizkuntza batean ikasitakoa beste batera pasatzen duelako, eta horrek hizkuntza berriaren jabetzea errazten duelako.

Azkenik, eta oro har, eleaniztasunari buruzko irakasleen usteak, kodealdaketa hizkuntza geletan eta hiztun eleaniztunen idazteko gaitasuna eta ezaugarriak kontuan hartuz, esan liteke irakasleek, eleaniztunak izanda, ikasleen errepertorio linguistikoan dauden hizkuntza guztiak sustatu beharko lituzketela, ikasgelan hizkuntza berriak ikasten laguntzeko eta aurretik ikasitakoa sakontzeko.

II. Oinarrizko arrazoiak, ikerketa-galderak eta ikerketaren testuingurua

Tesi honen helburuarentzat garrantzitsuak diren oinarri teorikoak aurkeztu ondoren, tesiaren zergatia, ikerketa-galderak eta testuingurua aurkeztuko ditugu.

II.1 Tesiaren oinarrizko arrazoiak

Tesi honen helburua bikoitza da: alde batetik, ikustea zenbateraino dagoen hedatuta fokapen eleanitza euskal hezkuntzan, eta, bestetik, aztertzea ea ikuspuntu hori inplementatzeko oinarri pedagogikorik edo inplementazioa zabaltzeko aukerarik ba dagoen. Hori dela eta, triangulazioa erabili dugu egin ditugun hiru ikerketetako datuak biltzeko. Jang, Wagner eta Park-ek (2014) diotenez, triangulazioak berekin dakar datuak independenteki jaso eta aztertu eta laburpen fasean elkarrekin interpretatzea. Ikerlari horien arabera, aurkikuntzak egiaztatu eta balioztatzeke erabiltzen da, metodologia ezberdinak erabiltzean sortu daitezkeen aurreiritziak orekatzeko. Gure triangulazioan datuak irakasleengandik, irakasle eta ikasleen arteko elkarrekintzetatik eta ikasleengandik jaso ditugu. Lagina Lehen Hezkuntzako azken bi mailetako irakasleekin edo Bigarren Hezkuntzako azken hiru mailetako irakasle eta ikasleekin osatu da, hor sortzen direlako zailtasunak hizkuntzen arteko loturak egiterakoan. Triangulazioa erabiltzerakoan, eleaniztasuna kontuan izan dugu, hiru hizkuntzatan. Lehen ikerketan irakasleen usteak aztertu ditugu; bigarren ikerketan, irakasle eta ikasleen kode-aldaketa; eta hirugarren ikerketan ikasleen idatzizko lanak.

II.2 Ikerketa-galderak

Tesiaren helburu bikoitza kontuan hartuz, hizkuntzen irakaskuntza eta erabileraren zenbait alde aztertu ditugu ondorengo ikerketa-galderei erantzuterakoan:

1. Zein dira irakasleek eleaniztasunari buruz dituzten usteak?
 - 1.1 Zein dira irakasleek hiztun eleaniztasunari buruz dituzten usteak?
 - 1.2 Zein dira irakasleek erreperitorio eleaniztun osoari buruz dituzten usteak?
 - 1.3 Zein dira irakasleek gizartearen testuinguruak duen eraginari buruz dituzten usteak?
2. Zer ezaugarri dituzte hizkuntza ingeleseko klasean ematen diren kode-aldaketek?
 - 2.1 Noiz gertatzen da kode-aldaketa hizkuntza ingeleseko klasean?
 - 2.2 Zer funtzio dute ikasgelako kode-aldaketek?
 - 2.3 Nola erabiltzen dituzte hiztun eleaniztunek beren hizkuntz baliabide guztiak (edo erabiltzeko aukera galtzen dute)?
3. Zein dira idazle eleaniztunen idazketa-gaitasunak?
 - 3.1 Ba al da idazketa-gaitasunean ezberdintasunik gurasoekin euskaraz egiten dutenen eta gazteleraz egiten dutenen artean?
 - 3.2 Ba al da hizkuntzen arteko transferentziari dagokionez ezberdintasunik gurasoekin euskaraz egiten dutenen eta gazteleraz egiten dutenen artean?
 - 3.3 Zer ezaugarri pasatzen dituzte idazle eleaniztunek hizkuntza batetik bestera?

