



Doctoral Programme in Applied Languages, Literature and Translation

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A Plurilingual Approach to English Language Teaching
from an Ecological Perspective:
An international comparative study

Report submitted by **Alicia Chabert Ull** in order to be eligible for a
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To my husband,
to my mother and brother,
to my father.

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After years of travelling the world and teaching in different countries, it was 4 years ago when I had the crazy idea to leave South Korea to go back home and start a journey that has been, at the same time, incredible and also the most difficult thing I have ever done. All those years in contact with different languages and cultures had sparked a curiosity and research desire that pushed me to start this dissertation. I can only thank my husband, Kristopher O'Hare, for joining me in this journey and supporting me every day to fulfil my dream. Without his continuous understanding and moral support when I needed it the most this difficult journey could have become unattainable. To Kris, thank you.

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this dissertation is to investigate the application of multilingualism and plurilingualism theories and the use of the mother tongue in the English classroom in primary education using a communicative teaching approach on a global scale. With this purpose in mind, we implemented our study in three very different contexts around the world: Spain, Norway and China.

Based on the premise that the worldwide spread of English has resulted in significant consequences in education and language policies, throughout our dissertation we will focus on different factors affecting English language learning such as the context, the participants and the approach used, with the main objective of analysing the students response to a plurilingual communicative approach to English Language Teaching (ELT) compared to a traditional monolingual one. Our position aims to present an ecological approach to ELT that views English as a real international language that is a tool in our multilingualism and not a threat.

In order to achieve our objectives, we carried out quantitative and qualitative research methodologies that allowed us to obtain a wide range of data through the use of different instruments such as questionnaires, a quasiexperimental study, class observations and interviews.

RESUM

L'objectiu d'aquesta tesi és investigar d'una manera global l'aplicació de les teories multilingües i plurilingües amb l'ús de la llengua materna en l'aula d'anglès en l'educació primària mitjançant un enfocament d'ensenyament comunicatiu. Amb aquest propòsit hem dut a terme la nostra investigació en tres contextos molt diferents del món: Espanya, Noruega i la Xina.

El nostre punt de partida és la idea que la difusió de l'anglès a tot el món ha tingut importants conseqüències tant en l'educació com en les polítiques lingüístiques. En aquesta investigació ens hem centrat en diferents factors que afecten l'aprenentatge de l'anglès, com el context, els participants i l'enfocament utilitzat. L'objectiu principal ha estat el d'analitzar la resposta dels alumnes a un enfocament comunicatiu plurilingüe de l'ensenyament de l'anglès en comparació amb un enfocament tradicional monolingüe. La nostra posició té per objecte presentar una visió ecològica de l'ensenyament que considera l'anglès com una veritable llengua internacional; una eina en la societat multilingüe en la qual vivim i no una amenaça.

Per tal d'aconseguir els nostres objectius, hem utilitzat metodologies de recerca quantitatives i qualitatives que ens han permès obtenir un gran ventall de dades mitjançant l'ús de diferents instruments com a qüestionaris, un estudi quasi-experimental, observacions de classe i entrevistes.

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INTRODUCTION

Multilingualism in education has now become the norm, rather than the exception, due to factors such as more linguistically diverse classrooms with students that have different mother tongues, the need to learn English as an additional language in non-English speaking countries and the ever-changing multilingual contexts. “Multilingualism has been traditionally investigated from an isolationist perspective by examining languages in pure linguistic terms or isolated from a wider context” (Portolés Falomir, 2015), however the increasing focus on multilingual education research is pushing for a more holistic view of multilingualism in which boundaries are crossed and plurilingualism within the individual is explored (Cenoz & Gorter, 2015; García & Lin, 2016; Wei, 2018). Yet, these ideas are still relatively new and largely unexplored. At the same time, globalisation and the development of English as the international language of communication have contributed to an increasing research on English as a Lingua Franca (ELF), which has only recently started to be integrated within multilingualism (Jenkins, 2015, 2018b; Seidlhofer, 2017). While these worlds have just started to collide in research, motivated by our own teaching experience in Spain, Norway, United Kingdom, China, and South Korea and the desire to expand research contexts to involve different cultures, we were inspired to conduct an international research rich in different sociocultural factors and focused on English learning within multilingualism. However, not only multilingualism and English language learning were the main factors that sparked our research, but also the lack of presence of the mother tongue in the classroom of the additional language learner, especially in the English classroom. According to Cenoz and Gorter (2013, p. 592) “there is a strong notion of isolating the teaching of English from that of other languages in the curriculum.”

The present study focuses on English language learning and teaching in the last year of primary education in Spain (in the Valencian region), Norway (in the Trøndelag region), and China (in the Hunan region). The reason to choose these three very different contexts was our personal experience, the different background languages (and language families) of the participants, the different sociocultural factors and also the linguistic policies and guidelines of each of the

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settings. This type of global research cannot be carried out without including language policies to further understand the context and identify ways in which teaching approaches are implemented in the classroom. Language policies, curriculums and assessment are intrinsically linked and, in fact, “language policy influences the implementation of the curriculum and the assessment aims put in place to measure the achievements of that implementation” (Gorter & Cenoz, 2017, p. 233). The present study examines the language policies and guidelines of the participating samples, analyses the practice in the classroom, as well as the participants attitudes and beliefs, while attempting to bring the theory into practice.

The structure of the theoretical framework of our investigation follows a clear structure from macro to micro elements. Starting from the current global status of English that has derived into an increasing need for English learning worldwide, we follow by research on English Language Teaching (ELT), continued by the role of the mother tongue and its position in subsequent language learning. Finally, we complete the framework with an analysis of language policies in context, along with the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR) as a current global guideline. Our theoretical analysis is carried out through the lens of language ecology and aims to propose a plurilingual communicative approach to ELT that uses the mother tongue, not only to improve English learning, but also to reinforce the idea of the importance of the mother tongue, in both research and language users (and learners).

The concept of language ecology was first a metaphor introduced by Haugen (1972) to describe the relationships among the diverse forms of language in the world and their speakers, which later became a discipline in itself (Ecolinguistics). According to Le Donne (2017), Ecolinguistics faces a twofold challenge: on the one hand, exploring language diversity and language contact; and on the other hand, examining the linguistic representation of the environment, as well as the ecological (and unecological) elements of language. In the present dissertation, we will use an ecological perspective so that we can examine sustainable perspectives on English language teaching involving the L1 in the classroom. Throughout this process we will ensure to contextualise the application of our proposed English teaching approaches according to the setting where it takes place from an ecological view of language, in other words, “English language learning cannot be separated from the social contexts in which it occurs and is inextricably linked to ecology” (Borrero & Yeh, 2010, p. 571).

Because of our experience teaching foreign languages in primary, secondary and tertiary education, we acknowledge the strong influence of communicative approaches in education and one of our main research interests lies in the inclusion of L1 in the classroom in combination with Communicative Language Teaching (CLT).

From the moment the concept of Communicative Competence started to be developed in Second Language Acquisition (SLA) in the early 1970s (see Hymes, 1972), communication became the focus of language learning, to the point that the Communicative Language Approach has been used, modified and adapted for the past 50 years and has derived in more recent subsequent approaches such as the Task-Based Language Teaching (TBLT) and Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL). This approach has also been supported by the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR), which is not just used in Europe but has become a global referent and is used as an instrument to create guidelines, assessment and policies (Byram & Parmenter, 2012). The CEFR supports the use of communicative approaches, as well as the development of plurilingual competence, however these are often regarded as different concepts and the communicative approach is widely understood as incompatible with the use of other languages, considering linguistic transfer or code-switching as errors.

The role of the mother tongue in language teaching has been thoroughly researched (Cook, 2010a; Han & Park, 2008) although very rarely has the research focused on its use on communicative approaches. Littlewood and Yu (2010) suggested a framework of guidelines for balancing mother tongue and target language (TL) use in the classroom, and reviewed some strategies available to teachers to maximise the use of TL without denying the potential of the L1 to support foreign language learning. Nevertheless, there is still little research on practical frameworks that include L1 in CLT. The main focus of recent research has been motivation and attitudes towards L1 and successive languages (Meyer, 2008), the use of L1 in the L2 classroom by the teachers and students (Alcón Soler & Safont Jordà, 2007; Upton & Lee-Thompson, 2017), and the influence of L1 in L2 learning, including phenomena such as: interlanguage and language transfer (Selinker, 1972; Odlin, 1989; Bardovi-Harlig & Sprouse, 2017), cross-linguistic influence (Jessner, De Angelis, & Kresic, 2015; Koda, 2005), translanguaging (García & Wei, 2014) and the dynamic multilingual model (Herdina & Jessner, 2002), to name a few.

Objectives of the Present Study

In our research we investigate the application of multilingualism and plurilingualism theories and the use of the mother tongue in the English classroom from a practical point of view using a communicative teaching approach. We contextualise this approach within the curriculum of the countries subject of the study with the aim of identifying the real implication and use of L1 in English learning. Based on our study on the afore-outlined lines of research, the objectives of the present study address the following aims:

1. To explore the use of a plurilingual communicative approach within an ELF perspective in the English classroom in different contexts (Spain, Norway and China) and its effects.
2. To compare the similarities and the differences among learners at the same English level in different countries.
3. To investigate the effect and application of the national guidelines and curriculum in three different contexts: China, Norway and Spain.
4. To analyse the language attitudes of primary school students towards their mother tongue and English, as well as their perspectives and beliefs on language learning.

In order to address these objectives, our study will be guided by the following research questions and their relevant specific objectives:

- Can L1 be used as a learning tool to teach English in different contexts and achieve better results than monolingual approaches in ELT?
 1. Specific objective: to provide an overview of the existing theories on language acquisition, English as a Lingua Franca, mother tongue in language learning and multilingualism.
 2. Specific objective: a quasi-experimental study will be conducted in which different sessions will be carried out using a communicative monolingual approach in a control group and a plurilingual communicative approach in the experimental one in order to compare both and prove that a plurilingual one is more effective.

3. Specific objective: to compare the outcomes of our research in the different participating countries.
- Do the guidelines and current curriculums represent the reality of the classroom?
 1. Specific objective: to review the existing curriculums in Europe, Norway, Spain, the Valencian Region, and China.
 2. Specific objective: to relate the existing curriculums with the actual approaches used in the classrooms.
 3. Specific objective: to analyse any possible improvements to the curriculums or national guidelines based on the findings in the study.
 - Do sixth grade students have a sustainable view of language? Do they value English and their mother tongues differently? Do these views vary significantly depending on the context?
 1. Specific objective: to examine the perceptions and beliefs of the students regarding their mother tongue and English in all the contexts.
 2. Specific objective: to understand the demographic sample in more depth evaluating external factors such as access to English outside the classroom and home languages.
 3. Specific objective: to further understand the link between language policies and students attitudes towards language.

Dissertation Structure

After explaining the motivation and rationale underlying this study, we will present its overall structure. This dissertation is divided in two parts: conceptual (Part I) and empirical framework (Part II), which are summarised by chapters below:

Part I is devoted to the conceptual and theoretical framework of this dissertation and comprises four chapters. Each of the chapters has a different focal point that is core for this dissertation, yet they are all interlinked. Chapter 1 contextualises the current status of English as a Lingua Franca for international communication and its impact on language teaching. This chapter starts by providing an overview of the evolution of the status of English as a language and its worldwide sociolinguistic development. The different views on English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) are reviewed and the relation between ELF and World Englishes are explored. This

INTRODUCTION

chapter analyses the impact of ELF in both societal multilingualism and individual plurilingualism, while presenting the pedagogical challenges that stem from it. Once the challenges are exposed, we introduce the concept of language ecology and the place occupied by the English language within this ecosystem.

Chapter 2 provides a thorough review of language teaching approaches and methodologies, from the Grammar-Translation approach, going through the Audio-lingual, the Direct Method, and the Communicative Approach, among others. After the review, this chapter focuses on the current communicative language teaching approaches worldwide, as well as the new post-communicative approaches, such as Task-Based Language Teaching (TBLT) and Content Language Integrated Learning (CLIL). This section follows with the differences between teaching a foreign language and teaching ELF. Finally, the chapter addresses the use (or lack thereof) of the mother tongue in English language learning and, especially, in communicative approaches.

Chapter 3 starts with the types of influence of the mother tongue in the English classroom, analysing concepts such as code-switching, positive and negative influences, and interlanguage. Using the mother tongue as a base, new approaches and concepts are presented: the dynamic model of multilingualism (DMM), translanguaging, and plurilingual approaches. This chapter questions the current monolingual language teaching approaches in practice and their validity in our current multilingual context. At the same time, we challenge the efficiency of the same approaches to English teaching in different settings without considering the participants. We propose a plurilingual approach that uses the mother tongue of the students and can be adapted to their needs.

Chapter 4 is the final chapter of our theoretical framework and it focuses on the language policies of the three countries participating in the study: Norway, Spain and China. This chapter starts focusing on Europe and its European guidelines (such as the CEFR, along with other European projects), while contextualising the heterogeneous situation of English in the continent. This is followed by a direct comparison of the English curriculum in each of the participating countries against the CEFR, as well as an individual analysis of each of the curricula. In this section, the Norwegian primary school curriculum is described and analysed, followed by a study of the education policies and curriculum in Spain. The chapter then continues with

an exploration of the curriculum for primary school in China. The latter is divided between rural and urban China, since different protocols are followed in each context. This chapter concludes with relation between the teaching approaches used and the guidelines followed.

Following the theoretical part of the study, Part II focuses on the empirical section of this dissertation. Based on the literature reviewed and personal teaching experience, this part of the thesis will aim to address the hypotheses that motivated the study and present the findings that will support the proposed argument. Chapter 5 justifies the methodological approach of this thesis which, in this case, is a quasi-experimental research that combines qualitative and quantitative data. For the experimental part of this study we created a lesson plan that was the same in all the countries where the study was carried out. In each school we used a control and an experimental group, using a plurilingual communicative approach in the latter. Surveys were also conducted to evaluate the perception and attitude from the students towards the mother tongue and the English language. This chapter relates the reality in the classroom to the reviewed theories and guidelines.

Chapter 6 includes the findings of the study and analyses the results. Based on the outcomes obtained and the data gathered, the methodologies used in each school are compared between the control and experimental group within the context of their national policies. The main objective of this study is not only to provide a picture of the current situation of English learning and teaching in primary education, but comparing the results using our proposed approach while observing the discrepancy between the application of the same methodology in different contexts. This chapter presents evidence of the way the mother tongue of the students can assist them in English learning and is complemented by the results of the survey that help us understand the participants perspectives and the possible influences of the current guidelines in their attitudes towards language.

Chapter 7 gathers the concluding remarks of this dissertation. After acknowledging the limitations of the overall study, and examining the objectives and hypotheses presented from a critical standpoint, the recapitulation of the main outcomes derived from this study are provided. This is then followed by some pedagogical implications and suggestions for further research. This chapter is followed by the relevant bibliography and a series of appendices with the copies of the materials employed in the data collection procedure.

Chapter 1. English as a Lingua Franca: a Worldwide Demand

“The price a world language must be prepared to pay is submission to many different kinds of use.”

(Achebe, 1997, p. 347)

This chapter starts with an introduction to the extent that the English language has impacted the world in different countries and sections of society, such as business, science, language policies and, especially, education. Throughout this chapter the evolution of the English language and its status will be explored, providing different perspectives on this particular use of language (international communication) from neo-colonialism and westernisation to a detached neutral lingua franca. While examining the different concepts and definitions surrounding English varieties, uses and functions in theories and real contexts, we bring the concept of language ecosystem into the spotlight and reflect on the potential impact of English on multilingualism.

1.1. The Current Status of the English Language

It is undeniable that English has now reached the status of international language. From the pioneering voyages to the nineteenth century colonial developments, English spread across the world becoming a global language. In some cases new varieties of English became native and, in others, it became a second language (Mauranen & Ranta, 2009). English continued gaining momentum and conquering not only physical territories but also transitioning to the virtual space. Since the Digital Revolution (Kaplan, 2015), everyone has access to any kind of resources in English, all sort of platforms have been developed and promoted in English and also served as a hot pot of cultures coming together, contributing to the need of using a common language. In fact, the British Council (2013) even dares to call it English 2.0, the unofficial language of the internet. All in all, nowadays, the status of English is the result of a combination of several factors. On the one hand, there is the original expansion of British

colonial power; on the other hand, we have the twentieth century emergence of the United States as the leading economic power (Crystal, 2003); and finally, we are facing the undeniable position of English as the universal language of the internet, science and technology.

English has become a global language which predominates in all domains of communication in the world. However, the status of English as the international communication language par excellence is not a coincidence of the previously mentioned factors, but a result of the unequal distribution of economic, political and cultural influence, as well as a deliberate effort of native English-speaking countries to promote English language (Ciprianová & Vančo, 2010). In fact, in the latest report from the British Council “The Future Demand for English in Europe: 2025”, English language is referred as “a door-opener for British soft power” (2018, p. 5).

In order to evaluate the extent of the prestige and influence of the English language nowadays, we should focus on the different factors and their impact on its overall status, especially on education, science, business and the media. At present, we are experiencing an *Englishisation* movement in education in response to the current expectations of English as international communication worldwide. *Internationalisation* and *Englishisation* are globally being used as interchangeable terms, reinforcing the idea of English as a language of prestige and knowledge, and failing to promote multiculturalism and multilingualism. By English in education we are not only referring to higher education but all the different levels. Not only do children start learning English from a very young age (in many cases they start at the age of 3), but Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) via English in primary and secondary schools has significantly increased in the past few years (Eurydice, 2006, 2017), and English as Medium of Instruction (EMI) in higher education has become the internationalisation trademark, contributing to the undermining of local languages in favour of English. In the ACA Papers on International Cooperation in Education of 2014 we can observe the high increase of programmes taught in English in Europe, going from 725 in 2001 to 8089 in 2014 (Wächter & Maiworm, 2014). Nevertheless, it is not only Europe, many Asian nations are now restructuring their education policies and introducing a great number of English medium programmes (Kirkpatrick, 2011b, 2017).

1.1.1. English in Science

Besides its key role as a lingua franca in education, English has also become the language of science. Over 90% of the content in the Science Citation Index (SCI) and other similar scientific databases are written in English and mostly come from English language journals (Truchot, 2002). This was not always the case, as Sumerian, Greek, Latin and Arabic also enjoyed their spotlight as languages of science in different points in history. During the 15th century plurilingualism in science took over, and several languages in Europe became popular scientific languages (French, English, German, Italian and Russian) up until the end of the 19th century, when wars, economic and political changes had a clear impact on the status of the English language. With the rise of the United States as a world power and after two World Wars, there was a clear shift towards English as a global language, which Hamel affirms to be “the single most important factor that explains the shift towards English as today’s dominant language in international communication including the field of science” (Hamel, 2007, p. 56). During the second half of the 20th century and the start of the 21st, English had already become the leading language in science, with over 75% of publications being in this language. After the Second World War, German and French suffered a power loss in science, while English was elevated to lingua franca for scholarly communications, as once was Latin. *Research Trends* (2012) published a study in 2012 based on the Scopus data base that shows the evolution from 1996 to 2011, in which the results indicate that the use of English has significantly risen in the Netherlands, Italy and the Russian Federation (specially between 2008 and 2011). Previously, that same journal had already investigated the statistics of English publishing versus native languages, and the evidence showed that scientific works was more likely to be published in English than in any other native language in most of the Western European countries included in the sample (Research Trends, 2008), which can be observed on Figure 1.1. This figure below illustrates the evolution of published articles in English in comparison to the country’s official language in eight countries from 1996-2011.

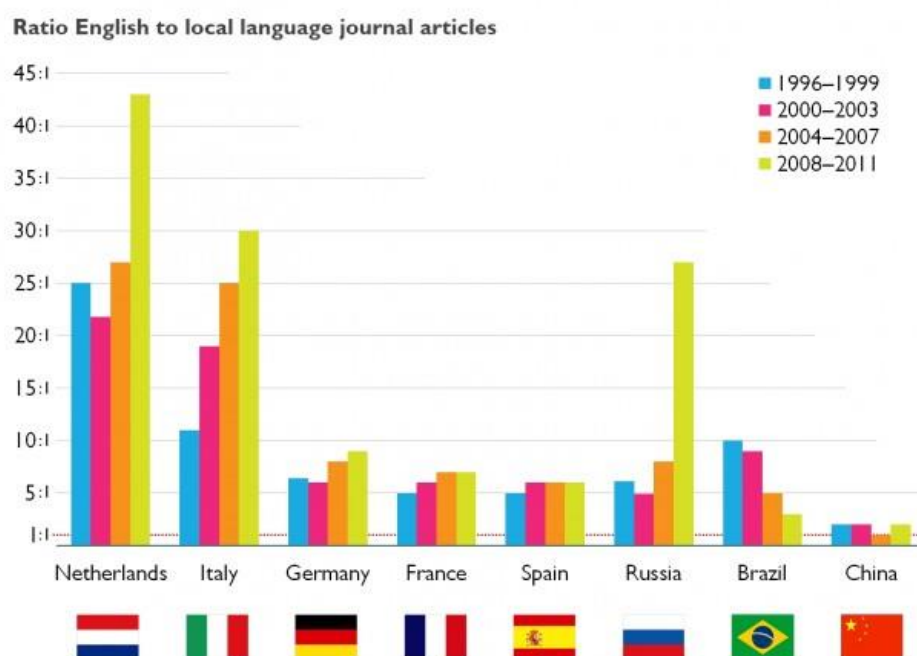


Figure 1.1: Ratio of the number of journal articles published by researchers in English to those in the official language of eight different countries, 1996–2011 (Source: Scopus, collected in Research Trends 2012)

In 2016, Navas-Fernández carried out a comprehensive study on internationalisation and publications focused on Spain but providing a worldwide context. In this study he presented evidence that demonstrated that 94.2% of indexed journals in JCR use English as their main language. This draws a clear picture of the supremacy of English in scientific publishing and in quality indexes. Navas-Fernández (2016, p. 27) asserts that “it is known that Web of Science and Scopus are biased towards big publishing countries and the English language. Or, in other words, their inclusion criteria reflect that the world scientific research is grounded on these premises.” This bias not only affects publications but also citations and their index, as, for example, a German journal adopting the English language, which consequently increases the citations received by articles published by foreign authors (Dinkel, Berth, Borkenhagen, & Brähler, 2004).

The use of English as the academic lingua franca has entered a vicious circle in which researchers have little choice if they want to progress in their career. There are academic reward schemes in most countries that place a great emphasis on publication in international journals, and specifically publishing in English. This has developed in a series of consequences:

- Limiting science: the reduction of science to one language has the potential of severely hampering the development of science itself, given that science will be limited to only those who speak the language and can access the resources in English.
- Limiting researchers: in order to publish in highly ranked journals researchers are forced to publish in English and consequently contribute to the primacy of English as a language of knowledge and science. Researchers that do not publish in English see their chances of being published reduced and, at the same time, the journals of higher impact and visibility are in English. In this regard, English becomes a necessity, not an option.
- Limiting plurilingualism: the dominance of English in science affects the other languages even internally. “In most cases, modernization of terminology occurs mainly by way of loans from the English rather than using indigenous linguistic resources.” (Ammon, 2001, p. ix)

At the same time, while English is, in theory, used as a lingua franca and the nativeness of the author should not matter as long as the article is clear, as well as grammatically and syntactically sound, editors and reviewers correct the articles to make them sound more native-like and sometimes even changing the style or position of the author (Englander, 2006). This proves that the status of English not only affect the different languages but also the different speakers within the English language, giving priority to the native speakers over the so-called non-natives¹.

1.1.2. English in Business

Because of globalisation, businesses have been internationalised and a common language is now vital for communication in the world of business. With different offices around the world business partners need to be able to communicate effectively and clearly, both internally and

¹ This terminology will later be contested as it is inherently ideological and intrinsically carries an inferiority status.

with international customers. Some companies have even gone to the extent of adopting English as their official language in territories where the official national language is a completely different one, for instance Nissan and Honda headquarters in Japan, or Siemens in Germany. But they are not the only ones, as we could include, for instance, Daimler AG, Kone Elevators, SAP, Philips, Nokia, Alcatel-Lucent, Technicolor, Rakuten and Microsoft as English only companies to name a few (Neeley, Hinds, & Cramton, 2012). Sato (2015) reviewed the controversial case of Rakuten, a Japanese Internet company that implemented English only policies in 2010 requiring translators and interpreters so that the employees were able to share ideas and opinions. Rakuten offered free English lessons for the employees but also stated that the failure to meet the required English level for the company could lead to dismissal and demotion. This monolingual English-only policy still prevails today and, while it has been thoroughly criticised, it still appeals to other companies (as the ones mentioned above) that are copying this system. Even though most companies do not fall under the extremism of these English-only policies, it is true that English is the main language for communication in business and even if it co-exists in a multilingual environment, it is the main working language.

The status of English in the business domain is such that Business English as a Lingua Franca (BELF) has developed into its own research paradigm (Du-Babcock, 2013; Fanha Martins, 2017; Kankaanranta & Lu, 2013), where the effect of English as a corporate language has been analysed in international business contexts. Louhiala-Salminen, Charles and Kankaanranta (2005) defined BELF as the English used as a shared communication code when conducting business within the global business discourse community. Kankaanranta and Lu (2013) see English as a neutral resource that is shared among the members of an international business community. Fanha Martins (2017) focuses on the purpose of BELF and its main aim, that is, to achieve a fruitful and effective communication based on mutual intelligibility in a multicultural situation. Leena Louhiala-Salminen and Anne Kankaanranta (2011, p. 18) propose the different characteristics for success BELF communication and summarise them in the following:

- Directness and clarity rather than grammatical accuracy
- Use of business-specific vocabulary and genres rather than just general English
- Use of expressions that oriented toward building rapport and relationships rather than merely explaining the factual content of the message

Other researchers such as Du-Babcock (2013) include a new dimension to BELF research and focus on communication behaviours in intercultural communication situations within business.

But it is not only business and science that English has conquered, the media and the internet have consolidated the status of this language across the world, along with the Western culture it portrays, which, at this moment in time, is predominantly American. The internet has facilitated interactions among people of different linguistic and cultural backgrounds, which use English as a Lingua Franca to communicate. Still, because of the influence of mass media, the separation of the English language from the original native speakers and their culture becomes a complex matter.

1.1.3. English in Education

As we discussed, the current position of English is very stable and it appears that this language is here to stay (Kachru, Kachru, & Nelson, 2006), but the approach to English language learning still needs to be further researched so that ELF can become a tool for everyone within a balanced language ecosystem. The impact of English on education has occurred at a global scale, resulting on drastic changes in education and becoming a focal research point.

Governments worldwide are introducing English as a compulsory language at earlier ages every time. In Asia, for instance, a great amount of resources have been redirected to English, curriculums have been adapted (MOE, 2001, 2003, 2011) and approaches have been changed, and yet the results are not achieving yet the desired goals (Nunan, 2003). These changes not only affect compulsory education but also tertiary. Universities are adopting a corporate model offering more and more English medium programmes, which students are compelled to choose in order to succeed in the world (Kirkpatrick, 2011b). Consequently, these initiatives have also had a high influence on the role of English as a vehicle for research (King, 2018), linking back to the use, prestige and influence of English in science and feeding this vicious circle. In Europe, according to the Eurydice (2017, p. 72) “virtually all students study English during the entire length of lower secondary education”. At the EU level, 97.3 % of students in lower secondary education learn English, and while the proportion is lower in primary education (79.4 %) based on the policies effective during the course 2016/17, the Eurydice

specifies that in following years there would be further changes in terms of English learning frequency and earlier start in Europe. Overall, in most European countries, it is now compulsory for all students in general education to learn two different foreign languages at the same time during their schooling and this is reflected in their respective language policies. Yet, not only Asia and Europe are affected, there is evidence for an unquenchable demand for English medium instruction, as well as early introduction and compulsory English in African countries, and this demand is reflected in their policies too (Ferguson, 2013). Even though most students still leave primary school unable to speak or understand simple English in many African countries, the role of English in education is creasing every day. Williams also reports further evidence of this in developing countries that include Pakistan and South Sudan, as well as African countries like the previously Francophone setting of Rwanda (2013).

For this reason, while English has taken the throne as the main international language for communication and in education, it is very important to understand that it is linked to linguistic imperialism and that only with efforts from linguistic policies and the support of pedagogical figures that we can detach, to some extent, the idea of English as a reflection of Western culture and threat to multilingualism. Hence, our study focuses on two very different geographical areas in the world: Europe and Asia. Given our time limitation, we specifically focused on three countries: Spain, Norway and China. One of the reasons for these choices was to study how very different L1 languages affect the learning of English and these languages allowed us to have speakers of a Latin language (Spanish and Catalan), a Nordic language (Norwegian) and a Sinitic language (Chinese). Another, and very significant, reason was to explore the different language policies and language learning environments in such diverse sociocultural contexts.

1.2. World Englishes and ELF

We can safely assert that English has become the dominant language of the 21st century, with 378 million native speakers (as per the report in Statista, the statistics portal, in 2018) and approximately 1.75 billion people who speak it at a useful level, which comprises a quarter of

the world's population (British Council, 2013). It is also estimated by the British Council that now, in 2020, there are approximately 2 billion people using English in their daily life, or at least learning to use it.

The use of English started with the British colonies, it spread with the media and market economy, it settled with immigration and tourism, and it is now taking over education. Crystal (2003) justifies the expansion of the English language by explaining that military power is needed to establish an international language, but economic power is needed to maintain and expand it. With the expansion of the British Empire, English was brought to North America, parts of Africa, Singapore, Hong Kong, Bangladesh, the West Indies, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Some of them adopted English as their first language (such as North America or Australia), others had other co-existing languages even though the use of English became the language of the elite, the law and the markets (such as Hong Kong and Bangladesh). While the British Empire might not as such exist anymore, the remaining of colonisation affected today's global market language. The open market and freedom of movement made a common language necessary and, like Latin was centuries ago, English has become the lingua franca around the world. Graddol (1997, 2006) analysed this in his books about English use expansion and forecasting and summarises stating that "an 'English factor' is found in virtually every key macro trend" (2006, p. 20), for instance the outsourcing of businesses and expansion of global markets, the development of new technologies and rise of social media, the worldwide redistribution of poverty and raise of middle class, the changes in the media, or the compulsory learning and use of English universities and schools. As many other linguists and sociologists, Sottani and Cossu (2016) agree that English has become a key language in our current international context and that is essential, not only for communication, but for politics, business, science and health, entertainment and media, education and the software industry, which we can conclude it comprises every aspect of our lives. As a result, we are currently living in an intricate sociolinguistic reality.

Many languages have been the centre of attention throughout the centuries but, as Kachru (1990, p. 180) puts it: "It is well-recognized that in linguistic history no language has touched so many lives of so many people, in so many cultures and continents, in so many functional roles, and with so much prestige, as had the English language since the 1930s".

As a result of globalisation and the need for an international and intercultural communication tool (Graddol, 2006; Jenkins, 2009; Cogo, 2012), English has emerged as a lingua franca and English acquisition is in the spotlight now more than ever. The current context of English as a global communication tool has favoured new and exciting research on bilingualism, multilingualism, English as a Foreign Language and different teaching approaches, and it is within this context that we place our study. Many concepts are used to describe the English language, its varieties and uses; some of them are: World Englishes, English as an International language (EIL), English as a Second and Third Language (ESL and ETL), English as a Foreign Language (EFL), Globalish (not to be confused with Globish, a term to refer to ELF), Plurilithic English, English as a Lingua Franca (EFL), and English as a Multilingua Franca (EMF). These terms are all interconnected, used as synonyms at times and even debated among linguistic researchers. We will aim to define these concepts and provide our view of the current English landscape, starting with the World of Englishes.

1.2.1. English Varieties

Scholars such as Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech, and Svartvik (1972, p.4) tried to define the English varieties based in use as Native Language (ENL), English as Second Language (ESL) and English as Foreign Language (EFL).

A native language, a second language, and a foreign language. As a foreign language English is used for international communication, but as a second language it is used chiefly for intranational purposes. We can distinguish five types of function for which English characteristically serves as a medium when it is a second language: (1) instrumental, for formal education; (2) regulative, for government administration and the law courts; (3) communicative, for interpersonal communication between individuals speaking different native languages; (4) occupational, both intranationally and internationally for commerce and for science and technology; (5) creative, for nontechnical writings, such as fiction and political works.

But this division was soon contested by Kachru (1984) when he developed his tripartite model, which rejects the traditional idea of native versus non-native speaker and brought the idea of “World Englishes”. Kachru divides English use speakers in three categories: the Inner Circle, that is, countries with English as a mother tongue (e.g. UK, USA, Australia); the Outer Circle, where English has a Second Language status and it is used in specific contexts such as business and science, it “involves the earlier phases of the spread of English and its institutionalisation

in non-native contexts” (Kachru, 1984, p. 12) (e.g. Singapore, Bangladesh); and the Expanding Circle, where “English is an international language²” (e.g. Japan, Portugal).

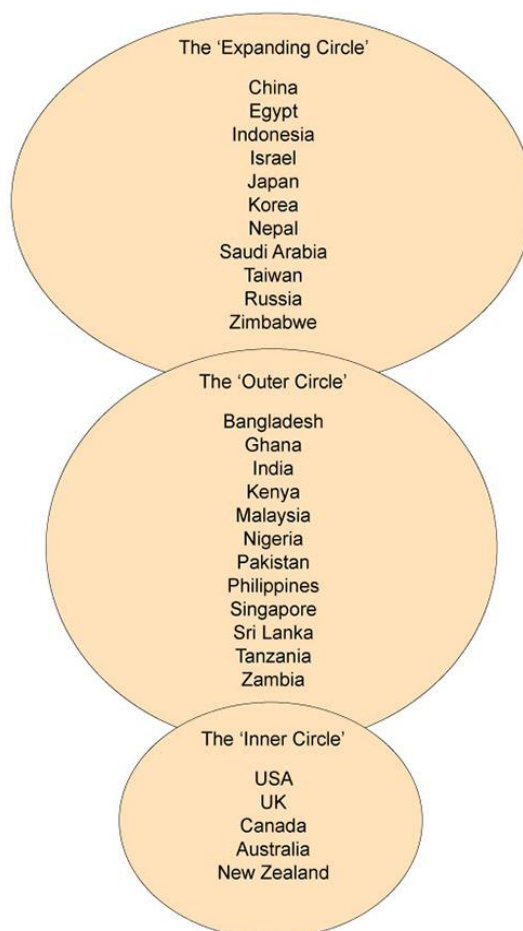


Figure 1.2: Circle division of English speaker populations. Source: Adapted from Kachru (1990, p. 179)

While the concept of native language is still defined, in contrast to Quirk (1990), Kachru includes the Outer Circle English as varieties, accepting their sociolinguistic identity. Kachru’s contribution proposed a view of the world in which multilingualism is the norm and monolingualism becomes the exception to the rule. In his words “the world of Englishes are the result of these diverse sociocultural contexts and diverse uses of the language in culturally distinct international contexts” (1990, p. 181). The relevance of his model lies on the fact that it accepts other Englishes as acceptable and not only belonging to the native speakers, which was also supported by other scholars such as Widdowson (1994, p. 385), who stated that “the

² Different understandings of English as an international language or lingua franca will be explored, but for the purpose of this example it refers to the use of English as the chosen language for communication between speakers of different mother tongues in a context where English is not a native language.

very fact that English is an international language means that no nation can have custody over it". This idea of language beyond the nation, is what English as a Lingua Franca represents and which we will analyse further in our study.

However this idea was not embraced by all academics, and Quirk (1990) suggested that the varieties of English of the Outer Circle countries should not be taught and only the standard "native" forms would be acceptable in order to keep a regulated common standard and therefore keep communication, as he feared that, if outer varieties are accepted, English would be divided in unintelligible varieties, breaking the idea of English as international communication. While we share the idea of necessary norms to keep a language together, it doesn't necessarily mean that it needs to be the native standard but one that encompasses different varieties and contexts, that is, one that respects our multilingual reality.

Nevertheless, even though Kachru's model was (and still is) very influential, it seems no longer applicable in nowadays postmodern globalisation era (Marlina, 2014), given that this model does not recognise the fact that English has acquired a new global dominant function and has become a lingua franca between all three circles (Mollin, 2006, p. 42).

1.2.2. English as a Lingua Franca: Concepts and Definitions

This brings us to the concept of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF thereafter), which can deceptively be thought to be easy to define. The term "lingua franca" was first used during the Middle Ages to designate a now-extinct pidgin of the Mediterranean, especially on its southern and eastern coast and it lasted approximately from the 14th (although most likely even earlier) to the 19th century AD (Brosch, 2015). This lingua franca was the means of oral communication used to facilitate any economic activities between Arabs, Africans and Europeans and it was a mixture of Italian, Spanish, Arabic, and Greek vocabulary, unified by a simple morphology. This language was used until "the rise of national languages after the end of the Middle Ages, and especially after the French conquest of the piracy stronghold Algiers in 1830, Lingua Franca faded from use and was apparently lost until the end of the 19th century" (Brosch, 2015, p. 73). It is unknown when the proper name Lingua Franca started to be used to describe other pidgin

languages (Kahane & Kahane, 1976). After that, the concept of lingua franca started to be used not only for pidgins, but also for vehicular languages such as Latin.

Latin played a role as a lingua franca for centuries after the fall of the Roman Empire, and even though it started being used only by a minority of the population, it soon became a language without a community and kept its status as an administrative language for a long time (Linn, 2016). The use of Latin as the administrative language for the Roman Catholic Church extended its life but by the 16th century, the importance of the vernaculars increasingly rose taking over Latin. With the establishment of the Académie française in 1635 and the language policies of Louis XIV the use of French spread and it developed into “a prestigious international scientific language and into one of the main carriers of the ideas of the European Enlightenment in the 17th and the 18th century” (Linn, 2016, p. 31). By the end of the 19th century the international status of German rose as a language of science, but it did not reach the prestige and international status of French, which was the language of diplomacy and culture. After both World Wars, as we previously reviewed, English reinforced its status as the world language and it has continuously grown to become the current lingua franca.

1.2.2.1. English as a Lingua Franca and as an International Language

A common earlier definition was the one of Firth (1996), who defined ELF as a “contact language” between people with different mother tongues and for whom English is their chosen foreign language of communication. House (1997) also agreed that, for the speakers of EFL none of them would have English as their mother tongue. Nevertheless, these definitions have now become obsolete to include the native speakers in the ELF paradigm, given that native speakers of English can participate in an English as a Lingua Franca situation (see Cogo & Jenkins, 2010; Friedrich & Matsuda, 2010; Jenkins, 2011; Murata & Jenkins, 2009; Seidlhofer, 2011). Thomason (2001) affirmed that a lingua franca is learnt as a second language (sometimes first in multilingual contexts) by at least one of its speakers, which included the possibility of one of the speakers being native. Seidlhofer (2011; 2005) includes native speakers of English for whom ELF is also an additional language, understanding ELF as intercultural communication. We share our position with Friedrich & Matsuda (2010, p. 22) and understand English as a Lingua Franca as “an umbrella term to describe functions of English within the

broadest spectrum and context of English use possible". Contrary to the World Englishes (WE), which framework is based on identity and nations (Pennycook, 2009), English as a Lingua Franca is an international language with emphasis on contextual use. The WE demarcates the different uses of English in Expanding, Outer and Inner Circle, however ELF is used in all circles when English is used for international and intercultural understanding. Seidlhofer (Seidlhofer, 2009a) states that "it seems clear that there are English-using communities not only in the Inner and the Outer Circle but also English-using local, regional, and global communities of practice communicating via ELF in the Expanding Circle and, importantly, across all circles". While ELF and WE are different paradigms, they both share the "pluricentric assumption that 'English' belongs to all those who use it, and both are concerned with the sociolinguistic, socio-psychological, and applied linguistic implications of this assumption." (p. 236)

Often as an interchangeable concept with ELF, we also find English as an International Language (EIL thereafter), which is understood by some scholars as a paradigm that recognises the international functions of the English language in different contexts by speakers of English from diverse lingua-cultural backgrounds (Marlina, 2014).

For a long time ELF has tried to identify and describe the common traits of its speakers as we can see on the following corpus projects: The Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE), ran between 2005 and 2013 under Seidlhofer's leadership and aimed to collect a "sizeable, computer-readable corpus of English as it is spoken by this non-native speaking majority of users in different contexts" (VOICE, 2013). This was followed by the launch of a second major ELF corpus, the corpus of English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings (ELFA) two years later, by a Finnish team under Mauranen (2003), first located in Tampere University and now Helsinki. In Asia, researchers also started compiling another major ELF corpus, the Asian Corpus of English (ACE). This corpus begun in Hong Kong in 2009 and it is led by Kirkpatrick, who runs a team based in various parts of East Asia (Kirkpatrick, 2014).

EIL, on the other hand, compiles a set of principles and recognises the existence of various varieties of English that are used around the world. In contrast to ELF, which is focused on content and interaction, EIL is also focused on process (Mckay, 2018). The process here refers to the interaction between speakers depending on the investment of the speakers to being understood and their level of language expertise. We position ourselves in agreeance with

McKay, understanding EIL as the pedagogical application of ELF. McKay's (2011) set of principles for EIL are as below:

- Given all the different varieties, contexts and particularities of English, all pedagogical decisions should be made in reference to the local language and social needs.
- L1 should be considered to develop English proficiency.
- Strategic intercultural competence should be taught.
- EIL should be culturally neutral.

As it can be observed, there has not been a consistent established interpretation of the concepts above explained of WE, ELF and EIL and, in fact, different scholars understand them as different English varieties, functions or approaches (see Jenkins, 2009, 2015; Kachru, 1990; McKay, 2011; Pennycook, 2009; Seidlhofer, 2001; Widdowson, 1994).

1.2.2.2. Globalish and Plurilithic English

Ammon (2003, 2006) proposes a new term (*Globalish*) to refer to English as an international language with a pluricentric structure and the ideology that English does not belong to native speakers anymore. The idea behind using this term is to raise awareness of a new status and function of the English language which norms should not be under the control of native speakers. Ammon, aware that when non-native speakers adopted a language in the past, many times this language evolved into a new one or even several ones (e.g. Latin), proposes that each "new variety" of Globalish (for example Japanese-Globalish, French-Globalish...) has a higher authority that ensures correctness and prevents varieties from drifting apart so mutual intelligibility is maintained. However, we believe this proposal to be quite unfeasible and utopic since this would require high economic efforts to create new linguistic authorities and it would be very difficult to "contain" the evolution of the language in those cases. Yet, one important point is that English does not belong only to the native speakers anymore and as such input should be accepted from non-native speakers. Pennycook (2009), similarly, proposes a plurilithic model without universal or national framings but one that incorporates the locale, the context and the agency. Pennycook reflects on Yano's proposal (2001), which shows a parallel model of all varieties from a three-dimensional sociolinguistic perspective. In Yano's

model, there is a differentiation between “acrolect” and “basilect”, acrolect referring to the international use and basilect to the local domestic use.

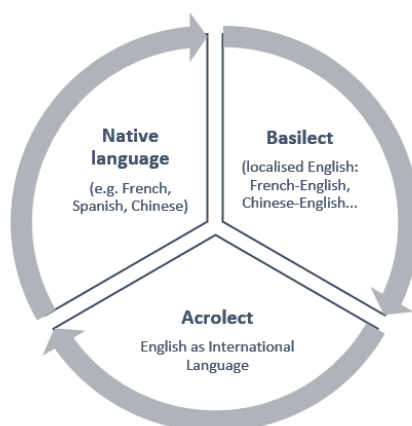


Figure 1.3: The three-dimensional sociolinguistic perspective - Adapted from Pennycook’s proposal (2009)

However, he goes even further and adds to this model the dimension of users and contexts. While his approach to English as a Lingua Franca is very interesting and we agree on the focus on users and contexts and interconnectedness of all English uses, we do believe in the normalisation of the language in order to keep communication possible. Even if speakers are able to communicate in English in different contexts and coming from different culture and language backgrounds, the future of language is uncertain and without any common norms it would be bound to evolve in different ways hindering comprehension among certain speakers. The dichotomy of the plurilithic and monolithic English is then a complex one, since it depends not only on English as a language itself but on the context, the users, the communicative process and the norm. A plurilithic English approach embraces all varieties, registers and uses as equal, while a monolithic approach establishes “English” as an entity that is multi-domain and used across the globe but that follows certain guidelines, which are yet to be established. ELF is still exonormative, that is, it belongs to the native speakers and follows their standard norms as the accepted form of language, and much effort and time will need to be devoted to construct an endonormative lingua franca that accepts local forms as correct in specific uses and contexts. At the moment, and despite of the growing research on ELF, the English language still belongs to the native speakers and the status divide between “natives” and “non-natives” still exists. Language teaching still focuses on the traditionally native culture and norms of American and British English, failing to bring English teaching to a new sphere where

international communication and multi-culture respect are the main objectives. As we mentioned above, the spread of English has raised some concerns (and rightfully so) about linguistic imperialism and Western culture domination. These apprehensions range from the denomination of native and non-native speakers, to the identity of the agent.

While the terminology “non-native” speaker has been discussed at length, it still used in ELF despite its problematic connotations. This terminology is still monolingual-focused as it clearly denotes an inferiority status compared to first language speakers of English. Dewale (2018, p. 238) proposes the term “LX user”, which includes speakers “from minimal to maximal and could very well be equal or superior to that of L1 users in certain domains”. By dividing speakers in L1 (speakers that learn English as a mother tongue) and LX (speakers of English that learnt the language after the age of 3 and could have learnt the language as L2, L3, L4, etc.), the approach to English as a Lingua Franca becomes more sustainable and carries less of a status weight on the speaker. Furthermore, instead of referring to SLA or TLA (Second or Third Language Acquisition), we will use the term Additional Language (henceforth AL), given that it suggests that the speakers already have knowledge of language (one or more) and this one is an additional one, yet it does not describe the level, status or order, as SLA would imply. In accordance with these statements and for the purpose of our study, we will adopt these terminologies in our research to refer to any languages after L1 but we will keep any references to L2, L3, etc., or SLA, TLA, etc. when quoting other researchers work that use these denominations.

Another concern, however, is teaching English without being traditionally culturally-biased (with British and American as standards, for instance) and allowing the identity of the speakers to develop without undermining their L1 identity. Teachers depend on the existing resources and current language policies, so it is within those grounds that the teachers need be able to adapt their approach and lesson plans. Developing the students’ language awareness and approaching English teaching from a plurilingual perspective would ensure a shift in the current language approaches and the students would learn English more holistically.

If we understand ELF as a tool for communication purposes between different mother tongue speakers, the use of ELF within same mother tongue speakers would not be needed. It is true that English has become the preferred language of business and 99% of organizations in

Europe use it as an official language (Crystal, 2003), however the use of language is fairly standard in those contexts, leaving ideologies aside. It is when a language is in contact in the same territory or context of the speaker (and English becomes an additional language or coexists as a mother tongue with another language) that both languages most feed on each other. The basilect here, could also be understood as the interlanguage, not as Selinker's (1972) fossilisation of errors but as Kachru's multilingual creativity (Kachru, 1984) or what Cook defines as multicompetence (1993) instead; that is, when multilingual speakers draw from their knowledge on different languages to provide humour, intentionality, and ideology, among other functions, which should not be misunderstood by lack of proficiency.

1.2.2.3. Review and Perspectives for the Future

Seidlhofer (2001, 2011, 2018), among other researchers working on the different ELF corpus, has found certain characteristics and similarities between ELF speakers, however this differs from the idea of an actual localised version of English. While we do not intend on ignoring the fact that where English is in contact with another language it may evolve to be a different language or dialect, our study focuses on the view of English as an international communicative tool and how to learn it in the most effective manner being respectful to the learner's mother tongue and cultural identity. By conceptualising ELF as a function of the English language, it "captures the dynamic nature of situation-based linguistic choices, recognizes the importance of non-linguistic factors (e.g., use of strategies) in communication" (Friedrich & Matsuda, 2010, p. 22).

After analysing the different concepts and approaches to English used in literature in its current global status, we propose the following definitions that we illustrate in Figure 1.4 on the next page.

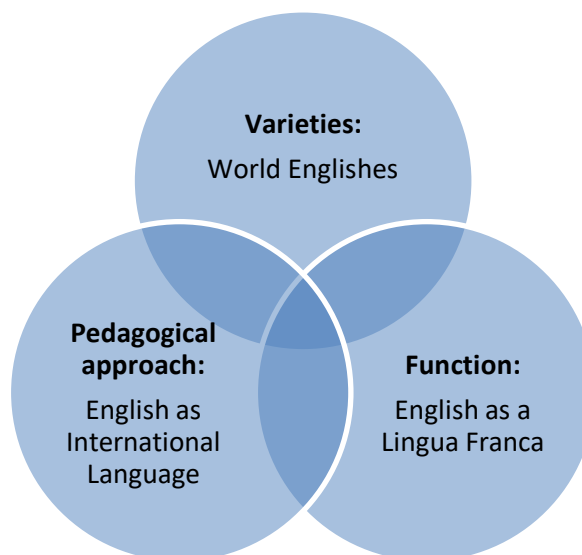


Figure 1.4: English concepts division

- World Englishes (WE): To refer to all varieties of English language independently of their official status.
- English as a Lingua Franca (ELF): To refer to the use of English as a communicative tool between speakers with different mother tongues (including native speakers of English, i.e. English L1).
- English as International Language (EIL): To refer to the pedagogical approach to English. Depending on the context ELF and EIL will be interchangeable, as they both dissociate from any culture background allowing the speaker to choose their own identity.

ELF research has continued to develop and Jenkins (2015, 2018b) argues for the need of a retheorisation of ELF to include multilingualism in its paradigm and summarises the evolution of ELF research in three phases: the first one, ELF 1, in which the focus was on form and collection of corpora and the aim was to identify the different ELF varieties; the second one, ELF 2, in which the focus changed to one on diversity, fluidity and variability in the negotiation of meaning among speakers with different multilingual repertoires; and the third one, ELF 3, in which L1 co-exists with ELF in the mind of the speaker and “L1 (and other languages) influence their use of English, rather than on the mutual flow in two (or more) directions” (2015, p. 61). Jenkins advocates for a more multilingual turn in ELF.

For the past decades, there has been a predominant idea of English being the most important language to be learnt due to economic and political situations, however with the understanding of English as a Lingua Franca and the need for cross-cultural and multilingual understanding due to immigration among other factors, there has been a shift of perspective. Plurilingual approaches started to be promoted in Europe and the interest in English learning worldwide has spiked. With this perspective in mind, we intend to propose in our dissertation an idea of mutual benefit for the mother tongue and English as a Lingua Franca, through a plurilingual communicative language approach. In order to understand the full context, we will focus on the current situation of ELF in Europe and Asia.

1.3. ELF in Europe

As exposed above, English is now essentially ubiquitous not only between L1 speakers and LX speakers but also as a bridge language among LX speakers. In Europe, whether we refer to Spain or Norway, or any other European country, the reality is the same, English is now a part of our life (Seidlhofer, Breiteneder, & Pitzl, 2006), even if it is to different extents and depending on context and register. Throughout the years, many languages have expanded and diminished, sometimes even at the expense of others, but the current impact of English worldwide is unlike anything we have experienced before due to digital communication and global industries, which pushed languages to adopt a role even more important than before (Phillipson, 2003). English can no longer be compared to the situation of Latin or even French, it plays in a league of its own.

The English language used for communication in Europe has developed over the past few decades and evolved to be what has been referred to as Euro-English. Europeans use English to communicate across nations and cultures and, as Breiteneder (2009) points out specially in the professional domains of education, international relation, business and scientific research. Nevertheless, despite the general use of English across the continent, Europe is considered a hub for multilingualism. The European Union has 24 official languages, as well as more than 60 indigenous regional and minority languages that are spoken throughout the continent.

Kuźelewska (2014) reviews the use of languages in the EU and uses the table below to illustrate this:

Official and working languages in the EU		
Institution or body	Official languages	Working languages
European Parliament	All 24 languages	All 24 languages
Council of Europe	All 24 languages	English and French
Council of the European Union	All 24 languages	All 24 languages
European Commission	All 24 languages	English, French, German
Court of Justice of the European Union	All 24 languages and Irish	French
Court of Editors	All 24 languages	English, French, German
Economic and Social Committee	All 24 languages	All 24 languages
Committee of the Regions	All 24 languages	All 24 languages
European Central Bank	All 24 languages	English
Office for Harmonization in the Internal Market	All 24 languages	English, French, German, Spanish, Italian

Table 1.1: Official and working languages in the EU. Extended table based on Kuźelewska's (2014, p. 158)

Kuźelewska defines the official languages as “as those used in communication between institutions and the outside world” and working languages “as those used between institutions, within institutions and during internal meetings convened by the institutions” (p. 153). Her paper describes the situation in Europe, but also categorises the use of all official languages as “wishful thinking” (p. 161) and supports the idea of an English-only Europe. While she acknowledges the fear of loss of function by some communities, she sees EU linguistic diversity as more of a setback to economic progress, political integration and democracy. Gazzola (2006), on the other hand, focusing on the European Parliament and its languages, compares the economic and political advantages and disadvantages of using different languages in different contexts. He concludes that various language regimes have the potential to be optimal depending on the scenario and supports that multilingualism does not imply unsustainable expenditures. The reduction of official and working languages and the use of English as the European language have been debated for over a decade, with different studies on

plurilinguistic equality and multilingual communication (van Els, 2001). Despite this, the presence of English in Europe and the European Union is unquestionable.

Because English is now used as a lingua franca in Europe, it is characterised more and more by specific traits and expressions. Cogo and Jenkins (2010) go as far as stating that Euro-English is taking a different form from the official languages of the (for now) two English-speaking member states. In fact, Jenkins, Modiano, and Seidlhofer (2001, p. 14) already raised that “expressions which are commonplace in European languages are slowly making their way into ‘Euro-English’ through processes of discursual nativization”. Based on this, it can be observed how Euro-English is becoming a different English variety, yet, “Euro-English, in the sense of a European variety of English, has so far mainly been used as a hypothesized concept” (Motschenbacher, 2016, p. 64) and it is still in question whether the non-native English uses across Europe constitute a variety that may acquire the same status as other World Englishes in the future. At this moment, nevertheless, it is important to contextualise the current state of affairs, including the possible consequences of Brexit³. Although this process has only relatively started, some reports indicate that some European state members are positioning themselves to benefit from the withdrawal of the United Kingdom and believe that English will no longer be an official EU language, and as a consequence French will regain some of its old power. Despite this, “there is every reason to believe that English, because of its utility, will have the same role within the EU as it maintains today, with the exception that there will be a noticeable lack of L1 users of English present to influence the direction English is to take in the days and years ahead” (Modiano, 2017, p. 317). In fact, with the absence of native speakers, continental Europeans will be able to claim ownership of the language and develop it according to their own needs, consolidating this way the Euro-English.

Up until now, despite the different attempts to describe, analyse and characterise a European variety, this endonormative vision for European English had lost academic support and the focus shifted to a functional view of language (Seidlhofer, 2009b). However, with the effects of Brexit in the horizon, Euro-English could become a variety in its own right.

³ Brexit refers to the withdrawal of the United Kingdom from the European Union, following a UK-wide referendum in June 2016.

1.4. ELF in Asia: Focus on China

This functional use of English extends beyond Europe and the West, and the reality is that “the English language and literature have ceased to be exclusively Eurocentric, Judeo-Christian and Western” (Kachru, 2009, p. 175). Bearing this in mind, English is seen as the language of intercultural communication in Asia, even though none of the countries belong to the Inner Circle of English (e.g. the USA, UK, Australia and Canada).

In Asia, English plays a major role as a lingua franca and has even assumed official status in 2009 as the sole working language of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), as well as being the working language of ASEAN + 3, the extended grouping that includes the ASEAN states plus China, Japan and Korea (Kirkpatrick, 2014). These wide-ranging regions in Asia, with their diverse backgrounds have adapted and adopted English in various spheres of their lives for intra- and international communication (Murata & Jenkins, 2009), and English is now regarded as the language of intercultural communication (W. Baker, 2011).

In Asian countries, ELF is generally adopted due to its apparent “neutral” status and the perception of English as an essential tool for modernisation and globalisation (Kirkpatrick, 2017). It is used in business, politics and education and this status has led to the promotion of English as the second language of education, after the respective national language. Such an extensive use of ELF, however, raises concerns about how individuals express themselves and their local contexts through English (W. Baker, 2011). While national languages are preserved and seemingly unaffected by the unique position of the English language, local and regional languages are being affected and the number of people who are multilingual in Asian languages are reducing. Unlike Europe, Asian countries lack the strong language policies to protect their own languages and promote multilingualism, in Kirkpatrick words “while the language policies of Europe recognise the cultural and humanitarian values of languages in addition to their potential economic benefit, it is only the utilitarian values of languages that are recognised in ASEAN, which is a major reason why each member state focuses on the their respective national language and English” (2017, p. 17).

As well as English as a Lingua Franca, there are two other lingua francas in Asia: “Bahasa Indonesia and Putonghua⁴ are the two most widely spoken Asian-based lingua francas in East and Southeast Asia” (Kirkpatrick, 2011a, p. 3). Because of the key role that English is playing across Asia in political organisations such as the ASEAN, as well as being perceived as the worldwide international language and gateway to modernisation and globalisation, English teaching has become a priority. Even though ELT objectives, targets and conditions of learning English vary among all Asian countries, the common trend is to start learning English earlier. English is being promoted as the first language of education, after the respective national language. Indonesia is the only ASEAN nation that does not make English a compulsory subject in primary school. But even in Indonesia, English is the first language (after the national language Bahasa Indonesia) to be taught in primary schools. Unlike the European Union, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations is an inter-governmental organisation, rather than a supranational organisation and for this reason they cannot be directly compared in terms of language use within the organisation. However, the efforts from the ASEAN, as well as the surrounding Asian countries, such as Japan, China and Korea, to include English in education to build a solid base for international communication in the future cannot be ignored. Below we present a table showing the medium of instruction per country and the year of introduction of English for context:

Country	Medium of instruction (MOI)	Year of introduction of English
Brunei	Malay and English	Primary 1 (Primary 4 MOI)
Cambodia	Khmer	Primary 5
Indonesia	Bahasa Indonesia	Secondary 1
Laos	Lao	Primary 3
Malaysia	Malay and English	Primary 1 as MOI
Myanmar	Burmese	Primary 1
Philippines	Filipino and English	Primary 1 as MOI
Singapore	English	Primary 1 as MOI
Thailand	Thai	Primary 1
Vietnam	Vietnamese	Primary 3

⁴ Putonghua (普通话) is the official language in China, i.e. Chinese Mandarin.

China	Mandarin	Primary 3
Taiwan	Mandarin	Primary 3
South Korea	Korean	Primary 3
Japan	Japanese	Primary 5

Table 1.2: Year of introduction of English subject. Adapted and extended from Kirkpatrick (2017, p. 9)

In China, in particular, the status of the English language has changed remarkably, especially after the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games and the 2010 Shanghai Expo (Fong, 2009). English teaching is now thriving and has become a compulsory subject since primary school, but the teaching perspectives are still traditional, revolving Anglophone culture and following native-based models (Fang & Baker, 2018). At the same time, and despite the overall concerned national effort to learn English, there is a considerable gap between China's rich urban areas on the coastal provinces and the poor rural inland ones. In ethnic minority areas studies of language policies show that provision of English in formal education is irregular and not every area receives the same opportunities, resulting in inequitable access to quality instruction in English (Adamson & Feng, 2009). Nevertheless, the quality of English instruction is a much more extensive concern that affects many of the countries in Asia. Nunan, Higgins and Edge (2003) carried out a study focused on the Asia-Pacific region (Mainland China, Hong Kong, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, Taiwan, and Vietnam) with the aim of shedding some light on policy decisions about English within the relevant educational systems and focused on the different access to English within each country, teacher education, principles of language education, and effects on the home language. In their vast study they discovered that, at the time, governments and ministries of education were framing policies and implementing practices in the language area "without adequately considering the implications of such policies and practices on the lives of the teachers and students they affect" (Nunan, 2003), and this still seems to be the case. In most of the Asian countries participating in that original study, considerable inequity existed in terms of access to effective English language instruction, and recent studies confirm this continues to be a challenge (Zein & Stroupe, 2019). Most of these countries still seem to subscribe to principles of CLT, however this differs from the reality; there is a lack of guidance for teacher in training and curriculum, which will be analysed in following chapters in this dissertation. Studies on the subject suggest that Asian countries are investing considerable resources in English, often at the expense of other aspects of the curriculum, and

starting learning English younger and younger, but the evidence suggests that these resources are not achieving the instructional goals desired (Chen, 2013; Nguyen, Le, Tran, & Nguyen, 2014; Nunan, 2003).

At the same time, there is growing concern about the impact of English on first and vernacular languages. In Asia, English is having significant and profound effects not only on the region's language policies and educational systems, but on patterns of language use (Gil & Adamson, 2011). Similarly to Europe, there are considerable tensions and fears over the preservation of cultural identities and vernacular languages as a result to the current role and status of English as a global language.

1.5. ELF and Multilingualism

As we have reviewed, English as a Lingua Franca is not viewed or accepted equally worldwide, and the position towards ELF differs extensively. Generally, there are two main opposing views on ELF: as a threat to other languages and multilingualism (Pennycook, 2016; Phillipson, 1992; Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1997, 2009), and as an indispensable tool for multilingualism (House, 2003; Jenkins, 2015, 2018b; Seidlhofer, 2017).

Before contrasting these two perspectives, we will differentiate the concepts of multilingualism and plurilingualism. The Council of Europe distinguishes between the two and defines multilingualism as “the coexistence of different languages at the social or individual level” and plurilingualism as “the dynamic and developing linguistic repertoire of an individual user/learner” (Council of Europe, 2018, p. 28). Some scholars even differentiate between multilingual and plurilingual competences, Canagarajah describes plurilingualism as the integration of two or more languages into an individual's personal repertoire and characterises plurilingual competence as below (Canagarajah, 2009, p. 6):

- Proficiency in languages is not conceptualized individually, with separate competencies developed for each language. What is emphasized is the repertoire — the way the different languages constitute an integrated competence.

- Equal or advanced proficiency is not expected in all the languages.
- Using different languages for distinct purposes qualifies as competence. One does not have to use all the languages involved as all-purpose languages.
- Language competence is not treated in isolation but as a form of social practice and intercultural competence.
- There is a general assumption that speakers develop plurilingual competence by themselves (intuitively and through social practice) more than through schools or formal means.

By contrast, he understands multilingualism as “separate, whole, and advanced competence in the different languages one speaks — almost as if it constitutes two or three separate monolingualisms” (2009, p. 7). In his theory, plurilingualism allows for the interaction and mutual influence of the languages, whereas multilingualism keeps languages separate and is additive or subtractive.

Jenkins (2015, p. 74), on the other hand, provides in her article “Repositioning English and multilingualism in English as a Lingua Franca” the perspectives of the researchers Coffey and Leung, who support that the term multilingualism is more general and has a greater reach. The reality is that plurilingualism and multilingualism definitions are not set in stone and they are interchangeable at times. For the purpose of this dissertation, we will follow the definition of the Council of Europe and, when referring to coined theories of relevant academics we will respect their own use of the word.

1.5.1. ELF in Multilingualism: a Threat or a Tool

On one side, we find English as an unfairly dominant language that has been politically pushed to westernise and homogenise the linguistic panorama. This position is often referred to as “linguistic imperialism” (Phillipson, 1992) and focuses on the fact that English is constantly promoted over the rest of languages, as well as the role played by organisations such as the British Council in the promotion of the global spread of English (British Council, 2013, 2018). This position, while not opposed to ELF, aims to raise awareness of the questions of power that

are usually not addressed in the ELF paradigm. Because the spread of English as a global language is a fact, the question becomes how to protect the rest of languages and cultures along the way. Phillipson (Phillipson, 2008) warns us of the naïve view of English as a neutral language and asserts that the “acceptance of the status of English, and its assumed neutrality implies uncritical adherence to the dominant world disorder, unless policies to counteract neolinguistic imperialism and to resist linguistic capital dispossession are in force”. As well as needing strong language protecting policies, there are other factors to be tackled that contribute to linguistic imperialism, such as the promotion of native speaker English teachers over L2 ones or suggesting that English learning should be started as early as possible (Pennycook, 2016). Many current ELT approaches and materials continue to endorse this monolingual approach to English learning and ELT professionals are still unaware or uncertain of ELF as a potential solution to linguistic imperialism. At the same time, ELF research seems to continuously explore ELF in isolation “perpetuating the traditional monolingual conception of bilinguals as being two monolinguals rather than different people from monolinguals in L1” (Cook, 2013, p. 39). Because of the reasons stated above, it is not surprising that ELF is still seen as a threat to multilingualism, nonetheless there are strong arguments that suggest that ELF can not only contribute to multilingualism, but play a part in language ecology.

In this regard, there are interrelated points to address: the role of identity in ELF, the role of ELF in multilingualism, and the role of ELF in the vitality of minority languages. Some scholars make a distinction between the choice of languages for communication, that is, a useful tool to communicate in international encounters, and languages for identification, which defines the L1 group and its members. House (2003, p. 560) proposes that “because ELF is not a national language, but a mere tool bereft of collective cultural capital, it is a language usable neither for identity marking, nor for a positive (‘integrative’) disposition toward an L2 group, nor for a desire to become similar to valued members of this L2 group – simply because there is no definable group of ELF speakers”. While we find this a very interesting point of view, the reality is that identity can hardly ever be separated from language and that the relationship between ELF and identity is a very complex and fluctuating matter. For example, in some studies ELF users have expressed their desire to project their own local identity in English and some of them saw themselves as part of a community of ELF users (Jenkins, 2009), in others an increased emergence of global discourse communities is observed (Seidlhofer, 2009b).

Despite the different perspectives on ELF and identity, many academics find common ground in the idea of ELF playing a key role in multilingualism and vice-versa. As Jenkins (2015) rightly observes, multilingualism is the only factor without which there would be no ELF. English has become an additional language to be used in intercultural and international settings to communicate successfully across cultures and mother tongues. Approximately one third of the world speaks English at a useful communicative level, which means that at least a third of the world is multilingual, in addition to the multilingual speakers of other non-English languages. This growth in multilingual realities has sparked new work on multilingual pedagogical approaches, including studies on the development of plurilingual competences and translanguaging⁵, among others (Coste, Moore, & Zarate, 2009; García & Wei, 2014). Notwithstanding the involvement of ELF in multilingualism, it is also a concerning matter for minority and regional languages the fact that not only do they have to compete with national languages but also with an international one. On the one hand, ELF has the potential to avoid hegemonic multilingualism characterised by the dominance of a small number of larger languages. House (2003, p. 561) complements this idea with a view of ELF in which she believes that “the very spread of ELF may stimulate members of minority languages to insist on their own local language for emotional binding to their own culture, history and tradition, and there is, indeed, a strong countercurrent to the spread of ELF in that local varieties and cultural practices are often strengthened.” Yet, given the existing language hierarchies, this can only be achieved with the support of strong language policies and a “true and balanced multilingualism should become a priority for European education institutions” (Lasagabaster, 2016, p. 105).

1.6. ELF and Language Ecology

Since the 19th century scholars referred to languages as living things, yet it was only by the 1970s when the focus on language changes from organisms to species. Language ecology was a term that Haugen (1972) used to refer to the study of the interaction of languages with their

⁵ The concept of translanguaging, which refers to bilingual practises will later be explained and discussed in subsequent chapters.

environment. This term was proposed as a metaphor derived from the study of living beings, in which languages are entities co-existing within an ecosystem. Haugen's proposal introduced a new view in Applied Linguistics, an ecological approach to language that focuses on language preservation:

[...] it seems to me that the term 'ecology of language' covers a broad range of interests within which linguists can cooperate significantly with all kinds of social scientists towards an understanding of the interaction of languages and their users. One may even venture to suggest that ecology is not just a name of a descriptive science, but in its application has become the banner of a movement for environmental sanitation. The term could include also in its application to language some interest in the general concern among laymen over the cultivation and preservation of language. Ecology suggests a dynamic rather than a static science, something beyond the descriptive that one might call predictive and even therapeutic. What will be, or should be, for example, the role of 'small' languages; and how can they, or any other language be made 'better', 'richer', and more 'fruitful' for mankind? (Haugen, 1972, reprinted in Fill & Mühlhäusler, 2001, p. 60)

Haugen's metaphor shows languages as existing not in isolation but within an environment, in which they may be stable or possibly endangered. This change in the approach to ecolinguistics from independent organisms to species was critical, since "it highlights the significance of variation within a language as an extrapolation from what is otherwise a population of idiolects spoken by individuals communicating with each other" (Mufwene, 2013, p. 303). This shift in perspective allowed to factor the speaker as the most "direct external ecological factor to language" (p.311). Then, by the 1980s, the importance of language ecology in applied linguistics, especially language shift and language loss, had become well-established (Fishman, 1972, 1991; Mackey, 1980). Since then, language ecology has been used to contextualise language-related issues in different settings (sociolinguistic, educational, economic or political) and it has also been proposed as a paradigm to address language policy and multilingualism issues.

With the current situation of English as a Lingua Franca worldwide and its impact, language ecology becomes more relevant than ever and, as Le Donne (2018, p. 217) points out, "considering the normative agency of globalization and social mobility, the availability of stronger language ecology frameworks appears instrumental in the survival of many languages". Back in the late 1990s, Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas (1997) already contrasted two language policy options in regards to English worldwide: on the one hand, the diffusion of

English characterized by a monolingual view of globalisation, modernization and internationalization, while serving British and American interests; and, on the other hand, an ecological paradigm based on linguistic diversity that promotes multilingualism and foreign language learning. The balance between English as a language necessary for multilingualism and English as a dominant language that threatens the vitality of the rest of languages is very fickle. For this reason, it is necessary for language educators and language policies to integrate ecolinguistics in language teaching. “The language planning field increasingly seeks models and metaphors that reflect a multilingual rather than monolingual approach to language planning and policy” (Hornberger, 2002, p. 10), and this has been reflected in education policies worldwide but the practice and reality differ from these. For instance, in Europe, the Council of Europe advocates for linguistic diversity and language right and proposes a Language Policy Programme that seek not only to promote language learning and secure and strengthen language rights. On the other side of the world, in China, multilingualism is also on the spotlight in language policy, although in a more ambiguous way than in Europe, as we can observe in the proposal of the Ministry of Education in 2001 that states that “the relationship between the minority language and the Mandarin Chinese should be correctly managed... English should be offered in regions where favorable conditions exist” (Chinese Ministry of Education 2001, in Singh, Zhang, & Besmel, 2012, p. 363), however this results in a severe inequality of English instruction in China, since most minority students do not have the same opportunity to study a foreign language in elementary or secondary schools (A. Feng, 2005).

Overall, language policies still do not embrace and implement the paradigm of language ecology successfully, and the concept of ELF is still treated as an independent concept from multilingualism. In order to move away from the monolingual language bias that some SLA researchers and teachers still show, in which the human natural default is to learn and use only one language (Ortega, 2013), there is a need for awareness of ELF in English teaching. As Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas (1997) already emphasised, with a language as influential and global as English, it is imperative to analyse the role played by language professionals on the impact of English and English teaching on the rights of speakers of other languages and cultures. Language policies are needed to ensure that languages are protected, but teacher training is key, as teachers have the immediate power on how languages are perceived in the minds of the learners. By focusing on awareness of English as a Lingua Franca and its impact, an

ecological approach to language can be implemented in the classroom. Sifakis (2019, p. 10) links language ecology and ELF proposing the term “ELF-aware” in an ecological approach that raises “teachers’ critical awareness of the entire ecosystem surrounding their teaching situation, including its wider social and institutional features and specific constraints or problems”. He follows this definition with a proposal for three-phased change in ELT training (p. 13):

- Exposing teachers to ELF, WE and EIL research and prompting them to reflect on the complexities of English-medium communicative contexts in today’s global reality;
- Raising their awareness of the challenges those complexities pose for their own teaching context in a critical and hands-on way; and
- Involving them in an action plan that would help them integrate pedagogical concerns from EIL, ELF and WE they consider relevant (and doable) for their own teaching context.

Despite the ever increasing research on the ecology of language, and the link between language policy and planning, there are still few studies that focus on the relationship between languages and their speakers in the educational context (Creese & Martin, 2003), and even fewer focus on English teaching and multilingualism in schools from an ecological perspective. With this demand in mind, our research aims to provide further evidence on the English language learning from an ecological approach in primary school.

1.7. Conclusion

English has been constantly evolving since the early Anglo Saxon tribes around 500 AD, and its use, function and diversity has not ceased to increase with every stage (Jenkins, 2015). In this chapter we provided an overview of the current presence of the English language worldwide and its status as a global language, where we can observe how English has become more than just a language, and how it is slowly being detached from its original native speakers.

English as a Lingua Franca has been thoroughly theorised over the past two decades, and it has been attempted to be conceptualised, contextualised and defined as a variety or a function. At this point, it has become clear that these descriptive studies are not enough and that ELF does not belong to World Englishes as it was previously been thought. For some researchers, it is a full language with functional range and not a pidgin (Cogo & Jenkins, 2010a; House, 2003; Seidlhofer, 2009b), for others “ELF is a communication system continuously being created by its users, not a language in an abstract sense so much as a set of processes” (Cook, 2013, p. 31). ELF communication is not geographically bound and, while some corpus attempted to collect its relevant features, it cannot be contained as a variety, since it will always evolve and depend on the speakers. ELF research has now started to shift towards multilingualism (or its impact on multilingualism and vice-versa) and more practical work.

Along with the presence of English, we have focused on the impact the ELF use of language has on linguistic landscapes and their speakers. It would be irresponsible and utopian to believe that a global language that initially started as the mother tongue of two of the biggest empires in modern history (United Kingdom and the US) can be used without language policies to control it and without affecting national and regional languages. Academics and experts in the field have raised the perils of linguistic imperialism and the power relations and ideological struggles that underlie the English-language (Pennycook, 2008; Phillipson, 1992, 2008; Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1997), which in turn has helped shape certain language policy to protect mother tongues around the world. As Hall and Pennycook state, “power and politics are ubiquitous in language and language education, but resistance and change are always possible” (2016, p. 34), and, for this reason, linguists and academics need to continue researching the effects of language policies in context. Nonetheless, these policies have been inefficient in some settings or are victims from a mismatch between theory and practice. Further in the dissertation, we will provide an in-depth analysis of the policies, along with the curriculums, in the areas where we based our study.

