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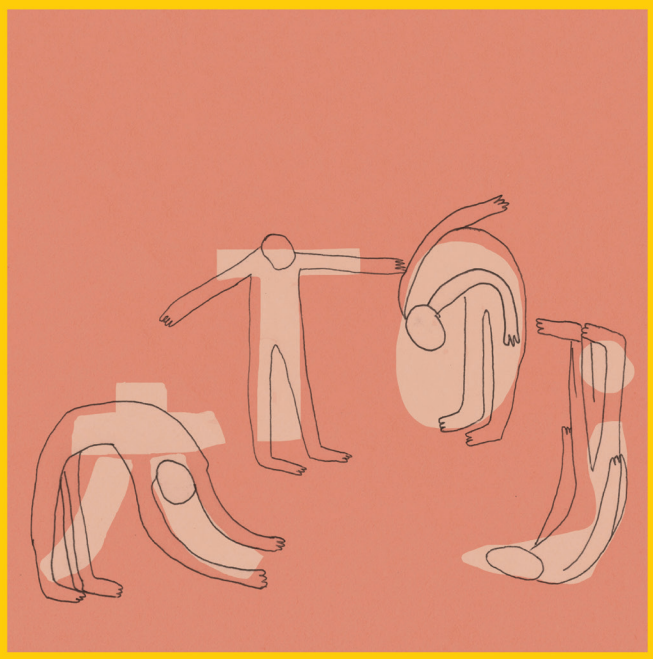
Key concepts for educating in and for plurilingualism



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Introduction

Schools are culturally and linguistically heterogenous communities and managing this diversity in the classroom is one of the many responsibilities teachers face. It is therefore essential that teachers are equipped with the theoretical and practical tools needed to create inclusive environments where languages are respected and valued, which in turn favour students' language learning. In contexts such as schools in Catalonia, fostering the use of minority languages is also a must. Initial teacher education must address these challenges and this book aims to offer a contribution in this regard.

The following chapters present the theoretical foundations of the subject **School Language Project and Plurilingualism** (*Projecte Lingüístic de Centre i Plurilingüisme*) in the Bachelor's Degree in Primary Education offered by the Faculty of Education at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. The subject aims to provide pre-service teachers with the knowledge, skills, competencies and tools for: *a*) analysing schools' sociolinguistic contexts, *b*) fostering the learning and use of Catalan, and *c*) reflecting on how plurilingualism emerges in classroom interactions. On completing the subject, pre-service teachers should have basic knowledge allowing them to participate in the creation of their school language projects *(projectes lingüístics de centre* or PLC in Catalan) and support the integrated teaching and use of Catalan and of other curricular languages, considering the languages their pupils already know.

The subject is part of one of the eight mandatory modules focused on disciplinary teaching in the **Bachelor's Degree in Primary Education**. Teaching and Learning Languages is the module devoted to languages and language education and it is divided into five subjects. The first two subjects, offered in the first year, focus on future teachers' competences in Catalan, Spanish, English and French. The other three subjects, offered in the second and third years of the degree, lay the foundations for language and literature education in schools. The contents and structure of these five subjects have evolved over time to adjust to the changing realities and needs of schools.

The current design of the fifth subject, School Language Projects and Plurilingualism, is the result of the collaborative work of the present teaching team, but it is built on the foundational efforts of Dr. **Luci Nussbaum,** lead researcher of the Research Group for Education, Interaction, and Plurilingualism (*Grup de Recerca en Ensenyament, Interacció i Plurilingüisme* or GREIP in Catalan) at the time when the degree was created, and Dr. **Artur Noguerol**, an active GREIP member. All the current course teachers are also members of GREIP. The group was established in the late 1990s with the goal of bridging research on plurilingual education and pre-service and in-service teacher education in Catalonia. GREIP carries out classroom research in close collaboration with in-service teachers with the objective of fostering innovation in language teaching through pluralistic and inclusive approaches to language education.

The subject is structured around **five teaching units**, each corresponding to one of the subject's specific aims. The chapters of this book are linked to the contents of these five teaching units. Chapter 1 —**Society, languages and schools**— explores the concept of 'language' and linguistic diversity on both a global and local scale. It also addresses language ideologies, presents the principles of multilingual education, analyses international models of language management in schools, and examines how linguistic diversity manifests in Catalan educational settings. Chapter 2 —**Plurilingual competence**— defines what it means to be a plurilingual speaker and introduces the concepts of plurilingual competence and linguistic repertoire. The chapter also introduces key terms for understanding how plurilingualism relates to language learning and discusses strategies for offering linguistic support to students with different language backgrounds. Chapter 3 —**School**

Language Projects— examines educational policies in Catalonia by outlining the history and principles of the current language model. The chapter then proposes ways to incorporate these principles into schools' policy documents (the PLC in the case of Catalonia) and presents four pluralistic approaches to languages and cultures. Special attention is paid in this regard to the integrated didactic approach to languages. Chapter 4 —**Teaching, learning and assessing additional languages**— describes the most significant theories of language and language learning, explores the concept of communicative competence and presents the premises of the communicative approach to language teaching. The chapter also introduces project-based learning, task-based learning and assessment. Finally, chapter 5 —**Communication in the language classroom**— presents the concept of interactional competence and focuses on classroom interaction between teachers and students, as well as among students. This chapter highlights how plurilingual communication in the classroom may facilitate the learning of new languages.

The conversations that have led to this book were made possible thanks to the authors' participation in the I+D+i project PID2020-115446RJ-I00, funded by MICIU/AEI/10.13039/501100011033, and the GREIP group, funded by AGAUR as a Consolidated Research Group (2021: SGR 00084).

1. Society, languages and school

We live in a globalised world in which languages and people interrelate. To teach languages, we need to understand global and local sociolinguistic realities. In this chapter, we present some key ideas regarding the relationship between society, languages and school. In the first section, we focus on the concept of 'language' and on linguistic diversity. In the second and third sections, we reflect on how languages and varieties are categorised and hierarchised, and we explore the underpinnings of these categorisations and hierarchies. In the fourth section, we present the basic principles of plurilingual education and describe different models for managing linguistic diversity in schools that exist around the world. Finally, we put the spotlight on the linguistic diversity of schools in Catalonia.

1.1. Linguistic diversity around the globe

Approximately 7000 languages are spoken across the globe. Only a small number of these languages are considered **global languages** because they are spoken by millions of people. This is the case of Mandarin Chinese, English, Spanish or Hindi. Other languages are spoken by far fewer people. Different languages and their varieties coexist in the same territory. For example, more than 800 **autochthonous languages** are spoken in Papua New Guinea, more than 700 are spoken in Indonesia, and more than 500 are spoken in Nigeria. European states are also multilingual in nature, since throughout history different languages have been spoken in their territories. For example, the UK is the traditional home of several living languages, including Anglo-Roman, Cornish, English, Irish, Scottish, Scottish Gaelic, Shelta, Welsh and three sign languages.

Linguistic diversity is a treasure shared by humanity, but languages are quickly disappearing. Almost half of the languages estimated to be spoken in the world today are in **danger of extinction**. In fact, it is said that a language is lost every two weeks. Thus, it is believed that more than half of the languages that are living today will have disappeared by the end of this century. This is evidence of a trend towards **linguistic homogenisation**. According to Tuson (2010):

> *Si algún día todos los actuales sapiens hablamos una sola lengua, la misma, y de la misma manera, perteneceremos a otra especie que no sabrá qué es la personalidad individual y la diversidad. Es decir: si las lenguas y sus modalidades de uso representan diferentes maneras de ver y de estar en el mundo, la reducción que supone el monolingüismo supondría, también, un empobrecimiento tan radical que nos convertiría en algo diferente de lo que ahora mismo somos. Y nada nos garantiza que el resultado sería mejor de lo que ya conocemos.* (p. 10)

> If one day all living Sapiens speak one language, the same language, and in the same way, we will belong to another species that will not know what individual personalities and diversity are. Thus, if languages and their modes of use represent different ways of seeing and being in the world, the reduction that monolingualism supposes would also mean such a radical impoverishment that it would turn us into something different from what we are now. And there is no guarantee that the result would be better than what we already know. (p. 10)

In this quote, Tuson relates linguistic diversity with the **biodiversity** and **sustainability** of the planet. According to this vision, the disappearance of linguistic diversity would lead to the disappearance of ways of understanding and being in the world; that is, it would imply social and cultural impoverishment. When a language disappears, we also lose the language of a people, their collective memory and a vision of the world, including knowledge, cultural traditions, stories and legends.

In many cases, the disappearance of languages —referred to by Skutnabb Kangas (2005) as **linguistic genocide**— is caused by globalisation and the expansion of **hegemonic languages**, such as English or Spanish. But this is not the only reason for language loss. The survival of languages depends on several factors, including the number of speakers, intergenerational language transmission (see section 1.5), institutional support, the perception of the utility of languages, their presence in the media and new technologies, speakers' feelings of loyalty, identity, and shared linguistic awareness.

When discussing linguistic diversity, it is also important to consider the **concept of 'language'** itself (see also chapter 4). Languages are grouped into **language families**. A language family is a group of languages derived from another older language. For example, most languages historically found in Europe come from a language called Indo-European. Basque, Finnish, Estonian, Hungarian, Maltese, Turkish, Georgian and Sami languages would be some of the exceptions to this generalisation. Within the Indo-European language family there are sub-families. These include Germanic languages, Romance languages, the Greek language, Celtic languages and Balto-Slavic languages, among others. Languages from the same language family share a certain degree of mutual intelligibility. That is, their speakers can draw on intercomprehension skills (see chapter 2) and can learn to understand each other when speaking their own languages. Catalan and Spanish are two of the languages belonging to the Romance language family and they are intercomprehensible for many people. Speakers of Catalan and Spanish can often also understand speakers of French, Italian, Portuguese or Romanian to some degree because the languages all originate from Latin and share common features.

Although we began this section by stating that approximately 7000 languages are spoken in the world, it is difficult to set an exact figure. There are no universal criteria that would allow us to determine whether two ways of communicating that share a certain degree of mutual intelligibility should be considered two different languages or varieties of the same language. For example, Galician and Portuguese are Romance languages that come from a medieval language called Galician-Portuguese, which then evolved differently in Galicia and Portugal. For this reason, some people consider Galician and Portuguese to be two languages, and others consider them to be two varieties of the same language. The concept of **variety** is used to recognise that within the same language there are different ways of speaking.

Varieties within a language are classified according to geographical, social, and situational criteria. For example, the **diatopic varieties** (geographical) of Catalan are grouped into two large blocks: Eastern Catalan and Western Catalan. Within the first block we find Northern Catalan, South-Eastern Catalan, Balearic and Algherese. Within the second block, we find North-Western Catalan and Valencian. Diatopic varieties can have sub-varieties. For example, the Balearic variety includes Majorcan, Menorcan and Ibizan. On the other hand, **diastratic varieties** (social) reflect differences between social groups. For example, the argots or ways of speaking used by people who live in certain neighbourhoods, or by certain professionals, or among young people, would be diastratic varieties. Finally, **diaphasic varieties** (situational) refer to the registers of the same language used in different communicative situations, according to the topic or degree of formality. For example, teachers tend to use a more formal academic register when teaching, but they usually do not use that same register with friends.

Traditionally, diatopic varieties have been called **dialects**. However, the concept of dialect is related to the notion of **standard language**. Varieties considered to be the standard enjoy greater prestige than those considered to be dialects. Many communities of speakers of non-standard varieties have historically suffered the consequences of **standardisation** processes. Sometimes, standard varieties have been constructed by prioritising a specific variety over others (this would be the case of standard French or Spanish). Other times, standard languages have been based on one variety but have included traits of other varieties (this would be the case of standard German or Catalan). Using the concept of variety implies recognising that, under the same conditions (political, economic, etc.), any language variety could have the same status as any other.

The presence of many languages and varieties within a territory often makes it necessary for citizens to choose a common language to communicate. This common language is called a **lingua franca**. Sometimes even people who share the same language may need to use a lingua franca or the standard variety, since not all varieties of a language are intercomprehensible. This is the case of Arabic, for example. It is difficult for people who speak eastern varieties of Arabic to follow a conversation in a western variety of Arabic. Today, English is the most widely used lingua franca, but it is not the only one, nor has it always been this way. Although **language choice** is individual in nature, it is also determined by the rules that operate in each **community of practice**, and each group creates its own, not always explicit, rules about which languages are legitimate and how they are used. Take, for example, the case of the Ivory Coast **diaspora** in Catalonia. Approximately eighty languages are spoken in Ivory Coast. Therefore, it is likely that not all people in Catalonia who come from Ivory Coast can understand each other using the languages they spoke in their country of origin. If they have not been schooled in Ivory Coast, they may not speak French, the lingua franca that is taught in schools there. People from Ivory Coast living in Catalonia sometimes choose to use Catalan among each other, and this language of their new country is thus a lingua franca for them.

1.2. The status of languages

In multilingual states, some languages are afforded special legal status and are considered **official** throughout a whole territory or part of it, but others are not. In Spain, as we discuss further in chapter 3, the Constitution declares that Spanish is the official language of the whole state. In territories where other languages are spoken, the Constitution states that these languages can share **co-official** status with Spanish if this is legislated in the so-called statutes of autonomy of those territories. Several rulings by the Spanish Constitutional Court allow autonomous regions with their **own languages** to decide on the degree of co-officiality of these languages with Spanish, what this co-officiality implies, and to implement measures to promote the **normalisation** of these languages through different **language policy** or language normalisation laws. There are currently six autonomous communities in Spain that have legislated for the co-official status of Spanish alongside other languages within their territories (see Figure 1.1).