II.3 Ikerketaren testuingurua

Euskal Herrian hezkuntza derrigorrezkoa da 6 eta 16 urte bitarteko haur eta gaztetxoentzat, eta bi etapatan sailkatua dago: (1) Lehen Hezkuntza (6-12 urte) eta (2) Bigarren Hezkuntza (12-16 urte). Lehen Hezkuntzan 6 maila daude 3 ziklotan berezituta, eta Bigarren Hezkuntzan 4 maila daude.

Oro har, Espainiako hezkuntza sistema berdina da estatu osoan. Halere, ezberdintasun batzuk badira zenbait ikasgai eta hizkuntzen irakaskuntzan. Euskal Herriko ikastetxeetan hiru hizkuntza-eredu daude: (1) A ereduan ikasketak gaztelera egiten dira eta euskara ikasgai bat baino ez da, (2) B ereduan ikasgaien gutxi gorabehera erdiak euskaraz eta beste erdiak gaztelera egiten dira, eta (3) D ereduan ikasketak euskaraz egiten dira eta gaztelera ikasgai bat baino ez da.

Euskaraz eta gaztelera, gain ingelesa da hirugarren hizkuntza euskal ikastetxeetan. Kasu askotan beste ikasgai batzuk ingelesaren bitartez irakasten direnez, esan daiteke hezkuntza eleanitza dela. Euskal ikasleek hiru hizkuntzen bitartez ikasten dute: hizkuntza gutxitua (euskara), hizkuntza nagusia (gaztelera), eta atzerriko hizkuntza (ingelesa).

Eusko Jaurlaritzako Hezkuntza Sailak zehazten ditu hizkuntza bakoitzaren asteko ordu kopuruen gutxiengoa. Horrela, euskarak eta gaztelera gutxieneko ordu kopuru berdina dute Lehen eta Bigarren Hezkuntzan, eta ingelesak, berriz, gutxiago Lehen Hezkuntzan eta berdina Bigarren Hezkuntzan. Horretaz gain, ikastetxe bakoitzak erabakitzen du zer hizkuntza erabili ikasgai bakoitzean. Euskararen eta gaztelera kasuan, hizkuntza-ereduak ezartzen du zer hizkuntza erabili, baina ingelesaren kasuan ikastetxe bakoitzaren erabakia da; halere, kasu gehienetan Gizarte eta Natura hautatzen dira ingelesez emateko.

III. Metodologia

Aurrerago adierazi dugunez, tesi hau triangulazio bidez aztertutako hiru ikerketak osatzen dute. Ikerketa bakoitzak ikerketa-galdera bati erantzun nahi dio. Atal honetan, ikerketa bakoitzaren lagina, iker-tresnak, datu-bilketa eta analisi-prozedurak aurkeztuko ditugu.

Jarraian doan taulan, ikerketa-galdera, lagina, neur-tresnak eta analisi-tresnak agertzen dira.

2. taula: Metodologiari buruzko informazioaren sintesia

IKERKETA-GALDERA	LAGINA	NEUR-TRESNA	ANALISI-TRESNA
1: irakasleen usteak	Irakasleak (N=33)	Elkarrizketa-gidoia	Atlas.ti
2:kode-aldaketa ingeleseko klasean	Irakasleak (N=2)	Elkarrizketa-gidoia	Atlas.ti
	Ikasleak (N=134)	Galde-sorta	SPSS
	Irakasleak (N=2) eta ikasleak (N=134)	COLT-Behaketa eskema	SPSS
3: idazle eleaniztunak	Ikasleak (N=70)	Idazlanak	SPSS Atlas.ti
		Galde-sorta	SPSS

Gure lehen ikerketa-galdera erantzuteko *-Zein dira irakasleek eleaniztasunari buruz dituzten usteak?-*, Lehen Hezkuntzako 33 irakasle aukeratu genituen. Irakasleen usteei buruzko datu erakusgarriak biltzeko, Euskal Herriko askotariko testuinguru soziolinguistiko eta sozioekonomikoak ordezkatu lituzkeen lagin bat hartzen saiatu ginen. Irakasleak Euskal Autonomia Erkidego osoko 10 ikastetxetako hizkuntza-irakasleak dira.