We cannot mention language policies without referring to the ecology of language, the idea that started as a metaphor and has metamorphosed into an approach to Applied Linguistics. After revisiting the concept, it can be clearly seen how this perspective is required if ELF is to be established in a safe way for the rest of languages. Language ecology allows for ELF to

coexist within an ecosystem where all languages have a place and it provides the theory and support needed to build language policies. Moving on from the theories and the policies, we focus on language teaching, as the power of educators in the way language is perceived and learnt cannot be ignored and, at the same time, theories and policies do not exist if they do not have any practical application in reality.

English teaching has been explored and analysed through the lenses of Second Language Acquisition for decades, but with today's demand and growing awareness of the current unique role of English and its implications (ecological, cultural, socio-political and psychological), it requires a shift in the way English teaching is presented. While ELF awareness is slowly reaching the education spheres, misconceptions still exist in regards to multilingualism and language acquisition. There is a need to include ELF in teaching and in communicative approaches so that ELF users can make "use of their multifaceted multilingual repertoires in a fashion motivated by communicative purpose and the interpersonal dynamics of the interaction" (Seidlhofer, 2009a). For this reason, we will follow this chapter with a review of the current language teaching approaches, as well as proposing an ecological approach on communicative English language teaching.

Chapter 2. English Teaching Approaches: Past, Present and Future

“Education is a critical factor in this relationship between language and power”

Mohanty (2009, p. 121)

This chapter is devoted to the review and analysis of the different English teaching approaches and methodologies through history. We start with the description of key concepts in Second Language Acquisition⁶ and follow with an assessment of popular language learning methods until the 1980s (including Grammar-Translation, Direct Method, Audiolingualism, and Designer Methods), continued by the different approaches adopted in SLA (Cognitive, Affective-humanistic, Comprehension and Communicative), with special focus on communicative approaches given their impact on today’s classrooms as well as the current post-communicative approaches that are being implemented nowadays. The final section of the chapter is dedicated to multilingualism and English as a Lingua Franca and their impact on language teaching.

2.1. Language Acquisition Approaches, Methodologies and Techniques

In the previous chapter, we described and analysed the current status of the English language and provided an overall view of its position worldwide. As a consequence of this high prestige and global use, there is a high demand for English language teaching and many curriculums in different parts of the world have been reformed to include more hours of English and new English requirements (BOE, 2014; Chang, 2009; KD, 2013; D. Zhang, 2012). In this chapter, we will review the English language teaching approaches and methodologies through history.

⁶ Here SLA refers to the traditional view in research commonly used to refer to any language other than the first language (including third, fourth, etc.). This will be addressed later on in Chapter 3.

Before starting our review of the English Language Teaching approaches and methodologies, the definitions of the core terms are essential to fully comprehend each of the theories, because of the correlation and interconnectedness between these elements in English language teaching. The notion of approach “is not an absolute term and allows various interpretations... Nevertheless, there is a certain dominant idea of it shared by the majority of authors” (Orlova, 2019, p. 5). Anthony (1963), and Richards and Rodgers (Richards & Rodgers, 1999; Rodgers, 2001) became referents in their definitions of the concepts of approach, method, and technique. Anthony is believed to be the first to theorise and define these notions (Anthony, 1963, pp. 63–67):

- Approach: a set of correlative assumptions dealing with the nature of language teaching and learning. An approach is axiomatic. It describes the nature of the subject matter to be taught.
- Method: an overall plan for the orderly presentation of language material, no part of which contradicts, and all of which is based upon, the selected approach. An approach is axiomatic, a method is procedural. Within one approach, there can be many methods.
- Techniques: these are implementational and must be consistent with a method, and therefore in harmony with an approach as well.

Richards and Rodgers, however, argued that “although Anthony's original proposal has the advantage of simplicity and comprehensiveness, and serves as a useful way of distinguishing the relationship between underlying theoretical principles and the practices derived from them, it fails to give sufficient attention to the nature of a method itself.” (Richards & Rodgers, 1999, p. 16). As a result, they proposed a holistic understanding of the term “method” which Richards sees as “the specification and interrelation of theory and practice.” (Richards, 1985, p. 16). They developed the concept of method and proposed an interrelated organisation of elements in which language-teaching practices could be founded:

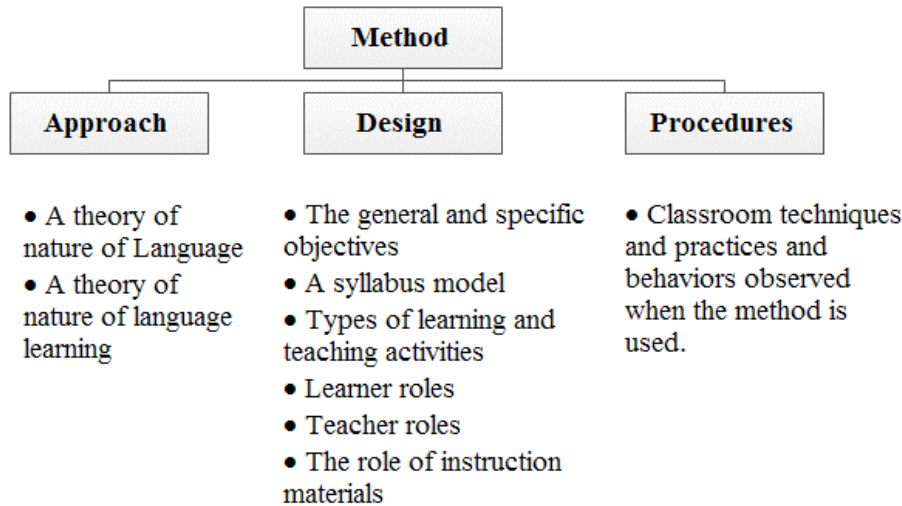


Figure 2.1: Constituting elements of a method - Adapted from Richards and Rodgers, 1999, p. 28

Based on Richards and Rodgers theory, an approach refers to “theories about the nature of language and language learning that serve as the source of practices and principles in language teaching” (Richards & Rodgers, 1999, p.16), whereas a method refers to “the level at which theory is put into practice and at which choices are made about the particular skills to be taught, the content to be taught, and the order in which the content will be presented” (Richards and Rodgers, 1999, p. 15). Nunan (1991) defines these concepts similarly, referring to teaching systems with fixed practices or techniques as methods, and, on the other hand, the different philosophies that can be applied in the classroom as approaches. Kumaravadivelu (2006) makes a distinction between method and methodology, with the first one being considered a construct and the latter a conduct. Harmer (2011), matches Nunan’s view by proposing the method as the practical realisation of an approach and re-organises Richards and Rogers model. According to Harmer, the hierarchy would start with the approach, followed by the method, then the procedure (the curriculum design would be included in the procedure, as it involves the application of the method) and finally the techniques (involving the actual classroom activities).

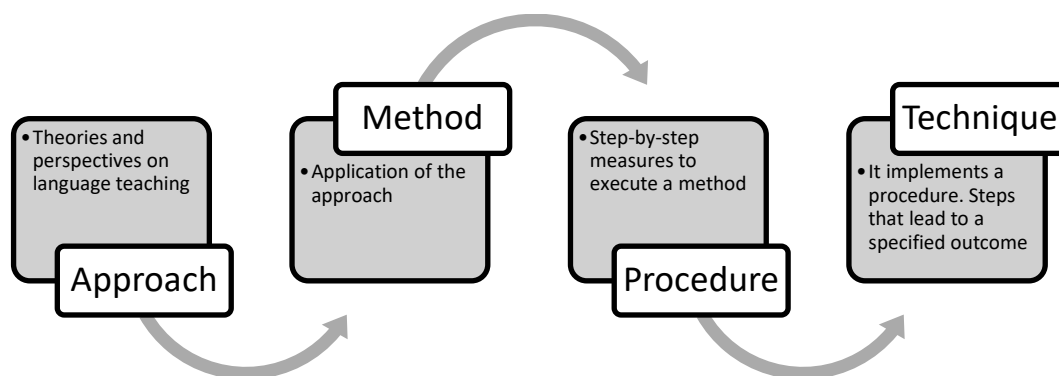


Figure 2.2: Own representation of Harmer's vision

While we agree with the definitions proposed that understands methods as the study of pedagogical practices, and approaches as theoretical positions and beliefs about the nature of learning, for the purpose of our analysis, we will use the term “approach”, “method” or “technique” in line with the theorists who propose the relevant model reviewed.

2.2. Review of English Teaching Methodologies

The aim of this chapter section is to offer an overview of the English teaching methodologies that have been used over the years and formed a foundation of our current understanding of the language learning nature, in order to understand the general strengths and weaknesses of these practices. For this purpose, we will start with a summary of initial language teaching methods.

2.2.1. Grammar-Translation Method

For several centuries grammar-translation based approaches dominated Europe. The focus of these methods was to enable the learners to read and translate texts with grammatical rules and vocabulary learned by memory. This method constituted a way of analysing language rather than using it, and focused on language on a sentence level. A very relevant aspect of it was the role of the mother tongue, as the learners relied on their mother tongue to understand and learn the structure of the second language (Celce-Murcia, Brinton, & Snow, 2014). While the Grammar-Translation method, also known as the Classical Method, had existed for

centuries, Celce-Murcia stated that this method was “perhaps best codified in the work of Karl Ploetz (1819–1881), a German scholar who had a tremendous influence on the language teaching profession during his lifetime and afterward” (Celce-Murcia, 2012, p. 5). This way, by the start of the 19th century, the study of the grammar of classical Greek and Latin texts was adopted as the method to teach foreign languages in education centres (both schools and universities) throughout Europe. This method focused on reading and writing and its main purpose was to help students read and understand foreign language literature (Larsen-Freeman, 2000). In fact, the purpose of this method was not to be able to communicate on a second language but to “learn for the sake of being “scholarly” or, in some instances, for gaining a reading proficiency in a foreign language” (Brown, 2001, p. 18). In this method, there is very little use of target language for communication (if at all) and the focus is mainly on grammar, form and inflections of words. This method involves the reading of difficult texts and the direct translation of sentences, as well as their back-translation. “The result of this approach is usually an inability on the part of students to use the language for communication. The teacher does not have to be able to speak the target language fluently” (Celce-Murcia et al., 2014, p. 5).

Prator and Celce-Murcia (cited in Brown, 2007, p. 27 and 2001, p. 19) listed the major characteristics of Grammar-Translation as below:

- Classes are taught in the mother tongue, with little active use of L2;
- Much vocabulary is taught in the form of lists of isolated words;
- Elaborate explanations of the intricacies of grammar are given;
- Grammar provides the rules for putting words together, and instruction often focuses on the form and inflection of words;
- Reading of difficult classical texts is begun early;
- Little attention is paid to the context of texts, which are treated as exercises in grammatical analysis;
- Often the only drills are exercises in translating disconnected sentences from the target language into the mother tongue;
- Little or no attention is given to pronunciation.

This method was not only used to learn grammar and literature in a second language, but it also aimed for the students to be more familiar with the grammar of their native language and improve their overall use and knowledge of their mother tongue (Larsen-Freeman, 2000). Larsen-Freeman (p. 15-17) proposed a set of principles for the Grammar-Translation method, which we present reformulated below:

- Ability to read literature in L2;
- Ability to translate to and from L2;
- Focus on reading and writing, with no focus on communication and listening comprehension;
- The teacher is the authority in the classroom;
- There are always equivalent translations for every word;
- Learning is facilitated through attention to similarities;
- Focus on the form of the target language;
- Deductive application of explicit grammar rules;
- Language learning as a good mental exercise;
- Grammatical paradigms and vocabulary should be learned by memory.

The Grammar-Translation method, which dominated European and foreign language teaching from the 1840s to the 1940s, continues to be used in some parts of the world today in a modified form or combined with different methods. It is sometimes used as part of the teaching repertoire of techniques and strategies with the aim of understanding literature written in the source language or working on translation exercises. This is a method for which there is no theory and “there is no literature that offers a rationale or justification for it or that attempts to relate it to issues in linguistics, psychology, or educational theory” (Richards & Rodgers, 1999, p. 5).

In the nineteenth century, educators started to recognise the need for speaking and listening proficiency rather than just grammar and reading comprehension as the main goal of language learning and reformers of the general approach at the time reacted shifting their attention to naturalistic principles of learning. This Reform Movement, as it was labelled, “laid the foundations for the development of new ways of teaching languages and raised controversies that have continued to the present day” (op. cit.). It was in 1886 when Sweet (England), Viëtor

(Germany), Passy (France) and Jespersen (Denmark) joined forces to found the International Phonetic Association (IPA). This collective effort was aimed at the analysis and description of speech sounds, and argued for the development of sound methodological principles that could serve as a basis for the development of teaching techniques and methods.

2.2.2. The Series and the Direct Method

In this fashion, the Direct Method arrived with accuracy as a goal and promoting speaking with only the target language allowed in the classroom. This method was the start of the prejudice against L1 (Harmer, 2007). Its main goal was the ability to use the target language rather than to analyse it and it had one basic rule: translation was not allowed (Larsen-Freeman, 2000).

In 1880, François Gouin published the book *The Art of Learning and Studying Languages*, in which he described language-teaching methods with “unusually perceptive observations” (Brown, 2001, p. 19). Gouin was a French teacher of Latin that was one of the first reformers to aim to create a methodology around the observation of child language learning (Richards & Rodgers, 1999). Gouin went through a series of unsuccessful methods to learn German and it was observing his nephew when he got to the conclusion that language learning is a matter of transforming perceptions into conceptions. Gouin created the Series Method, in which learners were taught directly without any translation and conceptually, without any grammar rules and explanations. The learners were taught a series of connected sentences that were easy to perceive. This method, however, was overshadowed by the influence of his contemporary Charles Berlitz, the founder of the Direct Method. The premise of this method was similar to Gouin’s, that is, “the second language learning should be more like first language learning –lots of oral interaction, spontaneous use of the language, no translation between first and second languages, and little or no analysis of grammatical rules” (Brown, 2007, p. 48). Several reformers turned their attention to naturalistic principles of language learning. The reason why it was referred to it as “natural” was because it advocated the same process to learn a second language as it was to learn the first one. Sauveur, for instance, proposed a method with intensive oral interaction in L2 and the use of questions to present and elicit language. After opening a language school in Boston in the late 1860s, his method became known as the Natural Method (Richards & Rodgers, 1999). In fact, it was the Natural Method

principles that provided the groundwork for the Direct Method. Both Richard and Rodgers (1999, p. 9-10) and Celce-Murcia (2012, p. 5), summarised the principles of the Direct Method and we have combined and adapted them below to provide a comprehensive set of principles:

- No use of the mother tongue is permitted and classroom instructions is exclusively carried out in the target language.
- The teacher must be a native speaker or have native-like proficiency in the target language.
- Lessons begin with dialogues and anecdotes in modern conversational style.
- Only everyday vocabulary and sentences are taught.
- Actions, realia and pictures are used to make meanings clear.
- Grammar is learned inductively (i.e., by repeated exposure to language in use, not through rules about forms).
- Oral communication skills are built up in a carefully graded progression organised around question-and-answer exchanges between teachers and students in small, intensive classes.
- Literary texts are read for pleasure and are not analysed grammatically.
- The target culture is also taught inductively.
- Both speech and listening comprehension are taught.
- Correct pronunciation and grammar are emphasised.

The Direct Method became very popular in France and Germany, and especially it was quite successful in private language schools, yet, it failed in public education due to constraints of budget, classroom size and time and lack of native and native-like teachers (Brown, 2007; Brown, 2001; Celce-Murcia et al., 2014; Richards & Rodgers, 1999). Furthermore, this method lacked a rigorous theoretical basis and it was criticised by the more academically based proponents of the Reform Movement. Soon enough, critics believed this method to be counterproductive since teachers avoided the target language even when a simple explanation in the mother tongue would suffice for the students to understand a certain concept and by the 1920s and 1930s, this method declined and most education centres went back to Grammar-Translation (Brown, 2007). At that time, the highly persuasive Coleman Report (Coleman, 1929) convinced foreign language teachers to focus on reading, rather than oral

skills. Simultaneously, applied linguistics scholars systematised the principles proposed by the Reform Movement (Richards & Rodgers, 1999), and the foundations were developed for subsequent approaches and methods, such as the Audiolingual Method and the Oral Approach.

2.2.3. The Audiolingual Method

As soon as World War II broke out, an immediate need to be orally fluent in the languages of both allies and enemies became evident. Especially, with the entry of the United States into the War, as the US government required personnel who were fluent in German, Italian, French, Chinese, and Japanese, among other languages. The American government requested the development of foreign language programs specific for the military and this way the Army Specialised Training Program (ASTP), also known as the Army Method, was established in 1942. The objective of the program was for students to achieve conversational proficiency in a variety of foreign languages. One of the methods involved in these programs was called the “informant method”, which required a native speaker of the foreign language (informant) that would provide sentences for imitation and a linguist to supervise the learning experience. The students took part in guided conversations with the informant and together they gradually learned to speak the language and understand basic grammar. These courses required students to study 10 hours a day and six days a week (Richards & Rodgers, 1999). After the Army Method success, set the foundations for the Audiolingual Method.

Structuralism and behavioural psychology played an important role in the Audiolingual Method, which enjoyed popularity from the mid-1940s to the 1970s (Larsen-Freeman, 2000). For the structuralists, an important tenet was that the primary medium of language was oral and, therefore, speech was language. They used the fact that many languages do not have a written form and that we learn to speak before we learn to write as a base to believe that language is mainly what is spoken, while writing falls on a second place (Richard & Rodgers, 1999). This structuralist view of language, unlike any communicative approach, used drilling methods without any real interaction. Behaviourists, on the other hand, claimed to have discovered the secrets of language learning. To them, human beings were capable of a wide scope of behaviours that depends on three key elements in learning: stimulus, a response to said stimulus, and reinforcement (Skinner, 1948). In terms of the method, these perspectives

involved collecting a corpus of utterances and attempting to classify all of the elements of the corpus at their different linguistic levels such as phonemes, morphemes, phrases and sentences that encode meaning. Audiolingualism advocated for target language use only and relied on drills to form habits and substitution so that the student was constantly learning grammar, even though there was no focus on teaching vocabulary, unlike with the Direct Method. Another difference with the Direct Method is that it had a strong theoretical base in linguistics and psychology. Using this method, the students were expected to produce correct output by imitation of the teacher and while correct grammar was expected, no grammatical instruction was given.

The principles of Audiolingualism were summarised as follows by Richards and Rodgers (1999 p. 51):

- Foreign language learning is basically a process of mechanical habit formation. Good habits are formed by giving correct responses rather than by making mistakes. By memorizing dialogues and performing pattern drills the chances of producing mistakes are minimized.
- Language skills are learned more effectively if the items to be learned in the target language are presented in spoken form before they are seen in written form. Oral training is needed to provide the foundation for the development of other language skills.
- Analogy provides a better foundation for language learning than analysis. Analogy involves the processes of generalization and discrimination. Explanations of rules are therefore not given until students have practiced a pattern in a variety of contexts and are thought to have acquired a perception of the analogies involved. Drills can enable learners to form correct analogies.
- The meanings that the words of a language have for the native speaker can be learned only in a linguistic and cultural context and not in isolation. Teaching a language thus involves teaching aspects of the target cultural system.

This structuralist perspective however was challenged by Chomsky, who pointed out its limitations (Chomsky, 1957, 1965) as the ambiguity could not be explained and argued that since any language contains an infinite number of sentences, any "corpus", would still be

trivially small. He was the first to propose that the object of study should be the speakers' knowledge of the language, and that their "linguistic competence" is what enables them to produce and understand sentences never heard before. Chomsky challenged the fact that this methodology would lead to language-like behaviours, but would not result in language competence.

By the 1970s Audiolingualism was in decline and innovative methods appeared, such as the Total Physical Response, Suggestopedia and the Silent Way, which will be explained in the next section. Around the same time, second language acquisition approaches came into play (e.g., The Natural Approach, Communicative Language Teaching Approach).

2.2.4. "Designer" Methods

During the decade of the 1970s research on second language learning and teaching grew into a discipline in its own right, rather than a branch of linguistics. During this time a number of revolutionary humanistic methods were conceived (Brown, 2001). These attempts to understand Second Language Acquisition and improve language teaching appeared in the form of different methodologies, which were referred to by Nunan as "designer" methods (1989). These methods were based on humanism and departed from cognitive learning emphasising the learner's affective filter. The basis for these methods were that language should be learner-centred, and the materials used, the content and learning activities should take the learner's emotional attitude toward that language into account.

2.2.4.1. Total Physical Response

Starting with the Total Physical Response (TPR), this method was built around the coordination of speech and action. This methodology developed by Asher (1969) was based on the ability of the learner to respond to simple commands. Based on the premises that children primarily learn responding physically to commands, he claimed that adults could acquire the new language as they had acquired their mother tongue. Asher's humanistic view did not address the nature of language but rather understood comprehension as a mean to an end, and he proposed techniques to teach oral proficiency at a beginner level. According to Asher,

“language classes were often the locus of too much anxiety and wished to devise a method that was as stress-free as possible, where learners would not feel overly self-conscious and defensive” (Brown, 2007, p. 76). This method was relatively effective on beginner levels but failed to help advanced learners in their competence. Larsen-Freeman (2000, pp. 113-115) describes the principles of this method as below:

- The goal of this method is for the students to enjoy the experience while learning to communicate in a foreign language. TPR was in fact developed in order to reduce the stress people feel when studying foreign languages and thereby encourage students to persist in their study beyond a beginning level of proficiency.
- In this method, the teacher is the director of the students’ behaviour.
- The first phase of a lesson is one of modelling. The instructor issues commands to a few students, then performs the actions with them. In the second phase, these same students demonstrate that they can understand the commands by performing them alone.
- Vocabulary and grammatical structures are emphasized over other language areas. These are embedded within imperatives. One reason for the use of imperatives is their frequency of occurrence in the speech directed at young children learning their native language. Understanding the spoken word should precede its production.
- The spoken language is emphasized over written language.
- TPR is usually introduced in the student's native language. After the introduction, rarely would the native language be used.

While this methodology was criticised due to lack of extensive experimental support, some researchers, such as Krashen (1982), regarded performing physical actions in the target language as comprehensible input.

2.2.4.2. Community Language Learning

Community Language Learning (CLL) was developed by Curran, a professor of psychology, and his associates (Richards & Rodgers, 1999). This method involved sitting in a circle and the

students deciding what they would like to say (all while being recorded). The teacher acts as a counsellor-facilitator, translating and getting learners to practice in the target language whatever material was prompted. Afterwards, the teacher would go over the terms and structures the class was learning and explaining them in the L1 as needed (Celce-Murcia, 2012). CLL focused on the sense of community in the learning group and encouraged interaction considering the students' feelings towards language acquisition as a priority. According to this method, the way to deal with the fears of the students was for the teachers to become language counsellors, that is become someone who “is a skillful understander of the struggle students face as they attempt to internalize another language. The teacher who can ‘understand’ can indicate his acceptance of the student” (Larsen-Freeman, 2000, p. 89).

Critics of this method questioned the appropriateness of the counselling metaphor and requested evidence that language learning in classrooms actually has parallel the processes to psychological counselling (Richards & Rodgers, 1999). As well as the difficulties to train teachers on these kinds of techniques, there were general concerns in regards to the lack of a syllabus, the difficulty of evaluation and the focus on fluency rather than accuracy. On the other hand, its supporters focused on the fact that it was a learner-focused method not limited to linguistic dimensions but one that emphasised the humanistic side of language learning.

2.2.4.3. Silent Way

In an attempt to give the student more autonomy and the opportunity to have an important role in learning, the Silent Way method was proposed by Gattegno (1972). This methodology is based on the premise that the teacher should be as silent as possible in the classroom and the student should be encouraged to produce as much language as possible and be in control of what he or she wants to say. Using a collection of visuals, the teacher gets students to practise and learn a new language while remaining silent. This method is inductive, and only the target language is used. Gattegno’s method was characterised by the indirect role of the teacher rather than the leader role that use to dominate previously mentioned approaches. Vocabulary would take a central role and the method consisted of a process of accurate repetition of sentences followed by guided exercises to achieve more autonomous communication.

The practices of this method were much less revolutionary than expected and it worked from what was a rather traditional structural and lexical syllabus (Richard and Rodgers, 1999). This method shares features with traditional methods, such as Audiolingualism, and has a strong focus on accurate repetition of sentences modelled initially by the teacher. The innovations in Gattegno's method mainly originate from the way in which classroom activities are organized and the indirect role of the teacher. Brown (2001, p. 28) summarises the Silent Way theory of learning as below:

- Learning is facilitated if the learner discovers or creates rather than remembers and repeats what is to be learned.
- Learning is facilitated by accompanying (mediating) physical objects.
- Learning is facilitated by problem solving the material to be learned.

This method was also criticised due to the distance of the teacher, since the students often needed more guidance and correction.

2.2.4.4. Suggestopedia

Another method worth mentioning is Suggestopedia, which assumes that a language can be acquired only when the learner is receptive and has no mental blocks. The goal of this method is to suggest the student that learning the language is easy and desuggests the limitations that students have to help them to believe that they could be successful in learning and improve that way their motivation in learning. This theory by Lozanov (1978) is a theory of learning rather than a theory of language. It focuses on lowering the affective filter and motivating students' mental potential. According to this theory, while listening to baroque music, the learner could memorise enormous amounts of material due to an increase in alpha brain waves and a decrease in blood pressure and heart rate. The students were "relaxed" in comfortable seats and encouraged to be as "suggestible" as possible.

This theory quickly received some of the most critical responses labelling it as a "pseudoscience". Scovel (1979), for instance, challenged Lozanov's results labelling them as questionable and calling into question the focus on memorisation techniques, rather than learning. Despite the weak scientific basis, the Suggestopedia method provided some insights

in regards to the power of the human brain and the benefits of relaxation in the classroom (Brown, 2001).

2.3. Review of English Teaching Approaches

Following the revision of language teaching methodologies, we will dedicate this section to a detailed analysis and review of language teaching approaches. In other words, rather than classroom methodologies, we will focus on the theoretical principles used in the classroom. On Table 2.1 we can observe the principles of the main current teaching approaches:

Approach	Central Principle
Cognitive approach	Language learning is rule-governed cognitive behavior (not habit formation).
Affective-humanistic approach	Learning a foreign language is a process of self-realization and of relating to other people.
Comprehension approach	Language acquisition occurs if and only if the learner receives and comprehends sufficient meaningful input.
Communicative approach	The purpose of language (and thus the goal of language teaching and learning) is communication.

Table 2.1: Principles of the Current Approaches to Language Teaching (Source: Celce-Murcia 2012, p. 9)

Celce-Murcia provides an insightful summary of the four approaches in the book *Teaching English as a second or foreign language* (adapted from 2014, pp. 7–9):

- The Cognitive approach: This approach was a reaction to behaviourism and was influenced by cognitive psychology and Chomsky. This approach defends that learners acquire a language from patterns and rules and views language acquisition “as the learning system of infinitely extendable rules based on meaningful exposure, with hypothesis testing and rule inferencing, not habit formation, driving the learning process” (op. cit. p. 7).
- The Affective-Humanistic approach: This approach was developed as a reaction to the affective considerations of the learners and puts emphasis on the atmosphere in the classroom and the development of positive relationships between the teacher and the learners.
- The Comprehension approach: This approach based the second language acquisition process on the research in first language acquisition and believed they

were very similar processes. The main comprehension-based approach is Krashen and Terrell's Natural Approach (S. D. Krashen, 1981; S. D. Krashen & Terrell, 1995)

- The Communicative approach: This approach was supported by anthropological linguists such as Hymes and Halliday (Halliday & Hasan, 1976; Hymes, 1972), who viewed language as a meaning-based system for communication. Now this approach has become an umbrella term for a great number of frameworks that will be subsequently analysed.

2.3.1. The Natural Approach

Not to be confused with the Natural Method, which was another term for the Direct Method, the Natural Approach was a new comprehension-based approach first proposed by Terrell and Krashen (1995), whose theory went on to be extensively developed by Krashen. The theory was based on the study of first language acquisition in children and attempted "to deal with the process of language acquisition, not its product" (S. D. Krashen, 1982, p. 6); and it would become one significantly influential and that revolutionised research in second language acquisition. In fact, Krashen's contributions to the understanding of the language learning process was so substantial that it was considered "a source of ideas for research in second language acquisition" (Lightbown & Spada, 2013, p. 107). The authors insist on the idea that the natural approach became very influential in a time when second language teaching was transitioning from structure-based approaches focused on rules and memorising, to approaches emphasising the use of language and meaning.

Krashen's theory of second language acquisition is based in five hypotheses, and he defends that the success in SLA depends on certain factors, which derive from the learner's input hypothesis and affective filter, that is, it depends on "the amount of comprehensible input the acquirer receives and understands, and the strength of the affective filter, or the degree to which the acquirer is 'open' to the input" (S. D. Krashen, 1982, p. 9). We will now review Krashen's theory hypotheses:

- **The Acquisition-Learning Distinction:** This first hypothesis assumes that adults have two different means of developing competence in a second language: *acquisition* and *learning*. The first process is subconscious and language acquirers are not aware of the fact that they are implicitly learning a language. During the second process, learning refers to consciously knowing a language, that is knowing the rules and actively learning a language formally. Krashen defends that not only children are able to acquire a language naturally, but that adults also can. He also states that “error correction has little or no effect on subconscious acquisition, but is thought to be useful for conscious learning” (1982, p. 11)
- **The Natural Order Hypothesis:** This premise suggests that grammatical rules and structures of language are acquired in a predictable sequence independently of the order in which they have been taught and that, despite some similarities, the order of acquisition for second language is not the same as in the first language. Krashen supported this idea with a number of studies (Brown, 1973; Dulay & Burt, 1973)
- **The Monitor Hypothesis:** This is one of the most known of Krashen’s hypotheses and it has its theoretical own model. This principle posits that acquisition and learning are used in very specific ways and that, while acquisition is responsible for fluency, learning has only one function, and that is as a “Monitor”. According to Krashen (1982, p. 16) “the monitor hypothesis implies that formal rules, or conscious learning, play only a limited role in second language performance” and illustrated this hypothesis in Figure 2.3 below:

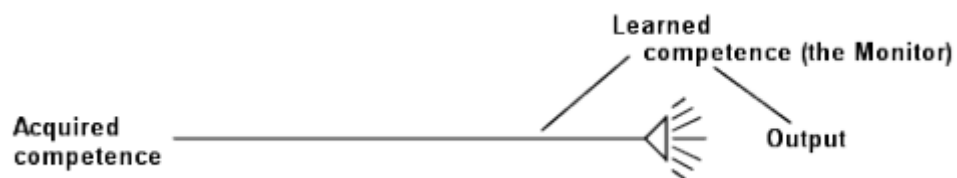


Figure 2.3: Acquisition and learning in second language production (Source: Krashen 1982, p.16)

Krashen defends that second language speakers can use conscious rules when three conditions are met: sufficient time, focus on form and knowing the rule, and argues that “Monitor use results in the rise in rank of items that are “late-acquired” in the natural order, items that the performer has learned but has not acquired” (p. 18). He

then classifies that type of monitors and defines optimal Monitor users as “performers who use the Monitor when it is appropriate and when it does not interfere with communication” (p. 19).

- **The Input Hypothesis:** This hypothesis aims to address the actual process of language acquisition and how it takes place. This theory proposes that we acquire meaning first, and, consequently, we acquire structure. He uses i to represent the current competence and $+ 1$ to refer to the next level. The input hypothesis claims that “to move from stage i to stage $i + 1$ is that the acquirer understand input that contains $i + 1$, where "understand" means that the acquirer is focussed on the meaning and not the form of the message” (p. 21). The input hypothesis relates to acquisition, rather than learning, and assumes the use of linguistic competence and context to understand.
- **The Affective Filter Hypothesis:** This hypothesis implements the concept of the Affective Filter, which was already proposed Burt and Dulay (1977) and stresses the involvement of motivation and attitude to learn a language (the affective variables are divided by Krashen in: motivation, self-confidence, and anxiety). Based on this principle, it is possible to obtain a great amount of comprehensible input and still fail to achieve a proficient level and even “fossilise” errors (Selinker, 1972). Krashen claimed that when this occurs it is due to the affective filters and that they prevent input from being used for language acquisition. Krashen illustrated the process with Figure 2.4 below:

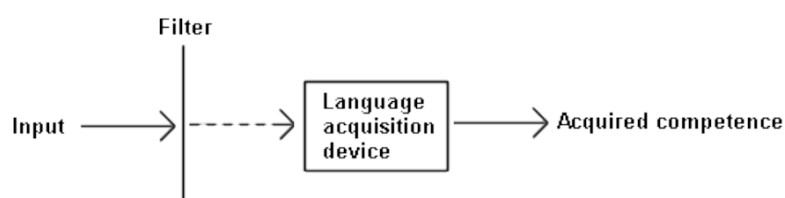


Figure 2.4: Operation of the “affective filter” (Source: Krashen 1982, p.32)

Krashen’s theories were severely criticised by L2 linguists, scholars and researchers, arguing that his claims were exaggerated, that they lacked real evidence and even that the theory might be invalid (Brown, 2000; Gregg, 1984; McLaughlin, 1987). Despite all the criticisms, his theories were very well received in education and highly influential in different approaches, such as the Communicative Language Teaching Approach, which is extensively applied worldwide nowadays (Lightbown & Spada, 2013).

2.4. Communicative Language Teaching Approach

The Communicative Language Teaching Approach (CLT) is extremely heterogeneous and it has been continuously evolving for decades since the early seventies, although it still remains one of the most praised teaching approaches. This framework developed from the concept of Communicative Competence, coined by Hymes in 1972 as a response to Chomsky's concept of Linguistic Competence. In order to understand CLT, it is vital to focus first on both competences: linguistic and communicative (language and communication), which can be considered the core of any language learning, as they are, in essence, language itself and language use.

2.4.1. Linguistic and Communicative Competence

Chomsky, the creator of universal grammar (UG), reinterpreted the ideas of competence and performance in language (Kaufer, 1979). Chomsky is generally credited as the author of the term *competence*, and the starter of the dichotomy between *competence* and *performance* (Chomsky, 1965). He intended to depart from the Saussurean distinction between *langue* and *parole*, that is between the abstract systematic principles of language and the actual words and utterances, and referring to linguistic competence as the knowledge underlying the abilities to use a language and performance as the actual use of language in specific situations. He asserted that linguistic competence refers to language knowledge while performance refers to language use (Chomsky, 1965). Chomsky contradicted the tenets of structuralism with the rejection of the idea that every language is unique and he considers language properties intrinsic in the human mind. In his theory of Universal Grammar, a set of general principles and parameters can apply to all grammars, whilst grammar itself can be regarded as a particular set of values for those parameters (Cook, 1985). In his model, language is considered a mental organ and language acquisition is part of the growth of it, rejecting the idea that children are born as blank slate. UG uses the argument of poverty-of-the-stimulus, to demonstrate that the child knows aspects of language he could not have learned from outside and are inherent.

However, Chomsky's theory is not able to cover all grounds, as it refers to young learners rather than adults and disregards the process of second language acquisition, which does not mirror

that of the mother tongue. White (2003, p. 22) argues that “it is not necessary for L2 learners to acquire the same knowledge as native speakers in order to demonstrate a poverty-of-the-stimulus situation in L2 acquisition”, as it is sufficient to demonstrate that L2 learners obtain complex aspects of language outside L2 input. Nevertheless, they may not necessarily extract that inherent knowledge from Universal Grammar but from the mother tongue. While Chomsky’s UG theory was revolutionary and was, for over 50 years, an essential field in theoretical linguistics, we believe that indeed this theory disregards the powerful influence of the mother tongue on additional language learning. Many arguments have been put forward in favour of UG (Boxell, 2016), yet many researchers argued that there is little evidence for its existence (Dąbrowska, 2015). Even though it continues to be a contentious subject, in our opinion UG is very interesting in terms of language nature as a theory but it does not have a place with LX learning, since L1 cannot be denied as a core element in plurilingual competence development and UG theories also disregarded the sociolinguistic and pragmatic elements of communication.

In regards to context in communication, Hymes (1972), his ardent opponent, referred to the importance of the ability to use grammatical competence in different communicative situations in a way that he brought a sociolinguistic perspective into Chomsky’s linguistic view of competence. Hymes (1972) defined Communicative Competence as an adequate use language with other participants in a communicative interaction and depending on the given social context and situation, instead of Chomsky’s knowledge of language structure, revolutionised the understanding of second language acquisition and opened doors for the development of communicative theories. From that moment, language became intrinsically linked to communication and so was language teaching. Hymes’ theories were not language learning-focused but aimed to understand language as social behaviour. However, Savignon (1972, 1971) aware of the fact that with the development of models of communicative competence there was a need for assessment and application of the Communicative Competence in the classroom, she carried out an empirical research using Communicative Language Learning as an approach. Savignon defined Communicative Competence as “the ability to function in a truly communicative setting – that is, in a dynamic exchange in which linguistic competence must adapt itself to the total informational input, both linguistic and paralinguistic, of one or more interlocutors” (1972, p. 8), becoming one of the architects of

CLT. According to Savignon, communicative competence is one of dynamic nature, to which Bagarić and Mihaljević added that “it is more interpersonal than intrapersonal and relative rather than absolute” (2007, p. 96).

2.4.2. Communication Theories and Competences

Shortly after, Canale (1983, 1980) and Swain (1980) developed this theory of Communication with a new and encompassing structure. They created a model in which they divided communication competence into four components: grammatical, sociolinguistic, discourse and strategic. In their theory, knowledge refers to the actual conscious or unconscious knowledge of language and any of its aspects, whereas competence or skill refers to the use of the knowledge in communication. In other words, grammatical competence focuses on the mastery of the verbal and non-verbal linguistic code, including lexical, morphological, syntactic, semantic, phonetic and orthographic knowledge. On the other hand, the sociolinguistic competence is the knowledge of language use in context. Discourse is concerned with understanding of rules that determine meaningful and coherent production of spoken or written texts. Lastly, strategic competence includes all communication strategies verbal and non-verbal to complement communication when knowledge of the other components is insufficient. Dörnyei and Thurrell pointed out the importance of strategic competence as an essential component in communication and declared that “a lack of strategic competence may account for situations when students with a firm knowledge of grammar and a wide range of vocabulary get stuck and are unable to carry out their communicative intent” (Dörnyei & Thurrell, 1991, p. 17). Canale and Swain’s model was used as a base for new models, such as Bachman’s (1990; Bachman & Palmer, 1996 and 2010) and Celce-Murcia’s (1995a). Bachman and Palmer, took the original model by Bachman as a base and developed it further in 1996 and 2010. Their model, although similar to Canale and Swain’s in nature, offers a view from the language testing perspective, as well as being hierarchically organised. Bachman was one of the pioneers in including pragmatics explicitly in an SLA model. Bachman and Palmer’s proposal provides a very complete model for language assessment and divides language ability in two broad areas: language knowledge (organisational and pragmatic) and strategic competence. With this model pragmatic knowledge is introduced as a category and, as

opposed to Canale's model which focuses on the role of sociolinguistics, it gives a central role to strategic competence, or metacognitive components as Bachman refers to them (1996). Yet, Bachman and Palmer's model was criticised for its very theoretical nature and focus on language testing rather than teaching (Celce-Murcia, Dörnyei, & Thurrell, 1995b, p. 6) and was considered as a tool for language testing, rather than a model of communicative competence.

However, Bachman's model and its inclusion of pragmatics in communicative competence were essential for the further development of successive communicative models. Crystal (1997, p. 301) defined pragmatics as "the study of language from the point of view of users, especially of the choices they make, the constraints they encounter in using language in social interaction and the effects their use of language has on other participants in the act of communication." Celce-Murcia, Dörnyei, and Thurrell (1995) stressed the lack of focus on interaction in the previous models, as well as the way competences interrelate with each other. Consequently, their model includes Actional Competence, focused on the understanding of the speakers' communicative intention by performing and interpreting speech act sets, or in other words the pragmatic and linguistic aspects of language. This framework provides a comprehensive description of the competences that affect the language learner's performance and how they interact with each other. Despite the focus on interaction, however, this model places discourse in its core, in a central position where all competences come together. Yet, discourse is predominantly focused on written and oral production, which inherently do not involve interaction. Celce-Murcia later expanded the model to include Interactional Competence and Formulaic Competence (Celce-Murcia, 2007; Celce-Murcia & Olshtain, 2000). In the next page we provide a figure to better illustrate the models discussed.

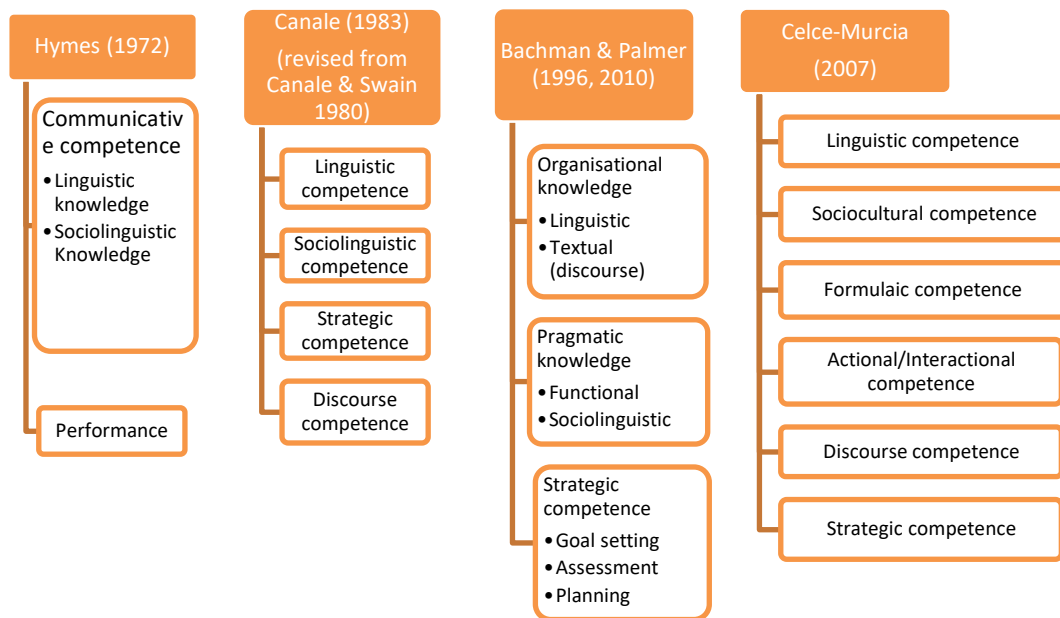


Figure 2.5: Reviewed communication models

While the concept of communicative competence evolved, theorists, teachers and linguists were in agreement that the goal of communicative language teaching was to teach communicative competence. For a long time, developing the learners' communicative competence "competence through their active participation in seeking situational meaning" and the general principle of learning through doing were the only guidelines in CLT (Dörnyei, 2009, p. 34). Consequently, due to the vagueness of these guidelines, a wide range of variants of CLT appeared. For some CLT is in a state of transition, for others, due to its numerous interpretations and implementations, "it is not considered a useful concept anymore and believe it should be discarded" (Spada, 2007, p. 271).

2.4.3. Communicative Language Teaching

The CLT approach has been "centred around the learner's participatory experience in meaningful L2 interaction in (often simulated) communicative situations, which underscored the significance of less structured and more creative language tasks" (Dörnyei, 2009, p. 34). Yet, despite the general conceptions, which focused on communication in oral L2 (developing speaking and listening skills) with little emphasis on grammar, teachers "were rarely guided by their conceptions of CLT" (Sato & Kleinsasser cited in Littlewood, 2012, p. 350). Richards and

Rodgers (1999, p. 71) attempted to describe its language theory, which they considered somewhat eclectic:

- Language is a system for the expression of meaning.
- The primary function of language is for interaction and communication.
- The structure of language reflects its functional and communicative uses.
- The primary units of language are not merely its grammatical and structural features, but categories of functional and communicative meaning as exemplified in discourse.

In the past decades, language teaching theorists have tried to encompass the principles of CLT in order to provide a unified view of the approach guidelines (Berns, 1990a; Dörnyei, 2009; Savignon, 2007), which has been a difficult task due to the CLT's dual identity.

2.4.3.1. CLT: a Dual Identity

The dual identity of CLT stems from the presence or absence to language form. This distinction was first made by Howatt in 1984 and referred to as *strong* and *weak* versions of CLT (Howatt, 1984). According to Howatt the *weak* version emphasises “the importance of providing learners with opportunities to use [the target language] for communicative purposes and attempts to integrate such activities into a wider programme of language teaching”, while the *strong* version, “advances the claim that language is acquired through communication” (p. 279). Littlewood (2012, p. 351) refers to this distinction on views as “a communicative perspective on LANGUAGE and a communicative perspective on LEARNING”. These two contrasting versions result in different applications of the approach and have contributed to its eclectic nature. Celce-Murcia referred to this distinction as *direct* and *indirect* approaches to CLT (Celce-Murcia, Dörnyei, & Thurrell, 1997), which was also generally known as *implicit* and *explicit* learning (Dörnyei, 2009).

The indirect approach was the common teaching practice for CLT in the late 1970s and the 1980s, and involved the development and acquisition of communicative skills through communicative situations in the language classroom. This was a strictly no-grammar view of

the approach that was embodied in Krashen's hypothesis (1981, 1983). Some applied linguists argued that grammar was too complex to be taught and that it could only be acquired unconsciously through exposure (S. D. Krashen & Terrell, 1995; Prabhu, 1987). At the same time, they were advocates of comprehensible input theory, which stated that learners should be exposed to meaningful and motivating input that is just slightly beyond their current level of linguistic competence but sufficiently comprehensible to understand and integrate into their developing interlanguage system (Spada, 2007). Unfortunately, the indirect approach was strongly based on the way learners acquired L1 implicitly and was consistently demonstrated to be insufficient to acquire an L2 later on in life (Dörnyei, 2009; Lightbown & Spada, 1990, 2013; Norris & Ortega, 2000).

The direct approach started with the *weak* version of CLT, in which teachers might present and practise individual items within a communicative context and it developed to include explicit learning. In this approach, various features of explicit grammar instruction are combined with the teaching of conversational skills; "that is, they attempt to provide focused instruction on the main rules of conversational or discourse-level grammar (e.g., pragmatic regularities and politeness strategies, communication strategies, and various elements of conversational structure such as openings, closings, and the turn-taking system)." (Celce-Murcia et al., 1997, pp. 141–142). Even though the dichotomy between explicit and implicit grammar has been amply discussed and the combination of both has been thoroughly demonstrated over the years, the actual challenge still remains to achieve cooperation between the two (Dörnyei, 2009). To face this challenge, some theorists have ventured to create a set of principles to better guide in the application of this approach.

2.4.3.2. CLT Principles

Berns (1990b, p. 104) divided the CLT approach in eight principles, which Savignon (2002, p. 6) described as follows:

- Language teaching is based on a view of language as communication. That is, language is seen as a social tool that speakers use to make meaning; speakers

communicate about something to someone for some purpose, either orally or in writing.

- Diversity is recognized and accepted as part of language development and use in second language learners and users, as it is with first language users.
- A learner's competence is considered in relative, not in absolute, terms.
- More than one variety of a language is recognized as a viable model for learning and teaching.
- Culture is recognized as instrumental in shaping speakers' communicative competence, in both their first and subsequent languages.
- No single methodology or fixed set of techniques is prescribed.
- Language use is recognized as serving ideational, interpersonal, and textual functions and is related to the development of learners' competence in each.
- It is essential that learners be engaged in doing things with language—that is, that they use language for a variety of purposes in all phases of learning.

Bern's guidelines were useful to define what the CLT approach entailed, to embrace the heterogeneous nature of it and to focus on the learner and the communicative competence. Nonetheless, these principles were still very general. In order to provide more specific guidelines and unify the explicit and implicit learning processes, Dörnyei presented a principled communicative approach (PCA) (2009, p. 41):

- The personal significance principle: PCA should be meaning-focused and personally significant as a whole. This has been the basic tenet of student-centred, communicative language teaching.
- The controlled practice principle: While the overall purpose of language learning is to prepare the learners for meaningful communication, skill learning theory suggests that – similar to the training of musicians or athletes – it should also include controlled practice activities to promote the automatization of L2 skills. The purpose of this practice should be clearly explained to the learners and the

content/format should be made as motivating as possible within the tasks' inherent constraints.

- The declarative input principle: To provide jump starts for subsequent automatization, PCA should contain explicit initial input components. This declarative input can be offered in several ways, including the potential utilisation of accelerated learning techniques and rote-learning.
- The focus-on-form principle: While maintaining an overall meaning-oriented approach, PCA should also pay attention to the formal/structural aspects of the L2 that determine accuracy and appropriateness at the linguistic, discourse and pragmatic levels. An important hallmark of good teaching is finding the optimal balance between meaning-based and form-focused activities in the dynamic classroom context.
- The formulaic language principle: PCA should include the teaching of formulaic language as a featured component. There should be sufficient awareness raising of the significance and pervasiveness of formulaic language in real-life communication, and selected phrases should be practiced and recycled intensively.
- The language exposure principle: PCA should offer learners extensive exposure to large amounts of L2 input that can feed the learners' implicit learning mechanisms. In order to make the most of this exposure, learners should be given some explicit preparation in terms of pre-task activities (e.g. pre-reading/listening/watching tasks or explanations of some salient aspects of the material) to prime them for maximum intake.
- The focused interaction principle: PCA should offer learners ample opportunities to participate in genuine L2 interaction. For best effect, such communicative practice should always have a specific formal or functional focus, and should always be associated with target phrases to practice.

While Dörnyei's specific principles represent a firm step in the theory of CLT and it addresses key points such as motivation, the development of strategic and formulaic competence, interaction, language exposure, and focus on form as well as meaning, it ignores the learner's

L1 completely. A general belief has dominated CLT for decades and that is the avoidance of the learner's L1. For years there was a strong rejection to L1 in L2 classrooms, which only started to be challenged at the start of the 21st century. Given that the topic of L1 in language teaching deserves an extensive discussion, we will continue address the matter in the next chapter and now shift our focus to post-communicative approaches.

2.5. Post-Communicative Approaches

Despite the worldwide success of the CLT, this approach was extensively criticised due to various reasons such as its incompatibility with exam-oriented syllabi, low proficiency levels of teachers, the inability to reproduce real-life communication conditions in the classroom, or reduced learner's output (Littlewood & Kong, 2006; Nunan, 1989), yet the most important reason is that it has neglected a crucial part of learning: context (Bax, 2003), that is, where are the learners, what is their background language and culture, and what are the conditions in which they are learning.

Swan, one of the most known critics of this approach, argued, on the one hand, that this approach was a new dogma committing the same errors as its predecessor approaches and argued that:

Along with its many virtues, the Communicative Approach unfortunately has most of the typical vices of an intellectual revolution: it over-generalizes valid but limited insights until they become virtually meaningless; it makes exaggerated claims for the power and novelty of its doctrines; it misrepresents the currents of thought it has replaced; it is often characterized by serious intellectual confusion; it is choked with jargon. (Swan, 1985a, p. 2)

On the other hand, he also criticised its lack of attention to the culture and mother tongue of the learner, which would be later on supported by other scholars such as Cook (2001), and claimed that:

If, then, the mother tongue is a central element in the process of learning a foreign language, why is it so conspicuously absent from the theory and methodology of the Communicative Approach? (Swan, 1985b, p. 86)

Despite these criticisms, the Communicative Language Teaching approach brought the concept of communicative competence to the curricula and it was even adopted within the Common European Framework for Language Teaching (Didenko & Pichugova, 2016), and, even though the application of CLT and its success strongly depend on its context, it still “functions as a generalized ‘umbrella’ term to describe learning sequences which aim to improve the students’ ability to communicate” (Harmer, 2007, p. 70).

What CLT has become is a set of principles for new methods and approaches that highlight the importance of communicativeness in their implementation. CLT provided the theoretical principles and classroom procedures associated with language-, learner- and learning-centred categories and, thanks to it, new approaches developed, such as project-based learning (PBL), task-based language teaching (TLBT), or content and language integrated learning (CLIL), among others (Kumaravadivelu, 2006). These approaches are now also known as post-method or post-communicative approaches, and considered “spin-offs” from CLT (Gardner, 2010). Such approaches have a new dimension in common and that is the introduction of content, which aims to navigate the dichotomy between meaning and form, while they support the CLT principle of “learning through doing”.

2.5.1. Content and Language Integrated Learning Approach

Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) was a term coined in the 1990s in Finland by David Marsh, who defined this approach as “an educational approach in which diverse methodologies are used which lead to dual-focussed education where attention is given to both topic and language of instruction.” (Marsh, 2012, p. 393), in other words, CLIL refers to the teaching of content, usually full subjects, in a foreign or additional language. The concept of this approach is that, in the CLIL classroom, the target language is not the subject of the study but the vehicle to study another subject, hence increasing the exposure to the target language of study and the opportunities to learn in a “real” environment (Eurydice, 2017). A distinction must be made with EMI (English as medium of instruction), since it differs on its goals and expectations, that is, the learner is not expected to have a proficient English level to deal with the subject before starting to study it. “Hence, it is a means of teaching curriculum

Part I

subjects through the medium of a language still being learned, providing the necessary language support alongside the subject specialism” (Graddol, 2006, p. 86).

This approach is characterised by five dimensions: culture, environment, language, content and learning. Each of these dimensions has different foci, which we summarise below and provide along with a representation of Marsh’s dimensions (Marsh, Maljers, & Hartiala, 2001):

Culture Dimension

- Building intercultural knowledge & understanding
- Developing intercultural communication skills
- Learning about specific neighbouring countries/regions and/or minority groups
- Introducing a wider cultural context

Environment Dimension

- Preparing for internationalisation, specifically EU integration
- Accessing international certification
- Enhancing school profile

Language Dimension

- Improving overall target language competence
- Developing oral communication skills, as well as plurilingual interests and attitudes
- Deepening awareness of both mother tongue and target language
- Introducing a target language

Content Dimension

- Providing opportunities to study content through different perspectives
- Accessing subject-specific target language terminology
- Prepare for future studies and/or working life

The Learning Dimension

- Complementing individual learning strategies
- Diversifying methods & forms of classroom practice
- Increasing the learner’s motivation

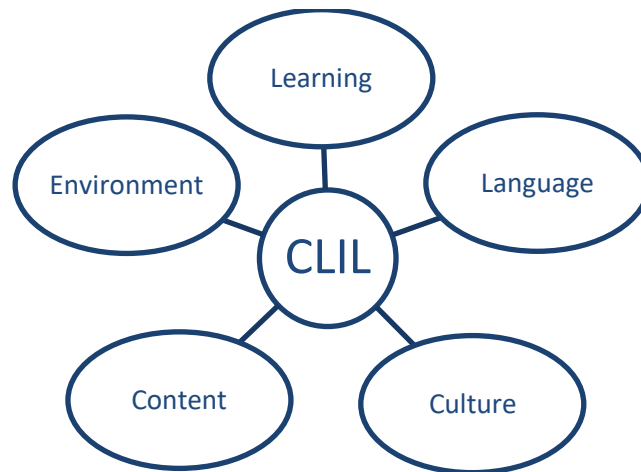


Figure 2.6: CLIL dimensions - Adapted from Marsh et al. (2001)

Based on these dimensions, Coyle summarises the principles of CLIL in what she refers to as the four Cs (Coyle, 2002, pp. 27-28, 2006, pp. 13-14), which she considers as a practical theory:

- **Content:** The first principle places successful content or subject learning and the acquisition of knowledge, skills and understanding inherent to that discipline at the very heart of the learning process.
- **Communication:** This principle defines language as a conduit for both communication and learning.
- **Cognition:** The third principle is that CLIL should cognitively challenge learners - whatever their ability.
- **Culture:** The fourth principle embraces pluriculturalism. Since language, thinking and culture are inextricably linked, then CLIL provides an ideal opportunity for students to operate in alternative cultures through studies in an alternative language.

These key features above proposed are the theoretical principles to consider in order to implement CLIL in the curriculum. These principles are a framework to conceptualise CLIL theoretically and practically, both on a macro- (whole school) and a micro-level (classroom) (Wiesemes, 2009). It is claimed that CLIL is a flexible construct that can be applied in a wide range on contexts, although, it is “very strongly European-oriented” (op. cit. p. 115). In fact, CLIL has been promoted by the European Commission through a variety of projects and declarations on multilingualism (Dalton-Puffer, 2011). Because of its applicability and relative success in Europe, this approach has been widely adopted, and especially in Spain “CLIL

programmes are being implemented in mainstream schools quite frequently with direct support from educational authorities“ (Lasagabaster & Ruiz De Zarobe, 2010, p. x). Notwithstanding the apparent success and welcome worldwide, very different results are achieved depending on the context (see contrastive analysis in Bruton, 2011), and in reality “the success of CLIL [programs] are all too often made without substantial empirical evidence”, hence, despite its worldwide acceptance, further empirical data on different contexts is still required (Cenoz, Genesee, & Gorter, 2013, p. 256).

Starting with its ambiguous definition and despite the seemingly straightforward principles, Content Language Integrated Learning presents a variety of concerns or issues to address. In regards to its definition, one of the most controversial topics is the percentage of content versus language. Marsh (2002, p. 58) generalises the involvement of both stating that “both language and the subject have a joint role”. As a consequence, some researchers and teachers have understood this as a 50/50 balance (Ting, 2010), while others see it as an adaptable approach in which the percentage of language to content depends. In terms of the approach, even though it is referred to as an educational and methodological approach (Marsh, 2002), other times it is seen as part of curricular design (Coyle, Holmes, & King, 2009) or it can even be defined as a whole program or isolated lessons or activities (Cenoz, Genesee, & Gorter, 2013). The Cambridge English CLIL handbook (2016, p. 7) supports this flexible view of this approach and reports that “there are many different types of CLIL programmes around the world, ranging from full immersion to short 20–30-minute subject lessons in the target language. Subjects may be taught by subject specialists or by language teachers.” Despite the proclamation of this handbook and the fact that one of the objectives of the CLIL class is to improve in a foreign language, CLIL teachers are usually content teachers, and not language educators (Cenoz et al., 2013; Tardieu & Dolitsky, 2012). Yet, since the learners still have a language subject in the curriculum, the CLIL environment is seen as an opportunity to practice with not so much focus on accuracy.

This flexibility is very attractive to educators and has contributed to the success of CLIL, however it has also resulted in different interpretations and, in turn, different results of its applications. Overall, it can be described as a framework that shares many aspects of Communicative Language Teaching and emphasises academic content learning through a

different language. Nonetheless, while CLIL is now well-established, it still requires further empirical classroom-based research, as well as a more specific conceptualisation and theorisation.

One of the approaches to the CLIL classroom, that is, one of the approaches that forms part of this eclectic framework, is the Task-Based Language Teaching approach (TBLT henceforth). Tardieu and Dolitsky even propose that TBLT could be a solution to help students improve their proficiency in the foreign language, “so that the notable discrepancy between the knowledge of the subject matter and the mastery of the language to deal with it would disappear” (2012, p. 7).

2.5.2. Task-Based Approach and Project-Based Learning

The Task-Based Language Approach (TBLT) “is viewed as a development within CLT, in which communicative ‘tasks’ have special roles and special prominence as a focus for planning, learning and teaching.” (Littlewood, 2012, p. 350). In contrast, Project-Based learning, more than a theory, could be considered a method (based on Harmer’s definition) or a design (based on Richards and Rodgers definition), that is an application of an approach (or a combination of such) and specific activities to achieve a goal. Hedge defines a project in this context as “an extended task which usually integrates language skills through a number of activities”, which are combined to work towards an agreed goal (1993, p. 276). While they are both very similar, a project is mostly considered a combination of tasks with a common goal, i.e. “super-tasks that incorporate a number of self-contained but interrelated subsidiary tasks” (Nunan, 2004, p. 463), whereas in TBLT each task may have a specific goal. Before focusing on the theoretical and empirical basis of TBLT, we will clarify and describe the concept of “task”.

Nunan (2004, p. 458) distinguishes between *pedagogical* tasks, which include the things that learners do in the classroom to acquire language, and *target* tasks, which refer to the uses of language in the real world outside the classroom, in other words, the application of the knowledge learnt in the classroom. Many have been the definition of tasks (Long, 2015; Prabhu, 1987; Willis & Willis, 2007; Willis, 1996), however they all coincide with the following basis in the task-based classroom:

1. **Pre-Task:** this phase includes the different activities that teachers and students can undertake before they start the task.
2. **During Task:** this second phase centres on the task itself and includes various instructional options.
3. **Post-Task:** this last phase involves procedures for following-up on the task performance

Ellis (2003) simplifies a task-based lesson as the act of performing a task, yet he considers that, while not obligatory, the “pre-task” or “post-task” phases play an essential role “in ensuring that the task performance is maximally effective for language development” (2003, p. 244). Willis exemplifies this process as below (1996, p. 52):

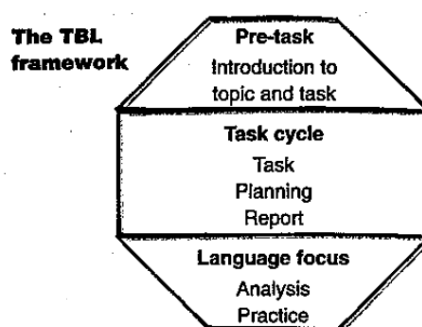


Figure 2.7: The TBL framework (source: Willis 1996, p. 52)

Meanwhile, Nunan (2004, p. 459) elaborates this approach further and describes its principles as:

- TBLT will include the development of lessons adapted to the learner’s needs.
- Learners will develop their communicative competence through the use of language.
- Learners’ own personal experiences are central to the learning process.
- The teacher will focus on learning processes and strategies as well as the content.
- Classroom language learning will be linked to learning outside the classroom, that is pedagogical and target tasks will be interconnected.
- Exposure to authentic materials.

While some researchers defend this approach, guidelines and principles, as we have reviewed, others still see TBLT as curricular content, rather than a methodological construct (Kumaravadivelu, 2006). Based on Long’s dedicated analysis and theorisation of TBLT (see

2015), we support that TBLT has a deep theoretical base with clear pedagogical guidelines and application and can conclude that it can be considered as an approach. Long advocates that TBLT's philosophical underpinnings lie in *l'éducation intégrale*, a concept first introduced by Charles Fourier (1772-1837), a French utopian that promoted holistic education, that is an integrated education of both mind and body. While keeping the core principle of “learning by doing”, TBLT follows the philosophical tenets of rationalism (i.e. rational thinking behind the course design with clear goals), individual freedom (i.e. promoting the freedom to learn while being sensitive to the learner's developmental stages), learner-centredness (i.e. the content is determined by the learner's needs and specific attention is paid to the student psycholinguistic readiness to learn), egalitarian teacher-student relationship (i.e. the students are guided and encouraged, not commanded), and participatory democracy (i.e. the goals are discussed with the classroom and adapted to the learner). With these philosophies in mind, Long proposes a set of methodological principles that are, on the one hand, potentially universal and applicable, but on the other hand their application should adapt to the context and fit local circumstances and demands. Below we provide an adaptation of Long's table set of methodological principles of TBLT (Long, 2015, pp. 302–303):

Area	Methodological Principles (MPs) of TBLT
Activities	Use task, not text, as the unit of analysis
Activities	Promote learning by doing
Input	Elaborate input
Input	Provide rich input
Learning processes	Encourage inductive learning
Learning processes	Focus on form
Learning processes	Provide negative feedback
Learning processes	Respect learner syllabi and developmental processes
Learning processes	Promote cooperative/collaborative learning
Learners	Individualize instruction (psycholinguistically and according to communicative needs)

Table 2.2: Long's Methodological Principles of TBLT (Source: 2015, pp. 302-303)

2.6. English as a Lingua Franca in Education

The reviewed approaches and methods are, in their majority, monolingual-oriented, monocultural and monocentric models, and while they are still the main paradigm followed in language teaching, they are now being challenged by new multilingual perspectives in pedagogy (Cenoz, 2017). As we have reviewed in chapter one, multilingualism and English as an international form of communication have become our current realities. Consequently, these intrinsically related concepts have had a great impact in education, both pedagogically and politically, due to the growing emergence of plurilingualism and ELF in educational environments. As linguistic diversity has gained ground worldwide, and in Europe in particular, language and education policies are being constantly developed in order to address all the emerging demands for language learning, especially English learning (Wilton, 2009). Because of the special status of English, handling its relationship with other languages is one of the key issues in language policy and planning nowadays (Kirkpatrick, 2012). As we previously reviewed, language education policies include plurilingualism and plurilingual competence development at their core, however the considerations about the role of English against the multitude of linguistic identities is still unclear. English language teaching is mostly approached from a monolithic view, not just because of tradition but due to the complexities in approaching English as an international language in pedagogy. While the research into ELF and its characterisation has been extensive for almost 20 years (Cogo, 2012, 2017; Alessia Cogo & Jenkins, 2010; Jenkins, 2009; Jenkins, Cogo, & Dewey, 2011; Matsuda & Friedrich, 2011; Seidlhofer, 2004, 2017; Seidlhofer, Breiteneder, & Pitzl, 2006), its applications in pedagogy are still unclear due to factors such as the language variety to use and promote, the native versus non-native model, ELF assessment, as well as teachers' ELF awareness and beliefs... There is no clear answer on whether an ELF approach should replace the current EFL approaches, or whether ELF aspects should be included within EFL (Sifakis et al., 2018), which calls for further research on ELF pedagogy and application.

2.6.1. Awareness and Attitudes towards ELF

As Jenkins, Cogo and Dewey (2011, p. 305) argue that “ELF research findings pose substantial challenges to current beliefs and practice, [and] it is likely that further engagement with ELF in the language classroom will be contested and hence gradual”, in fact, ELT teachers generally still “tend to perceive native English as the only norm worth teaching, regardless of how students might use English in the future” (Fang, 2017, p. 63). For this reason, the development of ELF awareness in teacher training is key. Dewey highlights the importance of shifting from a Standard English (SE) correctness focus, to a post-normative orientation, while supporting the teachers to become aware of ELF approaches by incorporating ELF strategies and applications in the teacher’s professional knowledge base (Dewey, 2015, 2012). Overall ELF researchers call for a common involvement of educators, policy makers, teaching material creators and editors, as well as testing experts, to work together in the implementation of ELF in the classroom. The role of ELT educators has perhaps the most direct consequence on the learners, and, consequently, connecting ELF theory and actual teaching practices along with critical reflection becomes imperative for the successful implementation of ELF. Sifakis et al. (2018, p.157) define becoming ELF aware as “becoming aware of the observations and principles that emerge from understanding how ELF works” and Kemaloglu-er and Bayyurt (2018, p. 161), characterise ELF awareness as follows:

ELF-awareness has two significant features: it is ecological in nature and potentially transformative. The ecological nature of ELF-awareness reflects teachers’ awareness of the micro- and macro-ecosystem, including their own classrooms and the wider institutional and social settings, the idiosyncratic local features as well as other constraints and problems that arise. Second, ELF-awareness is potentially transformative in the way that it paves the way for teachers’ becoming cognizant of their deepest convictions about language use, teaching and learning so that they can question, confront and possibly change their established beliefs.

While it is clear that there is a need for specific ELF teacher training and general acknowledgement of this perspective in the whole education spectrum, sometimes the lack of ELF awareness seems to be justified by the unclear pedagogical guidelines and assessment.

Because of this, research that combines ELF implementation and its significance in multilingualism and language ecologies preservation are required. Only by demonstrating the need and feasibility of ELF implementation can ELF awareness be developed.

2.6.2. ELF Implementation and Assessment

Because English is now used in a variety of local contexts, so is the teaching of ELF (McKay, 2002). For this reason, in order to develop an appropriate pedagogy, considering how English is embedded in the local context is essential, as well as reflecting on how to present the language an international tool. There are several challenges to tackle in the development of ELF pedagogy and assessment, namely:

- The English language model, that is, the characteristics of ELF that will be accepted in order to progress and aim to become a competent ELF user (rather than aiming to become a native speaker).
- The balance between intelligibility and correctness. The teacher will need to be aware of the linguistic differences that can create problems of intelligibility.
- Language use in multilingual contexts. Both teachers and learners will have to develop strategies for crosscultural communication and aim to be culturally-sensitive.

In a very comprehensive book on ELF teaching and evaluation, McKay and Brown propose a set of guidelines under the motto “global thinking, local teaching” in order to address the above mentioned challenges (2016, pp. 82-83, 97, 137-138):

Grammar teaching and assessment

- Attention to form must be linked to contexts of use so that a determination of what is correct and what is appropriate is made in reference to a specific context.
- ELF students need to understand the manner in which grammatical standards vary in English depending on the geographical region, formality level, and whether communication is oral or written.
- Attention to the development of strategic intercultural competence.

- Development of instruments to assess grammatical proficiency will be made according to the purpose of the test.

Oral teaching and assessment

- Establish intelligibility standards: respecting local varieties, providing awareness of different accents and varieties, as well as contexts.
- Provide ELF motivation with applicability to the students' daily life with interactions between NS-NNS and NNS and NNS.
- Develop ELF fluency focusing on intelligibility and developing strategies to handle linguistic and cultural differences.

Literacy teaching and assessment

- Include contrastive rhetoric to become aware of how text development can be culturally influenced and to aid them making effective choices.
- Attention to content schemas and semantic phrases in texts that differ from those of the students.
- Encourage to be critical readers.
- Assessment of reading and writing should be culturally sensitive.

Even though these guidelines still require more specific implementation in the classroom, they provide a good overview for sceptical and unaware ELT teachers. An ELF approach is not a pedagogical approach in itself but an ecological perspective to multilingual education that can be combined with any other approach or methodology as long as the main goal is maintained, which is to produce fully competent English-knowing plurilinguists with the ability to communicate with any other English speaker from any variety and cultural background. Similarly, the evaluation of ELF should “focus on performance-related tasks and test students’ communication strategies, rather than testing language in a vacuum” (Fang, 2017, p. 64). From our perspective, there is an existing gap in English language teaching and assessment, one that focuses on plurilingual competences and communication through ELF. Our empirical study, which will be analysed in chapters 5 and 6, will provide further empirical evidence on how ELF-awareness can be developed in the classroom.

2.7. Conclusion

In this chapter we have reviewed the different approaches and methodologies to ELT through the years, culminating with the inclusion of the ELF paradigm in language teaching. It is important to note that, despite the fact that the variety of methods analysed have been examined as a sequential evolution and in the order they are usually referred to, this primarily applies to Inner Circle countries (that is, main English speaking countries according to Kachru's model, which was explored in chapter 1), as in different countries around the world some approaches and methods are still in use (McKay, 2002). Nowadays, it is unquestionable to assert that ELT has had a traditional monolingual approach through most of history and it has "frequently lacked a social or political dimension that helps locate English and English language teaching within the complex social, cultural, economic, and political environments in which it occurs" (Pennycook, 2004, p. 335). However, in the current multilingual climate, monolithic solutions are no longer viable (European Commission, 2011), and it is time to focus on the development of plurilingual competences, communication strategies and cross-cultural communication and sensitisation.

Kumaravadivelu (2006) proposes a method based in particularity (context-sensitive pedagogy), practicality (encourage the interrelation between theory and practice), and possibility (consider the importance of outside factors that shape identity formation and social transformation). More than a method, these appear to be guidelines that could benefit any methods currently used so they are better suited to the current globalised world. In addition, the implementation of ELF as the overriding perspective in ELT, would ensure the teaching of a "situational and fluid form of English as an Intercultural Language" that would be "pragmatically suited to the real-life needs of cross-cultural communication and pedagogy" (Le Donne, 2017).

We believe that the progress of ELF and multilingualism in pedagogy will only continue with the inclusion of the learner's own mother tongue in the paradigm of ELT. For this reason, in the next chapter we will focus on the mother tongue, and its relationship with L1 language acquisition. The main purpose of our research is to compare the outcomes when using English only communicative approaches versus using a plurilingual communicative approach in which

the students' mother tongue plays a vital role in English language learning. As we will observe in following chapters L1 is not only interrelated to LX learning but also contributes to an ecological view of language.

Chapter 3. The Mother Tongue in English Language Teaching

“Language and thought are awakened in the mind and follow a largely predetermined course, much like other biological properties” –

Chomsky (1997, p. 5)

Despite the fact that second language acquisition (SLA) research focuses on the study of the learning and use of a new language, that is, the learning of a second language by people who already have a mother tongue, much of the SLA research ignores the fact that the learners already possess a first language and dismisses its relevance in second language learning and teaching (Cook, 2016a). This third chapter explores the notions of language and mother tongue without which would be impossible to set clear expectations on language acquisition. After reflecting on views of the native language, this chapter focuses on the mind of the learner as a plurilingual. It then follows with the review of traditional understandings of L1 as an error or facilitator of language learning and continues to new approaches and views of L1 as an unavoidable piece in the process of L2 language acquisition. Even though earlier methods had accepted the use of L1 in language learning, the systematic use of the mother tongue in the classroom was rejected for over a century. As we reviewed on the previous chapter, the trends in language teaching kept changing in the twentieth century and, along with the different methods, certain assumptions were taken for granted in second language acquisition, including the belief that the mother tongue should be avoided. Most approaches and methods since the 1880s until the start of the new millennium have avoided L1 and supported a monolingual approach to language teaching. This practice was a direct consequence of shift in preferences, from the written word to the spoken one, due to the new emphasis on communication. This new view was supported, among others, by Howatt (1984, p. 289), who argued that “the monolingual principle, the unique contribution of the twentieth century to classroom language teaching, remains the bedrock notion from which the others ultimately derive”. In order to address the multilingual and monolingual views on language learning, we will aim to define the parameters of what constitutes a mother tongue and a second or subsequent language.

Throughout this chapter, multilingual and plurilingual will be used as synonyms, as we will not differ between individual and societal bi-/pluri-/multilingualism.

