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Multilingualism in Secondary Education

A case study of the Province of Fryslân and
the Basque Autonomous Community



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1. Introduction

This report is part of a larger project on multilingualism in education in the Province of Fryslân (The Netherlands) and the Basque Autonomous Community (BAC, Spain).¹ In both areas, pupils receive multilingual education in their *minority language*, respectively Frisian and Basque, in the dominant language, Dutch and Spanish, and in English, which is the predominant foreign language taught in Frisian and Basque schools. A minority language is a language used within a given territory of a state; the language is different from the state language and the number of speakers of this language is smaller than the rest of the state's population (Council of Europe, 1992).

In the previous report, "Frisian and Basque multilingual education" (Arocena Egaña, Douwes, Hanenburg, Gorter & Cenoz, 2010), a comparison is made between the (multilingual) education system in Fryslân and in the BAC. The report describes both education systems (the school types, education levels, teacher training and materials) and the role of the minority, majority and other languages within these systems. It gives an overview of all education levels, while the current report focuses on secondary education. The main question is: *How is multilingualism functioning in secondary education in the Province of Fryslân and in the BAC?*

In order to set the context in which the research question will be answered, chapter 2 starts with a general overview of the education systems and multilingualism in both areas. Subsequently, previous results on multilingualism in both areas will be given. Based on this, we formulate three sub-questions and corresponding expectations at the beginning of chapter 3.

After setting the sub-questions and expectations, the three research methods are described. The current explorative study consists of data collected during observations at four secondary schools; two schools in the BAC that were visited at the end of 2009 for one week and two schools in Fryslân that were visited at the beginning of 2010 also for a week. Information was collected by means of observations in the schools (inside and outside the classroom), by interviewing teachers and by taking photographs of linguistic signs visible in the school. This way, an in-depth analysis of how multilingualism functions in these particular four schools is provided in this report.

Chapters 4, 5 and 6 present the results of the analysis of the data collected, corresponding with one sub-question each. In chapter 7, the questions and expectations are discussed and suggestions for questions which can be examined in upcoming stages of the research project are given.

¹ For readers who would like to obtain some background information about the two areas, we refer to appendix I.

2. Multilingualism in secondary education

To set the context in which the analysis of the data collected has to be seen, first of all an overview of the educational systems in Fryslân and in the BAC (Section 2.1) is given, as described by Arocena Egaña et al. (2010) and Douwes, Hanenburg & Lotti (2010). Afterwards, a description of multilingualism within both education systems (Section 2.2) and some theory on the linguistic landscape (Section 2.3) will be provided.

2.1 Educational systems in general

In Fryslân and in the BAC, the stages of education are comparable: pre-primary, primary and secondary, followed by either vocational or higher education. There are both private and public schools in both regions that offer all educational levels. Though, the meaning of this designation is different in both contexts. In Fryslân, the private schools are denominational (mainly Protestant and some are Catholic), while in the BAC the private schools are not necessarily religious (Arocena Egaña et al., 2010: 14).

One of the differences that exist between education in these two regions is that for example in Fryslân, due to the *freedom of education*, schools have a rather large pedagogic, organisational and management autonomy. This creates considerable differences amongst the teaching methods and the language use in Frisian schools, while in the BAC, the pedagogic, organisational and management autonomy is more limited (Arocena Egaña et al., 2010: 16 and 27).

In both areas, secondary education starts at the age of twelve, but there is another important difference existing within secondary education in the two regions. In the BAC, the first four years of secondary education are the same for all pupils, while in Fryslân pupils can choose one out of three different levels (Arocena Egaña et al., 2010: 8-9). These levels, with an increasing level of difficulty, are called 'VMBO', 'HAVO' and 'VWO'. The first level prepares pupils for a vocational training, the second for higher professional education and the third for the university (Douwes et al., 2010: 38). In the BAC, at the age of sixteen the pupils have to choose between an academic or a more vocational path. Pupils who wish to go to college have to be enrolled in a two-year post-compulsory university-oriented education (Arocena Egaña et al., 2010: 19).

2.2 Use of minority and dominant language

In secondary education in both Fryslân and in the BAC, attention is paid to the minority language. Both situations are described in respectively Section 2.2.1 and 2.2.2.

2.2.1 Fryslân

In the twentieth century, a struggle for Frisian in the formal domains, like education and legislation, took place. In secondary education, Frisian was an optional subject from 1948 on. In 1993, the subject became compulsory for the first grades (Douwes et al., 2010: 36). Nowadays, there are three

secondary schools in Fryslân which offer bilingual Dutch-English education for the first three grades.² In these schools the division between English and Dutch as languages of instruction is circa 50/50. In the school year of 2010-2011 also a trilingual pilot started, using Frisian, Dutch and English as languages of instruction.³ Although in these bilingual and trilingual schools there are some statements about the amount of the two or three languages, the tendency is that schools in Fryslân are free to choose the amount of instruction hours for each language (Douwes et al., 2010: 74-75).

Frisian as a subject is taught in the first two years and for one hour a week and the attainment targets are less ambitious for Frisian than for Dutch. Although the legal possibility to use Frisian as a language of instruction during lessons of other subjects is available, only one third of the regular secondary schools, i.e. neither bilingual nor trilingual, uses Frisian on an occasional basis for instructing. The supply of teaching materials in Frisian is minimal as well (Arocena Egaña et al., 2010: 34-36).