Erabilitako iker-tresna erdi-egituratutako elkarrizketa-gidoia da (ikus Appendix A). Elkarrizketak bi hilabeteren buruan eta irakasle bakoitzaren ikastetxean egin ziren. Elkarrizketak irakasle bakoitzaren hautazko

hizkuntzan egin ziren: denak euskaraz, bat izan ezik (azken hori gazteleraz egin zen irakasleak hala eskatuta).

Ikastetxe guztietan, elkarrizketatutako irakasle bakoitzaren hizkuntza klase batean gutxienez behaketa ere egin genuen, ondoren elkarrizketan informazio gehiago izateko asmoz. Elkarrizketen grabaketak lehendabizi transkribatu egin ziren eta ondoren ingelesera itzuli. Itzulpen hauek Atlas.ti (QDA) programan sartu, kodeak jarri eta programa horren bitartez aztertu ziren.

Bigarren ikerketa-galderari erantzuteko *-Zer ezaugarri dituzte hizkuntza ingeleseko klasean ematen diren kode-aldaketek?-, Bigarren Hezkuntzako azken mailetakako irakasleen nahiz ikasleen hizkuntzen erabilera aztertu nahi genuen. Horretarako, ingeleseko klaseak aukera aproposa eskaintzen digu hiru hizkuntzen arteko elkarreragina aztertzeko. Izan ere, Euskarako edo gaztelerako klaseetan nekez erabiliko da ingelesa.*

Alde batetik, Bigarren Hezkuntzako ingeleseko bi irakasle ditugu laginean, bakoitza ikastetxe batekoa. Eta, bestetik, bigarren, hirugarren eta laugarren mailako 134 ikasle ditugu; 80 ikasle ikastetxe batean eta 54 ikasle beste ikastetxean. Bi ikastetxeak testuinguru ekonomiko eta linguistiko berdintsuetan kokatuta daude.

Kode-aldaketaren ezaugarriak neurtzeko zenbait tresna erabili ditugu. Alde batetik, irakasleak elkarrizketatzeko erdi-egituratutako gidoi bat erabili genuen (ikus Appendix B). Bestetik, 19 klasetan behaketak egin genituen apunteak hartuz; klase hauek audioz grabatu ziren, geroago azterketa sakonago bat egin ahal izateko.

Aldi berean, Spada eta Fröhlichek (1995) sortutako *Communicative Orientation of Language Teaching* (COLT) eskema erabili genuen.

Behaketak egiteko eskema hori erabilgarria da bigarren hizkuntzetako klaseetan irakaskuntzako zenbait alderdi deskribatzeko.

Ikasleen informazio soziobiografikoa eta linguistikoa jakiteko, galde-sorta bat betearazi genien (ikus Appendix C).

Ikastetxe bakoitzean astebetetz izan ginen, eta irakasle bakoitzaren ordutegira egokitu ginen. Ikasleek lehen egunean bete zituzten galde-sortak, eta irakasleekin elkarrizketak, berriz, azken egunean izan ei ziren, gelako dinamika ezagutu ondoren.

Irakasleen elkarrizketak eta audioz grabatutako behaketak transkribatu ondoren, Atlas.ti programarekin kualitatiboki aztertu ahal izan genituen. Ikasleen galde-sortak eta kode-aldaketak kuantitatiboki aztertzeke, berriz, SPSS programa erabili genuen.

Kode-aldaketen funtzioa aztertu ahal izateke, guk sortutako taula erabili genuen: *Kode-aldaketa arautzaile-hezitzaile eskema* (ikus 2. taula).

Hirugarren ikerketa-galderari erantzuteke *-Zein dira idazle eleaniztunen idazketa-gaitasunak?-*, eta pertsona eleaniztunek idazterakoan erabiltzen dituzten zenbait ezaugarri aztertzeke, Bigarren Hezkuntzako hirugarren mailako 70 ikasleko lagina erabili genuen. Ikasle horiek hiru ikastetxetakoak ziren. Ikastetxe bat Araban dago eta beste biak Gipuzkoan. Ikasle guztiek hiru hizkuntza dituzte beren hizkuntza-errepertorioan: euskara, gaztelera eta ingelesa.