3.1. Language and Linguaging

Before we centre on the importance of the first language, we should revisit the concept of language and what it entails. A typical dictionary would define languages as “a system of communication used by a particular country or community” (Oxford dictionary, 2019) and “a system of conventional spoken, manual, or written symbols by means of which human beings, as members of a social group and participants in its culture, express themselves” (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2019). As it can be observed, language is usually understood in terms of communication (Goddard, 2009), however, in terms of *Linguistics* it is a much more complex matter and one that impacts the way we understand the learning of language itself. According to the school of thought, the notion of language differs. From a Saussurean perspective, which follows a structuralist philosophy, a language is a system of sounds and associated concepts, in a way that it centres on the idea that languages are formed by different interconnected units. From a behaviourist point of view, language is a set of habits and behaviours, that is, “the reinforcing practices of the verbal community” (Skinner, 1948, p. 36). Bloomfield referred to language as a stimulus-response mechanism (Bloomfield, 1933). From a functional philosophy, language is a “meaning potential” (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 22). In Halliday’s view, language is part of every aspect of human lives and is used to construct and represent interpersonal meanings. Whitney claimed that “language in the concrete sense...is...the sum of words and phrases by which any man expresses his thought” (Whitney cited in Chomsky, 1990, p. 18). Chomsky, the father of modern *Linguistics*, distinguishes between intuitive and pre-theoretic common sense notion of language and “scientific” approaches to language (Chomsky, 1986) and defines language as “a set (finite or infinite) of sentences, each finite in length, and constructed out of a finite set of elements” (Chomsky, 1957). Cognitive Linguistics, on the other hand, claims that all language is meaning and that the knowledge linguistic phenomena are conceptual in nature (Chapman & Routledge, 2009).

There is a consensus that language is a unique and fundamental human ability, yet the main division among linguists lies on the nature of the origin of language, on whether it is a “natural object”. Chomsky proposes a nativist view of language based on innate biological endowment. First, he proposed a hypothetical module of the human mind called the Language Acquisition Device (LAD) (Chomsky, 1969). According to him, this “device” was embodied in a metaphorical “little black box” in the brain that enables children to acquire and produce language at the same time that it takes in input, which consists of sentences and produces output in the form of the mental grammar that is, in other words, the linguistic competence (Cook, 1994). Once they achieve competence in the language, they acquire “generative grammar”. This theory claims that human beings are born with an innate language ability to acquire languages. Cook and Newson (1996) illustrated the LAD as below:

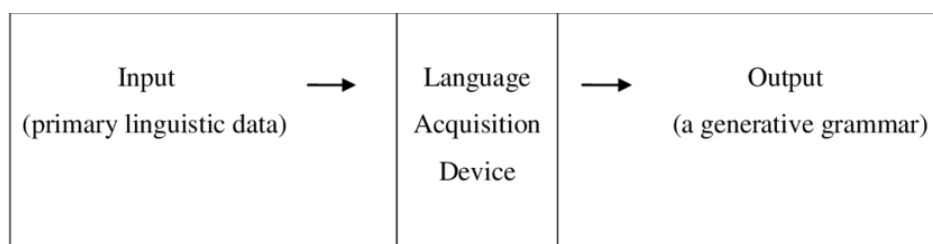


Figure 3.1: Language Acquisition Device (Source: Cook & Newson, 1996, p. 80)

This theory’s main argument is the poverty-of-the-stimulus, which argues that some aspects of language knowledge cannot be learned from the environment and that children have significant innate knowledge of grammar. According to Chomsky “the grammar in a person’s mind/brain is real; it is one of the real things in the world. The language (whatever that may be) is not” (Chomsky, 1982, p. 5). From this premise, Chomsky developed the theory of Universal Grammar, which consists of a set of general principles that determine the broad outline of the grammar of natural languages and leave certain parameters open; these parameters consist of the aspects of grammar subject to language particular variation. This theory claims that first language acquisition is based on implicit learning and that the child’s mind creates a grammar of the language as a response to the data it encounters (Cook, 1994).

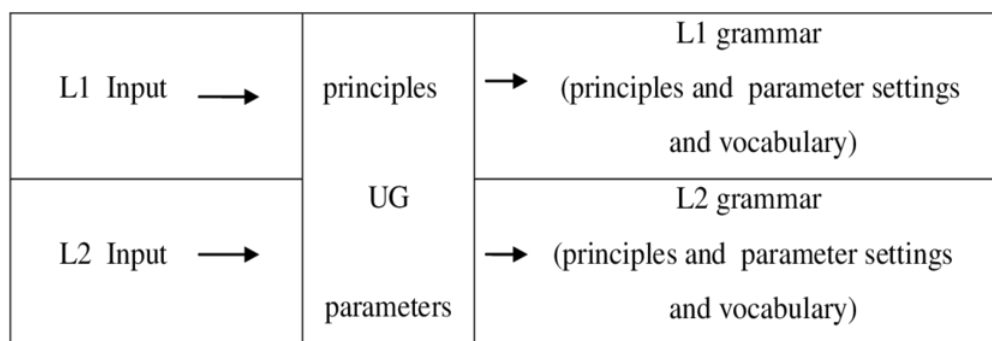


Figure 3.2: UG Theory (Source: Cook & Newson, 1996, p. 86)

UG theory was revolutionary, changing forever the study of language acquisition, as well as other fields such as psychology. It aimed to describe how the mind acquires, stores and uses language (Cook, 2007), yet it does not provide a complete definition of language, nor does it contemplate the multilingual nature of humanity. In an attempt to cover all possible understandings of language and propose a multilingual universal grammar, Cook distinguishes the following five meanings (Cook, 2009, p. 55):

- Language as a human representation system – Human beings possess a systematic representation system that allows an indefinite number of sentences.
- Language as an abstract external entity – Often this refers to a prestige “standard” variety of the language spoken by a minority.
- Language as a set of actual or potential sentences – This meaning refers to the totality of actual or potential sentences that could be said or written.
- Language as the possession of a community – This refers to the social phenomenon of language as a shared product.
- Language as the knowledge in the mind of an individual – In this case, language is a mental possession of the individual. It is an epiphenomenon, not a “real” thing.

Despite the fact that the notion of language can come across as an almost tangible and undeniable concept. Based on the above, the notion of *language* varies depending on the context, and yet, among scholars there is no agreement on the definition. Makoni and Pennycook posit that “Languages do not exist as real entities in the world and neither do they emerge from or represent real environments; they are, by contrast, the inventions of social, cultural and political movements” (Makoni & Pennycook, 2007, p. 2). García and Wei see

language as a dynamic process and not as a simple system of structures independent of human actions. They claim that the term “*linguaging* is needed to refer to the simultaneous process of continuous becoming of ourselves and of our language practices, as we interact and make meaning in the world” (García & Wei, 2014, p. 8). According to Thibault (Thibault, 2017), *linguaging* is a human activity that requires individuals to adapt to their surrounding and participate in cultural worlds and states that:

Human agents do not make use of a pre-existing language code. Instead they engage in various forms of co-action whereby linguaging activity is orchestrated in real-time through the integration of a variability of distinctive cultural and biological systems and resources that cannot be reduced to the formal abstracta typically taken to define the properties of ‘language’.

Based on all the reviewed interpretations of the notion of language, what is, then, a mother tongue? We will examine this concept in the next section below.

3.2. The Mother Tongue and the Native Privilege

The mother tongue is considered to be the first language acquired by any person, the fundamentals of which are usually successfully mastered by a child between the ages of one and five (approximately). If a child is exposed to several languages (two or more) through their learning period, they will automatically acquire the different languages they are exposed to. As Cook states (2009, p. 57), citing Lenneberg (1967), “the sole requirement for learning a human language is to be human”. Paikeday (1985) distinguishes the concept of mother-tongue, which he understands as any first language acquired during childhood, and native speaker, which he proposes as the synonym of “proficient user”. He even went on to claim that one can have a language (or several) as mother tongue and yet “never be able to use any of them as a “native speaker” because of lack of aptitude for language learning, lack of educational opportunity, displacement from one’s native land, etc.” (1985, p. 19). While his position raises very interesting points, which we will address further in the following sections of this chapter, it is very controversial as it goes against the very nature of the word native. Etymologically speaking, it cannot be denied that “native” means to be “born”, which in this case it refers to

the language someone is “born” into. Nonetheless, this statement is over-simplified and does not cover the meaning and connotations to their whole extent. The reality is that “[a] native speaker has been conceptualized as an informant gifted with special and often infallible grammatical insights, the arbiter of acceptability/ grammaticality” (Orzón, 2016, p. 68), which in turn has created inequalities for some native speakers in certain contexts (e.g. postcolonial contexts, for further examples see Phillipson, 1992). Chomsky (1985, p. 3) and his UG theory contributed to the idealistic view of the native speaker with the below definition:

Linguistic theory is concerned primarily with an ideal speaker-listener, in a completely homogeneous speech-community, who knows its language perfectly and is unaffected by such grammatically irrelevant conditions as memory limitations, distractions, shifts of attention and interest, and errors (random or characteristic) in applying his knowledge of the language in actual performance.

The ideal of the “native speaker” in linguistics and second language acquisition is one that has been followed (albeit criticised) through history, in fact, up until the 1980s a native speaker referred to anyone who had acquired a language in the early years and that “automatically granted them authority in grammatical judgements about the language in question.” (Orzón, 2016, p. 68). Victoria Fromkin in Paikeday’s book *The Native Speaker is Dead!* (1985, p. 34) defines the native speaker as “someone whose first language is the one being referred to and who has continued to use this language” and whose first language was learned “before the completion of the critical age”. As we observed, however, the concept of native speaker as an ideal is not realistic as they may present significant lacunae in their knowledge of their mother tongue and, despite this fact, they are never questioned in their mastery of language because it is their own (Christophersen, 1973).

If we take the traditional concept of “native speaker” at face value, the assumptions are as follows:

- The native speaker is typically monolingual and acquired the language from birth (Cook, 1999)
- The “native” language is the language from where the speaker is native (Davies, 2004).
- The native speaker is the ideal speaker of the language (Chomsky, 1965)

- The native speaker will be the best teacher of the language as he/she possesses the best knowledge.

Nevertheless, as we raised earlier, these apparent “truisms” do not cover the extent of the reality and need a further analysis. Let us proceed to address the problematics with these assumptions.

3.2.1. A Monolingual Native Speaker from Birth

Bloomfield (1933, p. 43) defines the mother tongue as “the first language a human being learns to speak is his native language; he is a native speaker of this language”. This definition, per se, states that the mother tongue is singular (first language), and this was for years the assumption of the native speaker, for instance we can see this in the following definition, which gives preference to one language over others “the mother tongue can also be defined as the language a person knows best” (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981, p. 14). We find however, that native speakers can be monolingual or plurilingual. Children have the capacity to learn a number of languages simultaneously and all of them have the potential to become their first(s) language, or rather their multilingual state of mind is their first language. In this sense, “monolingualism can be considered as a widespread form of language deprivation” (Cook 2009, p. 57), not the default. If we take English as an example, typically the native speakers of English are considered those in the Inner Circle, that is, Australia, Britain, Canada, Ireland, New Zealand, and the United States (Kachru, 1990; Quirk, 1990; Quirk et al., 1972), whereas the rest would be considered second or foreign language speakers. Not only does this distinction separate the native speakers geographically, but it does not consider as equal other native speakers in other locations, that may be, for instance, native speakers of English and Chinese (Singapore). The Inner Circle speakers are considered “authentic” and despite this fact, their use of languages is not homogenous (Mooney & Evans, 2015, p. 200), and they may even be bilingual or plurilingual in their own right (e.g. a Canadian bilingual in French or a British bilingual in Welsh). Another issue with the first assumption is determining the cut-off point to become a native speaker. If a French child is adopted by a British family and moves to Essex at the age of 7, and continues living in the UK into adulthood, is he considered a native speaker of English? And if

he is, is it because he speaks English with high proficiency and no apparent accent? Or because a British family adopted him and now he has a British passport? This brings us to our next point.

3.2.2. A Geographical Native Speaker

If we search the literal meaning of “native” we will find that it means “relating to or describing someone's country or place of birth or someone who was born in a particular country or place” (Cambridge dictionary, 2019). Escudero and Sharwood Smith (2001, p. 278) follow with a similar understanding of native speaker:

A native speaker of [a dialect] is someone who grew up in a community of speakers where (i) only [that dialect] was spoken, and (ii) the linguistic behaviour of the individual in question is perceived both by members of that community of speakers, and by the individual him/herself, to be that of a full member.

This geographical connotation of the native speaker, has been adopted time and time again as we have seen in the analysis of the concept of native speaker above. This understanding of native speaker, however, does not fit into the current multilingual society where languages are constantly in contact and cross-cultural and cross-linguistic relationships are in our daily life. A person can be a native speaker of English and Spanish (e.g. one parent is English and the other Spanish and the person in question has not discontinued using both languages), yet most likely the competence of this person in each of the languages would be questioned and he or she would classify as native Spanish or native English depending on the place of birth. Another example could be a community of Chinese-English speakers who speak Mandarin within their community but English with the rest of people. For the purpose of this metaphor, let's assume that some of them are second generation immigrants and hold a British passport and others hold the status of residents but still categorise as Chinese immigrants. In this case, would they all be classified as native speakers? Only some of them due to their geopolitical status? Would they be assumed to be non-natives due to their status as bilinguals? This idea also includes the assumption that a bilingual (or plurilingual) is the sum of several (incomplete) monolinguals, rather than a specific speaker-hearer with a complete linguistic system, as it has been repeatedly reinvoked by Grosjean (1989). Who is the ideal native speaker in this case?

3.2.3. The Ideal Speaker-Hearer of Language

Paikeday (1985, p. 106) provides a good analysis on who the ideal “native-speaker” is according to literature:

The common core of meaning contained in the literature on “native speaker,” as every linguist knows, is one who has an “insight” into a specified language or enjoys an “intuitive” sense of what is grammatical and ungrammatical in regard to its usage, someone whose native instincts qualify him as a touchstone or arbiter on linguistic matters relating to a language, especially if he is an “educated native speaker.”

Based on the definition above, the native speaker “becomes a reference point, a linguistic ideal, a yardstick to measure both linguistic behaviour and degree of deviations” (Orzón, 2016, p. 67), that is, someone to compare to when learning a second language. This is aligned with Chomsky’s definition, which claimed that the “ideal” native speaker belongs to a homogeneous community and has the authority on the language and is the only one qualified to make grammatical judgments. These ideals assume that a native speaker is proficient in any register and context, which is a rather unrealistic ideal and one that a common native speaker would not meet. To this, Phillipson (Phillipson, 1992) argues the fact that particular language dialects, registers or patterns are preferred due to social norms add an ideological dimension and contributes to fallacy of a homogeneous native speaker. In words of Schmitz, “It is indeed a mark of privilege bestowed on Inner Circle varieties in detriment to Outer Circle speakers and also to Expanding Circle users of English who are viewed as being failed natives” (Schmitz, 2016, p. 607). As well as the ideals of grammatical proficiency and intuitive knowledge of language, some researchers even attributed certain features to nativeness such as being able to translate into L1 (Davies, 2004), or not having a “foreign accent” (Scovel, 1969), which undoubtedly results in discrimination. Yet, a learner of that language would compete against that ideal and may be considered a “failed” L2 user when not able to achieve that level of proficiency.

Aside from the unattainability of the concept, we should also consider whether a native speaker can “disqualify” from being a native. Languages are not “static” but “alive”, hence their life depend on the use we make of them. Based on this, let’s revisit the earlier metaphor, if the French boy that was adopted into the British family forgets his first language (French) and adopts English as his native language, would he qualify as a native speaker of English despite it

not being his first language nor being native of England? Would he still be native of French despite the fact that he may not remember hardly any of the language? Or would he qualify as a bilingual despite not being competent of French anymore? The effect of language attrition on the concept of the native speaker encourages us further to re-define this notion of nativeness and its impact on second and foreign language acquisition.

Given that achieving a native status is not possible, McKay and Brown (McKay & Brown, 2016) suggest the term “native intuition” to describe the proficient competency of an L2 user that could be compared to a real native speaker. They argue that “one can achieve native intuition in a language later in life through continued use and group identity”, hence someone can become “native-like” later in life, as long as they use continue to use the language, which “is essential to promoting and maintaining native intuition”.

3.2.4. The Ideal English Teacher

Unfortunately, the dichotomy between the native speaker and non-native speaker, along with the idealised vision of the native speaker, have had (and still has) a direct impact on language teaching. Holliday (2006) coined the term “native-speakerism”, to refer to the generalised ideology within ELT in which the native speaker represents the ideals of English language and English language teaching. Not only the term depicts the native speaker ideals in ELT but also refers to the fact of being a representation of favouritism towards Western culture. Firstly, there is an implicit derogatory attitude towards second language speakers, as proficient as they may be, in the term “second language”. This was pointed out by Kachru and Nelson (1996, p. 79) in their below statement:

When we say “English as a second (or even third or fourth) language”, we must do so with reference to something, and that standard of measure must, given the nature of the label, be English as someone’s first language. This automatically creates attitudinal problems, for it is almost unavoidable that anyone would take “second” as less worthy, in the sense, for example, that coming in second in a race is not as good as coming in first.

Phillipson (Phillipson, 1992) refers to the idealisation of the native speaker as the “native speaker fallacy” (p. 194), which he attributes to linguistic imperialism. Phillipson claims that this notion of the native speaker and its associations with superiority (both as a speaker and as

a teacher), were created around the 1960s to support the agenda of American and British organisations to spread the English language and Western ideas as a global product. The idea that *traditional*⁷ native speakers are “better” permeates the whole English teaching world. In words of Holliday (2014, p. 3):

The pedagogical implications of native-speakerism stretch far beyond the classroom to attitudes and values that both pervade the whole ELT profession and extend to society as a whole, wherever English teaching and learning is considered to be an important activity.

Selvi (2010), in his review of the market value of native speakerism in ELT, provides a thorough analysis of different studies that show how the English teaching market is discriminatory and biased. Despite the theories and empirical research demonstrating the value of the “non-native” teacher as a pedagogue, the common belief is that the native speakers are better, and even more so if they are Caucasian. In his study Selvi provides some examples of ads to recruit English teachers that are clearly discriminatory, yet widely accepted worldwide. Some examples include: “native English speaker or English speaker with native-like proficiency with at least 15 years of residence in North America” (2010, p. 165), “Native English speaker or speaker with native-like abilities with citizenship from one of the following countries: Australia, Canada, Ireland, New Zealand, United Kingdom, United States” (2010, p. 166), or the advert title “Real English teachers needed” combined with “native English speakers” in the description (2010, p. 169). The reality is that in many education centres being a native with no relevant qualifications or experience will suffice, whereas non-native speakers or native speakers from countries outside the Inner Circle will have to demonstrate near perfect linguistic skills (many teachers will even change their real accent for more “credibility”), high qualifications (sometimes MA or PhD), and a good amount of experience. Most native speakers are generally not equipped for their task, linguistically, culturally, or pedagogically, yet, they are always given preference (Phillipson, 2016, p. 81). The perpetuation of the monolingual principle has resulted in numerous forms of injustice against English teachers, as well as learners, as it reinforces

⁷ When we refer to *traditional* native speakers, we are referring to the idealised version of native speakers that has been used through history as a model, rather than the idea of native speaker as an identity someone can choose and a level that can achieve without being “born” into the language, as long as they meet the requirements.

empirically unsupported ideas that native speakers are superior English teachers when compared to non-native educators (Cummins, 2009).

3.2.5. Native Speaker as a Choice

Based on the review of the notion of native speaker, we position ourselves in agreeance with the following statement from Lowe and Kiczkowiak: “We recognise that this distinction is more social construct than scientific reality” (2016, p. 5). If we circle back to the meaning of language, Haugen proposes a division of the definition of language that is very fitting to the concept of native speaker. Languages can be defined linguistically, sociolinguistically and politically (Haugen, 1966). In this sense we can understand that the concept of being a native speaker of a certain language would mean to have the necessary linguistic competence, the relevant pragmatic and communicative competence, and to identify with the language and its group of speakers. Assuming these statements, the individual is the one who decides which language he or she is a native speaker of, rather than being a predetermined unchangeable factor.

Now that the notions of *mother tongue* and *native speaker* have been defined, it is time to shift our focus to language teaching and its goals. As Cook stated (2008, p. 172):

Most language teachers, and indeed most students, accept that their goal is to become as similar to the native speaker as possible. One problem is the question of which native speaker.

Over the years, the main purpose of second and foreign language acquisition⁸ was to achieve a competency level equal to an ideal native monolingual, which resulted in frustration and failed attempts when trying to master a language. After traditional research in the field of SLA, such as the study of the effect of environmental factors and learning, different language teaching methodologies, or the differences between first and second language acquisition, research is shifting towards the development of multicompetent speakers and it is intersecting

⁸ In this instance we will not make a distinction between foreign and second language acquisition. Traditionally “second” has been commonly used to refer to any language other than the first language (including third, fourth, etc.) and “foreign” for languages mainly learned in the classroom and with no significant role in the community (R. Ellis, 1994). However, with ELF being a global language and being part of the community to some extent, we will use SLA as an encompassing umbrella term.

more than ever with the field of bilingualism and pluri/multilingualism (Cook, 2016; de Zarobe & de Zarobe, 2015; Lynch, 2017; Ortega, 2019).

3.3. SLA: Language Learner or Plurilingual

As we discussed on the previous section, the aim of SLA has traditionally been to achieve a native level on a second language, contradictorily assuming that L2 learners are not and could never be monolingual speakers (Cook & Singleton, 2014). If monolingualism was the aim and the accepted “natural” state, what does it mean to be monolingual? And at what point does one change from L2 learner to bilingual or plurilingual? Depending on whether we understand bilingualism as two sets of monolingualism or something else entirely, the perspective of the role of L1 will change. And only by having a clear understanding of this terminology can we address the right strategies to learn a new language and the role of L1 in language learning.

Traditionally, linguistic theories assumed monolingualism as the norm despite being an exception, rather than the standard. Specially, “this tends to be the view found in dominant societies, particularly, but not exclusively, English-speaking ones” (Ellis, 2007, p. 174), which is not surprising given the relationship between language and power we have addressed on previous sections in regards to linguistic imperialism. So, what is a monolingual? If we use the definition of the *Longman Dictionary of Language Teaching and Applied Linguistics*, it can be used to refer to “a person who knows and uses only one language” and “a person who has an active knowledge of only one language, though perhaps a passive knowledge of others.” (Richards & Schmidt, 2013, p. 372). Based on this definition, it becomes a complex task to classify an LX learner as a monolingual, yet many would continue to refer to themselves as monolinguals rather than bilinguals, and many ELF users would describe themselves as monolinguals of their language (or plurilingual of other languages and not include ELF in the mix); in fact, it may be even generally challenged to include “those with communicative competence in a foreign language in any definition of ‘bilingual’, but it is hard to find an agreed theoretical basis for supporting such an objection” (Ellis, 2007, p. 176). As Mackey already raised in 1968, the decision to classify someone as L2 user or bilingual is subjective, as it is not

possible to define the exact point in which and L2 learner becomes a bilingual (Mackey, 1968). Baker (2011, p. 3) proposed the following dimensions to analyse bilinguals and plurilinguals:

- **Ability:** depending on the ability of the user, they will be placed within a continuum depending on the dominance and development of each of the languages.
- **Use:** this dimension refers to the contexts in which the languages are used.
- **Balance:** referring to the equal or unbalanced ability in the use of two or more languages.
- **Age:** the moment in which an individual starts acquiring a language, which can be simultaneous or sequential.
- **Development:** this dimension focuses on the progress of the language, which can be incipient (one well-developed language and one in the early stages of development), ascendant (when one of the languages is developing), recessive (when one of the languages is decreasing).
- **Culture:** this aspect refers to the feelings and attitudes towards the cultures in the mind of the bilingual or multilingual.
- **Contexts:** Depending on the setting, the impact on the language use and knowledge will differ (i.e. endogenous or exogenous communities).
- **Elective bilingualism:** this characteristic represents the individuals who actively choose to learn and use an additional language. This dimension includes circumstantial bilinguals, who learn and use a new language based on conditions outside their control.

Under these dimensions, a bilingual could be anyone within any of the scopes above mentioned. From the field of cognitive neuroscience, Abutalebi and Weekes (2014, p. 1) propose a very inclusive concept of bilingualism:

A bilingual speaker may be someone with different levels of proficiency in the two languages, using the two languages in different contexts or learning a new language due to educational requirements, immigration, or other business and life demands. By this definition, a bilingual individual is not only necessarily someone who has acquired both languages from birth, or early in life, but also one who learns a second language (L2) later in life.

Valdés (2005) proposes a bilingual continuum to depict the spectrum of bilingualism, where A and B represent two languages and the size of the letter the strength or weakness of the language:

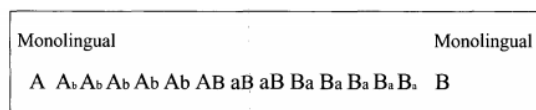


Figure 3.3: The bilingual continuum L1/L2 (Source: Valdés, 2005, p. 414)

This continuum supports the idea that bilingualism starts with any knowledge/use of the second language. The illustration above (Figure 3.3) is a very visual representation of the different possibilities of language knowledge and use in plurilingual individuals (henceforth, the term *plurilingual* will be used for both bilinguals and multilinguals), which focuses on the description of the use and knowledge of the actual languages, however, it neglects the existence of independent grammar (Cook, 2016, 1992; Corder, 1975; Selinker, 1972), which is a defining characteristic of a plurilingual.

Because of the different attempts to define the concept of bilingualism and the fact that none of them managed to cover its whole extent due to its many dimensions, many people still look at the bilingual as two monolinguals in one mind (de Lange, 2012), following Bloomsfield's definition of "native-like control of two languages" (Bloomfield, 1933, p. 56), despite the extensive evidence supporting otherwise. One of the first advocates of the several languages in one mind idea was Professor Jim Cummins, who proposed the Common Underlying Proficiency model (Cummins, 1980a, 1981a, as cited in Baker, 2011). This theory is usually illustrated as two icebergs, in which it can be observed that both languages in a bilingual are operated through the same processing system, such as an independent plurilingual grammar. This model provides a linguistic support basis for the individual's languages, in a way that anything learned will become part of this basis to draw upon when required for any of the languages. While this theory was mainly focused on bilingual children, it puts forward the idea of an integrated source of thought that can help in any situation and language.

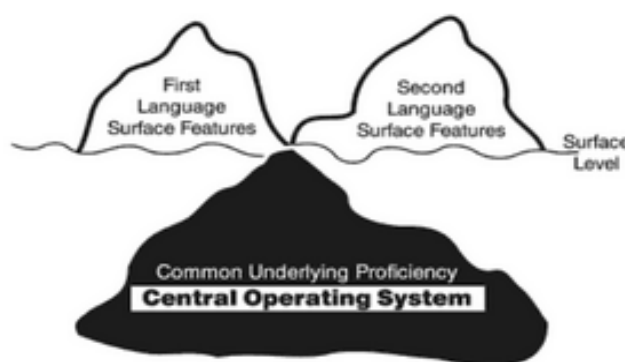


Figure 3.4: Common Underlying Proficiency (Source: Baker 2011, p. 166)

Soon after, the idea of a monolingual perspective of the bilingual was also contested by Grosjean who claimed that “[t]he bilingual (or wholistic) view holds that the bilingual is NOT the sum of two complete or incomplete monolinguals; rather, he or she has a unique and specific linguistic configuration.” (Grosjean, 1989, p. 3). He also asserted that this new perspective would encourage scholars to study the bilingual as such, instead of comparing it to the monolingual. Nonetheless, this wholistic⁹ perspective seemed to have a bigger impact in Bilingualism research, while SLA research continued to idealise monolinguals as the utopic level to achieve. It is a familiar theme in SLA to view the L2 learner’s language system as deficient compared to that of the native speakers and being referred to as failures. However, this is a monolingual bias that has affected (and continues to affect) LX learning (Cook, 1997), which as we presented in Section 1.2.2.2 refers to any additional language after L1. Additional languages are still evaluated from a monolingual perspective, rather than measuring the individual’s proficiency in a language against his or her plurilingual competence. In fact, “successful L2 use is almost totally absent from textbooks” (op. cit. p. 173) and the bilingual speaker as the ideal model is regularly neglected in textbooks and practise, along with the purpose of learning new languages, i.e. the reason to become a plurilingual (rather than a monolingual in a second language), which is often ignored.

⁹ Here wholistic is used to refer to the “whole” speaker, rather than “holistic”.

Following the theory of the bilingual continuum, if learners stop being monolingual when they get in contact¹⁰ with a new language, but it is assumed that a bilingual will never be a native speaker as we argued above, what is the aim of second language acquisition and who is the second language learner? At what point does a learner become a plurilingual? It can be argued that it is a matter of perspective, since the learners are plurilingual in the sense that they know several languages to some extent and the plurilinguals, even if they do not actively learn, can acquire a language passively through use, and in the end they are all users. Cook attempted to divide the L2 users based on Swaan’s hierarchy of languages (2001) and proposed the following division:

Group A	The first group is people using their first language with each other in the local language geographical territory (p. 58)
Group B	Permanent residents using a central second language to communicate with the wider community outside their local language group (p. 59)
Group C	An using a supercentral language across national or linguistic borders for a specific range of functions of language rather than for all functions (p. 60)
Group D	people using a hypercentral second language, perforce English, globally across all countries and used for all possible second language functions (p. 60)
Group E	People descended from a particular cultural or ethnic group may want to learn its language (p. 61)
Group F	People using an L2 with spouses, siblings or friends (p. 62)
CL group	This is a classroom learner group who only use the language in the educational system and therefore are of non-users (p. 63)

Table 3.1: Division of language users (Source: Adapted from Cook & Wei, 2009)

This division was proposed by Cook to emphasise the fact that, despite being “non-users”, SLA research mainly focuses on the classroom learner group. He argues that the CL group’s goal, due to researchers and educational systems, is to be achieve a group A native speaker level when they are “not L2 users at all” (op. cit. p. 65), while groups B to G are focused on

¹⁰ Understanding *contact* here as in becoming familiar with it, start learning it or using it.

effectiveness and not nativeness. On the one hand, we agree that more attention has been paid to the CL group rather than the rest, however we disagree with the definition of CL group as non-users, since academic use is, by definition, a use of language. At the same time, it is almost impossible to draw a line between CL group and the rest of language users because most likely they will use the learned language outside the classroom at some point in their life. We propose then a simpler division that is in no way static, as the individual can be on each of the dimensions depending on the moment in their life. And still, we would always consider someone as plurilingual (albeit not balanced or fluent in all languages) as long as they possess an independent grammar:

- **LX learner:** the individual exclusively uses the LX language in an academic setting. The language is learned for specific purposes and there is no prospect of practising the language outside the classroom (e.g. a teenager learning French as a course requirement)
- **LX user:** the individual uses the LX language within specific contexts (independently of the regularity of the use), without receiving any formal training of the language. (e.g. a Chinese immigrant in the UK who speaks Chinese with her family and English with her friends)
- **LX learner-user:** the individual actively learns the LX language (usually in an academic setting) and uses the language in a real setting. (e.g. a flight attendant receiving Italian classes and practising in a professional context)

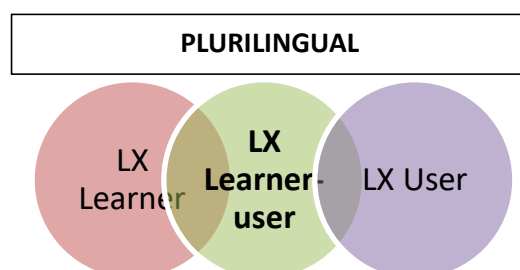


Figure 3.5: Own representation of plurilingual user/learner

This multilingual view of the plurilingual individual supports the new shift in SLA: the multilingual turn.

3.4. The Multilingual Turn

Since the last decade of the 20th Century, there has been a major shift in SLA towards multilingualism, and most recently, this turn has been led by the Douglas Fir Group (DFG, 2016). This association of scholars, advocates for a reimagined SLA, one that needs a reconceptualised notion of linguistic competence, in order to address the current multilingual realities of our globalised world. They call for a complex, dynamic and holistic new perspective of SLA. According to them language learning is defined as:

[...] a complex, ongoing, multifaceted phenomenon that involves the dynamic and variable interplay among a range of individual neurobiological mechanisms and cognitive capacities and L2 learners' diverse experiences in their multilingual worlds occurring over their life spans and along three interrelated levels of social activity: the micro level of social action and interaction, the meso level of sociocultural institutions and communities, and the macro level of ideological structures. (Douglas Fir Group, 2016, p. 36)

This is illustrated in the below graphic of the Multifaceted Nature of Language Learning and Teaching (op. cit. p. 25):

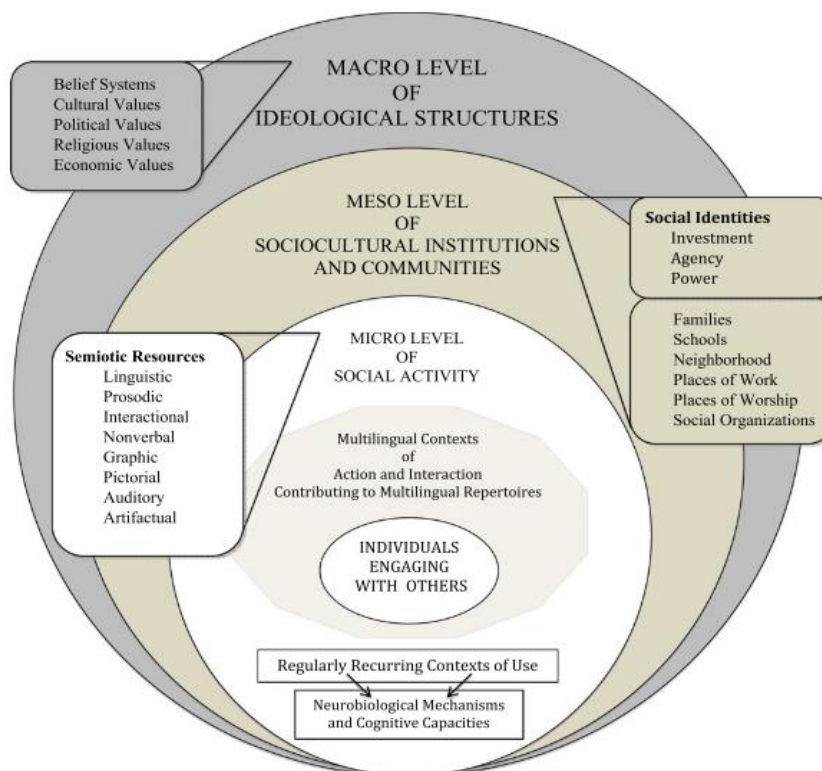


Figure 3.6: Multifaceted Nature of Language Learning and Teaching (Source: DFG, 2016, p. 25)

Because the core tenets of SLA still remain largely unscathed and firm in old traditions of monolingualism, the DFG aims to bring attention to the learners' diverse multilingual repertoires, as well as expanding the perspectives of SLA researchers and educators in regards to language ideologies and multilingual learning. However, this turn has taken a long time in the making. In order to understand how we got to this moment, we need to retrace our steps to the first focus on the learner's linguistic repertoire.

3.5. Learning a New Language: Independent Grammar

Around the 1960s-1970s, SLA research started focusing on how the language was learned. Influenced by Chomsky's universal grammar and the observation of language systems in children acquiring a first language, the *independent grammar assumption* was born (Cook, 1993). Around that time, several theories appeared that treated the language system of a language learner or bilingual, as a new system in which languages were in contact in the mind, an independent one. As examples we can find the *approximative system* (Nemser, 1969, p. 116):

An approximative system is the deviant linguistic system actually employed by the learner attempting to utilize the target language. Such approximative systems vary in character in accordance with proficiency level; variation is also introduced by learning experience (including exposure to a target language script system), communication function, personal learning characteristics, etc.

In 1971, Pit Corder proposed his *transitional idiosyncratic dialect*, which he used to refer to the learner's language and considered a dialect in its own right. He believed that "language learning is some sort of data-processing and hypothesis-forming activity of a cognitive sort" (Corder, 1971, p. 147). Soon after Selinker proposed a term that revolutionised SLA research, the concept of *Interlanguage* (Selinker, 1972). This concept has been so influential that, for years, it has been "the starting point for any discussion of the mental processes responsible for L2 acquisition" (R. Ellis, 1994), according to Cook "the concept of interlanguage was in many ways the basis of modern SLA research" (1997, p. 36). Interlanguage is a separate linguistic system different from the learner's mother tongue and the target language that is being learned, yet connected to both languages. Selinker defined it as "the existence of a separate

linguistic system based on the observable output which results from a learner's attempted production of a TL norm" (1972, p. 214).

What these theories had in common, aside from an independent language system in the learner's mind, was the acknowledgement that L1 affects L2 acquisition and that an L2 learner would never be an L2 native. As it can be observed, these hypotheses still followed a monolingual perspective of LX learning and perpetuated the idea that the L2 is an ineffective version of the monolingual's L1. For years, the only interest researchers and educators had on the effect of L1 in the L2's mind was the effects on the L2 knowledge in terms of transfer and interference (Cook, 2003). Even before the notion of independent grammar, researchers had been concerned with the impact of L1 on L2 and the errors involved and "prior to the development of the idea of interlanguage, contrastive analysts had asserted that the second-language learner's language was shaped solely by transfer from the native language" (Tarone, 2006, p. 747). Between the 1950s and the 1960s, and inspired by Weinreich (Weinreich, 1953), the focus on SLA shifted towards an approach to language teaching based on error and contrastive analysis, which claimed to reveal the actual problems of SLA learners. For the first time, the focus changed from teaching materials and theories on language learning, to the learner's difficulties based on their native language and culture, that is, from the intralingual errors to the interlingual ones.

3.6. A First Focus on L1 in LX Learning: from Contrastive and Error Analysis to Transfer

There has always been a general awareness of the interaction of languages, in fact, "one of the earliest references to language contact, bilingualism, and cross-linguistic influence comes from Homer's *Odyssey*, where Odysseus tells Penelope about the 'mixed languages' of Crete." (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008, p. 1). For centuries, all influence of L1 over subsequent languages was assumed to be due to laziness and error, and overall it was seen in a negative light. Nevertheless, with the influence of behaviourism and its perspective on learning as a habit formation process, in the 1940s and 1950s language transfer started to become a major factor

in SLA and a new field of research, due to its unavoidable role in language learning and language use. Charles Fries (1945, p. 9) expressed the necessity for contrastive analysis to study language transfer stating that:

The most efficient materials are those that are based upon a scientific description of the language to be learned, carefully compared with a parallel description of the native language of the learner.

As a response to this need, Lado (1957) developed the Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis (CAH), which was the start of empirical attempts to demonstrate the influence of L1 in language acquisition, as well as categorising the type of influence (positive or negative) in foreign language learning. Lado (1957, p. 2) argued that “individuals tend to transfer the forms and meaning, and the distribution of forms and meanings of their native language and culture to the foreign language and culture—both productively when attempting to speak the language and to act in the culture, and receptively when attempting to grasp and understand the language and the culture as practised by natives”. He was the first to put forward the theoretical basis of CAH, as well as describing the necessary technical steps to carry out contrastive analyses (Ellis, 1994b).

Lado was the leading researcher of the CAH theory, which is concerned with the comparison of two or more languages and defended that the degree of difference between the languages was intrinsically related to the degree of difficulty to learn them. However, soon after, empirical evidence would appear, demonstrating that many of the errors in language learning were not the result of language transfer and polarising views amongst second language acquisition researchers awoke. As a result, two distinct versions emerged: a strong CAH and a weak CAH. The strong version (also known as *a priori*) claimed to predict all the errors in the target language by identifying the difference between native and target language. On the other hand, the weak version (also known as *a posteriori*) was proposed by Wardhaugh (1970) and involved the use of contrastive analysis to explain why errors in the target language occurred. This version attempted to understand what learners do in order to acquire another language. Neither of the versions of the CAH was convincing, the first one was theoretically unsustainable and the latter was unfeasible and inadequate, and by the 1970s this theories had lost ground (R. Ellis, 1994); especially with the new research on the natural process of second language

acquisition, which departed completely from L1 influence and treated L2 learning as a separate independent process (Dulay & Burt, 1973; S. D. Krashen, 1981; S. D. Krashen & Terrell, 1995).

Error analysis aimed to “validate the predictions of contrastive analysis by systematically gathering and analyzing the speech and writing of second-language learners” (Tarone, 2006, p. 747), but the evidence from scientific studies kept showing an large amount of “residue” of errors were not able to be predicted. At this time Corder (1967) proposed an alternative framework in which errors were unavoidable, as well as a necessary feature of learner language, without which improvement could not occur. Corder’s perspective was a pivotal moment in the understanding of errors in SLA, as he proposed that second-language learners “have a universal “built-in syllabus” that guides them in the systematic development of their own linguistic system, or “transitional competence” (Bayley & Tarone, 2011, p. 41). Corder’s idea and his error analysis approach, along with Weinreich’s influence with his “interlingual identifications” (Weinreich, 1953), presented the basis for Selinker’s interlanguage, which is the most important of the independent grammar hypothesis.

3.6.1. Interlanguage

The theory of interlanguage became the basis for future research on cross-linguistic influence. Ellis (1994, p. 350) classifies Interlanguage theory as “the first major attempt to provide an explanation of L2 acquisition”. This theory claims that learners build mental grammars of the target language they are learning with the assistance of learning strategies (see the definition of Interlanguage on Section 3.4 above). Interlanguage (IL) theory claimed that most learners do not achieve full target language competence and aimed to explain the reason for this. Selinker (1972, p. 215) divided SLA into five cognitive processes:

- Language Transfer from L1 (Selinker believed that certain items and rules were transferred from the mother tongue in some cases)
- Transfer of Training (some transfer elements were the result of the way the individuals were taught)
- Strategies of Second Language Learning
- Strategies of Second Language Communication

- Overgeneralisation and simplification (the notion of simplification appeared in later work, see Selinker, Swain, & Dumas, 1975)

Based on IL theory, LX speakers draw on internalised IL grammars to perform on LX and unlike L1 learners, LX users do not reach a native competence level. This concept was coined by Selinker as “fossilisation”, which claimed that certain items and rules freeze in the LX user’s mind and that the final grammar that can be achieved by the LX learner is not the target-language grammar. Selinker (1972, p.215) defined this as below:

Fossilizable linguistic phenomena are linguistic items, rules and subsystems which speakers of a particular NL will tend to keep in their IL relative to a particular TL, no matter what the age of the learner or the amount of explanation and instruction he receives in the TL.

Selinker claimed that even if the fossilised items disappear, they are likely to re-appear in language production, especially when the speaker is relaxed (op. cit. p. 215). The concept of “fossilisation”, which is essential to the theory of interlanguage, endures today and is mostly accepted as a phenomenon rather than a hypothesis (Han, 2004; Han & Odlin, 2006). While IL was initially postulated as a theory affecting adults only, Selinker later on extended the theory to include children acquiring second languages (Selinker et al., 1975). However, unlike adults, it was argued that children had the ability to “re-engage the LAD and thus to avoid the error pattern and ultimate fossilization that characterize the interlanguages of adult second-language learners” (Tarone, 2006, p. 748).

Essentially, Selinker’s theory of IL claimed that no adult learner would ever be able to speak a second language like a native speaker, given that certain errors would forever be fossilised and that interlanguage was not a natural language. But not all scholars agreed; Adjemian (1976) argued that IL are indeed natural languages and follow language universals. According to him second language acquisition should be concerned in explaining the learners’ competence and their progress through different stages.

The notion of interlanguage is, by some, accepted as “almost theory-neutral” (Ellis, 1994b, p. 354) and continues to be an essential field of research on second-language acquisition (SLA) (Han & Tarone, 2014), by others, it is rejected as a monolingual biased approach that does not consider the plurilingual competence of the learner. Interlanguage, as presented by Selinker,

is a developmental process characterised by “errors” that still affects nowadays view on the learner’s language. In fact, based on the CEFR (Council of Europe, 2001, p. 155):

- Errors are due to an “interlanguage”, a simplified or distorted representation of the target competence. When the learner makes errors, his performance truly accords with his competence, which has developed characteristics different from those of L2 norms.
- Mistakes, on the other hand, occur in performance when a user/learner (as might be the case with a native speaker) does not bring his competences properly into act.

This view of errors is based Chomsky’s definition of competence and performance (1965), as well as on Corder’s (1967, p. 166) differentiation between error and mistake, which is not absolute and it is problematic since competence and performance cannot be separated and often occur side by side. Another problem with IL errors is the actual concept of *error*, since learners’ production can only be considered erroneous when compared to target-language norms and not their own grammar, i.e. if we do not consider errors when a first language has not acquired full competence and it is just in an interim state, errors in second language should not be taken as wrongly learned but as a learning stage (Cook, 1969).

Another problem with the IL “error” is defining the boundaries of deviation from the standard form and the notion of ideal language. IL theory not only followed a monolingual orientation but also a monolithic understanding of language with a unidimensional view of language functions. If we focus on English and English teaching, anything outside of the standard American or British variations are usually regarded as errors mostly caused by L1 interference (Jenkins, 2006a). Yet, “interference” is not always an acquisitional deficiency but the result of “contact features” and purpose of communication, as we could see for instance on Singaporean English (Kachru, 1990, p. 186).

The concept of Interlanguage brings back the idea of the perfect native speaker, which, as we argued above, does not exist. IL theory goes against anything that does not comply with the native varieties from the Inner Circle, and assumes that anything outside this circle is in a permanent stage of Interlanguage. Consequently, ELF has no place on IL theory, as any “deviation” from the native Inner Circle norms are seen as learning strategies. In IL theory, “a

second language speaker's competence lies on an interlanguage continuum at some point between their first language (L1) and their second language (L2)" (Jenkins, 2006, p. 167) and plurilingual competence has no space. Research and literature on plurilingual competence keep providing evidence against IL theory, yet English educators keep receiving advice "in both outer and expanding circles on how to reduce IL errors and how to reverse fossilization, while the testing of English remains wholly predicated on the concept" (op. cit. p. 168).

Despite the opposing positions towards IL theory, it is undeniable that IL resulted in a new focus on SLA research and it contributed to the focus on the possible effects of L1 in L2 and was partly responsible for the boost to transfer research.

3.6.2. The Evolution of Transfer Research

Jarvis and Pavlenko present a useful table in their book *Cross-linguistic Influence in Language and Cognition* (2008) to illustrate the phases of transfer research, starting from the first phase, in which *transfer* is presented as an interesting matter that affects different processes. The second phase, in which the concept of transfer is investigated in its own right, is followed by the third phase, in which theoretical models are created and they are tested empirically. And the last phase, characterized by the full understanding of the phenomenon and its processes in the human brain.

In this table, Jarvis and Pavlenko offer a well-balanced description of the status quo of transfer research. According to Table 3.2, phase 1 starts when the concept of transfer started to be recognised as a variable affecting SLA, so we can place the beginning in the 1950s. After this phase, however, it is when the timeline stops its linear direction. Phase 2 relates to the identification, scope and quantification of transfer, whereas phase 3 is concerned with the theoretical models and frameworks. It cannot be affirmed that one started after the other as they are both still ongoing and interrelated (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008).

Phases of Transfer Research

General Description	Primary Research Concerns
Phase 1 Recognition and investigation of the phenomenon as a factor—as an explanans or intervening or independent variable—that affects other processes (such as second language acquisition)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identifying cases of transfer • Defining the scope of transfer • Quantifying transfer effects
Phase 2 Investigation of the phenomenon as a primary process itself—as an explanandum or dependent variable—that has its own set of explanantia or independent variables	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Verification of transfer effects • Identifying causes of transfer • Identifying constraints on transfer • Investigating the selectivity of transfer
Phase 3 Development of theories designed to explain the phenomenon in to social, situational, and constraints, constructs, and processes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Investigating the directionality of transfer effects • Development of theoretical models that explain how, why, relation when, and what types of CLI mental occur • Development of specific, testable hypotheses concerning CLI • Empirical testing of these hypotheses
Phase 4 Development of a precise physiological account of how the phenomenon takes place in the human brain	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Detailed mapping of the brain in relation to how language is acquired, stored, and processed • Accumulation of direct evidence of crosslinguistic neurological connections in a person’s long-term memory— of how such connections are formed, changed, and maintained • Accumulation of direct evidence of how languages are activated in the brain and of how a person’s knowledge of one language can be activated and interfere with his or her use of another language

Table 3.2: Phases of Transfer Research (Source: Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008, pp. 5–6)

Researchers are still focused on defining transfer and what it entails, as well as developing theories on the matter, as we will observe on the next section in this chapter (3.6.3) and, for further reference, it can be found in Cenoz, Hufeisen, & Jessner, 2001; Cook, 2016; Herdina & Jessner, 2002; Jessner, De Angelis, & Kresic, 2015; Sanz, Park, & Lado, 2014. Finally, the last phase focuses on neurolinguistics research, that is, the interaction of languages within the brain. This stage has been started, yet Jarvis and Pavlenko assert that it will still take a few decades until neurolinguistics tools allow us to capture the specific phenomena involved in transfer in the brain, in their words “we are at a point where we have amassed a truly extensive amount of knowledge about the phenomenon, but we also know that we have a long way to go before we have explained it fully” (2008, p. 8).

3.6.3. Terminology: Transfer, Interference, Influence or Interaction

While the theory of language transfer developed through the years, so did the terminology used to refer to this field of study, which to this day continues to be controversial and is sometimes referred as *language transfer*, *language interference*, and *cross-linguistic influence*. Even though the latter is now generally the most widely used, researchers continue to refer to transfer and interference, sometimes to represent different connotations, such as negative transfer (Selinker, 1972), and other used as a complete synonym. In the words of Odlin (1989, p.25): “The issue of cross-linguistic influence is controversial with or without the term, but the long-standing use of transfer has itself led to differences of opinion”.

Despite the fact that the first uses of the term “transfer” to refer to cross-linguistic influence in the English language are accounted to be from 1881 in an article by William Dwight Whitney (1827–1894) (Yu & Odlin, 2016, p. 5), the behaviourists understood transfer differently to language influence, since their concept of transfer implied the extinction of earlier habits, which would not happen in language learning as the second language would not replace the first language (Odlin, 1989). Other researchers saw transfer as an interference. Weinreich (1979, p.7), in his book *Languages in Contact* describes transfer as “one manifestation of linguistic interference”. Nevertheless, this term implies only negative transfer and does not take into account the positive influence that a language can have over another. The concept of interference will be analysed further in the chapter, as it is still widely used and central in

second language acquisition (Nazarenko, 2013; Ye, 2013). In the 1980s, Krashen (1983, p. 148) compared transfer to “padding” in which the learner could fall back on and claimed that the “L1 rule” was simply a strategy that did not help in second language acquisition. Krashen also failed to recognise that language influences could interact with other influences and that “sometimes there is no neat correspondence between learners’ native language patterns and their attempts to use the target language” (Odlin, 1989, p. 27). Among other researchers, Corder claimed that the term transfer was inaccurate given that “nothing is being transferred from anywhere to anywhere” (Corder, 1983, p. 92 in Yu & Odlin, 2016). One of the most referred definitions is that of Odlin, who defined it as “the influence resulting from the similarities and differences between the target language and any other language that has been previously (and perhaps imperfectly) acquired” (Odlin, 1989, p. 27). While this terminology continued to be used, Kellerman and Sharwood-Smith (1986) introduced a new term to disassociate from behaviourist theories and proposed the term cross-linguistic influence (CLI) “as a theory-neutral term that is appropriate for referring to the full range of ways in which a person’s knowledge of one language can affect that person’s knowledge and use of another language” (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008, p. 3). Since its introduction, many researchers opted for the new term (CLI), whereas others maintained the use of “transfer” or even disassociate both concepts.

In terms of newer definitions of modern we can find the one proposed by Ellis (1994b, p. 341):

“Transfer” is to be seen as a general cover term for a number of different kinds of influence from languages other than the L2. The study of transfer involved the study of errors (negative transfer), facilitation (positive transfer), avoidance of target language forms, and their over-use.

Or the one from De Angelis in the first decade of the 2000s, in which she affirmed that “the transfer of prior linguistic knowledge and prior learning experience is a strong force in human cognition”, and suggested that “prior linguistic knowledge and prior learning experience will play a role in the learning task” (De Angelis, 2007, p. 7). De Angelis uses the terms cross-linguistic influence and transfer interchangeably with no implied difference in meaning and her definition focuses on the learning task, rather than the output influence of L1 in LX and does not take into account the effect the bi-directionality. This lack of focus on the multi-directional nature of influence among languages has been raised by Cook in this plea: “transfer needs to

be seen as more than a one-way relationship between the first and second language but as consisting of multiple directional relationships between multiple languages” (Cook, 2016a, p. 37). This mono-directionality can be observed in definitions such as De Groot’s (2011, p. 449), who defines cross-linguistic influence as “the influence of the non-selected language on the selected language in language use by bilinguals (and multilinguals) or the influence of an earlier acquired language (e.g. the L1) on the acquisition of a new language (e.g. L2)”. Nonetheless, some researchers have started to address this language relationship and proposed a redefinition of terminology. Herdina and Jessner (2002a, p. 29), in order to overcome the problem of the directionality of the term, propose a distinction between transfer, interference, cross-linguistic influence and cross-linguistic interaction, defining them as we can observed in the following paragraphs:

- **Transfer** can be positive or negative and it should be restricted to a predictable static or monotonous phenomenon of the transfer of (the same) structures of L1 to L2.
- **Interference** (what SLA describes as negative transfer) refers to those phenomena not reducible to either of the language systems involved. It describes the actual language processing rather than the language structure.
- **Cross-linguistic interaction** (CLIN) includes transfer and interference, as well as the code-switching and borrowing phenomena. It is “an extension of the concept of cross-linguistic influence (CLI) as the commonly used concept in language learning studies” (op. cit. p. 61). This term aim to cover “non-predictable dynamic effects which determine the development of the system themselves and are particularly observable in multilingualism” (op. cit. p. 29).

Depending on the theoretical framework and the different research studies, transfer is seen as a process (Kohn, 1986; Selinker, 1972), a constraint (Schachter, 1993) or even a strategy (Gass & Selinker, 1994; Tarone, 1981) and, as we have seen above, the concept of transfer includes different terminology and definitions, such as cross-linguistic influence (Benson, 2002). According to Jessner, Graus and Megens (2016, p.198), we can state that:

[...] the term cross-linguistic interaction, in contrast to cross-linguistic influence, implies a multi-interplay between all the language system of a multilingual person, rather than suggesting that there is a dominant, more active language system which influences a weaker one in a unidirectional way[...]

That is, CLIN not only comprises transfer phenomena but also the cognitive effects of multilingual development.

In this fashion, we will adopt the terminology of cross-linguistic interaction and also add the concept of cross-cultural interaction to refer to the bidirectional interaction between the individual's own culture and mother tongue and any subsequent language and cultures he or she is in contact with as a recipient, as a user or as a learner. Following the terminology, part of the challenge in this field is about understanding the possible outcomes of cross-linguistic interactions.

3.6.4. Cross-linguistic Influence: Classification

Cross-linguistic interaction can affect several areas of language competence across different dimensions (see for further information Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008, p. 20). Traditionally, the emphasis was on the outcome, on whether the influence was positive (e.g. L1 facilitates L2 learning) or negative (e.g. L1 is the cause of errors in L2) (Odlin, 1989), and this was intrinsically related to the distance between languages. Yet, moving away from distance-theoretical approaches, the types of influence have now been examined from different angles, such as intentionality, language use, directionality, channel, mode, form, type of knowledge, manifestation, outcome and cognitive level, as it can be observed on Table 3.3 below. As it can be observed, cross-linguistic influence occurs on all linguistic levels and is related to cultural, social, personal and historical factors (Herdina & Jessner, 2002), thus the terminology *cross-linguistic and cross-cultural interaction* is a more comprehensive one than the traditional *transfer* and *influence* nomenclature.

Characterization of CLI Types Across Ten Dimensions

<i>Area of Language Knowledge/Use</i>	<i>Intentionality</i>
phonological	intentional
orthographic	unintentional
lexical	
semantic	<i>Mode</i>
morphological	productive
syntactic	receptive
discursive	
pragmatic	<i>Channel</i>
sociolinguistic	aural
	visual
<i>Directionality</i>	
forward	<i>Form</i>
reverse	verbal
lateral	nonverbal
bi- or multi-directional	
	<i>Manifestation</i>
<i>Cognitive Level</i>	overt
linguistic	covert
conceptual	
	<i>Outcome</i>
<i>Type of Knowledge</i>	positive
implicit	negative
explicit	

Table 3.3: Characterization of CLI types (Source: Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008, p. 20)

The dimensions proposed in the table above cover all different aspects and can be combined to understand the different factors in a specific error. This classification aims to encompass the different classifications proposed by researchers hitherto and clarify “the range of transfer types” as well as “show how they relate to one another” (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008, p. 19). However, it provides little connexion between the dimensions. For this reason, using these dimensions as basis, we suggest to organise this classification in a different manner, in a way that it can be classified from a general-to-specific order. In this classification, we propose a change in terminology from “error” to “effect”, in order to emphasise the fact that transfer is a more complex phenomenon and that it does not always lead to an error.

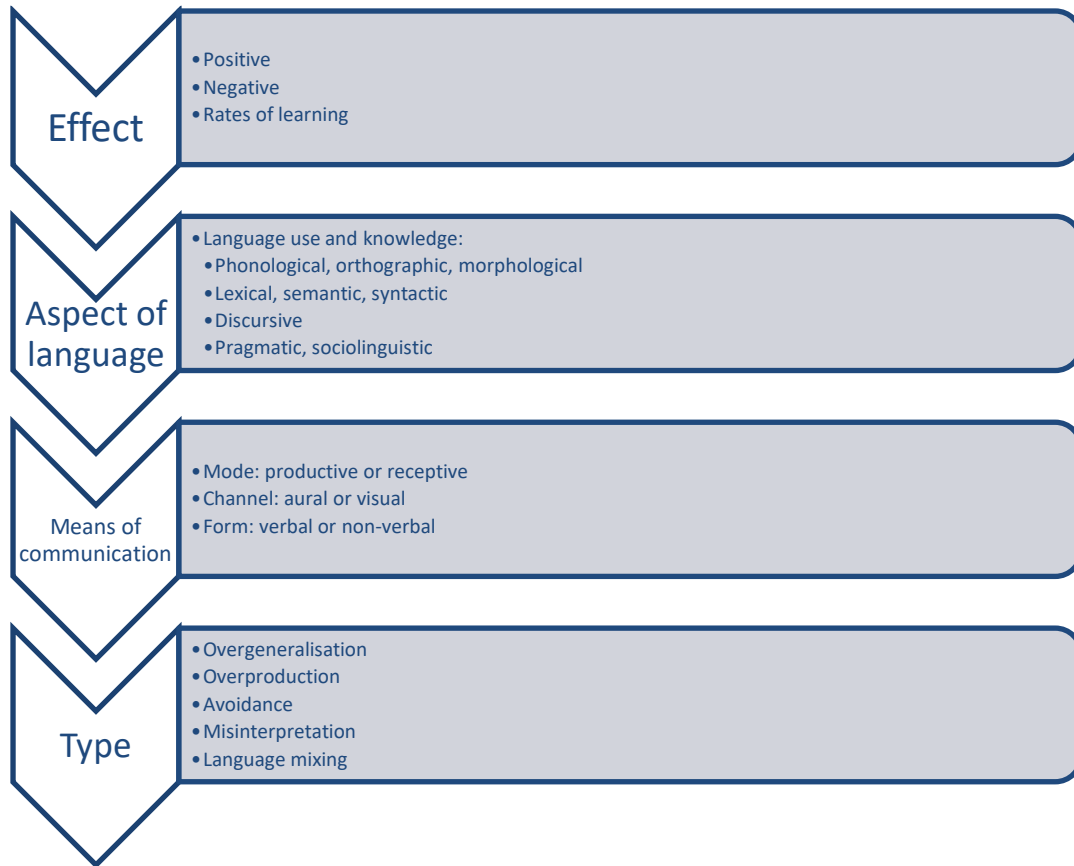


Figure 3.7: Own representation of transfer classification based on Jarvis and Pavlenko's dimensions (2008)

A transfer effect has the potential to be positive, negative or affect the rate of learning overall. It can affect any aspect of language use or language knowledge and it can be found in any specific means of communication. The type of the actual transfer can affect language in different ways, resulting for instance in language mixing or overgeneralisation. The intentionality has not been included in this classification given that a conscious transfer will be considered a conscious strategy by the speaker, rather than an unavoidable and unconscious effect of one language on the other.

For example, in a transfer from Spanish into English, we could find a sentence such as:

*She told him about her *sentiments*.

Using the above classification from top to bottom and assuming this is an unconscious transfer (i.e. not a conscious use of language for a specific purpose), *sentiments* would be classified as a negative effect that affects a lexical and pragmatic use of language, which could be found in specific means of communication (e.g. verbal, written and productive). In this case the type of

transfer could be the result of overproduction (the over-use of Latinate cognate words). This example could be considered as an instance of code-switching or language mixing.

According to Odlin (1989), language mixing could be classified as a type of transfer. Weinreich, already in 1953, pointed out that that the different language systems in a multilingual are not placed in different sections but interact with each other in a number of transfer and interference phenomena, such as language mixing. While some scholars continue to classify language mixing phenomena under the same umbrella term, others “have argued that CS and transfer are different phenomena altogether”, yet, “new insights from psycholinguistics may well point to a different direction” (Treffers-Daller, 2009, p. 73). Jessner and Herdina (2002a, p. 19) claim that “the distinction between codeswitching in research on bilingualism and transfer in SLA is historically understandable but methodologically unfounded” and posit that any transfer phenomena should be viewed as a coherent set of phenomena.

As we observed above, many of the different phenomena included in cross-linguistic interaction has been often referred to as language mixing, which Odlin (1989, p.6) defined as “the merging of characteristics of two or more languages in any verbal communication”, which we included in our classification as a type of CLIN. Codeswitching in particular has been used through literature to refer a number of different language mixing phenomena. Yet, traditionally, transfer and codeswitching were treated as separate features (Herdina & Jessner, 2002).

3.6.5. More Language Mixing: Code-Switching

Language mixing could be defined as the merging of characteristics of two or more languages in any verbal or written communication. This general term is used to refer to many different phenomena and comprises transfer, as well as code-switching, which has become a research subfield in its own right and it is used as “the means by which new words can be introduced into the recipient language” (Manfredi, Simeone-Senelle, & Tosco, 2015, p. 284).

Research on code-switching (CS henceforth) started with Weinreich (Weinreich, 1953), who referred to the term “switching codes” and argued that, in bilingual individuals, a significant number of interference and other transfer phenomena should be expected. Slightly after, Haugen proposed a definition of code switching (1956, p. 40): “[it] occurs when a bilingual

introduces a completely unassimilated word from another language into his speech". Early research on the matter assumed that the switch between the use of two language systems had to be governed by a monitor or external switch (Herdina & Jessner, 2002). This was known as the hypothesis of the "single-switch", which implied the existence of two language systems using two psycholinguistic systems, as well as two independent sets of language-specific information processors (Hamers & Blanc, 2004).

One of key research points in bilingualism is whether CS and transfer are part of the same psycholinguistic processes. Gardner-Chloros (1995, p. 86) proposed that "[c]odeswitching should be viewed as an analytical construct rather than as an observable fact. It is a product of our conceptualisations about language contact and language mixing, and it is not separable, either ideologically or in practice, from borrowing, interference or pidginisation". According to Poplack (2001, p. 2062), CS is a kind of language mixing in discourse by multilinguals and often without changing the interlocutor or the topic and states that "such mixing may take place at any level of linguistic structure, but its occurrence within the confines of a single sentence, constituent or even word, has attracted most linguistic attention."

However, up until the 1970s, only the phenomenon of borrowing had been extensively studied, as code-switching and code-mixing had been considered signs of incompetence. Hamer and Blanc argue that the main reason for the lack of focus on these phenomena was "the presumed deviant nature of code-switching and code-mixing judged against the prevalent paradigm of monolingualism and of the ideal speaker—hearer in a homogeneous speech community" (2004, p. 258).

While some scholars argue that there is not clear divide between code-switching and borrowing and that they are part of the same continuum (Clyne, 2003), others divide both phenomena as different concepts, as we can observe below:

- Borrowing can be seen as a form of simple vocabulary extension, while code-mixing has a primarily symbolic function (Muysken, 2000, p. 69). According to Matras (2009, p. 106), "the diachronic process by which languages enhance their vocabulary (or other domains of structure), while code-switching is instances of spontaneous language mixing in the conversation of bilinguals. Borrowed items originate as code-switches".

- Code-switching involves inserting alien words or constituents into a clause; borrowing involves entering alien elements into a lexicon (Muysken, 2000, p. 69). Manfredi et al. (2015, p. 286) claim that CS “is provisional and determined mainly by pragmatic factors: it is at least in principle the result of a choice”, unlike borrowing.

While the concept of borrowing can be found in bi-/multilingualism, it is a regularly used by monolinguals of any given language. For this reason, Clyne (2003) states that, since it does not require the speaker to be bi-/multilingual, it may not be appropriate to use this concept to refer to issues concerning plurilinguals. On the other hand, code-switching is a most striking ability, one that is restricted to L2 learners and users; an ability that can be used as a communication or teaching strategy (Cook, 2009a). Extensive literature supports code-switching as a useful pragmatic practice, yet it is “rarely institutionally endorsed or pedagogically underpinned” (Creese & Blackledge 2010, p. 105).

As we have reviewed, the interaction between languages is undeniable and the monolingual view of language learning has no longer any place in SLA research. Evidence has demonstrated time and time again that being a successful L2 user does not mean being a monolingual. Yet, since the late nineteenth century language approaches, it has been accepted that language teaching should only use the second language in the classroom. In fact, even in the late 1990s Local Education Authority advisors in the UK denied “any pedagogical value in a teacher referring to the learner’s own language” (Macaro, 1997, p. 29). The theory of multi-competence provides a new view of the language learner’s mind that has contributed to the latest language teaching approaches. This theory reclaims the classroom as a situation of L2 in use, and not a monolingual L2 place (Cook, 2010b).

3.7. Multi-Competence and Dynamic Multilingualism

Along with Grosjean (1989, 1997), Cook was also a pioneer of the idea of the bilingual mind as a different concept to the two monolinguals in one idea. The concept of 'multi-competence' was originally proposed by Cook and defined as “the compound state of a mind with two

grammars¹¹” (Cook, 1992, p. 112), and it has evolved until the most recent definition, which states that multi-competence is “the overall system of a mind or a community that uses more than one language” (Cook & Wei, 2016, p. 3). In this sense, multi-competence provides a new view of the LX learner, one that presents the individual as a whole person, rather than a deficient monolingual native speaker. This holistic theory proposes that the mind of a plurilingual individual should be conceived as a whole and “whose competencies in the two languages are part of an intact system, that is, they are not separate entities” (Ortega Duran, 2017, p. 151). The concept of Multi-competence aimed to “take the concept of interlanguage seriously” (Cook, 2016b) and brought back the idea of an independent grammar in the plurilingual’s mind, a concept in which SLA considers the fact that the mental processes of the plurilingual work differently than that of the monolingual. As Cook reiterates in his book *Second Language Learner and Language Teaching* (2008, p. 231):

The key insight is that the person who speaks more than one language should be considered in their own right, not as a monolingual who has tacked another language on to their repertoire.

Multi-competence comprises not only the interlanguage of the learner but also the mother tongue, it is a competence monolingual speakers do not possess and is unique to plurilinguals.

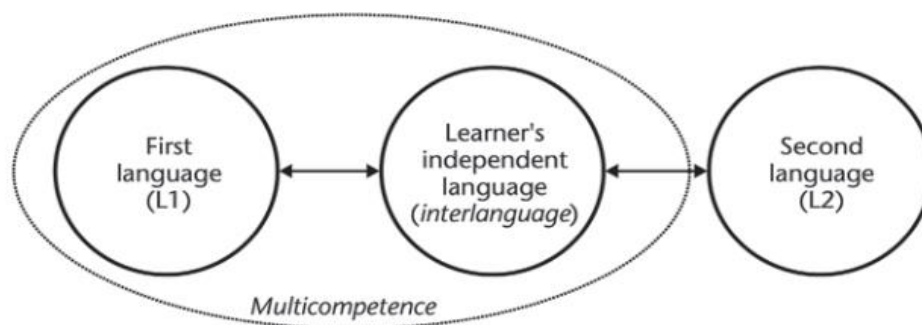


Figure 3.8: Multi-competence (Source: Cook, 2008a, p. 15)

According to Cook’s work (see for further information Cook, 1990, 1993b, 1998, 2008, 2010), learning another language changes the learners in a multitude of ways, which should be taken into account in language teaching (for instance, heightened language awareness and ability to adapt to new situations and greater creativity). Hence, there is little justification to ban the first language in the classroom, since several languages are inevitably present and interlinked

¹¹ Grammars in the Chomskyan sense of language in the mind.

in the LX user's mind (Cook, 2010b). Since it is impossible to detach the students from their mother tongue, language teaching should focus on using the first language to help the process of LX learning. Cook includes some suggestions in his theory to guide teachers in the use of L1 in the classroom and proposes ideas such as:

- Using the first language to convey meaning to provide a link in the student's mind to L1 vocabulary (J. Liu, 2008).
- Using first language for specific instructions in the LX classroom to acquire a better time balance between explaining a task and actually working on the task (Tang, 2002).
- Practising L2 uses such as code-switching so that the students find the switch between languages natural, rather than be forced into monolingualism (in use, the teacher may have to keep an eye on overuse) (Bhatti, Shamsudin, Binti, & Said, 2018).
- Teaching using plurilingual methods and approaches (García & Wei, 2014).

Along with Cook, Herdina and Jessner (Herdina & Jessner, 2002) presented a theory to address multilingualism from a new research point of view. Their theory agrees with Cook's and Grosjean's rejection of the double monolingualism perspective but focuses on the different variables that affect language learning and presents multilingualism as a non-linear dynamic process. The Dynamic Model of Multilingualism (DMM) aims to integrate SLA and FLA research in an explicit model for multilingualism and aims to provide an explanation for interaction phenomena (e.g. transfer) and the non-linear growth of language. This theory is based on the Dynamic Systems Theory (DST), which was developed as a branch of mathematics. DST provides "a set of ideas and a wide range of tools to study complex systems" (De Bot, Lowie, & Verspoor, 2007, p. 19) and it is considered to be a methodological tool to investigate multilingualism through the DMM. By introducing this framework the focus shifts towards the study of sub-systems and processes, and moves away from the traditional research based on cause-and-effect models (such as error analysis).

According to the DMM, the plurilingual individual possesses different language systems that interact with the ones that are developing. Herdina and Jessner propose the following goals of DMM (2002, p. 86-87):

- To serve as a bridge between the SLA research and Multilingualism Research.
- To indicate that future language acquisition studies should go beyond studies of the contact of two languages, turning their attention towards trilingualism and other forms of multilingualism.
- To overcome the implicit or explicit monolingual bias of MR through the development of an autonomous model of multilingualism.
- To provide a scientific means of predicting multilingual development on the basis of factors assumed to be involved.
- To provide a theory of multilingualism with greater explanatory power.

This ambitious model states that all kinds of language acquisition are part of an auto-dynamic and holistic system. In this sense it follows Cook's multi-competence framework, but in contrast, the DMM claims that language systems can be interpreted as separate systems (op. cit., p. 150). Based on this theory, the complexity of multilingualism requires the research and analysis of separate systems despite all belonging to a multilingual system.

One of the most innovative focal point of the DMM theory is the notion of Multilingual Language Proficiency, in which certain skills and elements that are common among languages can transfer from one another, and the Multilingualism Factor (M-factor), which is an emergent property of a multilingual system and is responsible for the development of language strategies and awareness.

Herdina and Jessner (2002, p. 130-131) claim that the M-factor expresses an essential difference between monolinguals and plurilinguals, in a way that the multilingual system:

- (1) contains components the monolingual system lacks and
- (2) even those components the multilingual system shares with the monolingual system have a different significance within the system.

In line with other advocates of the multilingual and plurilingual mind (Cenoz & Gorter, 2015; Cook & Bassetti, 2011; De Bot et al., 2007; de Zarobe & de Zarobe, 2015; Grosjean, 1989), the above mentioned scholars propose to measure multilingualism against multilingual language proficiency and abandon once and for all the monolingual bias in Lx acquisition, since multilingual speakers have distinguishing skills from monolingual speakers.

Despite these multilingual theoretical frameworks, the ideology of language separation and the idealised native speaker is well rooted in education. Even in seemingly multilingual schools or centres that aim to provide plurilingual education, teachers act as monolinguals and languages are separated in different classrooms (Cenoz & Gorter, 2013). For this reason, multilingual theories require the strong support of multilingual-based teaching approaches, which in turn should be supported by multilingual language policies. Translanguaging is one of the new pedagogical approaches that supports a plurilingual view of language learning.

3.8. Translanguaging

Translanguaging is a concept that was first coined by Cen Williams from the Welsh *trawsieithu* (1994). Its original use was based on a pedagogical practice in which the students alternate between languages for communication (García & Wei, 2014). García (2009, p. 45) adopted this terminology to refer to the approach to bilingualism that is focused on the practices of bilinguals and that she defines as “multiple discursive practices in which bilinguals engage in order to make sense of their bilingual worlds”. In this sense, García moved the focal point from teaching strategies to existing bilingual practices. During the past decade and especially after García’s focus on this concept, the notion of *translanguaging* has been extended by many academics (see for instance Baker, 2011; Canagarajah, 2011b; Cenoz, 2019; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; García & Wei, 2014; Jaspers, 2018; Paulsrud, Rosén, Straszer, & Wedin, 2017; Wei, 2018). For example, other definitions of translanguaging are “the ability of multilingual speakers to shuffle between languages, treating the diverse languages that form their repertoire as an integrated system” (Canagarajah, 2011a, p. 401) or “the process of making meaning, shaping experiences, gaining understanding and knowledge through the use of two

languages” (C. Baker, 2011, p. 288). The concept of translanguaging is linked to the idea of dynamic bilingualism, characterised by an “interconnected use of the two languages being used to negotiate meaning and situations” (op. cit. p. 289). Dynamic bilingualism refers to a bilingual competence grounded on the different practices of bilinguals, rather than on their cognitive differences. In this regard, it can be assumed that translanguaging and the DMM share the basis of their principles, with dynamism, interconnectedness and strategy at their core.