Statutes of autonomy that establish the co-official status of Spanish with other languages within the territory	Languages that are co-official with Spanish
Catalonia	Aranese Catalan
Valencia	Valencian (Catalan)
Galicia	Galician
Balearic Islands	Catalan
Navarra	Basque
Basque Country	Basque

Figure 1.1. Languages which are co-official in different territories of Spain

Unfortunately, not all languages historically rooted in a territory enjoy official status. The fact that some languages are not official means that not all citizens are guaranteed the same **linguistic rights**. In Spain, for example, Asturian in Asturias, Aragonese and Catalan in Aragon, Guanche in the Canary Islands, Arabic in Celta and Melilla, the different sign languages, or Romani spoken by Roma communities, among other languages, are not official.

As Moreno Cabrera (2015) explains, dominant or **majority languages** –which are oftentimes also the languages adopted by nation-states as official languages– are usually imposed on all citizens. People who speak the language(s) of the nation-state as their own may choose not to learn the other language(s) spoken in the territory. However, everybody is obliged to learn the official one(s). The autochthonous languages of territories that are bilingualised are called **minoritised languages**. Often, these languages undergo a process of territorial and social loss that leads to a reduction both in the number of speakers, and in the breadth, frequency, and intensity of their use. The process of minoritisation of a language has many implications for the speakers of that language. One of the implications is that people who speak the minoritised language cannot live their lives normally; that is, using their language in all the different situations of their daily lives. In these cases, **diglossia** (Ferguson, 1959; Fishman, 1967) may occur, which means that there is a language or variety that is considered prestigious that is used in most contexts, and another language or variety that is not considered prestigious that loses domains of use.

It is important not to confuse minoritised languages with **minority languages**. Minority languages, unlike hegemonic languages, have relatively few speakers. For example, Finnish, with almost 5.5 million speakers, is considered a minority language; but it is not minoritised because in the territory where it is spoken it enjoys vitality and is valued. Catalan has approximately twice as many speakers as Finnish and is also considered a minority language. However, Catalan is also minoritised in most territories where it is traditionally spoken.

Around the world, because of globalisation, economic migration, armed conflicts, tourism, academic mobility and other phenomena, autochthonous languages coexist with others in the territories where they are spoken. In Catalonia, according to the *Grup d'Estudi de Llengües Amenaçades* (GELA), more than 300 languages and varieties are spoken, including **sign languages**. Many of them are minority and minoritised languages within Catalonia, although they may be official and dominant in their original territories. As Nussbaum (2005) explains, these languages, like Catalan and Spanish, are not homogeneously distributed throughout the whole territory. **Variable geometries** of multilingualism therefore exist in which languages cohabit in different ways in social spaces and practices. For example, according to recent surveys in the city of Barcelona, Gràcia is the only district where Catalan is the predominant everyday language, while Nou Barris has the highest number of residents who primarily use Spanish. On the other hand, the Raval neighbourhood, located in the Ciutat Vella district, stands out as the most linguistically diverse area, whereas the Pedralbes and Sarrià neighbourhoods, located in the Sarrià-Sant Gervasi district, show the lowest levels of cultural and linguistic diversity.

1.3. Language stereotypes, prejudices, and ideologies

Many ideas (or myths) circulate about languages. One of the most common ones is the idea that languages that are more widely spoken are more useful because they allow communication with more people. Another common myth is that nations should have a single common language, since diversity represents a threat, chaos and division. Another common belief is that the ideal speaker of a language is the so-called native speaker (see chapters 2 and 4). Behind these ideas we find stereotypes, prejudices and ideologies.

Stereotypes exist in all social groups and are neither negative nor positive in themselves. They occur when certain characteristics of some members of a group are generalised and attributed to all members of the same group. For example, to claim that the Swiss are punctual is a stereotype. The same goes for languages. For example, saying that learning German is difficult, or that learning English is easy, are stereotypical ideas about languages. **Prejudices** are stereotypical, exaggerated representations based on the abusive generalisation of some traits of a social group. Prejudices overestimate one's own group and devalue other groups. For example, those who speak certain less socially valued language varieties may have negative labels attached to them (being of low social class, not being cultured, being from somewhere else). Likewise, the language skills of people with certain physical, ethnic, racial or gender traits might be prejudged. Behind stereotypes and prejudices, we find assumptions or beliefs about languages and their varieties, their speakers and their uses. These assumptions or beliefs have moral and political loadings and may be referred to using

the notion of **language ideologies**. Language ideologies can be explicit and verbalised, or implicit and underlying social and institutional practices.

In Catalonia, Woolard's (2005) work on language ideologies is particularly relevant to understand the so-called historical 'conflict' between Catalan and Spanish. Woolard identifies two ideologies: the ideology of authenticity and the ideology of anonymity. **Authenticity** is an ideological construct to which many minority languages owe their survival. It underlies the idea that Catalan is the language of the Catalan people, the language of a specific territory. Indeed, the designation of Catalan as the 'own' language of Catalonia in the Statute of Autonomy and in different language policies promoted by the Catalan government (see chapter 3) is linked to the local and national identity values of the language. On the other hand, Woolard (2005) has also pointed out that hegemonic languages —such as Spanish or English— sustain their authority thanks to an ideology of **anonymity**. These languages are constructed as not belonging to any particular group of speakers and, therefore, are considered universal and neutral. In the process of normalisation and institutionalisation of Catalan over the past several decades, the aim has been to harmonise these two conflicting ideologies —authenticity and anonymity— to make Catalan a neutral and public language, accessible to everyone, regardless of linguistic origins, while it also continues being an identifying trait of the territory.

Woolard's work focused on understanding the tensions between Catalan and Spanish at a significant time in recent history. However, the arrival of people from all over the world since the end of the 20th century has moved the focus towards so-called **new speakers** of Catalan (see, for example, Pujolar and Puigdevall, 2015) and their role in the use and maintenance of the language. A dichotomous view of Catalan versus Spanish is no longer enough to interpret current linguistic diversity in Catalonia. For example, a person might identify themselves as speaking Catalan, Spanish, or other languages, without buying into specific identity traits or making judgements about the usefulness of languages.

1.4. Models of language education in contexts of diversity

The European policies developed both in the *Common European framework of reference for languages: Teaching, learning and assessment* (CEFR, Council of Europe, 2001, 2018) and in various recommendations from the Council of Europe regarding plurilingualism and education have been clearly influential in defining local and regional language education policies on the continent. The Council of Europe recognises that language education in European nations must follow a plurilingual approach. According to the CEFR:

> In recent years, the concept of **plurilingualism** has grown in importance in the Council of Europe's approach to language learning. Plurilingualism differs from **multilingualism**, which is the knowledge of a number of languages, or the co-existence of different languages in a given society. Multilingualism may be attained by simply diversifying the languages on offer in a particular school or educational system, or by encouraging pupils to learn more than one foreign language, or reducing the dominant position of English in international communication. Beyond this, the **plurilingual approach** emphasises the fact that as an individual person's experience of language in its cultural contexts expands, from the language of the home to that of society at large and then to the languages of other peoples (whether learnt at school or college, or by direct experience), he or she does not keep these languages and cultures in strictly separated mental compartments, but rather builds up a communicative competence to which all knowledge and experience of language contributes and in which languages interrelate and interact. (Council of Europe, 2001, p. 22)

A plurilingual approach to education aims at supporting students to be and become plurilingual. In chapter 3, we will see how this plurilingual model in Catalonia can be implemented in school language policies that link curricular languages and students' other languages. However, it should be borne in mind that sometimes the term plurilingualism is used in ways that conflict with the ideas we present in this book. For example, in the context of Catalonia, some people only refer to plurilingualism when celebrating the incorporation of hegemonic languages such as English, French or Mandarin Chinese in elite schools. Others use the concept

of plurilingualism erroneously to justify the application of fixed percentages when calculating the number hours students should be taught in one language or another, disregarding minoritised languages and those brought by newcomers, and ignoring the specificities of educational systems that need to guarantee the transmission and use of minoritised languages.

At the international level, several models have been proposed to critically analyse the different ways of responding to linguistic diversity in education systems. García (2009), based on an earlier model by Lambert (1973), identifies three language education approaches according to the impact they have on the linguistic repertoires of students: subtractive, additive, and dynamic (see Figure 1.2). These three ways of managing linguistic diversity in schools pursue different objectives. On the one hand, **subtractive approaches** aim to replace students' heritage languages with the language or languages of schools. An example of this approach was experienced in Catalonia during the Franco dictatorship, when children who spoke languages other than Spanish at home could not use them at school or in other public domains. García (2009) represents this approach with the image of an upside-down monocycle that schools aim to fix by setting it upright. **Additive approaches** aim to add the languages taught at school to those spoken by students at home. García (2009) represents this approach as a bicycle with wheels which are all the same size, which always rotate in the same direction, and which always go at the same pace. Students are expected to achieve linguistic competences that resemble **parallel monolingualisms**, using a term proposed by Heller (1999). Finally, **dynamic approaches** are represented by García (2009) as an all-terrain vehicle, with wheels that turn in different directions and adapt to the environment to reach their destination. Dynamic approaches are based on a holistic view of students' linguistic repertoires as an integrated set of resources and aim for students to acquire plurilingual competence (see chapter 2).

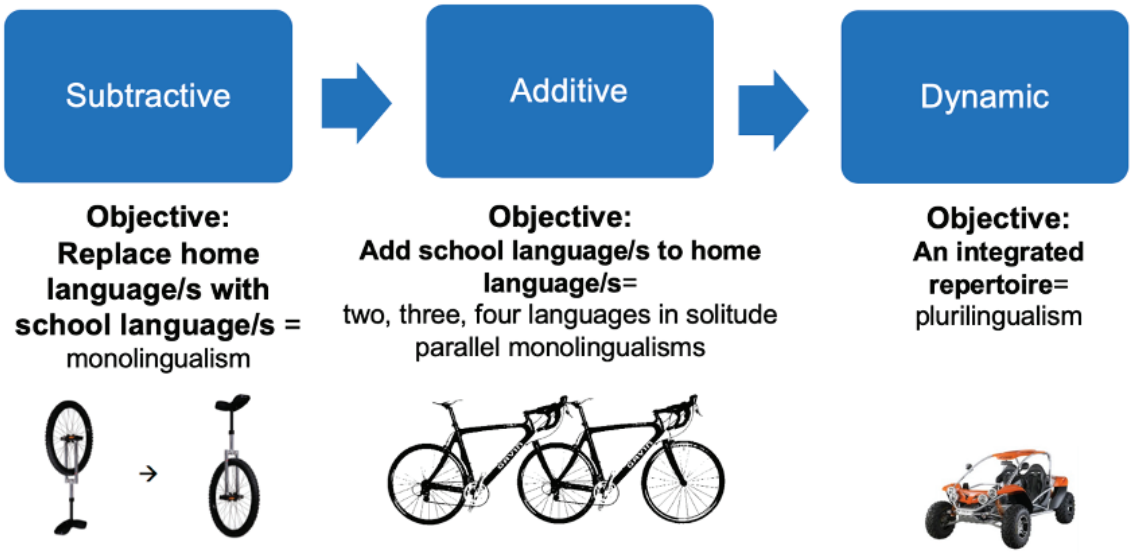

Figure 1.2. Subtractive, additive, and dynamic approaches (based on Lambert, 1973 and Garcia, 2009)

Baker (2011) proposes another classification of the different models of language education in contexts of diversity, which we summarise in Figure 1.3:

Objectives	Example
Promote language competences that enhance people's employability and social status. Allow communication in a globalised context.	Teaching global languages
Unite a multilingual society. Preserve minority or minoritised linguistic and cultural identities. Provide equal status in educational institutions to languages that have an unequal status in society.	Immersion in minority or minoritised languages
Strengthen powerful groups and preserve their privileged position in society. Assimilate people with minority languages into a dominant language and culture.	Submersion in majority languages

Figure 1.3. Objectives and examples of language education in contexts of diversity (adapted from Baker, 2011)

The first set of objectives in Figure 1.3 are usually associated with the teaching and learning of languages considered to be global ones, as in the case of English or French in the Catalan education system. The second set of objectives refers to the maintenance of minority or minoritised languages and cultures. This would be the case, for example, of the **immersion** model using Catalan and Aranese (in the Aran Valley) in Catalan schools (see chapter 3). The third set of objectives refers to **submersion** models. Unlike immersion, which by definition should include the necessary support to ensure students learn both the majority and minority/minoritised languages, submersion is not based on inclusive principles. In English, the metaphor of 'sink or swim' is used to describe how in these types of schools a minority of linguistically diverse students attain educational success, while the vast majority fail to do so.

These first two sets of objectives in Baker's (2011) model would fit within the additive or dynamic approaches identified by García (2009), depending on how they are put into practice in schools. The third set of objectives in Baker's model (2011), however, refers to subtractive approaches – that is, the objective is not to maintain and expand people's plurilingual repertoires, but to favour speakers of majority languages, while threatening the linguistic diversity of people, schools and society.

Considering many of the issues raised by the models presented so far and adding some new considerations, Idiazabal and Dolz (2013) propose a set of factors that can be considered when comparing different language education models:

1. The sociolinguistic and political situation of the languages being taught and learnt.
2. The objectives of the school system: plurilingualism in different languages, or monolingualism in a dominant language.
3. The compulsory or elective nature of the language education model and the involvement of families in choosing the model for their children (for example, in the Basque Country families can choose between three school language models, while in Catalonia there is a single language model in public schools).
4. The linguistic repertoires of students and their families.
5. The formalisation of the model in schools' language projects or policies (for example, the number of hours spent on each language, or whether languages are taught in an integrated manner or not; see chapter 3).
6. The language competences among teaching staff.
7. The teaching methodologies used.