Bi neur-tresna erabili genituen: alde batetik, ikasleen informazio soziobiografikoa eta linguistikoa jasotzeke galde-sorta bat (ikus Appendix C); bestetik, hiru idazlan -bakoitza hizkuntza batean- idazteke eskatu genien.

Ikastetxe bakoitzean hiru egunetan izan ginen. Ikasleen ordutegia kontuan izanik, lehen egunean euskarako klasean galde-sorta betearazi genien, eta ondoren euskarazko idazlana idazteko eskatu. Bi egun geroago, gaztelerako klasean, gaztelerazko idazlana idatzi zuten eta, beste bi egun geroago, ingeleseko idazlana idatzi zuten ingeleseko klasean. Beraz, aste bereko astelehen, asteazken eta ostiralean idatzi zituzten idazlanak.

Galde-sortekin jasotako informazioa SPSS programa erabiliz aztertu genuen. Idazlanak berriz, lehenbizi Jacobs, Zinkgraf, Wormuth, Hartfiel eta Hugheyn (1981) profila erabiliz ebaluatu genituen, eta ondoren SPSS programarekin kualitatiboki aztertu ahal izan genituen.

Idazlanak sakonago aztertu ahal izateko eta hizkuntzen arteko transferentzia eta eragina ikus ahal izateko, Atlas.ti programa erabili genuen.

IV. Emaidza eta ondorio nagusiak

Lehenengo ikerketa-galderari erantzunez, hizkuntzetako irakasleek eleaniztasunari buruz dituzten usteak aztertu ditugu. Oro har, irakasleek eleaniztasuna positiboki ikusten dute: onura asko dakartzala esaten dute. Halere, badira gutxi batzuk kaltea ere ikusten dutenak. Edonola ere, esan daiteke kezka direla: batez ere, ikasketa kopurua handiagoa bihurtzea, denborarik ez izatea hizkuntza guztiak berdina ikasteko eta hiru hizkuntzetan gaitasun-maila bera lortzeko zailtasuna. Irakasleek adierazitako beste kezka bat da hizkuntza batek beste bati kendu diezaiokeen lekua; kasu honetan, hizkuntza gutxituarekiko kezka sumatzen da.

Hiztun eleaniztunari buruz galdetzerakoan, irakasleek diote hizkuntza bakoitzean erreferentzia hiztun elebakarrak izan behar duela. Aldi berean, onartzen dute jatorrizko hiztunaren gaitasun-maila lortzea hiru hizkuntzetan

ezinezkoa dela. Dena den, irakasleek espero dute ikasleek euskarari ingelesean baino gaitasun-maila altuagoa lortzea. Elkarrizketatutako irakasleetatik inork ez du esaten beren ikasleak eleaniztunak direnik.

Hizkuntza erreperitorioari buruz galdetu diegunean, irakasleek argi utzi digute Cumminsek (2014) identifikatu zituen *irakaskuntzako uste eleaniztunak* nagusi direla, eta iraunkor jarraitzen dutela Euskal Herriko ikastetxeetan. Oro har, uste orokorra da kode-aldaketa kaltegarria dela, irakasleek gogor azpimarratzen dute euskarako eta ingeleseko klaseetan hizkuntza horiek bakarrik erabil daitezkeela, baina ez dira hain zorrotzak gaztelarako klaseetan beste hizkuntzaren bat erabiltzen bada, batez ere hizkuntza hori euskara bada. Halere, irakasle batzuek ulertzen dute hiru hizkuntzen irakaskuntza era integratu batean aberasgarria izan daitekeela.

Irakasle guztiek ontzat ematen dute euskara erabiltzea irakaskuntzan, normala iruditzen zaie. Bestalde, nahiz eta irakasle gehieni ingelesean erabiltzea ondo iruditzen zaien, batzuei kezka sortzen dizkie. Kezka horiek ikasleen maila baxuagatik dira gehienbat, baina gutxi batzuek esaten dute ingelesak euskarari denbora eta lekua kentzen dizkiola.