Despite what it may seem at first glance, translanguaging is very different from code-switching since it is not a simple shift between languages but it also refers to the original and complex discursive practices and strategies that belong to the plurilingual’s language repertoire (García & Wei, 2014), in other words, the plurilingual individuals use their complete language repertoire, so there is no clear divide between each language. According to García and Lin (2016), code-switching is based on a monoglossic perspective of bilinguals as separate monolinguals. On the other hand, translanguaging assumes that the linguistic behaviour of plurilinguals is dynamic and heteroglossic, and responds to only one integrated linguistic system.

According to Cenoz and Gorter (2017, p. 314), translanguaging has now become an umbrella term that refers to the pedagogical strategies used “to learn languages based on the learners’ whole linguistic repertoire”, but also to “spontaneous multilingual practices and to the way those practices can be used in a pedagogical way”. For the purpose of our study, we will refer to translanguaging as a pedagogical approach that aims to normalise multilingualism moving away from diglossic functional separation and from the English-dominant educational environment.

3.8.1. Translanguaging Pedagogy

As it has been argued earlier in Chapter 2, the idea that the target language needs to be isolated has been deeply rooted since the appearance of the direct and audiolingual teaching method. The monolingual bias is still present in most language programmes worldwide and reinforces the traditional monolingual behaviour (Portolés & Martí, 2017, p. 62). Despite the

fact that extensive research has concluded that language learners do not simply add a second language but develop their unique linguistic repertoire, very rarely are these students treated as bilinguals or emergent bilinguals. SLA, TLA and FLA are still treated separately from Bilingualism in terms of research, yet the basis for this separation based on different focal points, rather than being different fields. While Language Acquisition has traditionally been concerned with the factors involved when learning a language and the development of competences, Bilingualism focused on the way languages coexist within a speaker and early language acquisition. But when we accept LX learners as bilinguals (as observed above), the monolingual view of language learning becomes obsolete and has no longer any place in language education. According to Cummins (2005, p. 13), “if bilingual and second language immersion programs are to reach their full potential, it is important that we revisit the monolingual instructional orientation that dominates the implementation of many of these programs and in some cases has assumed the status of dogma”.

It is within this context that translanguaging has proven to be, not only a valuable communicative tool, but an effective pedagogical practice. As García points out (García & Beardsmore, 2009; García & Wei, 2014; García in Seltzer & Celic, 2012), if translanguaging involves using one’s linguistic repertoire strategically to communicate effectively, the ability to use this language fluidity needs to be developed, enhanced and, most of all, respected. In the CUNY translanguaging guides (2012, 2014) for educators and centres we can find specific pedagogical objectives, which we summarise below (2014, p. 2-12):

- To expand multilingual resources for teaching will open up worlds, experiences, and possibilities for students and teachers alike.
- To develop the ability to read and write multilingual texts, which will enable students to gain different perspectives.
- To support the ability of bilingual students to have multiple identities.
- To recognise and value the language diversity and multilingualism of the community, while enabling students to practice their home languages and literacies.

- To put language practices alongside each other makes possible for students to explicitly notice language features and develop the awareness needed to develop linguistic abilities.

As a pedagogy, translanguaging is transformative, in the sense that it aims to transform the way in which education centres have perpetuated socio-economic inequalities, by creating new interactions between teacher and learners that challenge current beliefs (Cummins, 2000; García & Wei, 2014). In order to implement this approach that challenges the conventional understandings of language, García, along with other scholars, propose various learning strategies. Cummins (2009, pp. 319–320) summarised the major points posited by different researchers in favour of translanguaging strategies:

- The link between L1 and English cannot be done effectively when the mother tongue is banned from the classroom. If one of the fundamental principles of learning is that the learner’s pre-existing knowledge is the foundation for future learning, L1 cannot be separated from the LX learning process.
- Because of “old” methods such as the grammar-translation approach, the pedagogical application of translation is very often overlooked. Nonetheless, many studies suggest that “translation provides an easy avenue to enhance linguistic awareness and pride in bilingualism, particularly for minority bilingual children whose home language is not valued by the majority culture” (Malakoff & Hakuta, 1991, p. 163).
- For languages that are similar and have many cognate connections, focusing on cognates has the potential to enhance the student’s knowledge of TL vocabulary.
- Encouraging to write in L1, as well as working with peers and translating, can be used as a scaffold for students to learn English (or LX) and enable them to use higher order and critical thinking skills.
- Using a bilingual dictionary has been proved to be highly effective when learning vocabulary.
- Lastly, validating the learners’ L1 as a cognitive tool in the classroom to defy the subordinate status of different minority groups and affirm the students’ identities.

Based on the literature and current research, translanguaging provides significant benefits to its implementation. As we have observed, it builds the learners bilingual strengths and helps them use language in a creative way, while developing a critical thought process and metalinguistic awareness. Nonetheless, there are still some difficulties for its use and application, starting with the actual concept of translanguaging. There have been so many different definitions and understandings of this term that have resulted in confusion. Translanguaging includes strategies such as code-switching, translation, cross-linguistic and multilingual practices, it refers to the teaching process, to the communicative practice in social interaction, to cross-modal and multi-modal communication, and it even refers to the linguistic landscape, visual arts, music, and transgender discourse (Wei, 2018).

Another difficulty, and possibly one of the strongest obstacles for its application in education, is changing the well-established monolingual tradition and firm boundaries between languages in language learning (Cenoz & Gorter, 2017). Translanguaging strategies are often confused with older methods and the use of L1 continues to be actively avoided in the classroom. Without supporting policies and teachers' awareness on the matter, it becomes a great difficulty to put translanguaging into practice, despite being more natural in terms of language learning and processing, rather than keeping language separate. Finally, and in relation to the new teaching approaches such as CLIL, translanguaging spreads across the curriculum, so it affects all subjects, which requires all teachers to be aware and on-board.

3.8.2. Translanguaging, Multilingualism and ELF

The diversity we are experiencing nowadays has become increasingly complex, to the point that the concept of diversity does not cover our current global context, in fact researchers from different fields have started to refer to this phenomenon as super-diversity, a multidimensional term that indicates the variability and flexibility of today's context, both socioculturally and linguistically (Cogo, 2012a; Vertovec, 2007). However, education systems and language policies have struggled to keep up with these modern times clinging to "fundamental" traditional ideas about language, its speakers and communication. One of the major challenges is breaking the common belief of language as an independent entity, as well as the linkage between languages and specific communities. Named languages (such as English, Spanish or

German) are “ideological constructions historically tied to the emergence of the nation-state in the 19th Century”, not pure and structured systems (Blommaert & Rampton, 2011, p. 4). Even so, while this idea is still fixed due to globalisation and super-diversity, multilingualism has unavoidably become our everyday life, resulting in the need of a lingua franca to interact and communicate in certain contexts, which has led to ELF.

ELF is by definition a hybrid phenomenon, a fluid and dynamic system separated from traditional associations to nation-states or specific cultures or identities. The main characteristic of ELF is the fact that it is shaped and constructed by the users and their practice (Cogo, 2012a), which does not fit with the outdated idea of bounded languages. ELF is consistently characterised by different language markers and cultural traits depending on the speaker, as well as by translanguaging communicative practices. At the same time, ELF is usually forgotten as part of a multilingual system, often studied and considered from a pure English language perspective. ELF speakers are rarely seen as multilingual individuals in multilingual contexts, perpetuating the old ideas of double monolingualism (Cook, 2013). Only recently have researchers started to take a more multilingual direction in regards to ELF (see for further reference Jenkins, 2015, 2018; Seidlhofer, 2017), and specially considered the importance of the concept of translanguaging in this field. Jenkins (2015) argues that translanguaging highlights the link between English and the rest of languages in ELF and should be accepted as a common language practice.

Despite this link between English, multilingualism and translanguaging, schools still keep languages separated from one another in the curriculum and using pedagogical practices based language isolation with the idea to maximize exposure to the target language and “avoid interference” (Cenoz, 2017, p. 73). While multilingualism is promoted and even encouraged based on school guidelines and policies, contradictory ideas take over by considering translanguaging as an interference and treating languages as separate products. As it can be observed, there is a gap between research evidence, language policies, guidelines, teacher and society’s beliefs and teaching practices. Based on the analysed literature we can assert that the core of this gap starts with the understanding of language and multilingualism, with a monolingual view of language permeating education and society, empowered by political ideas that differ from our plurilithic reality.

Cenoz (2019) represents the differences between monolingual and plurilingual perspectives and their implications in the following table:

Monolingual views	Multilingual views
Languages contaminate each other	Languages reinforce each other
The aim is balanced multilingualism for all situations	Multilinguals use their languages for different purposes and have different skills
Monolingual individuals and monolingual societies as a reference	Real multilingual individuals and societies as a reference
Hard boundaries between languages	Soft and fluid boundaries between languages

Table 3.4: Monolingual and multilingual views (Source: Cenoz 2019, p. 74)

Despite these clear contrasting perspectives, seemingly multilingual approaches to language teaching keep being implemented in education following the monolingual canons. In other words, multilingualism needs to be accepted as a multilingual fluid and inclusive construct for multilingual pedagogies to be successful and representative of our hybrid linguistic reality.

3.9. A Multilingual Approach to Language Teaching

Multilingualism is now widespread in education throughout Europe and most parts of the world, with most schools having second and foreign languages as part of their curriculum. However, the idea of multilingualism is not always linked to that of the development of plurilingual competences. As we have noted, languages keep being separated and treated in isolation from the learner's linguistic repertoire (Cenoz & Gorter, 2013). For the purpose of clarification and following our differentiation of the terms multilingualism and plurilingualism in Chapter 1, we can distinguish both concepts respectively as, on the one hand, the co-existence and "ability of societies, institutions, groups and individuals to engage, on a regular basis, with more than one language in their day-to-day lives" (European Commission, 2007, p. 6), and, on the other hand, the individual's linguistic repertoire and relationship between languages. Despite both concepts being interchangeable at times, we will refer to plurilingual approaches when the plurilingual competence of the learner is being referred to or developed,

and use multilingualism¹² in the broader sense of the word and wider perspective. In any case, these interdisciplinary concepts are interrelated and very rarely can one be addressed without the other.

One of the challenges we highlighted in regards to multilingual education, is the disconnection between multilingualism (as in learning and using several languages) and plurilingualism (developing plurilingual competences and expanding the individual's linguistic repertoire). Cenoz and Gorter (2011) already attempted to raise attention to the fact that multilingual schools and current plurilingual approaches do not reinforce the relationship between languages, resulting in limitations to multilingualism. They found that, despite the multilingual turn (see below section for further information), a holistic view that brings sociolinguistics and second language acquisition within the context of multilingual education was needed. In order to fill this gap, they proposed a holistic and innovative model, the "Focus on Multilingualism" paradigm (FoM), aimed at "integrating the curricula of the different languages so as to activate the resources multilingual speakers have" (Cenoz & Gorter, 2015, p. 4). So far, some of the strategies used to bridge this gap have been to use the L1 as a resource when acquiring a second or additional language or translanguaging, however the referred scholars aim further and propose a continuum that reflects the fact of "becoming multilingual" and "being multilingual", in a way that they reflect the crossing over between applied linguistics and second language acquisition from a sociolinguistic approach. This continuum supports the idea of bilingualism that we referred to earlier in this chapter, in which an individual becomes a plurilingual from the moment they become linguistically aware of a new language. In the next image (Figure 3.9) we can observe Cenoz and Gorter's representation of the becoming/being multilingual continuum.

¹² Despite the provided differentiation, the author will respect the literature coined nomenclature such as Herdina and Jessner's *Dynamic System of Multilingualism* (Herdina & Jessner, 2002).

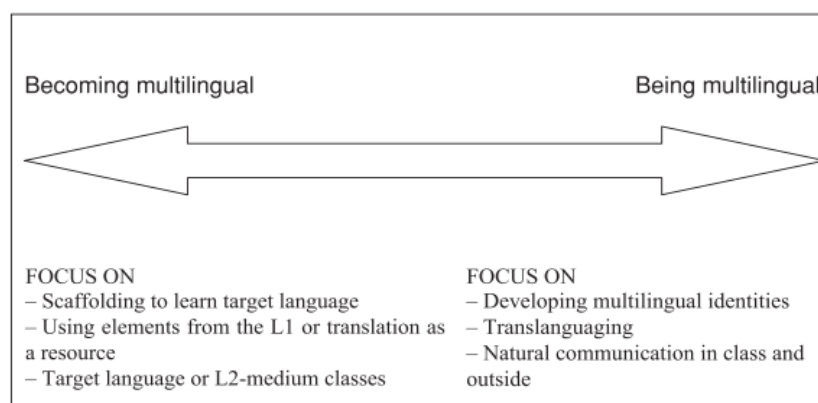


Figure 3.9: Becoming and being multilingual (Source: Cenoz & Gorter, 2015, p. 6)

In their FoM paradigm three core dimensions are defined (Cenoz & Gorter, 2017):

- **The Multilingual Speaker:** Multilingual learners use their linguistic resources to communicate more effectively, hence navigating between languages and using their languages for different purposes, domains and situations. They are not monolingual speakers nor should they be expected to be.
- **The Whole Linguistic Repertoire:** Multilingual speakers have the ability to communicate using a single language, however they have different languages or elements of language at their disposal in their linguistic repertoire that can be used in communicative practices. Multilingual individuals can use their resources cross-linguistically to learn a new language.
- **The Social Context:** This approach does not separate acquisition from language use, linking communication practices inside and outside of the classroom. It focuses on developing awareness about the way multilinguals use their linguistic resources in creative and hybrid ways.

FoM proposes to use translanguaging strategies to teach different languages, including ELF, and to develop language and metalinguistic awareness. Both the FoM approach and ELF, share their focus on the development of the plurilingual competence of the speaker, and not just the target language. Additionally, Cenoz and Gorter (2015, p. 8) claim that FoM: “considers that the metalinguistic awareness and communicative competence acquired in previously learned languages can be actively used to learn the target language in a more efficient way”.

3.9.1. A Communicative Approach to Plurilingual Education

Nowadays, whether in Europe or in Asia, the focus in language teaching continues to be communication. The communicative approach aimed at the development of communicative competence plays a major role in the curriculums (for further information on Communicative Language Teaching revisit Chapter 2) and is still considered as “best practice” (Glasgow, 2018, p. 200). Littlewood (2013) refers to numerous international surveys and reports that confirm the trend to advocate CLT and TBLT as preferred approaches. However, it continues to be associated with the traditional model of native speaker as the ideal model of English language and pedagogy, along with the idea that “implicit in the promotion of CLT is that it is an innovative approach that privileges target language use over L1 use” (Glasgow, 2018, p. 200). Nonetheless, this is a misconception, as CLT does not necessarily have to follow any native speaker canons, nor does it have to be limited to one language. CLT was developed from the notion of the communicative competence, i.e. the ability to participate in a dynamic communicative situation in context, adapting the linguistic competence to the full informational input. If we understand CLT as an approach in the widest sense and in line with Richard and Rodgers definition of “approach” (1999), the fact that the CLT has been extensively and firmly linked to the ideal of monolingual L2 teaching (Pennycook, 2017) as authentic communication is based on different understandings of the same concept, which took over CLT for decades. As it has been discussed, CLT has been defined in numerous ways; however the core tenets continue to be: focus on actual language use, meaningful tasks, and significance to the learners. With this in mind, it can be assumed that this approach can be adapted to different linguistic ideologies, including ELF, which does not follow the native speaker ideal as benchmark and focuses on international and intercultural communication, while at the same time being very significant to the speakers, given that they are the owners of ELF.

With this established and after reviewing the current multilingual approaches, we must shift the focus to the plurilingual competence, which is an important component of the communicative competence. Coste, Moore, & Zarate (2009, p. 11) in their report for the Council of Europe provide the below definition of plurilingual competence with emphasis on communication:

Plurilingual and pluricultural competence refers to the ability to use languages for the purposes of communication and to take part in intercultural interaction, where a person, viewed as a social actor has proficiency, of varying degrees, in several languages and experience of several cultures. This is not seen as the superposition or juxtaposition of distinct competences, but rather as the existence of a complex or even composite competence on which the social actor may draw.

To the above definition, they add that the “experience” of plurilingualism uses the pre-existing sociolinguistic and pragmatic components in the individual’s communicative competence, promotes linguistic awareness and “refines knowledge of how to learn, and the capacity to form relations with others and to deal with new situations” (op. cit. p.12). While it is closely linked to interlanguage, plurilingualism is not a fixed competence but a dynamic one that can be used on demand in order to meet the communication needs.

Even though in its early days CLT was perceived and marketed as an innovative and unquestionable orthodoxy that followed the monolingual principle, CLT works now as an umbrella term that includes learning techniques that lead to communication (Harmer, 2007), which does not necessarily have to exclude resources from other languages. If, as previously observed and supported by the Council of Europe, the plurilingual competence refers to the ability to use languages for communication and intercultural interaction, CLT does require to accommodate accordingly. Littlewood (2012, p. 359), reflects on the current CLT position and recognises the need to support the “creative mixture” or “global and local elements” that characterise the new stage of CLT, one that adapts to the current globalisation and internationalisation era. He proposes the alternative term COLT, Communicative-Oriented Language Teaching, a more flexible term that accepts communicative language teaching as a loose conceptual framework adaptable to each context, rather than a fixed method. CLT is in need of reinvention and adapting to new times, shifting from nativespeakerness to global English and the development of plurilingual and strategic competences.

3.10. Conclusion

In the era of mass migration, globalised economy, digital contact and population mobility, language acquisition has been subjected to a 360-degree turn. According to the European Commission (2007, p. 21):

As a result of mobility and migration, new forms of multilingualism are coming into existence, especially among young people. At the same time, the presence of migrants and people from other Member States in our societies, as well as globalisation and advances in ICT give rise to new needs in and forms of interlingual and intercultural communication.

Due to these advancements and changes in society, the need for a common language of communication to interact with individuals from different linguistic backgrounds has arisen in the form of ELF, and at the same time this has awoken the need for identity and the importance of individuality and culture pride in a globalised world. While language acquisition research has been trying to keep up with the new times, especially through the multilingual turn, there are still grounded dogmas (e.g. monolingual bias) that dominate second language acquisition and shape public's perception of what learning a language entails and what the goals should be. Because of the drastic and rapid changes in the world, "language teachers are no longer sure of what they are supposed to teach or what real situations they are supposed to prepare their students for", according to Kramsch (2014, p. 296), to which she adds that "there has never been a greater tension between what is taught in the classroom and what the students will need in the real world". Because of this, multilingualism and SLA now need to join forces in order to provide real guidelines that can help educators and policy makers adapt to modern times.

Language is still "the most unique thing about human beings" (Cook, 2008a, p. 1) and continues to play a vital role in a person's life, if anything, now more than ever. For this reason, language acquisition research should revisit the current goals of language teaching and adapt them to our current multilingual reality. "Within the past decade the term 'native speaker' has been deconstructed, partly by recognising that people are multi-dimensional" (Cook, 2009c), now it is time that this perception permeates education in practice. Cook divided the goal of second language acquisition in two main groups – external and internal goals (Cook, 2002, 2009c):

- External goals refer to the learner's use of language outside the classroom.
- Internal goals relate to the learner's mental development individually.

By approaching language teaching from a communicative and plurilingual perspective, both external (communication) and internal (plurilingual competence development) goals would be united in SLA. Following this theoretical review, in the next chapter we will analyse the current language policies in Europe and China in order to examine the relationship between research and practical implementation and identify possible improvement points.

Chapter 4. Language Policy

“If global linguistic diversity is not to suffer irreparable attrition, as a result of linguistic genocide, major changes are needed in educational language policy”

(Skutnabb-kangas & Phillipson, 2008, p. 7)

This chapter starts with an overview of the current policies in Europe and the influence of the Common European Framework of Reference worldwide. From the origins of the CEFR and its influence in the unification of assessment methods, the chapter continues onto its repercussion on multilingualism and the ecology of languages in Europe, as well as its coexistence in English as a Lingua Franca. Despite the fact that the “CEFR is recognized and understood in theory, the reality is that the CEFR is being widely seen as a tool of English education” (Byram & Parmenter, 2012, p. 260). This framework can be understood as a double edge sword, as it promotes multilingualism and has the potential to be adaptable to any language, and on the other hand it uses native speakers as the model to be achieved and provides a much higher emphasis on English than any other language. On this chapter we exemplify the extent to which the CEFR has become a globalising phenomenon in education policy. The chapter continues with an analysis of the current English curricula for primary school in the countries participating in our study: Norway, Spain and China. These particular contexts were selected not only due to our previous experience as an educator in these countries, but also due to their very contrasting characteristics in terms of languages spoken by the learners, cultural aspects, and education policies. After examining the influence of the CEFR, we will continue with the study of the language policy contexts in which these curricula take place and influence current teaching approaches. Because of the diversity of each of the context, each section will have different sub-sections dedicated to provide a bespoke analysis of each setting. Finally, we will conclude with a direct comparison of the three countries.

4.1. The Common European Framework

The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (henceforth CEFR) was published in 2001 by the Council of Europe (CoE) with the aim to be used as guidelines across Europe and since then it has extended beyond Europe, becoming a widely used tool for language policy and assessment worldwide that has been translated into over 40 languages (Byram & Parmenter, 2012; Figueras, 2012). This Framework has been the first one of its kind to result in such an impact on language education. It is well known by institutions around the globe and it is accepted as a reference guidelines by educators in all levels of education, it has also influenced the drafting of language policy documents (which we will analyse in detail later in the chapter) and has become a reliable reference for curriculum planning (Martyniuk & Noijons, 2007). According to the CEFR, its ambitious purpose follows the below ideas (2001, p. 1):

The Common European Framework provides a common basis for the elaboration of language syllabuses, curriculum guidelines, examinations, textbooks, etc. across Europe. It describes in a comprehensive way what language learners have to learn to do in order to use a language for communication and what knowledge and skills they have to develop so as to be able to act effectively. The description also covers the cultural context in which language is set. The Framework also defines levels of proficiency which allow learners' progress to be measured at each stage of learning and on a life-long basis.

In order to fulfil those premises, the CEFR is a 260 page detailed report, which was expanded in 2018 by the Companion Volume (Council of Europe, 2018) with the aim to adapt to our new ways of communication. The CEFR document is divided in two main parts: the descriptive scheme and the common reference level model. The first one focuses on language use, as well as language learning and teaching. This section describes the parameters included in the descriptive scheme include: competences, skills, strategies, activities, tasks, domains and conditions and constraints that affect language use. On the other hand, the reference level system provides scales of descriptors that provide detailed specifications of language proficiency levels and examples for the different parameters. The common reference level scales are based on a collection of "can-do" descriptors of language proficiency outcomes (Martyniuk, 2012), which has been one of its most significant achievements for language proficiency assessment. According to the CEFR, acquiring an L2 requires the development of

horizontal and vertical dimensions. The first one is concerned with “language activities” and “communicative language competences”, while the latter, which applies to all scales, pertains to the compendium of descriptors that describe the learner proficiency (Hulstijn, 2011, p. 239-240). This descriptor scale was illustrated as six levels that start from an initial classic division into three broad levels:

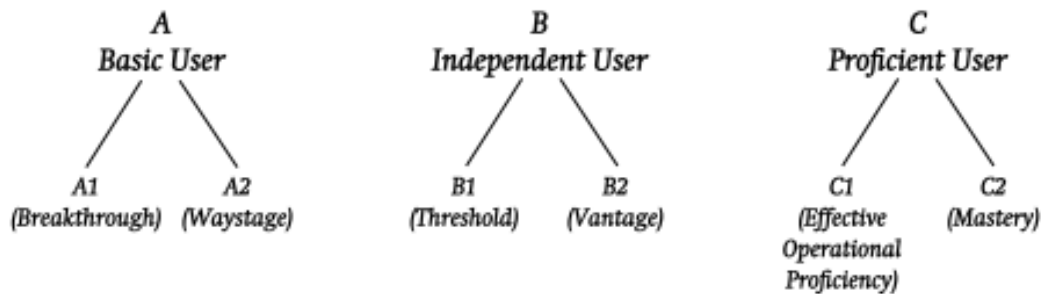


Figure 4.1: Vertical dimension of the learner’s progress (Council of Europe, 2001, p. 23)

The CEFR provides a simple and global summarised set of reference levels, so that it becomes an easy task for non-specialist users, as well as teachers and curriculum planners, to understand and follow the scales of language proficiency. The below table provides small paragraphs that summarise these levels:

C2	Can understand with ease virtually everything heard or read. Can summarise information from different spoken and written sources, reconstructing arguments and accounts in a coherent presentation. Can express him/herself spontaneously, very fluently and precisely, differentiating finer shades of meaning even in more complex situations.
C1	Can understand a wide range of demanding, longer texts, and recognise implicit meaning. Can express him/herself fluently and spontaneously without much obvious searching for expressions. Can use language flexibly and effectively for social, academic and professional purposes. Can produce clear, well-structured, detailed text on complex subjects, showing controlled use of organisational patterns, connectors and cohesive devices.

B2	Can understand the main ideas of complex text on both concrete and abstract topics, including technical discussions in his/her field of specialisation. Can interact with a degree of fluency and spontaneity that makes regular interaction with native speakers quite possible without strain for either party. Can produce clear, detailed text on a wide range of subjects and explain a viewpoint on a topical issue giving the advantages and disadvantages of various options.
B1	Can understand the main points of clear standard input on familiar matters regularly encountered in work, school, leisure, etc. Can deal with most situations likely to arise whilst travelling in an area where the language is spoken. Can produce simple connected text on topics which are familiar or of personal interest. Can describe experiences and events, dreams, hopes and ambitions and briefly give reasons and explanations for opinions and plans.
A2	Can understand sentences and frequently used expressions related to areas of most immediate relevance (e.g. very basic personal and family information, shopping, local geography, employment). Can communicate in simple and routine tasks requiring a simple and direct exchange of information on familiar and routine matters. Can describe in simple terms aspects of his/her background, immediate environment and matters in areas of immediate need.
A1	Can understand and use familiar everyday expressions and very basic phrases aimed at the satisfaction of needs of a concrete type. Can introduce him/herself and others and can ask and answer questions about personal details such as where he/she lives, people he/she knows and things he/she has. Can interact in a simple way provided the other person talks slowly and clearly and is prepared to help

Table 4.1: Common Reference Levels Global Scale (Council of Europe, 2001, p. 24)

The CEFR's descriptors (also known as "can-do" descriptors) always refer to what the learners can do, rather than their difficulties or failures, maintaining a positive attitude throughout. This "can-do" approach is increasingly being applied to more disciplines and is often referred to as a competence-based approach, given that it focuses on lists of the learners' abilities and competencies.

This framework is divided in general competences of language and communicative language competence. According to the CEFR, the first one consists of "knowledge, skills and existential competence" (Council of Europe, 2001), as well as the ability to learn, and refer to any competence not specific to language. The latter on the other hand, "empowers a person to act using specifically linguistic means" (op. cit. p. 9) and comprises linguistic, sociolinguistic and pragmatic competences. These guidelines also state that the plurilingual competence is part of the linguistic competence rather than a competence in its own right as it has been argued by scholars (Cenoz & Gorter, 2015; Cook, 1992, 2010b; Cook & Bassetti, 2011). Another important competence that appears to have been left aside but that plays an important role in communicative approaches has been the strategic competence, which, as Dörnyei and Thurrel pointed out, is the most neglected component in communicative approaches (1991, p. 17). While the CEFR does refer to "strategies" it does not classify "strategic competence" as a competence but rather as a part of language use.

Part of the criticism received by this framework is the lack of theory behind it. Alderson et al. (2004, p. 3) argue that this framework could be considered as a theory of language development, but that "it is far from clear that the still relatively abstract Can-Do descriptors in the CEF can be turned into items that illustrate or exemplify the different CEF levels". Notwithstanding criticism and challenges that will be analysed further down, this framework has become the most influential in language learning, teaching and assessment.

The original aim of this frameworks was to "provide unity in educational and cultural matters among its Member States with regard to foreign language learning, to promote transparency and coherence in the learning and teaching of modern languages in Europe" (Broek & van den Ende, 2013, p. 4), however it has now adopted a supra-national status becoming a worldwide point of reference in language assessment, as well as being incorporated in many educational systems around the globe (Leung, 2013). While the impact of the CEFR on language education

is complex and far from homogeneous, the greatest influence of this framework has been on assessment.

4.1.1. CEFR and Language Assessment

Thus far, the major impact of the CEFR has been on assessment (Coste, 2007; Little, 2007). It has not only influenced national assessments but also key international examination referents such as the Cambridge Assessment English (CAE), the International English Language Testing System (IELTS), the Pearson Test of English (Academic), and the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) (Leung, 2013, p. 287).

In the web page of the CAE¹³ we can find statements such as “Cambridge Assessment English was involved in the early development of this standard and all of our examinations are aligned with the levels described by the CEFR. The CEFR offers a valuable frame of reference for our work and our stakeholders” (original emphasis) or “Cambridge English has a suite of level based certificate exams which target particular levels of the CEFR, and candidates are encouraged to take the exam most suitable to their needs and level of ability.”

In order to facilitate the development and adaptation of language examinations to the CEFR, the Council of Europe published in 2009 a manual called “Relating Language Examinations to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment (CEFR)”, so that providers of any kind of language examinations could relate their tests to the CEFR standards (Broek & van den Ende, 2013; Council of Europe, 2009). At the same time, a report was created by the Council of Europe (2008, p. 4) pleading that “all tests, examinations and assessment procedures leading to officially recognised language qualifications take full account of the relevant aspects of language use and language competences as set out in the CEFR”.

CEFR guidelines claims offer neutrality, transparency and standardisation, which has greatly contributed to educators and institutions jumping on the European framework bandwagon, however it faces many challenges, in particular, in regards to language assessment. Firstly, despite the claims of adaptability, the CEFR was originally created for adults so the extent to

¹³ <https://www.cambridgeenglish.org/research-and-validation/fitness-for-purpose/#cefr-relationship>

which the descriptor levels can be adapted to young learners' needs is debatable (Little, 2007). Secondly, the CEFR guidelines provided for test creation are not based on theory, despite the claims of following a theoretical and practical classification from which unified tests can be created independently of the language tested. Fulcher (2004a, p. 255) argued against these claims and stated that the CEFR "has no underlying theory and no content specifications", and that the link between these guidelines and examinations is intuitive, not based on notional taxonomy. To this, Little (2007, p. 649) adds that the existence of these guidelines, as well as any other reference material cannot ensure that all tests claiming to be a specific level in one country or for a specific language, are equivalent in a different language or nation. For instance, it cannot be guaranteed that a C1 in an English test is equivalent to a C1 in a Spanish test, or that a B2 English exam in Italy corresponds to a B2 English exam in Sweden.

The CEFR claims that it "does not imply the imposition of one single uniform system" (Council of Europe, 2001, p. 7), yet further recommendations by the Committee of Ministers CM/Rec (2008)⁷ state that "examinations and assessment procedures leading to officially recognised language qualifications take full account" of the competence set in the CEFR (Council of Europe, 2008). Consequently, it suggests that for examinations to be valid they need to fit within the CEFR parameters. At the same time, despite the statements in the CEFR of a "comprehensive, transparent and coherent framework" that "does not imply the imposition of one single uniform system", and the fact that it advocates an "explicit and transparent way and avoiding advocacy or dogmatism" (Council of Europe, 2001, p. 142), the CEFR clearly follows a political agenda of standardisation "motivated by the core values" of Europe (Milanovic, 2002, p. 3) and even though it claims not to impose a uniform system, it has become the system to follow worldwide (Byram & Parmenter, 2012; Fulcher, 2004a, 2004b; Leung, 2013).

4.1.2. CEFR: Communicative Language Teaching and Multilingualism

Since its creation, the CEFR has promoted the idea of plurilingualism and multilingualism, and has contributed to the implementation of plurilingual approaches in education. The Council of Europe is a great advocate for diversity and the co-existence and understanding among different cultures and languages, but also sees plurilingualism as a competence to be developed. The framework states that, within the communicative competence, "all knowledge

and experience of language contributes and in which languages interrelate and interact” (Council of Europe, 2001, p. 4). According to this statement, the CEFR follows the Grosjean view of bilingualism (1989), however the reality is that the framework treats languages as objective differentiated entities where plurilingualism consists of language addition (language A + language B), instead of several languages in the same mind (Cook, 2011). Despite its claim of a plurilingual view of language, the CEFR framework “remains limited to the definition of goals and the assessment of competences for separate languages that are treated as isolated entities” (Gorter & Cenoz, 2017, p. 239).

The basis of this framework is to describe a native speaker competence, which contributes to the native speaker ideals now contested in SLA, and also assumes that languages represent a nation and a culture leaving no room for hybridity and at the same time assumes a national standard for each language as a model. In this sense, it is based on a traditional communicative approach that emphasises communication and has an ideal language standard to follow. And even though the framework is supposed to be based in language theories that supports it, the CEFR lacks academic references that support its guidelines and, yet, it uses the communicative approach as the only way to teach, which Cooks refers to as “utilitarian communicativism” (2011, p. 146) and asserts that the guidelines are not grounded on SLA nor linguistics nor any other academic discipline.

One of the most influential and useful contributions of the CEFR have been the descriptors, which are based on the common perception of teachers (North, 2007). As an example, we can observe on the B2 oral conversation descriptor the following statement referring to the learner (Council of Europe, 2001, p. 76): “Can sustain relationships with native speakers without unintentionally amusing or irritating them” (own emphasis). Firstly, it refers to native speakers without specifying who the native speaker is and, secondly, “amusing” or “irritating” someone usually falls under the category of personal experience and cannot be generalised. For instance, according to this statement, a B2 level speaker of English can have a relationship, for instance, with a Scottish person without irritating them unintentionally, however any person, even two natives, can irritate someone unintentionally in a certain moment in time. As it can be observed, the statements are vague in their descriptions, leave room for different interpretations and clearly show a native speaker central position.

Notwithstanding these challenges and contradictions, the CEFR has proved to be widely acknowledged and appreciated. Over the years, the Council of Europe has tried to overcome some of these challenges (especially the lack of guidelines in plurilingualism) with the creation of complementary guidelines that can be found in the platform of resources and references for plurilingual and intercultural education of the CoE website:

- *Guide for the development and implementation of curricula for plurilingual and intercultural education* (Beacco, Byram, et al., 2016)
- *A Handbook for Curriculum Development and Teacher Training. The Language Dimension in All Subjects* (Beacco, Fleming, et al., 2016)
- *From linguistic diversity to plurilingual education: Guide for the development of language education policies in Europe* (Beacco & Byram, 2007)

While these guidelines are intended to promote plurilingual practices and orientate educators, “there seems to be a considerable and still not satisfied need to develop user-friendly sets of materials for mediating the CEFR to the different stakeholder groups: policy makers, curriculum developers, textbook developers, publishers, teachers, testers, parents of learners, employers” (Martyniuk, 2012, p. 38).

4.1.3. CEFR and ELF

As we have observed back in Chapter 1, the concept of ELF is a relatively new one, so it is not surprising that it was not included in the original Common European Framework. However, while there have been some recent references to English as a Lingua Franca in a few documents in the Council of Europe (Beacco & Byram, 2007), English still “sits in an ambiguous position, either characterised as a foreign/second language and associated with two nations of speakers and their cultures” (Cogo & Jenkins, 2010). In the CEFR, despite the mentions of plurilingual competence, the point of reference keeps being the native speaker and there is little acknowledgement of ELF as a type communication used and adapted by non-native speakers in Europe. Despite the current major role of English in Europe as a lingua franca, the CEFR has not yet been adapted to include it.

Some scholars have attempted to raise awareness of the CEFR framework limitations when dealing with ELF (Hynninen, 2014; McNamara, 2012). There are two main points that hinder the inclusion of ELF in this framework: assessment and the native ideals.

In terms of assessment, the difficulty to create ELF-specific examinations goes beyond the CEFR. Even though ELF has been in the spotlight for over a decade, most research has focused on its use and classification and its implications for ELT (Hulmbauer, Bohringer, & Seidlhofer, 2008; Jenkins, 2009; Jenkins et al., 2011; Seidlhofer, 2004, 2005b). While the difficult task of ELF assessment has been raised, very few scholars have dared to provide practical options for examinations. Hall, for instance, proposed the concept of “Englishing”, which entails the change from a monolithic perspective of English in assessment to one where the focus shifts toward measuring the ability of the learner in specific situations, but failed to provide specific test options (Hall, 2014). One of the main challenges to propose practical applicable changes to include an ELF perspective in English examinations, is the well-established and accepted native model worldwide. Jenkins (2006b) suggests, it may be too early for examination boards to establish ELF test criteria, although she does point out that they should, at least, attempt to avoid penalisation for the use of non-native variations. According to McNamara (2012) two aspects need to be taken into account in ELF assessment: on the one hand, creating a set of standards specific for ELF communication that can be used as the focus of assessment, and on the other hand a learning dimension in ELF communication should be conceptualised. Elder and Davies (2006) proposed two ways of ELF assessment: modifying English standard tests to make them more accessible and developing a code for ELF users. The latter was not viable because of the diversity that characterises ELF and also because of the fact that creating a new standard would be like replacing one standard with another, defeating the purpose of ELF and the richness of multilingualism. The first one, however, proposed to use Standard English as reference while modifying the test by avoiding some topics or specific lexical items or structures that will likely be unfamiliar and not useful to non-native users. Yet, this proposal was also problematic, given that “on a test where language serves both as the vehicle and the object of assessment, it may be difficult to determine where the test method stops and the test construct begins” (Elder & Davies, 2006, p. 290). While this approach has been taken into account in some textbooks, it is not as widespread in English language assessment (Cenoz,

2017) and language testing continues to follow a well-established monolithic standard (Jenkins, 2015; Leung, 2013).

A few years later, Fang (2017) attempted to bring attention back to assessment based on his proposed ELF-informed approach, ToPIC (Teaching of Pronunciation for Intercultural Communication), which in turn has been based on Kumaravadivelu's (2006) concepts of particularity, practicality and possibility of the "post-method" approach. Fang proposes to design a series of performative tasks that focus on various linguistic skills (e.g. accommodation strategies).

Gorter and Cenoz (2017, pp. 81–82), on the other hand, in their multilingual approach, they propose three different assessment approaches for multilingual competences that they consider could be applicable to ELF, one based on content and the other two on actual multilingual competences:

- To provide translations of the tasks and allow students to answer content questions in the language they feel more comfortable with. This type of assessment can work when assessing content rather than language.
- To assess two or more languages separately but combining the scores to consider the total competencies of the multilingual speaker. This type of assessment can be used to assess multilingual competence as a combination of competences in two or more language.
- A translanguaging approach to assessment. This approach, which has also been used to assess multilingual competence, implies looking at the different languages and translanguaging not only when scoring but also during the assessment process. For example, English and Spanish compositions could be evaluated side-by-side to assess content, structural elements and spelling, and identify patterns across languages.

At first glance, the abovementioned approaches, may seem unrelated to ELF. Yet, as we analysed on previous chapters, ELF and multilingualism are intrinsically linked and the focus in ELF is changing from English to multilingualism. Traditionally, ELF assessment research has been focused on changing examination to include a more plurilithic perspective of English, yet the current focus is on diversity and multilingualism (Jenkins, 2015, 2018b; May, 2019). As

Jenkins points out “from the perspective of English as a Multilingua Franca, English language assessment needs to focus more on the ability to negotiate diversity in contact encounters in terms of both English (in its lingua franca guise) and multilingualism” (Jenkins, 2015, p. 79).

The CEFR provides assessment guidelines that separate languages and are based on proficiency levels that use descriptors of communicative activities and aspects of proficiency related to particular competences. Because the CEFR uses a monolithic perspective it is incompatible with ELF and at the same time it fails to fulfil its multilingual premise.

If we focus on the native speaker ideologies of the CEFR, we can observe that the openly multilingual statements of the framework are inconsistent with the native ideals the model represents, which in turn limit the ability of the CEFR to be applicable to ELF contexts (Hynninen, 2014; Leung, 2013; McNamara, 2012). Hynninen (2014) carried out a thorough study that explores language regulation and ELF, as well as the relationship between language and culture, in the CEFR. In her analysis of the CEFR, one of her arguments is the fact that the framework seems to suggest that it is the non-native speaker the one who needs to adapt to the native one. This suggests that the native speaker is a passive participant in the interaction and what is important is not for both participants to communicate and understand each other, but for the non-native to communicate in a way the native speaker can understand. We can see this in the following B2 level examples from the CEFR (2001) (own emphasis for reference):

- Can with some effort keep up with and contribute to group discussions even when speech is fast and colloquial. (2001, p. 122)
- Can with some effort catch much of what is said around him/her in discussion, but may find it difficult to participate effectively in discussion with several native speakers who do not modify their language in any way. (2001, p. 77)
- Can interact with a degree of fluency and spontaneity that makes regular interaction, and sustained relationships with native speakers quite possible without imposing strain on either party. (2001, p. 24)

Another one of her arguments is that the framework is unclear on what “successful” use of language is. Hynninen points out that taking the descriptors into account the native-speaker focus is clear, hence successful language use and proficiency can only mean to follow a native

speaker model. There are however some contradictory statements on the CEFR; for instance, the C2 level is summarised as below:

- [C2 - Mastery level] is not intended to imply native-speaker or near native-speaker competence. What is intended is to characterise the degree of precision, appropriateness and ease with the language which typifies the speech of those who have been highly successful learners. (2001, p. 36)

According to the above statement, the goal is not to be a native-speaker or near-native, but a “successful” learner, yet success in language is not specified and all descriptors are native-speaker focused. Finally, the CEFR supports the idea that each language represents a particular culture, which is contradictory to idea of ELF (Hynninen, 2014). The CEFR states that:

- Different regions have their peculiarities in language and culture. (2001, p. 121)
- It can be claimed, moreover, that while the knowledge of one foreign language and culture does not always lead to going beyond what may be ethnocentric in relation to the “native” language and culture, and may even have the opposite effect. (2001, p. 134)
- Language is not only a major aspect of culture, but also a means of access to cultural manifestations. (2001, p. 6)
- The learner of a second or foreign language and culture does not cease to be competent in his or her mother tongue and the associated culture. (2001, p. 43)

Based on the aforementioned statements, it is clear that the CEFR supports the ideology of one language one culture, which is contradictory not only to a multilingual and multicultural approach to language but also English as a Lingua Franca, which does not represent one homogeneous community of speakers.

4.1.4. CEFR Policy Worldwide

The CEFR represents what is now often referred to as the globalisation of education policy (Byram & Parmenter, 2012), since it has become an instrument for shaping language policies worldwide (Martyniuk, 2012). Despite the fact that this framework was originally thought to be implemented only in Europe, its success has no limits even in policies. Originally, it was

created by the Council of Europe as part of the Lisbon Strategy to be implemented in the EU, however, “[f]rom a language education policy point of view, the CEFR has been praised for its potential to facilitate a convergence of differing systems worldwide” (Bärenfänger & Tschirner, 2008, p. 83). The CEFR was developed to serve certain language policy goals including teaching at least two foreign languages, starting language learning from a very early age and promoting plurilingualism (Jones & Saville, 2009).

From Europe to Asia, and going through American countries, the CEFR has been involved in educational reforms. According to Bryam and Parmenter, the CEFR “represents a significant step forward in a long process of educational reform, firmly rooted in a developing tradition under a wide-range of intellectual, cultural, socio-economic and political influences and pointing forward to a period of further educational advance” (2012, p. 32). For instance, in France, this framework has not only become the preferred document of reference but has also influenced language policy, to the extent that it has resulted in a governmental decree. At the start of the academic year of 2005, the French Education Department introduced a scheme based on the CEFR for primary and secondary school, which became effective in 2007 until now (Bonnet, 2007, p. 670). In Germany, since 2002 the CEFR has been considered vital for the EPA (*Einheitliche Prüfungsanforderungen in der Abiturprüfung*), that is, for the examination requirements at upper secondary level (Rönneper, 2012). The extent of the impact of the CEFR in European country policies can be found in the Key Data analysis from Eurydice (2017), where we can observe that, in seven countries (Estonia, France, Latvia, Lithuania, Austria, Romania and Slovakia), CEFR levels are already used to express the students' proficiency levels on the certificates and that in 22 education systems, the national tests in foreign languages in secondary school are aligned to the CEFR scale (Eurydice, 2017, p. 15).

As we mentioned, however, this is not only a European matter. In Argentina the most recent English curriculum has been developed based on the CEFR and, despite the fact that this framework has become institutionalised in the Argentinean context, there is quite a mismatch between the theory and the reality in many areas due to economic and sociocultural factors. Because of this, overall, the current performance of Argentinean students on international tests is still low (Porto & Barboni, 2012). In the USA, the National Council of State Supervisors for Languages (NCSSFL), embraced the CEFR and incorporated the guidelines in an American

Version of the European Language Portfolio, called *LinguaFolio*, in 2003. Because of the decentralised nature of the American education system, while educational policies are funded and promoted at a federal level, the responsibility of their application remains with the different states and institutions (Bott van Houten, 2012). For this reason, the effect of the CEFR on some curriculums can certainly be noted, and although it cannot be generalized, it is clear that the CEFR has become an undeniable influence in the US policy too.

Moving to the opposite side of the world, we can observe how the CEFR has managed to influence countries such as China, Japan and Taiwan, even if it is on a smaller scale. In China, the CEFR has had a substantial influence, particularly in the development of English language curriculum for University, also known as Chinese College English Curriculum Requirements (CECR) (Weicheng, 2012). However the influence of this framework is different to that of Europe and other Western cultures. The different ways of teaching (based on reading and memorising) clash with the communicative approach promoted by the CEFR, and, at the same time the different policies between rural and urban China, and the lack of teacher training result in very different feelings towards the CEFR. In Japan, on the other hand, the framework sparked a high interest and it was received with such excitement that they even requested two language specialists, Shigeru Yoshijima and Rie Ohashi, to translate the actual CEFR into Japanese (2004).

As a direct consequence of globalisation, foreign language education is on the spotlight and, with the CEFR reputation that precedes it, the framework was attempted to be implemented in secondary schools and universities. However, because school education is controlled by the government, the CEFR had a lesser impact in that sector. Yet, it has been a great influence in University, especially in English language curriculums (Sugitani & Tomita, 2012; Tono, 2019).

As McNamara points out, the CEFR has been “so thoroughly enshrined in curriculum and in educational and other policy (immigration, citizenship and so on) that it has become a juggernaut whose momentum it becomes increasingly difficult to resist” (2019, p. 118). The influence of this framework along with its philosophy has had an impact worldwide that is difficult to ignore.

4.2. Language Policy and Education in Norway

Between 2003 and 2004, Norway carried out the *Language Education Policy Profile* (2004) with the assistance of the Council of Europe. This report was the final stage of a three phase analysis of the language education policy in Norway, with the aim of analysing the situation of Norway at the time and discuss future developments¹⁴. Norway is one of the only 18 Language Education Profiles (15 nations and 3 regions) carried out in the Council of Europe. This report is a “self-evaluation” report available to all European members, which can be carried out at a national and regional level. According to the Guidelines and Procedures document (2002, p. 2): “The aim is to offer member States the opportunity to undertake a 'self-evaluation' of their policy in a spirit of dialogue with Council of Europe experts, and with a view to focusing on possible future policy developments within the country. [...] This does not mean 'external evaluation'. It is a process of reflection by the authorities and members of civil society, and the Council of Europe experts have the function of acting as catalysts in this process”.

Throughout this document, experts and the Ministry of Education, along with the Council of Europe, collaborate to provide a context for this profile, an analysis of the main challenges, and future improvement recommendations.

Based on the initial analysis, the report identified different points of improvement such as (2004, p. 5-6):

- The potential to promote plurilingualism. In Norway, despite the existence of plurilingualism in society, Norwegians are largely not aware or undervalue it.
- Norwegians think of language learning only in terms of the mastery of English, which has a dominant position.
- The acquisition of English is not due entirely to teaching in schools and, in some cases, there are even some doubts about the quality of English teaching and lack of coherence regarding progression in learning content.
- Teaching and Learning other foreign languages is problematic because of the dominance of English.

¹⁴ Soon after this report, the reform of 2006 was implemented, known as the *Knowledge Promotion Reform*.

- Increasing numbers of speakers of other languages provides further potential for plurilingualism that is not fully supported.
- The need to develop new plurilingual minorities is recognised.
- The relationship between language education and citizenship is implicitly recognised in policy and the curriculum, but not recognised in practice.
- Teacher education is crucial to develop new teaching approaches.

Given that the main focus of the Council of Europe is plurilingualism and multilingualism, the report revolves around these principles, emphasising the need to develop and nurture plurilingualism in Norway. This report, after providing the general aim of the document and introducing a summary of the context and scope of future directions, follows with a thorough description of the situation and education priorities, which we will observe below in detail.

4.2.1. Context Prior to the Norwegian Education Reform of 2006

Overall, it was established that the main concerns in regards to second foreign language education included the fact that (2004, p. 13-14):

- Due to the geography of Norway, some population is scattered, resulting in small rural schools often teaching reduced mixed-aged classes.
- There is a tradition of generalist teachers, where teachers are not required to be specialists in a specific subject, including language.
- The language situation in Norway is complex and has a variety of dialects, and at the same time this complexity is crucial to their identity.
- Linguistic minorities of recent migration are required to have some competence in Norwegian.
- English is the dominant foreign language.
- The teaching of second foreign languages, aside from English, is limited to German, French or Spanish.
- A substantial number of teachers of English are not formally qualified in terms of higher education in English as a subject or in the methodology of English teaching.
- Plurilingualism might be met by considering the possibility of dedicating some of the English language time on plurilingualism, without detriment to current levels

of achievement.

- There is a lack of teaching qualification mirrored by a lack of specialist knowledge and skills in teachers of other languages.
- Many French and German teachers do not consider the subject suitable for students.
- Many teachers consider that second foreign language textbooks are very traditional in their methods.

This document, actually recognises that English is not considered a foreign language at all, which separates this section dedicated to foreign language learning with English. In order to understand the situation of English in Norway, we will dedicate the next section to examine this further.

4.2.2. English in Norway

The aforementioned document states that “English needs to be differentiated from other Foreign Languages” (2004, p. 16), which already puts this language in a completely different position to other languages. English became a compulsory subject in Norway over five decades ago and was introduced in the curriculum from Grade 1 in the Reform of 1997, in which it was stated that “it is natural for Norwegian pupils to learn English as their first foreign language” and it symbolises the predominance of English over the rest of languages. Here we can also observe that the Language Profile asserts that the preference for English is not only “for practical reasons”, but also “for reasons of prestige”, implicitly contributing to the idea that English is a language of prestige in comparison to others.

On the other hand, English is seen as a basic skill in Norwegian society, despite the fact that English teachers are often considered to have poor linguistic and pedagogical competence. Yet, this is compensated by the major presence of English in Norwegian society, not just in everyday life and the media but also in the overall influence of American culture in Norway. In comparison to English, students demonstrate a lower interest in other foreign languages and also feel that the teachers are not well qualified nor have a sufficient linguistic competence.

Unfortunately, one of the issues observed at this time was the “ceiling effect”, i.e. a stop in

progress at a certain stage from the students, by which students seem to have a high conversational fluency but low academic proficiency. This issue has been researched and proved to still be a challenge nowadays, as Norwegians perform to a native-like level in terms of general English but have a lower academic level in the language (Busby, 2015; Hellekjaer, 2005, 2009, 2010). Based on this, it can be assumed that Norwegians keep a high proficiency level in terms of general understanding and conversation due to the surrounding context, however are more limited in terms of academic English due to poor linguistic and pedagogical support in ELT.

Another factor to take into account in ELT in Norway is the throughout inequality in terms of resources. Due to the geography and population concentration of the country, some areas experience certain disadvantages. In rural areas students of different ages are concentrated in one class, whereas in urban areas there is a more limited age range. At the same time, there are more generalist teachers in those rural areas teaching languages, which contribute to the low level of foreign language teaching.

4.2.3. Relationship among Languages according to the Curriculum

This report puts forward the idea of learning a foreign language as a development from mother tongue education, and provides some extracts from *The Curriculum for the 10-year compulsory school in Norway* (1997) that encompasses this idea and could be summarised as taking into account the fact that students have linguistic and metalinguistic competences acquired from learning the mother tongue and from other languages and cultures. This curriculum also states that, by learning English at an earlier age, the students can benefit of a good foundation they can use as a base to learn more foreign languages.

This view on language learning emphasises the importance of developing metalinguistic competences, as well as linguistic awareness and a sensitivity to the ecology of languages. As it states in the report (2004, p. 24):

The point here is not just to emphasise the cumulative effect of language learning but to suggest that the discovery and acquisition of a new language can be supported by and develop from the language competences a learner already has. This in turn introduces a dynamic vision of the curriculum where the

usual separations of subjects are removed, a vision which encompasses the need to establish transversal links and not simply juxtaposition of subjects. It reflects too the fact that a second or third language is never learnt from point zero despite what many current methods have long implied. To create contacts among languages taught in the same curriculum without mixing them produces some economy in the language curriculum and takes into consideration the fact that it is the same person who is learning different languages and learning to manipulate the cognitive and communicative resources languages make available to them.

4.2.4. Current Curriculum after the Reform of 2006

In the early 2000s, a new education reform was initiated by the Ministry of Education and it was finally implemented in 2006, as the Knowledge Promotion Reform. This change in education was characterised by the specification of subject-specific goal, instructional time and content, something that has been previously kept in general. This reform was focused on the development of competencies and knowledge, and this became central for assessment. The Knowledge Promotion Reform affected all subjects, including English and other foreign languages and marked the start of standardised tests and objectives (Baek et al., 2018). The abovementioned reform was also influenced by the Language Portfolio, which had a direct impact on the new requirements and specifications for English language learning. By analysing the latest English curriculum (KD, 2013)¹⁵, we can observe the impact of this reform, as well as the influence of the CEFR.

The English subject Norwegian curriculum is divided in six sections: purpose, main subject areas, teaching hours, basic skills and competence aims and assessment. Yet, in regards to the latter, in primary school, up to Grade 7 (ages 6 to 13) the students do not receive any formal or official assessment grades, but feedback on performance and possible improvement areas. Depending on the years, the amount of English teaching varies. If we focus on Grade 4 to 6 (inclusive), which is the age range participating in our study, we can see that the total amount of teaching hours is 228 (60min per class) and equates to approximately 2h per week. We will now proceed to analyse this curriculum and compare it to the CEFR in order to identify the direct influence from the Council of Europe guidelines to the current Norwegian curriculum.

¹⁵ Norwegian curriculum for English in primary school: <https://www.udir.no/kl06/ENG1-03>

4.2.4.1. Objectives in the Current Curriculum

In the first section, which is focused on the purpose of English language learning, we find statements from which the ideology behind the curriculum becomes clear (KD, 2013, p. 2):

- “English is a universal language” – From this statement, it can be assumed that the purpose of the curriculum is to learn English as a Lingua Franca.
- “To succeed in a world where English is used for international communication, it is necessary to be able to use the English language and to have knowledge of how it is used in different contexts” – Aligned with the first statement, this one seems to support the idea of learning English in a way that it can be adapted to different contexts and with the idea of international communication as a main goal.
- “...be able to take cultural norms and conventions into consideration” – This statement seems to refer to the development of intercultural competence in general, yet it then follows by the below ideas.
- “The subject of English shall contribute to providing insight into the way people live and different cultures where English is the primary or the official language” – With the addition of this statement, the previous idea of ELF and general intercultural competence seem contradictory to this idea and it transforms the perspective of English as a Lingua Franca to English as a dominant language used worldwide, with not only linguistic but also cultural influence.
- Yet, the description of the purpose of this language follows with “the subject of English shall provide insight into how English is used as an international means of communication”, from which we can assume that it refers to the communication among native speakers internationally and between native and non-native speakers, rather than non-native with non-native speakers, which would be the main contact from ELF speakers.
- “Learning English will contribute to multilingualism and can be an important part of our personal development” – This idea seems in line with the European idea of

multilingualism and citizenship, which is later reinforced with the statement “language and cultural competence promote the general education perspective and strengthen democratic involvement and co-citizenship”.

- In the purpose, the focus on communication can also be observed, which coincides with the Communicative approach proposed by the CEFR – “Development of communicative language skills and cultural insight”.

4.2.5. The Norwegian Curriculum in Relation to the CEFR

In the section of the main subject areas we can see the three focus: language learning, which includes not only learning English but metalinguistic awareness; communication, which is focused on developing linguistic and pragmatic competences; and culture and society, which is limited to English-speaking countries (specifically, Inner Circle countries).

In the section of basic skills and competence aims, a list of abilities are listed in a similar style to the “can-do” statements from the CEFR. These vary depending on the age range in which the curriculum is divided (lower primary school, higher primary school, lower secondary school, higher secondary school, and Vocational studies). Because our study is focused on the 6th year of primary school, we will analyse the curriculum for higher primary school. Comparing these guidelines to the European Framework, it can be observed that the competences listed in the Norwegian curriculum range between A2 and B2. In fact, we do a direct comparison between the two in the Table 4.2 below for easier reference (Council of Europe, 2001; KD, 2013):

Norwegian curriculum ENG1-03 (2013, p. 6-7) (Grade 4 to 6, inclusive)	CEFR (2001)
Language learning	
<i>enable pupils to identify areas where English is useful for him or her</i>	This objective follows the principle of significance for the learner, which is a pillar both in CLT and the CEFR

<i>find similarities between words and expressions in English and his/her own native language</i>	The CEFR suggests to consider “the extent to which learners are to be made aware of the grammar of (a) the mother tongue (b) the target language (c) their contrastive relation” (p.152), yet it does not offer direct guidelines on how to achieve this
<i>use dictionaries and other aids in his or her own language learning</i>	The use of tools is part of the learner’s general competence
Oral Communication	
<i>use simple listening and speaking strategies</i>	“Can use a variety of strategies to achieve comprehension, including listening for main points; checking comprehension by using contextual clues” (B2 level, p. 72)
<i>listen to and understand the meaning of words and expressions based on the context they are used in</i>	“Can guess the meaning of occasional unknown words from the context and understand sentence meaning if the topic discussed is familiar” (B1 level, p. 233)
<i>understand and use English words, expressions and sentence patterns related to one’s needs and feelings, daily life, leisure time and own interests</i>	“Can understand the main points of clear standard input on familiar matters regularly encountered in work, school, leisure, etc.” (B1 level, p. 24)
<i>understand the main content of nursery rhymes, word games, songs, fairy tales and stories</i>	Users of the Framework may wish to consider and where appropriate state: “which ludic and aesthetic uses of language the learner will need/be equipped/be required to make.” (p. 56)

<i>use some polite expressions and simple phrases to obtain help in understanding and being understood</i>	“use some polite expressions and take part in simple everyday dialogues [...] It is at this level that the majority of descriptors stating social functions are to be found, like use simple everyday polite forms of greeting and address; greet people, ask how they are and react to news; handle very short social exchanges” (A2 level p. 33)
<i>participate in everyday conversations related to local surroundings and own experiences</i>	“Can enter unprepared into conversation on familiar topics, express personal opinions and exchange information on topics that are familiar, of personal interest or pertinent to everyday life” (B1 level p. 74)
<i>be able to repeat the English alphabet and spell names and home town</i>	“Can spell his/her address, nationality and other personal details.” (A1 level, p. 118)
<i>understand and use English words and expressions related to prices, quantities, shape and size when communicating about one’s daily life, leisure time and own interests</i>	“Can communicate in simple and routine tasks requiring a simple and direct exchange of information on familiar and routine matters to do with work and free time.” (A2 level, p. 74)
Written Communication	
<i>use simple reading and writing strategies</i>	“Strategies are listed in the CEFR but not specified in terms of reading and writing”
<i>understand the relation between English phonemes and letters and put sounds together to form words</i>	“I can write simple notes to friends. I can describe where I live.” “I can fill in forms with personal details. I can write simple isolated phrases and sentences. I can write a short simple postcard...” (A1 level, p. 232)

<i>understand the meaning of words and expressions based on the context they are used in</i>	“Can use an idea of the overall meaning of short texts and utterances on everyday topics of a concrete type to derive the probable meaning of unknown words from the context” (A2 level, p. 72)
<i>read, understand and write English words and expressions related to one’s needs and feelings, daily life, leisure time and own interests</i>	“Can understand short, simple texts on familiar matters of a concrete type which consist of high frequency everyday or job-related language.” (A2 level, p. 69) “Can write about everyday aspects of his/her environment, e.g. people, places, a job or study experience in linked sentences. Can write very short, basic descriptions of events, past activities and personal experiences” (A2 level, p. 62)
<i>understand the main content of simple texts about familiar topics</i>	“Has a repertoire of basic language which enables him/her to deal with everyday situations with predictable content, though he/she will generally have to compromise the message and search for words” (A2 level, p. 110)
<i>write short texts that express opinions and interests, and that describe, narrate and enquire</i>	“Can produce brief everyday expressions in order to satisfy simple needs of a concrete type: personal details, daily routines, wants and needs, requests for information” (A2 level, p. 110)
<i>use digital tools to retrieve information and experiment in creating texts</i>	The use of tools is part of the learner’s general competence
<i>use some common short words and simple spelling and sentence patterns</i>	“Can use basic sentence patterns and communicate with memorised phrases, groups of a few words and formulae about

	themselves and other people, what they do, places, possessions etc.” (A2 level, p. 110)
Culture, society and literature	
<i>give some examples of English-speaking countries and famous people from these countries</i>	<p>While the CEFR does not specify the aspects of culture to learn and requests its users to consider what is appropriate for their own policy and context, (p. 102):</p> <p>...knowledge of the society and culture of the community or communities in which a language is spoken is one aspect of knowledge of the world. It is, however, of sufficient importance to the language learner to merit special attention, especially since unlike many other aspects of knowledge it is likely to lie outside the learner’s previous experience and may well be distorted by stereotypes.</p> <p>(p. 103):</p> <p>“In addition to objective knowledge, intercultural awareness covers an awareness of how each community appears from the perspective of the other, often in the form of national stereotype”</p>
<i>converse about some aspects of different ways of living, traditions and customs in English-speaking countries and in Norway</i>	
<i>participate in presenting nursery rhymes, word games, songs, short plays and stories in English</i>	
<i>express own thoughts and opinions in the encounter with English-language literature and child culture</i>	
<i>create own texts inspired by English-language literature and child culture</i>	

Table 4.2: Comparison between the CEFR and the Norwegian curriculum

Overall, it can be observed that both the Language Portfolio and the CEFR (and especially the “can-do” statements) have had a significant impact on the English subject curriculum in Norway. The current curriculum is clearly focused on plurilingualism and the development of intercultural competence (Lund, 2008), which is clear on the curriculum objectives. These goals

include not only awareness of different languages and cultures but also a comparison between the learner's own culture and language, and English. While this perspective is very much in line with language ecology, we cannot deny that the traditional view of English as nationally limited is still present and contributing to language and culture dominance.

One of the incoherencies in the Norwegian curriculum is the treatment of English as an international language, while focusing mainly on Great Britain and the US. In fact, if the curriculum is viewed as a whole (including all ages), some of the objectives include "explain features of history and geography in Great Britain and the US" and "discuss and elaborate on the way people live and how they socialise in Great Britain, USA and other English-speaking countries and Norway" (KD, 2013, p. 9), yet the main purpose of the subject remains to use English for international purposes and as a universal language. Since English became a school subject around the end of the 19th century, there has been a considerable influence from two main Inner Circle countries: The United Kingdom and, more recently, the United States. Up until the second part of the 20th century, the British Council assisted Norway in anything related to ELT, resulting in a prominent British influence in curriculum material, assessments, language policy and teaching practices (Rindal, 2014). By the end of the 20th century and the start of the 21st, the global influence of the United States can be found everywhere in day-to-day life, also having a great impact on English learning and use. To this, Rindal (2014, p. 10) concludes that "there is a delay, however, in the application of social constructionist perspectives in the English subject", while the global status of English is clear, educators (and policy makers) seem to have a hard time of detaching from the monolingual perspective of English as nationally bound. However, while the majority of learners still aim towards a native accent (especially American), as Rindal and Piercy (2013) evidenced, there is a growing report of English users avoiding native accents and aiming towards neutrality. This suggests that there is a shift in perspective, which could benefit from a change in guidelines that really reflect the internationality of English and focuses not just on language and culture learning but on the necessary strategies and skills to use English as a *Lingua Franca*.

4.2.6. Language Ecology in Norway

The official languages in Norway are Norwegian and Sami, yet only 40,000 (approximately) Sami speakers live in Norway (Dagsvold, Møllersen, & Stordahl, 2016), compared to the roughly 5 million Norwegian speakers. However, Norwegian is a complex language that is divided in two different writings (Bokmål and Nynorsk), while the spoken language includes four main dialects (vestnorsk/West Norwegian, østnorsk/East Norwegian, trøndersk/Trøndelag Norwegian and nordnorsk/North Norwegian), as well as myriad of minor dialects (Leon, 2014). The two official written Norwegian languages have existed since 1885. A great majority of the Norwegians uses Bokmål and only about 15% has Nynorsk as their main written language (Ozerk & Todal, 2013). Despite this positioning of majority and minority languages and dialects, all dialects are official in Norway.

Norway has been protective of its languages and considers its wide range of dialects as a symbol of equality and democracy. In fact, they consider their dialects as a deeply integrated part of their identity, which is regarded to be “too important to be changed” (Leon, 2014, p. 108). However, the spread of English in Norway has reached every corner in the country, and the status of English no longer seems to be that of EFL but more than that. While is not exactly an ESL, “the English language is increasingly becoming part of speakers’ linguistic repertoire” (Rindal & Piercy, 2013, p. 212).

As a result of the spread of English, Norway is experiencing a domain loss in academia, music and lifestyle advertising (Graedler, 2014), and especially education. English has taken over higher education to such an extent that the Language Council of Norway has expressed its concerns in regards to the amount of university degrees and courses taught in English (Else, 2017).

At the rate English is expanding in the world, and especially in Norway, it is important to not only set protective language policies in place to ensure that language sustainability is preserved but also to revisit any possible guidelines that could be detrimental for linguistic ecology. For instance, by approaching English as a Lingua Franca for international communication and promoting awareness along with the importance of the mother tongue in language learning

and use from primary education, the students would develop a sense of the importance of the mother tongue as well as the important role of each language in their linguistic repertoire.

4.3. Language Policy and Education in Spain

Education in Spain has been regulated by the *Ley para la mejora de la calidad educativa* (LOMCE, Law for the Improvement of Education Quality), the latest education reform, since 2013¹⁶. The LOMCE is a revised version of the existing educational law called LOE (*Ley Orgánica de Educación*) and is based on the European Commission guidelines on education in the 21st century (2008). Overall, the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport (MECD, *Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deportes*) oversees and regulates primary and secondary education. Yet, despite this central legislation, Spain grants certain autonomy to each of its 17 autonomous regions, which have their own regulations. For instance, the national regulation states that all students must start a foreign language from the age of 6 as a compulsory subject; however, this differs depending on the region. If we focus on the autonomous region of Valencia, the starting age is 3 and the foreign language must be English (Eurydice, 2017). Spain, and specifically, the Valencian region, is one of the European member states where foreign languages are taught the earliest, as we will observe in the curriculum (also refer to the cross-country comparative Table 4.7). The idea of the early introduction of foreign language learning has spread across Europe over the last 20 years. In the European Council meeting of March 2002 in Barcelona, one of the main points was “to improve the mastery of basic skills, in particular by teaching at least two foreign languages from a very early age”, which became one of the main actions, and which was reinforced again in the meeting held in Brussels in 2014 (Council of the European Union, 2014, p. 1). Yet, despite the European recommendation for starting foreign languages as early as possible, “the evidence supporting the advantage of learners who have been taught a foreign language for a longer period of time (early starters) is weak and if there are advantages, they tend to disappear over time” (Cenoz, 2003, p. 78).

¹⁶ Spanish Law for the Improvement of Education Quality: <https://www.boe.es/buscar/pdf/2013/BOE-A-2013-12886-consolidado.pdf>

Aside from an early start in language learning, Spain is characterised by its commitment to European policies. In its reform of 2013, the Spanish education law emphasised three main focuses: ICT (Information and Communication Technology), Plurilingualism, and modernisation of Professional Training studies (BOE, 2013, p. 9). The first two, relating to the digitalisation of resources and technology use, as well as plurilingualism are well established European key points (Breidbach, 2003; Council of Europe, 2001, 2008; European Commission, Council of Europe, European Economic and Social Committee, & Committee of the Regions, 2018). The Spanish Law offers a strong support to plurilingualism and states that:

La Unión Europea fija el fomento del plurilingüismo como un objetivo irrenunciable para la construcción de un proyecto europeo. La Ley apoya decididamente el plurilingüismo, redoblando los esfuerzos para conseguir que los estudiantes se desenvuelvan con fluidez al menos en una primera lengua extranjera, cuyo nivel de comprensión oral y lectora y de expresión oral y escrita resulta decisivo para favorecer la empleabilidad y las ambiciones profesionales, y por ello apuesta decididamente por la incorporación curricular de una segunda lengua extranjera (BOE, 2013, p. 10)

[Own translation: The EU promotes plurilingualism as an unalienable objective to construct a European Project. The (Spanish) Law fiercely supports plurilingualism, doubling efforts to ensure that the students achieve a sufficiently proficient level in at least the first foreign language, the level of which in the different skills (reading, speaking, listening and writing) will be decisive for employability and to fulfil professional ambitions. For this reason, the Law firmly supports the addition of a second foreign language in the curriculum].

In accordance with European plurilingual guidelines, Spain has become a European referent in CLIL implementation (Caraker, 2016), and also supported different multilingual programs such as the Bilingual Education Project (BEP), which has been applied in 74 primary schools and 40 secondary schools across Spain, where the students learn English and Spanish through an integrated content-based curriculum (Dobson, Pérez Murillo, & Johnstone, 2010), or the Plurilingual Plan¹⁷ in the Valencian region, for instance. In order to get a clear overview of the Spanish context and especially of the region subject to our study, below we provide an analysis

¹⁷ Linguistic program in the Valencian Region that involves the division of subjects by language so that the students are exposed to three languages: Spanish, Catalan and English.

of the current Spanish curriculum along with the special characteristics of the Valencian region specifically¹⁸.

4.3.1. Spanish Curriculum in Primary School: the Case of the Valencian Region

The Spanish primary school curriculum is strongly influenced by European guidelines such as the CEFR and the Key Competences for Lifelong Learning (Council of Europe, 2001; European Commission, 2019). As we mentioned earlier, Spain follows not only a national policy but also a regional one depending on the autonomous community. In this section we will start with the national one and continue with the regional one in order to observe specific characteristics of the region where the main study was carried out.

The national curriculum starts by affirming the European approach to competence-based learning:

El aprendizaje por competencias favorece los propios procesos de aprendizaje y la motivación por aprender, debido a la fuerte interrelación entre sus componentes: el concepto se aprende de forma conjunta al procedimiento de aprender dicho concepto. Se adopta la denominación de las competencias clave definidas por la Unión Europea. Se considera que «las competencias clave son aquellas que todas las personas precisan para su realización y desarrollo personal, así como para la ciudadanía activa, la inclusión social y el empleo».

[Own translation: Learning through competences benefits learning processes and motivation, due to the strong relationship between its components: concepts are learnt along with the process of learning said concept. We adopt the key competences defined by the European Union. It is considered that key competences include knowledge, skills, and attitudes needed by all for personal fulfilment and development, employability, social inclusion and active citizenship.]

The curriculum also follows a communicative focus with an emphasis on plurilingualism. In regards to foreign language learning it states that:

El aprendizaje de lenguas extranjeras cobra una especial relevancia en este plano, ya que la capacidad de comunicación es el primer requisito que ha de cumplir el individuo para desenvolverse en un contexto crecientemente pluricultural y plurilingüe (BOE, 2014, p. 19394)

¹⁸ Primary School Curriculum in the Valencian Region
https://www.dogv.gva.es/datos/2014/07/07/pdf/2014_6347.pdf

[Own translation: Foreign language learning has a special relevance, given that the ability to communicate is the first requirement that an individual needs to meet in order to participate in an increasingly plurilingual and pluricultural context.]

El currículo básico para la etapa de Educación Primaria se estructura en torno a actividades de lengua tal como éstas se describen en el Marco Común Europeo de referencia para las Lenguas [...] En la etapa de Educación Primaria deberá tenerse muy en cuenta que se parte de un nivel competencial básico por lo que, tanto en la interacción comunicativa como en la comprensión y producción de textos, resultará esencial remitirse siempre a contextos familiares para el alumnado de esta edad, aprovechando así los conocimientos previamente adquiridos y las capacidades y experiencias que posee. Partiendo de este hecho, se fomentará un uso de la lengua contextualizado, en el marco de situaciones comunicativas propias de ámbitos diversos y que permitan un uso de la lengua real y motivador. (BOE, 2014, p. 19394)

[Own translation: The basic curriculum for Primary Education is structured around the language activities described in the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (...) In the stage of Primary Education, it will be paramount to be aware of the fact that the students have a basic competence level. Therefore, in both communicative interaction as well as in comprehension and discourse, it will be essential to refer to familiar context for the students of this age, so that they can refer to previously acquired knowledge, abilities and experiences. Based on this, the use of language in context will be promoted within the communicative framework in different contexts that will allow a real and motivating use of language].

Despite its focus on communication and plurilingualism, the curriculum continues the belief of keeping languages separate and only using the learner's mother tongue for support:

La lengua castellana o la lengua cooficial sólo se utilizarán como apoyo en el proceso de aprendizaje de la lengua extranjera. Se priorizarán la comprensión y la expresión oral. (BOE, 2014, p. 19358)

[Own translation: Spanish or the co-official language will only be used as support in the learning process of the foreign language. Oral comprehension and expression will be the priority].