During a visit at eight Frisian schools, it could be observed that the teachers switched languages sometimes. Likewise, they did not seem to mind that during the language lessons other languages were used by the pupils besides the language being taught (Arocena et al., 2010: 52-53).

2.2.2 The BAC

Like in Fryslân, also in the BAC, a struggle for the minority language occurred. Already in 1914, the first official Basque medium school ('Ikastola') was founded. The *Ikastola*, which can nowadays be private or public, is meant specifically for promoting the use of Basque in all spheres of life (Arocena Egaña et al., 2010: 14). However, during Franco's regime (1939-1975) Basque was banned from education. Despite this, in the 1960s a group of enthusiastic parents and teachers fought for a re-opening of a number of Basque schools. They believed Basque to be a considerable part of their identity and therefore they wanted their children to be taught in it. The goal was to define the nation by defending the Basque language and culture. There existed a strong belief that Basque should be the language of education and upbringing. A solid relationship arose between language and identity: Basque was considered to help children define their identity (Working group of the Federation, 1991: 19-21).

At the beginning, the Basque medium schools were illegal, but after Franco's regime the political climate towards Basque became favourable. In 1982, the *Law for Normalisation and Use of the Basque Language* made it possible to use either Basque or Spanish as the language of instruction (Zalbide & Cenoz, 2008: 7). The law of 1982 led to the *Bilingualism Degree* in 1983, which established three models of bilingual education. Pupils can choose one out of three language models (Sierra, 2008: 39). The models are applicable from pre-primary to secondary education (Arocena Egaña et al., 2010: 32).

A model: instruction in Spanish, Basque as a subject;

B model: instruction roughly 50-50% in Spanish and Basque;

² These schools are: Marnecollege in Boalsert (2004), Liudger in Drachten (2005) and Piter Jelles Montessori in Ljouwert (2007). More information about the bilingual education can be found in: www.europeesplatform.nl.

³ The school where the trilingual pilot started, was Liudger in Burgum.

D model: instruction in Basque, Spanish as a subject.

The *Ikastolas* only offer education in D model (Arocena Egaña et al., 2010: 67). The number of pupils who choose this model has increased over the years: in 1983, less than 20% of the pupils were taught through the D model, while in 2008, this amount was over 50% (Ibid.: 31-32). At the same time, a wide range of teaching materials is available for instruction in Basque (Ibid: 25).

During a visit at nine Basque schools (Arocena Egaña et al., 2010: 49-52), the minority and majority languages as medium of instruction were rather strictly separated. The language use was in line with the specific language model, but next to this, Spanish was taught in Spanish, English was taught in English and Basque was taught in Basque.

Independent of the language model, the Basque Department of Education requires a minimum number of hours for Basque as a subject. For secondary education, this means four hours a week in the first two years and three hours per week in the final two years. The attainment targets for Basque are equal to those of Spanish (Arocena Egaña et al., 2010: 35).

Recapitulation position minority language in education

In Table 1 we summarise the similarities and differences between the two areas, with respect to the possibilities to use the minority language.

Table 1: Differences in possibilities to use the minority languages in Fryslân and the BAC

	Fryslân	BAC
Minority language as a subject		
Amount of hours	Year 1 and 2: 1 hour per week	Year 1 and 2: four hours per week Year 3 and 4: three hours per week
Attainment targets	Higher for Dutch than for Frisian	Equal for Spanish and Basque
Minority language as a medium of instruction		
Regulation: is minority language allowed?	Yes	Yes
Regulation towards amount of minority language	No regulation (except for bilingual and trilingual schools); language switching	Language models which indicate the minimal amount of Basque; rather strict language separation
Language stimulation	Frisian is more or less limited to informal use	Pupils are encouraged to use Basque in formal settings
Teaching materials	No teaching materials in Frisian	A lot of teaching materials in Basque

2.3 Linguistic Landscape

If you are at school or in the school yard and you look around, you can read a lot of language on posters, direction signs, names of classrooms, et cetera. These signs form the *linguistic landscape* of the school. The term 'linguistic landscape' was originally used in a wider scope than only the school environment. Landry and Bourhis (1997) provide the following definition: "The language of public

road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs and public signs on government buildings of a given territory, region or urban agglomeration” (in: Cenoz & Gorter, 2006: 67).

Analysing the linguistic landscape can be considered as an important source of information about the power and status of different languages (Cenoz & Gorter, 2006: 67). In the nine Basque schools mentioned before (Arocena Egaña et al., 2010: 57-58), the use of Basque could be observed on all education levels. At universities, a considerable amount of Spanish was visible next to Basque and some signs were English too. Though, monolingual English signs in the BAC’s schools were rare.

In the eight visited Frisian schools, also visited by Arocena Egaña et al. (2010-57-58), most textual signs were in Dutch. Frisian was seen more frequently in the primary than in the secondary schools and more in the countryside than in the larger towns. If there were Frisian signs, these were almost always used in combination with Dutch and therefore bilingual. English was used much more in the Frisian than in Basque schools.

As mentioned before, the current study focuses on secondary education. Chapter 3 will give the method used for analysing the linguistic landscape but first, some theory concerning the different (textual) sign types and their meaning will be provided.