1.5. Sociolinguistic phenomena in Catalan schools

As we have indicated in section 1.2, more than 300 languages and varieties are currently used in Catalonia. Consequently, Catalan schools are linguistically and culturally diverse and a significant number of students have heritage languages different from Catalan and Spanish. Some of the languages spoken by the school population –apart from Spanish varieties from Spain and Catalan– are Latin American varieties of Spanish, Darija (Moroccan Arabic), Romanian, Berber or Tamazight, Punjabi and different varieties of Chinese. However, schools are not the only place where children use language. Children's and young people's **language uses** today are complex and **polycentric**; that is, they include several domains of use, including digital and analogue ones, in which different languages and varieties are employed. Likewise, within the same domain, language uses may vary depending on the person being addressed. Considering the complexity of students' language repertoires and their language uses, it is necessary to investigate the sociolinguistic reality of schools, especially when designing school language projects (see chapter 3). In schools we can observe language use both in **interactions** between people and in what is called the **linguistic landscape**; that is, the visual presence of languages in the environment. The way languages are used or displayed allows us to understand processes of language socialisation (see chapter 2) and the value given to languages and varieties in schools.

In this diverse context, Catalan (and Aranese in the Aran Valley) is the own language of Catalonia, and it is co-official along with Spanish. It continues to be both a minority and minoritised language, both because of the number of speakers who identify with it and because its use is reduced in certain places and domains. In order to compensate for this minoritised status, Catalan is the vehicular language in schools (see chapter 3). However, there are important differences with respect to classroom use in pre-school and primary education (where there is more use of Catalan) and in secondary education (where there is less), as well as between formal education (where there is more use of Catalan) and leisure spaces (where there is less). Although Catalan is the reference language in schools, Spanish is often the main one for language socialisation in non-formal contexts such as in the playground (see examples in Unamuno & Nussbaum, 2006).

Finally, recent sociolinguistic realities in the Catalan context have led to the emergence of new dynamics of **language transmission**. Traditionally it has been understood that languages are transmitted by adults to children. Recent studies in the Catalan context have shown, however, that children in migrant families sometimes transmit the Catalan language to their adult relatives (Llompart-Esbert, 2017). This transmission is done through **linguistic mediation** activities: for example, informal interpreting activities, called **language brokering,** or teaching activities such as giving informal classes or leading guided language practice. These practices force us to consider, among other aspects, the plurilingual competences (see chapter 2) that these students have, and which allow them to carry out interlinguistic mediation tasks for their families. In addition, these new practices are significant for the vitality of the Catalan language since, as we have seen in section 1.1, one of the conditions for the survival of a language is its transmission between generations.

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2. Plurilingual competence

Our society is multilingual and is home to plurilingual people who interact in different languages and varieties. Thus, we differentiate the terms plurilingualism and multilingualism. As we have seen in chapter 1, the *Common European framework of reference for languages: Learning, teaching, assessment* (Council of Europe, 2001, 2018) refers to plurilingualism as people's ability to speak different languages and varieties. In contrast, multilingualism refers to the presence of more than one language in a specific context (a country, a city, a school). In a supposedly monolingual country, there will undoubtedly be plurilingual individuals, just as in a multilingual city there will be people who know only one language.

In this chapter we present some key ideas regarding the competences of plurilingual people. In the first section, we describe the concept of plurilingual competence and refer to the notion of linguistic repertoire. In the second section, we introduce some basic terms to describe plurilingual uses and language learning. Finally, we present some key ideas for providing linguistic support to students who are newcomers to schools.

2.1. The linguistic repertoire of plurilingual people

Plurilingual people have a competence, called **plurilingual competence**, which is unique and different from the linguistic competences of monolingual people. As Lüdi and Py (2009) and Nussbaum (2014), among others, explain, this holistic competence cannot be understood by observing people's competences in different languages in isolation. Furthermore, it is not static, but rather it is transformed as people participate in communicative activities. Finally, plurilingual competence facilitates the process of acquiring new language knowledge and skills. As the Catalan school curriculum (*Decret 175/2022*) defines it:

> *La competència plurilingüe implica utilitzar diferents llengües, orals o signades, de manera apropiada i eficaç per a l'aprenentatge i la comunicació. Aquesta competència suposa reconèixer i respectar els perfils lingüístics individuals i aprofitar les experiències pròpies per desenvolupar estratègies que permetin intervenir i fer transferències entre llengües, incloses les clàssiques, i, si escau, mantenir i adquirir destreses en la llengua o llengües familiars i en les llengües oficials. Integra, així mateix, dimensions històriques i interculturals orientades a conèixer, valorar i respectar la diversitat lingüística i cultural de la societat amb l'objectiu de fomentar la convivència democràtica.* (p. 37)

> Plurilingual competence involves using different languages, spoken or signed, in an appropriate and effective way for learning and communication. This competence involves recognising and respecting individual linguistic profiles and taking advantage of one's own experiences to develop strategies that allow participation and transfers between languages, including classical ones, and, where applicable, to maintain and acquire skills in heritage languages and in official languages. It also integrates historical and intercultural dimensions aimed at knowing, valuing, and respecting the linguistic and cultural diversity of society with the aim of promoting democratic coexistence. (p. 37)

In other words, plurilingual competence is the set of knowledge, skills and attitudes that allows a person to mobilise the resources that make up their linguistic repertoire to communicate and to learn. The **repertoire**, a concept proposed by Gumperz (1964), is the set of communicative resources available to an individual, including the languages and varieties that they know and can use, regardless of their level of mastery. Adopting a plurilingual approach means we need to abandon the traditional notion of (monolingual) linguistic competence, or the idea of parallel monolingualisms (see chapter 1) in the case of people who know more than one language, and understand that speakers can develop advanced or **partial competences** in their different languages and varieties (Council of Europe, 2001). Having advanced competence means displaying a high level of command of the language, enabling individuals to participate in a wide range of communicative situations mainly using just that language. On the other hand, having partial competences does not presuppose a broad command of a language, but can refer to the ability to carry out certain communicative actions (and not others) in that language, or simply to recognise it, orally or in writing. In other words, people can transfer knowledge from one language to another and thus develop partial competences in that other language. If we think of Romance languages, for example, a person who knows Catalan can understand a text in Portuguese quite well, because these languages are from the same family and knowledge from one language can be transferred to the other. This particular capacity, known as **intercomprehension** (a concept already introduced in chapter 1), is not limited to languages from the same family. We can also deploy our partial competences to understand more distant languages, albeit at a very basic level.

Another skill that plurilingual people can mobilise is mediation. Language mediation, a concept we have also seen in chapter 1, refers to the discursive activities that facilitate communication between people, or access to information. For example, explaining a complex concept in simple language to make it more accessible to children is an **intralinguistic mediation** activity. Reading a text in one language and explaining it in another language is an **interlinguistic mediation** activity. Translation and interpreting, including language brokering (see chapter 1), are also interlinguistic mediation activities.

There is a tendency to describe people's linguistic repertoires by trying to classify the languages or varieties that are part of them; for example, by labelling languages as first, second, mother-tongue, native, and so on. However, for many plurilingual people, these classifications are problematic since the terms are too simplistic or do not adequately reflect the processes of **language socialisation** (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986) they have experienced. That is, they do not explain how people learn their languages through interaction with other people throughout their lives. Language socialisation is the process through which people acquire the language skills and social norms necessary to participate effectively in a community. This process involves not only learning one or more languages but also understanding how to use those languages in different social, cultural and situational contexts. Certain classifications of the languages in a person's repertoire are based on a monolingual view of socialisation processes. For example, the notion of mother-tongue, in the singular, can be problematic. For many people, due to their process of language socialisation, it is difficult to determine what this language or variety would be. Is it the first one they spoke, the one that their mother taught them, the one they learnt at school, the one they speak to their children? The diversity of individual experiences of language forces us to rethink some taken-for-granted concepts when talking about plurilingual people and their repertoires (see also chapters 1 and 4).

2.2. Plurilingual uses and language learning

By participating in concrete social practices, people develop and mobilise their plurilingual competence and, therefore, the resources they have in their language repertoire. On the one hand, plurilingual speakers can use their different languages or varieties alternately, in what is called **code-switching**. Code-switching is always perceptible as such by the people participating in an interaction and offers indications of a discourse-related or participant-related action (Auer, 1999). For example, plurilingual people can code-switch to quote someone else's words literally, to make a joke, or to emphasise words (i.e. discourse-related code-switching). Or, in an English as a Foreign Language class, students might use one language to perform a task in pairs, and another language to talk about how to do the task with the same partner. Code-switching can also be

indexical of the language skills of the person speaking or of the person being addressed, or of their language preferences or desire to comply with a norm (i.e. participant-related code-switching). For example, in classrooms, students might address teachers in a language other than the one they use with their peers.

On the other hand, plurilingual speakers might use **code-mixing** (Auer, 1999). For example, when interacting in one language (i.e. unilingual mode, see later in this section), plurilingual people often use resources that from a purely linguistic perspective belong to another language (for example, saying "*bueno*", a word that for a linguistic purist would be Spanish, when speaking in Catalan). However, these practices are often not perceived as a change of code (i.e. code-switching) by the people who are interacting; therefore, we cannot analyse them as if they were. In these cases, the medium of communication is a code that is linguistically hybrid. This is also typical of language learning situations, when learners invent structures or words based on the knowledge of the languages they have in their repertoire, allowing them to sustain conversations in the language they are learning. For example, a Spanish-speaking student might say *Navideit* when speaking English if they do not know the word *Christmas* (see chapter 5).

In recent years, the concept of **translanguaging** (García & Li, 2014) has been proposed to offer a holistic view of the repertoires and uses of plurilingual people. This concept refers to how plurilingual people carry out diverse activities that span different languages; for example, watching a movie in one language while following the subtitles in another, or representing a poem through a drawing. This concept considers oral and written language uses, digital practices, artistic expression, body language, and so on. Some of these practices might also be described as code-switching, code-mixing or linguistic mediation, concepts we have already visited in this chapter.

Often, people who communicate have similar linguistic competences and do not identify linguistic obstacles in their interaction. This situation is referred to as **endolingual communication**. However, when interlocutors have asymmetrical competences and this is noticeable in their interaction, the situation is referred to as **exolingual communication** (Porquier, 1984). This would be the case of a conversation between a teacher and a learner of a language. Learners often resort to the linguistic resources they have already acquired, participating in interactions in **plurilingual mode** (i.e. using more than one language or variety, for example through code-switching). As their knowledge of the new language expands, they reduce their dependence on the use of plurilingual resources and can orient towards a **unilingual mode** (i.e. using just one language or variety, possibly with code-mixing). This does not mean that they also stop interacting plurilingually in their everyday lives, but that interacting plurilingually becomes an option (endolingual situation) and not a necessity (exolingual situation).

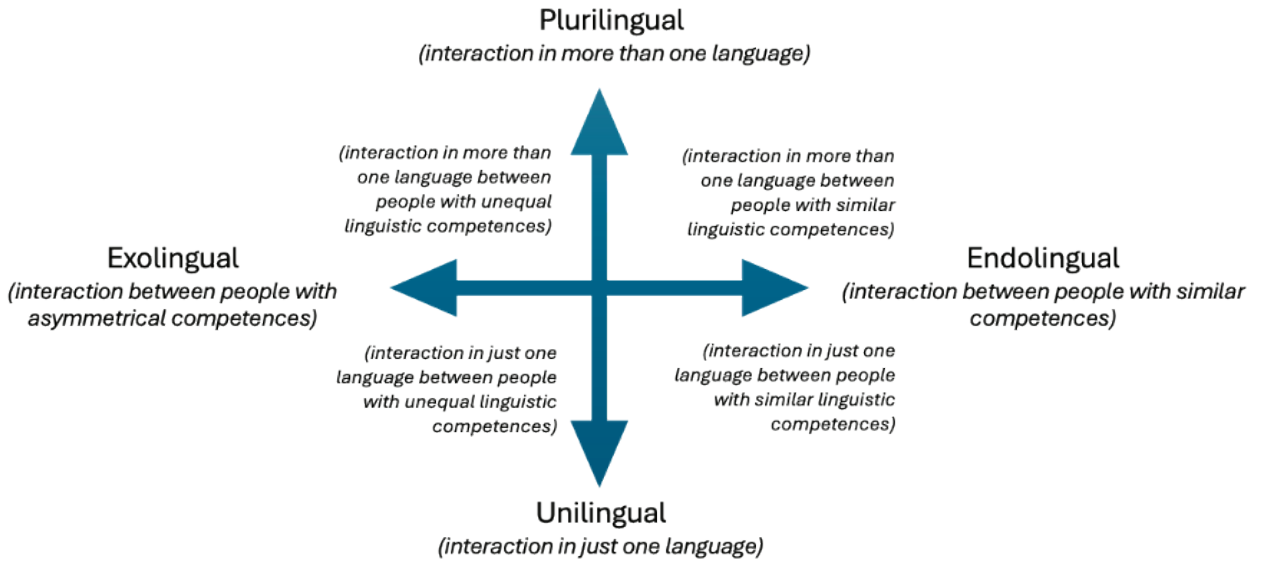

Figure 2.1. Interactional modes used by plurilingual people (adapted from Alber & Py, 1985)

Let's see the example below, from a 5th grade English as a Foreign Language classroom in Catalonia. Raquel (RAQ) –a local girl– and Kamal (KAM) –a boy originally from Morocco who had lived in Catalonia for four years at the time of the research– carry out a task in English that requires them to find differences between two pictures.

```
01 RAQ   no(.)míralo(1)two differences
02 KAM   two
03   (5)
04 RAQ   habla tú(.) alguna vez venga(.)
05 KAM   tú(.)tú(.)
06 RAQ   pero
07   (2)
08 KAM   vale(.)banana is in the basket(.)
09 RAQ   yes
10   (2)
11 RAQ   leder is in- detrá- detrás del del vendedor(.) ladder
```

The fragment is clearly an example of an exolingual situation as the children have difficulties performing the task only in English. That is why they resort to their plurilingual repertoires. For example, in line 4 Raquel code-switches to assign her partner a turn-at-talk. She also uses Spanish to scaffold her own participation in the task. For example, in line 11, she mixes Spanish and English to formulate her utterance. The mode of interaction is therefore exolingual-plurilingual.