The objectives of foreign language learning are followed by general guidelines for content and assessment (this part contains evaluation criteria and assessable learning standards), which describe an overall basic level. While the national curriculum does not go into detail per year, each autonomous region specifies their own objectives within the general parameters. The national guidelines are general enough so that they leave some freedom for interpretation; however this is a source of inconsistencies among regions. For instance, the curriculum in Madrid clearly states that, during primary school, the students are required to achieve an A1 level:

Al finalizar la etapa de Educación Primaria, los alumnos deben haber adquirido las competencias comunicativas definidas por el nivel A1 del Marco Común Europeo de Referencia para las lenguas, en comprensión oral (listening), expresión oral (speaking), comprensión lectora (reading) y expresión escrita (writing). (BOCM, 2014, p. 59)

[Own translation: *By the end of the Primary Education stage, the students will have obtained the communicative competences defined by level A1 in the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages in listening, speaking, reading and writing*].

4.3.2. The Valencian Curriculum in Relation to the CEFR

Yet the national curriculum does not specify the CEFR level, it only refers to it as “basic” level. The Valencian region, which is our subject of study, on the other hand, provides clear objectives that fit in the A2 level (and even B1 in regards to sociocultural competences) when compared with the CEFR. On the Table 4.3 below we can see some examples with a direct comparison of the two:

Valencian Region curriculum 2014	CEFR 2001
“Identificar el sentit general, la informació essencial i els punts principals” en textos orals o escrits “molt breus i senzills en llengua estàndard, amb estructures simples i lèxic d’ús molt freqüent”	“I can generally identify the topic of discussion around me which is conducted slowly and clearly” “I can generally understand clear, standard speech on familiar matters, although in a real life situation I might have to ask for repetition or reformulation.” (A2 level, p. 233) “I can understand short, simple texts containing the most common words, including some shared international words.” (A2 level, p. 231)
“Interactuar sobre temes familiars, quotidians, del seu interès o experiència, de manera autònoma amb ajudes puntuals del	“Can interact with reasonable ease in structured situations and short

<p>docent, aplicant tècniques lingüístiques, paralingüístiques o paratextuals...”</p>	<p>conversations, provided the other person helps if necessary.”</p> <p>“Can manage simple, routine exchanges without undue effort; can ask and answer questions and exchange ideas and information on familiar topics in predictable everyday situations” (A2 level, p. 74)</p>
<p>“Utilitzar i ampliar, de manera autònoma, amb ajudes puntuals del docent, un repertori de lèxic oral d’alta freqüència contextualitzat en situacions quotidianes i en temes habituals i concrets, relacionats amb els propis interessos, necessitats i que els permeta ampliar les seues experiències en contextos familiars, escolars, d’amistat, d’oci i esport.”</p>	<p>“Has a repertoire of basic language which enables him/her to deal with everyday situations with predictable content, though he/she will generally have to compromise the message and search for words.”</p> <p>“Can produce brief everyday expressions in order to satisfy simple needs of a concrete type: personal details, daily routines, wants and needs, requests for information”</p> <p>(A2 level, p. 110)</p>
<p>“Aplicar de manera autònoma les estratègies bàsiques de planificació, execució i revisió”</p>	<p>“ability to organise one’s own strategies and procedures to pursue these goals, in accordance with one’s own characteristics and resources”</p> <p>(p. 108)</p>
<p>“Distingir aspectes socioculturals i sociolingüístics, concrets i significatius de distints països, com a característiques pròpies, hàbits, convencions, costums, creences, valors i actituds”</p>	<p>“Is aware of, and looks out for signs of, the most significant differences between the customs, usages, attitudes, values and beliefs prevalent in the community concerned and those of his or her own.”</p> <p>(B1 level, p.122)</p>

Table 4.3: CEFR compared to the curriculum in the Valencian region

The Valencian curriculum is very precise and it even specifies the high frequency vocabulary and syntactic-discursive structures that should be taught in each Grade. At the same time, each of the curriculum objectives are identified with the relevant competence they develop. These competences are the seven competences defined in the LOMCE based on the 21st Century Key Competence report from the European Commission, which include:

- Linguistic competence
- Mathematical competence and basic competences in science and technology
- Digital competence
- Learning to learn
- Social and civic competences
- Sense of initiative and entrepreneurship
- Cultural awareness and expression

4.3.2.1. English as a Lingua Franca in the Spanish Curriculum

In regards to English as a Lingua Franca, we can observe a similar inconsistency as with the Norwegian curriculum. While the guidelines refer to English as a global language in its objectives, it refers to specific sociocultural and sociolinguistic aspects of Inner Circle countries:

No se debe olvidar que el área de inglés faculta al alumnado para estar en contacto con realidades no solo anglosajonas sino mundiales, dado el valor del inglés como lengua global. En este sentido los aspectos socioculturales y sociolingüísticos que se derivan del aprendizaje de la lengua inglesa, servirán de instrumento al conocimiento de otras culturas, sensibilidades y formas de hacer que configurarán en el alumnado una visión holística para facilitar la relativización de los postulados propios y que redundará en una construcción equilibrada de su persona. (DOGV, 2014, p. 16577)

[Own translation: We cannot forget that the subject of English allows the students to be in contact not only with the English-speaking context but with the world, valuing this way English as a global language. In this sense, sociocultural and sociolinguistic aspects resulting from English language learning, will become an instrument to learn about other cultures, sensibilities and ways of doing that will provide the students with a holistic vision to put their own beliefs into perspective, which, in turn, will result in the construction of a balanced individual.]

Despite the reference to “English-speaking” context and “other cultures”, when we observe the specific sociocultural aspects included in the curriculum, especially festivals and traditions, it refers to:

Festividades y tradiciones: Halloween, Christmas, Mother's day, Easter, Bonfire Night, Carnival, April Fool's Day, Harvest Festival, Pancake Day (DOGV, 2014, p. 16607)

Not only are these clearly Western only traditions but also mainly limited to Christianity and, in terms of countries, the UK and the US: Halloween (US), Christmas (Western Christian), Mother's day (Western-worldwide), Easter (Western Christian), Bonfire Night (UK), Carnival (Western Christian), April Fool's Day (US), Harvest Festival (US), Pancake Day (UK). Even though Christian Anglo-American culture has not been imposed through colonial dominance, it clearly influences the curriculum. When these policies refer to English-speaking context, the actual context becomes limited not only to the Inner Circle but to the main two players in that circle contributing to the neo-imperialist expansionist globalisation.

The use of the native speaker as the main goal is obvious, which becomes incompatible with any ELF approach. In this sense, it can be argued that the idea of English as a global language is misunderstood and inconsistent in the syllabus. As Phillipson states “efforts nationally and in the EU directed towards strengthening multilingualism in education need to address the political, economic and cultural aspects of Englishization and to engage with these more actively in language policy formation” (Phillipson, 2007, p. 123)

4.3.2.2. Plurilingualism in the Valencian Region (Spain)

Plurilingualism is one of the main goals in Primary Education, not only nationally but regionally. In the Valencian Region in particular, the existence of a co-official language (Catalan in this case) gives plurilingualism a particular significance. In fact, this is specified in the curriculum as such:

En el context plurilingüe de la Comunitat Valenciana té, per tant, gran importància facilitar les transferències entre les llengües cooficials i l'estrangera. (DOGV, 2014, p. 16404)

[Own translation: In the plurilingual context of the Valencian region it is of great importance to facilitate transference among co-official and foreign languages.]

Atesa l'enriquidora realitat lingüística del sistema educatiu valencià, s'ha d'utilitzar un enfocament metodològic comú que integre les llengües del currículum des dels primers nivells i que afavorisca les transferències entre les tres llengües, tant en la lectoescriptura com en el tractament metodològic de les àrees lingüístiques i de les àrees no lingüístiques que s'aprenen a l'aula en una llengua diferent de la materna. (DOGV, 2014, p. 16405)

[Own translation: Due to the rich linguistic reality of the Valencian education system, educators need to use a common methodological approach that integrate languages in the curriculum from the first years, so that transference among the three languages can take place in terms of reading and writing, as well as in the methodology used in linguistic and non-linguistic areas that are learnt in a foreign¹⁹ language classroom.]

This curriculum clearly states that the development of plurilingual competence is required and should be included as part of the methodological approach. However this contradicts the earlier guidelines from the national curriculum that suggests that languages should be learnt as separate entities and that the co-official language should only be used in the English classroom when support is needed.

4.3.2.3. Approach and Teaching Hours in Spain

The national curriculum differs slightly to the Valencian one. While both are regulated by a communicative approach that focuses on lifelong learning inside and outside the classroom, the Valencia curriculum establishes equal treatment for all the four skills (listening, reading, speaking, and writing) throughout the compulsory teaching of the first foreign language, whereas the Spanish curriculum specifies a preference for speaking and listening over the rest of the skills. Despite these differences, they both follow an action-oriented approach with a main focus on communication and language use. The approach to English language teaching has shifted along with the position towards English.

The evolution of the status of English as a language of prestige in Spain can be easily observed analysing the succession of reforms to the education system in the past few years. Seven different legislations have characterised the last 50 years, with four of them having a direct impact on the situation of foreign language learning: the LGE, *Ley General de la Educación* (1970s); the LODE, *Ley orgánica reguladora del derecho a la educación* (1980s); the LOGSE,

¹⁹ Foreign in this context refers to any language other than the mother tongue.

Ley Orgánica General del Sistema Educativo (1990s); and the LOMCE, *Ley orgánica para la mejora de la calidad educativa* (the current system since 2013-2014). With the introduction of the LGE in the 1970s foreign languages became compulsory. This law foreign language learning in primary school required for the first time, starting in 6th grade. The audiolingual method was recommended and the main cultural reference was the United Kingdom, with little reference to the United States. During this period, even though the use of audiovisual materials was recommended, most Spanish centres lacked minimal resources. Following this decade, in the 1980s a new law proposed an improvement in the current programs and a new focus on pedagogy with new objectives and contents, which application resulted in high school failure rates. Nevertheless, one of the main changes was the continuous evaluation, which still exists today. During that time, English achieved a higher status than French and started becoming the predominant language needed for the end of the twentieth century. Also, it is important to note that Spain joined the EU in 1985, which opened a whole new world to the country and foreign languages became an indispensable tool to integrate in the union. Concurrently, the US started to become a global power, which reinforced the need to learn English. By the early 1990s the communicative approach was at its peak and the new “European Spain” required a new reform. It was in 1990 when the LOGSE came into place, adapting the school curriculum of foreign languages to the new European reality and according to the new approach that focused on communication and use of realia.

While the text books used in the classrooms do support a Communicative Language approach, they are still supported with activities focused on the formal features of language (grammar and vocabulary) (Criado & Sánchez Pérez, 2009) in order to support the current testing. Caraker (2016) in his study on the perceptions on the role of English and instruction in the Spanish education system points out that educators are still concerned about the overuse of the traditional grammar translation method which coexists with the CLIL and CLT approaches. According to his study, while the curriculum seems in line with the CEFR, the interviews with teachers indicated a mismatch between CEFR policies and the classroom reality. In our study, as we will see in Chapters 5 and 6, we will also analyse the position of the educators in different centres and classrooms, along with language policies and the students’ perceptions.

In regards to teaching hours, Spain dedicates a total of 987 hours (across 10 years of education) to English language teaching, which almost doubles the time that Norway spends, with a total of 588 hours (Eurydice, 2017). Yet, the time of instruction time dedicated to foreign languages compared to total instruction time for the entire primary curriculum is still modest in Spain, scoring a 10.8% in 2016.

4.3.2.4. CLIL in Spain

As we have seen in previous chapters, Content and Language Integrated Learning has become a feature of education from primary school to University in institutions across Europe (Breeze, Llamas Saíz, Martínez Pasamar, & Taberner Sala, 2014). In fact, Spain has not only become one of the leading countries in its implementation but also regulates the programmes from its national Education Act. The LOMCE establishes that “the admission criteria for CLIL programmes will have to be the same across the country and that language skill requirements will no longer be allowed” (Eurydice, 2017, p. 57). This reform has been fully implemented in both primary and secondary education, the first one completed at the end of 2015/16, and the latter at the end of 2016/17. Because of these specific criteria, teachers are required to participate in specific training courses on CLIL methodology.

Despite the framework created by the LOMCE at a national level, the autonomous regions regulate these guidelines in their respective areas, hence resulting in different ELT approaches and CLIL models throughout the country. In this sense, we could divide the different CLIL models into two main contexts: monolingual communities, where education is partly done in Spanish and in one or two foreign languages, and bilingual communities, where Spanish is the official language with another co-official regional language, namely Basque, Catalan²⁰, Galician, and one or two foreign languages are implemented in CLIL (Coyle, 2010; Ruiz de Zarobe & Lasagabaster, 2010). The Valencian region is a bilingual community that has experienced certain instability in terms of language policy in education in the past few years²¹. Despite a decade of constant change, plurilingualism and CLIL are now in the spotlight in every language

²⁰ Depending on the region Catalan is referred to as Catalan or Valencian. While it is the same language, the nomenclature varies according to the region.

²¹ For further information on language education changes in the Valencian Region: <https://www.lasprovincias.es/comunitat/decada-cambios-linguisticos-20180515185244-nt.html>

policy. In this region, according to the latest law of 2018, each school should put a linguistic project forward through which the centres will implement a plurilingual and intercultural programme according to the characteristics of the centre, its students and context (Les Corts Valencianes, 2018). According to the CEFIRE, the service of teacher training support in the Valencian Region (CEFIRE Plurilingüisme, 2018, p. 17):

Valencian teachers will adapt the SLP to their lesson plans and will take the CLIL methodological approach as a reference framework. Teaching, learning and assessing procedures will be regulated by the Valencian educational authorities. Likewise, the use of adequate resources will be encouraged.

CLIL programmes have now been implemented for a number of years in the region and yet the teachers have found some challenges in its implementation, from linguistic proficiency, to interdisciplinary collaboration among teachers (Díez Mediavilla, Rico, Escandell, & Rovira-Collado, 2016; Guillamón-Suesta & Renau, 2015). In terms of linguistic proficiency, teachers are required to hold at least a B2 certificate in English (from 2016 a C1 will be required), for which several government and autonomic programmes have been created to offer the necessary linguistic support to these teachers.

While Spain is significantly advanced in CLIL and has invested greatly in English education, the overall level of English proficiency still ranks on a considerably low place in Europe. Using the EF English Proficiency Index as reference (2019), in which 100 countries participate, Spain is currently on the 35th place, whereas Norway enjoys a very high 3rd position worldwide. Despite both countries following the same European guidelines, its implementation is very different, as we have observed. This combined with the different factors such socio-economic, linguistic, historical, and so forth contribute to this disparity.

4.3.3. Language Ecology in Spain

Spain is a plurinational and plurilingual state in the European context, where there are four co-official languages exist along Spanish: Catalan (Valencian), Galician, Aranese and Basque. Despite their category as co-official languages, the reality is that they have undergone a process of linguistic minorisation (Ramallo, 2018), along with a decrease in prestige in certain contexts and domains. While Catalan still enjoys a relatively high status in Catalonia and is backed by legislation and political powers, the situation in the Valencian region is very different

and “the level of institutionalization in Valencia is lower than that in Catalonia” (2018, p. 479). There is also a dramatic decline in the use of Catalan in the media (Ramallo, 2017), which contributes to its decaying low prestige.

In order to fight against the rapid loss of Catalan in the Valencian region and promote the ideas of plurilingualism from the European Union, the governmental body in the region issued a new law in favour of the revitalisation of Catalan and the development of plurilingualism. According to this law, public education centres should implement the use of Catalan as a vehicular language for 50% of the curriculum, with 25% being in English and the other 25% in Spanish (Les Corts Valencianes, 2018). This proposal, however, has sparked protests from certain areas of the region where Catalan is not used. These protests defend the use of Spanish and English against Catalan (EFE, 2020). This exemplifies well the current situation of the Valencian region, where revitalising a minority language is seen as an attack to the majority one. This misconception has been constantly perpetuated by the media and, consequently, has contributed to the deterioration of Catalan. Despite the fact that the curriculum states the use of English during 25% of the time, the problematic areas are always minority languages and not English, which enjoys a very high status worldwide.

As it can be observed, language ecologies in Spain are very delicate. The attempts from language policies to protect minority languages in this region have often been feeble and further support is required to encourage understanding and linguistic preservation. By promoting an approach to English as a *Lingua Franca* we will detach the prestige this language enjoys as the language of the empire and by using an authentic plurilingual approach with the use of the mother tongue, we will be demonstrating the importance of the mother tongue and the interrelation of languages in the linguistic repertoires.

4.4. Language Policy and Education in China

The role of English has experienced radical changes everywhere in the world, as we have observed in Chapter 1, and China is no exception. In this section we will examine the evolution of the status of English in China throughout history, from the 18th century to nowadays focusing

on the relationship between the Chinese and English. Adamson summarises this relationship between the English language and China best (2002, p. 231):

The relationship between the English language and Chinese politics and society has historically been ambivalent. At different times, English has been associated in China with military aggressors, barbarians, and virulent anti-Communists. But English is also a principal language of trade partners, academics, technical experts, advisors, tourists and popular culture. At worst, the language has been perceived as a threat to national integrity. At best, it has been seen as a conduit for strengthening China's position in the world community. These tensions have manifested in policy swings that have far-reaching impacts, most notably for the educational system.

The progress and status of the English language in the Chinese context has experienced a controversial position since the 17th century. When the Guangzhou trading port was established in 1664 English started to become a regularly used language for business between the British and the Chinese, which gave rise to pidgin English (Pride and Liu, 1988). Since then, the position of the English fluctuated and started to spread through the mainland. Adamson (2002, p. 233) provides an illustrative summary of the history of English in China, from the *compradores*²² to the early 1980s, when it became a desirable tool for modernisation and prosperity. For the past 40 years English has been established as a language of prestige and has contributed to the opening of China to the world. In an article from Bolton and Graddol (2012, p. 3) we find a reference to a *China Daily* article from Ms Xiao Yan, the public relations manager of the Wall Street English language school chain²³, that reflects the current position towards the English language:

More and more importance has been given to English after China carried out the policy of reform and opening up to the outside world in the late 1970s. And accompanying China's rise on the world stage in recent years are growing connections of commerce and culture with other countries, especially those developed English-speaking countries [...] The entire Chinese society attaches high importance to the English study as sometimes it even plays a vital role for a person who plans to pursue further education and seek a better career. There is no doubt that people who have a good command of English are more competitive than their peers. (China Daily, 05.08.2010)

²² Local business agents who were registered with the authorities and acted as Chinese-English translators (Gil & Adamson, 2011, p. 152)

²³ One of the largest private language institutions in China with 73 schools across the mainland.

While the prestige of English has now reached unparalleled heights in China, there are still political and cultural tensions remaining. For a nation that has carried out a proud sinocentric perspective, accepting English as a necessary tool for success and prestige is still a controversial and difficult topic (Gil & Adamson, 2011, p. 40). Adamson (2002, p. 233) provides a historical overview of English language in the country and a brief outline of its position in education over the years:

Period		Role and status	English language education
Later Qing Dynasty	1759-1860	English only permitted to be spoken (in pidgin form) by the despised <i>compradores</i> ; perceived as a barbaric tongue; low official status	Private study by <i>compradores</i>
	1861-1911	Technology transfer: English as a vehicle for gaining access to Western science and technology; helpful to the development of China's international diplomacy; conduit to remunerative jobs in Treaty Ports; later a fad in Shanghai; medium official status	On the curriculum of institutions set up to facilitate transfer of scientific knowledge; later (after 1903) included on the curricula of secondary and tertiary institutions
The Republican Era	1911-23	The Intellectual Revolution: English as a vehicle for exploring Western philosophy and other ideas; opportunities for study abroad; high official status	On the curricula of secondary and tertiary institutions
	1924-49	English as a vehicle for diplomatic, military and intellectual interaction with the West; resistance from nationalistic scholars and politicians fearing unwanted cultural transfer; medium/high official status	On the curricula of secondary and tertiary institutions
	1949-60	Political events make English less favoured; used only as a vehicle for gaining access to Western science and technology; low official status	On the curricula of very few secondary and tertiary institutions

The People's Republic of China	1961-6	The 'First Renaissance': popularity of English increases as political pressure wanes; English perceived as valuable for modernisation and building international understanding; medium/high official status	Promoted on the curricula of secondary and tertiary institutions
	1966-76	Cultural Revolution: English speakers branded as traitors and punished; Western cultural artefacts attacked; low official status	Removed from the curricula of secondary and tertiary institutions; later restored sporadically
	1976-82	Tentative recovery from Cultural Revolution; English seen as useful for national modernisation; medium/high official status	On the curricula of secondary and tertiary institutions
	1982 onwards	English seen as highly desirable for national modernisation; important for social, academic and economic success; opportunities for study and travel abroad; especially promoted in key schools; high official status	Strongly promoted on the curricula of secondary and tertiary institutions

Table 4.4: The historical role and status of the English language in China (Source: Adamson, 2002, p. 233)

After the above historical summary of the status of English and its repercussion in education, we will focus on the English and the current language policies. Because policy makers have linked English education to China's economic prosperity, modernisation and opportunity for advancement in science and technology (D. Zhang, 2012), English language policy seems now more important than ever.

4.4.1. English in China

The Ministry of Education is the institution in charge of the development of the national curriculum in China, which applies to primary and secondary education. This syllabus applies to all subject areas including English. The inclusion of English as part of the compulsory languages in the curriculum is not something new, as it was first established as a compulsory

subject in middle school as early as 1902, during the Qing Dynasty. Yet, the first unified curriculum for English language in primary and secondary school in China was implemented in 1978 and only in 2001 did English become a compulsory subject from the third year of primary schools onwards (G. Hu, 2005). Since 1978 there have been several stages and reforms (Q. Wang, 2007, pp. 89–92):

- The Restoration Phase (1978-1985): This phase consisted in the mastery of phonetics, grammar and pattern memorisation. It was based on the principles of audiolingualism.
- The Rapid Development Phase (1986-1992): During this stage, a great number of approaches were developed and the English curriculum tried to adapt to these new models in order to identify the approach that best suited Chinese learners. The aim was for the teachers to teach well, rather than being fluent, so that they could meet the learning needs and affective demands of the students.
- The Reform Phase (1993-2000): During this period there was a shift from grammar-translation and audiolingual based methods towards a more communicative teaching. The curriculum of 1993 stressed the value of English for communication and openness. At the same time, however, testing was very much orientated towards paper tests based on memorisation with little focus on communicative skills development.
- The innovation phase (2000 onwards): At the turn of the second millennium, the main focus became quality education. It was a common accepted fact that the students were spending most of their time memorising facts for tests and lacked the ability for independent thinking and actual learning. Throughout the previous curriculums and reforms, language ability had been overlooked, there were glaring inconsistencies across the country in terms of the quality of teachers (especially between urban and rural areas) and between primary and secondary schools, since in many secondary school curriculum the students had to learn again what they had been taught in primary schools. This reform provided a new English curriculum specific for primary school that proposed a formative and summative assessment to evaluate the students' language ability (MOE, 2001). This was followed by the

Standard English curriculum in General Senior High School and the Reform of the Standard English Curriculum in Compulsory Education (MOE, 2003, 2011).

4.4.2. The National Curriculum Standards of 2001 and the 2011 Revision

After several attempts to create a thoroughly successful national curriculum, the new national curriculum was introduced in 2001. One of the central tasks of this reform was to design new standards, “a concept that was expected to replace the traditional *syllabus*” (Cheng, 2011, p. 133). Among the new goals, this curriculum required a more student-centred approach to language teaching with a focus on collaborative and experiential learning and an earlier start to English learning (according to this new policy, learning should start at Grade 3 in Primary Education). This curriculum transformed English in a core subject and was implemented nationwide in 2005, after China piloted the experimental curricula between 2001 and 2003, in schools in 42 experimental areas before (Law, 2014; Q. Wang, 2007; D. Zhang, 2012). This curriculum reform results from the changing economic and political contexts that China has experienced over the past 30 years (Feng, 2006, p. 131) and the current role of English as a global tool for communication. The curriculum introduced its goals as below:

In a society characterized by information technology and economic globalization, the importance of English is increasingly prominent. English—as one of the most important means of communication—has become the most widely used language in all areas of human interaction. In many countries... English education is regarded as an important component of quality education. After the initiation of reforms and the opening up of China, English education has been expanding, resulting in many remarkable achievements. However, English education still cannot match the needs of China’s economic construction and social development. The English curriculum reform seeks to change the focus from too much attention to English grammar and vocabulary; instead, the aim is to stimulate student interest in learning, and to develop their ability to use the language. (MOE 2001, p. 1, translated in Hu & Adamson, 2012, p. 13)

Up until 2001 there had been no national requirement to learn English in primary education between the 1980s and 1990s; however English teaching was expanding among the prosperous regions, which in turn contributed to the current inequality among regions. For this reason, the national curriculum made it one of its main goals to standardise the requirements across the country (Zhang, 2012). The 2001 curriculum covered both compulsory education

and senior secondary education, so that the progression in language was consistent and offered a new communicative focus to language learning. In fact, one of the main features was the creation set of clear targets from primary school to the end of senior secondary school, in order to avoid overlaps and restarts in different levels, which was a problem of previous curricula (Ruan & Leung, 2012). Yet, it was complemented by a new curriculum in 2003 explicitly focused on senior secondary schools (MOE, 2003). The 2001 curriculum standards represented the most dramatic shift and unified approach from theory to real classroom practice. Not only did it affect the classroom, but also represented a deep change in textbooks, teaching approaches, assessment criteria and methods. This profound change, however, resulted in some acceptance difficulties and controversies (Cheng, 2011), which will be analysed further in this chapter. This curriculum specified six main objectives, which Guo summarises as below (Guo, 2012, p. 90):

1. Develop a comprehensive and harmonious basic education system. Change the function of curriculum from knowledge transmission to helping students become active lifelong learners;
2. Construct new curriculum structure. Change the subject-centred curriculum structure into a balanced, integrated, and optional curriculum structure to meet the diverse needs of schools and students;
3. Reflect modern curriculum content. Reduce the difficulty and complexity of the old curriculum content and reflect the new essential knowledge, skills and attitudes that students need to be lifelong learners. Strengthen the relevance of the curriculum content to students' lives;
4. Promote constructivist learning. Change the passive learning and rote learning styles into active and problem-solving learning styles to improve students' overall abilities of information processing, knowledge acquisition, problem solving, and cooperative learning;
5. Form appropriate assessment and evaluation rationales. Curriculum assessment and evaluation shifts from its selective purpose to improving the quality of teaching and learning. A combination of formative and summative evaluation approaches is required in the new curriculum; and

6. Promote curriculum democracy and adaptation. Curriculum administration is decentralized toward a joint effort of central government, local governments, and schools to strengthen the relevance of the curriculum to local situations.

In order to provide an even more unified set of guidelines the Ministry of Education made minor revisions to the 2001 Curriculum Standards in 2011. These changes included the elimination of senior high school grade standards and focus only on Grade 1–9, a stronger emphasis on the cultural aspects of English language learning, and reduction in the difficulty level of some aspects of the curriculum (Zhang, 2012, p. 73). It also officially reinstated Chinese culture in the curriculum, which represented “a retreat from the state’s earlier denunciation of traditional Chinese culture as a barrier to development, and signifies culture’s importance to China’s nation building and revival” (Law, 2014). The 2011 version was more inclusive of China’s culture and its past, and intended to incorporate China’s views in all subjects with the aim to reinforce the students’ national identification and pride. This revision also provided ways to foment the development of learning autonomy, as well as suggestions for the teachers to guide students on the use of English learning strategies. It also advocated Communicative approaches and it emphasised Task-Based Language Teaching (Zhang, 2007; Zheng & Borg, 2014). The 2011 version specifies that “both summative and formative assessment should be used” (P. Liu, 2012, p. 116) and provide a 9-point guideline on assessment (Gu, 2012, p. 45):

1. Make full use of assessment to orient stakeholders towards positive directions.
2. Assessment should reflect the centrality of the student.
3. Assessment content and criteria should be guided by the curriculum standards.
4. Pay attention to the appropriateness and variety of assessment methods.
5. Formative assessment should be conducive to monitoring and improving the process of teaching and learning.
6. Summative assessment should centre on the assessment of students’ integrate language use ability.
7. Pay attention to the relationship between instruction and assessment.

8. Assessment at the primary school level should be centred on providing learning incentives to pupils.
9. Properly design and implement the graduation test for junior secondary school achievement.

Not only are the above guidelines available, but the curriculum provides 43 pages (MOE 2011, p. 120-163) of assessment methods and examples to complement them. Another of the prominent features of this curriculum is the inclusion of learning strategies, motivation and cultural awareness, in addition to the traditional linguistic knowledge and skills, which is reminiscent to the CEFR. The curriculum standards use the four skills (listening, speaking, writing and reading) divided in different levels, of which the main ones are three and correspond to primary school (level 2), junior secondary school (level 5) and senior secondary school (level 8).

In regards to assessment, the guidelines for primary school state that, for Grade 5 and 6, the exams should test a combination of oral and writing skills. However, it specifies that, in terms of oral skills, the learners will be tested on the ability to communicate on a familiar topic and, as for writing, the focus will be on listening and reading skills (MOE, 2001, 2011). As we can observe, writing skills are limited to exercises of comprehension (reading and listening) with no focus on grammar or discourse, while oral skills are centred on expressing ideas with little attention to interaction. The curriculum uses similar “can-do” statements to the CEFR that define the goals to accomplish by the end of primary school in Grade 6 (MOE 2011):

Listening	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Understand simple live or recorded speech with the aid of pictures and images 2. Understand simple stories with the aid of pictures 3. Understand simple questions during classroom activities 4. Understand common instructions and respond appropriately
Speaking	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Speak with clear pronunciation and can convey intonation 2. Take part in simple dialogues about familiar personal and family information 3. Use some common daily expressions (e.g. greetings, thanks, apologies, etc.) 4. Tell simple stories with the teacher’s help
Reading	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Read and recognise all words studied 2. Read aloud simple words according to spelling rules 3. Understand short and simple instructions in textbooks

	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4. Understand information expressed in simple texts like greetings cards 5. Understand simple stories or short passages with the aid of pictures and form the habit of reading for overall comprehension 6. Read aloud accurately all the stories and passages studied
Writing	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Copy example sentences 2. Write simple greetings 3. Write short and simple headings and descriptions to fit pictures or objects 4. Use capitalisation and punctuation with basic accuracy
Other	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Use simple English to play games 2. Perform short stories or fairy tales with the teacher's help 3. Say 30-40 simple nursery rhymes or chants 4. Perform 30-40 English songs 5. Understand English cartoons and programmes of a suitable level (on average 20-25 minutes per week)

Table 4.5: Level 2 general MOE (Source: MOE 2011)

At first glance and despite sharing some similarities with other curriculums analysed, we can easily identify some peculiarities from the Chinese system, as well as some instructions that lack the necessary specifications for a more effective implementation.

In the listening section, we observe two main features: firstly, the use of “simple” with no further detail into what constitutes a simple speech, question or story; secondly, the required context-embedded material. These guidelines require to always provide the learners with aids such as images or realia in order for them to understand it, that is, it requires context-embedded information. In words of Bachman (1990, p. 131) “language use that occurs in a context rich with familiar or known information that is relevant to the information expressed in the discourse is context-embedded”, which he goes on to explain may affect the authenticity of the task. This context-embedded language requirement reflects Cummins’ differentiation of the four quadrants (Cummins, 1981): context-reduced, context-embedded, cognitively demanding and cognitively undemanding, which earlier theories grouped in academic and conversational language, and linked to a higher or lower proficiency of language. Yet, these were highly criticised for the oversimplification of the nature of language and language learning, and believed the idea of “context embedded/reduced” to be misleading because language at school is arguably always embedded in the classroom context to some extent (C. Baker, 2011).

As for speaking skills, we can observe very little focus on interaction, with only one general statement about being able to take part on simple dialogues about a familiar subject, and the rest focusing on memory-based production. There is an interesting characteristic and that is the conveying of intonation. Because English and Chinese belong to two entirely different language families (phonographic and ideographic respectively), the difference in pronunciation are distinctly marked. Chinese is a tone-based language, in which the pitch level greatly influences the meaning (Li, 2016). Because of English relies on the intonation to express a specific nuance of an idea (e.g. tone variation for questions), Chinese students which are not used to varying the modulation of a sentence are concerned with sounding insincere or unnatural, as well as misunderstood. For this reason, pronunciation becomes an important part of language learning for Chinese students. On the one hand, the emphasis on pronunciation comes from the focus they have on their mother tongue, due to the fact that tones can change the meaning of Chinese, so this emphasis is also transferred in English learning. At the same time English utterances have particular intonation patterns to express different meanings, which do not exist in Chinese and requires specific attention from the learners (Zhang & Yin, 2009). On the other hand, the possibility of feeling misunderstood or embarrassed is intrinsically linked to the concept of “loosing face” an Asian cultural aspect, especially in China, which bears vital importance (X. Qi, 2011; Wu, 2009) and can alter the affective filters of the learner. Consequently, pronunciation becomes a main objective for the learners of this context.

In the section dedicated to reading, we can identify two references to pronunciation in the “read aloud” statements, which again reiterates the importance of pronunciation in language learning. In regards to comprehension, it refers to the understanding of simple texts and instructions, and with the aid of context for narrative. The statements observed seem to be in line with the guidelines and overall “basic” level to be achieved. Yet, the first of the goals states that the student should “read and recognise all words studied”, which assumes that the students should learn every single word studied through primary education (from Grade 3 to Grade 6). This can be interpreted as an unrealistic expectation, which has some resonance to the memory emphasis of previous teaching techniques in China (X. Yu, 2013).

On writing, the guidelines emphasise copying example sentence, following the memorisation traditional process and contradicting the communicative approach that the guidelines aim to transmit. The statements are reduced to simple greetings and short and simple context-embedded descriptions, which reflects a lack of focus on discourse competence development and fostering of creativity. At the same time, the writing section refers to basic accuracy of capitalisation and punctuation with no mention of grammar. This section is followed by one that does not technically feature in Norwegian and Spanish curriculums but that, upon observation, could be classified as cultural aspects. The section dedicated to “other” refers to games, songs, fairy tales and English TV programmes, which fits into the category of culture awareness. However, it sets unrealistic expectations once more by requiring the learners to learn 30-40 nursery rhymes and 30-40 English songs. At the same time, the guidelines regarding the understanding of English cartoons and programmes seem to be incongruent with the limited listening and comprehension specified skills.

4.4.2.1. A Constructivist Model in the Chinese Curriculum

In contrast to previous teaching beliefs that were teacher-centric and followed a grammar-focused methodology, the new reform states that the student is the main focus and communication is the new goal and follows a more constructivist model (Ruan & Leung, 2012). In order to achieve this, it emphasises the need to support the students after school (MOE 2011). The ECS provides explicit guidelines for after school activities to practise English. For primary school in particular not only are these activities clearly stated in the guidelines, but also require all students to participate in them. The guidelines encourage teachers to organise English corners, competitions and other after school activities aligned with the English curriculum (P. Liu, 2012). Also in relation to the students’ centredness, this reform provides descriptors that include learning strategies and affective attitude filters. In fact Section 1.4 of the curriculum is dedicated to learning strategies and stresses that teachers are required to guide students on learning techniques, which in turn require the teachers to possess certain pedagogical knowledge. Unfortunately, this presents some challenges as the differences between rich and poor areas, which often correspond to urban and rural areas, determine the quality of the learning experience (Gil & Adamson, 2011). Teachers’ qualifications and

infrastructures, despite having improved over the years, are still very different from urban to rural areas (Guo, 2012; Hu, 2003; Nunan, 2003). Adding to this is the heavy work load of 20 or more class hours per week that reduces the teachers time to improve their knowledge of ELT theories and pedagogies (Zhang, 2012).

4.4.2.2. Challenges in Implementation

While the current reform and curriculum has had a wide overall acceptance, it faces important challenges that require to be addressed for its successful implementation. According to the report from the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD, 2016), the rural-urban gap is the most critical social challenge. A significant portion of the population had migrated to the cities, which has resulted in urban population almost quadrupling in the last 35 years, to the extent that, in 2014, there were over 700 million people living in the cities. This has resulted in teachers moving from rural to urban areas in search for better prospects. While the government has launched a number of programmes to improve school infrastructures in the countryside, such as “the Rural Primary and Secondary Schools Dilapidated Building Renovation Project in Central and Western China, the Rural Primary and Secondary Boarding Schools Project, and Comprehensive Improvement of the Basic School Conditions for Schools at Poor and Underdeveloped Areas” (OECD, 2016, p. 28), there are different factors contributing to this gap:

- **Hukou policy:** this system is, in essence, a class identification system that divides citizens in two different types, the rural status ones (*nongye*) and the urban ones (*feinongye*). This system was implemented in 1958 with the idea of controlling people’s mobility, however it created a big divide between rich and poor, urban and rural (Donzuso, 2015). According to this policy, urban citizens receive certain benefits, public education, privileges and status, whereas rural ones do not. At the same time, any children from “migrant” workers (from rural-to-urban) are classed directly as migrant, independently on where they are born (Zhou & Cheung, 2017). The government revised this policy in 2014 to allow more “migrant children” to receive public education, however it still recognises some migrants as “better” than others and this policy continues to contribute to the rural-urban divide.

- **Fewer promotion chances and lower quality** of life still have a big impact on recruiting and keeping qualified teachers. In order to combat this, the government has put policies forward to improve working conditions in the countryside, such as requiring teachers in urban areas to work for short periods in rural schools and offering better salaries. Despite these initiatives, the general belief continues to be that “it is an especially terrible situation for English teachers to work in rural schools because of the disadvantages of poor pay and lack of welfare” (Li, 2016, p. 2388) and years will be needed to bridge this gap.
- **Schools in metropolitan areas introduce English earlier to students** (often from Grade 1), “whilst for those in remote and rural areas, the introduction of English may have to be delayed due to inadequate teaching resources” (Qi, 2016, p. 3)

According to Zhang (2012), another challenge is the exposure to print and literature support. In regards to exposure and support, children receive very limited access to print materials outside the classroom and their contact with English language outside school is often reduced to their attendance to private tuition and language academies, which differs greatly between urban and rural areas, since the fees are often too high for most students in rural regions. Even though, the 2011 reform makes it a requirement to have outside class reading and encourages educators and institutions to complement their lessons with available the Internet and ICT resources, the extent to which economically disadvantaged areas (usually rural ones) have access to these resources is questionable. At the same time it is a common belief in China the lack of a “good English language environment”, a belief shared by students and teachers, which is not necessarily true. While the access to authentic material does vary among regions, it is often a lack of awareness on how to use the available materials, both in and outside the classroom (Gil, 2008).

Another challenge in the curriculum is its internal contradictions, which were mentioned above, as well as the unclear information on how to use cross-linguistic transfer and awareness. In terms of cross-linguistic influence in EFL literacy acquisition, there has been little research in China. Unlike in Europe, a plurilingual approach to English language teaching is not the current focus of language learning in China. Given the distance between the English and Chinese language little research has examined cross-linguistic transfer and only now is this

phenomenon starting to be investigated (D. Zhang, 2013). While there are some inconsistencies among the results of existing studies in the field, according to a recent meta-analysis of 33 articles based on different cross-linguistic transfer between Chinese and English studies, both English and Chinese share linguistic commonality that can “allow for transfer in learning between the languages” (Yang, Cooc, & Sheng, 2017, p. 1). In this sense, the curriculum could provide some guidance on how to use these linguistic features to improve on English language learning. The only reference in the curriculum to the use of the mother tongue is limited to the use of Chinese when needed in order to learn English more effectively. Another contradiction is the fact that English is officially considered a core language along with Mathematics and Chinese, yet the teaching hours in the curriculum are not comparable to them. From Grade 3 to 6, students are offered three English classes per week (40 min per lesson) (G. Y. Qi, 2016). This can be observed in the table below:

Core Subject	Primary One	Primary Two	Primary Three	Primary Four	Primary Five	Primary Six
English	N/A	N/A	3	3	3	3
Chinese	9	9	7	7	6	6
Mathematics	5	5	4	4	4	5
Total weekly lessons	14	14	14	14	13	14

Table 4.6: Weekly lessons for three core subjects in primary schools (Source: G. Y. Qi, 2016, p. 3)

Finally, the mismatched reception from teachers and their concerns have also become a challenge in the even implementation of this reform. As decision makers in curriculum implementation, teachers are the pillar for educational policies to succeed. According to Guo (2012), teachers were initially concerned about the changes the reform represented in terms of longer hours, heavier workload, changes in teaching approaches and job security. During the past few years teaching contracts were introduced, whereas traditionally it had been permanent employment and commonly known as the “Iron Rice Bowl” (OECD, 2016). Also, in 2010 a performance-based salary system was implemented, which was followed by regular inspections and appraisals, resulting in increased pressure for the teacher.

4.4.3. China Standard of English (CES) and its Relation to the CEFR

In regards to English, the main aims of the new curriculum have been to provide specific guidelines to improve English literacy education, developing communicative competences and specific learning strategies, as well as cultivating cross-cultural awareness and positive values. These values remind us of the CEFR and, in fact, using the CEFR as reference, China tried to adapt them as the Common Chinese Framework of Reference for English (CCFR-E): Teaching, Learning, Assessment, however this project was suspended in 2015 in favour of the Chinese Standards of English (CSE)²⁴, which aims to standardise English learning for China and provide a national framework (Jin, Wu, Alderson, & Song, 2017). As it happens with the different contexts within Europe, the CEFR fails to provide specific guidelines for each context and, in this case, it failed to take into account the lack of English proficiency of Chinese teachers, the limited print resources, the different roles and status of the teachers and students, the considerable size of the classrooms, and the traditional teaching practices that prevail over new communicative approaches in China, among other. In fact, English language teaching researchers and educators in China question whether communicative competence should be the goal for Chinese students, given that only a small percentage (compared to Europeans) will actually use English later in life and it will be mostly limited to the work environment (Feng, 2011, p. 137).

In response to some of the challenges experienced with the implementation of the National Curriculum Standards, a movement has arisen to create an English national framework. The current syllabi for English language have been developed and implemented by different departments in the Ministry of Education, which has resulted in inconsistencies across different educational stages in terms of proficiency levels and requirements (Jin et al., 2017). To illustrate this, below we can observe a figure of the management structure of education:

²⁴ For further information on the CSE project visit: <http://cse.neea.edu.cn/html1/folder/1505/249-1.htm>

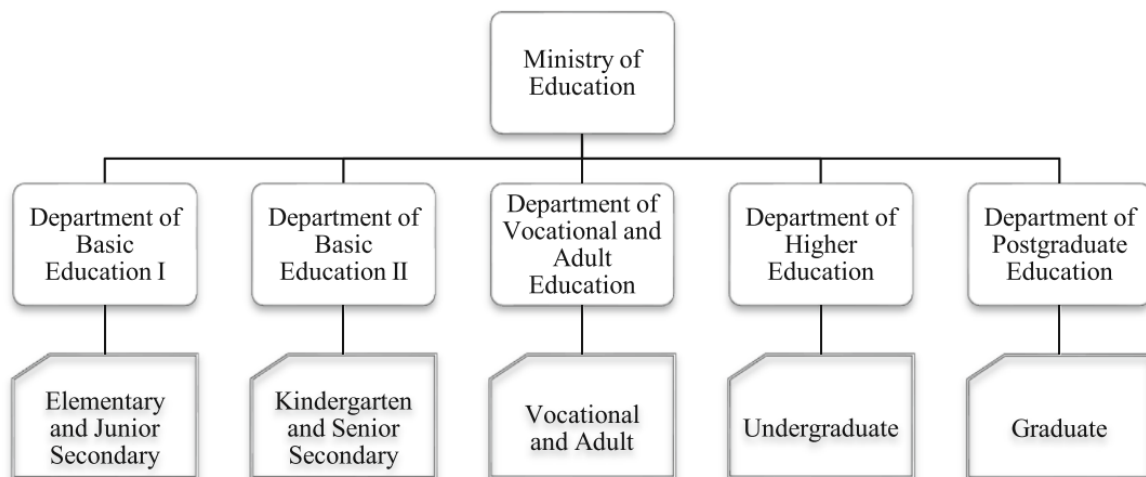


Figure 4.2: Management structure of education in China (Source: Jin et al. 2017, p. 3)

Shifting back to the guidelines, as we observed in the analysis of the statements there are unclear terms (such as the use of “simple” with a lack of context) and no shared understanding of communication abilities. In terms of vocabulary learning, the curriculum requires students in primary school to learn between 600 and 700 words and 50 common phrases as well 404 word families, despite the fact that the curriculum includes a list of over 3,300 words; in addition, it does not specify how many in each grade and whether it is progressive. Moving to the next education level, junior secondary school, the requirement upgrades to 1500 words, however it is unclear if this is accumulative or additional (MOE, 2011). In the curriculum “core lexical items or items new to each educational stage are not indicated, making it difficult for teachers, textbook writers and assessment developers to focus on the items essential to education at a particular stage” (Jin et al., p. 5). These challenges also affect assessment, since the different tests at the different levels are designed and provided by different organisations, which do not collaborate in the process, resulting in incoherence among levels. As a consequence of the reasons stated above, there is a need for a unifying and transparent English language framework. Even though the CEFR has had an influence in the design of the new curriculums and the CSE, studies show that scholars do not recommend the CEFR as they do not consider it useful for Chinese students (Weicheng, 2012). China is a nationally proud country that requires its perspectives and values to permeate all levels of society and education is no different.

The Chinese Standards of English (CSE) is an innovative project still on the works, organised by the National Education Examinations Authority (NEEA)²⁵ and that consists of eight research groups focusing on listening, reading, speaking, writing, translation, interpreting, pragmatics, and linguistic knowledge. Once it is implemented, it “is expected to introduce a degree of commonality in terms of the national-level educational policy in English teaching, learning and assessment, leading ultimately to improvement in the efficiency and effectiveness of English education in China” (op. cit. p. 12). Once it is implemented, however, further research will be needed to investigate its impact on both students and educators, since once more they will have to adapt to new guidelines and proficiency levels.

4.4.4. Language Ecology in China

Despite the fact that English is now the *de facto* lingua franca worldwide, the contexts where it is used vary extensively worldwide and so does the English learning process depending on the mother tongue and socio-historic factors. The People's Republic of China is a vast multilingual and multi-ethnic country, where dozens of minority languages were supported or suppressed in different moments of history. At the moment the main language is Mandarin (*Putonghua*), which is not only the official language but also a majority language in the world, yet China is the home of 56 nationalities, among which the majority belongs to the Han ethnic group and comprises nearly 91.5% of the total population, with approximately 8.5% encompassing the other 55 minority groups and their respective languages (as per the National Census in 2010) (Shan, 2018). There are about fifty to sixty languages taught in school but it is estimated that China has 129 languages (Tsung, 2009; Yuming, 2015). Minority languages tend to be located in poorer regions and disadvantaged areas, where minority children often fall in the lowest quartiles in terms of educational achievement and access to education. Whilst this has improved in China with the help of local governments, which have adopted measures to ensure that every child can have access to compulsory education (OECD, 2016), there still exists an inequality among children of different ethnicities and mother tongues. Some of these include the fact that “the basic education curriculum uses Mandarin Chinese as a language medium; the curriculum is often disconnected from local circumstances and of seeming little

²⁵ For further information on this institution, visit: <http://www.neea.edu.cn/html1/folder/16013/2-1.htm>

relevance; the quantity of ethnic minority teachers and school administrators is inadequate; and capacity for delivering bilingual education is low“ (UNICEF, 2012).

From the start of the new millennium, central and local governments have formulated and implemented bilingual and trilingual education policies throughout the country, with different rates of success and following different models (Feng & Adamson, 2015). At the same time not all minority languages in China occupy the same positions in terms of their demography, legal status and prestige. All these factors create a very uneven landscape in education which requires further research and attention.

The fact that English has now become a core subject in school and a prestige language in China for business, trade and tourism, when certain Chinese minority languages are often perceived as belonging to a lower class or being problematic (some of them due to being associated with independence movements), has only contributed to the belief among some minority groups that proficiency in Chinese and English is essential, but it may be to the detriment of their own language. From the language ecology point of view, it is common for local languages to view English as a threat, and it is for this reason that policy support to minority languages in China is becoming more important than ever. According to Pan (2015, p. 155), “the spread of English in China should be characterised not as an enforced spread but as active absorption, whereby local and individual language acquisition decisions respond to changes in the complex ecology of the world’s language system.” In order to achieve this, any further amends to the curriculum should emphasise the importance of language awareness in education. Because “[s]chools have played and continue to play a major role in annihilating languages and identities” (Skutnabb-kangas & Phillipson, 2008, p. 3), our investigation aims to analyse the approach to English language learning and explore ways to continue to foster plurilingualism and non-threatening approaches to English language learning.

4.5. Cross-Country Comparative Table of the Grade 6 Curriculum

Following the above analyses provided in Section 4.2, 4.3 and 4.4, we present below a comparative table of the general main aspects of the Chinese, Norwegian and Spanish (and

Valencian) curricula for English in Grade 6 in primary education. In the table we can observe not only technical aspects based on duration of the class and age, but also the expected proficiency level for Grade 6 according to the CEFR and the teaching approaches used. Table 4.7 offers an overview of the information provided throughout this chapter and will also support the conclusions that will follow. For the full curricula please refer to the links in footnotes 15, 16 and 18 (Spain and Norway), and Appendix 13 (China):

Grade 6	Norway	Spain	Valencian Region	China
Teaching hours	60min/class	50min/class	45-50min/class	45min/class
Hours per week	2h	3-4h (depending on region)	3h	3h
Start age in Primary School	6 (Grade 1)	6 (Grade 1)	3 (pre-school)	8-9 (Grade 3)
Speaking	A2-B1	A1-A2*	A2	A1
Listening	B2	A1-A2*	A2	A1
Writing	A2	A1-A2*	A2	A1
Reading	A2	A1-A2*	A2	A1
Content specification	Low	High	High	Medium
Cultural aspects	Great Britain, USA and other English-speaking countries	Great Britain, USA and other English-speaking countries	Great Britain, USA and other English-speaking countries	Reference in curriculum only to: Foreign and Chinese culture
Teaching ELF	Medium	Medium	Medium	Medium-Low
Approach	Communicative	Communicative/CLIL	Communicative/CLIL	Communicative/TBLT*
Plurilingual approach to ELT	High	Low	Low	Low

Table 4.7: Comparison of Norwegian, Spanish and Chinese curricula

Table References:

Aspects	High	Medium	Low
Content	Specific vocabulary and syntactic-discursive structures	Some content specified but with freedom for interpretation (e.g. specific number of words but no word list provided)	Only guidelines are provided with no specific content
ELF	English taught as global communication with no reference to nativism.	English is recognised as a global language but belonging to native speakers.	Inner Circle speakers are used as reference. The aim of ELT is to achieve a level as close as possible to native.
Plurilingual approach	Uses mother tongue (or any other LX if applicable) and English in ELT. Developing metalinguistic skills.	Uses mother tongue (or any other LX if applicable) for support in instruction only in ELT.	Uses English only.

* The Chinese curriculum requires the use of CLT/TBLT approaches, yet the vast majority of approaches reported a grammar-translation based and memorisation

4.6. Conclusion

The following conclusions will be divided in two parts according to the chapter structure. The first part of these conclusions will be dedicated to the globalisation of language policy and the CEFR; and the second one to the analysis outcome of the three countries subject of our study.

In regards to globalisation, it is undeniable that language policies seem to be following a similar path around the world. Because of the extensive guidelines the CEFR offers in different language-related topics, such as learning, teaching, assessment and, consequently, language policy, it has become a tool used worldwide. Whereas it has been used fully or partially, or even it has been also used as an inspiration to create other guidelines, this framework has had an impact on policy and multilingual awareness. The CEFR marked a pivotal moment in education, in a time when technology, mobility and other factors were contributing to language globalisation. Linguistic awareness started to gain strength and the advances of

English as the universal language required the education sector to be prepared to contribute to language preservation. This did not go unnoticed and it has developed into different research fields, in fact, “in language education, globalization has stimulated scholarly inquiries into the relationship between language, nation-states, and identities” (Shin & Kubota, 2008, p. 209). While this framework has the potential to be used for any language, it is no secret that it is mainly associated to English learning and testing (Jenkins & Leung, 2019; Leung, 2013), and it provides both a view of English as a nationally-bound language and as a non-identity vehicle for social and economic mobility and international communication. It would be a logic conclusion to state that the expansion of the CEFR worldwide has contributed to the standardisation and promotion of English learning. Yet, its applicability for ELF has been contested (Hynninen, 2014; McNamara, 2012), as it has been argued earlier in the chapter.

In contrast, around the time the CEFR got established, research on ELF started to develop and become a recognised global force (House, 2003; Seidlhofer, 2004). As a reaction to this recognised new role of English language, and backed by European values, the idea of plurilingualism started to permeate society and education. Because the CEFR was originally devised for Europe, it puts forward diversity values and cultural awareness that can be extrapolated to anywhere in the world, as no society is fully linguistically homogeneous. Along with the framework, philosophies of respect among cultures reached well-beyond Europe. As we can observe in the example of China, a country characterised by nationalism have even included in their curriculum objective such as “understand the cultural connotations and background during communication and adopt a respectful and tolerant attitude towards cultures of different countries” (MOE, 2011, p. 8). Nonetheless, the CEFR provides different options to deal with plurilingualism, which has resulted in each country understanding it in different ways, as well as unclear applicability in the classroom. In order to understand the impact of the CEFR and the current ideas of plurilingualism, different language policies around the globe were analysed and brought some relevant conclusions that demonstrate the need for further research in the matter.

Despite the fact that the CEFR was created to be used as reference, it is clear that it quickly has become the only system (Fulcher, 2004a). In the analysis of the three current curricula for primary education in Norway, China and Spain, we can see the main characteristics of this

framework, namely the communicative approach and the “can-do” statements. In terms of the promotion of plurilingualism, it can be observed that the degree to which each country refers to the CEFR varies. On the one hand, Norway follows a plurilingual approach that allows the use of the mother tongue and English in order to improve the learner’s metalinguistic skills. On the other hand, China and Spain understand plurilingualism in different ways. They both keep their mother tongues separate, yet China sees plurilingualism in the sense of adding a foreign language to the official Mandarin. In this context, cross-linguistic influence is in great part ignored and linguistic awareness of minority languages is not taken into account. In the English classroom, Chinese is permitted as a support for English instruction. Conversely, Spain follows an English only approach in the classroom and while plurilingualism is understood as the fostering of not only one or two foreign languages but also the official and minority regional languages. In this sense, in Spain languages are kept separate, not benefiting from the development of metalinguistic skills and cross-linguistic influence. It can be observed that in the three countries the concept of English as a universal language is still misunderstood, as it is still linked to Western countries (specially from the Inner Circle) and not to international communication that belongs to everyone, not just the native speakers. In terms of time dedicated to English learning, it can be observed that Norway dedicates fewer hours in school; however the curriculum states that the learners will continue to learn and practise from real context outside the classroom. In this sense, it is understandable that both China and Spain dedicate more hours to English language learning, which they compensate outside of the actual subject hours with CLIL subjects in the case of Spain and after school activities in China. It can be argued that the extra hours in both countries are due to the lack of English context outside the classroom and the distance between languages. As for the teaching approaches proposed in the abovementioned policies, the main coinciding feature in the three syllabi is the promotion of the communicative approach, which is one of the main tenets of the CEFR. Even though communication is the main principle, the implementation of CLT worldwide is not equally successful in different contexts. Direct transfer of traditionally western CLT practices are unrealistic and not fully successful in specific contextual factors such as China (teacher speaking proficiency, reluctance to change traditional practices, fear of losing face, etc.) (Song, 2018). In this sense, the communicative approach should be understood as a wider paradigm to be combined with different methodologies according to each context.

It could be concluded that the CEFR has been a positive tool to regulate English language learning worldwide, however, due to its links to nativism and British institutions, it has covertly contributed to linguistic imperialism. Despite the view of English as a universal language clearly stated in the different contexts and curricula studied, in all three of them culture aspects of languages fall back mainly on British and American western cultures. Our investigation provides evidence for the influence of the CEFR in different policies and for the different understandings of plurilingualism as competence and as an approach.

Part II – Empirical Research

Part I was devoted to painting a detailed picture of the current status of English as a global language and its repercussion in education with a focus on multilingualism. For this purpose, we started with an overview of the history of English as a Lingua Franca to understand the actual reach of this language that has permeated societies all over the world. Given the impact of this language in education and its increasing demand, we then continued with the analysis of the different methodologies for English teaching over the years. The study of the status of English and its relation ELT was examined throughout this dissertation from the perspective of language ecology, focusing on the place (or rather lack thereof) of the mother tongue in language learning and teaching at the moment. Once the theoretical framework was reviewed, and in order to contextualise the real situation of English language learning in primary school in Asia and Europe, we examined the language policies of the countries participating in this study, namely Spain, Norway and China, as well as studied the impact that the Common European Framework has had worldwide in terms of language teaching approaches and methodologies, language policies, multilingualism and promotion of English.



Figure 5.1: Theoretical Framework line of progress

The first three chapters of the theoretical framework were necessary to understand the current state of the art in English teaching and learning and present the matters that will surround our study and hypotheses. In Chapter 4, we presented a qualitative analytical study of the current language policies in the countries participating in our research in order to correlate the theory in academia to the way it is translated into policies and its result in the actual practice. This last chapter acts as a guiding thread that links the theoretical with the empirical and consists of an initial analysis of the status quo that will provide a background for the empirical data on Part II to provide a 360-view on the matter.

Part II

Consequently, Part II presents an empirical study comprised of different sections aimed at investigating and contrasting the impact of using monolingual and plurilingual communicative approaches in the English classroom with the purpose of finding the best approach to English learning. Not only is this study focused on English learning but is also on the need for awareness in ELF, while it brings to light the different inconsistencies with the language policies and the classroom.

The abovementioned empirical study was carried out in the following phases: a pilot test along with informal interviews to the teachers of the participating schools in Spain, Norway and China to extract the relevant information, prepare the main experiment and corroborate the teachers' perception of the national guidelines and teaching approaches; an experiment in which two different groups in each school (control and experimental) received respectively a monolingual and plurilingual approach to English teaching and took a test at the end of the experiment; and finally a questionnaire to gather demographic information about the students and on their views of language and teaching approaches they receive. We then conclude our study with a thorough analysis of the outcomes obtained and their implications.

Chapter 5. Methodology

5.1. Motivation of the Study and Objectives

Ever since the origins of applied linguistics, a monolingual language proficiency in a second or foreign language has been regarded as the benchmark. This concept, also known as the monolingual bias (Cook, 1997) or monolingual fallacy (Phillipson, 1992), in which a monolingual approach is promoted to supposedly boost the use and exposure of the target language has had a long-lived impact and it is still deeply rooted in education guidelines and teaching practices throughout the world. At the same time, due to the unprecedented spread of English as an international lingua franca, English teaching and learning has become an intrinsic necessity worldwide. While communicative teaching and its descendants (such as the CLIL) are still present, as we have observed in the analysis of the current guidelines in different countries and the CEFR, and they support the main objectives of communication promoted in ELF, contradicting misalignments between approaches are still present in the day-to-day of the classroom.

Very recently there has been a change in sociolinguistics, a turn towards multilingualism and an emphasis on the need for greater transdisciplinary engagement in SLA (The Douglas Fir Group, 2016). The multilingual turn in SLA has only just started and it was, as May (2019) puts it, very long overdue. Research on language teaching and learning has been shifting to give rise to multilingual approaches, yet the reticence to implement them is still clear. Different studies have demonstrated the benefits of multilingual approaches in language learning (García & Wei, 2014; Gorter & Cenoz, 2017; Haukås, 2015), yet the change in practices in schools is not immediate. Our motivation for this study is to show the practical benefits of using a multilingual approach in English teaching in different regions that have very different backgrounds, such as being a bilingual or monolingual territory, having very different language family mother tongues, and having different language policies. Consequently, our present study is undertaken in the Valencian Region in Spain, in Norway and Southeast China.

As seen on Chapter 4, the CEFR has overtaken teaching guidelines and affected education policies beyond Europe, promoting the use of communicative approaches and, in theory, multilingualism. Yet, multilingualism is understood very differently depending on the region. For instance, multilingual education in Spain involves the use of different languages in different subjects but never mixed in the classroom, thus English teaching follows a monolingual approach in the classroom. Norway, however, uses a full involvement of the mother tongue in English learning, providing a multilingual environment in the classroom. While, in China, on the other hand, multilingualism disregards minority Chinese languages but focuses on the importance of English as a high status language. At the same time, English as a universal language seems to be the motto of every language teaching guideline, yet its implementation follows a monolingual approach that keeps English linked to Western countries.

After our initial analysis on language policies (see Chapter 4) in the participating countries and reviewing the theoretical framework of ELF, SLA and English Language Teaching, it can be observed that there is a research gap that requires further investigation focused on the real practices in the English classroom. Therefore, the present study aims to contribute to the growing data on English language learning in primary school and addresses the following objectives and sub/objectives:

1. To explore the different results obtained using a monolingual and a plurilingual approach within an ELF perspective in the English classroom.
 - a. Comparing the use of a monolingual and a plurilingual approach in Norway, Spain and China.
 - b. Analysing whether a plurilingual approach can promote the development of strategic competence using L1 as a scaffolding tool.
 - c. Examining whether the use of L1 in the English classroom has any impact on the students' behaviour.
2. To compare the similarities and the differences among learners in the same level in different countries in the English classroom.
 - a. Comparing the behaviour, strategies and language difficulties in Norway, Spain and China.

- b. Relating the language policy of the country to the results of the study in each country.
3. To analyse the language attitudes of primary school students towards their mother tongue and English, as well as their perspectives and beliefs on language learning.
 - a. Extracting relevant demographic data to outline the characteristics of the participating sixth grade students.
 - b. Assessing the students' attitude towards English use.
 - c. Reflecting on the learners' understanding and preference of approaches used in the English classroom.
 - d. Evaluating the students' affectivity towards English and their mother tongue.
 - e. Reflecting on the students ELF awareness.

5.2. Research Questions

In view of the above objectives and considering our previous research on English as a Lingua Franca, English teaching, mother tongue in language learning and multilingualism, the main concerns arising prior to the empirical research below are the following:

1. Are the national guidelines for English teaching followed in the each context? Is communicative language teaching applied in the participating contexts?
2. Can L1 be used as a learning tool to teach English achieving better results than English only approaches independently of the context? Can L1 be beneficial in the classroom by reducing instruction time and improving learners' behaviour?
3. Will the results between monolingual and plurilingual approaches differ greatly according to the country? Will the plurilingual approach be more useful in one country rather than another one?
4. Do sixth grade students have an ecological view of language? Do they value English and their mother tongues differently? What are the learners' perceptions on the approaches used in the English classroom?

5.3. Hypotheses

Taking into consideration the above research objectives and questions we outlined the following hypotheses:

1. Primary school students will perform better in the English classroom when a plurilingual approach is used rather than a monolingual, independently of the context.
 - a. The students will understand concepts faster and therefore more time will be able to be spent on practise.
 - b. The students will be able to retain and understand new concepts better when they are related to their mother tongue.
 - c. The students will behave better when the class is imparted using a plurilingual approach.
2. Language policies and guidelines, along with the curriculum, have a direct impact on the students' view of the status, prestige and use of the mother tongue and English.
 - a. At this age, primary education students start to consolidate their ideas on language status and use, which provides a good opportunity to establish an ecological perspective of language learning.
 - b. Current guidelines do not provide enough guidance on the development of plurilingual competences.
3. The current language policies and embraced CEFR are not adapted to the current realities of the classroom.
 - a. The current communicative language approach proposed needs adapting to the classroom needs to be more efficient.
 - b. Instead of supporting plurilingualism, the current policies support languages independently, rather than contributing to building an interactive and interconnected plurilingual repertoire.
 - c. Despite promoting English as a global language, language policies do not refer to the ELF framework.

5.4. Framing the Scope of the Study

Building on the aforementioned research questions and hypotheses, the first stage of our empirical study was to determine the scope. Firstly, the requirements needed to participate in the study were defined. These included choosing countries with different family languages and very diverse cultures, and contexts that, despite having different language policies, promoted communicative approaches, as well as settings where the learners' had a similar curricula so that the unit selected for the experiment could be applicable in all. Due to the fact that we had teaching experience in Norway, Spain and China, and that these regions met the requirements for the study, those were the three settings selected.

Following this selection, we focused on establishing contact with schools to participate on the experiment. However, this process turned to be more arduous than we anticipated. Gaining access to the schools is known to be a difficult task for researchers and especially for early researchers (Oates & Riaz, 2016) due to a more reduced access to resources, as it was the case. To add to this, we lacked a gatekeeper and budget for this project, which was fully self-funded. Under these parameters, we determined to contact as many schools as possible in Norway and China. In contrast, in Spain we were able to visit the schools personally and also had some contacts facilitated by the university. All this resulted in an uneven number of schools that will be discussed in detail in the participants section further in this chapter.

The duration of the study was dictated by the time constrictions of this dissertation, which allowed time for a prior pilot study followed by the main experiment. The pilot was designed and tested in 2017, while the main experiment was carried out in the course year 2018-2019. For the pilot we selected one school in Spain and one in Norway, in order to confirm that the same study could take place in different countries. Once the pilot test was analysed and we applied the relevant changes to design the final study, the main experiment in each of the schools was scheduled in different months through the school year 2018-2019 in order to allow the time for preparation, execution and analysis of the results. The planning was scheduled as follows:

- School 1 (Spain) in October

Part II

- School 2 (Spain) in November
- School 3 (Spain) in December
- School 4 (Norway) in February
- School 5 (China) in April
- School 6 (China) in April

In the final experiment we aimed to compare the results of a test for English language students in sixth grade after teaching a unit using a monolingual approach (control group) and a plurilingual approach (experimental group). This study was complemented by a survey focused on the students' perceptions and beliefs on language and English language learning. The questionnaire was required in order to achieve a holistic overview of the classroom reality, as the curriculum analysis and test provide information that cannot be analysed out of context, in other words, without taking into account the main participants' attitudes. Richards and Schmidt (2013, p. 314) define language attitude and its implication in learning as follows:

Expressions of positive or negative feelings towards a language may reflect impressions of linguistic difficulty or simplicity, ease or difficulty of learning, degree of importance, elegance, social status, etc. Attitudes towards a language may also show what people feel about the speakers of that language. Language attitudes may have an effect on second language or foreign language learning. The measurement of language attitudes provides information which is useful in language teaching and language planning.

5.5. Research Paradigm

When deciding on the research paradigm to use we took into consideration the three necessary factors in research described by Grotjahn (1987): the data collection method (experimental or non-experimental); the type of data (qualitative or quantitative); and the type of analysis conducted on the data (statistical or interpretative). Traditional research methods in applied linguistics were investigated and it was found that, as presented by Rindal and Brevik (2019, p. 422), in the field of English teaching most research uses a quantitative research designs, "with the majority of studies being quantitative (42%), followed by qualitative (34%), and mixed methods (24%)." Yet, the mixed methods are becoming increasingly popular and

the idea behind them is to maximise the effectiveness of research by using the strengths of both qualitative and quantitative types of investigation (Phakiti, De Costa, Plonsky, & Starfield, 2018).

With the purpose of providing as much information as possible within our allocated time, we decided against a pure system, as it would mean using only a qualitative or a quantitative study and we settled a mixed method. In terms of the experimental or non-experimental nature of the research, being a study on the performance of students depending on teaching approaches we required an experimental collection method. As Grotjahn and Kasper (1991, p. 109) point out “the best teaching method is the one that produces the best learning outcomes, and the best research, the one that is most capable of fulfilling a given research purpose”. Hence, the research paradigm chosen was one in which we could test our proposal.

Even though our experiment would ideally benefit from a longitudinal analysis, due to time constraints for this dissertation, we carried out a cross-sectional research collecting from a group of participants at a single point in time in each of the settings using different instruments, such as classroom observation, tests and questionnaires, which were validated by external judgement from Shenzhen University (SZU, 深圳大学), Universitat Jaume I (UJI), Universitat de Valencia (UV) and the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU).

Overall, with the objective to establish the benefits of using a plurilingual approach to English teaching over using a monolingual one, while understanding the students’ attitudes and the different contexts, we carried out a mixed-method cross-sectional study from which we extracted and analysed statistical and interpretative data.

5.5.1. Participants

The selected participants were 10-12 years old in sixth grade of primary school and all the schools participating were public. One of the main reasons behind choosing this year groups is the fact that they have a more solidified basic knowledge of English that allows different approaches to be used and followed, as well as having the capacity for abstract thinking and grasping more complex concepts (Manning, 2002). In the last years of primary school (10-12 years old) the students start to edge toward use of a formal operations paradigm and

hypothesise things they have not learnt specifically (Piaget, 1960). During this period they start to transition to higher levels of cognitive functions and start to build their own opinions that will affect their motivation in language learning.

We believe that despite this being a very important age in language learning, it has not received the appropriate focus on ELF research. Because of the internationalisation of universities, and consequently the worldwide increase of English Medium Instruction (EMI) in higher education, the spread of ELF has been more notable in that domain (Jenkins, 2018a). Consequently, many empirical studies are focused on more adult ELF learning and use (Cogo, 2012a; Jenkins et al., 2011).

Therefore, with our study, we aim to contribute to the growing research of ELF and multilingualism focusing on this very important type of learners.

5.5.1.1. Participants in the Pilot Study

A pilot test was carried out in the school year 2017-2018, while the main experiment was carried out over the course of the school year 2018-2019. For the pilot, two public primary schools were selected for this initial study: one in Spain and one in Norway. For this initial test we required to have at least two different countries, as one of our main concerns was the applicability of the test across countries, therefore we designed a pre-test to be implemented in two of the settings, which was validated by expert judgment. The pilot school in Spain was located in Castellon, a bilingual region, where the students have at least two mother tongues (Spanish and Catalan) due to the regional curriculum and the area where the school is based. On top of these languages, some of the students in each class had an additional mother tongue (5 students Romanian, 1 student Arabic and 2 students Simplified Chinese). In contrast, all the students in the Norwegian school confirmed having only one mother tongue (Norwegian Bokmål).

In each school two classes participated in the pilot (6A and 6B), one being the experimental one and the other the control group. In the Spanish school a total of 49 students participated (divided in two classes of 24 and 25), whereas it was 56 in the Norwegian school (28 students in each classroom). We excluded from the study any participants with special needs as their

results would skew the data and affect the reality of the approaches²⁶, although this affected only two students in the whole experiment (pilot and main). The below table illustrates the number of participants for this initial pilot study:

Study	School	Control group	Experimental group	Total
Pilot	School 1a (Spain)	25	24	49
Pilot	School 2a (Norway)	28	28	56
Total pilot	2 schools	53	52	105

Table 5.1: Participants in pilot test

5.5.1.2. Participants in the Main Study

In regards to the main experiment, originally, seven schools participated in the study, yet one of them ended up being fully disqualified due to unmet requirements²⁷. The number of participants varied based on the amount of students per class in each centre. In Spain there was an average of 23 students per class, 20 in Norway and 50 in the Chinese countryside, while we had 22 in the urban area. In total, 314 sixth grade students participated on the experiment (419 in total if we take into account the students that participated in the pilot test). In the main experiment there was an average of 49% girls and 51% boys (155 female students and 159 male students), which showed an almost 1:1 ratio. In Table 5.2, the main study participants are presented, along with the total of participants:

Study	School	Control group	Experimental group	Total
Main experiment	School 1 (Spain)	22	21	43
Main experiment	School 2 (Spain)	25	25	50
Main experiment	School 3 (Spain)	20	19	39

²⁶ In these cases, a teaching assistant would sit with them and do separate activities or help them participate on the general games so they didn't feel excluded.

²⁷ A school in a rural area in Borriol (Castellon province) after the initial interview and agreement to participating in the experiment was disqualified right after their participation on the first class. This was due to the fact that the students had already learnt the relevant unit for this experiment with a previous teacher that no longer worked in the school unbeknownst to the current one who was interviewed.

Main experiment	School 4 (Norway)	19	20	39
Main experiment	School 5 (China)	51	48	99
Main experiment	School 6 (China)	22	22	44
Total main	6 schools	159	155	314
Total both (pilot + main)	6 schools* *2 schools participated in both	212	207	419

Table 5.2: Participants in main study

During the recruitment period, we experienced several difficulties going from the lack of funding, lack of interest in participation outside the base country, and all the consent process involved when working with primary schools and children. Prior to starting the study, the school (including headmaster and teachers) and the parents were informed about the purpose of the study and they provided their consent. In Spain an authorisation from the regional government was requested and granted to carry out the experiment in the schools, whereas in Norway and China a personal authorisation from the actual school sufficed. We visited several local schools in the base area (Castellon, Spain) successfully securing the participation of four schools for the main study with one of them participating in the pilot. In terms of the schools in the other two participating countries (Norway and China), multiple emails were sent to schools all over the country and, especially in China, adverts were posted online on job listing sites calling schools to participate. Despite the efforts to establish contacts with the schools there was little success, however, given our prior experience as a teacher in those countries one school in Norway finally agreed to participate in both pilot and the main experiment. In China, we requested the support from Shenzhen University, who helped us get in contact with one school in an urban area (Shenzhen) and one in the countryside (Hunan).

5.6. The Pilot Study

After carrying out the theoretical research that inspired the main research questions of our dissertation we developed a pilot test to put a series research techniques into practice. Pre-testing was an essential first stage for our study, as we required to identify any potential problematic areas, consider recruitment strategies, test different data collection instruments and test the feasibility of the test within the time frame. In this pilot, we also considered the following factors that could affect the scores: the student's mother tongue (as well as whether they are bilingual) and after-school English tutoring. Given that our study involved three very different countries, the pilot test helped us understand whether our study was context specific or could be implemented anywhere. Overall, the pilot project became indispensable for our larger main study and it led us to decide between competing methods and finally combine multiple techniques, using a mixed-mode data collection that includes quantitative and qualitative instruments. Each of the instruments will be explained in the below sections in detail.