2.3.1 Textual sign types

Textual signs can be expressed in one or more languages. In the case of multilingual signs, these can be duplicating, fragmentary, overlapping or complementary, according to Reh (2004). In *duplicating multilingual signs*, the same text is presented in more than one language (see Figure 1). In *fragmentary multilingual signs*, the full information is given only in one language, but selected parts have been translated into one or more additional languages. In the *overlapping multilingual signs*, a part of the information is given in two or more languages and in all the languages different pieces of additional information are given as well.



Figure 1: Example of a multilingual sign in a trilingual Frisian school

In *complementary multilingual signs*, no overlapping can be found, so knowledge of all the languages involved is necessary to understand the whole message (in: Edelman, 2010: 21).

Within the four types, the location of the languages on the sign can differ. The texts in different languages cannot be located simultaneously in the same place, thus one has to choose which language is located at the top of the sign (if they are aligned vertically) or on the left (if they are aligned horizontally). In the case of figure 1, for instance, the Dutch word is located at the top of the sign and the English one is located on the lowest level. According to Huebner (2006), determining language prominence in a sign can be problematic though, because next to text placement also font size, colour and the amount of text can make a particular language more or less eye-catching (in: Edelman, 2010: 22).

2.3.2 Meaning of textual signs

Landry & Bourhis (1997) note that the linguistic landscape has two functions: an informational and a symbolic function. The *informational function* holds that the signs can mark language boundaries between adjoining communities. The diversity of the languages can give information about the sociolinguistic composition of the territory. The *symbolic function* implies that the presence of one's language on the signs can contribute to the *feeling* that this language has a certain status (in: Edelman, 2010: 10).

One has to take into account that the signs can be interpreted differently than intended. There are at least two important actors: the people who make the signs (producers) and the passers-by who observe the signs, be it consciously or unconsciously (observers). Sometimes, the producers do not make their language choice consciously, but habitually by convention. In a study by Malinowski (2009), conducted in America for instance, half of the business owners included English on the signs, just "because this is America" (in: Edelman, 2010: 15). To go back to Figure 1: does the fact that Dutch is located at the top of the sign indicate that the producer considered this language to be more important than English? You cannot be sure unless you know the producer's intended meaning.

Finally, there may arise a difficulty in defining the language(s) used on the sign. If one takes the text "Engels is cool" ("English is cool"), for example, one has to decide whether one indicates the sign as bilingual Dutch and English or not. The word 'cool' is English, but it has become so natural to use it in Dutch, that one can find the word in the Dutch dictionary.

3. Description of the case study

Data for this study were collected from two schools in Fryslân and two in the BAC. The selection of the four schools was made by practical reasons, i.e. personal contacts or geographical distance. In Fryslân, two schools, Liudger (Burgum) in the eastern and Bogerman (Snits) in the western part of the province, were selected.⁴ In the BAC, these were Antigua Luberri and La Salle Berrozpe. The former is located in Donostia, the capital of Gipuzkoa, while the latter is located in Andoain in the province of Gipuzkoa. The pupils in the groups that participated in the study were enrolled in the D model. This means that Basque is the main language of instruction (see Section 2.2.2).⁵

The background information of the schools is given at the end of this chapter. The chapter however starts with the sub-questions and expectations of the explorative study (Section 3.1) and a description of how the data were gathered (Section 3.2).

3.1 Sub-questions and expectations

The general question of this explorative study is how multilingualism is functioning in secondary education in Fryslân and in the BAC. To make the research question concrete, it was divided into three sub-questions and based on the provided information, the corresponding expectations were formulated.

Question 1: How often do the pupils and teachers use the minority, the dominant and the foreign languages in the classroom?

To find out how multilingualism is functioning, it was considered important to look at how often the minority language, the dominant language (spoken by the country's majority) and foreign languages, mainly English, are used. The expectations were:

- 1a. In the two Basque schools, the minority language is used more often than in the two Frisian schools.
- 1b. In Fryslân, the minority language is used more often for informal than for formal conversations, while this difference does not exist in the BAC.
- 1c. During English lessons, in classrooms in the BAC, English is used more often than in Fryslân.

We came to expectation 1a, since the two groups followed in the visited Basque schools are enrolled in the D model and since in Fryslân, the use of Frisian as language of instruction is not very much regulated. Expectation 1b is given, because in the BAC, the starting point is that during language lessons the source and target languages are the same (see Section 2.2.2) and the reasoning behind expectation 1c was that Frisian is more restricted to the informal domain than Basque in the BAC (see Section 2.2.2) as was noticed in the previous report (Arocena et al., 2010: 49).

⁴ More information about the Frisian schools can be found at: burgum.csgliudger.nl (Dutch) and www.bogerman.nl (Dutch).

⁵ More information about the Basque schools can be found at: www.antigua-luberri.net (Basque) and www.lasalleberrozpe.com (Basque and Spanish).

Question 2: What are the attitudes and language policies of the teachers concerning multilingualism in the classroom?

Since teachers are in charge during the lessons, their attitude and language policies were considered to be important for the language use. Language policies are understood by us as the extent to which the teacher motivates or forbids pupils to use a certain language. Because during the previous visits, the languages were more separated in the BAC than in Fryslân (see Section 2.2.2), the expectation was:

2. The teachers in the BAC are less willing to allow other languages than the language of instruction in the particular lesson than the teachers in Fryslân.