Different studies have researched the strategies or **procedures** that language learners mobilise when confronted with **communication obstacles**, which are intrinsic to exolingual situations. Bange's (1992) model groups these procedures into three categories: **abandonment**, **substitution**, and **execution**. In the first case, in the face of a communicative difficulty, people abandon what they wanted to express and say something else or change the topic. This procedure is the least favourable for both communication and learning. In the second case, when faced with a communication problem, for example an unknown word, speakers can resort to other codes (code-switching, code mixing, etc.) or semiotic systems (gesture, image, etc.), or they can seek the help of another person to find the word they are looking for. Substitution is more favourable for communication and learning than abandonment, but not as favourable as execution. The latter category includes inventing words, for example based on the other languages that the learner knows, and seeking help from others to create phrases together (**co-enunciation**). While substitution procedures often involve interaction in plurilingual mode, execution procedures usually imply interaction in unilingual mode.

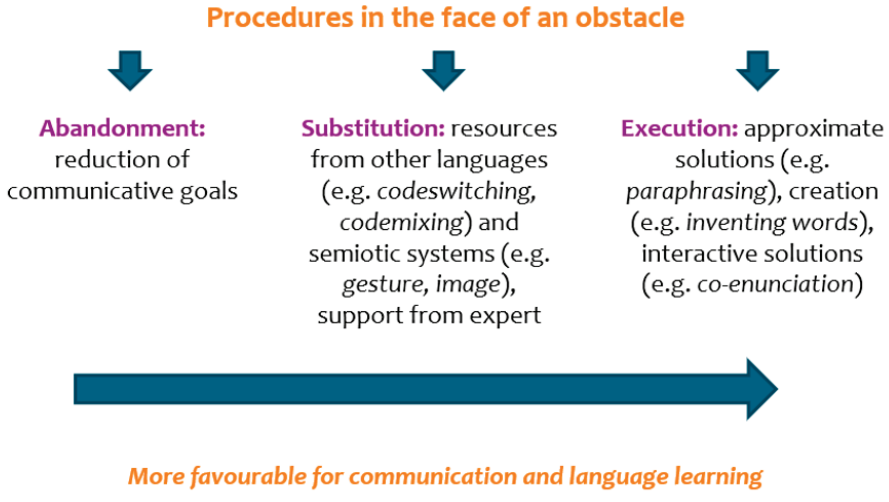

Figure 2.2. Procedures for managing communication obstacles (adapted from Bange, 1992)

In line with the preceding discussion, learners should be allowed to use all the languages that make up their repertoires when they need **scaffolding** to develop new competences in the language they are learning (see chapter 5). In the early stages of learning a new language, which are exolingual-plurilingual situations, learners basically manage activities in the languages they already know, inserting some simple words or phrases in what they are trying to say in the new language. As teachers, we can encourage them to avoid abandoning communication and to overcome communicative obstacles by resorting to substitution (e.g. asking for help) and execution procedures (e.g. the creation of words based on hypotheses about how the language they are learning works). As they learn more, learners can communicate in increasingly endolingual-unilingual modes of interaction. As teachers, we can guide them to use the new language to manage activities and to overcome communicative obstacles through creation, paraphrasing or co-enunciation (execution procedures) or by trying other ways to communicate in the language they are learning.

2.3. Language support in inclusive classrooms

Current sociolinguistic realities of schools in Catalonia, together with plurilingual conceptions of language use and learning, have led to two main educational changes: the incorporation of plurilingual competence as one that all students need to develop, and the provision of specific support for students who require it for learning the vehicular language (Catalan). The development of students' plurilingual competence is promoted, at the European level, in European framework documents – including the *Common European framework of reference for languages: Teaching, learning and assessment* (Council of Europe, 2001, 2018) and the *Framework of reference for pluralistic approaches to languages and cultures* (FREPA/CARAP, Candelier et al., 2012, see chapter 3) – and in different recommendations from the Council of Europe. These frameworks and recommendations have been transferred, at the local level, into the document entitled *Language model of the Catalan educational system: Language learning and use in a multilingual and multicultural educational environment* (Departament d'Ensenyament, 2018) and into the Catalan school curriculum (*Decret 175/2022*) which explicitly states that teachers must facilitate students' acquisition of plurilingual competence.

Furthermore, the decree on inclusive education (*Decret 150/2017*) establishes there is also a need to support students who require specific language assistance to participate in mainstream classrooms. So-called **welcome classrooms** (*aules d'acollida* in Catalan) are offered to meet the needs of newly arrived students when they first join the Catalan education system. According to the Department of Education (Departament d'Ensenyament, 2018), these transitional pull-out classrooms have the following purposes: to offer individualised support, attend to emotional aspects of migration, ensure that newly arrived students achieve conversational skills in Catalan (level A2), and facilitate access to the curriculum. Welcome classrooms are intended for students who meet the following criteria: they are enrolled in the second or third cycle of primary school (i.e. grade 3 onwards) or secondary school, they have joined the Catalan education system in the previous 24 months, they need specific curricular adaptations, and they do not speak Catalan. Newly arrived students should not spend all their schooling hours in the welcome classroom in any case; they may spend up to half of their weekly lesson time there. In addition, the hours spent in this classroom must decrease as the student progresses in their learning, and it is recommended that students receive this pull-out support for no more than two years. However, students who are learning the language(s) of their school usually need language support for longer than this. Thus, the Department of Education, within the framework of the **Universal Design for Learning (UDL),** proposes strategies and resources for providing **Linguistic and Social Support** (*Suport Lingüístic i Social* in Catalan) for students who require it (Departament d'Ensenyament, 2016).

Teachers must employ different strategies to ensure the linguistic inclusion of all students at various moments: before they join the class, when they join the class, and throughout the school year. As Dooly and Vallejo (2019) explain, before newcomers join the class, it is important to inform their peers about the child's arrival and promote constructive dialogue to overcome prejudices relating to their linguistic and cultural background, if any are detected. Teachers and students can also learn about the language or languages spoken by the student and try to learn some words or sentences to welcome them. Once the newcomer has joined the

class, it is important to establish and support respectful relationships between students through discussion and dialogue and activities that help all students value linguistic and cultural diversity. Establishing a relationship with families is also key to welcoming new students, and this should happen on arrival and throughout the year.

The linguistic inclusion of students is, however, an ongoing process and should be materialised in different supportive actions. In line with the principles of UDL, five main measures should be implemented. First, adaptions should be made to materials (e.g. by including visual supports) and instructions (e.g. accompanying them with gestures and adapting one's voice) to make them accessible. Secondly, students should be grouped so they can support each other to develop language competences. Thirdly, students' interests and background should be taken into account, and cultural references should be diversified to include all students in the classroom. Fourthly, positive reinforcement at the beginning and at the end of classroom activities should be provided to help avoid frustration. Finally, it should be borne in mind that oral skills (i.e. speaking, understanding, and interacting) precede written skills (i.e. reading and writing) in the case of all children, but especially those who are learning a new language. In chapter 5, we will further consider the discursive and methodological adaptations that teachers should make to manage exolingual-plurilingual classrooms to allow students to develop competences to communicate in endolingual-unilingual situations.

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Annex

Transcription symbols used in this chapter

Pseudonym of speaker:	PAR:
Interruption:	text-
Timed pauses:	(number of seconds)
Untimed pauses:	(.)

3. School Language Projects

Implementing a plurilingual educational approach means understanding that all languages are a resource for participation and interaction in the classroom and for learning. The previous chapters have described plurilingual competence and the international frameworks that support plurilingual education. In this chapter we will focus on language education policies in Catalonia. Firstly, we set out the historical background and key principles of the Catalan school language model. Secondly, we reflect on how schools can implement this model in designing their School Language Project (*Projecte Lingüístic de Centre* or PLC in Catalan). Finally, we present the so-called pluralistic approaches to language teaching, with special reference to the integrated didactic approach to languages.

3.1. Background to the language education model in Catalonia

During Franco's dictatorship (1936-1975) the teaching of Catalan –as well as of other minority languages– was largely prohibited. From the 1960s and 1970s, minor concessions were made by the regime, and the teaching of these languages was allowed for a maximum of three hours per week. At that time, in Catalonia, some private schools run by cooperatives or groups of families decided to support students' learning of Catalan and to teach curricular content in Catalan. It should be borne in mind that during the 1960s, many Spanish-speaking people had migrated to Catalonia, resulting in a diglossic situation (see chapter 1). Diglossia means that one language or variety has high social value (Spanish in this case), and another language or variety is undervalued (Catalan in this case). This diglossia, as Nussbaum (2021) recalls, sparked a growing interest in sociolinguistics in Catalonia and gave rise to the scholarly field of **Catalan sociolinguistics.** Thanks to the work of these sociolinguists, the term **normalisation** was coined and began to circulate to highlight the importance of promoting the learning and use of the minoritised language.

At the end of the dictatorship, as Spain transitioned towards democracy, the Spanish Constitution was passed (in 1978). The Constitution established the political organisation of Spain into so-called autonomous communities and declared Spanish as the official language in the whole of Spain. The Constitution also allowed other languages to be declared co-official in the different autonomous communities if this was written into their different Statutes of Autonomy (see chapter 1). In Catalonia, the Statute of Autonomy (passed in 1979) grants co-officiality to Catalan, defines it as the own language of Catalonia and establishes some protection for Aranese, which is spoken in the Aran Valley. The Statute, together with the Catalan laws on linguistic normalisation (*Llei 7/1983*) and on language policy (*Llei 1/1998*), establishes that, as the own language of Catalonia, Catalan must be the **language of normal use** in most aspects of public life, including in public institutions. The legal status of Catalan as a vehicular language in preschool, primary school, secondary school and vocational training is regulated in the 1983 and 1998 language policy laws, and in various education decrees. For students who do not speak Catalan at home, a model known as **linguistic immersion** —based on the Canadian approach—was chosen. The idea was that intensive exposure to a language facilitates learning in a relatively short time. Nussbaum (2021) explains that the immersion model in Catalonia was first implemented following a broad social debate about whether there should be a single school model for all students, or whether students should be separated according to their home language or their families' language of preference –as is the case in the Basque Country or Navarra, where distinct

schooling models coexist. In Catalonia, a unified school model was adopted for all students and separating children into different schools or class groups on the grounds of language is not allowed. This unified model was possible because at that time in history three factors converged. Firstly, the home language of the non-Catalan-speaking students was usually Spanish, a language that enjoyed social prestige. Secondly, families agreed that their children should be schooled in a language other than the one spoken at the home. And thirdly, all teachers were fluent in Spanish and could use that language to scaffold students' learning of Catalan.

Responding to the demands of families, the first implementation of the **Language Immersion Program** (*Programa d'Immersió Lingüística* or PIL in Catalan) took place in the 1983-1984 school year in 19 public schools in Santa Coloma de Gramenet (on the outskirts of the city of Barcelona), where most of the students were from Spanish-speaking homes. By the 1989-1990 school year, the program was run in 700 public and semi-private schools in Catalonia, and, from the 1992-1993 school year, it was universal. Using Catalan as the vehicular language of education afforded the language social prestige, and different initiatives were needed to ensure that all teachers knew this language and were able to support students who were learning it. The immersion model remained stable until the beginning of the twenty-first century.

The reform of the Statute of Autonomy in 2006 recognised the co-officiality of Aranese in the Aran Valley. On the other hand, demographic changes have been experienced in Catalonia because of new migratory processes since the beginning of the 21st century. The latter has led to significant changes to the **language education model in Catalonia** because the three factors which led to consensus when the language immersion model was implemented have been destabilised (e.g. teachers are not speakers of all their students' heritage languages). Different educational laws and initiatives aim to respond to the challenge posed by the multilingual and multicultural mosaic that currently exists in Catalonia. Here we will outline three of them. Firstly, the *Plan for Language and Social Cohesion* (*Pla per a la llengua i la cohesió social*, Department of Education, 2004), aimed to:

> a*) consolidar la llengua catalana com a eix vertebrador d'un projecte plurilingüe a Catalunya;* b*) fomentar l'educació intercultural, basada en la igualtat, la solidaritat i el respecte a la diversitat cultural, en un marc de diàleg i convivència; i* c*) promoure la igualtat d'oportunitats per evitar qualsevol tipus de marginació.* (p. 12)

> *a*) consolidate the Catalan language as the backbone of a multilingual project in Catalonia; *b*) promote intercultural education, based on equality, solidarity and respect for cultural diversity, within a framework of dialogue and coexistence; and *c*) promote equal opportunities to avoid any kind of marginalisation. (p. 12)

An important contribution of this Plan was the creation of so-called welcome classrooms, which, as we have seen in chapter 2, aim to support newly arrived students to learn Catalan and integrate socially into the school community. Later, the law on inclusive education (*Decret 150/2017*) was approved (see chapter 2). Finally, the document entitled *Language model of the Catalan educational system: Language learning and use in a multilingual and multicultural educational environment* (Department d'Ensenyament, 2018) consolidated pluralistic approaches (see section 3.2.) as the norm for Catalan schools.

The language model of the Catalan educational system consolidates Catalan (and Aranese in the Aran Valley) as the **vehicular language**, and Catalan, Spanish and one or two foreign languages as **curricular languages**. The model establishes two possibilities for schools to teach a second foreign language: schools may offer an elective subject in a language other than the one taught as the first foreign language, or students can also get credit for studying languages outside of school (at regulated schools such as so-called Official Language Schools, or *Escoles Oficials d'idiomes* in Catalan). When deciding which language to offer as a second foreign language schools can choose one of the four that can be taken as a first foreign language (German, English, French or Italian), a classical language (Greek or Latin) or a **heritage language** (Arabic or Chinese). To support the latter, in 2021 the Department of Education published a framework document for the teaching of Arabic and Chinese in compulsory secondary education (Departament d'Educació, 2021).

It should be noted that schools offering Arabic or Chinese as elective subjects must offer these languages to all students, not only to those for whom they are heritage languages.