5.6.1. Instruments for the Pilot Study

Due to the mixed nature of the study, several instruments were used to measure and collect data. The instruments used for the qualitative investigation involved class observations along with field notes, recordings and informal interviews to the teachers to gather information about the approaches they use and level of the students, an experiment using both qualitative and quantitative techniques, and a quantitative analysis consisting of a survey to the students focused on measuring factual questions (demographics) and attitudinal questions, as well as the test results obtained in the pilot study.

In order to ensure our study was valid and feasible, the pilot study was first created with the purpose of putting different tools to the test including in this order: semi-structured interviews, a prior short survey to the students, a written test, and questionnaires to the students' parents, which had been previously validated by expert judgement.

The interviews to the teachers included the questions below:

Part II

1. Do you use a book in your lessons? If so, is it selected by the school or can the teacher choose?
2. How does the general guidelines of the Ministry of Education affect your teaching style?
3. Can you please explain a little your English Curriculum?
4. Do you follow a Communicative Language Teaching Approach or a more Grammar based?
5. Do you teach UK or US English? Or any other?
6. Do you have access to technology in the classroom? If so, what sort of technology (PC, laptop, iPads, Whiteboards...)?
7. Is L1 used in the classroom? If so, is L1 used to compare to English in any way (e.g. grammar)?
8. Is English literature and culture studied in grade 6 (11 year old students)?
9. How does the contact with English language outside the classroom affect the lesson plan? Do the students have access to this? Is there a more reduced content of Listening and Reading activities because of this?
10. How are your lesson plans created? Do the lesson plans depend on the students attitudes?

On top of these questions, the teachers provided us with the information about the year planning, i.e. the units they would go through and their timeline so that we could plan our study accordingly. The above questions proved to be very useful in the pilot test, so we repeated this interview in the main study and. As well as providing us with background information, these interviews were recorded for further analysis to be published in later articles.

In addition, the participants filled an online form to provide information on their attitude and perceptions on English learning, as well as additional information on their contact with English outside the classroom. The students' online survey included the below questions (Appendix 5 and 5), which were aimed at understanding further their perception of English learning, as well as their contact with English language outside the classroom:

1. I learn English better when...
 - the teacher explains only in English
 - the teacher explains some things in my mother tongue
2. Knowing my mother tongue (and other languages) helps me learn English
 - YES
 - NO
3. Outside the school I watch TV or movies in English...
 - Very often (once a day)
 - Often (3-4 times a week)
 - Sometimes (1-2 times a week)
 - Very rarely (once or twice every 2 weeks)
4. The most important skill to learn English is...

Reading

 - Speaking
 - Writing
 - Listening
 - Vocabulary
 - Grammar
5. After school I receive English lessons from a private tutor or academy
 - YES
 - NO

This pilot study was carried out in 2018 and was used to confirm the time required for the test, the amount and difficulty of the test questions and the validity of the questionnaires for our samples. As we will observe in Section 5.6.3, the pilot test was very useful in terms of testing the process for questionnaires, which changed from online forms to written ones in order to ensure the collaboration of all the participants.

5.6.2. The Design of the Pilot Test

The aim of the study was the origin of our pilot design, hence we required a test in which the performance of the students could be analysed after receiving different teaching approaches. Aside from the performance, our sub-objectives focus on the beliefs and attitudes towards languages, as that has a direct impact on the performance of the students and their receptiveness to certain approaches.

Firstly, the school selected for the pilot test in Castellon was visited so that we could observe the classes for a week and estimate the duration of the lesson plan to be designed, as well as the test. It was agreed that the pilot study would take place for a week and would consist of a lesson introducing the new concept and another lesson with a revision of the previous lesson and the test of the concept. Because the pilot test had to be the same in both Spain and Norway, two informal interviews were carried out with the teachers of the classes participating in the study in order to agree about the unit and concepts to introduce and test. The test was followed by surveys that were prepared online using Google Forms and were distributed to parents. These were focused on understanding the parent's beliefs on the impact of the different languages in the English classroom.

Based on the premise that a plurilingual approach to English teaching will always achieve better results in English learning than a monolingual one, we prepared the lesson plans for a unit section using the two different approaches with the same written test for both of them. In order to ensure the students had not studied this prior to the test, which could affect the results, initial interviews were carried out with the teachers to acquire the relevant data. According to the curriculum and the interviews with the teachers (in-situ in the Spanish school and over Skype with the Norwegian school), the concepts that would be worked for the test were the irregular simple past in its negative and interrogative forms. The pilot test contained two written activities based on elicited production and a fill the gap activity where the correct verb form should be used. In the first one the students were required to transform the sentences from present simple to past simple, which could be affirmative or negative. For example:

- The trees are very high → The trees were very high
- My English teacher isn't Scottish → My English teacher wasn't Scottish

In the second one the students would have to create questions in the past for the provided sentences (refer to Appendix 1 for full test): Ex:? Martha was fifteen years old (*answer: How old was Martha?*). The third and final one required the students to use the correct form of the verb "to be" in the provided sentences. We provide the whole exam below for further illustration of the test:

Name: _____ **Class name:** 6A/6B
Mother tongue/s: _____ **Age:** _____
English academy/tutor: Yes/No

1. Please write these sentences using past simple

1. Yolanda isn't your best friend.
2. Julian and his sister are very intelligent.
3. The trees are very high.
4. My English teacher isn't Scottish.
5. Diana's parents are on holiday in Belgium.

2. Please write the relevant questions for these sentences

- 1.-
Martha was fifteen years old.
- 2.-
No, the teacher wasn't Italian.
- 4.-
The girls were in the garden
- 5.-
Yes, her husband was a doctor.

3. Please write the correct form of the verb "to be"

1. My family in Madrid on holidays last Summer.
2. They at school yesterday.
3. Sara at the hospital yesterday afternoon.
4. I at the station now.
5. My daughter born in August.
6. The pencils on the table two days ago.

5.6.2.1. The Pilot Test in Spain

The two sixth grade classes that participated in this study in the Spanish school were at a very similar level and had similar characteristics in terms of amount of immigrant descendent students, which affected the number of mother tongues. The experiment was carried out over the course of a week, in which the first class included the introduction and practice of new concepts in exercises and games together with the students, and the second class included a revision of the new grammar and terminology, as well as a small test.

In both classes, we introduced the chosen concept that the students had not yet seen. The students had previous knowledge of the past simple in English for regular verbs and one of the auxiliary verbs (the verb “to do”). Nonetheless, the students had not yet studied the past simple of the verb “to be”, in affirmative, negative and interrogative sentences. The classes were divided between experimental and control at random, 6A becoming the experimental one and using a multilingual approach and 6B the control group using a monolingual approach. Consequently, in 6A we generally carried out the class in English with the exception of the explanation of the concept, which was both in Catalan and English comparing the differences between both languages. In that class we also switched to Catalan or Spanish (as preferred by the student) if the student experienced any difficulties with English terminology that they wanted to clarify. On the other hand, 6B was taught using immersive approaches with the lesson fully in English. In order to clarify terms and concepts we used synonyms, context-embedded explanations and gestures.

Based on Piaget’s theory of assimilation (1952), we relied on the existing cognitive structures of the learner in a different language to teach the new concept, in other words, in 6A, we compared the English verb to the verb in Catalan and compared the positions in the sentence, for example: ***Were** you in school last week? (Eres a l’escola la setmana passada); He **wasn’t** at home when I called (Ell no era a casa quan vaig telefonar); What **was** your teacher’s name last year? (Com es deia la teua mestra l’any passat?); They **were** in Sweden last winter (Ells eren a Suècia l’hivern passat).* Because of the dissimilar position of the adjectives in Catalan, this was also used to explain that English adjectives precede the noun. Using this multilingual approach, we observed that the students retained the information much faster and made an instant

connection between the different languages. In contrast, in 6A we spent more time on the explanation of the concepts as the students found it difficult to understand the differences between *was* and *were* and retain its position in the sentence (overall the difference was of just under 10 extra minutes, which is relevant in a 50min class). In this class we used more examples and repetitions and while we used the same games, the time to play them was slightly more reduced than in class 6B.

We paid special attention to concordance and the difference between *was* and *were* as this is particularly difficult for students. After the relevant explanations, we carried out some group activities with image cards that contained places. With these cards the students had to make sentences with *was/were* or reply to open and closed questions. We used different games and activities, including working in pairs. For instance, one of the activities working in pairs consisted in asking each other closed questions regarding the image. Below is one of the images used in the activities. Example: ***Were*** they at School? No, they ***were*** in the park.



Figure 5.2: Flashcard Park

During the next class which would take place in the following days on the same week, a revision of the concepts was done at the start of the class followed by a practise exercise. This occupied the first 30 minutes of the class, allowing 20 minutes for the test. The exam was distributed to the students, who weren't allowed to talk or help each other. After the lesson the papers were taken for evaluation.

Upon evaluation, it was observed that there was a significant difference between the groups. The class (6A) that had received the explanation in Catalan achieved a higher collective score than the control group (6B), despite having one student less participating in the experiment.

Also, we observed that, even though, both groups found more difficulty on the second activity (creating questions), the group that received the instruction fully in English experienced a greater difficulty and overall underperformed in this activity.

5.6.2.2. The Pilot Test in Norway

Due to the international nature of our project, the same pilot study was required to be tested in a different context and in particular in one of the countries participating in our research. Due to time and budget limitations, we chose to carry out the pilot in Norway rather than China. The participating school was based in Levanger (Norway) and, due to the distance, the prior interview to the pilot was carried out over Skype. In this informal interview, the teacher provided the required information about the participating students, such as number of students per class, the book they use and the units they have studied (as well as concepts and terminology they have not yet seen), whether they have different mother tongues or attend after school English lessons. With this information, we prepared the pilot test, which was the same for Spain and Norway and we travelled to Norway to do the experiment in person. Given the nature of our experiment that required one of the classes to be taught using a multilingual approach, we arranged the help of a Norwegian teacher to perform the explanations in their mother tongue and who was present throughout. The past simple of the verb “to be” in affirmative, negative and interrogative sentences was introduced and practiced in some exercises and the same reference materials and flash cards were used as in Spain. Because of the fact that the Norwegian curriculum advocates for a multilingual approach and this was the usual method used, in this case, the control group was the multilingual class and the test one was the monolingual. Unlike the pilot in Spain, there was little difference in attention from the students between the monolingual and multilingual approach. Because the researcher was a foreign person, the students were very interested in the class. It was surprising however that the Norwegian students had a very similar English level to the Spanish students, since English is such a familiar language for Norwegians and they experience such a massive exposure (Rindal, 2014). Yet, the exposure and focus in English maximises in later years and in higher education (Bonnet, 2002).

5.6.3. The Parents' Questionnaire

To complement the pilot experiment, a survey was carried out with questions for the pupils' parents in order to find out their beliefs on the use of a multilingual or monolingual approach in the classroom, that is, we aimed to understand their support (or lack thereof) of the current guidelines and approaches used in the school and their views on whether the English taught in the school is considered necessary. The reason to approach the parents, as well as the students was based on the premise that the parents would have a great influence on the students' beliefs and attitudes, yet, after further research on children psychology and the fact that they were pre-adolescents, in addition to the analysis of the results obtained from the parents on the pilot study, the focus changed from the pilot to the main study. We came to the conclusion that it was more important to centre on what the actual students think and believe, given that they are the ones that are learning and might be affected by that belief and, at the same time we realised that the process to carry out the questionnaire needed changing.

By using online surveys we had very little control over the participation of both parents and students, with less than 10% of students' participating in the survey and resulting in the exclusion of this section of the pilot in the results. This, along with the decision of focusing more on the students rather than the parents, led to the decision of limiting the questionnaire to students only in the main study. At the same time, it was also decided to expand the student questionnaire's items to focus on several aspects of L1 and English use, as well as attitude and values. Both pilot and final student questionnaires can be found for further reference on Section 5.6.1 (pilot) and Section 5.7.4 (main study).

In regards to the parents' survey, the online pilot questionnaire was sent to the students' parents after the classroom experiment was completed and they were given a whole month to complete only five questions. This questionnaire contained the following questions (Catalan version available in Appendix 2):

1. The English class should be ... *

 - only in English
 - only in the mother tongue
 - In English and the mother tongue

Part II

2. Does the original language from the student affect the way they learn English?
 - Yes
 - No
3. Do you believe that knowing a second language can help learning English (for example, knowing Norwegian and Swedish / knowing Catalan and Spanish or other languages such as Romanian and Chinese helps learning English)
 - Yes
 - No
 - It depends on the language
4. Do you believe the student mother tongue affects the difficulty or easiness to learn a new language?
 - Yes
 - No
 - It depends
5. Which accent should be used in the English classroom?
 - British
 - American
 - Neutral
5. Is it necessary to go to English lessons outside of the school?
 - Yes
 - No

This test was carried out online and sent out using Google Forms, which resulted in only 21.42% of the Norwegian pupils' parents filling the survey in Norway, and just 12.24% of the parents in Spain. While reminders were sent to the parents, the participation turned out very low. It was around the same time that we decided to switch focus from the parents to the students, as they are the ones who are directly involved in the learning process. Given the lack of success of the survey, we learnt in the pilot test that to ensure the questionnaires were filled, we had to carry them out on site in the future.

5.6.4. Pilot Study Results

The test was designed to evaluate written comprehension and production. The main focus was on the use of correct grammar, spelling and syntax. Based on Bloom's Levels of Cognitive Domain (Bloom, 1956), the areas to be evaluated were:

- **Comprehension:** Understanding the concept of conversion from present to past.
- **Knowledge:** Learning the grammar and spelling of the new verb in the past.
- **Application:** The ability to apply the correct information to a specific situation (i.e. using the correct question to an answer)

The assessment took into account whether a task was completed or left incomplete, whether it was accurately spelled, whether the answer was correct or incorrect. Specifically, we observed whether the students had more difficulty in the concordance of the person and verb, past versus present, or general meaning of the sentence. Below are the results achieved in the initial pilot test:

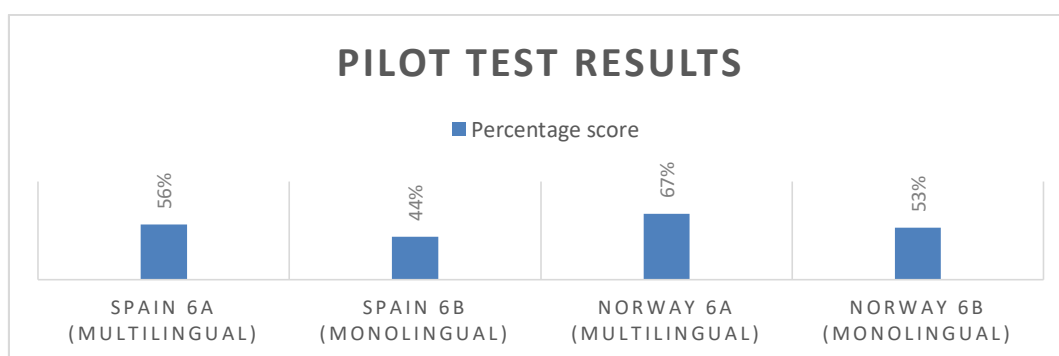


Figure 5.3: Comparison Results of Pilot Tests in Spain and Norway

Additionally, in regards to after school tutoring, except 2 students, all students in both Spanish schools received English classes after school, whereas no one in the Norwegian school received them. This last point was very interesting as it changed completely in the following year. The new participant groups in Norway (main study) confirmed that approximately 90% of the students received English tutoring after class, whereas, in Spain, approximately 25% of the new group of students in the same school received English classes after school.

As for the students' mother tongue, all students were bilingual (or trilingual) in the Spanish school, as they are in a bilingual region. However, the Norwegian school was completely monolingual and all students selected Norwegian only as their mother tongue, despite the diverse minority languages spoken in Norway and the fact that some students' parents were not Norwegian.

The whole pilot study results and observations were crucial for the creation of the final test and questionnaires, which will be discussed in the conclusions.

5.6.5. Conclusions from the Pilot Study

The pilot test provided invaluable information on process, timing, participants and actual techniques, which resulted in changes in the main experiment. Consequently, the learnings from the pilot test developed in the following objectives:

- Expanding the analysis to different learning processes, creating a test that focuses on comprehension, production and vocabulary learning. It was found that the activities in the pilot test were not enough to evaluate the different aspects of learning we required to focus on, which resulted in a change of the type of activities.
- The timeline should remain a week in each school, as it allows to carry out a unit and a small exam.
- Changing the target of the questionnaire placing the learner as the most important factor and changing the process so that the test is carried out in school to ensure every participant's involvement.
- Following the analysis of the language teaching guidelines and policies, by examining the students' attitudes towards language, a correlation can be inferred between the application of guidelines and the impact on the students' views. That is, the teaching approaches commonly used in the classroom (situational variable) will correlate to the learning of the students (Cook, 1986).

As with the pilot test, the teachers and schools were consulted about their school syllabus. After scheduling each the experiment in each school and, based on their own curriculums, it was found that the unit that adapted the most to our conditions was focused on giving and receiving directions, using the imperative and prepositions of location and direction. For the purpose of this research, participants were divided in two groups: experimental (using a multilingual approach) and control group (using a monolingual approach).

5.7. Main Study

The main study was designed and modified according to the results obtained in the pilot study. Due to our experience with the pilot, we divided the main study in different sections: an informal semi-structured interview with the teachers, for which we re-used the original one in the pilot; a quasi-experimental part of the study including teaching sessions designed very similar to the pilot study but with further emphasis on English as a Lingua Franca, as well as a test in order to obtain the different results based on different approaches; and a more extensive questionnaire to the students approved by expert judgement, in order to provide a further understanding on the students perspectives and attitudes as main participants of learning.

5.7.1. Instruments for the Main Study

The main study included qualitative techniques (interviews, part of the test and classroom observation and notes) and quantitative techniques (part of the test and questionnaire). While the schools in Spain were more adaptable, organising and timing the experiment in China and Norway became more complex. Due to time constraints the experiment was carried out over the course of a week in each school and consisted of two sessions and the test. On the first session, the new unit was introduced and practised and, on the second session, during the first part of the class the new concepts were reviewed and in the second part the test was carried out. The questionnaire was carried out on-site using 20 minutes of the lesson following the test (this was pre-agreed with the relevant teachers).

5.7.1.1. Informal Interview

Prior to finalising the creation of the test, we interviewed the teachers in all participating classes in each of the contexts. These informal interviews were intended to gather information about the real approaches used in sixth grade in the classroom in those contexts, as well finding common curriculum areas in order to use a unit that could be taught in all of the participating

classrooms. These interviews were carried out via Skype with the Norwegian and Chinese schools, whereas they were done in person in Spain.

As a result of these interviews we learnt the fact that the approach used in all of the schools is communicative, they all had access to interactive whiteboards, albeit not all schools had access to other kind of technology such as tablets or personal computers for the students, they all use the approved books by the school and, according to the teachers, they all followed the national guidelines. During these discussions we extracted the below information:

- Schools in Castellón (Spain): A communicative approach prevails in which the use of mother tongue in the classroom is fully discouraged. Following the general national guidelines was confirmed. Also, the curriculum and content of the course was discussed to find common ground with the other schools. Finally for further information on technological access, all the schools also confirmed regular use of interactive whiteboards but only one of them (school 2) had access to tables and personal computers on demand.
- School in Levanger (Norway): A communicative yet plurilingual approach prevails with regular code-switching and relation to mother tongue. As it was the case in Spain, the teachers confirmed following the guidelines and discussed the content of the course. In regards to technology, the school confirmed regular use of interactive whiteboards and often use of tablets for reading exercises.
- Schools in Shenzhen and Changsha (China): In this case the situation differed greatly between urban and rural China. In the urban area, we were able to speak directly with the teachers and they confirmed that a communicative approach is followed in which they avoid speaking in Chinese and confirmed not to make any correlation between Chinese and English. In the urban school, the teachers confirmed following the guidelines and also confirmed that the rural schools have different objectives than the urban ones. In this school, interactive whiteboards were regularly used along with tablets to carry out vocabulary exercises. In the rural school, on the other hand, we were not allowed to speak directly with the teachers but with a representative of the school. This representative only provided information on the curriculum followed. To gather further information on the

matter, we organised a meeting with the relevant teacher on-site prior to the experiment, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

Based on the gathered information, it was decided to use the unit of giving and receiving directions, focusing on direction prepositions, imperatives and vocabulary of location.

5.7.1.2. The First Session: Observation and Experiment

The first lesson was dedicated to the introduction of the new concept and practice. While the main ideas and approaches to teaching did not vary in each of the contexts, since we used a multilingual approach in the experimental groups we required the assistance of the Norwegian and Chinese teachers in their context. Prior to the start of the experiment, we met with the teachers and went over the lesson plan. The teachers were given the roles as teaching assistants and were instructed to participate only in the classes using the multilingual approach, in which they would repeat something in the students' mother tongue if requested by the researcher, and participated in the grammatical explanation comparing English to the general main language of the context.

After being introduced by the relevant teacher of that class as a visiting teacher, we introduced the class with a presentation of flashcards (Appendix 6) of locations. This was common in both classes with the difference that the instruction about the tasks to be done were in English followed by the student's main mother tongue in the experimental classroom and in English only in the control one. As a warm up, the students had to say the name of the location they were shown and were prompted with the first letter when they were stuck. This was a quick task that took around 5 minutes. Previous to the start of the experiment, it was crosschecked with the teachers that the name of locations and shops (park, hospital, fire station, market...) was something taught in previous years and generally known by the students. After this warm-up, in order for the students to get active and to test the vocabulary presented, we followed with a vocabulary review game. For the purpose of this game (commonly known as board race) we split the class in two different teams and draw a line in the middle of the board. Using shops and locations as the main topic, the students (one from each team) would have to write the word as said by the researcher. Any words that are unreadable or misspelled were not counted as points and each student had to write one word. This task took 7-8 minutes. The purpose of

this task was to practise the spelling of this vocabulary that would be required when giving and receiving directions. Following this task and using a power point (Appendix 7) the researcher introduced different questions to ask for directions. Using the monolingual approach more examples were used as well as drawings on the board, whereas using a multilingual approach the students quickly made the connections on each of the different questions (5-7 min – slide 2). For the multilingual approach the researcher explained the meaning in Catalan in Spain and, in the other countries, the usual teacher acting as teaching assistant explained this in the main students' mother tongue. Different questions were presented using different foci, that is, using a direct question, an indirect question using a statement, a statement with a dramatic emphasis and an inverse question in which the problem is presented first followed by the question (see below for further information):

- Excuse me, can you help me? Where is (...*the hotel*)?
 - o Requesting attention and help politely + direct question of place
- Excuse me, can you help me, please? I am looking for (... *the museum*).
 - o Requesting attention and help politely + direct statement of what it is searched
- Excuse me, I am lost! I am looking for (...*the shop*)
 - o Requesting attention + explaining current situation with a level of urgency + direct statement of what it is searched (with intrinsic question of help finding a place omitted)
- I don't know where (...*the gym*) is. Can you help me, please?
 - o Presenting the obstacle + requesting help politely

Subsequently, the imperative was introduced, along with specific verbs and prepositions for directions. For the imperative we explained the difference between the present tense and the imperative, especially emphasising the lack of subject in the sentence in English. Depending on the approach only English was used or English combined with the mother tongue. The prepositions were introduced too with the support of extra drawings and gestures for the control group (10 min – slide 3).

Grammar: Imperative + prepositions

Affirmative

Go to school

Turn left and walk towards

Negative

Don't turn left, go straight

Verbs

Go (straight)

Turn (left/right)

Stop

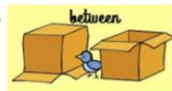
Walk

Prepositions

Next to →



Between →



In front of ←



Towards →



Figure 5.4: Slide 3

During the explanation, the students were asked to answer questions about location, for this the researcher would mimic an action and the students would have to say the preposition it referred to. Once this was done, the concepts explained were introduced in context to give and receive directions (slide 4 on Appendix 7) and followed by a map drawn on the board in which the students had to draw the directions on a map following the instructions provided by the researcher. A few students were selected to do this in front of the class (10 min). Next, two whole conversations were introduced (slide 5 on Figure 5.5, also on Appendix 7).

This was read by the students out loud and explained in context. In one of the examples German was included in the text, as we can see on Figure 5.5 below:

Examples

- | | |
|---|--|
| A: Excuse me, can you help me? | A: Excuse me, do you speak English? |
| B: Yes | B: A little... |
| A: Thank you, I am looking for the pharmacy. | A: Danke! I am lost, can you help me, bitte? |
| B: Go straight and turn the second street to the right. | B: Yes |
| A: Left? | A: I am looking for the <u>pharmacy</u> , do you know where it is? |
| B: No, right. | B: Yes, go straight and turn the second street to the right. |
| A: Thank you very much! | A: Thank you very much! |
| | Schönen tag! |

Figure 5.5: Slide 5

Part II

The students had to identify which words were not in English and were asked whether this affected their understanding of the overall conversation. All the students in every class replied that it did not affect their understanding. Following this, we explained to them that English is used as a lingua franca and that someone that speaks English is not necessarily an English speaker (7-8 min on slide 5 on Appendix 7). After reading the examples they had to write a small example of a question asking for directions and a short answer, when the time ran out they were requested to complete this at home (5 minutes). Overall, the classes took approximately 50 minutes.

5.7.1.3. The Second Session

The second part of the experiment took place on a different day on the same week and consisted of a review of the concepts worked on the first lesson and a test that would be later analysed. On this part of the experiment the groups continued to be divided between monolingual and multilingual, with the instructions and explanations carried out using both English and the students' mother tongue in the latter.

This class started with the review of the different verbs and prepositions to give directions. For this review, which took approximately 5-7 minutes, the researcher chose some volunteers that would have to enact the action requested, such as:

- Go straight towards the second table
- After the third table turn left and walk to the door
- Stand next to your best friend
- Place the pencil between two tables

In order to also check the writing skills of the students, the researcher used the game of hangman for the students to guess the spelling of words related to directions (locations, prepositions and verbs) and practise vocabulary (this task took 8 min).

After finishing the previous task, the students were shown the map below and were instructed to work in pairs asking (using different versions) and giving directions to each other using the pharmacy as the starting point. For this task, the students had a couple of minutes to write down the mini dialogue and then then practise it orally for approximately 5 min. These oral

exercises were all recorded for further analysis in a future study. Subsequently, some students were requested to go in front of the class and enact the situations they prepared (7 min).

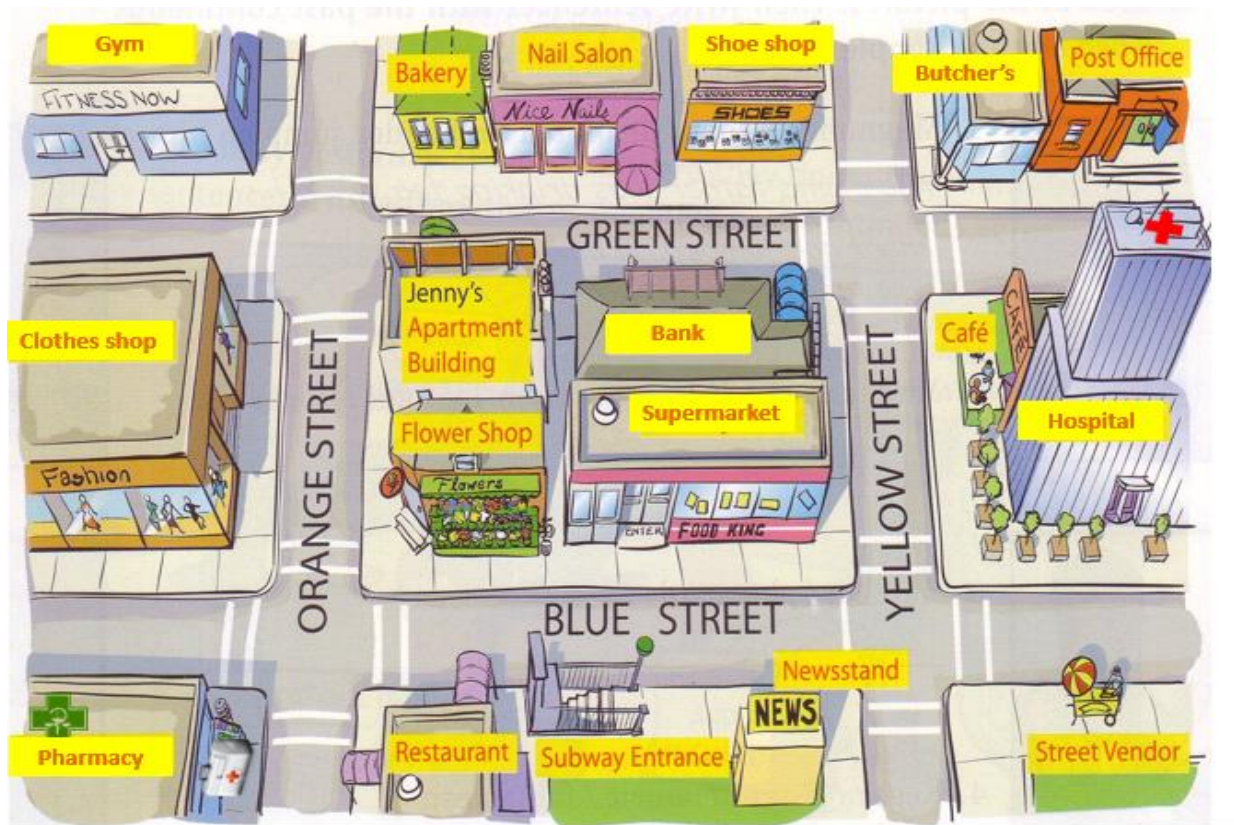


Figure 5.6: Map (class)

Finally, once the abovementioned task was completed, the students were asked to put their books and annotations away and separate to do an exam. The researcher distributed the exam and explained the instructions for each of the activities. For the test, the students had approximately 25-30 minutes to carry out 3 activities.

5.7.1.4. The Test

The test showed a map that had to be used in each of the activities and had an X marking where the students had to start the direction each time.

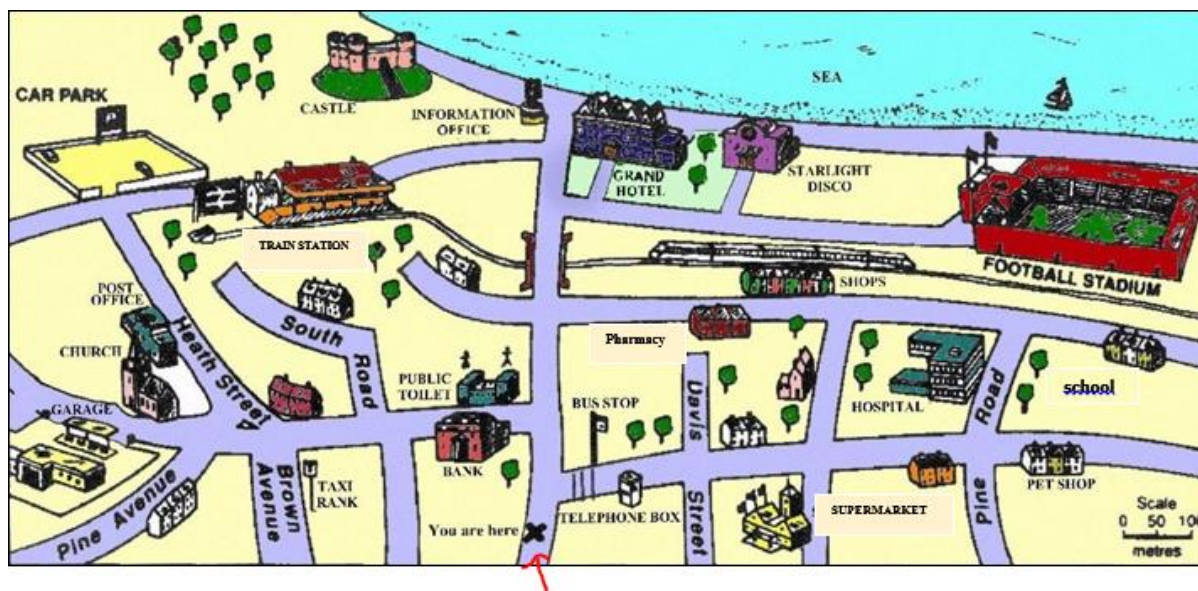


Figure 5.7: Map in the exam

Below the map there were three activities focused on comprehension and production, as well as vocabulary.

The first activity was dedicated to test comprehension, testing instructions provided in English to give directions, as well as the new vocabulary introduced (e.g. prepositions). In this one, different directions were provided in English and the students had to write down the location where the directions took them.

The second activity was a vocabulary one that combined production and comprehension and consisted of filling the gaps in a conversation. For this activity different options were provided of which not all had to be used, this reduced the chances of guessed correct answers. In this activity the students had to demonstrate their knowledge of terminology, as well as comprehension of text.

Finally, the last activity focused on written production, in which the students had to create a conversation between two people asking and providing directions for one of the selected

locations. For further understanding of the exam, the exam questions are presented on Figure 5.8 on the next page (full test available in Appendix 9).

I. Comprehension: Where are you? Read, look at the map and answer.

- 1) Go straight on towards the sea and turn the fourth left past the information office. It's in front of the sea and next to the information office.
I'm at the _____
- 2) Go straight and take the third street on your right. Go to the end of the street.
I'm at the _____
- 3) Take the second right and go straight. It's between the pharmacy and the school.
I'm at the _____

II. Fill the gaps with the necessary word: How to get to the train station

A: Excuse me, can you help me? I am _____ for the train station?

B: Yes. Go _____ and turn the first left. Go past the _____ and the _____, then turn the second right. Go straight _____ the car park. You will see the train station on your _____.

A: Thank you very much.

B: No problem. Bye

Possible words (not all included): bank, towards, telephone box, pharmacy, straight, public toilet, looking, finding, next to, left, right

III. Production: Now, write a dialogue to go to one of these places

The post office

The hospital

The bank

The supermarket

A: Excuse me, _____?

B: _____

A: _____

B: _____

Figure 5.8: Test in main study

5.7.2. The Test as an Instrument to Measure Language Learning

The way the test was designed was based on three different focal points: vocabulary and comprehension, a cloze test and written production as above exposed, and each of them measured a different aspect of language. These kind of activities are also known as integrative, as they require the use of several linguistic and non-linguistic skills (Hulstijn, 2010).

The first activity was aimed at measuring reading comprehension, which research has established to be intrinsically linked to vocabulary learning (i.e. word recognition, memorisation and knowledge). According to Snow (2002, p. 82) “accurate and fluent (automatic) word recognition is a prerequisite for adequate reading comprehension”. In this exercise, the learners had to understand and follow a set of instructions, which added complexity to the task. Not only did the students have to understand the isolated meaning of each of the sentences but follow them in the specific order to be able to find the correct answer. In order to carry out this activity, the students not only had to identify the vocabulary but also understand its meaning, which is paramount for text comprehension (Mancilla-Martinez & Lesaux, 2010). This activity had the purpose of measuring the written comprehension of the concepts and new vocabulary taught during the experiment.

The second activity was a gap filling activity, also known as a cloze test, which is a commonly used proficiency measuring method and also considered an appropriate test activity when comparing populations with comparable literacy levels (Unsworth & Blom, 2010). In this exercise, a text is provided to the learner, and in this case test-taker, in which some words were replaced by gaps. This activity requires the student to infer the missing words using the remaining information on the text. According to Hulstijn (2010, p. 193) this kind of test “has been claimed to measure a combination of productive vocabulary knowledge, receptive knowledge of grammar, productive knowledge of grammar (to the extent that the forms of the words to be supplied express grammatical, information), orthographic knowledge, knowledge of semantics, pragmatics and discourse (text comprehension)”, which provides the researcher with a good measuring device. In the activity different word categories were included (nouns, preposition, and verbs) and a list of possible answers was provided at the end of the activity to elicit receptive knowledge and also test the following of instructions, which will be discussed further in Chapter 6.

The third and last activity, consists of a written elicited production exercise using the map image as a visual stimulus and requesting the students to provide the directions to one of the locations provided. In this exercise the learners had to produce a similar text to the ones used in activity one and two, asking for directions to one of the locations in the map (they are provided with four to choose) and providing the correct information as well as using

appropriate grammar and sentence structures. This kind of elicited production experiment is not for explicit imitation of previous examples, but to observe whether the students only used the prompted forms from previous activities or deviate from them (or even ignore them completely), create simpler or more complex dialogues and choose an easier location to than another in order to provide a simpler dialogue.

5.7.3. Observation of Response to English as a Lingua Franca

As well as the test, we observed the classroom behaviours throughout and in particular we focused on the response to the introduction of English as a Lingua Franca. This was common in the first lesson in both control and experimental group and it was introduced with a presentation of an example including a non-native speaker using ELF.

Firstly, before the slide was presented, the students were asked “who speaks English”, to which they replied, in every context: England, the USA, Australia, Canada... In all context the students started listing Inner Circle countries where English is a first and official language, with the exception of two students that respectively mentioned Jamaica (a student in school 1) and Nigeria (a student in school 4, which happened to be from Nigeria). This information provided an initial information of the students’ awareness of English as a Lingua Franca.

Following this, the students were shown the slide with a conversation between two people asking and providing directions, with the peculiarity that one of them used some German words. Firstly, the students were requested to exercise their metalinguistic awareness by identifying any words that they thought that were not English. This task was carried out orally and with the class working as a group. Once the words were identified, the students were asked whether, despite not understanding the German words they understood the conversation. To which they all unanimously agreed that they did. During this task the learners were explained how despite not speaking a “perfect” English the speaker was still able to use English to communicate and that it is a common occurrence to find an English speaker that is not native.

The purpose of this task was to observe the reaction from the students towards the idea of English as a Lingua Franca and to demonstrate how a small example can start building the learners’ awareness of ELF and how, despite the global status of English represented in the

guidelines, the Inner Circle native speaker bias still prevails. With this exercise, the students reflected on the fact that English as a Lingua Franca has the purpose of effective communication, which can be achieved despite some errors or missing information.

To gather further information on the matter, we included in the questionnaire included in this experiment some related questions:

- *If a foreigner asked for my help in English and I didn't know how to answer fully in English, I would reply in English and my mother tongue*
- *If a foreigner asked for my help in English and I didn't know how to answer fully in English, I would excuse myself and not help*

While this task and one class is not enough to change the curriculum, it shows the potential impact it can have to change the focus from native to global. Often teachers and schools see a change in curriculum as something daunting and they are especially reticent when it involves changing decades of English teaching methodologies and materials, however this shows how simple can a change in perspective be to start raising ELF awareness.

5.7.4. The Questionnaire as an Instrument to Measure Beliefs and Values

The data collection included a survey questionnaire to complement the experiment with the perspective of the learners. As there was no time to carry out the survey during the two agreed lessons that the classroom experiment would take, the study was agreed to be conducted during the first half of the following lesson (15-20 min). The purpose of the present study is to extract the general perceptions of the students, as well as to provide demographic data. For this, the first item of the survey used demographic questions to extract the objective data, such as age, gender or language used. This item was followed by a four-point Likert scale using smiley faces to measure the responses (corresponding to strongly disagree, disagree, agree, strongly agree), which focused on five different items.





Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
			

Figure 5.9: Likert scale in the main questionnaire

Overall, the survey was divided in the below sections (please refer to Appendix 10, 11 and 12 for the full questionnaires in the different languages):

- Demographic data that focused on:
 - o Languages used
 - o Gender and age
 - o Contact with English outside of school, including tutoring and access to media
- Value of the learner's mother tongue from their perspective:
 - o Focused on usefulness
 - o Considered importance
 - o Language likeability
- Value of English from the perspective of the learner:
 - o Focused on usefulness
 - o Considered importance
 - o Language likeability
- Approaches to English learning:
 - o Understanding of their learning skills depending on the approach
 - o Preference of different approaches (plurilingual and monolingual)
- Attitude towards English use:
 - o General attitude to practise it in real life
 - o Learner's perspective on fluency versus accuracy

Because language learning is influenced by a multitude of factors, in order for our study to provide not only the raw data of the curriculum analysis and the students' test results from the experiment, but also context in which it takes place, the attitude of the students' were analysed to examine the impact guidelines and teachers may have on the students' outlook of language and aim to understand their perspectives.

5.8. Data Collection Procedure and Data Analysis

In applied linguistics research, obtaining valid and reliable data through data collection and analysis is key (Rose, McKinley, & Briggs Baffoe-Djan, 2019). For this reason, our study used the different quantitative and qualitative methods earlier explained and classifies the data collection procedure as it is presented below:

- Qualitative methods:
 - Language policy analysis (refer to Chapter 4) – This study was focused on the specific language curriculum of the participating countries in order to provide a tangible background and context to the study.
 - Teaching ELF & class observation – In both pilot and main study, the observation of the students' behaviours was very important in order to understand the students' response to the different approaches. At the same time, presenting English as a Lingua Franca and understanding the participants' openness and attitude towards it was a key step in our study.
 - Informal interviews – These were essential to understand the real approaches in the classroom.
- Quantitative methods:
 - Questionnaires – These instruments provided very thorough information that was required to understand their preferences in learning and their language beliefs.
- Mixed methods:
 - The language test – This test was quantitative in the sense that it provided a total score of the participants' English knowledge, however it was also qualitative as it allowed us to find patterns in the errors to understand the participants better.

The experiment was divided in different parts: the application of different approaches in the lesson and presentation of English as a Lingua Franca, which varied depending on the control or experimental group and from which notes were collected based on the observation of the participants; a paper test that was the same in each of the groups and for which the time

allotted was approx. 25 minutes (with an estimated time divided in 5-7 minutes for activity 1, 10 minutes for activity 2 and 10 minutes for activity 3, even though the participants could use the time as they pleased) and was collected after the experiment by the researcher with the help of the teacher; and a questionnaire that was carried out in the lesson following the test, for which 20 minutes was allotted, and was collected by the researcher. The informal interviews to the teachers prior to creating the test were not used as collected data per se as they were used as background information to create the test and lesson plans.

The answers obtained from the data collection instruments were analysed using different methodologies due to their different nature. The notes and observation from the classroom provided an illustrative value to understand and provide the context in which the experiment took place. In regards to the test, a rubric was created to evaluate and score the results.

Test	Total Points	Number of questions	Analysis
Activity 1 (Comprehension)	3	3	Correct answer full point 1 point per question (Quantitative)
Activity 2 (Vocabulary)	6	6	Correct answer Correct spelling Instructions followed - Good answer but not on the list of words (Quantitative/Qualitative)
Activity 3 (Production)	5	1	Accuracy Fluency Spelling (Qualitative)

Table 5.3: Scoring rubric

The evaluation and analysis of the test results was quantitative in the sense that each activity scored a number value but qualitative in the respect that some activities needed more information than just valid or invalid. The first activity was a straight forward correct or incorrect answer totalling to 3 points (because the name of the location was written in the map the spelling was not accounted in the evaluation, only the comprehension of the test). The second activity (the cloze test) was not only evaluated in regards to a correct or incorrect answer, but also the spelling of the word and whether the participants followed the instructions of the activity or not (some participants did not choose the words from the list of terms provided and included their own, which could work in that particular sentence but not with the whole text). Finally, the third activity evaluated the correct spelling of the text created, the grammar and sentence structure, the complexity of the sentence and the coherence (i.e. some students confused “good bye” with “good night”).

Once the tests were evaluated, the data was included in a spreadsheet and pivot tables were created so that the different questions could be compared and classified per school, group and country. Because of the mixed nature of our study, we decided against using SPSS and were inclined to use spreadsheets as the main tool for coding and analysis, however we do not discard further statistical analysis in the future along with differential tests for further research.

In addition to the above, the questionnaires provided us with further quantitative and qualitative data. These statistic were employed to evaluate the participants’ language attitudes towards English and their mother tongue (providing qualitative data) and demographic data to understand the context (providing quantitative data such as sex, age or attendance to after school English tutoring)²⁸.

²⁸ More instruments and data collection tools were used during the experiment but due to the time and size constraints these have been withdrawn from this study and will be presented in future research.

Chapter 6. Results and discussion

For decades, English teaching, English as a Lingua Franca and Multilingualism followed separate paths (Cenoz, 2017). Nonetheless, the current status of English as a Lingua Franca has reached such a level in every part of the world that, in order to preserve the linguistic ecologies of every context while developing the learners' communicative and plurilingual competences, new approaches are required. The main purpose of our research is to demonstrate that a plurilingual approach is more beneficial than a monolingual one independently of the context, as well as investigating the students' views on language and language learning. Our study aims to contextualise current guidelines and their application in different parts of the world, while comparing it to plurilingual approaches and focusing on the learner as the main participant in the actual learning process, and therefore the main factor involved in learning success. More specifically, our research aims to achieve three objectives, as previously mentioned in the Chapter 5: (1) to explore the different results achieved using a plurilingual approach and a monolingual approach on the same subject from students on the same level and school, as well as examine the application of ELF in practice, (2) to compare the similarities and the differences among learners in the same level in different countries, (3) to analyse the students' perceptions of the value and use of English and their mother tongue. For the purpose of our study the approaches to multilingualism, multicompetence and translanguaging (Cenoz & Gorter, 2013, 2017; Cook & Wei, 2016; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; García & Wei, 2014) will provide us with a comprehensive framework for the analysis of the students' performance in our investigation.

The approach we propose in our study aims to raise ELF awareness while using a plurilingual and communicative approach in the classroom. We support the view of ELF awareness not as a different approach to teaching but as an enriching and complementing perspective to current approaches, in which authentic communication involves non-native speakers (Sifakis et al., 2018). In our opinion, the present study combines plurilingual and communicative approaches with an application of English as a Lingua Franca in the classroom in different contexts, which contributes to current research on plurilingual approaches to English learning (Cenoz & Gorter,

2013, 2015), while focusing on ELF within multilingualism (Jenkins, 2015, 2018b) and applying the theory to real practice in very different contexts.

This chapter presents the research outcomes derived from the research questions and related hypotheses formulated in Chapter 5. On the grounds of this, the first three main sections aim to address the hypotheses presented in this study. Section 6.1 shows the results and discussion related to hypothesis I and its sub-hypotheses, in particular it is concerned with the performance of primary school students depending on the approach used in the English classroom and it is subdivided in sections dedicated to each of the contexts. Section 6.2 presents us the results and discussion related to hypothesis II and explores the impact of language policies, curriculum and guidelines on the students' view of the value of their mother tongue and English, also divided in subsections dedicated to each setting. Finally Section 6.3 is concerned with hypothesis III and examines whether current language policies and embraced CEFR are adapted to the current realities of English as a global language and explores each context from a qualitative perspective that will complement the previously analysed quantitative data.

6.1. Results and Discussion related to Hypothesis (I)

Our first hypothesis suggests that our participants will perform better in the English classroom using a plurilingual approach independently of the context. Before approaching this hypothesis, we will clarify what we mean by performance, as it has traditionally been a conflictive term. Many have been the definitions of performance in linguistics, based on Chomsky's, it is the actual use of language in specific situations (Chomsky, 1965), which inspired Hymes for his communicative competence definition in which performance relates to language use and he took slightly further, focusing on the interaction between competence (knowledge of language) and its use within a context and with others (Hymes, 1972). The CEFR focuses on the definition of performance as a use of language, and commonly uses performance level descriptors as examination indicators and refers to the "can-do" statements examined to on Chapter 4. However, in our hypothesis we will understand "performance" as more than that. According

to Newby (2011), performance is comprised by three components: competence, processes and strategies, while language can be defined as a cognitive phenomenon in which the use of the linguistic code (performance) depends on the knowledge stored in the minds of the speakers (competence). In our hypothesis, when we state that the participants are “performing better” we include the connotation of using language better (more accurately and achieving better results), behaving better in the classroom (improvement in following instructions and observable behaviour), and understanding new concepts better (in this sense, the students will achieve better results because the learning process is more effective and they are able to process and relate the new information faster).

In order to prove the first hypothesis, we carried out the experiment explained in Chapter 5. During two sessions the same concepts and new terminology were taught to two different groups: an experimental (in which a plurilingual approach was used) and a control group (where a monolingual approach was used). Different methodologies were used to prove this premise, which resulted in different results. On the one hand, we will analyse the results achieved by evaluating the test of the concepts learnt and, on the other, we will examine the observed behaviour depending on the approach in order to provide a more holistic and practical view of the application of the relevant approach in the classroom.

Because of the international nature of this study, we will proceed with an initial full comparison view of the general results and follow with a context by context basis. On that account, we first present below the overall results of the tests in each of the contexts:

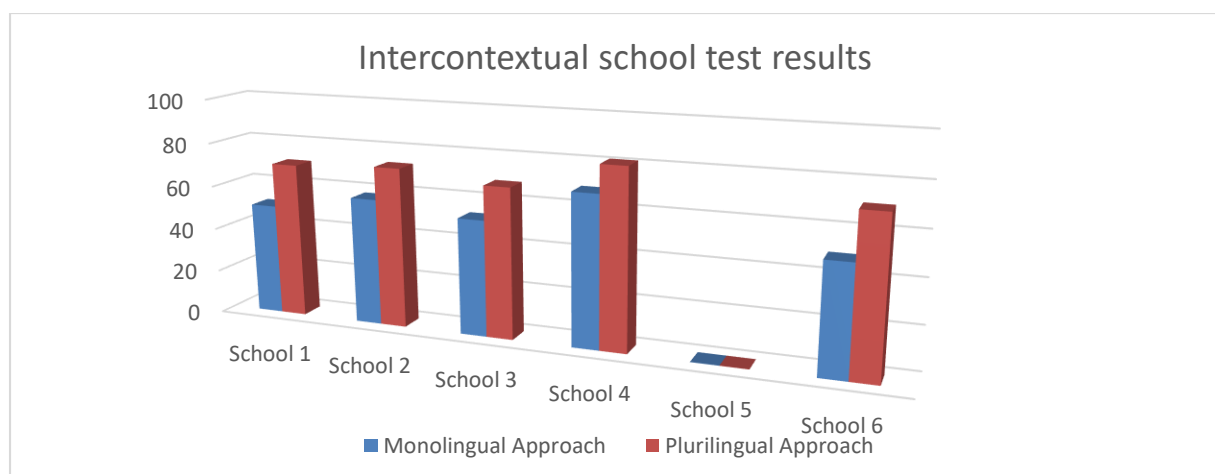


Figure 6.1: Intercontextual school test results

At first glance, it can be observed that, as expected, the students achieved better results in each of the contexts when a plurilingual approach was used to teach English independently of the language family the students' mother tongue belonged to. From this graphic we can also observe a clear anomaly in school 5, which will be discussed in Section 6.1.3.2.

For further detail, the below table shows the percentage achieved in the test per activity, divided in each of the groups in each school, specifying the country they belonged to and the amount of participants per group (c= being control group and e= experimental, n=total number):

Country	School & Participants	Approach	Activity	Percentage 1 – 100%
Spain	School 1 c=22 participants e=21 participants n=43 participants	Monolingual	1	57.3%
		Plurilingual		85.6%
		Monolingual	2	38.5%
		Plurilingual		58.6%
		Monolingual	3	56%
		Plurilingual		67.6%
	School 2 c=25 participants e=25 participants n=50 participants	Monolingual	1	69.3%
		Plurilingual		77.3%
		Monolingual	2	48%
		Plurilingual		72.3%
		Monolingual	3	41.6%
		Plurilingual		68.8%
	School 3 c=20 participants e=19 participants n=39 participants	Monolingual	1	53.3%
		Plurilingual		73.66%
		Monolingual	2	55%
		Plurilingual		68.3%

		Monolingual	3	50%
		Plurilingual		63%
Norway ²⁹	School 4	Monolingual	1	76.66%
		Plurilingual		78.3%
	c=19 participants	Monolingual	2	73.3%
		Plurilingual		83.3%
	e=20 participants	Monolingual	3	56%
		Plurilingual		82.2%
n=39 participants	Monolingual	1	57.3%	
	Plurilingual		78.66%	
China ³⁰	School 6	Monolingual	2	48.33%
		Plurilingual		70.8%
	c=22 participants	Monolingual	3	42.6%
		Plurilingual		62.6%
	e=22 participants	Monolingual	1	57.3%
		Plurilingual		78.66%
n=44 participants	Monolingual	2	48.33%	
	Plurilingual		70.8%	

Table 6.1: Total results comparison table

While positive results were expected when a plurilingual approach was used due to the proved benefits of multilingual approaches in LX language teaching (Cenoz & Gorter, 2017; Cook, 1992, 2016a; Herdina & Jessner, 2002), these results show that, in fact, despite the family language of the mother tongue and the context of the learner, their first language proves to be a good tool for learning and an essential part of any additional language learning. As Cook puts it, “if the aim were to clone the native speaker, this would limit the functions of a second language to those that native speakers can carry out in their L1” (2009c, p. 14), yet if we focus on English

²⁹ While the total number of students in the Experimental group was 20, 2 students were disqualified from the test as they were immigrant students that had only been in the country for less than 2 years and had difficulty following Norwegian classes and required constant support.

³⁰ The Chinese school in the rural setting (school 5) had to be removed from the test section of the study and will be discussed in section 6.1.3.1.

as a part of the students' language repertoire, learners will develop their plurilingual competences and learn English as a global language.

To start this analysis, we examined the total results of the overall number of participants. As illustrated in Table 6.1 above, the results are significantly higher when a plurilingual approach is used. More specifically, the total number of participants in the above samples [$n=215$; (control group=108) (experimental group=107)] achieved a 17.85% better score in general, which divided per activity show an improvement of 15.93% in activity 1 (comprehension), 18.03% in activity 2 (cloze test), 19.6% in activity 3 (written production) in the plurilingual classroom. In Figure 6.2 below the overall percentage per group can be observed showing a clear differentiation between the two approaches:

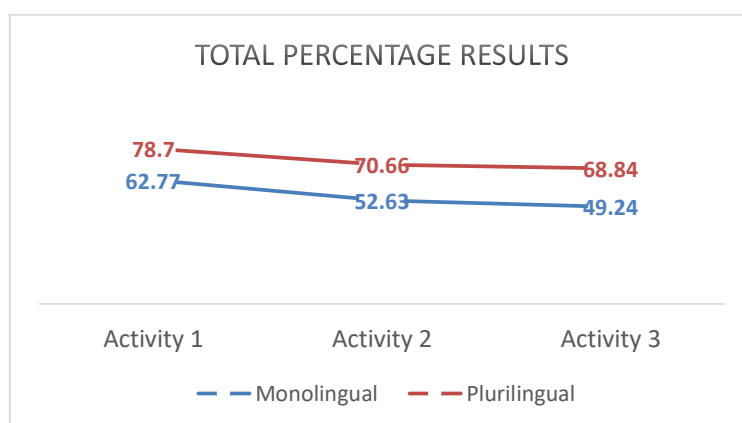


Figure 6.2: Total percentage results

From these results, we can also conclude that the learners generally found an increasing difficulty from the first activity to the last one and that using a plurilingual approach specially helped with written production. Nonetheless, because the amount of participating schools per country is not equal, we will proceed with a detailed analysis per country in the following sections.

Despite the expected confirmation of our hypothesis, it was an interesting find to see that, while based on transfer studies participants with languages from a closer family to English should establish relationships and links between words easier, the results from China (urban setting) and Spain are very similar despite their distant language families, to the point that they both have an approximate 20% improvement in the test when comparing both approaches. Yet, in Norway, which has the closest relationship with English, the improvement showed a

12.3% higher using a plurilingual approach. From these results it can also be inferred that the activation of metalinguistic awareness when a plurilingual approach is used actively favours the process of English learning. While the difference between using a plurilingual and monolingual approach in Norway appeared smaller than the other two countries, it is worth noting that the students regularly received a plurilingual approach, hence having their plurilingual competences more developed than learners in other contexts.

In our view, these results also need to be complemented by the observation notes taken throughout the sessions, to provide further insight about the impact of using these different approaches beyond quantitative results in a test. At the same time, because each context and their relevant specific factors have a relevant influence on this, we will provide the detailed analysis of the session observations divided in different sections along with the presentation of the test outcomes.

6.1.1. Results in the Spanish Context

The first setting of our study is in Spain, in the Valencian region, which is a known bilingual region where both Spanish and Catalan are official languages and taught in schools as first languages. In particular, the schools participating in this present study are based in the region of Castellon, which is the province where most schools adopted bilingual programmes of Catalan and Spanish, and where most people employ Catalan as a common language for both formal and informal situations (Safont Jordà, 2007). In this context, three schools were selected in the city of Castelló de la Plana along with one in the rural area of Borriol. The schools in the urban area presented asymmetric socio-economic conditions. The first school was set in a humble neighbourhood, where there is a higher percentage of students of immigrant descent and a more reduced access to after-school private English tutoring (only 23% of the students); the second school belonged to a more affluent side of the city and higher access to learning resources; and the third one was an average middle-class school, with a similar percentage of students receiving after-school English support to the second school (about half of the participants) but without the access to extra technological resources and language workshops. Unfortunately, the school in the rural area had to be disqualified since, only after the first

session was completed, it was brought to our attention that the school did not meet the requirements for the study, which resulted in their removal from the sample³¹.

In order to provide a more detailed picture, we will divide the results per school and provide a summary of the observation of each of the sessions alongside it. As illustrated in Figure 6.3, the results from the test report a significant improvement when the plurilingual approach is implemented. The biggest difference in this school is in activity 1, where the results improve in a 28.3%, whereas the improvement in activity 2 is 20.1 % and a much lesser one in activity 3 with 11.6%. These results show a different pattern to the general result analysis if we compare it with Figure 6.1. Overall, the learners appeared to have particular difficulties in the cloze test, to the point that the students in the monolingual approach group failed the activity. This could be the result of certain factors, such as difficulties in understanding the instructions to carry out the activity, lack of practise of this kind of exercise, or even the level of the learner's competence. In order to reduce the ample possibilities of the factors, we ensured that the students understood the exercise correctly and the teacher confirmed that this is an exercise the regularly use in the classroom. Because "the main value of the cloze procedure lies in its predictive power of language competence as measured by a battery of other tests" (Hamers & Blanc, 2004, p. 36), in this case we believe that it is a good representation of the impact of the use of a monolingual approach in language competence.

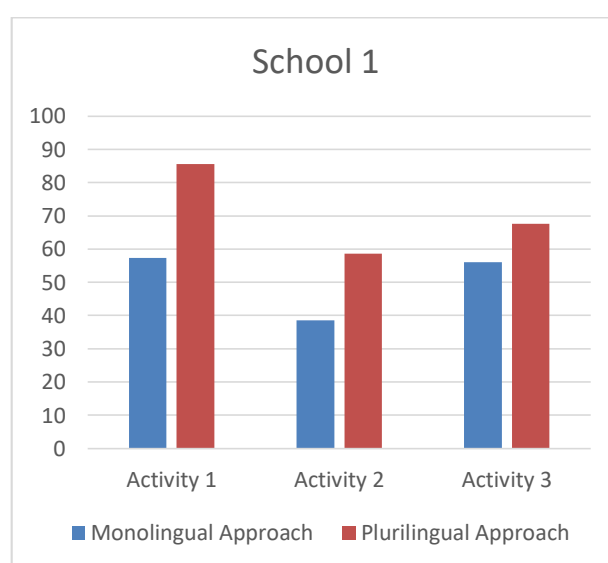


Figure 6.3: School 1 test results

³¹ The school failed to disclose that the students had previous knowledge of the concepts to introduce in the experiment, hence making the data unreliable for our study.

In this instance, the most significant impact is illustrated in the results from activity 1 and it can also be observed that both sets of participants had a more similar result in the production exercise (activity 3), which indicates that in this school the difference between using a monolingual or a plurilingual approach affected their vocabulary processing and comprehension more than their written production. This suggests a learning asymmetry, which, based on Hendriks and Koster (2010), can be generated by Optimality Theoretic grammar. According to this theory, the input to optimisation in production is meaning, while the input of comprehension is form. In this case, the participants generally focused on form rather than meaning.

In school 1, throughout the first session with the control group, the students were less receptive to grammar and vocabulary explanations in English only and were often getting distracted, while the experimental one quickly understood the concepts and were able to maintain the attention longer. Even the instruction of the exercises to be done took longer, for which the mother tongue proved to be a good tool in the plurilingual approach group. Because the experimental group assimilated the new concepts faster, they were able to spend more time playing practice games as a result, which favoured their learning. During this first session, both groups were presented with example conversations about the studied topic including the foreign words and identified the code-switching as errors. At the same time, when the participants were asked who they thought spoke English they all replied countries belonging to the Inner Circle and did not reference any others as English-speakers. After this, the researcher asked them if they were English speakers because they were speaking English and they unanimously denied this. This shows a clear lack of understanding of LX learning objectives in the classroom and it demonstrates that the monolingual bias continues to coexist in current school values. In each of the sessions in the experimental group, we aimed to raise the learner's awareness of the linguistic concepts needed to effectively participate in this kind of conversation (giving and receiving directions) in English, by activating their previous knowledge of this type of conversation familiar to them from their first or other languages. This approach intended to go beyond contrastive analysis and move towards a more integrated plurilingualism consistent with the work of previous researchers focused on translanguaging and multilingual education (Cenoz, 2017; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Esteve, Fernández, Martín-Peris, & Atienza, 2015; García & Wei, 2014).

Focusing now on the results of school 2 in Spain, we can observe some similarities with the first school. The participants performed better in activity 1 (comprehension) and, in this case, the plurilingual approach also achieved higher scores in the test. The second school was the one based in a more affluent area of the city, where the students had access not only to more technological resources (personal laptops and other technological devices were available) but also to after school linguistic workshops in different languages throughout the year. This school also participates in a regional linguistic project in which the subjects of primary education are taught 61% in Catalan, 23% in Spanish and 16% in English. Despite these factors, the results are not vastly different to the other schools in Castelló de la Plana, as it is depicted in Figure 6.4 below:

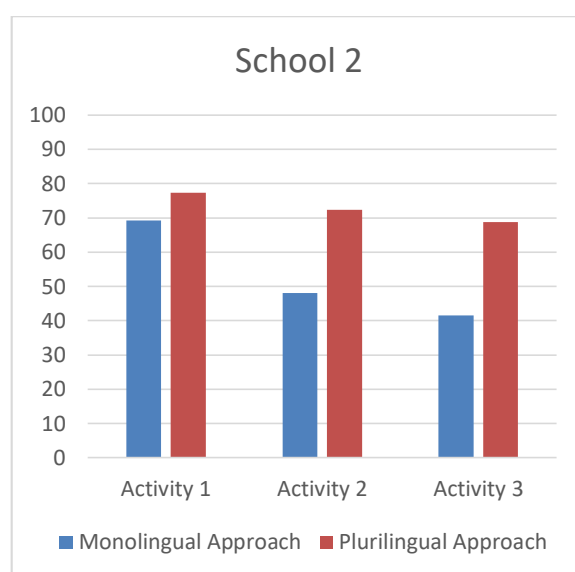


Figure 6.4: School 2 test results

As it can be observed, the plurilingual approach had a higher impact on the text production activity improving the results by a 27.2%, whereas it did not significantly result in a much higher improvement on the first comprehension-based exercise, which is one of the main differences with the results acquired in school 1. On this school, the number of students was slightly higher than on the other two schools in Spain, which also resulted in an overall rowdier classroom in both groups, yet, as it happened with the first school, when a monolingual English approach was used the students were more inclined to divert their attention. Because not all the students will ever have the exact same level in the same classroom, when a concept had to be repeated or re-explained in the monolingual approach, the students who had understood it

the first time would redirect their attention to other tasks or start talking to their peers. In this case, the plurilingual approach was more engaging for the students and resulted in a more accelerated learning and as a result a more effective classroom control.

When we turn to the third school in Castelló, even though the plurilingual approach continues to show a higher score in each of the activities, we can see a more balanced inequality between the approaches, rather than a big impact in one of the exercises. Generally in this school the experimental approach showed a higher impact in comprehension, as it did with school 1 and which differs with school 2. Nevertheless, when the three schools are compared it can be observed that there are no significant differences between the obtained results and that the general school levels are quite balanced. Despite the fact that the second school achieved a higher score slightly than the other two in both groups, in general, the participants scored approximately 50% (a low pass) when a monolingual approach was used and a 70% (a very good grade) when a plurilingual one was implemented.

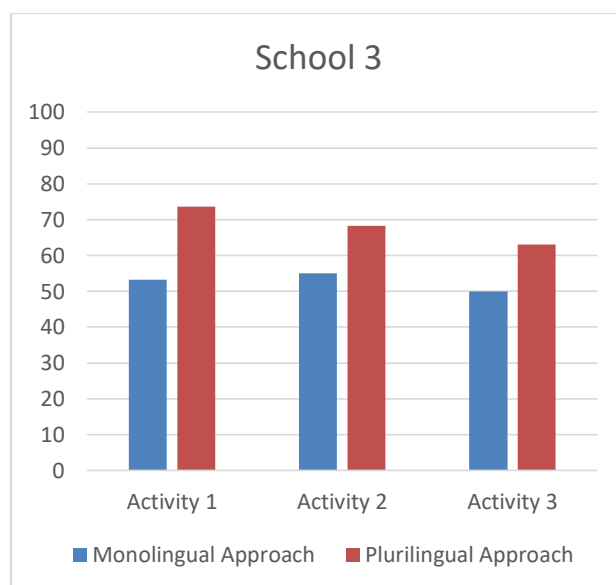


Figure 6.5: School 3 test results

Not only did a plurilingual approach help the participants perform better in the test but also help with behaviour in the classroom, attention to the teacher (the researcher in this case) and show a better understanding of the new explained concepts.

To accompany this analysis, we will now go through the main errors and difficulties in the test and will provide relevant examples for visual support along with the explanations.

6.1.1.1. Challenges in the Test Activities (Spain)

In all of the Spanish schools, one of the common challenges in the first activity took place in the second section of the first exercise. In the control group the amount of errors were higher but in particular the error seemed to follow a pattern that did not repeat as much in the experimental group. The participants often misunderstood the instructions the same way, leading them to the incorrect answer “school” instead of “football stadium”. If we refer to Figure 5.7 to follow the instructions on the map, we can assume that, in order to obtain the answer “school”, the participants were counting the street on the left too, not just the right side as per the instruction. This suggests an error of comprehension of the communication. We present below some examples for reference:

-
- 1) Go straight on towards the sea and turn the fourth left past the information office.
It's in front of the sea and next to the information office.
I'm at the Castle ✓
- 2) Go straight and take the third street on your right. Go to the end of the street.
I'm at the School ✗
- 3) Take the second right and go straight. It's between the pharmacy and the school.
I'm at the hospital ✓

Extract (1a) – control group

-
- 1) Go straight on towards the sea and turn the fourth left past the information office.
It's in front of the sea and next to the information office.
I'm at the castle ✓
- 2) Go straight and take the third street on your right. Go to the end of the street.
I'm at the school ✗
- 3) Take the second right and go straight. It's between the pharmacy and the school.
I'm at the hospital ✓

Extract (1b) – control group

-
- I. **Comprehension:** Where are you? Read, look at the map and answer.
- 1) Go straight on towards the sea and turn the fourth left past the informat
It's in front of the sea and next to the information office.
I'm at the Castle ✓
- 2) Go straight and take the third street on your right. Go to the end of the s
I'm at the School ✗
- 3) Take the second right and go straight. It's between the pharmacy and th
I'm at the Hospital ✓

Extract (1c) – control group

The second activity was the fill the gaps exercise, which is a test of reduced redundancy. This kind of exercise aims to be a valid measure of the participant's text comprehension and their expectancy grammar (Hamers & Blanc, 2004). The results obtained show a significant improvement in the score of this activity in the experimental groups. This cloze test included prepositions, verbs and nouns in order to test different grammar categories. The most common errors consisted in the participants not following the instructions by using words not included in the list. Other errors also included incorrect spelling and not only using an incorrect word but also an incorrect word category. The correct answers were supposed to be the below (in bold):

A: Excuse me, can you help me? I am looking for the train station?

B: Yes. Go straight and turn the first left. Go past the bank and the public toilet, then turn the second right. Go straight towards the car park. You will see the train station on your right.

The outcomes obtained proved that the participants had a higher difficulty in two specific gaps: the first one (*looking*) and the second to last (*towards*). The first one was often incorrectly replaced with the word *finding* (provided in the list of possible words), showing a level of comprehension by relating the concept of *finding* and *looking for something* failing syntactically and grammatically. In other cases, especially in the control group, some students followed "I am" with either their name or the word *lost*. This shows in the first case an interiorised formulaic competence of this phrase but a misinterpretation of the communicative context. The second case shows an understanding of the overall context but a misconstruction of the specific sentence. The other problematic gap (*towards*) included the use of "to", which is grammatically correct but was not available in the list of possible words, as well as the use of different words that do not work with the context. The difficulty with understanding the concept of "towards" was expected based on the observation of the sessions, where the participants struggled to understand the connotations of this term particularly when using a monolingual approach, given that, when a plurilingual approach was used, an equivalent was also provided in the participant's language. Below are some examples for reference in regards to the challenges in activity 2:

Part II

II. Fill the gaps with the necessary word: How to get to the **train station**

A: Excuse me, can you help me? I am lost ✓ for the train station?

B: Yes. Go straight ✓ and turn the first left. Go past the toilet ~~public~~ and the Bank ✓, then turn the second right. Go straight right ✓ the car park. You will see the train station on your right ✓.

A: Thank you very much.

B: No problem. Bye

Possible words (not all included): bank, towards, telephone box, pharmacy, straight, public toilet, looking, finding, next to, left, right

Extract (2a) – control group

II. Fill the gaps with the necessary word: How to get to the **train station**

A: Excuse me, can you help me? I am looking ✓ for the train station?

B: Yes. Go straight ✓ and turn the first left. Go past the bank ✓ and the public toilet ✓, then turn the second right. Go straight right ✓ the car park. You will see the train station on your finding ✗.

A: Thank you very much.

B: No problem. Bye

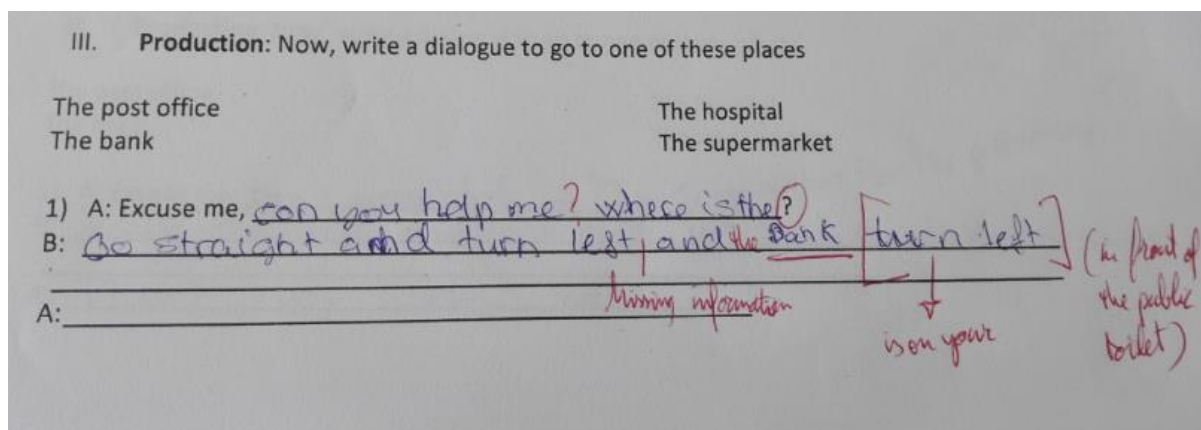
Extract (2a.a) – experimental group

Unlike the other two activities, the third exercise was solely focused on written production, which could be considered the most challenging, as often learners do not have as many opportunities to produce language unless they are in the classroom environment or have a context in which they can practise their discourse competence and show their communicative written ability. According to Celce-Murcia (2007) discourse is a central component where all other resources and skills (lexico-grammatical, actional, and sociocultural) all come together, thus it is through discourse that the other competencies can be assessed to evaluate communicative competence.

The results varied among participants but tended to follow certain patterns that were repeated in different schools by the same group of participants. In this exercise we measured three specific aspects of language, i.e. accuracy, fluency and spelling, and within these we analysed the use of new vocabulary, correct syntax and cohesion, and general meaning.

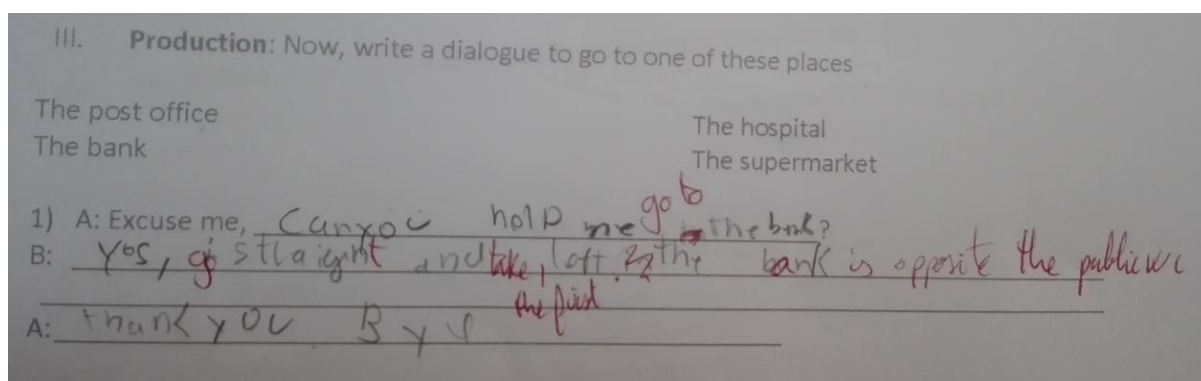
One of the most common incorrect results were unfinished exercises (missing questions, answers or leaving the whole activity empty), misspellings and not following instructions by not choosing one of the places requested to provide the directions to. However, depending on whether the group was control or experimental the errors also affected the cohesion of the sentence in different degrees. For instance, in the monolingual version the participants used

specific memorised expressions but failed to link them to correct structures, they also tended to make more spelling mistakes and leave more exercises blank. Overall, the participants were 30% more prone to leave the exercise unfinished in the control group. Below we provide some extracts comparing the type of errors in both groups:



Extract (3a) – control group

In extract (3a) above we can observe how the first question is incorrectly formulated and includes two questions in one “can you help me?” and “where is the [bank – incomplete question]?”. We can observe that the participant had a general grasp of the vocabulary and the meaning can be inferred, however he misses important information leaving the sentence incomplete. Also, the conversation is left unfinished with no closing of the conversation or pleasantries.