Question 3: How is the linguistic landscape in the school building shaped: how much information on the minority, dominant and international languages can be perceived?

For knowing how the languages are functioning, it was considered to be important to look at the linguistic landscape as well, since Cenoz and Gorter (2006) mentioned that the linguistic landscape gives insight in the status of the languages (see Section 2.3).

In the seventeen schools visited for the earlier report by Arocena Egaña et al (2010), it could be seen that in the Basque schools, the minority language was much more visible than in the Frisian schools, while English was far more visible in the Frisian schools. The expectations therefore were:

- 3a. In the linguistic landscape of the Basque schools, the minority language is more visible than in the Frisian schools.
- 3b. In the linguistic landscape of the Frisian schools, English is more visible than in the Basque schools.

3.2 Visited schools

Some general information on each of the schools where the data for this study were collected is seen in Table 2. Liudger is a relatively small school compared by Bogerman. La Salle Berrozpe has also a lot of pupils, but they have an age range of 2 to 20.

In Fryslân, half of the teachers reported Frisian and Dutch as their mother tongues and half of them indicated only Dutch; their skills in the two languages have not been studied. Of the Basque teachers, no data about their mother tongue were available, but every teacher was capable to speak and teach through Basque, except for three teachers at La Salle Berrozpe who were monolingual Spanish.

Table 2: The pupils and teachers on the four schools

	Fryslân		The BAC	
	Bogerman	Liudger	Antigua Luberri	La Salle Berrozpe
The pupils				
Number	1403	545	715	1081
Gender	46% boys 54% girls	50% boys 50% girls	55% boys 45% girls	61% boys 39% girls
Age range	14-18	12-16	12-18	2-20
The teachers				
Number	200	51	91	90
Gender	50% men 50% women	35% men 65% women	32% men 68% women	40% men 60% women

Some background information of the four groups followed is given in Table 3. As seen in this table, the groups included 20 to 25 pupils; boys and girls in the age range of 14 to 16 years old. A lot of pupils in Fryslân and the BAC reported they had the minority language as their mother tongue, whether or not in combination with the dominant language.

Table 3: The pupils of the visited groups

	Fryslân		The BAC	
	Bogerman	Liudger	Antigua Luberri	La Salle Berrozpe
Number	25	20	24	21
Gender	32% boys 68% girls	45% boys 55% girls	58% boys 38% girls (of 4% no data available)	47% boys 53% girls
Age range	14-15	14-15	15-16	14-15
Level or model	3 HAVO	3 HAVO	D model	D model
Home language	48% Frisian 32% Dutch 8% Frisian+Dutch 12% Other language	70% Frisian 30% Dutch 0% Frisian+Dutch 0% Other language	25% Basque 42% Spanish 33% Basque+Spanish 0% Other language	35% Basque 35% Spanish 30% Basque+Spanish 0% Other language

3.3 Data collection

As said in the introduction chapter, data were collected in three different ways; by means of observations (following each group of pupils for a whole week), by means of teacher interviews and by means of pictures. Section 3.3.1 explains how the observations were carried out and what was the data collecting instrument used during those observations. Section 3.3.2 gives a description of the teacher interviews and Section 3.3.3 describes how the pictures for the linguistic landscape were taken and how to be used.

3.3.1 Observations inside and outside classroom

In each of the schools, one group of pupils was followed for a whole week⁶ and observations of all the lessons of those groups were carried out. In total, 73 lessons were observed and a small description of their distribution is shown in Table 4.

Table 4: The visited lessons

School	Number of lessons			Length of the lessons (minutes)
	Language lessons	Non-language lessons	Total number	
Bogerman	5	12	12	70
Liudger	6	15	21	50
Antigua Luberri	9	12	21	55
La Salle Berrozpe	8	11	19	55

For collecting data on the language use inside the classrooms and in general in the schools, two schemes of a Welsh investigation were used.⁷ These schemes are specifically meant for multilingual environments and therefore, the amount of usage of the various languages can be easily reported. The two schemes were adapted to the current study's needs: for example, instead of Welsh and English, the three languages involved in each of the regions where this study was conducted were included.

School observation scheme

The school observation scheme started with general questions about the school: the name and location of the school, the number and gender of the teachers and pupils and their language background. The items about the language use are displayed in Frame 1. The observer had to estimate the use of the minority, dominant and foreign languages by the teacher and pupils and in the written signs inside and outside the school building. With the last-mentioned question, a general insight could be provided, while for the specific linguistic landscape research (Section 3.3.3) photographs have been taken and analysed more thoroughly.

⁶ With thanks to Eli Arocena Egaña, Manel Rodriguez, who visited the Basque schools at the end of 2009, and Sytske Miedema and Marieke Hanenburg who visited the Frisian schools in the spring of 2010.

⁷ This survey was created by members of the Bilingual Education Research Group, within the Centre for Research on Bilingualism on the Bangor University (Wales). The first drafts were piloted in schools during the Autumn of 2007. See also: www.bilingualism.bangor.ac.uk/people/documents/PosterLimerickBrynJones-1_000.ppt

Frame 1: Language use items in school observation scheme

- Languages used by students when they are outside the classroom;
- Languages used by teachers while addressing students in non-learning activity;
- Languages used by teacher when (s)he addresses another teacher;
- Overall spoken language environment inside and outside the school;
- Overall written signs inside and outside the school.