In 2022, in response to different Spanish Constitutional Court rulings, a new law on the use and learning of official languages in non-university education was passed (*Llei 8/2022*). This law reinforces the role of Catalan as the vehicular language and language of normal use in schools and establishes that the teaching and use of Catalan and Spanish must be guaranteed in national curricula and schools' Language Projects (see section 3.2.). The law also defines the levels of mastery in different languages that must be achieved at the end of compulsory and upper secondary schooling. To do so, it refers to the levels established by the *Common European framework of reference for languages: Learning, teaching, assessment* (CEFR, Council of Europe, 2001, 2018) (see chapter 1). The objective is that, at the end of compulsory schooling, students should achieve at least:

- Level B2 in Catalan, Spanish and Aranese in the Aran Valley.
- Level B1 in the first foreign language.
- Level A2 in the second foreign language (if taken).

At the end of upper secondary schooling, students should achieve at least:

- Level C1 in Catalan, Spanish and Aranese in the Aran Valley.
- Level B2 in the first foreign language.
- Level B1 in the second foreign language (if taken).

Regarding teaching methodologies, and in line with European guidelines (as we will see in section 3.2), the Catalan model is committed to plurilingual education and promotes approaches that integrate the teaching of languages (*tractament integrat de llengües* or TIL in Catalan) and the teaching of languages and subject contents (*tractament integrat de llengües i continguts* or TILC in Catalan). These principles are applied in both horizontal planning (in each year level) and vertical planning (at each educational stage). All aspects related to the teaching and use of languages in schools must be included in the School Educational Project (*Projecte Educatiu de Centre* or PEC in Catalan) and in the School Language Project (*Projecte Lingüístic de Centre* or PLC in Catalan), which must also include the School Reading Plan (*Pla de Lectura dels Centre* or PLEC in Catalan).

3.2. School Language Projects

Since the 1990s, various Spanish and Catalan laws have granted schools autonomy to manage and organise teaching at the different educational stages, in accordance with national curricula. The **School Educational Project** (PEC) documents the decisions made by schools on this matter. In public schools, the school's faculty (*claustre* in Catalan), by delegation of the school management team, is responsible for drafting the PEC, which must be approved by the school's council (*consell escolar* in Catalan). In semi-private schools, the PEC is written by the entity holding legal ownership. Thus, in public schools, the PEC is the outcome of a participatory process that promotes democratic coexistence in schools. The PEC presents the distinctive features of the school, defines the objectives and priorities of the document, sets out how the curriculum will be implemented in the school and establishes the pedagogical and organisational principles that guide classroom practices. The PEC also includes the School Language Project (PLC).

The **School Language Project** (PLC) is a document with the decisions taken by the school in relation to the teaching of the curricular languages, including how these languages are to be taught inside and outside classrooms. Curricular languages are those that are considered subjects and are thus evaluated. The PLC must also explain how students' heritage languages are to be included, if they are not already curricular languages. To do this, schools must analyse their sociolinguistic realities and the needs of their students. The PLC must also establish clear, measurable objectives related to language learning and use, along with procedures to

ensure their achievement, and should provide a framework for meaningful language practices within the school (Masats & Noguerol, 2016). In autonomous communities with co-official languages, educational authorities establish regulations for normalising the use and raising the status of the minoritised language. Thus, the PLC serves as a tool for supporting linguistic normalisation by regulating the use of minoritised languages as the medium of instruction within the school (as is the case of Catalan in Catalonia, Aranese in the Aran Valley, or Basque in model D schools in the Basque Country and Navarra). In some cases, both the minoritised language and Spanish will be used as vehicular languages (as is the case with Basque in model B schools in the Basque Country and in models A and B in Navarra). Schools can also decide, through their PLC, if content subjects are to be taught in another curricular language. Finally, the PLC should address how languages will be used in internal and external communication.

A school's language project must be adaptable and flexible enough to respond effectively to evolving sociolinguistic contexts. Each school writes its own Project, but there are challenges that all schools must meet to create a coherent PLC. Masats and Noguerol (2016) discuss some of these challenges:

Determine which languages should be taught

As we have seen in the previous section, the curriculum establishes that there are three curricular languages (Catalan, Spanish and a first foreign language) and that schools can choose to teach a second foreign language. The decisions made by the schools regarding which languages will be taught as a first and second foreign language must be reflected in their PLC. As we have already pointed out, the PLC must also specify how students' heritage languages will be included if they are not already curricular languages.

Define how languages will be taught in an integrated manner

One of the challenges when designing a PLC has to do with the **didacticisation of plurilingualism** (Moore & Llompart-Esbert, 2019; Nussbaum, 2014), or how we might avoid teaching languages in isolation from others. Schools must first decide which language (or languages) will be used to teach linguistic elements that are common to different languages. Secondly, they need to determine how the features that are specific to each language will be selected and sequenced. Decisions must also be made regarding the development of students' plurilingual competence and the inclusion of intercomprehension and metalinguistic reflection activities (which can be done in languages already known by students and/or include other language). For this **integrated approach** to be possible, schools must make organisational decisions that have to do with timetabling, with the adoption of a communicative and competency-based approach in all language subjects (see chapter 4), and with facilitating collaboration between teachers so that they can plan both from the perspective of the year level (horizontal planning) and the educational stage (vertical planning).

As we have pointed out in the previous section, the **integrated teaching of languages** (*tractament integrat de llengües* or TIL in Catalan) is supported by different framework documents and, through the *Avancem* program, the Department of Education offers support and training to schools. If support or training is needed for the integrated teaching of a foreign language, schools can opt into the *Generació Plurilingüe* program offered by the Department of Education.

Ensure the integrated teaching of languages across the curriculum

A second challenge for schools, also related to the didacticisation of plurilingualism, has to do with overcoming the belief that language can only be taught in language subjects. A school's PLC must determine, for example, how language will be taught in all content subjects, whether there will be subjects (or contents from one or more subjects) that will be taught in a language other than Catalan, or if the school will adopt a fully pluralistic approach based on the integrated teaching of all languages when teaching some (or all) of the

contents of non-language subjects. As we have already mentioned, educational authorities in Catalonia promote the **integrated teaching of languages and contents** (*tractament integrat de llengües i continguts* or TILC in Catalan) and offer schools tools and resources to support this integration, including in foreign language subjects (**content and language integrated learning or CLIL**), in content subjects, and in supporting newly arrived students of foreign origin when learning Catalan (linguistic immersion, see section 3.1 and chapter 2). However, as we will see in the following section, the pluralistic approach known as the **integrated didactic approach to languages** is a more holistic proposal because it contemplates the integration of all curricular languages and the use of learners' linguistic repertoires in all language and content subjects.

Finally, promoting the integrated teaching of languages across all subject areas also involves the design and implementation of the **School Reading Plan** (*Pla Lector de Centre* or PLEC in Catalan), which focuses on developing students' reading skills. Schools that need support and training in this respect can apply for it through the Department of Education's program *Impuls de la Lectura* (ILEC).

Design learning based on the social participation of students

Plurilingual education is based on the premise that learners are social agents who carry out actions and activities that require mobilising and building on their language and non-language skills to reach specific goals. Therefore, school language projects must indicate the global methodology used to ensure that learning integrates languages, contents, information and communication technology (ICT) and connects with the surrounding environment. As Masats and Noguerol (2016) point out, and in line with curricular recommendations in Catalonia, **project-based learning** (see chapter 4) is ideal for promoting students' social participation, as is the organisation of teaching around **discourse genres**, being the formats of communication used in different disciplines and in life. In project-based learning, discourse genres are both the object of learning and the final product (or products) that students produce. This final product must have a real addressee, who might be a person or organisation from beyond the classroom and respond to a significant local or global need.

In this sense, the PLC (or the PEC) should outline how the school will participate in their local **Community Educational Plan** (*Pla Educatiu d'Entorn* or PEE in Catalan). Such plans were created by the Department of Education in 2005 to boost cooperation between the educational agents in each municipality (or groups of municipalities) with the aim of meeting the educational needs of children and young people through community actions inside and outside schools.

In the following section we present the so-called pluralistic approaches to languages and cultures, which are methodological options available to schools to respond to the four challenges just described.

3.3. Pluralistic approaches to languages and cultures

Pluralistic approaches to language teaching are the opposite of **singular approaches**, which are focused on a particular language (and its associated culture) in isolation from others. Singular approaches avoid connections (e.g. through translation) or reference to any other language and teach languages exclusively as separate subjects. On the contrary, **pluralistic approaches to languages and cultures** include different methodologies that implicate more than one language and/or language variety.

Over the past thirty years, and especially since the publication of the *Framework of reference for pluralistic approaches to languages and cultures* (FREPA/CARAP, Candelier et al., 2012), four different pluralistic approaches to language teaching have been developed:

The **Intercultural Approach** is based on the notion that schools must recognise that students are linguistically and culturally diverse and take these backgrounds into account to ensure that everyone has equal opportunities to learn. This approach is not focused exclusively on language learning as it also considers cultural knowledge. In Latin America, the Intercultural Approach is used, for example, in educational programs aimed at indigenous communities, often known as *Bilingual Intercultural Education* (*Educación Intercultural Bilingüe* or EIB in Spanish). In Europe, it is usually part of educational programs aimed at

students of migrant or ethnic minority backgrounds. This is problematic because interculturality must be present in all classrooms, regardless of students' ethnic and cultural origins. In other words, teaching languages (and teaching any subject) should also imply raising awareness of cultural diversity and students' own and others' cultural references.

Intercomprehension between languages from the same language family is an approach that emerged in the late 1990s within the framework of the European projects *EuRom4, Galatea, Galanet* and *EuroComRom*. The first three were carried out in Romance language-speaking universities (Dabène, 2003) and the latter was developed in Germanic language-speaking universities (Meissner et al., 2004). This approach is based on the premise that working with texts —especially written ones— in languages from the same language family brings students' language comprehension skills into play, which in turn contributes to the development of their language production skills. Beyond these European projects, no teaching proposals have been designed based exclusively on this approach. However, promoting the development of intercomprehension skills (see chapter 2) is necessary in plurilingual education. It is important to plan tasks that allow students to compare features of different languages and use the linguistic knowledge they already have to understand and to produce texts in any of the languages that they have access to.

Awakening to Languages is also an approach that emerged in the 1990s as a result of the participation of European universities in a joint project first called *Éveil aux Langues* (EVLANG, awakening to languages) and then *Janua Linguarum Reserata* (the open door of languages). It is inspired by the *Language Awareness* movement that had resurfaced a decade earlier in the United Kingdom (Hawkins, 1984) and is based on the premise that analysing different languages promotes metalinguistic reflection and favours students' acquisition of metalinguistic competences. *Éveil aux Langues* is also based on the principles of socio-cultural approaches to language learning (see chapter 4). Observation and discovery tasks including different languages are used to help students develop awareness that languages can be used to participate in linguistically and culturally diverse societies. The idea is not for students to learn all these languages, but rather to become familiar with them in order to better understand how their own language(s) work(s). For example, understanding how grammatical gender operates (e.g. in Romance languages) becomes easier if you compare the system with other languages. Listening to texts in different languages to try to grasp the general message also helps to develop perceptual micro-skills such as sound discrimination. To a certain extent, to perform tasks proposed in the Awakening to Languages approach, students must also develop intercomprehension skills. However, unlike in the Intercomprehension approach described in the previous paragraph, in Awakening to Languages it is believed that intercomprehension is also possible between languages that are very distant from each other. In short, Awakening to Languages is based on the argument that having a broad view of linguistic diversity supports positive attitudes towards languages and their learning. These positive attitudes foster the development of the learning skills necessary to enhance language proficiency across all languages (Candelier et al., 2012; Masats, 2001). In addition, as Noguerol (2000) states, Awakening to Languages fosters greater openness and acceptance of otherness.

The **integrated didactic approach to languages** is the only pluralistic approach that is aimed explicitly at language teaching and learning. It defends the idea that languages at school should not be taught in isolation and, therefore, it is necessary to coordinate and sequence language teaching for all curricular languages, taking into account the principles underlying the other three pluralistic approaches described in this section. In recent years, the scope has broadened, and the emphasis has been placed on systematically making use of learners' linguistic repertoires to facilitate the learning of a new language. Koch et al. (2024-) describes the approach as follows:

> Integrated Didactics for languages is a methodological approach —at macro, meso and micro levels— to the teaching and learning of languages from a holistic perspective. It takes into account learners' individual linguistic repertoires and aims at facilitating language learning through transfer as well as promoting linguistic and cultural diversity. Integrated Didactics for languages helps the learner not only to draw on their language repertoire to foster the acquisition and development of their plurilingual competence, but also to further develop skills, attitudes and strategies during the language learning process to act as a responsible, active, critical and supportive citizen.

The integrated didactic approach to languages is not only a classroom approach, but a whole-school approach and its adoption must be stated in the School Language Project. At the meso level, in some educational contexts the approach is also based on the premise that the integration of the curricular languages cannot be separated from learning non-language content. A possible way of articulating this expanded view can be found, for example, at the Vila Olímpica school in Barcelona where the PLC describes the decisions taken by the school to ensure that all languages are present in all school activities (Ramírez & Serra, 1999). In this sense, starting from the middle years, the contents from mathematics, science and social sciences are divided into thematic blocks, each of which is taught in one of the curricular languages (Catalan, Spanish and English). The school ensures that learning outcomes are achieved in all languages and in all non-language subjects at each educational stage. At the macro level, the model proposed by the Government of Andorra within the framework of their Strategic Plan for the Renovation and Improvement of the Andorran Educational System (*Pla Estratègic de Renovació i Millora del Sistema Educatiu Andorrà* or PERMSEA in Catalan) initiated in 2010 constitutes an example of the application to the principles of the integrated approach to languages at the curriculum level. Unlike the programs promoted by the Department of Education in Catalonia, PERMSEA envisages the integrated teaching of language subjects and the integration of language and content subjects as a single holistic proposal. This proposal is structured around **plurilingual interdisciplinary projects** (see section 4.2) that start from real communicative situations or relevant challenges (Masats & Noguerol, 2016). Each term the students carry out two interdisciplinary projects that include skills from all school subjects and mainly use one curricular language (i.e. Catalan, French, English or Spanish), but they also include another language. For example, one semester content might mainly be covered in Catalan in one project and in French in the other, and the support languages might be Spanish in one project and English in the other. However, a different combination of languages will be used the following semester. Aside from the projects, there are workshops for each subject to reinforce the project contents or introduce other concepts specific to the discipline. These two ways of articulating the integrated didactic approach to languages use **competence-based learning**. They include different discourse genres, non-curricular languages and the various media, formats, platforms and resources used in real-life communication. Additionally, they focus on creating learning situations in which students use and expand their knowledge and develop a range of attitudes and skills (communicative, cognitive, social, etc.) to achieve a meaningful goal (i.e. carry out an action).