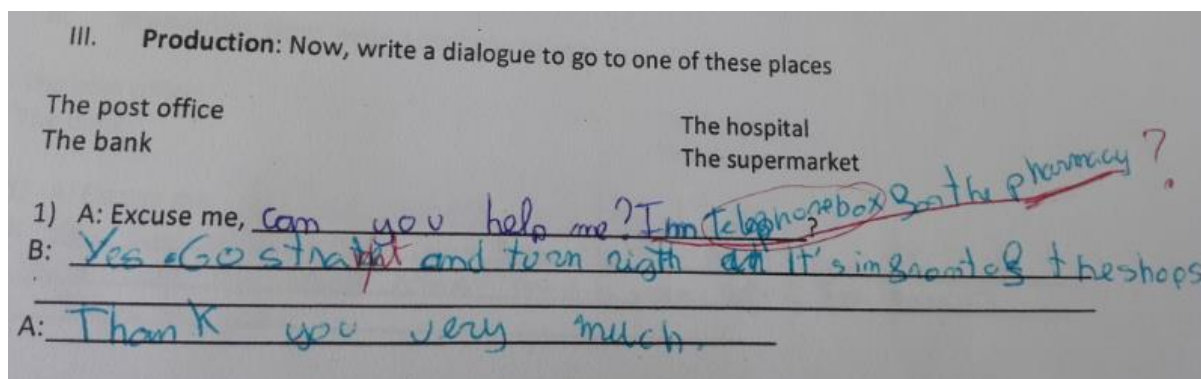


Extract (3b) – control group

In extract (3b) we see a similar pattern in meaning but lack of cohesion, correct grammar and spelling. The participant wrote: “can you help me bank?” and replied “Yes, is straight and left the bank”. Unlike extract (3a), this participant closed the conversation and followed a coherent

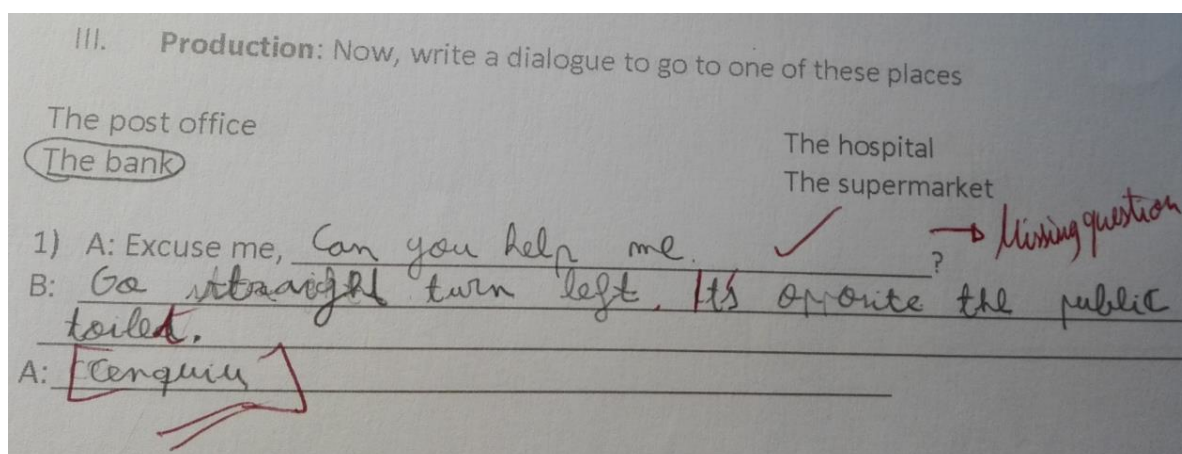
Part II

conversation structures with opening and closing but experienced more difficulties in spelling. On the other hand, while the meaning of the conversation could be slightly inferred by the main directions “straight” and “left”, there is important information missing and incorrect verbs and grammar, such as “is straigh(t)” instead of “go straight” or missing “take/turn left”.



Extract (3c) – control group

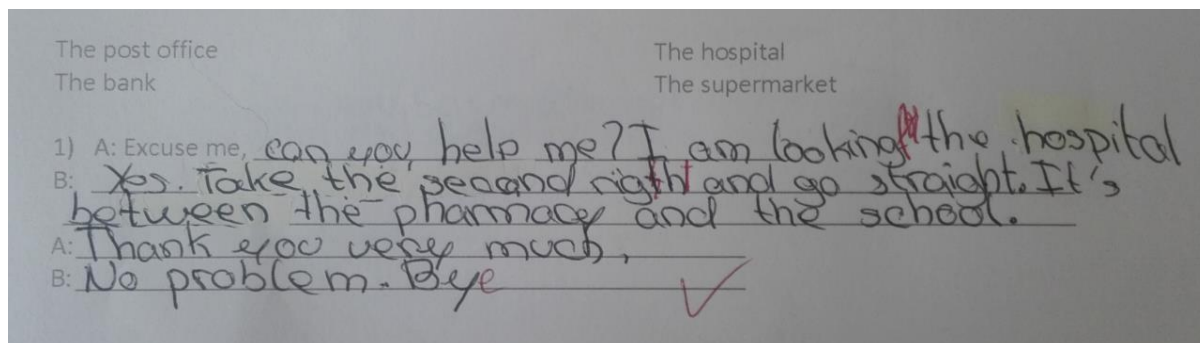
The above extract (3c) is an interesting one, as the participant somehow learnt the term “telephone box” as “looking”, mistaking a noun for a verb. Based on the participant’s whole test, we can observe that this misunderstanding originates in the second activity, where in the first gap she filled the incorrect option writing “I am telephone box for the train station”, which she seems to have used as base for this exercise. Aside from this, the participant chose an option that was not included in the activity failing to follow instructions and also had some missing information in the directions (unclear when to turn right), as well as a minor misspelling errors.



Extract (3d) – control group

Part II

The above extract (3b.b), is quite well done with the exception of the missing preposition in the phrasal verb “looking for” and the fact that it is quite direct missing a question in the first instance to address the conversation more politely. In this case the participant requires more pragmatic awareness.



Extract (3c.c) – experimental group

On the above example, we can observe again some misspellings and again the missing preposition after “looking”, which highly is a common error in many of the tests.

One of the common errors in these Spanish schools in both groups included the phonetic spelling of some of the words (as shown on extract 3d), which suggest the common use of a communicative approach mainly focused on speaking and listening skills. This appears to be in accordance with the current Spanish guidelines, which state that oral and listening skills will be prioritised in the curriculum (BOE, 2014, p. 19358).

In conclusion, not only were the participants more receptive in each of the schools whenever a multilingual approach was used, but they were more engaged and participative during the sessions. At the same time, because they had more opportunities to practise, due to a requiring less time in the theoretical sections, this also benefited them directly in the tests. Based on the outcomes achieved we can conclude that a plurilingual approach improves the results in an approximate overall 20%.

6.1.2. Results in the Norwegian Context

The second context where our study was set was in the municipality of Levanger, north of Trondheim, in the region of Trøndelag (Norway). With a considerably homogenous community below the national average of immigrant population (Østby, 2015), most of the population speaks one of the two official Norwegian languages (bokmål and nynorsk) as their main language and both known as Norwegian. In this area the Trønderisk dialect is also spoken, but does not have a written form. Of the two official Norwegian languages, both are compulsory at school but the parents choose one of them as their main language when starting school and from the age of twelve the other language is introduced (Council of Europe, 2004). In the case of the participants in the Norwegian school, they all had bokmål as their main language.

Norway, as it was described in Chapter 4, follows a plurilingual approach to English teaching from the national guidelines that has as one of the objectives to identify linguistic similarities and differences between English and the learner's native language (KD, 2013), which the teachers of the groups participating in this study confirmed it is implemented. According to them, the students receive two English lessons per week and one of them is dedicated to compare English and Norwegian as a form of contrastive analysis. The teachers also confirmed that the classes are mainly focused on communication and that the importance of English knowledge is reiterated in the classroom. In a way, in this school the experimental group actually received a similar approach to what they usually have in the school and the control group received an English immersive approach that is uncommon in English classrooms in Norway.

The school participating in the present study is a public school in a semi-rural area with average middle-class socio-economic conditions. In this school there were only two groups per year and the students were all Norwegian and considered Norwegian as their mother tongue, except for two students, who were immigrant (Uganda and Uzbekistan) and had only been in the country for just over 2 years and, despite being in the classroom, the teachers recognised that they did not speak Norwegian fully and struggled with all the subjects. Because of the scattered nature of the population in Norway due to the geography of the country, the school

population varies from one year to the next based on natality and immigration rates. For this very reason, we can observe a considerable difference between the pilot test where we had 56 students (2017-2018), and the main study where only 39 were available in that school year (2018-2019), of which 2 participants were not able to carry out the test, despite being present in both sessions, due to their low level of Norwegian and English (the above referred students from Uganda and Uzbekistan).

Even though the quality of primary schools are similar, their distribution and size is often diverse and changing (Sørli, Ogden, & Olseth, 2015). At the same time, there is another big difference between the pilot test participants and the main study ones and that is that barely anyone received after school English support in 2017-2018, whereas most students did in 2018-2019. This change might be due to different factors, such as the convictions of the different parents of the participants, the increasing emphasis on the importance of English in the world, required support from the students, or even availability to receive English tutoring. While due to the time constraints and limitations of this dissertation it was not possible for this factor to be researched further, given the dramatic change in English after-school support, we consider this relevant for further research.

Overall, we can observe a general higher level of proficiency in English than the rest of the schools in other contexts as it would be expected of the Norwegian setting based on the 2019 EPI statistics. It can also be observed a generally similar result between control and experimental groups in some of the activities, which suggest a low impact of this approach in comprehension and cloze test activities, but a considerable improvement in written production when the plurilingual approach was used. This is illustrated in Figure 6.5 in the following page.

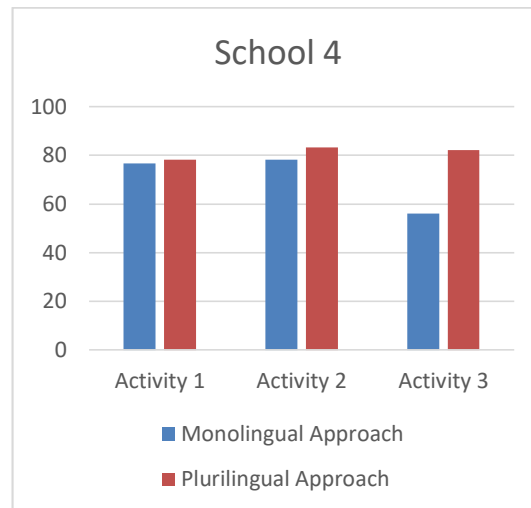


Figure 6.6: School 4 test results

In terms of the observation of the sessions, the students were very receptive and participative in both groups, which the teachers attributed mostly due to the novelty of having a new foreign teacher in the classroom. It is common for students to have the same primary teachers for the first six years of primary school (Sørliie et al., 2015), so a new teacher and especially someone from outside of the school and the country resulted in an animated classroom environment. Despite this hype, however, the students were very respectful and well-behaved but their participation in the classroom was higher than usual according to the regular teacher.

Because no students repeat grades and the students are never divided by ability, the classrooms are generally very mixed and the results achieved by the students often vary greatly. Norway has a very inclusive education system that aims to provide equal opportunities for all and for this reason schools are not allowed to select their students based on academic ability and year repetition is non-existent in Norway. For over 40 years, the political objective of primary school in Norway has been to fully include all kinds of students, reducing this way the use of segregated special education (Sørliie et al., 2015). Yet, this full inclusion also has some downsides due to a lack of extra support for certain students, as it was the case with the immigrant students in this school. In fact, there is a lack of empirical studies that examine the success of mainstreaming students in Norway, but there are indications of groups of marginal students that struggle to integrate in the classroom (Sørliie & Ogden, 2015). For instance, “first-generation immigrant students are at least twice as likely to perform among the bottom quarter of students when compared to students without an immigrant background” (Nusche, Earl, Maxwell, & Shewbridge, 2011, p. 19). In the case of the two participating groups, two

students that participated in the study had a very low level of both English and Norwegian, yet the teachers confirmed that they usually just use the same books and materials as the rest and attend the same classes with the only difference of extra support after school.

In this school, however, no behaviour problems were experienced during the experiment and both groups were respectful, yet participative. As it was experienced in Spain, whenever a plurilingual approach was used, the students understood the concepts faster, as well as the instructions for activities, allowing more time for practise. As with the other schools participating in the study, during the first session both groups were presented with example conversations on the topic of asking and giving directions, which included some foreign words. The students were first asked to identify any foreign words, which they easily recognised demonstrating a developed metalinguistic awareness. After this exercise the researcher proceeded to ask them who they thought speaks English, to which they all replied countries belonging to the Inner Circle and did not reference any others as English-speakers. Following this, the students were asked if they spoke English, to which they mostly replied affirmatively. As it was done in Spain, the next question was whether they were then English-speakers, which they denied and said they were Norwegian speakers. Here we could observed a difference between their understanding of using a language and being language-speakers, which shows a clear relation to the monolingual bias.

In terms of the approach to new terminology, concepts and grammar, we had agreed with the students' regular teacher to help us explain the concept in the experimental group, whereas in the control one only English was used. In Norway, the students learnt the concepts comparatively faster than the Spanish students, which indicates a general higher level of proficiency in English. Despite the fact that both groups overall performed well in the test there were some challenges and patterns identified depending on the approach used, which will be analysed in the next section.

6.1.2.1. Challenges in the Test Activities (Norway)

Unlike the results achieved in Spain, in Norway there was no specific pattern of errors in activity one, yet there were common patterns in the second activity. Despite achieving a considerable

higher score (both in experimental and control groups), the students encountered challenges still in the first and second to last gap in the cloze test. In the first gap, the students either left the gap empty or used the word “lost”, which indicates an interiorisation of the formula “I am lost”, which was taught in the sessions, and while it is related to the theme of the communicative setting it shows a misinterpretation of the specific message. In regards to the other gap, the students often used the preposition “to” even though it did not appear in the provided list but worked communicatively and grammatically. Although in a few cases other prepositions such as “in” or “next to” were used incorrectly. In this exercise, there were no significant differences between the two groups. Below we can see some extracts for reference:

II. Fill the gaps with the necessary word: How to get to the train station
 A: Excuse me, can you help me? I am lost for the train station?
 B: Yes. Go straight and turn the first left. Go past the Public toilet and the Bank, then turn the second right. Go straight to the car park. You will see the train station on your right.
 A: Thank you very much.
 B: No problem. Bye
 Possible words (not all included): bank, towards, telephone box, pharmacy, straight, public toilet, looking, finding, next to, left, right

Extract (2b) – control group

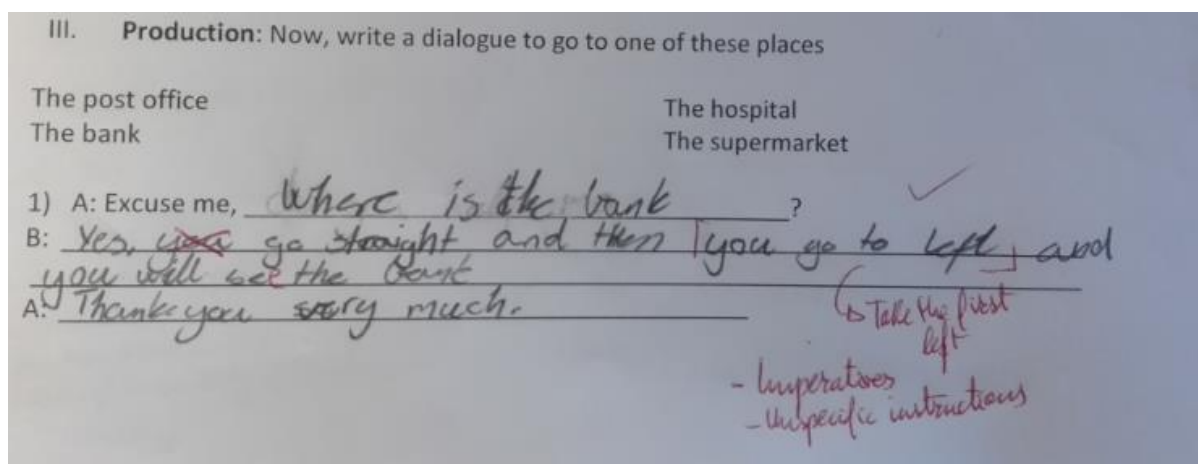
Fill the gaps with the necessary word: How to get to the train station
 A: Excuse me, can you help me? I am lost for the train station?
 B: Yes. Go straight and turn the first left. Go past the PUBLIC TOILET and the BANK, then turn the second right. Go straight in the car park. You will see the train station on your right.
 A: Thank you very much.
 B: No problem. Bye
 Possible words (not all included): bank, towards, telephone box, pharmacy, straight, public toilet, looking, finding, next to, left, right

Extract (2b.b) – experimental group

Focusing now on the third exercise, here is where more differences can be observed between both groups and also compared to the Spanish schools. The first thing we noticed in the Norwegian exams was the use of shortened versions of English words, especially the use of “ur” instead of “you are”, or “u” instead of “you”. This shortened words appeared in 8 of the 39 exams, making it more into a pattern than an isolated case (this affected over 20% of the tests equally in both groups). This indicates a use of colloquial English language most likely online and outside the classroom (such as texting, online gaming, etc.), in fact it is recognised that

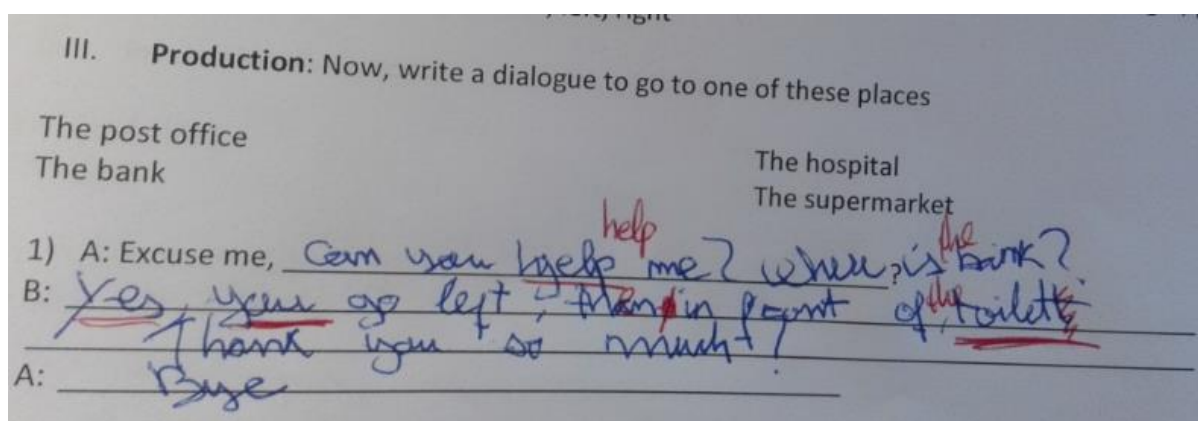
Part II

Norwegian young people interact with English in different contexts and for various purposes outside of school (Rindal, 2014). Generally in both groups, although more pronounced in the control group, there was a low level of cohesion with an overuse of the conjunction “and” and the adverb “then”. In addition, the students experienced overall more challenges with the use of imperative in the control group. Below are some examples to illustrate the kind of challenges referred:



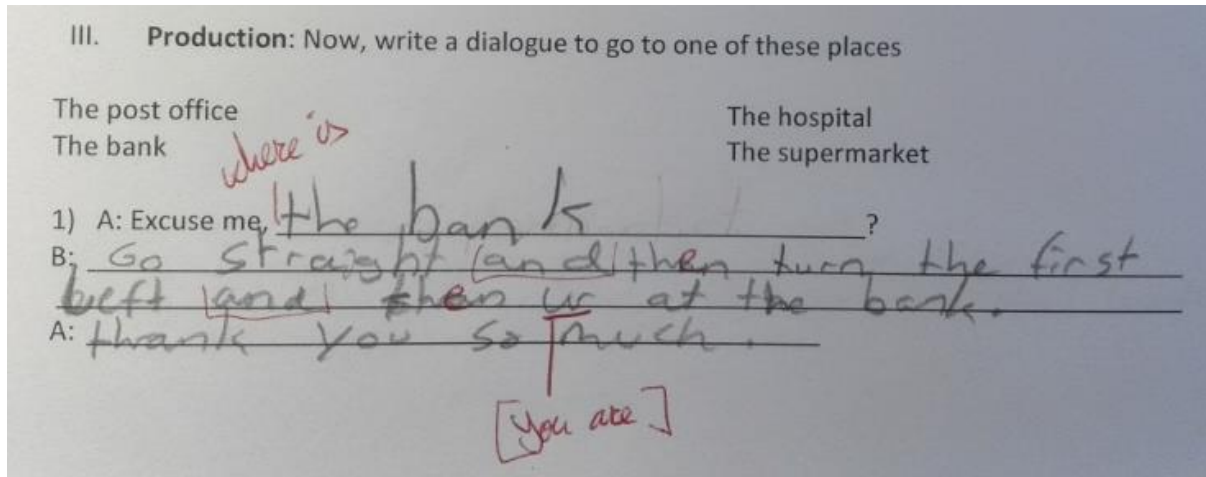
Extract (3e) – control group

In extract (3e), we can observe three main errors. On the one hand, each verb is treated using the present or future tense, rather than the imperative, which shows a lack of understanding of this tense in this kind of communication. Secondly, we can observe a lack of specific instructions, for instance indicating to “go left” or in the sentence “you will see the bank” without specifying where. Lastly, we can see the overuse of “and” to link the communication, which shows a lack of cohesion.



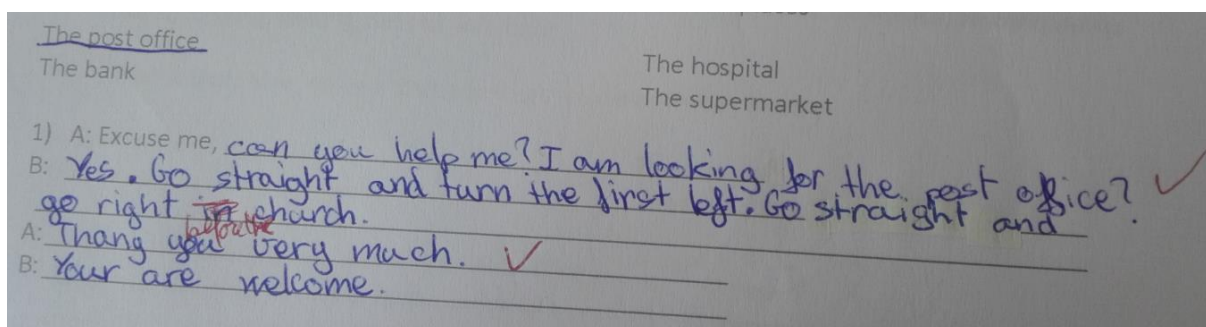
Extract (3f) – control group

In extract (3f) similar errors can be observed. Firstly, the participant conjugated the verb as the participant of extract (3e) did, and also experienced some difficulties linking the sentence and missing information, aside from some spelling mistakes; the participant wrote: “you go left, than in front of toilet”, which should be something like “take the first left and the bank will be in from of the toilet”. In this extract, the participant also shows transfer signs from her mother tongue in the spelling of “help” and “toilet”.



Extract (3d.d) – experimental group

The extract above (3d.d) shows different errors. Firstly, it can be observed that the participant omitted the question in favour of just referring to the place, which shows a lack of understanding of the instructions. Secondly, it shows a repetitive use of “and then”, which shows a limited understanding of communicative cohesion. At the same time, in this example, as well as the misspelling of “then” we see the use of “ur” instead of “you are”. While this extract shows an understanding of the use of the imperative, it demonstrates a general difficulty in both Norwegian groups with the cohesion of the dialogue.



Extract (3e.e) – experimental group

In the experimental group, there were several dialogues in activity 3 that required none or minimal changes (such as spelling or prepositions). Extract (3e.e) is a good example of one of those instances where only the preposition was incorrect.

6.1.3. Results in the Chinese Context

The last of our contexts is China, a gigantic and heterogeneous nation that provides a complex and diverse environment where our study was implemented and provided polarising outcomes. For our experiment, a school was selected in the countryside in the area of Hunan, which is a poorer area in inland China, and another school in a high middle-class urban area in Shenzhen. While both schools are public, the factors and characteristics of each of the settings are very disparate.

There is one curriculum that is applied nationally and guides each of the public primary schools, the English Curriculum Standards, also known as the national English Curriculum Reform (MOE, 2011). This new curriculum brought new opportunities to develop English language and literacy skills, but it also brought many challenges (D. Zhang, 2012). It firstly originated as a reaction to the old traditional ways in favour of globalisation and internationalisation. It aimed to introduce new progressive pedagogies such as Communicative Language Teaching and the Task-based Approach (Y. Zhang & Wang, 2011) in an effort to change teacher-centred and grammar-based methods to more communicative and Western approaches.

Despite the national application of this curriculum and the measures from the central government to reduce the disparity between urban and rural areas, among different regions and provinces, the implementation of this curriculum varies greatly leading to very different proficiency levels. In his review of the impact of the implementation of the National Curriculum Reform in China, Yin (2013) refers to a macro-questionnaire that includes the analysis of 3,740 teachers' opinions on the national reform and states that 62% of teachers considered that the implementation of the new curriculum in urban schools was significantly better than in rural ones. He also refers to the several independent studies that over the years have revealed the big gap between urban and rural schools, an inadequate professional support for teachers and unsatisfactory results in classroom teaching with the new approaches. The differences

between rural and urban areas also affect the time offered in the classroom, for instance, while the curriculum states that primary schools will offer three English classes per week, Shenzhen offers at least four periods of English lessons from grade one in primary school (Y. Zhang & Wang, 2011). At the same time, the access to after-school English tutoring varies greatly among regions, on the one hand the budget of the school determines the availability for after school English activities organised by the school and, on the other, private supplementary English lessons are contributing to the maintenance and strengthening of social stratification, given that urban families spent significantly more on supplementary tutoring than rural families (Xue & Fang, 2018).

Our study supports all the above evidence and shows that, while there have been some improvements due to a number of programmes the Chinese government has launched to improve school infrastructures in the countryside (OECD, 2016), the reality is that the huge gap in the quality of English education still exists. If we look at our two participating schools we can see three main differences: access to private and public school-organised English support; access to technology; and the quality of the teachers.

In regards to English after-school support, 51% of the students in the countryside confirmed having access to private classes, while 77% of the students in the city confirmed this. At the same time, the countryside school did not offer any English support outside of the classroom, whereas the school in Shenzhen offered a variety of activities, contests and workshops organised by the school. Another big difference was the facilities and access to technology. In the urban school all students had access to personal laptops and tablets, as well as the interactive whiteboard, in contrast to the countryside school that only had an interactive whiteboard. Concerning the quality of the teachers, the gap between both schools was undeniable. To understand the extent of this imbalance between both settings, we will provide the details and logistics prior and during the study in China.

Unlike the schools in Spain and Norway, the contact with the schools prior to the visit had only been possible through a third party that had visited them in person and explained the study, the objectives, and requested the information about the books they use and possible new concepts to introduce in the experiment. Contacting schools in China is not an easy task, and without a Chinese person “on the inside” it is very difficult to acquire access to participate in

research, especially if it is organised in a foreign country. For Chinese people the concept of losing face is one of the most important concerns, that is, the fear of have their self-image or value unappreciated, misrepresented or disrespected by other members of the community plays a big role in Chinese society (X. Qi, 2011). Consequently, most schools when offered to participate in a study would reject it or accept to do so with the aim of showing proud results and being a good representative for China. For this very reason, we required a Chinese person to explain the study and the fact that it will be presented in Spain so that they could relax and act naturally in the school. When both schools accepted, our representative in China confirmed that the schools that accepted to participate claimed to use a communicative approach in the classroom and that the concepts that would be introduced were applicable for their level. After months of carrying out the study in Spain and Norway we travelled to China in order to proceed with the Chinese section of the research, first in the school in countryside and then in the urban school.

6.1.3.1. Rural China

The way the study was organised, we would first have an informal interview with the teacher and explain when, and in which group, we would require assistance explaining some concepts in Chinese, then a session would be carried out with both groups in the same day and the second session and test in a different day on the same week. However, upon arrival to the rural school we were first assigned an interpreter to talk to the English teacher. As soon as the informal interview started the teacher affirmed that she did not speak English and when questioned about the methodology used in the classroom, she confirmed that the students work on repetition and memorisation of vocabulary and formulas. While memorisation is highly valued in China and is a culturally-specific learning practice transferred from traditional Chinese education practices (X. Yu, 2013), using only this approach to English learning goes against the objectives of the current national curriculum and it contradicts the information provided to the Chinese representative prior to our visit, presumably as a way of maintaining face. The lesson plan and materials were shown to the teacher and she confirmed that they should be able to learn some of the words but that the test and the grammar might be too difficult for them.

Following the meeting with the teacher we proceeded with the first group, in which we used a monolingual approach. The students were very excited as most of them had not seen a foreigner in real life before. Due to the novelty of having a foreign teacher the school had invited the parents of the students, which were in the classroom taking pictures through the whole session. While all students were very participative, there were several factors hindering the task (the parents, the fact that there were over 50 students very eager to participate at the same time, the low level of English, etc.) during the whole session we were only able to work on the vocabulary of location, as well as explaining the concept of turning left and right and carrying out some vocabulary exercises to practise writing as the study includes a written test. Following this class, we had a session with the other group, the experimental one. In this group the students found it easier to understand instructions and some of the concepts with the help of the teacher aided by the interpreter. While example conversations were introduced in both groups, neither of them had a high enough metalinguistic level to identify non-English words and when the conversations were shown the students were only able to repeat each sentence automatically after it was read by the researcher. In neither of the groups the concept of English as a Lingua Franca was able to be introduced.

Following this first session, we decided to adapt the materials in order to simplify the content (Appendix 8). Despite using the new materials in the second session, the students were unable to write or follow directions, only isolated words and the teacher requested not to do the exam so it did not affect the students' confidence. Hence, during the time of the test we provided the students with the questionnaire translated into Chinese (Appendix 12), which they filled and provided at the end of the class. Unfortunately, in the rural area we did not acquire the expected results but it provided very interesting data on the differences between regions in China and the applicability of the common national curriculum.

6.1.3.2. Urban China

Following our experience in the countryside, a week later the study was taken to Shenzhen, to an affluent area of the city with a public school where most of the students were children from civil servants and government officials. This school, due to the different levels between the different classes in the same year, decided to divide one classroom (the one with the best score)

in two groups of 22 students. They arranged for the classes to be re-organised that week to accommodate this and also had some of the English teachers observe the session.

Prior to the start of the sessions we briefed the relevant teacher on the process and also had a small interview. Unlike the teacher in Hunan, the one in Shenzhen was fluent in English and very willing to have an interview in English. She confirmed that the focus on lower grades is on speaking and listening, while on higher grades (5 and 6) is more on reading and writing. She also noted that the main difficulty the students have is in production. In terms of government orientated goals presented in the curriculum, the teacher confirmed that they are the main goals in the school, although they also complement these with specific teacher goals. She also confirmed that, despite the nationwide applicability of the curriculum, the goals from rural and urban schools are actually different and the requirements for the teachers differ as well, although she did not provide any further details on the matter. Due to the tight involvement of the government in daily life in China, the teachers are often quite reticent to provide much details, opinions or critiques about any government decision on education. During this interview, it was also confirmed that they do CLIL on Art lessons and prepare English projects, as well as have English festivals for the students to offer more opportunities for them to practise. Aside from this, it was confirmed that the students can have access to internet and tablets in the classroom and many of them attend after school private English tutoring. Overall, the teacher confirmed to use English only unless Chinese is needed to address any behavioural issues in the classroom.

In this school, we were able to carry out the different sessions, the exam and the questionnaire. In the first session, the students were introduced to the new concepts using the slides 1 to 4 and practised the new grammar and terminology with games and small exercises. In both groups we started with the flashcards and a board race to warm-up and practise spelling. This was followed by an exercise with the students enacting easy directions in front of the class, and practising prepositions of location with a ball that they had to write down. As per our agreed process, in the experimental group the teacher helped us explain the grammar in Chinese to complement our English explanation and in the control group we used English only and more repetition, as well as different techniques for the students to assimilate the new learning. In both groups we presented the conversation examples that included some words

in German (slide 5). When the students were asked to identify any non-English text, they confirmed that some words looked strange and they had not seen the letter “ö” before but were unsure whether the words were just new or from a different language. Here, the participants were at a disadvantage because of the different nature of language families in comparison to the Spanish and Norwegian groups.

In regards to the question of “who speaks English” the students were very vocal about the Inner Circle countries and when questioned about speakers from other countries that use English for communication they were quite adamant about not considering them English speakers but rather people who speak English. In both groups, the teacher introduced us as Spanish natives. This resulted in the students repeatedly asking why we were teaching them English instead of our mother tongue, which demonstrates how rooted the idea of the native speaker is in China. We linked then our answer to the fact that English speakers can be any users of English of any nationality, which they eventually understood. In this school, despite the deep-rooted idea of the nativism, both students and teachers were opened to the concept of English as a global language. In the countryside, however, the traditional idea of the Inner Circle prestige prevailed to the extent that the teacher introduced us as an English teacher from Great Britain, as they considered it would be better received by students and parents.

In the second session, we reviewed the new concepts and grammar explained in the previous session and practised using a map on the whiteboard (slide 7 – Appendix 7). The students did first an oral practise given and receiving directions in pairs, with the support of the Chinese teacher when the students required it in the experimental group and with English only support in the control group. As a second part of the activity, the students had to write down in the notebook a question asking for directions and providing directions to a place in the map shared. After this final activity, the students put away any reference material, the whiteboard was disconnected and they were seated separately to do the test. After this, the tests were collected. In this school, the questionnaires were provided on a different day as pre-agreed with the school and the students were given 30 minutes to complete it.

Once the results of the exam were analysed we observed that, as with the other countries, a plurilingual approach had had a positive effect on the students’ learning. Overall the students

achieved a 49.4% using a monolingual approach, in contrast with a 70.7% achieved using a plurilingual approach. The results per activity can be observed in Figure 6.7 below:

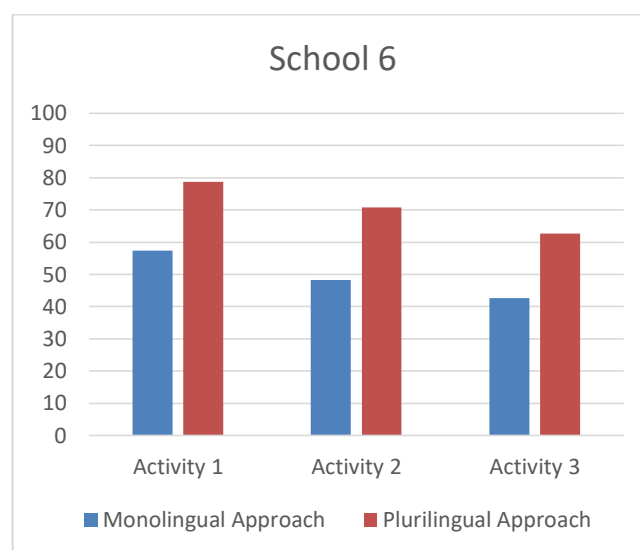


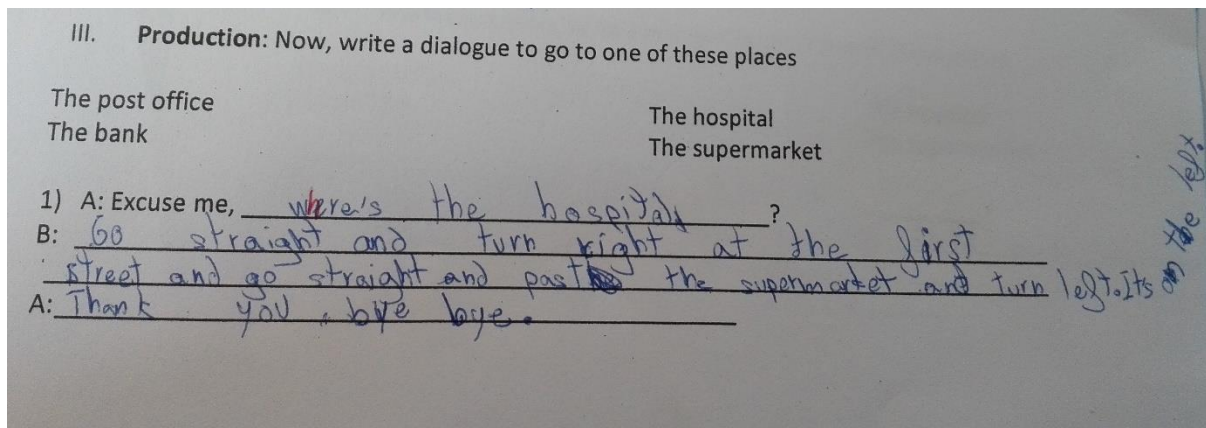
Figure 6.7: School 6 test results

As illustrated on the chart, the improvement percentage is very consistent in the three activities (approximately 20% in all of them). It can also be concluded that the students have more difficulties in production when compared to vocabulary and comprehension. This was expected based on the teacher's interview prior to the study, where she confirmed that production was one of the students' main challenges and the fact that Chinese traditional teaching methods, still used today to an extent, are focused on vocabulary and formulaic memorisation.

6.1.3.3. Challenges in the Test Activities (China)

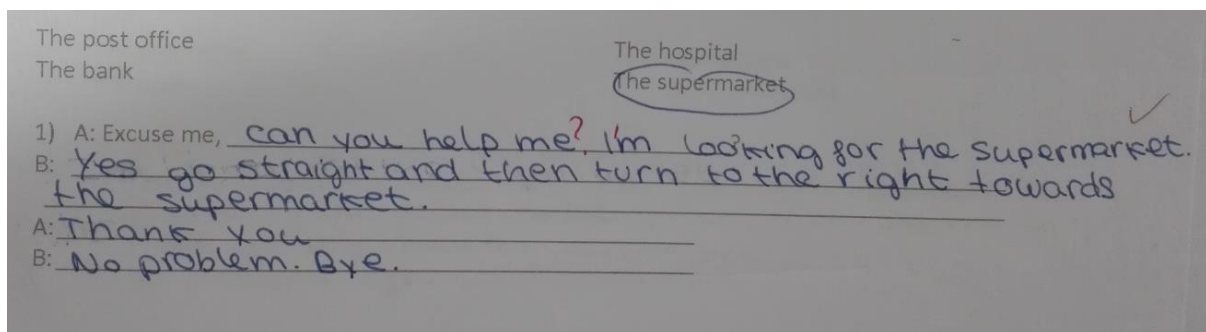
One of the main challenges in China was the fact that the same test was prepared for both countryside and urban areas, when they are both at different ends of the spectrum. As it was explained above, the test was unsuitable for the countryside area as the level was considerably below than in the urban area. In regards to the outcomes in the Chinese school in Shenzhen, there were no clear patterns of different challenges between the groups. In the first two activities, the number of correct and incorrect replies varied between the groups with no evident patterns. The experimental group achieved a 78.66% in contrast to a 57.3% in the first activity and a 70.8% versus a 48.33% from the control group in the second one. In regards to

the third activity, it can be observed that overall the control group received lower scores, with 4 empty activities (scoring 0) and only 3 high scores (scoring 4 and no 5). In contrast, the experimental group had 2 empty activities (scoring 0) and 8 high scores (scoring 4 or 5). Overall, the spelling in both groups was good with only errors that appeared to be due to phonetic challenges (where/were; trafic/traffic). The participants in this school demonstrated general good fluency and accuracy, with a good command of formulaic expressions for directions and minor difficulties understanding prepositions as it can be observed from the extracts below:



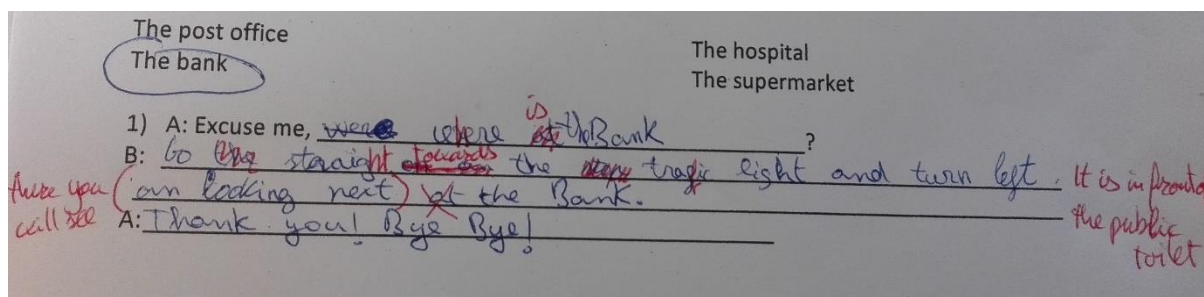
Extract (3f.f) – experimental group

On the above extract (3f.f) we can see a near perfect example. The cohesion could be improved, given the overuse of “and” but it is generally clear and the only spelling error is the common misuse of “were” instead of “where”.



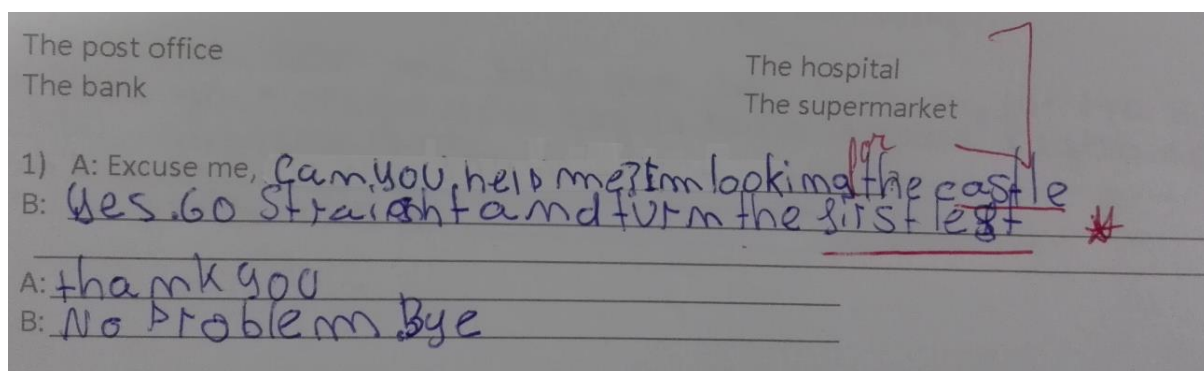
Extract (3g.g) – experimental group

In this extract (3g.g), we can observe an oversimplification of the instruction but a clear understanding of meaning and production. The participant fused two sentences when asking for directions but overall showed good grammar, spelling and fluency.



Extract (3g) – control group

The example above (3g) includes different kinds of errors (spelling and grammar), although it shows a general understanding of meaning. In the question, the verb was replaced by the preposition “at” and, in the answer, the participant appeared to mistake “there you will see the bank” with “am looking next at the Bank” (lack of understand of prepositions). Another interesting point is the capitalisation of every “b” independently of start of the sentence (Bank and Bye).



Extract (3h) – control group

In this extract from the control group (3h) we can observe different errors, such as prepositions, lack of information and misunderstanding of instructions. In this case the student requests directions to the “castle”, which is not on the provided list, yet it provides directions to the bank, which would lead to ineffective communication.

6.1.4. Main Findings from the Experimental Section of the Study

In all of the schools where the experiment was conducted, the recommended approach from their guidelines and curricula was a communicative one (BOE, 2014; KD, 2013; MOE, 2001), with China adding the variant of task-based language teaching, which is considered an

extension of the CLT movement (Nunan, 2004). However, schools aiming to focus on communicative competence have traditionally kept languages separate in the curriculum, despite the fact that the idea of language separation has been criticised and often disproved to be beneficial in language learning (Cenoz & Gorter, 2013). This is true for all contexts, with the exception of Norway, which curriculum encourages teachers to relate English to the students' first language.

One common point in all curricula and guidelines was the view of English as a global language, yet with reference to native speakers. The ownership of English and native norms have been questionable for some time (Cenoz & Gorter, 2017; Makoni & Pennycook, 2007), but the approaches taken in the classroom seem to preserve these ideologies. For this very reason, our study compared two approaches to English learning: a monolingual and a plurilingual one. The outcomes obtained in our experiment support the fact that a plurilingual approach achieves better results in different skills. Our study focused on reading and writing skills, and specifically on reading comprehension, vocabulary and written production. Overall, the improvement in Spain and China is approximately 20% when the plurilingual approach was used, with a lesser improvement rate in Norway, which leaned towards 12%. Due to the general higher proficiency in Norway, the results were expected to be less contrasting in that context.

In regards to the challenges and strong points in each context, we were able to observe the following:

- In Spain, the students had some spelling difficulties that can be related to transfer between languages (such as the phonetic spelling of some words based on the Spanish alphabet) and could benefit from identifying the differences between languages to help the students understand English better. In this context, the students encountered difficulties understanding certain instructions, such as the ordinal numbers in combination with directions and patterns were identified in which students following a monolingual approach relied more on formulaic strategies that did not work when the whole context was not taken into account. These participants also showed difficulties understanding some prepositions (e.g. towards) and following instructions correctly.

- In Norway, the students also showed some spelling difficulties related to transfer as they were mimicking Norwegian spelling. Overall, in the control group where the monolingual approach was used, the participants encountered difficulties using the imperative. Common errors also included incorrect use of prepositions, lack of fluency and errors due to interiorised formulas without context. An interesting find in both groups in this context was the use of abbreviated English words, which shows the actual use of English as a Lingua Franca in digital communication among young people.
- In China, we experienced very different realities between rural and urban areas. The fact that the participants in the countryside were not able to carry out the test in either of the groups is a relevant result in itself. This shows that, despite using the same curriculum, national objectives cannot be met in a country as vast and contrasting as China. In the urban area, we observed a similar English level to that of the Spanish students, as well as a similar response to a plurilingual approach. In the experimental group, the participants achieved better results and had a better understanding of prepositions, which was one of the main difficulties in the control group, along with memorised formulas used out of context.

Behaviour and attention to the teacher was improved overall in the experimental group where both English and the participants' mother tongue was used. In regards to English as a Lingua Franca, all participants seemed unaware of the concept in terms of the impact in identity (that is, language use versus language knowledge) but they were open to the concept. Students at this age are very open to new ideas and are in the process of forming their own opinions (Piaget, 1960), and for this reason we consider that approaching English as a Lingua Franca and developing the students' awareness of English as a global communication tool while developing their plurilingual competences will not only improve their language skills but also ensure that their perspective on language is more respectful towards language ecologies.

6.2. Results and Discussion related to Hypothesis (II)

In order to address hypothesis II and demonstrate that language policies and guidelines have an impact on the students' view of the value of the mother tongue and English, which in turn establishes the participants' perceived status of languages, a questionnaire was conducted. This survey aimed to analyse the students' beliefs on language and language use, as well as the impact of the current guidelines in the students' attitudes and motivation.

With the purpose of providing the above mentioned data, our questionnaire was extracted demographic data, motivation and attitude towards English and the mother tongue, perceptions and beliefs on language learning and language use.

6.2.1. Demographic Data

Because "language educators and researchers have the primary goal of examining the social, historical, and cultural contexts in which language learning and teaching takes place" (Norton, 2010, p. 351), our study aims to not only analyse the response and outcomes to different approaches but the sociolinguistic context. In order to contextualise the different factors to analyse, the questionnaire extracted the participants' objective demographic data in each of the contexts. For this section, we focused on the participants age and sex, the use of mother tongue (own L1, parents L1 and languages at home), English tutoring outside the school and use of media in English. The samples taken in the schools were balanced, with an average age of 11 years old and ratio of 49% girls and 51% boys (155 female students and 159 male students).

With the aim of describing the sociolinguistic context of these schools, the participants were asked the language they consider as mother tongue, their parents' mother tongue and the languages spoken at home. These data have been gathered on Table 6.2 below:

	(Spain) School 1	(Spain) School 2	(Spain) School 3	(Norway) School 4	(China C.) School 5	(China U.) School 6
Participant L1	26 ES 1 CA 16 Pluri.	22 ES 12 CA 16 Pluri.	21 ES 5 CA 13 Pluri.	34 NO 2 Pluri. 3 Other	82 CN 17 Other	40 CN 4 Other
Parents L1	16 ES 5 CA 10 Pluri. 12 Other	17 ES 14 CA 19 Pluri.	15 ES 6 CA 12 Pluri. 6 Other	32 NO 6 Pluri. 1 Other	74 CN 25 Other	40 CN 4 Other
Language spoken at home	25 ES 4 CA 11 Pluri. 3 Other	24 ES 14 CA 12 Pluri.	17 ES 5 CA 14 Pluri. 3 Other	35 NO 2 Pluri. 2 Other	78 CN 21 Other	41 CN 3 Other

Table 6.2: Demographic section of the questionnaire – Languages

If we look at the Spanish schools first, we can see that there is a clear majority of Spanish use (69 out of 132) over the minority language (Catalan) of the region. However, it is also very notable that there is a considerably high percentage (34%) of participants that consider themselves plurilingual. While the plurilingual cases are mostly Spanish/Catalan, these also include other combinations, such as Spanish/Chinese, Spanish/Catalan/Romanian, Spanish/Italian, among others. Schools 1 and 3 have commonalities in the diversity of languages spoken by the participants, given that the schools have a higher percentage of immigrant students (first and second generation). School 1 and 3 include L1 such as Tamil, Italian, Arabic, Romanian, Russian and Chinese. Whereas school 2 includes French, Romanian and German, has a high proportion of Catalan in comparison to the other schools and the plurilingual results are mainly combinations of Spanish and Catalan.

In Norway, however, we can see a very clear dominance of Norwegian over any other languages. Yet, this was to be expected, given that the immigration rates in this region are very low. 89.7% of the students consider Norwegian as their main language and speak it at home, with only 7.7% considering any other language as a mother tongue and only 2 participants considering themselves plurilinguals. The participants' foreign languages in Norway include Turkish, Uzbek, Estonian, Hungarian, and Luganda.

Lastly, the findings in China were very different to the other two countries and provide an interesting picture of China's linguistic context. While all participants added "Chinese" as their language, they used different words that imply certain cultural connotations. Only two options were extracted in the questionnaires:

- 中文 (zhōng wén: Chinese) : This is what is commonly known as standard Chinese language. We classified this as CN (Chinese) on Table 6.2.
- 汉语 (hàn yǔ: Chinese) : While it is used to refer to Chinese, this terminology alludes to the language used by Han people (there are 56 different Chinese ethnicities and this one refers to the main one). This term includes any dialect spoken by someone of the Han ethnicity. We classified this as "Other" on Table 6.2.

While technically, all participants referred to Chinese, linguistically speaking they are different concepts with different connotations (Chan, 2016). It is worth noting that, while a great number of minority languages exist in China they are not overtly exposed and generally the students belonging to a minority attend different schools specific for minorities.

6.2.1.1. English outside the Classroom

Because the use of English language is not limited to the schools, in order to have an overview of the access to English outside the classroom, the students were asked to provide information in regards to English tutoring outside the school, as well as the frequency in which they watch English media (movies, TV shows, etc.). On Figure 6.7 below, it can be observed that less than 50% of the students have access to after school English tutoring in Spain, with a significant difference between the schools depending on the area. The figure illustrates that approximately 90% of the participants in Norway attend English tutoring and, in comparison, the countryside of China is closest to the situation in Spain with an estimated 50% of the students attending English classes. Contrastively, a high percentage of Chinese students in the urban area (77.3%) attend English tutoring outside the school.

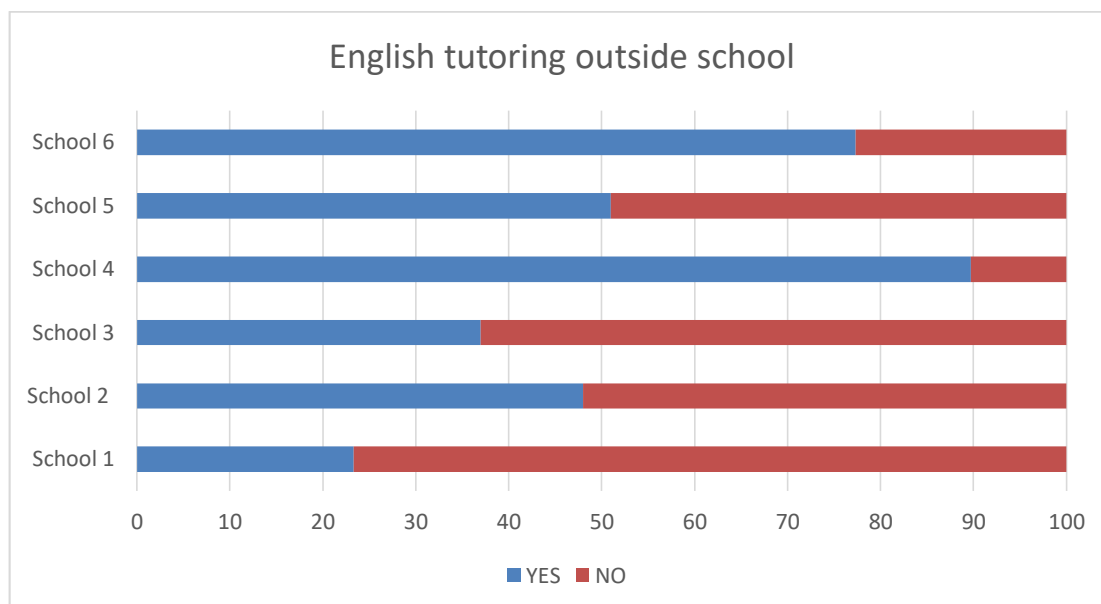


Figure 6.8: English tutoring outside school

As for the access to English media outside the classroom, the replies were quite varied among the three countries. To answer this question, four options were provided: Never (=1); Once or twice a month (=2); Once or twice a week (=3); More than three times a week (=4).

Spain scored an average of 2, falling into the category of once or twice a month. China, on the other hand, scored an average of 2.73 in general (2.56 countryside and 2.9 urban China), somewhere between the twice a month and once or twice a week mark (leaning towards the latter). Finally, Norway scored an expected 3.31 average, i.e. more than twice a week, which was to be expected given the almost second language status that English enjoys in Norway.

6.2.2. Motivation and Attitude towards English and the Mother Tongue

Gardner and Lambert are considered the founders of Motivation in L2 research since their seminal work based on the correlations between successful language learning and positive attitudes (Gardner & Lambert, 1972), when they demonstrated the correlation of successful language learning with positive attitudes. They demonstrated that, even though language aptitude plays an important role in language learning achievement, motivational factors have the potential to override the learners' aptitude. They created a distinction between "integrative" and "instrumental" orientations. The former involves the willingness to adopt the sociocultural characteristics of the L2 community and the latter is focused on the utilitarian

reasons to learn the language. At that time and due to the fact that this original research started in Canada, Gardner and Lambert viewed second languages as “mediating factors between different ethnolinguistic communities in multicultural settings” (Dörnyei, 2003, p. 4). However, motivation research has been evolving for the past 50 years to adapt to the current times. Already 20 years ago, McClelland brought attention to the need for a re-definition of “integrativeness” so that includes integration within the global community, which would be more fitting in today’s perception of English as a Lingua Franca (McClelland, 2000). Dörnyei and Ushioda (2009) establish that L2 motivation is now in the process of being dramatically reconceptualised to fit in the context of the modern notions of identity. As a result of the current position of English as a Lingua Franca and globalisation, language policies around the world have been adapted to include English in all the curriculums (and often from a young age) and at the same time learners have been more motivated to learn it given its international status (Dörnyei, 2005). For this very reason, English now presents a dual purpose: integrative (learning English to fit in our globalised world) and instructional (learning English to be able to work and communicate in English).

Dividing our questionnaire in different sections, we present on Table 6.3 the items on language value and status. In this table (as well as in Table 6.4 and 6.5) we used [Mother Tongue] to replace the name of the language, however in the questionnaire’s this will include the name of the languages (please refer to Appendix 10, 11, and 12 for the full questionnaires). At the same time, it can also be observed that in Spain, some questions have two options: ES (Spanish) and CA (Catalan), as the questionnaire was carried out in a bilingual area. In the table below the percentage of the replies for each of the Likert scale score is provided, as well as the mean from 1 to 4 of the scale:

Items	Countries	Likert score 1	Likert score 2	Likert score 3	Likert score 4	Mean (m)
[Mother Tongue] is important for me	Spain	2%	12%	29%	57%	3.4
	Norway	0%	0%	38%	62%	3.6
	China	0%	0%	27%	73%	3.6

[Mother Tongue] is a language as important as English	Spain	CA – 17% ES - 11%	CA – 35% ES - 28%	CA - 27% ES - 36%	CA - 21% ES - 25%	2.91 (ES) 2.55 (CA)
	Norway	0%	13%	49%	41%	3.28
	China	2%	3%	33%	62%	3.54
[Mother Tongue] is a language more important than English	Spain	23%	33%	30%	14%	2.37
	Norway	25%	67%	8%	0%	1.82
	China	10%	38%	30%	22%	2.57
English is the most important language in the world	Spain	5%	15%	38%	42%	3.14
	Norway	0%	8%	41%	51%	3.43
	China	8%	36%	39%	17%	2.64

Table 6.3: Language value and status

Using a Likert scale with 1 being strongly disagree and 4 being strongly agree, the participants replied to a variety of items and questions focused on extracting different kinds of information. In order to understand the results further, we converted all the answers to percentages per question and per score.

Firstly, we will analyse the students' perceptions in regards to the relevance of language. In this section we aimed to identify, on the one hand, the value the students' give to their mother tongue for them as individuals and in comparison to English, and, on the other hand, the participants' perception of the status of English in the world. As illustrated in the table above, all the students in each of the contexts classified their mother tongue as important, generally positioning their opinion in a balanced middle ground between Agree and Strongly Agree. Following this classification, the participants were asked whether they believed their mother tongue is as important as English, which provided very interesting results. The outcomes in Spain, show two different findings. First, they show that in Spain students do not believe as strongly that the mother tongue is as important as English in comparison with Norway and China and, secondly, that the Spanish students value the minority language lower in comparison to English. With the region of Castelló being a bilingual context where the students have Spanish and Catalan as official languages there were two statements to rate: "Spanish is

as important as English” and “Catalan is as important as English”. In general, the participants scored both statements 3 (agree) and, in particular, Catalan scored a 2.55 (between disagree and agree) versus the 2.91 scored by Spanish. However, if we focus on the percentages obtained, we can see that a majority believed that Catalan not to be as important as English (54%), whereas a majority believed that Spanish was (61%). Even when looked at the schools independently the result remained the same, which shows a clear status difference between both languages. In regards to this section, it is also important to point out China’s position on English, as they were in strong agreement on an equal importance to Chinese with a 62% majority. In a country as traditionally nationalistic as China, this represents a major change in society towards a global world. For decades now, English has been adopted as a symbol of modernisation and promoted from education government bodies that reformed the school guidelines to embrace English as part of education. In the words of the English curriculum (MOE, 2001, p. 2):

“With the advent of the information age and the global economy, English has become increasingly important. English is the dominant carrier of information and the most widely spoken language in the world. Many countries have made English a cornerstone of quality education when developing strategies for basic education”

English has become a key element for China to regain international political power and, in turn, English proficiency is becoming essential for academic and career success (Gil & Adamson, 2011; Pan, 2015). However, in a country like China this has also become a double edge sword and has instigated problems of social justice (due to the unbalanced opportunities between regions and socio-economic tiers) and has led to a revitalisation effort on Chinese as the most important language for Chinese people and their symbol of unity. In 2013, education authorities and policy makers decided to de-emphasise the need for English and highlight the importance of Chinese as a matter of national pride (Pan, 2015). Yet, the questionnaire to the current students and future citizens of the country shows the common belief of English as a language as important as Chinese.

In order to further understand the position of the participants in each of the countries, we also included the statements “[Mother Tongue] is a language more important than English” and “English is the most important language in the world”. The first statement was included to

confirm whether the results would match the earlier statement of “[Mother Tongue] is a language as important as English” and the second to separate their personal perception of the importance of English for them from the global reality. As it can be observed on the table, the three contexts obtained a majority of “disagree” on the statement “[Mother Tongue] is a language more important than English”. However, the percentages between agree and disagree in China and Spain were quite similar, while Norway leaned towards a “strongly disagree” with a 67% on the 2 Likert scale and 25% on the 1, which was expected due to the plurilingual approaches already used in the curriculum. Finally, in terms of the statement “English is the most important language in the world” we can see that both Spain and Norway fully agree with this statement, with very high percentages on level 3 and 4 of the scale, whereas China remains in a more neutral position between “agree” and “disagree”, but scoring a majority of 39% on level 3 (“agree”), which represents a significant value in China due to the reasons aforementioned in regards to traditional Chinese beliefs. The outcomes of this statement reinforces the need to teach English as a Lingua Franca to respect the ecology of language and so that the students do not assume the internationality of English with a symbol of status.

6.2.3. Perceptions and Beliefs on Language Learning

With the purpose of extracting more data on the participants’ attitudes and perceptions on language learning, the questionnaire included the following statements:

Items	Countries	Likert score 1	Likert score 2	Likert score 3	Likert score 4	Mean
I like studying [Mother Tongue]	Spain	CA – 3% ES – 2%	CA – 20% ES – 11%	CA – 48% ES – 44%	CA – 29% ES – 43%	CA–3.03 ES– 3.25
	Norway	0%	5%	51%	44%	3.38
	China	0%	1%	38%	61%	3.65
I like studying English	Spain	2%	10%	52%	36%	3.22
	Norway	0%	5%	51%	44%	3.38
	China	1%	4%	44%	51%	3.45

Knowing [Mother Tongue] well helps me learn other languages better	Spain	16%	29%	36%	19%	2.58
	Norway	0%	10%	49%	41%	3.31
	China	0%	6%	38%	56%	3.46
I understand concepts better if the English class is taught in [Mother Tongue] and English	Spain	3%	19%	40%	38%	3.12
	Norway	0%	0%	67%	33%	3.3
	China	1%	3%	38%	58%	3.5
I learn English better if the English class is taught in [Mother Tongue] and English	Spain	5%	11%	39%	45%	3.23
	Norway	0%	5%	44%	51%	3.46
	China	2%	11%	42%	45%	3.29
I prefer the English class only in English	Spain	17%	45%	21%	17%	2.4
	Norway	13%	56%	31%	0%	2.18
	China	22%	46%	22%	10%	2.32

Table 6.4: perceptions and beliefs on language learning

These can be divided in different sections: attitude towards learning (whether the students like it), awareness of learning (the students' perception on how they learn best), and preference of language use in the classroom. This table, together with Table 6.3 and 6.5, contributes to provide a more holistic vision of the students' attitude and motivation. As it can be observed, all students in every country enjoyed learning English. In regards to the mother tongue, while all countries generally agreed, China significantly agreed with a majority of 61% with this statement, as it was expected. In the case of Spain, we can observe that, while students generally enjoyed learning Spanish more than Catalan, they still enjoyed learning this minority language with a 48% agreeance.

In addition, another factor investigated was their perception of language. We aimed to understand their preferences and perceptions on how they learn best. The aim was for them to reflect on how they believe they learn better, as this will have a direct impact on the actual learning experience. Interestingly, to the statement "Knowing [Mother Tongue] well helps me learn other languages better", China and Norway agreed with it indicating an innate sensitivity towards language awareness. It was surprising that in China, despite the difference between both languages, the students overall believed that the languages are to some extent connected. Cross-linguistic transfer between English and Chinese has been researched over the past

twenty years obtaining different results. Yang et al. (2017), however, carried out a meta-analysis of over 30 different studies that indicated that English and Chinese indeed share common linguistic features that can allow for transfer in learning between them. Despite the fact that transfer between Chinese and English is not actively taught in the classroom, by agreeing to the statement that a good knowledge of L1 will help on the learning of L2, the students show an intrinsic sensitivity to metalinguistic awareness that could be implemented in the classroom. On the other hand, the Spanish students overall scored the same statement with a 2.58 in the Likert scale, leaning towards “disagree” but when the individual score results were analysed we were able to observe that a small majority of 36% agreed with this statement. This result is also very interesting, given that Spain is focused on plurilingualism and claims to foster plurilingualism in Spanish, Catalan and English in a natural way (BOE, 2014), yet the different languages are approached separately, contributing to the students’ beliefs of independent language learning, rather than focusing on the inter-connectedness among them. On the other hand, with no traditional inclusion of plurilingual approaches and with a very different background language, China scored with a majority of 56% on the strongly agree scale for this statement. Demonstrating an innate intuition on plurilingual competence.

To complement the items analysed above, the participants were asked to score statements in regards to their preference of language in the English classroom and their perceptions of English learning when other languages are used in the classroom. As illustrated on Table 6.4, in every country, the participants agreed on the statements:

- I understand concepts better if the English class is taught in [Mother Tongue] and English
- I learn English better if the English class is taught in [Mother Tongue] and English

On the first statement, there was a clear majority in each country and on the second one the result was even higher with Norway scoring a 95%, Spain 84% and China 87% if we add agreeance scores 3 and 4 from the Likert scale. This shows a self-reflexion on their own learning experience, which demonstrate that English teaching can benefit from involving the mother tongue from the students’ perspective. In order to confirm these statements, the students were also provided the statement “I prefer the English class only in English”, which all disagreed in every context. As Ushioda (2011, p. 12) argues, studies need to focus on real learners, not

just theoretical constructs, and these contributes to the “person-in-context relational view of motivation”.

6.2.4. English Use in and outside the Classroom

Due to the link between linguistic knowledge and language use in language learning, we included in the questionnaire some statements to evaluate the participants’ perceptions of certain uses of language in and out of the classroom. In Table 6.5 below, the statements and scores per country are provided:

Items	Countries	Likert score 1	Likert score 2	Likert score 3	Likert score 4	Mean
Speaking [Mother Tongue] in English class is wrong	Spain	17%	28%	31%	24%	2.62
	Norway	36%	51%	13%	0%	1.78
	China	31%	46%	14%	9%	2.01
If I don’t know the correct answer in English in the English class I prefer not to say anything	Spain	27%	36%	25%	12%	2.23
	Norway	23%	28%	41%	8%	2.33
	China	49%	35%	11%	5%	1.77
I feel embarrassed to speak English when my English is not good	Spain	27%	33%	24%	16%	2.3
	Norway	21%	23%	44%	13%	2.47
	China	18%	32%	34%	16%	2.46
If a foreigner asked for my help in English and I didn’t know how to answer fully in English, I would excuse myself and not help	Spain	55%	33%	6%	6%	1.64
	Norway	38%	46%	13%	3%	2.21
	China	71%	22%	5%	2%	1.43
If a foreigner asked for my help in English and I didn’t know how to answer fully in English, I would reply in English and [Mother tongue]	Spain	11%	27%	35%	27%	2.75
	Norway	5%	21%	44%	31%	2.81
	China	16%	19%	43%	22%	2.64

Table 6.5: Language use

The first two statements aim to understand the students' beliefs on the use of English in the classroom. To the first one, which claims "Speaking [Mother Tongue] in English class is wrong" we can observe the results of using different approaches to English. In Norway 51% disagreed and 31% strongly disagreed with this statement, which makes sense when taking into account that plurilingual approaches are commonly used in this context. On the other hand, China also disagreed with this statement with a total of 77% between disagree and strongly disagree, which is also understandable due to the traditional use of Chinese in the classroom, especially in rural China (our bigger sample). In the case of Spain, we can see that the results lay between agree and disagree when we look at the mean, however there is a majority of 31% that agreed and 24% of the students that strongly agreed with this statement. In Spain, the immersion method of English only is commonly used, which would explain the result and dilemma from the students on whether the mother tongue should be used or not in the classroom.

The subsequent statements appeal to the participants' feelings towards the use of English to understand further the learners' difficulties and their affective factors. For the statement "I feel embarrassed to speak English when my English is not good", the participants overall disagreed with the statement. Given that one of the main handicaps for some learners who are still developing their English skills is speaking in public because it embarrasses or scares them (Kumaravadivelu, 2006, p. 95), the outcomes obtained were very positive as they showed openness to venture and try to speak it even if, in their opinion, their level might not be considered good. To complement this finding, the students were provided with two situations to score with the Likert scale. Because when students are faced with situations in the real world and encounter different English varieties they are often surprised, embarrassed or might have an inferiority complex (Mamoru, 2009), we provided them with the following statements:

- If a foreigner asked for my help in English and I didn't know how to answer fully in English, I would excuse myself and not help
- If a foreigner asked for my help in English and I didn't know how to answer fully in English, I would reply in English and [Mother tongue]

The use of the term "foreigner" rather than "English-speaker" was for clarity, since the students are still unclear of the different nuances of English use and its speakers. To the first

statement, the participants overall disagreed in all the countries, with Spain and China scoring a high percentage of “strongly disagree”. This shows that despite a limited knowledge of English, the participants are willing to try to communicate to the best of their abilities overcoming any fear or embarrassment for the purpose of communication. On the second statement, we provided the option of communicating in English and their mother tongue if their level didn’t allow for a full English communication. When looking at the mean scores it seems that the students beliefs lied between “agree” and “disagree”, however, when looking at the independent percentage and focusing of the results scoring 3 and 4 in the Likert scale, a clear majority of agreeance can be observed with Spain scoring 62%, Norway 75%, and even China that has such a different language with a 65%. This supports the idea that the students have an innate insight on plurilingual competence and they require the teachers’ guidance to develop it.

6.2.5. Main Findings of the Questionnaire

The results obtained from the questionnaire provide us with a holistic view of the contexts of our participants, which includes their demographic data, their motivation and attitude towards languages, their perception on language learning and their use of English.

From the demographic data, we can observe very different linguistic contexts in terms of mother tongues and plurilingualism perception. In Spain, despite the fact that many students came from a plurilingual household, only 34% of them considered themselves plurilingual, with a clear preference of Spanish over the minority language. In Norway, this was even more pronounced, since a few of the participants’ parents were speakers of other languages and yet the majority of students identified their mother tongue as Norwegian only. China’s situation was also interesting in the sense that, while most of the students considered Chinese mandarin as their mother tongue, others focused on their ethnicity and did not specify which language inside the different ones included in Han they spoke. Even though this could be considered as just another word for Chinese, in some cases in the questionnaire the students classified the parents’ mother tongue as Han, whereas the language spoken at home and their own as Simplified Chinese, this indicated a difference in language but yet not specifying the minority language in question.

In the demographic section we also observed the contact with English after-school with English tutoring and access to media in English language. Norway was the country where the participants more frequently watched English TV series or movies, which was to be expected due to the fact that they do not use dubbing and have access to most of the media in English, whereas China and Spain not only use dubbing but also create a great amount of media content in their own language. Consequently, the participants in Spain and China who would like to access English media have to actively search for it. Norway is also in lead position in terms of English tutoring, followed by China, which shows a clear difference between rural and urban areas. Yet, the general high attendance to English after-school classes can be correlated to the national curriculum, which emphasises the need to support the students after school (MOE 2011). Spain falls in last place, with a clear difference between School 1 (located in a more humble area of the city) and the other two schools, with the former attending after school English tutoring only 23.3% and, while the other a higher, still less than half of the students confirmed attending after school English classes.

The outcomes obtained from the questionnaire items in regards to the perceived value of English and the mother tongue, along with language use inside and outside the classroom, provided us with clear information on the students' beliefs and preferences, which allow us to identify improvement areas in the classroom and in the curriculum.

According to the results, when it comes to the importance of language, overall, the participants value their mother tongue equally to English at a personal level. However, on a global scale, English was classified as the most important language, which appears to be in direct correlation with the fact that all the guidelines emphasise the global position of English, which lead us to conclude that the guidelines play a part on the learners' beliefs.

Generally, the participants showed to be motivated in terms of enjoying studying language and a willingness to communicate in English even when their level might not be good. The participants also showed an innate sensitivity from which they infer the possible use of L1 in learning L2. According to this, we could conclude that, with the right tools and strategies, the participants would be able to develop their plurilingual competences. With the current status of English as a global language, educators need to start raising awareness of English as a Lingua

Franca to ensure that the students understand the position of English in a multilingual world while at the same time safeguarding language identities and ecologies.

6.3. Results and Discussion related to Hypothesis (III)

Our third and last hypothesis examines whether the existing language policies and embraced CEFR are adapted to the current realities of the classroom in each of the contexts based on the elicited outcomes and previously analysed language curricula. Because the guidelines differ according to the individual context, the analysis will be divided in sections per country. In each of the sections there will be three converging focal points: the use of communicative language teaching, plurilingualism and English, and language ecology.

6.3.1. The Spanish Guidelines and the Classroom

This analysis complements the initial exploration of the Spanish curriculum (in particular the Valencian regional version) presented in Chapter 4. The aim of this section is to analyse how this curriculum is implemented in the classroom and to examine whether the curriculum is adapted to the current realities.

According to the regional guidelines that the schools in the Valencian Region follow, educators should use a common methodological approach that integrates languages so that transference among the Catalan, Spanish and English can take place. In other words, a plurilingual approach is recommended. However, the teachers confirmed that only English is used in the classroom and the priority is to learn to communicate (with focus on speaking and listening). All schools confirmed to follow a communicative approach focused on language use as it is stated by the Spanish curriculum and aim to use only English in the classroom to follow a communicative approach. This confirms the misunderstanding in plurilingual and communicative teaching. Both, plurilingual approaches (Haukås, 2015; Luk & Lin, 2015; Portolés & Martí, 2018) and communicative language teaching (Littlewood, 2012; Wilton, 2009) suggest the use of L1 as a resource, yet it is still ignored in practice.