Classroom observation scheme

Next to the school observation scheme there was a scheme specifically for the language use inside the classroom. At first, the observer had to indicate general information about the date of visiting, the time period and the subject that was taught. The items about the language use within the classroom are displayed in Frame 2. In the Welsh-English scheme, there were also items about the teacher's language policy that, for the current study, were decided to be removed and be added to the teacher interviews in order to be able to expand the subject during the interviews.

The observer had to estimate the amount (in percentages) of the minority, dominant and foreign languages used by the pupils and teachers and used on the written signs inside the classroom. For the analysis, the overall language environment and the language of teaching materials are merged into the variable 'linguistic landscape', for both are containing linguistic signs.

Because it is hard to estimate the exact percentage of the languages used, three broader categories are used for the analysis: 0-40% use of the minority language, 40-60% or 60-100%.

Frame 2: Language use items in classroom observation scheme

Languages used by teacher

- Languages used by teacher when addressing the whole class;
- Languages used by teacher when addressing small group (2-5 students);
- Languages used by teacher when addressing individual students;
- Written languages used by teacher on the white/blackboard.

Languages used by students

- Languages used by students when talking to teacher;
- Languages used by students when talking in small group (2-5 students);
- Languages used by students when talking among each other;
- Written languages used by students.

Language environment inside the classroom

- Overall written language environment;
- Language of teaching materials, books, digital documents, web pages.

3.3.2 Teacher interviews

The second sub-question was about the attitudes and language policies of teachers with respect to multilingualism in the classroom. In total twelve interviews – six in Fryslân and six in the BAC – were held with language teachers of the minority, the dominant and two foreign languages (English and French). The questions asked can be found in appendix II. In Table 5, the subjects taught by each of the twelve teachers are given.

Table 5: Background information of the teachers

Teacher	Name of the school	Language subject that was taught
1	Bogerman	English
2	Bogerman	Dutch
3	Bogerman	Frisian
4	Liudger	Frisian
5	Liudger	English
6	Liudger	Dutch
7	Antigua Luberri	English
8	Antigua Luberri	Basque
9	La Salle Berrozpe	English
10	La Salle Berrozpe	French
11	La Salle Berrozpe	Basque
12	La Salle Berrozpe	Spanish

Only language teachers were interviewed because they are actively working with language as a subject, while teachers of other subjects only use language as a medium of instruction and communication. The researchers interviewed the teachers individually and the interviews were recorded, although the interviewees identity remained anonymous. The interviews were carried out in the minority or in the dominant language, depending on the language background of the teachers or, as in cases 11 and 12, of the interviewer. The recordings were afterwards transcribed and translated into English if they were conducted in a different language.

3.3.3 Photographs

During the observation week at the end of 2009, 96 photographs were taken from separate linguistic signs inside and outside the classrooms at La Salle Berrozpe and 105 at Antigua Luberri. At the beginning of 2009 also 29 photographs were taken (not systematically) at Bogerman. In the report by Arocena Egaña et al (2010) only a brief overview was given, but for this research, the photographs have been analysed more thoroughly by indicating several properties. The location of the sign was indicated, the function, the initiator and the number of languages, because a sign can be either mono- or multilingual. The language (combination) was identified, and, in case of the multilingual signs, the researcher stated which language was the most prominent one. If we found a text in the minority or dominant language and an originally foreign word was included, it was not indicated as being a code switch if the word could be found in the dictionary of the minority or dominant language. Finally, the type of multilingualism was indicated: whether the content of the texts in the different languages was duplicating, fragmentary, overlapping or complementary (see Section 2.3.1).

4. Language use of pupils and teachers

This chapter describes the language use by the pupils and teachers at each of the four schools, focused on the use of the minority language. We observed the language use inside school (1) in the corridors, canteen and schoolyard and (2) in the classrooms during lessons.

We start this chapter with the language use in the corridors, canteen and schoolyard at the four schools. For this, we used the school observation scheme (see Section 3.3). The use of the minority language is presented in Table 6. Each column refers to one school and the rows indicate the amount of the minority language. If a cross (X) is put at '> 60%', this means that the minority language was spoken more than 60% of the time. Likewise, a cross at '40-60%' means that the minority and dominant language were used to the same extent and the third category, a cross at '< 40%', refers to a dominant language oriented environment, in which the minority language was used less than 40% of the time.

Table 6: Use of minority language (in percentages) on school level

		Fryslân		BAC	
		BO	LI	AL	SB
Language of pupils outside classroom	>60%		X		
	40-60%				X
	<40%	X		X	
Language teacher-pupils in non-learning activities	>60%			X	X
	40-60%				
	<40%	X	X		
Languages teachers amongst themselves	>60%			X	X
	40-60%	X	X		
	<40%				
Overall spoken environment in the school building	>60%		X		
	40-60%				X
	<40%	X		X	
Linguistic landscape inside the school building (outside the classroom)	>60%			X	X
	40-60%				
	<40%	X	X		

Explanation: X = this answer applies here; BO = Bogerman; LI = Liudger; AL = Antigua Luberri; SB = La Salle Berrozpe.

Although both Basque schools are D model schools, the pupils often talked Spanish outside the classroom. Therefore, the overall spoken environment was dominated by Spanish as well. The teachers, though, were far more consequent in speaking Basque. Outside the classroom, the linguistic landscape was very Basque as well. When Spanish could be perceived, this was always in combination with Basque.