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4. Teaching, learning and assessing additional languages

As we saw in chapter 2, generic terms are often used to label languages, such as 'mother tongue', 'native' language, 'second' or 'foreign' languages. We suggested that such labels can be problematic as language socialisation does not follow a linear path and each person lives and learns their languages in unique ways. This reality leads to questions such as: can a person become 'native' in a language learnt as an adult? Are all languages from abroad 'foreign' if we can encounter them in the linguistic landscapes of our streets (e.g. in signs) and in our homes (e.g. on the television)? To simplify, in this chapter we use the term **additional languages** to refer to languages learnt in school after children's initial socialisation in their homes. This denomination includes the learning of Catalan and Spanish for newcomers to Catalan schools and the learning of English and other foreign languages throughout life, among other situations.

We begin the chapter with a discussion of different theories of language and language learning. We also introduce the notion of communicative competence and we briefly present the principles of the communicative approach to language teaching. We then focus on project-based learning and task-based learning as ways of implementing a communicative and an integrated didactic approach to languages (see chapter 3). Finally, we discuss assessment in additional language teaching.

4.1. Learning language

Language education is a field concerned with the teaching and learning of languages in formal and non-formal contexts to support communicative practices. It is a discipline that engages with others, including linguistics, sociolinguistics, anthropology, developmental psychology and pedagogy. Given the diversity of approaches, there are different perspectives among theorists and teachers about what is meant by the concept of 'language' (see chapter 1). Is 'language' static and homogenic like the rules and examples we find in textbooks? Does 'language' include the full plurilingual repertoires of speakers? There are also different points of view concerning the concept of 'learning' (and therefore 'teaching'). What does it mean that a language has been 'learnt'? Does it mean that learners can reproduce what they are 'taught'? Does it mean being able to show monolingual competences? Or does it also include plurilingual ones?

The changes in the conception of the term 'language' over recent centuries reflect the advances in the various disciplines concerned with studying this phenomenon. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Saussure, a Swiss linguist recognised as the father of modern linguistics, proposed the so-called **structuralist theory** (or structuralism), which argues that language is a system of signs that have a signifier (such as a sound or word) and a signified (a meaning associated with a sound, a word, etc.). According to this theory, the relationships between the different elements of this sign system are more important than the individual value of each sign (Saussure, 1916). For example, we can recognise the sound of the phoneme 'b' because we know how to distinguish it from any other sound. We can also understand the meaning of the word 'apple' because we can distinguish it from any other word that refers to a type of fruit. But when the word 'apple' is accompanied by the adjective 'bad', we know we are referring to a disagreeable or corrupt person and not to a fruit. For Saussure, it was important to distinguish between *langage* —language as the human capacity to communicate—, *langue* —language as the sign system we use to communicate— and *parole* —the individual use of language.

In the mid-twentieth century, Chomsky, a North American linguist, revolutionised the field of linguistics with his **generativist theory** that argues that people have an internal mental structure —a set of abstract rules that allow the formation of correct sentences. Chomsky (1965) defended that people have an innate capacity to acquire language, which is manifested through a 'universal grammar' (see the description of innatism within this section) common to all languages. As part of his theory, Chomsky distinguished between **competence** —or innate linguistic knowledge— and **performance** —or actual language use in context. He claimed that only linguistic competence was worthy of scientific attention.

In the late 1960s, Hymes, a North American anthropologist, refuted this distinction and the disregard for performance (real language use), proposing instead a theory of **communicative competence** that seeks to explain the norms of appropriate language use in relation to social context and activity (1966). For this scholar, and for others who defend social and cultural theories, language is not just a structured sign system (as claimed by structuralism) or a set of internal rules (as defended by generative theory), but a tool for communication and social interaction. Thus, communicative competence involves not only the ability to formulate grammatically correct utterances, but also the capacity to communicate in a way that is appropriate to different social and cultural events. This implies knowing when to speak (and when not to) and how to speak according to the communicative purpose, who is being addressed and where we are.

More recently, as social interaction has been afforded more and more centrality in theories of language knowledge and use, the notion of **interactional competence** is often used as an alternative way of talking about communicative competence. This term was introduced in the late 1980s by Kramsch (1986) to describe the constellation of resources and knowledge about the social world that is mobilised when communicating with other people through mutually coordinated actions. More recently, the concept has been significantly developed by the work of Mondada and her team (Mondada, 2013). This line of research shifts the focus from individual competencies to the coordination of social actions, highlighting the importance of the **multimodal** repertoires involved—such as gesture, gaze, and other embodied resources. The notion of **plurilingual competence** (see chapter 2) has also influenced the way that communicative competence is nowadays conceptualised and has contributed to questioning notions —such as native speaker— which idealise monolingual competences and ignore the different and complex ways in which plurilingual individuals use their communicative resources. A related concept, classroom interactional competence, will be explored in detail in Chapter 5.

Changes in the conception of language are linked to transformations also in the way that language learning (and thus teaching) is understood. Broadly speaking, there are three major theories of language learning: behaviourism, innatism, and interactionism. **Behaviourism** (Skinner, 1957) is usually linked to structuralism and postulates that people learn by imitating and practising the sounds and patterns they hear around them until they form habits of correct language use thanks to receiving positive reinforcement about what they say (e.g. praise from others, success at communicating). In the case of additional language learning, errors are seen as habits from previously learnt languages that interfere in the learning of the new language.

Innatism is linked to Chomsky's generativist theory and claims that humans are genetically determined to learn languages and are born with a universal grammar that includes all the principles (e.g. all languages have subjects) and parameters (e.g. subjects can be overt or non-overt) about how languages work. So, from an innatist perspective, language learning not only relies on people's ability to imitate sounds and patterns, but also on their in-built capacity for discovering the rules of the language(s) they are exposed to. Learning a new language is often a complex process, as it implies setting new parameters of language use that differ from those learnt previously when acquiring other languages (e.g. Catalan speakers have understood that subjects are non-overt, but when learning English, they need to learn that subjects are overt).

Interactionism argues that language learning is the result of the complex interplay between people's ability to reconstruct the system of the target language and their participation in communicative situations. There are two main traditions in interactionism: the **cognitivist** and the **constructivist** views. While both approaches agree that interaction is important in language learning, there is no consensus regarding the exact role of this interaction. Whereas cognitivist theories state that language learning mainly relies on people's cognitive efforts and skills at reconstructing the language, constructivist theories claim that language can only be acquired if people are exposed to authentic social interactions, which are the genesis of all learning.

In this book, we take a constructivist approach, or more specifically a **socio-constructivist or socio-interactionist** (Mondada & Pekarek Doehler, 2004) view for understanding the learning, teaching and assessment of languages, inspired by socio-cultural theories of cognition and research on social interaction. **Socio-cultural theories** of cognition began to be developed in the 1920s by Soviet psychologist Vygotsky. At that time, humans and their ways of thinking and doing were understood to be mainly the result of biological factors, with behaviourism being the dominant theory of human cognitive development. Vygotsky (1934 / 1986) agreed to biological and behaviourist explanations for elementary mental functions and primitive activities in humans (e.g. eating when feeling hungry or running away from a predator). However, he claimed that humans' socialisation into socio-culturally organised goal-oriented activities transformed these elementary functions and activities into self-regulated and consciously achieved ones, **mediated** by the material and symbolic tools provided by the socio-cultural environment. According to Vygotsky, language (e.g. speech, writing) and other symbolic forms of expression (e.g. numbers, drawing) are humans' most fundamental tools for socialisation and for cognitive development. The advanced capacity developed by humans to use language and symbolic forms of expression in socially organised activities set their cognitive development on a different evolutionary path from other animal species.

Thus, from a socio-cultural approach, social interaction is the origin of cognitive activity, including language learning. Learning takes place first on the interpersonal plain –in interaction with others and with the environment– before becoming internalised in the individual mind. This view is opposed to that of the innatism and cognitivist approaches, which argue that language learning takes place first on the intrapersonal level and then can be externalised in interaction.

4.2. Teaching language

In teaching, learning or assessing additional languages, the adoption of a socio-constructivist or socio-interactionist perspective is put into practice in the so-called **communicative approach** to language teaching. This approach emerged in the late 1960s and early 1970s as a response to the limitations of traditional teaching methods, such as the **grammar translation method** and the **audiolingual method**, which focused on the memorisation of grammatical rules and the mechanical repetition of sentences but often failed to enable students to communicate effectively in real situations. From the 1980s onwards, the communicative approach evolved towards other student-centred methodologies, such as the task-based approach, which we will discuss later in this section.

The influence of the Council of Europe and the concept of communicative competence developed by Hymes (see section 4.1.) were key in the development of the communicative approach, which emphasises the functional use of language and the importance of interaction as the basis for language learning. This approach prioritises authentic communication and fluency over grammatical accuracy and supports the integration of the five communicative skills (i.e. listening, reading, writing, speaking and interacting) in classroom activities. Hymes' concept of communicative competence gained significant traction in the field of additional language education from the 1970s. This was largely attributed to the efforts of Canale and Swain (1980), who broke down communicative competence into four interconnected sub-competencies: grammatical, discursive, sociolinguistic, and strategic. **Grammatical competence** refers to the knowledge required to construct and interpret grammatically accurate statements. **Discursive competence** involves the ability to produce and comprehend coherent and cohesive statements. **Sociolinguistic competence** refers to the capacity to modify language usage based on the social context. Finally, **strategic competence** pertains to how users compensate for communicative difficulties.

The *Common European framework of reference for languages: Learning, teaching, assessment* (CEFR) (Council of Europe 2001, 2018) conceptualises communication slightly differently from Canale and Swain as it sets out from the understanding that interaction brings into play skills of a general nature (related to declarative knowledge, procedural knowledge, attitudinal knowledge and knowing how to learn) which are combined with a communicative competence of a more specifically linguistic type. According to the CEFR, communicative competence includes linguistic, sociolinguistic, and pragmatic sub-competences. **Linguistic competence**

includes lexical, grammatical, semantic, phonological and orthographic skills. **Sociolinguistic competence** includes markers of social relations, politeness conventions, common expressions, different registers (e.g. formal, informal), language varieties and accents. **Pragmatic competence** refers to the ability to organise, structure and arrange discourse (e.g. create a text following a genre), to carry out communicative functions (e.g. invite, apologise), to design communication according to interactional rules (e.g. turn-taking, interrupting) and to activate strategies to compensate for communicative barriers (e.g. exolingual communication procedures, see chapter 2). Communicative competence, according to the CEFR, is put into practice across different language activities: **reception** (listening and reading), **production** (speaking and writing), **interaction** (participation in a conversation), and **mediation** (ability to translate and interpret languages, cultures, knowledge and activities, see chapter 2).

Different curricular reforms in Catalonia have consolidated the communicative approach (and other approaches derived from it) for supporting these language activities. Current competence-based curricula take a student-centred and situational or contextualised approach to teaching, learning and assessment. According to this paradigm, being a competent language user means being able to mobilise the knowledge, attitudes and skills necessary to manage real-life situations. Of all the student-centred communication approaches, we will describe two: project-based learning and task-based learning.

Project-based learning (PBL) emerged at the beginning of the 20th century thanks to the work of Dewey and is part of the active, critical and innovative pedagogies in the tradition of Freire and Freinet. The conceptualisation of learning as a social process of transforming information is at the core of project-based learning: learners search for, gather, process, transfer, use, communicate and share knowledge across analogue and digital formats. Learning in projects occurs through guided interaction and, therefore, language plays a key role in the construction of knowledge. Language learning is activated when language, content and other communicative resources such as **information and communication technologies (ICT)** are put into play to reach individual and shared goals (Dooly, 2016). Such learning happens through guided interaction and thus language has a key role in knowledge construction.

The following are some of the main features of project-based learning in language education:

1. The project goal should be authentic, interesting and viable. It must respond to a real-life problem or interest and guide the acquisition of linguistic and non-linguistic contents and of different competences.
2. The project leads to the creation of a final product which serves the project goal and is directed to a real audience.
3. The project should include activities and tasks that develop different language skills/activities (reception, production, interaction, mediation).
4. The project should include implicit and explicit work on language needed to complete the different tasks.
5. The project should include diverse types and moments of assessment.

When planning a project in the field of language education, the main stages are:

1. Deciding what the final communicative product(s) of the project will be (a mural, a report, a brochure, a guide, a model, a video, an event, etc.), how the product(s) will be displayed and for whom, and how the ongoing project work will be stored. The project goal, the addressee(s) and the final product should be shared with learners from the beginning.
2. Sketching out the stages of the project and the different activity, task, exercise and/or sub-products needed to achieve the final product(s).
3. Anticipating the knowledge and skills needed for each activity, task, exercise and/or sub-product to support the completion of the final product(s).
4. Designing on timing and grouping: determining the timing of tasks, deciding if different groups will work on different activities or everyone will be doing the same ones, providing for differentiated plans if needed, etc.
5. Deciding how and who will evaluate both the process (the doing) and the product (the tangible results).