When the teachers were asked about plurilingualism, they referred to the different languages used in different subjects, rather than any transfer between languages and plurilingual competence development. Despite the fact that the Spanish curriculum stresses the focus on English as a global language, the teachers confirmed teaching British or American varieties and only refer to any English native speakers that appear on the books as reference. Two of the schools used the book from the Young Achievers series. In the book and, as confirmed by the teachers, the only English speakers mentioned are native speakers and mainly those of the Inner Circle. This contributes to the perpetuated idea that English belongs to the native speakers and it contradicts the global perspective proposed by the guidelines, which the curriculum seems to disregard too when the socio-cultural aspects referred are always based on Western traditions from English speaking countries. This confirms the confusion these inconsistencies results in.

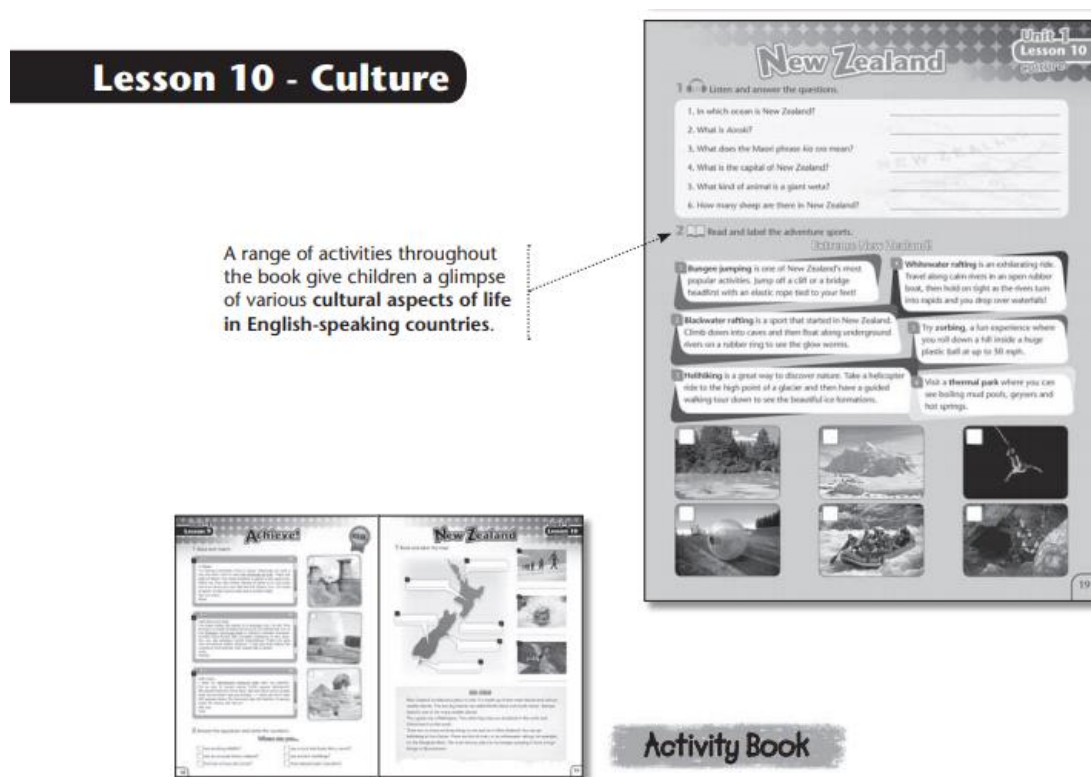


Figure 6.9: Book “Young Achievers”

All in all, while the curriculum is mostly followed by the school, there seems to be a clear misunderstanding of plurilingual and communicative approaches, as well as the idea of English learning as an international communication tool.

6.3.2. The Norwegian Guidelines and the Classroom

Unlike Spain and China, Norway's approach to English learning follows a more plurilingual communicative approach. The current Norwegian curriculum is focused on plurilingualism and the development of intercultural competence (Lund, 2008), which, along with other variables common to Nordic countries, contributes to a high level of proficiency in English.

In spite of the fact that their approach appears to be adapted to the current plurilingual realities of the classroom, the approach to English remains monolingual in nature and inconsistent in the curriculum. As it was analysed in Chapter 4, the Norwegian curriculum (KD, 2013) refers to English as a universal language but it focuses on "providing insight into the way people live and different cultures where English is the primary or the official language" (p. 2) and specially refers to learning "history and geography in Great Britain and the USA" (p. 9). As it can be observed, the curriculum is not yet adapted to current needs for English as a Lingua Franca and, even though it presents English as a global language it teaches it as a language linked to certain identities.

ELF research with focus on the Norwegian context and well as the global and local attributes of the English language as a school subject are now starting to be investigated (Rindal & Brevik, 2019), however ELF awareness does not appear to be applied in the classroom so far. In our study, the Norwegian participants showed awareness of the importance of English communication in the world, yet in the classroom showed unawareness of the different ranges of English speakers. ELF consists of a series communicational strategies detached from native norms that focuses on the understanding across nations and cultures and adapting the curriculum to include an ELF-aware perspective would contribute to an innovative postmodern and inclusive ELT curriculum (Sifakis, 2019). In a country like Norway where English is often considered a second language, an ELF-aware approach would help their linguistic ecosystem so that English was not affiliated with traditional native speakers but become a choice for Norwegian speakers to use English for international communication.

6.3.3. The Chinese Guidelines and the Classroom

Since the proposal of the new curriculum in China and the reform, there has been significant research on the challenges faced regarding acceptance and implementation in schools (Guo, 2012; Law, 2014; Yin, 2013). Yet, this is always analysed from a national perspective. Our study, not only examines the application of the Chinese curriculum but it compares its approach to English language teaching to that of Norway and Spain.

Focusing first on the teaching approaches put forward in the curriculum, we observe that communicative and task-based (MOE, 2001, 2011) are the approaches suggested to be used in primary education. Nevertheless, there is a firmly established culture of exam-based syllabus that clashes with the communicative approaches the teachers are required to implement (Pan & Block, 2011), and which results in reticence from some teachers. This curriculum also provides suggestions on how to foment the development of learning autonomy and how to guide students on the use of English learning strategies. However, during our research we observed that, as expected, the gap between rural and urban China in terms of the approaches used and English level of the teachers was indeed very substantial. In the rural school where our study was carried out, the teacher required an interpreter to be able to communicate in English and described her lessons with a main focus on vocabulary and memorisation of formulas. Furthermore, when the study was conducted, the students were unable to fill the test provided or follow the lesson, which was limited to games and vocabulary repetition.

On the one hand, the curriculum presents English as a need to meet contemporary social and economic development (MOE, 2011), which, while it is often interpreted as English for international communication, shows strong connections to English-speaking countries and nativism. For instance, the curriculum descriptors include (MOE, 2001, 2011):

- Learning the capitals and flags of the major English speaking countries
- Begin to understand the geographical position, climate, history and so on of English speaking countries
- Understanding main holidays and festivals of English speaking countries and how they are celebrated

The objective of English in China according to the curriculum is to favour international communication and open doors. Pan and Block (2011) also confirmed in their research on English as a global language in China that the majority of participants of their study described English as a global and international language, while acknowledging that it is important to the development of China. However, the links to nativism in the curriculum suggest that English belongs to the native speakers and English as a Lingua Franca is not considered. In addition, as Wang (2013) points out that Chinese English speakers believe that “pure” English (i.e. native English) is correlated to symbolic power, which contributes to their disposition and motivation to learn this language. While ideologies in China are changing, there are signs that ELF perspectives might be welcome (Y. Wang & Jenkins, 2016), yet we can anticipate a big gap between urban and rural China in regards to the attitudes towards this new view of international English, as it was observed in our research.

While the curriculum make no mentions to plurilingual approaches and has been little research in China in regards to cross-linguistic influence in English learning (D. Zhang, 2013), our study aims to contribute to the starting research on CLI in ELT in China. As it was observed in the results, using Chinese in the English classroom can be beneficial. Our study demonstrated an improvement in the results in the urban area when Chinese was also used in specific instances. While in the context of the rural school English classes are regularly carried out in Chinese in contrast to the English only classes in the urban school, our proposal shows that a middle ground between these two approaches to language is needed.

In conclusion, our study shows that the current curriculum contributes to the widening gap in English language education between rural and urban China and that a plurilingual approach would contribute to bridging the gap. In addition, ELF awareness perspectives are needed in the classroom given the deeply-rooted beliefs on native English power, which are reinforced by the curriculum. Only by developing ELF awareness English will become a real global language respectful of the country’s language ecologies.

6.3.4. The Study and Language Ecology

From the theoretical framework analysis to our empirical study, our research has focused on exploring how the spread of English throughout the world has shaped language education and

linguistic policies worldwide not only from a descriptive perspective but also from an analytical one, examining it through a linguistic ecology perspective.

Language ecology is concerned with the correlation between languages and their social context. Yet, language ideologies cannot be taken out of the equation, as they play a big part on the attitudes towards languages and, in turn, language policies that are based not just on research but on beliefs. Language ecology, more than a theory, is a point of view that focuses on peaceful linguistic co-existence and is necessary in language planning, language policies and language teaching, in order to promote a sustainable view of language. In other words, it explores “the non-linguistic elements such as ecological crisis and human sustainable development which are closely related with language in a broad social context” and advocates “maximal support for linguistic diversity and additive multilingualism especially foreign languages teaching and learning” (Yan, 2018, p. 493).

In the present study, we have observed how English is portrayed in guidelines and policies around the world as a “global language” or “international language of communication”, yet they perpetuate the idea of linguistic imperialism by using British and American models as natives and teaching Western culture as part of the English subject (refer to Section 4.2, 4.3 and 4.4 for specific examples on language policies). It has been twenty years since Phillipson (2001, p. 187) reported how language policies of colonial times remained virtually unchanged, and now they appear to have changed to support multilingualism but still covertly support the monolingual bias and English as belonging to the native speakers, especially, the Inner Circle speakers.

The present study describes and compares how the current English teaching guidelines are implemented in Norway, China and Spain at the same time that reflects on the position of multilingualism and English within each of the language ecologies.

Communicative approaches still occupy a fundamental place in language teaching and still carry the monolingual stigma, however our study demonstrates that communicative approaches not only are compatible with plurilingualism but also improve the English learning process in each of the tested countries. By respecting the position of the mother tongue for the learner and demonstrating its value even when learning other languages, an ecological

environment is created in which, in turn, English speakers are not the norm and English belongs to all speakers.

6.4. Limitations and Further Research of the Present Study

There are some limitations to the present dual study (empirical-interventional study and questionnaire) that were beyond the scope of our research, which we will proceed to outline below. Firstly, one of our main limitations was time and site management, in other words, the allocated time and school participation across countries in different parts of the world. While gaining access to the research field is fundamental in education, this step is often extremely challenging, especially for early-researchers (Oates & Riaz, 2016), as it was our case, due to the fact that schools are often reluctant to participate if there is no national or regional funded research project or experienced researchers involved. Not only did we encounter difficulties finding schools that were interested in participating in our project, but the coordination across countries was extremely challenging.

Researching in schools entails coordinating the numerous parties involved and levels of authority (teachers, school management, education authorities, parents, etc.), as well as facing school-specific challenges (Bartlett et al., 2017). Due to the fact that coordinating and gaining access to schools was a complex matter, the samples in the schools were unbalanced in number, with 3 schools in Spain, 2 in China and 1 in Norway. Yet, despite these difficulties, we managed to coordinate well the participants choosing a common ground unit to extract comparable data across countries. Adding to this challenge was the fact that our research was not part of any national, regional or university sponsored project, which resulted in a fully self-funded research and therefore limited our access to the sample and participation in the schools.

Some of the challenges encountered during our research process were due to the ambitious nature of our original objectives, which attempted to encompass a holistic analysis of the students' language values and perspectives, the primary school curriculum in each of the contexts, and a comparative international experiment that included countries in Europe and

Asia. Whilst this was an arduous task, we were able to gather an extensive amount of data to study each of our proposed objectives.

Even though we used a great number of instruments for data collection, including recorded interviews to the teachers, recordings of oral activities with the students, field notes, as well as questionnaires and tests, we found ourselves in the position of having to reduce the amount of instruments used in our research due to time constraints, and selected our two main instruments (quasi-experimental study and questionnaire), which provided a comprehensive amount of data. Originally we planned to include the evaluation of oral skills and fluency in the test, which would have provided interesting information in terms of L1 transfer and ELF. Unfortunately, due to the very constraints mentioned above, this instrument was not included on this study but will be later used in further research and publications, along with the thorough interviews to the teachers.

In terms of the length of the study, it would have been more advantageous to implement our quasi-experimental design to a whole semester in each of the samples, with views of extracting data for a longitudinal study. Unfortunately, this possibility was outside our time scope and resources, although it is in our plans to replicate this study with a larger sample, with an even higher diversity of countries and for a longer period of time.

Despite the above limitations, however, we managed to accomplish our very ambitious task achieving the participation of schools in three very different countries and obtaining very significant results that we will summarise in the next chapter dedicated to our concluding remarks. In conclusion, we consider that the present dual study has contributed to further understanding the impact of using a plurilingual and communicative approach in different contexts, as well as understanding the students' values as main participants of the learning process.

Chapter 7. Conclusions

In this final chapter, we will evaluate the main conclusions of our research and comment on the key contributions of our present study to the field of Applied Linguistics.

We consider our research to be interdisciplinary in nature, due to the fact that it attempts to find a convergence point among English Language Teaching, English as a Lingua Franca, Language Ecology and Multilingualism. In particular, each of the chapters of our theoretical framework was dedicated to a different important section of our study, in chronological order: the spread of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF), English Language Teaching (ELT), the mother tongue in ELT and Language Policy. However, each of the sections were studied through the perspective of Language Ecology.

The empirical section of our research was set in the last year of primary education in Spain, Norway and China and its main instruments consisted of a quasi-experimental study and questionnaires. For the experiment we compared a communicative plurilingual approach in the English classroom using the L1 and a traditional monolingual communicative one and analysed the respective results. For the questionnaires, on the other hand, we attempted to understand the students' views on language as main participants in the learning process. Our study was designed to have a holistic view of the language learning process in the participating contexts: (a) from understanding the context through interviews to the teachers and analysing the policies involved that influence said contexts; (b) to examining the students' behavioural response to the applied approaches in our experiment; (c) to providing a thorough analysis of the outcomes of the experiment in terms of linguistic improvement; (d) to exploring the students' beliefs and perspectives on language. In other words, we attempted to study the context and the participants alike.

7.1. Main Outcomes of the Present Study

Our study was designed to explore the potential of using a plurilingual approach in the English classroom in contrasting contexts and countries around the globe, as well as examining how English presented as a lingua franca can change the students' perception on the use of English and who the English speakers are. In addition to the aforementioned objectives, the present study was set to analyse the students' beliefs and attitudes towards language (English and their mother tongue) in order to evaluate patterns among the studied contexts and find links to the current guidelines and policies. Overall, one of the main objectives was to gain insight into the impact of language policies, guidelines and approaches on the students' perceptions on language and its use, along with demonstrating the value of a plurilingual approach using the mother tongue in English learning.

We consider that the outcomes obtained in our study prove the viability of using a plurilingual approach for English teaching independently of the context in which it is used, as well as significant new insights into multilingualism and plurilingualism in English Language Teaching, while covering different research gaps existing in the field.

Our study navigates through different research fields demonstrating the links from SLA, to multilingualism, to ELF and language ecology.

Monolingual and native speaker biases have tainted SLA for decades, and still remain as main ideologies (Ortega, 2019). From interlanguage (Corder, 1975; Gass & Selinker, 1994; Selinker, 1972), to cross-linguistic influence (Jarvis, 2011; Odlin, 2005), to the importance of communication and communicative competence (Hymes, 1972), and the development of the multilingual competence (Cook, 2010b), SLA researchers have attempted to investigate the interaction of languages and their impact on language learning, with different positions towards who the language speaker and user actually is. Meanwhile the field of multilingual education has developed and multilingualism in language learning has moved to the spotlight (Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Cenoz & Gorter, 2015; Cenoz & Jessner, 2009; García & Lin, 2016; Portolés & Martí, 2017), there are still remaining challenges that need addressing. According to Ortega (2019, p. 35), one of the challenges that remains is “how to investigate language

learning in ways that do not undo the complexities of multilingualism and do not leave social justice at bay". To this must be added the fact that English has become the main global language due to globalisation, the spread of ICT, current economic dominance, and transnational mobility of the population. The status of English has sparked numerous important research on the complex political ideologies carried by the spread of English worldwide (Canagarajah, 1999; Pennycook, 2002, 2017; Phillipson, 1992, 2008). At the same time, current research on English as a Lingua Franca has barely started to be considered as an essential part of modern multilingualism (Cogo, 2012a; Jenkins, 2015, 2018b; Seidlhofer, 2017), and yet, despite ELF being a concept that has been researched for almost two decades (House, 2003; Seidlhofer, 2001) it has mainly been focused on corpus recollection and theoretical frameworks. Important research has been done on the relevance of developing ELF awareness with the aim of bringing ELF to the practice in the real classroom (Sifakis, 2019; Sifakis et al., 2018), although it still remains largely unexplored.

We believe that our study contributes not only to the multilingual turn movement, but it also provides an empirical successful account of the use of the mother tongue in the English classroom. By using a plurilingual approach that can be adapted in each context for maximum efficiency and obtains better results than the traditional monolingual approach to English learning, it fights against longstanding bias that has underpinned SLA along "with the reluctance to address seriously the normalcy of multilingual language use" (May, 2019, p. 123). Our research introduces ELF to different classroom contexts in the world in order to promote an ecological approach to English language learning.

The results obtained in our study show a significant improvement of at least 20% in each of the contexts when a plurilingual approach was used in the classroom. This approach involved the use of the mother tongue when required for instruction, grammar comparison, terminology association and language relation. We identified different kinds of errors depending on the background language of the students, which suggest that the plurilingual approach used could be adapted to focus on the different error tendencies of each context. Comparing our experience in each of the classrooms participating in the study and the relevant language policies and guidelines, as well as the specific context information obtained by prior semi-

informal interviews, it was concluded that the guidelines could benefit from a better tailoring to the realities of the classroom.

In Spain, it was observed that plurilingualism was understood as the independent use of different languages, that is, the boundaries between languages remained. Also, in particular in the English classroom, the approach commonly used was a communicative and monolingual one using English only. The notion of isolating English from other languages in the school curriculum and the fact that the English teacher is expected to use English only without any reference to the mother tongue, despite its negative effect, is recognised in the field (Cenoz & Gorter, 2013). Our empirical study, not only demonstrates that this practice is preserved but that we have proof that a plurilingual approach that allows the interaction of languages in the classroom would be beneficial for the students, consequently resulting in English proficiency improvement.

Norway, on the other hand, provided a very interesting contrasting setting in which the use of L1 in the English classroom was not only allowed but encouraged by their national guidelines in order to improve the students' understanding of English. The results obtained supported the approach they already use in Norway, hence validating the fact that a plurilingual approach is indeed more beneficial for English learning.

Finally, China provided the most interesting results of the study in terms of the different types of outcomes obtained and the diversity between two internal contexts: urban and rural China, as well as the diversity compared to the other countries. According to the national curriculum (MOE, 2001, 2011), the approaches suggested to be used nation-wide in primary education are communicative and task-based, which has resulted in the reluctance from many teachers that support the traditional Chinese learning based on repetition and memorisation. This is more visible when rural and urban contexts are compared, as the teachers in the city use English only and communicative approaches in the classroom while teachers in the rural settings tend to follow more traditional Chinese techniques and be less fluent in English. Our initial interviews with the schools in both contexts suggested that a communicative approach was used in both. However, our experience in the schools and the results obtained proved differently, as it was analysed in Section 6.1.3. In the rural context the teaching sessions had to be adapted so that the students were able to participate in the study and, yet, they were still

unable to participate in the written test, which became a significant result in itself. Contrastively, in the urban context a similar English level to that of the Spanish students was observed, as well as a similar response to a plurilingual approach.

Our language policy analysis along with the outcomes of our questionnaires focused on the applicability of the guidelines and the perception of English as an international language. According to the results obtained, it was observed that, despite the fact that the national curricula of each of the participant countries refer to English as a global language, all guidelines contribute to the disseminated idea of nativespeakerism by referring to specific cultural references to English speakers, especially to Western native speakers. We observed from our questionnaires how the participants consider English as one of the most important languages in the world and without the guidance of educators integrating ELF awareness, this idea has the potential to disrupt the worldwide language ecology.

The results obtained from the conducted questionnaires provide a holistic view of the students' motivation and attitude towards languages, their perception on language learning and their use of English. In particular, the students showed an inherent sensitivity towards the nature of language and their interaction with an overall understanding of the potential of L1 to learn English, which shows a perfect opportunity for educators to tap into this potential to introduce the development of plurilingual competences in the classroom.

The following section will provide an account of the main implications of the present study based on the proposed hypotheses in this dissertation.

7.2. Main Implications of the Study Deriving from the Hypotheses

The findings obtained in our study allow us to draw pedagogical implications for language teaching practice, as well as language policy planners. Our hypotheses focused, on the one hand, on the application of a plurilingual approach to English language teaching in primary schools in different parts of the world with the goal of improving the learners' English proficiency. On the other, however, they also focused on the students as main participants in language learning and how their beliefs and attitude towards languages, shaped by the current

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linguistic policies and guidelines, affect their learning and perception of language learning and status. For further reference, we will recall each of the hypotheses and relate them to the outcomes achieved:

- Primary school students will perform better in the English classroom when a plurilingual approach is used rather than a monolingual, independently of the context.

According to the results obtained in each of the diverse contexts in which we conducted our study, primary school students not only learn English better achieving a 20% improved grade rate but also learn faster. In Norway, China and Spain the students behaved better and paid more attention to the teacher and the class content when the mother tongue was also used in the classroom. At the same time, because they were able to grasp concepts quicker they were able to spend more time practising, which contributed to the consolidation of new grammar and vocabulary.

Through the analysis of the language policies and guidelines in combination with the conducted questionnaires and field notes from our class observations we addressed the second hypothesis:

- Language policies and guidelines, along with the curriculum, have a direct impact on the students' view of the status, prestige and use of the mother tongue and English.

We were able to confirm that indeed the idea of English as a necessary language has been transferred to the students, however, because ELT is not yet approached from an ecological perspective in the classroom, the participants generally considered English as the most important language in the world despite considering their mother tongue very important for them personally. This shows that, in spite of the young age of the students, they are starting to associate status and prestige with languages. For this reason, we believe it is necessary to flag the need for clear guidelines and policies that show English in an international light but not in a superior one in order to preserve a sustainable view of language.

Through the questionnaires used we also gained a deeper insight into the students' classroom preferences and their innate understanding of the way languages work. One of the most

interesting outcomes from the conducted questionnaires was the fact that the students in every context believed that knowing their mother tongue well would help them learn English better. This demonstrates a sensitivity towards the interconnectedness of languages in the learners' mind that require some guidance to develop their plurilingual competence to their maximum potential.

Also related to language policies and the questionnaires is the last hypothesis, which focuses on each of the contexts where our study was carried out:

- The current language policies and embraced CEFR are not adapted to the current realities of the classroom.

Because the policies and guidelines analysed were considerably influenced by the CEFR, they share many of their characteristics. Communicative approaches are suggested in the three countries but are not always applied or tailored to the context in which they are used, as we can see in the different results from the same policies in China between rural and urban contexts, or the fact that Spain proposes contradictory views on language being an advocate for plurilingualism and supporting an English only classroom and monolingual approaches to language. At the same time, we observed that in these policies English is portrayed as a global language for communication but the guidelines keep referring to Inner Circle English native countries, linking the English language to specific cultures. This perpetuates the risk of linking particular languages to prestige and status, along with the language.

In a moment when the Common European Framework has crossed borders beyond Europe influencing language guidelines worldwide and, in particular, English curricula, promoting communicative approaches for language learning and proficiency levels based on nativeness, ours is a very timely study. Our research attempts to reflect on the best way to implement a communicative approach in the classroom with the use of the mother tongue for a dual purpose: as a learning scaffolding tool that will improve the learners' competence in English language and also as a way of reminder of the importance of the mother tongue both in the development of plurilingual competence and, ideologically, as a way of preventing linguistic imperialism and providing an ecological perspective on English language use.

In light of our findings, we can conclude that English guidelines worldwide need to be revisited to provide a more ELF-aware view of English language without cultural links to English native speakers. At the same time, English teachers should reconsider their monolingual approach to English teaching taking into consideration the proved benefits of using a plurilingual approach to ELT in primary education.

The data elicited from the questionnaires, along with the observation of the language learning sessions, provided a real picture of the actual language learners in primary school. Our samples comprised different contexts and very diverse socioeconomic and cultural factors, such as access to after-school English support, prosperity of the area, and mother tongue/s of the student, among other factors. Nevertheless, despite all these variables, the participants in all samples demonstrated were aware of the relevance of English worldwide, had an innate understanding of language learning with the help of previous language knowledge, as well as demonstrated an affection towards their mother tongue. In particular, the main outcomes in each of the countries showed that in Spain, even though many students came from a plurilingual household, only 34% of them considered themselves plurilingual demonstrating a clear misunderstanding of plurilingualism. Norway presented a similar case, where the students generally identified as monolingual speakers even in cases where there were different languages used in the household. The case of China was a very particular one due to cultural aspects of this context, where all students claimed to be Chinese only speakers but with the difference that some of them used the terminology “Han”, which can include different minority languages without specifying the particular language. In all of the contexts, the students linked English language to native speakers (in particular Inner Circle natives) and did not consider English as part as their plurilingual repertoire. However, it was interesting to observe that the participants in all contexts valued their mother tongue at a personal level and were open to plurilingual approaches in the classroom.

From our standpoint, our study has the potential to have relevant pedagogical implications in terms of the success of the use of plurilingual communicative approaches to English learning from an ELF perspective, as well as the suggested implications of ELF in language policies worldwide.

This section will be followed by an account of the concluding remarks along with suggestions for further research.

7.3. Concluding Remarks and Further Research

To the best of our knowledge, our research is the first one focused on the merge of plurilingual and communicative approaches within an English as a lingua franca perspective encompassing and comparing three different contexts with very different language families (Latin, Sinitic and North Germanic-Scandinavian). We believe that our proposal breaks the boundaries that separate languages in language teaching and it acknowledges English as international communication but protecting the mother tongue and language diversity. Our proposal no longer considers English as a colonialising tool advocating linguistic imperialism but a device that belongs to all of us and exists along with our dear languages in the multilingual fabric of the world.

Because now plurilingualism is the norm, with an increasing number of the population becoming plurilingual and transcultural in later life, language learners need to learn how to negotiate the different complex demands and opportunities across their range of language competencies. Consequently, “understanding such learning requires the integrative consideration of learners’ mental and neurobiological processing, remembering and categorizing patterns, and moment-to-moment use of language in conjunction with a variety of socioemotional, sociocultural, socio-political, and ideological factors” (The Douglas Fir Group, 2016, p. 19). Because of this, our research has attempted to go beyond English language teaching and focus on the development of plurilingual competences, understanding the learners’ beliefs and perspectives, and introducing the concept of ELF in practice in order to acknowledge the necessity for a conscious and sustainable education of English that is respectful toward language ecologies.

As accounted on our limitations Section 6.4, during the execution of our study we collected an extensive amount of data that will be examined in further research to complement this initial study. As well as the analysis of this data, we also propose a longitudinal study to explore the

effects of using a plurilingual approach throughout a whole school year. It would be interesting to recreate the study using a new set of samples and expanding to other Asian, Mediterranean and Scandinavian contexts, for instance including Sweden, Japan and Italy, in addition to the original countries, and even a new Spanish sample from a monolingual region. This expansion of the study would allow us to find further potential patterns cross-cultures. We suggest that further research on the matter also compares different types of samples such as learners in secondary and tertiary education.

The natural spread of English cannot be stopped but its impact on multilingualism can be modulated and this starts in primary education, when the learners' belief system is being formed. As Kubota (2016, p. 360) argues "multiple beliefs and assumptions held by teachers, learners, parents, and institutions ultimately influence the ways our learners interact with people from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds", which supports our ecological perspective of English language learning. All points considered, this study opens up a new avenue of research that unites English Language Teaching and Multilingualism from an ecological and holistic perspective.

As a final conclusion, the present study has contributed to further understanding the generally underestimated value of the mother tongue in English language learning, as well as the need for a sustainable ELF perspective in education worldwide.

[CATALAN VERSION]

Capítol 8. Conclusions

En aquest capítol final avaluarem les principals conclusions de la tesi i comentarem quines han estat les aportacions clau d'aquest estudi dins del camp de la Lingüística Aplicada.

Considerem que la investigació que hem fet és de caràcter interdisciplinari atés que la seua intenció sempre ha estat la de trobar un punt de convergència entre la docència de la llengua anglesa, l'anglès com a llengua franca, l'ecologia de la llengua i el multilingüisme. Cadascun dels capítols del marc teòric està dedicat a una secció de l'estudi respectivament. Si establim un ordre cronològic, podem dir que els apartats principals de l'estudi són els següents: l'expansió de l'anglès com a llengua franca, la didàctica de la llengua anglesa, la llengua materna dins de la didàctica de l'anglès i la política lingüística. No obstant això, hem estudiat cadascuna de les seccions a través de la perspectiva de l'ecologia de la llengua.

Per a la secció empírica de la recerca ens hem centrat en l'últim any d'educació primària a Espanya, a Noruega i a la Xina. Per tal de dur a terme aquesta investigació, vam utilitzar un mètode quasi-experimental acompanyat de qüestionaris. La part experimental va consistir en la comparació dels resultats aconseguits a l'aula d'anglès mitjançant dos enfocaments diferents, d'una banda un enfocament comunicatiu plurilingüe que utilitza la llengua materna i, de l'altra, un enfocament comunicatiu monolingüe tradicional. Els qüestionaris es van utilitzar amb la finalitat d'entendre els punts de vista dels estudiants com a participants principals en el procés d'aprenentatge. El nostre estudi es va dissenyar amb l'objectiu de proporcionar una visió holística del procés d'aprenentatge de llengües dins dels contextos participants incloent-hi: (a) la comprensió del context a través d'entrevistes al professorat i l'anàlisi de la normativa educativa que influeix en cadascun dels contextos; (b) l'estudi de la resposta dels alumnes en l'aplicació de cada enfocament; (c) l'exploració dels resultats de l'experiment en qüestió de la millora lingüística; (d) l'anàlisi de les creences i les perspectives que l'alumnat té quant a la llengua. En resum, hem intentat estudiar tant el context com els participants per igual.

8.1. Resultats principals del nostre estudi

El nostre estudi s'ha dissenyat amb la intenció d'explorar el potencial que hi ha en l'ús d'un enfocament plurilingüe a l'aula d'anglès en contextos molt diversos i en països amb llengües i cultures molt diferents, així com analitzar com el fet de presentar l'anglès com a llengua franca pot canviar la percepció de l'alumnat en l'ús de l'anglès i en qui en pot ser considerat parlant. A més dels objectius que hem esmentat, l'estudi té la intenció d'analitzar les creences i les actituds de l'alumnat cap a la llengua (l'anglès i la seua llengua materna) per tal d'avaluar patrons entre els contextos estudiats i trobar nexes amb les directrius i polítiques actuals. En general, un dels principals objectius que teníem era obtenir una idea de l'impacte de les polítiques lingüístiques, de les directrius i dels plantejaments en les percepcions de l'alumnat sobre la llengua i el seu ús. Amb això també volíem mostrar com un enfocament plurilingüe en el qual s'utilitza la llengua materna per aprendre l'anglès pot beneficiar l'alumnat.

Considerem que els resultats obtinguts en el nostre estudi demostren la viabilitat d'utilitzar un enfocament plurilingüe per a la docència de l'anglès, siga quin siga el context. A partir d'aquests resultats també s'estableix informació nova i significativa sobre els temes del multilingüisme i plurilingüisme en la didàctica de llengua anglesa, alhora que ajuda a omplir diversos buits de recerca que actualment compten amb molt poca informació en aquest camp.

El nostre estudi recorre diferents camps de recerca que evidencien els nexes que hi ha entre l'estudi d'una segona llengua, el multilingüisme, l'anglès com a llengua franca i l'ecologia lingüística.

Els prejudicis a favor del monolingüisme i els nadius han afectat l'estudi de segones llengües durant molt de temps i encara romanen com a ideologies principals (Ortega, 2019). Des del concepte d'interllengua (Corder, 1975; Gass & Selinker, 1994; Selinker, 1972), les influències entre llengües (Jarvis, 2011; Odlin, 2005), la importància de la comunicació i, per tant, de la competència comunicativa (Hymes, 1972), i el desenvolupament de la competència multilingüe (Cook, 2010), els investigadors de la didàctica de segones llengües han intentat investigar la interacció entre les llengües i el seu impacte en l'aprenentatge. Malgrat el seu objectiu comú s'han caracteritzat per tindre diferents opinions sobre qui són els parlants i

usuaris de la llengua. Mentrestant, el camp de l'educació multilingüe ha experimentat un desenvolupament notable i el multilingüisme en l'àmbit de l'aprenentatge de llengües ha passat a ocupar un espai protagonista (Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Cenoz & Gorter, 2015; Cenoz & Jessner, 2009; García & Lin, 2016; Portolés & Martí, 2017). Malgrat això, encara afrontem molts altres reptes. Segons Ortega (2019, p. 35), un d'aquests reptes és trobar una manera d'investigar l'aprenentatge de llengües que no elimine les complexitats del multilingüisme i no deixi la justícia social a banda. A això caldria afegir el fet que l'anglès ha esdevingut la principal llengua al món a causa de la globalització, de l'expansió de la tecnologia, la dominació econòmica actual i la mobilitat transnacional de la població. L'estatus de l'anglès ha motivat nombrosos estudis de gran importància sobre les complexes ideologies polítiques a causa de l'expansió de l'anglès a escala mundial (Canagarajah, 1999; Pennycook, 2002, 2017; Phillipson, 1992, 2008). Tanmateix, les investigacions que es porten a terme actualment en l'àmbit de l'anglès com a llengua franca han començat fa ben poc a tindre un reconeixement pel rol tan essencial que tenen en el multilingüisme actual (Cogo, 2012; Jenkins, 2015, 2018; Seidlhofer, 2017). Dit això, sabem que l'anglès com a llengua franca és un concepte que s'ha estudiat durant gairebé dues dècades (Casa, 2003; Seidlhofer, 2001), però s'ha dedicat principalment a elaborar un marc teòric apropiat i a recopilar corpus lingüístics. Cal subratllar que s'ha fet una recerca molt important en el desenvolupament del coneixement de l'anglès com a llengua franca amb l'objectiu de portar-lo a la pràctica en l'aula (Sifakis, 2019; Sifakis et al., 2018), tot i que encara hui queda molt per explorar.

Creiem que la nostra tesi contribueix no només al moviment del canvi multilingüe sinó que també proporciona resultats favorables que demostren empíricament els beneficis de l'ús de la llengua materna en l'aula anglesa mitjançant un enfocament plurilingüe. Amb la incorporació d'enfocaments plurilingües que es poden adaptar a cada context per obtenir la màxima eficiència i millors resultats que un enfocament monolingüe tradicional en l'aprenentatge de l'anglès podem lluitar contra els prejudicis que ja fa massa temps que s'utilitzen en segones llengües, com la reticència per prendre en consideració el multilingüisme com un fet habitual (May, 2019, p. 123). La nostra recerca introdueix l'anglès com a llengua franca en diferents contextos del món per tal de promoure un plantejament ecològic envers l'aprenentatge de la llengua anglesa.

Els resultats que hem obtingut en el nostre estudi mostren una millora considerable que consisteix en un increment del 20 %, com a mínim, en cadascun dels contextos on es va fer servir el plantejament plurilingüe a l'aula. Aquest enfocament va implicar l'ús de la llengua materna quan era necessari per a la docència, la comparativa de gramàtiques, l'associació de terminologia i la relació entre llengües. Vam identificar els diferents tipus d'errors d'acord amb la llengua materna de l'alumnat, cosa que suggereix que el plantejament plurilingüe emprat es podria adaptar per atendre les distintes tendències d'error en cada context. Si comparem la nostra experiència a les aules que han participat en l'estudi amb les pautes i polítiques lingüístiques corresponents, juntament amb la informació específica de cada context que hem obtingut a partir de les entrevistes semi-formals prèvies, arribem a la conclusió que les directrius es podrien beneficiar d'un disseny optimitzat de les realitats de l'aula.

A Espanya vam observar que el plurilingüisme s'entenia com l'ús independent de diferents llengües i d'aquest fet es deriva l'existència de barreres lingüístiques encara en l'actualitat. Concretament, en l'aula d'aprenentatge de la llengua anglesa, el plantejament que es feia servir de forma més comuna era el comunicatiu i monolingüe, és a dir, només s'emprava l'anglès. La idea d'aïllar l'anglès de la resta de llengües en el currículum escolar i el fet que, malgrat els seus efectes negatius, s'espere del professorat d'anglès que utilitze només aquesta llengua sense remetre's en qualsevol cas a la llengua materna, és un fet conegut en el camp de recerca (Cenoz & Gorter, 2013). El nostre estudi empíric no només demostra que aquesta pràctica continua vigent, sinó que també tenim la prova que un plantejament plurilingüe en el qual hi ha una interacció entre la diversitat de llengües a l'aula podria ser beneficiós per a l'alumnat i resultar en una millora de la competència en la llengua anglesa.

D'una altra banda, Noruega és un entorn ben diferent i també molt interessant: s'hi podia fer servir la L1 en l'aula anglesa i fins i tot les directrius nacionals encoratjaven l'alumnat a fer-ho i així millorar la seua comprensió de l'anglès. D'aquesta manera, els resultats obtinguts donen suport al plantejament que ja s'utilitza a Noruega i, de fet, validen el fet que l'ús del plantejament plurilingüe és el més beneficiós per aprendre l'anglès.

Finalment, la Xina mostra els resultats més interessants de l'estudi pel que fa al tipus de resultats obtinguts i a la diversitat entre dos contextos interns: la Xina urbana i la Xina rural, així com el contrast quan es compara amb altres països. Segons el currículum nacional (MOE,

2001, 2011), els enfocaments proposats per a l'educació primària a tot l'àmbit nacional són de caire comunicatiu i basat en tasques, cosa que ha provocat una certa reticència entre un gran nombre del professorat que estava acostumat al model d'aprenentatge més tradicional basat en la repetició i la memorització. Aquest fet és més visible quan es comparen ambdós contextos esmentats prèviament: a les zones urbanes el professorat fa servir només l'anglès i té un enfocament més aviat comunicatiu; mentre que a les zones rurals es tendeix a seguir les tècniques més tradicionals i el professorat no té gaire fluïdesa en la llengua anglesa. Les primeres entrevistes que vam dur a terme amb les escoles d'ambdues zones van suggerir que sempre s'utilitzava un plantejament comunicatiu, però arran de la nostra experiència a les escoles vam obtenir uns resultats ben diferents, tal com analitzem en la Secció 6.1.3. En el context rural, les sessions van haver d'adaptar-se de manera que l'alumnat poguera participar en l'estudi i, tot i així, no van poder participar en la prova escrita; un fet que, per si sol, esdevenia significatiu. En canvi, en el context urbà es va observar que el nivell d'anglès de l'alumnat era semblant al de l'alumnat espanyol, i també van tindre una resposta molt similar al plantejament plurilingüe.

L'anàlisi de política lingüística juntament amb els resultats dels qüestionaris que vam obtenir es van centrar en l'aplicabilitat de les normatives i la percepció de l'anglès com a llengua internacional. D'acord amb aquests resultats vam observar que, tot i que el currículum nacional de cadascun dels països participants es refereixen a l'anglès com a llengua global, tots aquests donen suport a la idea tan estesa de "nativespeakerism", és a dir, fan referència al parlant nadiu i fan a remissions culturals concretes a parlants de llengua anglesa, especialment els occidentals. Arran dels qüestionaris, vam descobrir que els participants consideren que l'anglès és una de les llengües més importants del món cosa que, sense la orientació per part dels educadors que treballen per una integració de la conscienciació de l'anglès com a llengua franca, aquesta idea pot arribar a alterar l'ecologia lingüística mundial.

Els resultats que hem obtingut a partir dels qüestionaris ens ofereixen una visió general de la motivació i l'actitud de l'alumnat envers les llengües, la seua percepció sobre l'aprenentatge lingüístic i el seu ús de l'anglès. En particular, l'alumnat va mostrar una sensibilitat inherent cap a la llengua i la seua interacció, mostrant una comprensió global del potencial de la L1 per aprendre anglès. Aquests resultats deixen entreveure una oportunitat perfecta per a que el

professorat puga accedir al potencial dels alumnes a l'hora d'introduir el desenvolupament de competències plurilingües a l'aula.

La secció següent se centrarà en les implicacions principals del nostre estudi d'acord amb les hipòtesis que hem proposat en aquesta tesi.

8.2. Principals conclusions de l'estudi derivades de les hipòtesis

Els resultats que hem obtingut en el nostre estudi ens permeten extraure conclusions pedagògiques per a la pràctica de l'ensenyament de llengües, així com per als planificadors de política lingüística.

D'una banda, les nostres hipòtesis s'han centrat en l'aplicació d'un plantejament plurilingüe en l'ensenyament de la llengua anglesa durant l'educació primària en diferents parts del món amb l'objectiu de millorar el domini de l'anglès dels estudiants. D'una altra banda, les hipòtesis també s'han centrat en l'alumnat com als principals participants en l'aprenentatge de llengües i en com les seues creences i la seua actitud cap a les llengües poden estar influïdes per les polítiques lingüístiques i les directrius actuals, les quals afecten el seu aprenentatge i la percepció que tenen de l'estatus de la llengua. Com a referència, recordarem les hipòtesis a continuació i les relacionarem amb els resultats de cadascuna:

- L'alumnat de l'escola primària obté millors resultats en l'aula anglesa quan es fa servir un plantejament plurilingüe en comptes d'un de monolingüe, independentment del context.

D'acord amb els resultats que vam obtenir en tots els diferents contextos en els quals vam aplicar el nostre estudi, l'alumnat de l'escola primària no només aprèn anglès amb més facilitat, amb una millora del 20 % de la seua nota, sinó que també aprèn més ràpidament. A Noruega, a la Xina i a Espanya l'estudiantat va mostrar un millor comportament i estava més atent al docent i al contingut de la classe quan la llengua materna també s'utilitzava a l'aula. Igualment, com que eren capaços d'entendre els conceptes d'una manera més ràpida, també podien

practicar durant més temps, amb la qual cosa consolidaven el vocabulari nou i la gramàtica apresada.

A través de l'anàlisi de les polítiques lingüístiques i les directrius en combinació amb els qüestionaris realitzats i les notes de camp durant les observacions que vam fer a l'aula vam abordar aquesta segona hipòtesi:

- Les directrius i polítiques lingüístiques, juntament amb el currículum, tenen un impacte directe en la visió que l'alumnat té de l'estatus, del prestigi i de l'ús de la llengua materna i de l'anglès.

Amb això, vam poder confirmar la idea de l'anglès com una llengua necessària que s'ha transferit a l'alumnat. Tanmateix, com el plantejament de l'ensenyament de l'anglès encara no s'adreça des d'una perspectiva ecològica a l'aula, els participants generalment han considerat l'anglès com la llengua més important del món, tot i que consideren que la seua llengua materna és molt important per a ells. Això demostra que, malgrat que l'alumnat enquestat és preadolescent, ja comença a associar els conceptes d'estatus i de prestigi amb les llengües. Per aquest motiu creiem que cal recalcar la necessitat de polítiques i directrius lingüístiques clares que mostren que l'anglès té un àmbit de caire internacional però no superior amb la fi de preservar una visió sostenible de les llengües.

A través dels qüestionaris també vam poder observar una idea més profunda de les preferències de l'alumnat a l'aula i del coneixement innat de com funcionen les llengües. Un dels resultats més interessants que vam obtenir dels qüestionaris va ser el fet que l'alumnat en cadascun dels contextos pensa que conèixer la seua llengua materna els ajuda a aprendre anglès millor. Això demostra una sensibilitat cap a la interconnexió de les llengües en la ment dels estudiants, cosa que requereix d'orientació per tal de desenvolupar la seua competència plurilingüe al màxim potencial.

L'última hipòtesi també està relacionada amb la política lingüística i els qüestionaris, i se centra en cadascun dels contextos on s'ha desenvolupat l'estudi:

- Les directrius lingüístiques actuals, així com el Marc Comú Europeu de Referència (MCER), no estan adaptats a les realitats actuals de l'aula.

Com que les polítiques i directrius analitzades es troben considerablement influïdes pel MEQR, comparteixen moltes de les seues característiques. Suggereixen enfocaments comunicatius en els tres països, però no s'apliquen ni s'adapten al context en què s'utilitzen, com es pot veure en els diferents resultats de les mateixes polítiques a la Xina entre contextos rurals i urbans, o el fet que Espanya propose perspectives contradictòries sobre la llengua sent partidària del plurilingüisme i donant suport a la utilització de només una llengua a l'aula d'anglès amb enfocaments monolingües. Al mateix temps, observem que en aquestes directrius l'anglès es presenta com una llengua global per a la comunicació, però les normatives continuen referint-se als països d'origen de l'anglès del cercle interior (*Inner Circle* en anglès, Kachru 1990), vinculant la llengua anglesa a cultures específiques. Això perpetua el risc de vincular els idiomes particulars amb el prestigi i l'estatus, juntament amb l'idioma.

En un moment en què el Marc Comú Europeu ha travessat fronteres més enllà d'Europa i ha influït en les normatives lingüístiques de tot el món i, en particular, en els currículums de les assignatures d'anglès, tot promovent enfocaments comunicatius per a l'aprenentatge d'idiomes i nivells de competència basats en el nadius, considerem que l'estudi que presentem és molt oportú. La nostra recerca tracta de reflexionar sobre la millor manera d'aplicar un enfocament comunicatiu a l'aula amb l'ús de la llengua materna amb un doble propòsit: com a instrument de suport per a l'aprenentatge per tal de millorar la competència dels alumnes en l'anglès i també com una manera de recordar la importància de la llengua materna tant en el desenvolupament de la competència plurilingüe com, ideològicament, com una forma de prevenir l'imperialisme lingüístic i proporcionar una perspectiva ecològica sobre l'ús de l'idioma anglès.

D'acord amb els resultats obtinguts, podem concloure que és necessari revisar les directrius de l'anglès a tot el món per a proporcionar una visió més conscient de la llengua anglesa com a llengua franca sense vincles culturals amb els parlants nadius de l'anglès. Al mateix temps, els professors haurien de reconsiderar el seu enfocament monolingüe de l'ensenyament de l'anglès tenint en compte els beneficis demostrats de l'ús d'un enfocament plurilingüe de l'ensenyament de l'anglès en l'educació primària.

Les dades obtingudes dels qüestionaris, juntament amb l'observació de les sessions d'aprenentatge d'idiomes, van proporcionar una imatge real dels estudiants d'idiomes a

l'escola primària. Les mostres comprenien diferents contextos i factors socioeconòmics i culturals molt diversos, com l'accés al suport de l'anglès després de l'escola, la prosperitat de la zona, la, o les, llengües maternes de l'estudiant, entre altres factors. No obstant això, malgrat totes aquestes variables, els participants de totes les mostres van demostrar que eren conscients de la importància de l'anglès a tot el món, així com una comprensió innata de l'aprenentatge d'idiomes amb l'ajuda de coneixements lingüístics previs, i afecte cap a la llengua materna. En particular, els principals resultats de cadascun dels països van mostrar que a Espanya, encara que molts estudiants procedien d'una llar plurilingüe, només el 34 % d'ells es consideraven plurilingües, la qual cosa demostra un clar malentès del plurilingüisme. Noruega va presentar un cas similar, en el qual els estudiants es van identificar generalment com a monolingües, fins i tot en els casos en què s'utilitzaven diferents idiomes a casa. El cas de la Xina va ser molt particular a causa dels aspectes culturals d'aquest context, en el qual tots els estudiants van afirmar ser parlants únics de xinès, però amb la diferència que alguns d'ells van utilitzar la terminologia "Han", que pot incloure diferents idiomes minoritaris sense especificar l'idioma en particular. En tots els contextos, els estudiants van relacionar l'idioma anglès amb els parlants nadius (en particular els nadius del cercle intern segons la divisió de Kachru) i no van considerar l'anglès com a part del seu repertori plurilingüe. No obstant això, va ser interessant observar que els participants en tots els contextos valoraven la seua llengua materna a nivell personal i estaven oberts als enfocaments plurilingües a l'aula.

Des del nostre punt de vista, el nostre estudi té el potencial de tindre implicacions pedagògiques rellevants en termes d'ús d'enfocaments comunicatius plurilingües per a l'aprenentatge de l'anglès des de la perspectiva de l'anglès com a llengua franca, així com les implicacions que hem suggerit abans en les polítiques lingüístiques a tot el món.

Aquesta secció anirà seguida d'un recompte de les observacions finals juntament amb suggeriments per a futures línies de recerca.

8.3. Observacions finals i noves línies de recerca

Fins on sabem, la nostra recerca és la primera centrada en la fusió d'enfocaments plurilingües i comunicatius dins d'una perspectiva de l'anglès com a llengua franca que abasta i compara tres contextos diferents amb famílies lingüístiques molt diferents (llatina, sinítica i nòrdica/germànica-escandinava). Creiem que la nostra proposta trenca amb les barreres que separen els idiomes en l'ensenyament de les llengües i reconeix l'anglès com a comunicació internacional, però protegint la llengua materna i la diversitat lingüística. La nostra proposta ja no considera l'anglès com un instrument colonitzador que advoca per l'imperialisme lingüístic, sinó com una eina que ens pertany a tots i que existeix juntament amb les nostres estimades llengües en el teixit multilingüe del món.

Atès que ara el plurilingüisme és la norma, i que un nombre cada vegada major de parlants es torna plurilingüe i transcultural en l'edat adulta, els estudiants d'idiomes han d'aprendre a negociar les diferents i complexes demandes i oportunitats en tota la seua gamma de competències lingüístiques. Per aquesta raó, la comprensió d'aquest aprenentatge requereix la consideració integradora del processament mental i neurobiològic dels alumnes, el registre i la categorització de patrons, i l'ús de l'idioma en cada moment en què s'utilitza juntament amb una varietat de factors socio-emocionals, socioculturals, sociopolítics i ideològics (The Douglas Fir Group, 2016, p. 19). Conseqüentment, la nostra recerca ha intentat anar més enllà de l'ensenyament de l'anglès i centrar-se en el desenvolupament de competències plurilingües, en la comprensió de les creences i perspectives dels alumnes i en la introducció del concepte de l'anglès com a llengua franca en la pràctica, a fi de reconèixer la necessitat d'una educació conscient i sostenible de l'anglès que siga respectuosa amb l'ecologia lingüística.

Com s'explica en la Secció 6.4 en relació amb les nostres limitacions, durant la realització del nostre estudi vam recollir una àmplia quantitat de dades que seran objecte d'anàlisi en investigacions posteriors per tal de complementar aquest estudi inicial. A més de l'anàlisi d'aquestes dades, també proposem un estudi longitudinal per a explorar els efectes de l'ús d'un enfocament plurilingüe al llarg de tot un any escolar. Seria interessant replicar l'estudi utilitzant un nou conjunt de mostres i ampliar-lo a altres contextos asiàtics, mediterranis i escandinaus, per exemple, incloent-hi Suècia, el Japó i Itàlia, a més dels països originals, i fins i

tot una nova mostra espanyola d'una regió monolingüe. Aquesta expansió de l'estudi ens permetria, potencialment, trobar més patrons comuns entre cultures. Suggerim que les investigacions posteriors també comparen diferents tipus de mostres, com les dels alumnes de l'ensenyament secundari i terciari.

La difusió natural de l'anglès no pot detindre-se, però el seu impacte en el multilingüisme pot modular-se i això comença en l'educació primària, quan s'està formant el sistema de creences dels alumnes. Com corrobora Kubota (2016, p. 360), les múltiples creences i suposicions que tenen els mestres, els alumnes, els pares i les institucions influeixen en última instància en la forma en què els nostres alumnes interactuen amb persones de diversos orígens lingüístics i culturals, la qual cosa dona suport la nostra perspectiva ecològica de l'aprenentatge de l'anglès. Tenint en compte tots els punts, aquest estudi obri una nova via de recerca que uneix l'ensenyament de l'idioma anglès i el multilingüisme des d'una perspectiva ecològica i holística.

Com a conclusió final, el present estudi ha contribuït a comprendre millor el valor generalment subestimat de la llengua materna en l'aprenentatge de l'anglès, així com la necessitat d'una perspectiva sostenible de l'ensenyament de l'anglès com a llengua franca en l'educació a tot el món.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 – Pilot test

Name: _____ Class name: 6A/6B

Mother tongue/s: _____ Age: _____

English academy/tutor: Yes/No

4. Please write these sentences using past simple

6. Yolanda isn't your best friend.

7. Julian and his sister are very intelligent.

8. The trees are very high.

9. My English teacher isn't Scottish.

10. Diana's parents are on holiday in Belgium.

5. Please write the relevant questions for these sentences

1.-.....

Martha was fifteen years old.

2.-

No, the teacher wasn't Italian.

4.-

The girls were in the garden

5.-

Yes, her husband was a doctor.

6. Please write the correct form of the verb "to be"

7. My family in Madrid on holidays last Summer.

8. They at school yesterday.

9. Sara at the hospital yesterday afternoon.

10. I at the station now.

11. My daughter born in August.

12. The pencils on the table two days ago.

Appendix 2 – Pilot questionnaire for parents (Spain)

1. La classe d'anglès ha de ser només ... *

- En anglès
- En valencià
- En castellà
- En anglès i castellà
- En anglès i valencià

2. Creu que conèixer la seua llengua materna en profunditat ajuda a aprendre anglès? *

- Sí
- No

Explique si escau:.....

3. Creu que conèixer una segona llengua ajuda als alumnes a aprendre anglès (per exemple, si l'alumne/a sap valencià i castellà; o romanés i espanyol; o xinès i valencià...) *

- Sí
- No

Explique si escau:.....

4. Creu que la llengua materna de l'alumne l'afecta amb la dificultat o facilitat d'aprendre una llengua nova? *

- Sí
- No

Explique si escau:.....

5. Quin accent creu que s'hauria d'utilitzar a classe? *

- Britànic
- Americà
- Neutre

Explique si escau:.....

6. Quina és la seua opinió del Pla Plurilingüe? (marque 1 o 2 caselles)

- Facilitarà l'aprenentatge de l'anglès
- Perjudicarà l'aprenentatge de l'anglès
- Facilitarà l'aprenentatge d'altres llengües
- Perjudicarà l'aprenentatge d'altres llengües

Explique si escau:.....

Appendix 3 – Pilot questionnaire for parents (Norway)

1. English class should be..... *

- only in English
- only in Norwegian
- in English and Norwegian

2. Does the original language from the student affect the way they learn English? *

- YES
- NO

Explain if required:.....

3. Knowing a second language helps learning English (for example, knowing Norwegian and Swedish helps learning English) *

- YES
- NO

Explain if required:.....

4. Does knowing your mother tongue well help learning English? *

- YES
- NO

Explain if required:.....

5. Which of the following accents is the best for Norwegian students in class? *

- British
- American
- Neutral

Explain if required:.....

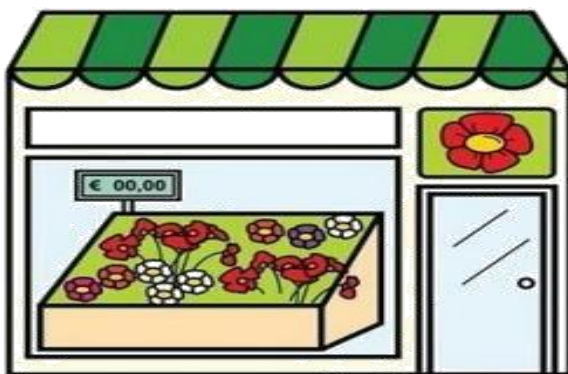
Appendix 4 – Pilot questionnaire students (Spain)

6. Aprendo inglés mejor cuando...
- la profesora explica solo en inglés
 - la profesora explica algunas cosas en mi lengua materna
7. Saber mi lengua materna (y otras lenguas) me ayuda a aprender inglés
- Sí
 - No
8. Fuera del colegio veo la televisión o películas en inglés...
- Muy a menudo (una vez al día)
 - A menudo (3-4 veces a la semana)
 - A veces (1-2 veces a la semana)
 - Poco (1-2 veces cada quincena)
9. Pienso que la destreza más importante en inglés es...
- Reading
 - Speaking
 - Writing
 - Listening
 - Vocabulario
 - Gramática
10. Después de clase voy a una academia (o tengo un tutor) de inglés
- Sí
 - No

Appendix 5 – Pilot questionnaire students (Norway)

1. I learn English better when...
 - the teacher explains only in English
 - the teacher explains some things in my mother tongue
2. Knowing my mother tongue (and other languages) helps me learn English
 - YES
 - NO
3. Outside the school I watch TV or movies in English...
 - Very often (once a day)
 - Often (3-4 times a week)
 - Sometimes (1-2 times a week)
 - Very rarely (once or twice every 2 weeks)
4. The most important skill to learn English is...
 - Reading
 - Speaking
 - Writing
 - Listening
 - Vocabulary
 - Grammar
5. After school I receive English lessons from a private tutor or academy
 - YES
 - NO

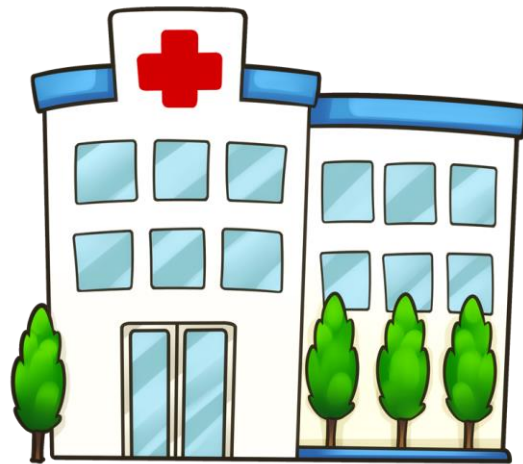
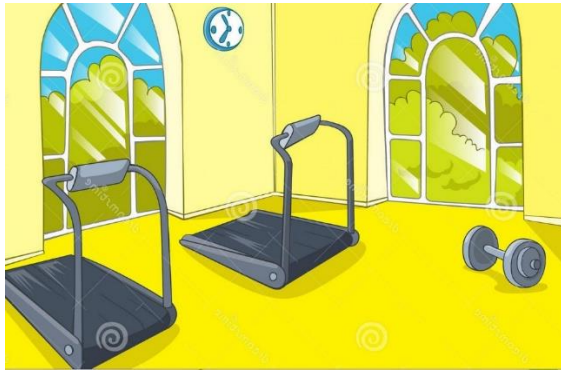
Appendix 6 – Flashcards for locations (I)



Appendix 6 – Flashcards for locations (II)



Appendix 6 – Flashcards for locations (III)



Appendix 7 – Classroom slides (I)

Slide 1

Directions



Slide 2

Asking for directions

- Excuse me. Can you help me? Where is (...*the hotel*)?
- Excuse me. Can you help me, please? I am looking for (... *the museum*).
- Excuse me. I am lost! I am looking for...(..*the shop*) ?

Clarifications

- Can you repeat, please?
- Could you speak slower, please?

Slide 3

Grammar: Imperative + prepositions

Affirmative

Go to school

Turn left and walk towards

Negative

Don't turn left, go straight

Verbs

Go (straight)

Turn (left/right)

Stop

Walk

Prepositions

Next to →



Between →



In front of

Towards →



Appendix 7 – Classroom slides (II)

Slide 4

Giving directions

- I am lost!
- Where is X?
- I am looking for X...
- It is next to/in front of/ between
- Take the 2nd/3rd street to the right/left
- It is on ... street
- Go straight
- Turn right /left
- It is on your right/left

Slide 5

Examples

- A: Excuse me, can you help me?
B: Yes
A: Thank you, I am looking for the pharmacy.
B: Go straight and turn the second street to the right.
A: Left?
B: No, right.
A: Thank you very much!
- A: Excuse me, do you speak English?
B: A little...
A: Danke! I am lost, can you help me, bitte?
B: Yes
A: I am looking for the pharmacy, do you know where it is?
B: Yes, go straight and turn the second street to the right.
A: Thank you very much!
Schönen tag!

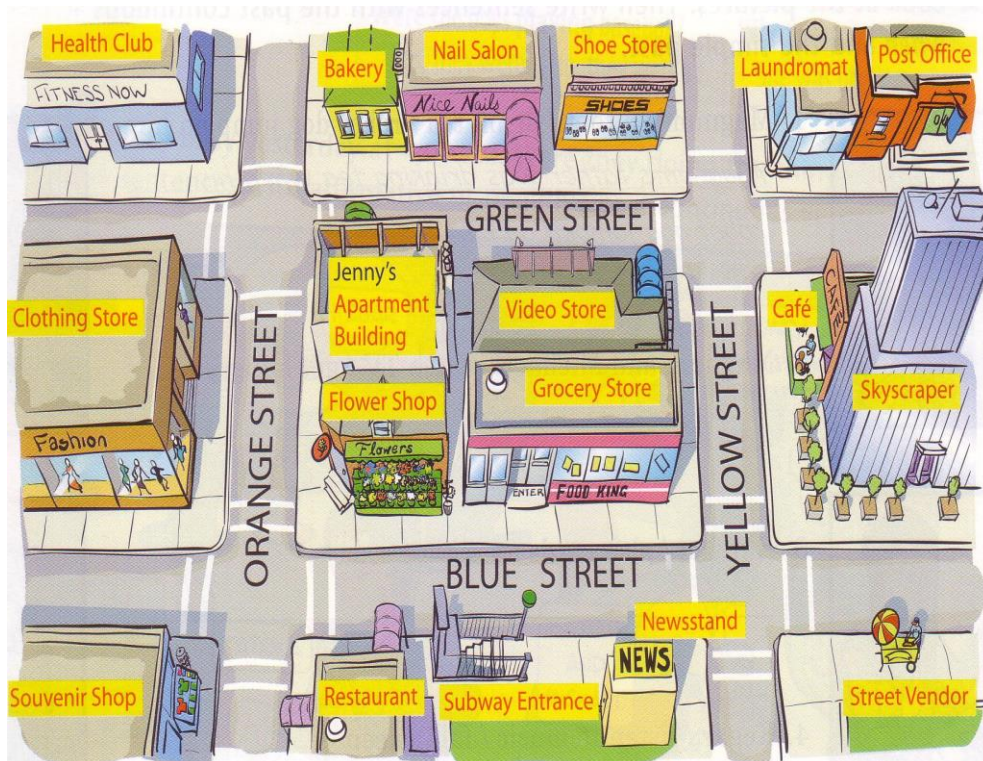
Slide 6

Role Play

- Example**
- A: Excuse me, I am lost! Can you help me?
B: Yes
A: Thank you, where is the flower shop?
C: Turn the first street on the left and go straight. It's next to the bank.
A: Thank you very much!
- **There should be 2 people:**
 - **Student 1:** Person requesting directions
 - **Student 2:** Person giving directions

Appendix 7 – Classroom slides (III)

Slide 7



Slide 8



Appendix 8 – Simplified slides for rural China

Asking for directions

Directions



- Excuse me. Can you help me? Where is (...the hotel)?
- I am lost! Where is (...the shop)?

Giving directions

- I am lost!



- Where is ...?
- Where is the flower shop?

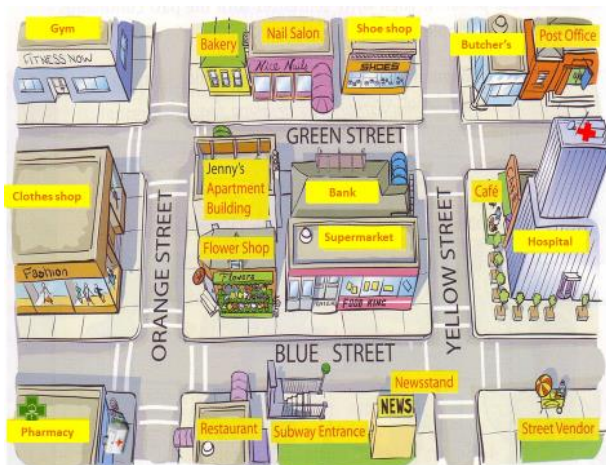
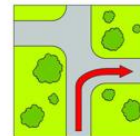
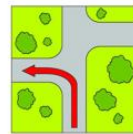


- Go straight

- It is on the right.



- It is on the left.



Role Play

Example

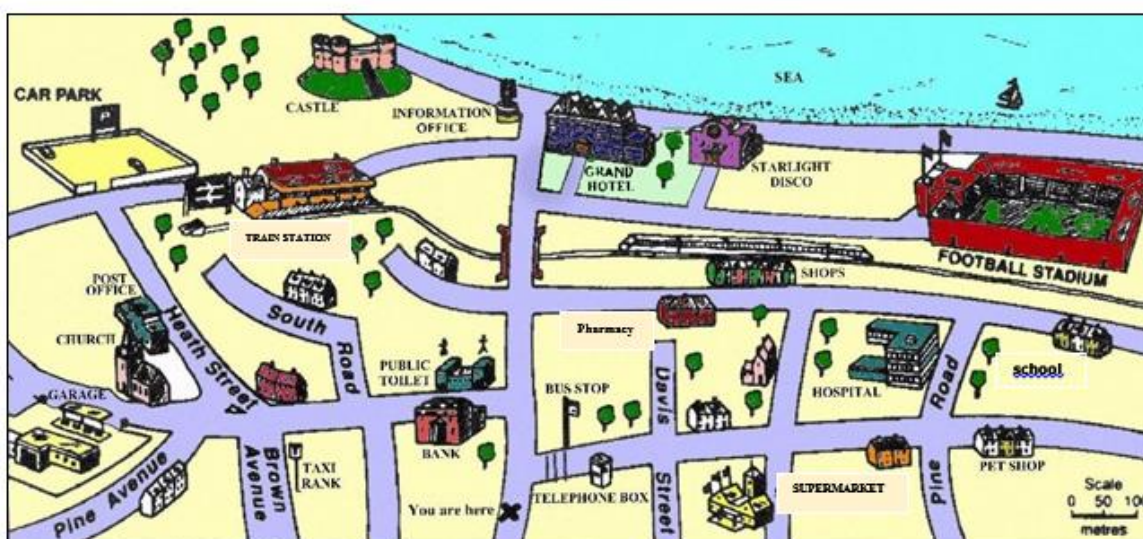
- A: Excuse me, I am lost! Can you help me?
 B: Yes
 A: Thank you. Where is the flower shop?
 C: Go straight. It is on your right.
 A: Thank you very much!

- There should be 2 people:
Student 1 (or teacher): Foreigner
Student 2: Person giving directions

Appendix 9 – Main experiment test

Name:

Class:

I. **Comprehension:** Where are you? Read, look at the map and answer.

- 1) Go straight on towards the sea and turn the fourth left past the information office. It's in front of the sea and next to the information office.
I'm at the _____
- 2) Go straight and take the third street on your right. Go to the end of the street.
I'm at the _____
- 3) Take the second right and go straight. It's between the pharmacy and the school.
I'm at the _____

II. **Fill the gaps with the necessary word: How to get to the train station**

A: Excuse me, can you help me? I am _____ for the train station?

B: Yes. Go _____ and turn the first left. Go past the _____ and the _____, then turn the second right. Go straight _____ the car park. You will see the train station on your _____.

A: Thank you very much.

B: No problem. Bye

Possible words (not all included): bank, towards, telephone box, pharmacy, straight, public toilet, looking, finding, next to, left, rightIII. **Production:** Now, write a dialogue to go to one of these placesThe post office
The bankThe hospital
The supermarket

1) A: Excuse me, _____?

B: _____

A: _____

Appendix 10 – Questionnaire in Catalan (I)

Part I – Informació general

1. _____ Xiquet _____ Xiqueta

2. Edat: _____

3. Curs: 6A o 6B (encercla la resposta)

4. Quina és la teua llengua?
_____5. Quina és la llengua materna dels teus pares?





























6. Quina llengua parles a casa? _____

7. Vas a classes d'anglès fora de l'escola? _____ Sí _____ No

8. Veig pel·lícules o sèries en anglès:









































- Prou (+ 3 vegades a la setmana)
- De quant en quant (1 o 2 per setmana)
- Alguna vegada (1 o 2 mensual)
- Mai

Part II – Actitud cap a l'anglès

Valor de l'anglès	Gens d'acord	Poc d'acord	D'acord	Molt d'acord
1. M'agrada estudiar anglès				
2. Entenc millor els conceptes a la classe d'anglès quan s'expliquen en anglès i la meua llengua				
3. Aprenc millor anglès si la classe s'ensenya en anglès i la meua llengua				
4. Preferisc la classe d'anglès en anglès només				
5. Crec que l'anglès és la llengua més important de món				
6. Si no sé la resposta correcta completament en anglès en classe preferisc no dir res				
7. Tinc vergonya de parlar anglès quan no estic segur/a de com dir alguna cosa				

Appendix 10 – Questionnaire in Catalan (II)

Part III – Valor de la llengua materna





























Valor del valencià i del castellà	Gens d'acord	Poc d'acord	D'acord	Molt d'acord
8. M'agrada estudiar valencià				
9. M'agrada estudiar castellà				
10. Saber bé la meua llengua materna m'ajuda a aprendre anglés				
11. El valencià és tan important com l'anglés				
12. El castellà és tan important com l'anglés				
13. La meua llengua materna és més important que l'anglés				
14. Parlar valencià o castellà en classe d'anglés està malament				
15. Si un estranger em demanara ajuda en anglés i no sapiguera com contestar en anglés completament, utilitzaria un poc la meua llengua també				
16. Si un estranger em demanara ajuda en anglés i no sapiguera com contestar en anglés completament, no l'ajudaria				
17. Valencià i castellà son llengües importants per a mi				

Appendix 11 – Questionnaire in Norwegian (I)

Part I – Background information

































1. Kjønn: _____ Gutt _____ Jente _____
2. Alder: _____
3. Klasse: 6A eller 6B, lag en sirkel rundt alternativet
4. Hva er ditt morsmål? _____
5. Hva er dine foreldres sitt mormålet? _____
6. Hvilket språk snakker du oftest hjem? _____
7. Får du hjelp med engelsk utenfor skolen? _____ Yes _____ No
8. Jeg ser på TV eller filmene på engelsk:
 - Ofte (+ 3 ganger i uka)
 - noen ganger (1 or 2 times a week)
 - En gang iblant (1 o 2 times a month)
 - Aldri

Part II – Attitude towards English (Holdning til engelsk)

Value of English (Om engelsk)	meget uenig	uenig	enig	meget enig
1. Jeg liker å lære engelsk				
2. Jeg forstår konsepter bedre hvis engelskklassen er undervist på norsk og engelsk				
3. Jeg lærer bedre engelsk hvis engelsktimen er undervist på norsk og engelsk				
4. Jeg foretrekker engelsktimen når man snakker kun på engelsk				
5. Jeg tror at engelsk er det viktigste språket i verden				
6. Hvis jeg ikke vet riktig svar på engelsk i engelskklassen, foretrekker jeg å ikke si noe				
7. Jeg føler meg flau å snakke engelsk når min engelsk ikke er bra				

Appendix 11 – Questionnaire in Norwegian (II)

Part III – Value of mother tongue (Verdien av morsmål)

Value of Norwegian (Om norsk)	meget uenig	uenig	enig	meget enig
8. Jeg liker å lære norsk				
9. Å kunne norsk godt hjelper meg å lære andre språk bedre				
10. Norsk er et språk som er lik så viktig som engelsk				
11. Norsk er viktigere enn engelsk				
12. Å snakke norsk i engelsktimen er feil				
13. Hvis noen ba meg om hjelp på engelsk og jeg ikke visste helt hva jeg skulle si på engelsk, da skulle jeg prøve å svare både på norsk og engelsk				
14. Hvis noen ba meg om hjelp på engelsk og jeg ikke visste helt hva jeg skulle si på engelsk, ville jeg bare unnskyldte meg og ikke hjelpe han				
15. Det norske språket er viktig for meg				

Appendix 12 – Questionnaire in Chinese (I)

Part I – 背景资料

1. _____ 男 _____ 女

2. 年龄: _____

3. 课时:

4. 你的第一语言是什么？

5. 你父母的第一语言是什么？ _____

6. 你最常在家里说什么语言？ _____

7. 你在学校外接受英语辅导吗？ _____ Yes _____ No

8. 我用英语看电视或电影:

- 经常(+一周3次)
- 有时(每周1或2次)
- 偶尔(每月1或2次)
- 决不

Part II – 对英语的态度

英语的价值	强烈反对	不同意	同意	我非常同意
我喜欢学习英语				
如果老师使用中文和英文，我会在英语课上更好地理解				
如果英语课程用中文和英语授课，我会更好地学习英语				
我更喜欢只在英语课上使用英语				
我认为英语是世界上最重要的语言				
如果我不知道英语课上英语问题的正确答案，我宁愿什么都不说。				
当我的英语不是很好的时候，我觉得说英语有点尴尬。				

Appendix 12 – Questionnaire in Chinese (II)

Part III – 对母语的态度

中文的价值	强烈反对	不同意	同意	我非常同意
8. 我喜欢学习中文				
9. 学好中文可以帮助我更好地学习其他语言				
10. 中文是一种与英语同等重要的语言				
11. 汉语比英语更重要				
12. 在英语课上讲汉语是错误的				
13. 如果外国人用英语请求我帮忙，但我不知道如何用英语完全回答。我会用英文和中文回复。				
14. 如果一个外国人用英语问我帮助，我不知道如何用英语完全回答，我不会帮助他				
15. 中文对我来说很重要				