In the Frisian schools, the minority language was used to a lesser extent. The teachers spoke either Frisian or Dutch amongst themselves, but mostly Dutch to the pupils. Earlier observations showed that in Frisian schools, Frisian is especially used in informal settings outside the classroom (see Section 2.2.2). At Bogerman, this could not be observed. At Liudger, however, the pupils indeed

spoke a lot of Frisian outside the classroom, especially if they were from lower levels. The linguistic landscape was the same in both Frisian schools: almost completely in Dutch, with also the use of some English in Liudger. More information with respect to the linguistic landscape will be given in Chapter 6.

Next to the school observations, we have done classroom observations in each school. In Sections 4.1 to 4.4, the extent of the use of the minority, dominant and foreign languages per school and per lesson is described. A distinction is made between the language subjects, in which a particular language is taught, and the non-language subjects (history, biology, chemistry, et cetera) in which language is only used as a medium of instruction. For the last-mentioned category counted that only the minority and the dominant language could be perceived. These data were easy enough to show in a table. The language subjects are treated separately, because of the variety of languages that could be perceived. These lessons are described in a qualitative way, instead of viewing results in a table. In Section 4.5, a comparison is made of the four schools.

4.1 Liudger

At Liudger, 20 lessons were observed. The subjects were: chemistry (3x), Dutch (2x), economics (2x), English (2x), geography (2x), German (2x), history (2x), maths (2x) and physics (3x). The estimated proportion of the minority and majority language in non-language lessons is given in Table 6. Each row refers to one lesson.

It can be seen that in the non-language lessons, the teachers nearly always spoke Dutch to the whole class, to small groups and to individual pupils. When an individual pupil talked to the teacher, his or her language was almost always Dutch as well. Amongst each other, in groups of two or more pupils, they used Frisian just as much as Dutch. The written language by the pupils and teachers, which is not given in the table, was always in Dutch. Likewise, the linguistic landscape was completely Dutch.

Table 7: Share of minority language (in percentages) in non-language subjects of Liudger

Subject	Language use					
	Teacher- Whole class	Teacher- Small groups	Teacher- Individual pupil	Individual pupil- Teacher	Individuals amongst each other	Small groups amongst each other
Chemistry (1)	< 40%	< 40%	< 40%	< 40%	-	> 60%
Chemistry (2)	< 40%	< 40%	< 40%	< 40%	-	40-60%
Chemistry (3)	< 40%	< 40%	< 40%	< 40%	40-60%	40-60%
Economics (1)	< 40%	< 40%	< 40%	< 40%	> 60%	> 60%
Economics (2)	< 40%	< 40%	< 40%	< 40%	40-60%	40-60%
Geography (1)	< 40%	< 40%	< 40%	< 40%	40-60%	40-60%
Geography (2)	< 40%	< 40%	< 40%	< 40%	> 60%	> 60%
History (1)	< 40%	< 40%	< 40%	< 40%	< 40%	40-60%
History (2)	< 40%	-	-	< 40%	40-60%	
Maths (1)	-	< 40%	< 40%	< 40%	-	40-60%
Maths (2)	< 40%	< 40%	< 40%	-	-	-
Physics (1)	< 40%	< 40%	< 40%	< 40%	> 60%	40-60%
Physics (2)	< 40%	-	-	< 40%	> 60%	> 60%
Physics (3)	< 40%	< 40%	< 40%	< 40%	40-60%	< 40%

Explanation: - = no observation data available.

Dutch language lesson (1x)

In the Dutch lesson, the teacher spoke Dutch to the whole group and both Frisian and Dutch to address small groups or individual pupils. She used Dutch to the Dutch-speaking pupils and Frisian to the Frisian-speaking pupils, but the use of Frisian was rather limited to informal issues. She said Frisian was not her mother tongue, but she wanted to use this language in order to get closer to the pupils. When the pupils addressed her, they spoke a lot of Frisian, but only when the contact was informal. When talking in small groups, they used both Frisian and Dutch and while amongst each other, they used Frisian most of the time. No data are available with respect to the linguistic landscape.

English language lesson (2x)

In the two English lessons, taught by the same teacher, the teacher spoke English to the whole group and often to individual pupils. Only when the teacher talked about something not related to the subject, she used Dutch. Next to that, she used Dutch or a bit of Frisian when she talked to herself. The pupils mostly used Frisian amongst each other, but they used English as much as Dutch to address the teacher. No data are available with respect to the linguistic landscape.

In the second English lesson, it could be observed that the strategy of the teacher was to talk in English, but that she spontaneously used Dutch sometimes. For a few times, she continued in English:

Teacher: *Weten jullie nog welke versie jullie hadden?*
 [Dutch-English: 'Do you still know which version you had?']
Who has got number one, two, three?

Or she corrected herself by translating the sentence in English. For instance:

Teacher: *Pakken jullie even een andere pen?*
 [Dutch-English: 'Will you take another pen?']
Please take another pen!