Gizarte-testuinguruak duen eraginari buruz galdetzerakoan, irakasleek sinetsita daude gurasoek eta hedabide sozialek eragin izugarria dutela. Irakasleek diotenez, gurasoen hizkuntzekiko jarrera ikasleengan islatzen da. Jarrera hori, gehienetan, ingelesaren aldekoagoa da euskararen aldekoa baino. Hedabide sozialetatik eragin garrantzitsuena telebistak duela esan digute. Irakasleen iritziz, nerabeentzako telebista programarik erakargarrienak gaztelarazkoak dira. Beraz, oso laguntza gutxi jasotzen dute bai euskarari eta bai ingelesari telebistatik. Sare sozialekin antzekoa gertatzen dela diote.

Bigarren ikerketa-galderaz, ingeleseko ikasgelan egiten den kode-aldaketa aztertu nahi izan dugu. Ikerlan honen ondorio nagusietako bat da ingeleseko klaseetan, nahiz eta hizkuntzak bereiztea dakarten onuraren ustea oso zabaldua dagoen, euskara eta gaztelera erabiltzen direla. Hainbat arrazoirengatik gertatzen da hori. Oro har, kode-aldaketa irakaslea eta ikasleak elkarrekin talde osoan lanean ari direnean gertatzen da (Storch eta Aldosari, 2010; Gündüz, 2014). Era horretan lanean ari direnean, kode-aldaketa hiztegia zabaltzeko eta argitzeko erabiltzen da, eta talde txikietan lan egiterakoan, berriz, ikasleek lanaz kanpoko gaiez hitz egiteko eta lanarekin elkar laguntzeko aldatzen dute kodez (Costa, 2011; Swain eta Lapkin, 2000).

Guk sortutako kode-aldaketen funtzioen eskema erabiliz, ikusi dugu kode-aldaketa gehienak hezitzaileak direla. Eta kode-aldaketen funtzioari erreparatuz, ohartu gara egokia dela lexikoko eta ikasgaiko kontzeptu zailak azaltzeko eta argitzeko. Irakasleek orokorrean jakinaren gainean aldatzen dute kodez, hain zuzen ere, ikasleek ulertu ez duten zerbait azaltzeko edo itzultzeko (Gierlinger, 2015; Lo, 2015).

Kasu askotan irakasleek kodez aldetzea ez da kasualitatez gertatzen, batez ere hitz erro-kideak erabiltzen dituztenean. Hau ez dugu oso maiz ikusi, baina ikusi dugunean lexiko berria irakasteko edo kontzeptu zailen bat azaltzeko izan da.

Oro har, irakasleek uste dute ikasleek oso maiz aldatzen dutela kodez. Halere, ikerketa honetan ikusi ahal izan dugunez, 12 bat urtez ingelesa ikasten jardun duten ikasleek ez dute hain maiz kodez aldatzen. Loen (2015) arabera, gaitasun-maila hasi ahala, kode-aldaketa murrizten doa.

Hirugarren ikerketa-galderak hiztun eleaniztunen idazketako hainbat alderdi aztertzea zuen helburu. Lehendabizi ikusi nahi izan dugu

gurasoekin euskaraz egiten duten ikasleen eta gurasoekin gazteleraz egiten duten ikasleen artean ezberdintasunik ba ote dagoen hiru hizkuntzetan idaztean. Gure analisiak erakutsi digute bi taldeen artean ez dagoela alde esanguratsurik gazteleraz idazterakoan. Baina alde esanguratsuak topatu ditugu bi taldeek euskaraz eta ingelesez idazterakoan, Sagastak (2003) bezala. Beraz, euskaraz ikasteak ez dio hizkuntza nagusiaren (gaztelera) gaitasun-mailari kalterik egiten. Bestalde, euskaraz ikasteak eta etxean euskaraz egiteak lagundu egiten du euskararen jabetzean. Ingelesaren kasuan, nahiz eta ikastetxetik kanpo ez erabili, ikasle elebidunek gaitasun-maila altuagoa lortzen dute, beste zenbait ikerketek ere erakutsi bezala (Bild eta Swain, 1989; Swain et al. 1990; Sanz, 2000).