In this book we argue in favour of the adoption of the pluralistic approach known as the integrated didactic approach to languages (see chapter 3) and therefore advocate for **plurilingual and interdisciplinary projects** (see examples in Dooly, Masats & Mont, 2021; Rocha & Nussbaum, 2010), which include competences and contents from different subjects and incorporate subproducts and final products in more than one language. In the process of doing this type of projects, teachers can accept that curricular languages and students' heritage languages play a role as learning tools (Noguerol, 2001). Teachers can open their classrooms to other languages, for example, by planning activities in several languages to awaken students to linguistic diversity, or by allowing learners to choose the language in which they want to search for information on the Internet when necessary. This plurilingual and interdisciplinary approach supports **sustainable plurilingualism** (Cenoz, 2017), in which plurilingual uses (the use of all the languages and varieties that make up learners' repertoires) are allowed and valued (see chapter 2), while competences (unilingual uses) in the curricular languages in which products are delivered are developed.

Dooly (2013) argues that project-based learning is often confused with **task-based learning (TBL)** as both approaches are student-centred, goal directed, focused on meaning and have clearly defined outcomes beyond practicing a given language form. The main difference between the two approaches lies in the fact that the goal of projects is authentic and the addressee of the project's outcome is real (someone from outside of the classroom), whereas tasks are often only indirectly related to something in the real world. A **task** is different from a language **exercise** –such as gap-filling or multiple-choice questions– as exercises are designed only to practice a linguistic form or rule (e.g. the use of prepositions, verb tenses or vocabulary), and tasks are often a simulation of a real event in a situation designed by the teacher to promote the contextualised use of the language being learnt. That is, exercises, as well as **communicative activities**, are focused on form, but tasks and communicative activities are also focused on meaning. Role-playing based on a given script is an example of a communicative activity.

Thus, task-based learning is an action-oriented approach in which learning occurs in authentic communication. Nunan (2004) makes a distinction between real-word tasks and pedagogical tasks. **Real-world tasks** involve simulating an action in the real world or making a product (e.g. a poster) that pretends to address a real audience. For example, a role-play between a buyer and a seller or between a waitress and a customer are examples of real-world tasks because they emulate authentic communicative situations. **Pedagogical tasks** involve authentic use of the additional language to achieve an objective that does not necessarily have to be linguistic. For example, finding differences between two images is an example of a pedagogical task because it requires real interaction in which turns and meaning are negotiated and discourse is repaired, like in real conversations.

Pedagogical tasks trigger the production or understanding of the target language if their design includes some kind of **gap**: an information gap, a reasoning gap or an opinion gap (Prabhu, 1987). A gap is the need to exchange information based on evidence (information gap), on a process of deduction (reasoning gap) or on a personal preference (opinion gap). Furthermore, tasks can be classified as **one-way** (only one student has the information and must pass it to others) or **two-way** (students need to exchange the different information they have). Finally, tasks can also be classified according to the expected result and process. Thus, tasks can be **open** (there can be several solutions) or **closed** (there is only one possible solution); they can be **divergent** (there may be different points of view) or **convergent** (an agreement must be reached); they can be **guided** (a given order must be followed to solve the task) or **non-guided** (students can decide how to solve the task); they can be **planned** (there is time to plan discourse) or **unplanned** (discourse is spontaneous). For example, the task of finding differences between two practically identical drawings contains an information gap (each learner has information that the other lacks), is bidirectional (each learner has to share information), closed (learners have to find the exact number of differences), convergent (learners have to compare the information they have with the information they are given and decide if they have found a difference), unguided (learners can decide which interactional moves and language forms they will use) and unplanned (interaction is spontaneous).

4.3. Assessment in the additional language classroom

Communicative language teaching and learning must also be assessed to measure effectiveness and plan improvements. If we consider that learning is the result of learners' participation in communicative projects, tasks and activities, communication must be central to our assessment procedures. In this section of the chapter, we consider four questions, following Masats (2016), assuming language teaching is based on task-based or project-based work:

1. What are we going to assess?
2. When are we going to assess?
3. Who is going to assess?
4. How will we assess?

The decision of **what to assess** depends on our focus: the teaching process or the learning process. Evaluating the **teaching process** involves analysing the design of the task or project, its implementation and the results obtained, which can be observed in the responses of the final recipients of the products that are generated. Assessing the **learning process** involves evaluating learners' development of knowledge and of competencies. This process is extremely complex, as stated in the *Common European framework of reference for languages: Teaching, learning and assessment*:

> Knowledge assessment requires the learner to answer questions which can be of a range of different item types in order to provide evidence of the extent of their linguistic knowledge and control. Unfortunately one can never test competences directly. All one ever has to go on is a range of performances, from which one seeks to generalise about proficiency. Proficiency can be seen as competence put to use. In this sense, therefore, all tests assess only performance, though one may seek to draw inferences as to the underlying competences from this evidence. (Council of Europe, 2001, p. 187)

This difficulty inherent in the process of assessing learners' competence highlights the importance of observing and analysing classroom interaction (see chapter 5).

Regarding **when to assess**, assessment should be planned while a project or task is being designed. Moments for assessment depend on what is being assessed:

- *At the end of the planning phase of the project or task and before starting its implementation*. It is necessary to evaluate the project or task design, paying special attention to its coherence in relation to the objectives to be achieved, learners' knowledge and skills to be developed, and the planned timing.
- *At all times*. It is necessary to pay attention to learners' participation in the proposed projects and tasks, the process of knowledge construction and learners' formal language uses.
- *When learners complete a task or product*. It may be necessary to assess their success at doing so, especially if this task or product is linked to the achievement of subsequent tasks or products. For example, before recording a video, the storyboard that has been created could be assessed.
- *At the end of the project or task, after the presentation phase of the final product or the result*. It is necessary to observe recipients' responses to the work done and make adjustments.

In terms of **who evaluates**, there are basically two agents responsible for assessing learning, their own actions and those of others: the teacher and the students. When learners' productions are shared with audiences outside the classroom, these external recipients might also take part, formally or informally, in assessment. The following pointers may help decide who will evaluate the learning process.

The teacher is responsible for:

- Revising the design of the learning tasks and projects after planning and before implementing them.

- Monitoring learners and lesson progress to assess when assistance is needed or when changes should be made to the plan.
- Revising and correcting students' outputs and productions.
- Revising the design of the learning tasks and projects after implementing them.

Students might be responsible for:

- Revising and correcting their own and their peers' outputs and productions.
- Reflecting on their involvement in the tasks and projects set and on the results.
- Analysing the design and usefulness of tasks or projects once completed to give feedback to the teacher.

Teachers and students are responsible for:

- Engaging in dialogue to detect and correct issues impeding the achievement of the target objectives.
- Revising results and products to determine if modifications should be made before making them public.
- Reflecting together on what has been learnt.

Teachers, students and the recipients of learners' outputs and productions are responsible for:

- Giving constructive feedback about the quality and effectiveness of the learners' work.

Regarding **how to assess**, many different procedures can —and should— be used, including both formal methods that rely on valid and reliable assessment instruments (e.g. rubrics, checklists, observation instruments), and more informal approaches. The choice of a specific procedure or instrument will be determined by who assesses and what. For example, when teachers revise their lesson design, checking how tasks are linked to each other and the curriculum, or whether objectives are appropriate and well developed, using an instrument such as a checklist or getting informal feedback from colleagues, are good ideas. When monitoring students' progress during lessons and the effectiveness of planned tasks, jotting down some notes quickly might be feasible in class, although it can often be better to make notes once the class has finished, to keep oneself free to assist learners. When teachers and learners revise and correct learners' outputs and productions, or their participation in class, being able to refer to previously shared and/or negotiated criteria (e.g. rubrics) is very useful. Finally, when learners assess the design of tasks or projects and their usefulness, informal discussions can be very informative.

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5. Communication in the language classroom

As we discussed in chapter 4, social interaction has become central to different theories of learning and language. For this reason, research has also focused on understanding classroom communication and, specifically, on how interaction between teachers and students and between students can support and enhance language teaching and learning. In this chapter we tackle this issue. First, we introduce the notion of classroom interactional competence. We then focus on classroom interaction and observe teachers' and learners' use of plurilingual resources to facilitate the teaching and learning of additional languages.

5.1. Classroom interactional competence

The notion of **classroom interactional competence**, proposed by Walsh (2011), builds on the notion of interactional competence discussed in chapter 4. It helps understand how interaction, as a mediational tool, is used by teachers and learners in language classrooms. According to Walsh (2013), to guarantee quality interaction, teachers must bear in mind three premises. Firstly, they must adapt their language uses to their teaching and assessment aims. Secondly, they must create an environment that facilitates student participation in classroom conversations, allowing time and resources for their participation. Finally, it is essential that teachers ensure their talk is clear and comprehensible. Below we will examine these three premises.

Aligning language uses with teaching and assessment aims

Firstly, we need to understand how teachers align their interactional activities with their teaching and assessment aims. To do so, we should consider the different **interactional management activities** that take place in classrooms. Based on authors including Walsh (2011, 2013) and Nussbaum (2016), we might identify four different interactional management activities:

- *Teacher-led classroom organisational activities.* These are when teachers use interaction for classroom management. Such activities include, for example, introducing or concluding tasks, assigning students to groups, directing students to the materials they need, or managing students' behaviour.
- *Teacher-led metalinguistic activities.* These are when the teacher engages the entire group in explicit language-focused interactions. This happens, for example, when a teacher explains a language form or corrects an activity with the whole class.
- *Teacher-led 'real' classroom communication.* These are interactions with the whole class to simulate authentic communicative language use. For example, when teachers guide students in a discussion or debate or use dialogue to build knowledge collaboratively, they are simulating language use in the real-world.
- *Teachers' monitoring of students' 'real' communication.* This is when teachers observe and listen actively to interaction taking place between learners. For example, monitoring happens when students work in pairs or small groups on a communicative task or project and their teacher actively listens, observes and helps them when needed.

From the point of view of interaction, these four types of activities have different although related objectives. For example, in **classroom organisation activities**, it is usually the teacher who directs the conversation, and the pupils are mainly silent. However, when the **teacher monitors 'real' student communication**, they let the pupils produce most of the conversation and only intervene to help if needed. To do so, teachers might carry out (or invite students to carry out) **metalinguistic activities**. This metalinguistic support can be offered while students are in the process of doing the task, or after they have finished it. In other words, teachers' monitoring of students' communication helps detect the formal aspects of language that might be taught more explicitly later, in teacher-led metalinguistic activities. On the other hand, during **teacher-led 'real' classroom communication**, it is more important to focus on the meaning of what the students say than on language rules. The characteristics of the four classroom interaction management activities that we have introduced are summarised in Figure 5.1.

	Teacher-led classroom organisational activities	**Teacher-led metalinguistic activities**	**Teacher-led 'real' classroom communication**	**Teachers' monitoring of students' 'real' communication**
Student participation	–	–	+	+
Teacher control	+	+	+	–
Focus on norms (e.g. language norms)	+	+	–	–

Figure 5.1. Features of the teacher's interaction in different classroom 'modes'.
Adapted from Walsh (2011, 2013) and Nussbaum (2016)

Creating an environment that facilitates student participation in classroom conversations

Promoting 'real' communication among learners in the classroom is not always easy, as students are often hesitant to engage in meaningful oral interactions in the language of instruction. Several factors can influence student participation in classroom interaction, including personal traits (e.g. levels of extroversion), learning habits (e.g. degrees of learner autonomy), cultural differences (e.g. differing interpretations of silence or interruptions), the context of interaction (e.g. the topic may be more or less engaging) and the linguistic resources students have at their disposal to express their ideas. For this reason, the second element of teachers' classroom interactional competence is how they create environments that facilitate student participation in classroom conversations; in other words, how teachers allow learners space and time to interact.

To **maximise interactional space**, teachers need to exploit all opportunities for generating communication in the classroom. Real communication in the classroom not only happens when students are involved in projects or tasks (see chapter 4), but often also in unplanned situations that also need to be taken advantage of (Clavel, 2021). For example, during a planned activity, students might interrupt to give their opinion or express ideas because they find the topic of the activity interesting. In such situations, it is a good idea to allow students to speak, helping them to do so in the language of instruction when needed. Participation is also encouraged when students work in pairs or small groups. Therefore, when planning, it is also important to think about which **groupings** will best help achieve the teaching and learning objectives at any given time. For example, to maximise the use of the target language, it is preferable to create heterogeneous groups with learners who speak different languages. However, when plurilingual resources can support learning — for example, in metalinguistic reflection activities — allowing students who share common languages or have similar levels of proficiency in the target language to work together is an inclusive practice (García & Sylvan, 2011).

To **maximise interactional time**, teachers need to learn to give learners time to respond. This can be achieved by resisting the temptation to fill silences with corrections or repetitions, but also by giving students time to write down key words or to plan their talk in advance. Bange (1992) introduced the idea of **bifocalisation** to explain how language learners not only have to think about what they want to say, but also how to say it. Therefore, they need more time to prepare for their oral participation in the classroom. To **provide students with the resources they need to interact effectively**, it is useful for teachers to design activities or materials that support —or provide **scaffolding** for— their participation in the interaction. This scaffolding can be visual (illustrations, photographs, objects, graphs, etc.) or textual (examples of interactions, structures, or key vocabulary, etc.). In interactions between learners, this support can also be provided by the students themselves. For example, offering lexical support (introducing or reviewing key words) before starting an oral or written comprehension activity would be a **scaffolding procedure**. Careful planning of the support students need can often maximise their use of the target language for communication.

Ensuring that talk is clear and understandable

Thirdly, it is essential that teachers ensure classroom conversations are clear and understandable, and therefore, they need to adopt procedures to help students improve their talk. This may involve providing some form of **corrective feedback**. Figure 5.2 presents a classification of different corrective feedback procedures used by teachers to help language learners regulate their oral production.