German language lesson (2x)

The German lessons showed a completely different picture than the English lessons: the teacher spoke Dutch almost all the time, with exception of discussing the exercises in which she used German as well. She explained the German grammar as well as commands like 'take your book' through Dutch. Sometimes she said a short sentence in German, for example to thank a pupil for saying the right answer: 'Ja richtig, danke schön' ['Yes, that is correct, thank you']. The pupils used Dutch to address the teacher and both Dutch and Frisian amongst themselves and in small groups. Again, no data are available with respect to the linguistic landscape.

4.2 Bogerman

At Bogerman, 12 lessons were observed: Dutch (2x), economy, English, French, geography, German, maths, music, physics (2x) and TIO,⁸. As seen in Table 8, the climate in the non-language lessons was very Dutch: almost every teacher spoke Dutch to the whole group or to small groups and individual pupils. The only one who spoke Frisian as much as Dutch was the music teacher, but he said, he had no specific reason for choosing one language or the other. Like at Liudger, the teachers and pupils wrote only in Dutch during the non-language subjects and the linguistic landscape was completely Dutch.

Table 8: Share of minority language (in percentages) in non-language subjects of Bogerman

Subject	Language use					
	Teacher- Whole class	Teacher- Small groups	Teacher- Individual pupil	Individual pupil- Teacher	Individuals amongst each other	Small groups amongst each other
Economics	< 40%	-	< 40%	< 40%	< 40%	< 40%
Geography	< 40%	-	< 40%	< 40%	< 40%	< 40%
Maths	< 40%	< 40%	< 40%	< 40%	40-60%	> 60%
Music	< 40%	40-60%	40-60%	40-60%	40-60%	40-60%
Physics (1)	< 40%	< 40%	< 40%	< 40%	< 40%	< 40%
Physics (2)	< 40%	-	< 40%	< 40%	< 40%	< 40%
TIO	< 40%	-	40-60%	< 40%	< 40%	-

Explanation: - = no observation data available.

Dutch language lesson (2x)

In the Dutch lessons, the teacher used only Dutch (spoken and written). She could speak Frisian, but she said she did not want to use it in this particular class, because it was a relatively weak class.

⁸ TIO = Taalonderwijs in ontwikkeling (= Language education in development); this is a web-based computer programme which aims to improve pupils' writing skills in the Dutch language.

According to her, there was no room for any extras besides the straightforward lesson plan. She did not use Frisian either when a pupil asked her something in Frisian:

Pupil: *Ik wit it net*

[Frisian-English: 'I don't know']

Teacher: *Kom op, welke van de vier mogelijkheden is het?*

[Dutch-English: 'Come on, which of the four possibilities is the right answer?']

This pupil used Frisian when things were difficult. In general, however, almost no Frisian could be perceived.

English language lesson (1x)

The English language teacher used almost no English, neither spoken nor written. He used Dutch to address the whole class, but when he addressed individual pupils, he used Frisian as well. The pupils used Frisian about 25% of the time to address the teacher or to talk amongst each other. The linguistic landscape was partly Dutch and partly English.

French language lesson (1x)

In the French language lesson, neither the pupils nor the teachers used the target language to address someone: they only used Dutch. Likewise, the answers on a listening skills test were discussed in Dutch. The teacher wrote some French words on the whiteboard together with their Dutch translations. She perfectly understood Frisian, for she had learnt it at the teacher training course, but she did not feel comfortable in using it. Once, she had asked the pupils which language was their home language and 60% had answered 'Frisian'. Still, the pupils nearly used no Frisian. One of the Frisian-speaking pupils came with a reason for this: it was practical to use only Dutch, because some of the pupils did not speak Frisian while everybody could speak Dutch. The linguistic landscape was 50% Dutch and 50% French.

German language lesson (1x)

The German teacher came from Germany. She spoke Dutch, but no Frisian. The language spoken by the teacher and the pupils was Dutch nearly all the time. Only when a pupil had to give an answer of a homework assignment, he or she used German. When talking amongst each other, the pupils used Dutch, but also some Frisian. In the German classroom, the linguistic landscape was completely Dutch.

4.3 La Salle Berrozpe

In this school, one group was visited during 19 lessons: Basque (2x), economy, English (2x), French (2x), maths (3x), a mentoring class, music, physical education, physics, religion, Spanish (2x), techniques and a workshop on vocation. As seen in Table 9, during the non-language classes, the teachers only used Basque as the language of instruction, except for social science, where the teacher also used Spanish.

When talking to the teacher, the pupils also used Basque nearly all the time. Amongst themselves they used some Spanish, but mainly Basque. Almost no observation data are available on the

language written by the teacher and pupils, but with respect to the linguistic landscape we can state that it was (almost) completely in Basque. The pupils stayed in the same classroom during the observation week.

Table 9: Share of minority language (in percentages) in non-language subjects of La Salle Berrozpe

Subject	Language use					
	Teacher-Whole class	Teacher-Small groups	Teacher-Individual pupil	Individual pupil-Teacher	Individuals amongst each other	Small groups amongst each other
Maths (1)	> 60%	> 60%	> 60%	> 60%	> 60%	> 60%
Maths (2)	> 60%	> 60%	> 60%	> 60%	> 60%	> 60%
Maths (3)	> 60%	> 60%	> 60%	> 60%	> 60%	> 60%
Mentor class	> 60%	> 60%	> 60%	> 60%	> 60%	40-60%
Music	> 60%	> 60%	> 60%	> 60%	< 40%	> 60%
Physics	> 60%	> 60%	> 60%	> 60%	> 60%	> 60%
Physical education	> 60%	> 60%	> 60%	> 60%	-	> 60%
Religion	> 60%	> 60%	> 60%	> 60%	> 60%	40-60%
Social science	40-60%	40-60%	> 60%	40-60%	40-60%	40-60%
Techniques	> 60%	> 60%	> 60%	> 60%	> 60%	> 60%
Workshop	> 60%	> 60%	> 60%	> 60%	> 60%	> 60%

Explanation: - = no observation data available.