Aztertu dugun idazketaren bigarren alderdia hizkuntzen arteko transferentzia eta eragina izan da. Kasu honetan, gurasoekin gazteleraz hitz egiten dutenek lexiko gehiago transferitzen dute gurasoekin euskaraz egiten duten ikasleek baino. Beste ikerlari batzuek adierazi bezala (De Angelis, 2007; Cenoz eta Gorter, 2011), lexiko-transferentziak norabide guztietan topatu ditugu eta edozein hizkuntzatik abiatuta, ez etxean hitz egiten den hizkuntzatik bakarrik. Transferentzia sintaktikoak ere aurkitu ditugu. Kasu honetan, beste behin, gazteleraz hitz egiten dutenek gurasoekin gehiago transferitu dute euskaraz egiten dutenek baino. Transferentzia sintaktikoak oro har etxean hitz egiten den hizkuntzatik abiatutakoak izan dira.

Azkenik, idazketaren ezaugarrien eta estrategien transferentzia aztertu dugu. Hiru idazlanetan ateratako puntuazioei erreparatuz, ikusten dugu euskarazkoan, gaztelerazkoan eta ingelesezkoan alde txikiagoa dela edukia, antolakuntza eta puntuazioa dimentsioetan, eta altuagoa berriz hiztegia eta hizkuntzaren erabilera edo gramatika. Horrek esan nahi du ingelesean hasi berria den hiztunak agian ez dituela oraindik lexikoa eta gramatika

menperatzen, baina gai dela testuaren edukia, antolakuntza eta puntuazioa beste hizkuntzetako estrategiak erabiliz ondo hedatzeko.

Edukiari dagokionez, ikasleen erdiek baino gehiagok idazlan mota bera - istorioa edo deskribapena- idatzi dute hiru hizkuntzetan, eta laurdenek bi hizkuntzetan. Ezaugarri hori Kobayashi eta Rinnertek (2013) ere aurkitu zuten. Horrek ideia hau indartzen du: hiztun eleaniztunak ez du independenteki pentsatzen. Idazle hauek hiru hizkuntzetan erabili duten beste estrategia bat da istorioetan pertsonaiei izenak ematea, edukiari dagokionez. Estrategia honekin beste ezaugarri interesgarri bat topatu dugu; idazleen gaitasuna izenak hizkuntzaren arabera bereizteko. Beste batzuek, izenak hizkuntzak bateratuta erabili dituzte, inguru soziolinguistikoaren eraginez.

Deskribapenetan, ikasle askok koloreak eta zenbakiak erabili dituzte. Irudietan agertzen ziren pertsonak, animaliak eta objektuak koloreak erabiliz eta zenbat dauden esateko zenbakiak erabiliz azaldu dituzte hizkuntza guztietan.

Hiztun horiek eleaniztunak direla argiago gelditzen da idazlanen antolaketari erreparatzen badiogu. Idazlanak antolatzerakoan, ohartu gara espresio eta hasiera eta bukaerako esaldi berdinak erabili dituztela hiru idazlanetan. Idazlan guztietan errepikatuta ikusi dugu beste estrategia bat: paragrafoen erabilera da. Kasu honetan, paragrafoak erabili dituzten ikasleek hiru idazlanetan erabili dituzte, eta paragrafoak erabili ez dituztenek ez dute idazlan batean ere erabili.

Puntuazioaren erabilerarekin lotuta beste ezaugarri batzuk ere aurkitu ditugu hiru idazlanetan. Adibidez, idazle batzuek komak erabiltzerako joera erakutsi dute, beste batzuek harridura-markak erabiltzekoa hiru idazlanetan.

Horrek guztiak erakusten du, eleaniztunak berdin pentsatzen duela hizkuntza guztietan, eta haren idazteko estiloa idazlan guztietan ageri dela.

Bukatzeko, eta gure aztergai nagusiari erantzunez, nabarmendu behar da, irakasleek esan digutenari jarraituz, elebakartasunaren ideologia nagusi dela, naiz eta curriculumean hiru hizkuntza egon. Fokapen eleanitza oraindik ez dago ikastetxeetan zabaldua, baina, ikasgeletan eta idazlanetan ikusitakoaren arabera, esan dezakegu badagoela oinarri pedagogiko bat hori ezarri eta zabaltzeko.