Implicit reformulations	The teacher reformulates a learner's production in a non-obtrusive way, providing an implicit correction.
Requests for clarification	The teacher asks for clarification of something that has been said.
Explicit correction	The teacher provides and repeats the correct form.
Echoing or repetition	The teacher repeats the error with emphasis to invite the student to find an alternative.
Offering metalinguistic clues	The teacher offers clues that invite the student to retrieve a known language rule and apply it.
Elicitation or co-enunciation	The teacher offers part of the utterance for the student to complete.

Figure 5.2. Teaching strategies to shape students' oral production. Adapted from Clavel (2021)

We can identify some of these strategies in the following extract, from a primary school English class in Catalonia. It depicts a moment of explicit language work in which the teacher (MAR) is correcting an exercise that students (SSS) have done individually in their books. The teacher reads the questions and nominates a student, Jordi (JOR), to answer, selecting him by making eye contact.

```
01 MAR what do you want to be
02   (0.5)
03 MAR to be
04   (0.8)
05 JOR i want-
06   (0.7)
07 JOR i- i want to be (.) a +nois+
08   (0.5)
```

```
09 MAR you want to be a/
10   (0.4)
11 JOR +nois+
12   (0.3)
13 MAR +nois+
14   (0.6)
15 MAR si ya eres un chico
16   (0.7)
17 MAR [what's +nois+/]
18 SSS [((laughter))]
19 JOR nu-
20   (.)
21 MAR +nois+/
22 JOR nu-
23 SSS ((murmurs))
24 JOR nu-
25 MAR let me see it
26   (0.3)
27 MAR you want to be a/
28   (.)
29 MAR a nurse
30 JOR nurse
31 MAR a nurse ok
```

Following the teacher's prompt in lines 1-3, Jordi provides his response. It is clear from the pauses and self-interruptions (lines 5-7) that he is struggling to talk in English. The answer he gives is mispronounced, leading to confusion. He wants to say *nurse*, but he pronounces it like "nois", which is the same as the word for *boys* in Catalan. In line 9, the teacher uses a first corrective feedback strategy, requesting clarification by repeating the start of the sentence with question intonation. In line 11, Jordi repeats the mispronounced answer. In line 13, the teacher echoes the mispronounced response, thereby inviting Jordi to self-correct. As he does not do so, she offers a metalinguistic clue, switching to Spanish and telling him he is already a boy ("si ya eres un chico"). She then asks him to clarify what he wants to say (lines 17 and 21). In lines 19, 22 and 24, Jordi attempts to self-correct. The teacher, in lines 25-27, approaches him to look at what he has written in his book. In line 29, she provides explicit correction, thanks to which Jordi says the word correctly in line 30. The teacher repeats the correct pronunciation in line 31, reinforcing it.

In chapter 2, we noted that as students master a new language, they become able to shift towards a unilingual mode (using only that language or variety) when participating in a conversation. However, until this point is reached, interaction in a plurilingual mode (using more than one language or variety, for example, through code-switching) is necessary. In this regard, Bonacina and Gafaranga (2011) make a distinction between the **language of instruction** (the target language) and the **languages of interaction** (the other languages used in the classroom). Below, we will explore the relationship between the language of instruction and the languages of interaction in multilingual classrooms. We focus first on teacher-led interaction and then on interaction between peers.

5.2. Teachers' use of plurilingual resources

In the classroom, it is essential for teachers to recognise that their own language use serves as both a model and a guide for students. Therefore, they should strive to use the language of instruction in all activities and within the framework of Universal Design for Learning (UDL) (see chapter 2) they must plan how to make this possible. For example, in classrooms where most students have limited proficiency in the target language,

it is necessary for teachers to adopt different interactional procedures (such as speaking slowly, offering repetitions, using gestures or images, employing onomatopoeia, etc.) to make themselves understood. However, teachers must also plan how to use plurilingual resources, including how to rely on the other languages that are part of the students' linguistic repertoires as scaffolding to support their learning of the target language. This can be seen in the following excerpt from a welcome classroom (*aula d'acollida* in Catalan*)* at a secondary school. The teacher, named Pep (PEP), is reading the students an illustrated story called *El llop i la lluna* (*The wolf and the moon*). In this excerpt, the participating students are Sara (SAR), Rukhsana (RUK), Shahid (SHA), Khalid (KHA), Bushra (BUS), Ghulam (GHU) and Hala (HAL).

```
01 PEP arriba el llop va arribar el llop què és el llop/
02   (0.4)
03 SHA ll::op un animal
04 KHA uh::::
05 PEP sí
06   (0.4)
07 PEP què fa/ fa oh:[:/
08 SHA               [uh:[::
09 KHA                   [sí
10   (0.3)
11 PEP home fa au:::[::
12 KHA              [ah llop
13 SHA au::[::
14 PEP     [és un wolf com és- sh en urdú com és/
15 KHA ((says the word in Urdu))
16 SHA ((says the other word in Urdu))
17 PEP a pakistan hi ha llops/
18 KHA molts
19 RUK sí [molts sí
20 SHA    [mo::lts xx
21 PEP a peshawar també/
22 GHU molts
23 RUK sí molts
24 PEP sí:/
25 RUK de nit tots dormim però el uh:::[::::
26 PEP                                 [ah sí/
27 SHA uh:::::
28 PEP i i: i mengen le- le- les persones/
29 SHA sí [xx
30 RUK    [sí xx un noi xx
31 SHA gallina
32 RUK xx xx
33 PEP sí/ ostres
34 SHA gallina
35   (0.3)
36 PEP mengen gallines/
37 SHA [sí
38 PEP [sí
39 XXX no
40 RUK gallines també [xx
41 PEP                [a bangladesh també hi ha llops/
42 SHA sí
```

```
43 PEP també/
44 SHA molt
45   (0.4)
46 PEP a bangladesh/
47 SHA sí (.) claro
48   (0.5)
49 RUK pero xxx
50 PEP a síria/ (.) segur que no a síria no (.) com se diu en arabi
51 SHA uhhh[h
52 PEP     [llops/
53 HAL llops/
54 PEP aquests que fan [au:::[::
55 HAL                 [ºkalbº
56 BUS                       [ºkalbº
57 SHA xxx
58 HAL kalb
59 PEP kalb/
60   (.)
61 HAL sí
62   (.)
63 PEP no gos\ kalb és gos
64   (.)
65 HAL ah::[:
66 PEP     [guau guau [guau no
67 HAL                [sí sí daba daba
```

To see if the students understand the word *llop* (*wolf* in English), the teacher asks them what it is in line 1. One student, Shahid, responds in line 3 by giving a more general word as a description ("un animal") and another, Khalid, imitates its howling in line 4 ("uh::::"). In line 5, the teacher validates Shahid's descriptive response ("sí"), but not the howl; in line 7, she asks Khalid to clarify if wolves' howls sound like "uh::::" or "oh:::". Shahid agrees with Khalid (line 8) and Khalid confirms his initial response ("sí") in line 9. Not satisfied, the teacher suggests another howling sound ("au:::::") in line 11. In line 12, Khalid repeats the word "llop" and in line 13 Shahid repeats the howling sound suggested by the teacher.

Doubtful if the onomatopoeia is enough to ensure students have understood what a *llop* is, in line 14 the teacher translates the word into English ("wolf"), a language that is shared by most participants, and then asks the students how to say *llop* in Urdu. Both Khalid and Shahid know the translation in Urdu and they say it (lines 15-16). Once understanding of the word is ensured, the teacher initiates several turns (lines 17 to 50) in which he promotes the use of the word *llop* in context, asking about the presence of wolves in the students' different countries of origin (e.g. "a Pakistan hi ha llops?").

In line 50, when the teacher asks the group of girls from Syria whether there are wolves there, he seems hesitant whether they have understood the word *llop*. He again asks for a translation (line 50 and 52: "com es diu llop en àrab") and howls (line 54). In overlap with the teacher's production, two of the Syrian students work out the Arabic translation together (lines 55 and 56) and Hala later says it out loud (line 58: "kalb"). The teacher echoes the answer as an indication that he does not accept the translation (line 59). Then participants focus on the meaning of "kalb" (lines 59-66). The teacher uses two strategies to justify his rejection of the translation: he offers the translation of kalb into Catalan ("gos") and he imitates a dog barking (line 66). These actions trigger Hala's self-repair, and she gives the correct Arabic translation of the word *llop* (line 67: "daba daba").

This welcome classroom is, therefore, a space where the languages that make up students' repertoires are used as interactional resources when there is a lack of understanding or to minimise the obstacles students face during an activity done in the language of instruction. Here, interaction in a plurilingual mode facilitates

the students' comprehension and learning of Catalan. This is possible because the teacher takes an interest in the students' other languages and uses them as scaffolding.

5.3. Students' use of plurilingual resources

According to socio-cultural theories (see chapter 4), language learning is a social, interactional and situated action, and therefore it cannot be separated from the communicative activities in which it takes place. From this perspective, it is within interaction itself that we find evidence of language acquisition. Learning often occurs in so-called **potential acquisition sequences** (De Pietro, Matthey & Py, 1988); that is, interactional activities where the learner focuses on elements of the language and suspends the conversation or task completion, as seen in the following excerpt.

In this interaction, taken from a 5th grade English classroom in Catalonia, Pau (PAU) —a local boy— and Bawna (BAW) —a girl of Indian origin who has lived in Catalonia for nine years— are doing a task in English that involves matching two pictures to later play a memory game.

```
01 BAW cheese and door is is(.) colour red
02 PAU ((speaking quietly)) busca busca busca busca ((speaking in normal tone))
03     of the cash register on the ladder is:::
04     cómo se llama gris/
05 BAW què/
06 PAU cómo se llama gris/
07 BAW què/
08 PAU que cómo se llama gris/
09 BAW gris (.) green
10 PAU green/
11 BAW grey
12 PAU grey
13 BAW the grapes is banana are fruits
```

In line 1, Bawna selects two cards and explains why she thinks they are a pair (the cheese and the door are both red). In line 2, Pau uses Spanish, his preferred language, while he thinks about which two cards to choose. When he makes his choice he speaks in English, the language of instruction (line 3), but when he wants to say what the two cards have in common in order for them to be paired he faces a linguistic obstacle (line 4). The resolution of the task is paused until line 12 when a solution is reached and Bawna takes the floor again to suggest a new pair of cards (line 13). The interaction between lines 4 and 12 is an example of a potential acquisition sequence because the children focus on solving the problem and finding the word that Pau needs to complete his sentence. The potential acquisition sequence aims to solve a problem that arises in the interaction, in this case related to production (knowing how to say *gris* —*grey*—in English), and begins with a code-switch (see chapter 2) and Pau's request for help from Bawna (line 4). Bawna does not understand him (lines 5 and 7) so Pau has to repeat himself two more times (lines 6 and 8). Finally, Bawna answers the question (line 9) and provides the word "green" as the translation for "gris". Pau echoes this and repeats the word with rising intonation to indicate disagreement (line 10). Then Bawna provides the correct translation (line 11) and Pau repeats it to end his sentence (the cash register and the stairs are grey). Pau's intervention in line 10 is an example of **repair**, that is, a discourse activity aimed at solving an interactional problem. The notion of repair takes into account who draws attention to a problem and who provides the solution. In this case, it is **other-initiated self-repair**, meaning the person who produces the troublesome word (Bawna in line 9) is also the one who provides the correct solution (Bawna in line 11). Bawna is able to repair herself because her partner (Pau in line 10) drew her attention to the problem through echoing. If Pau had provided the solution, it would have been an **other-initiated other-repair**. If Bawna had noticed the problem, it would have been a **self-initiated self-repair**. Finally, if Bawna had pointed out the problem but needed Pau to solve it, it would have had a **self-initiated other-repair**.

In the previous excerpt, code-switching (language alternation) marked a shift in activity and helped solve a communication barrier. However, shifting languages does not always pause the conversation. Often, just like with the use of code-mixing (see chapter 2), code-switching is a plurilingual resource used to keep the conversation going. This is the case with Bawna in line 1 and Pau in line 8 of the following excerpt, in which they are creating a fictional dialogue between a shopper and a seller.

```
01 BAW it's a a a deu mil money
02 PAU deu mil no (.) deu mil moneys
03 BAW a ten
04 PAU er
05 BAW ten thousand
06 PAU ten thousand moneys
07 BAW ((incomprehensible fragment))
08 PAU yes (.) yes (.) es que sube (.) it's up (.) it's up (.) it's navideit
09 BAU thank you
10 PAU thank you (.) bye
```

In line 1, Bawna first creates a sentence for the fictional dialogue in which she mixes two languages ("deu mil moneys") but then self-corrects and rephrases it in English only ("ten thousand", lines 3 and 5). Pau, in line 8, also produces a sentence mixing languages ("yes, yes, es que sube"), before self-correcting and repeating it in English, replacing the Spanish words with English words that have a similar meaning ("it's up") to the word rise (prices rise at Christmas). In line 8, we find another example of a mixed code, this time at the lexical level. Pau does not know the word for *Christmas* in English, so he creates one based on the Spanish word (*navidad*) and adds a suffix that sounds English to him ("navideit"). Pau and Bawna's decision to use a mixed code suggests they are trying to keep the conversation flowing while aiming at completing the task in the language of instruction.

In summary, the teachers' and students' communicative practices analysed in this chapter rely on plurilingual procedures, such as code-switching and code-mixing, which facilitate the processes of understanding and producing messages in the language of instruction.

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Annex

Transcription symbols used in this chapter:

Pseudonym of speaker:	PAR:
Rising intonation:	/
Interruption:	text-
Timed pauses:	(number of seconds)
Untimed pauses:	(.)
Overlapping:	[text]
Lengthening of a sound:	text:::
Transcriber's comments:	((text))
Approximate phonetic transcription:	+text+
Incomprehensible fragment:	XX
Soft voice:	°text°