Basque language lesson (2x)

In the Basque classes, the teacher consequently used Basque, for speaking as well as for writing. Likewise, the pupils used Basque to write down assignments and to address the teacher, although there could be heard some Spanish while they were debating with each other.

English language lesson (2x)

In the English lessons, the teacher spoke the target language (almost) all the time. She only used Basque and Spanish when pupils did not know the English words. In some cases, she added the Basque or Spanish translation, if a pupil gave a translation in only one of the languages:

Teacher: *What is 'hate'?*

Pupil: *Odio.*

[Spanish-English: 'hate']

Teacher: *Odio-gorrotoa.*

[Spanish-English: 'hate'; Basque-English: 'hate']

For explaining grammar, she sometimes used Basque or Spanish. The pupils spoke a lot of English when addressing or answering the teacher, but they spoke mostly Basque and some Spanish amongst themselves. The pupils as well as the teacher wrote everything in English, except for a few words in Basque.

French language lesson (2x)

The teacher used French almost all the time. For explaining grammar, however, the teacher wrote Spanish and Basque examples on the board. The pupils were rather consequent in speaking French to the teacher. When they had to make a translation assignment, by writing the correct translations on the board, they translated the French sentences into Spanish, because they thought that was easier. Sometimes they mixed the Spanish translation with some Basque. There were also some cases in which the pupils used English words instead of French. An example is 'Il a twenty five' instead of 'Il a vingt-cinq' ['He is twenty five years old']. This kind of mistakes was immediately corrected by the teacher.

Spanish language lessons (2x)

In the Spanish lessons, the teacher wrote partly Basque and partly Spanish, while the pupils' written language was completely in Spanish. The teacher did not speak the target language consequently: she spoke Spanish when she was talking about the lesson concepts, but she addressed the pupils in Basque. She switched very often from Spanish into Basque. The pupils also used both languages when addressing her or other pupils, so there was a lot of language switching during the lessons. In this example, Pupil 1 as well as the teacher switched between Spanish and Basque:

- Pupil 1: *Ze orri da?*
[Basque-English: 'What page?']
- Pupil 2: *Ehunda hamasei.*
[Basque-English: 'Hundred sixteen']
- Teacher: *¿Empezásteis a hacer el contexto histórico?*
[Spanish-English: 'Did you start making the historical context?']
- Pupil 1: *Sí.*
[Spanish-English: 'Yes']
- Pupil 2: *Hori nun jartzen du?*
[Basque-English: 'Where does it say so?']
- Teacher: *Hemen.*
[Basque-English: 'Here']

4.4 Antigua Luberri

In Antigua Luberri, one group was followed for 21 lessons: Basque (3x), biology (2x), English (3x), French, history, maths (3x), physics (3x), Spanish (2x), sexual education, social science and an hour in which the pupils had to work on their own, because the teacher was not there due to illness; there was a duty-master.

In the classroom where the group had all their lessons, Basque dominated the linguistic landscape. As seen in Table 10, the teachers' language in these lessons was Basque as well. Likewise, the pupils almost always used Basque to address the teacher. Amongst themselves, they spoke a little more Basque than Spanish, but the differences were not large.

Table 10: Share of minority language (in percentages) in non-language subjects of Antigua Luberri

Subject	Language use					
	Teacher-Whole class	Teacher-Small groups	Teacher-Individual pupil	Individual pupil-Teacher	Individuals amongst each other	Small groups amongst each other
Biology (1)	> 60%	> 60%	> 60%	> 60%	> 60%	> 60%
Biology (2)	> 60%	> 60%	> 60%	> 60%	> 60%	> 60%
History	> 60%	> 60%	> 60%	> 60%	> 60%	> 60%
Maths (1)	> 60%	> 60%	> 60%	> 60%	40-60%	40-60%
Maths (2)	> 60%	> 60%	> 60%	> 60%	> 60%	> 60%
Maths (3)	> 60%	> 60%	> 60%	> 60%	40-60%	40-60%
Physics (1)	> 60%	> 60%	> 60%	> 60%	40-60%	40-60%
Physics (2)	> 60%	> 60%	> 60%	> 60%	> 60%	> 60%
Physics (3)	> 60%	> 60%	> 60%	> 60%	40-60%	40-60%
Sexual education	> 60%	> 60%	> 60%	> 60%	> 60%	40-60%
Social science	> 60%	> 60%	> 60%	40-60%	< 40%	40-60%
Working on their own	> 60%	> 60%	> 60%	> 60%	< 40%	< 40%

Explanation: - = no observation data available.

Basque language lessons (3x)

In the Basque lessons, the target language was consequently used by the teacher, when he spoke as well as when he wrote something on the board. Likewise, the pupils used the target language for writing down assignments and addressing the teacher, but if it was for informal use, they spoke Spanish to the teacher as well, which the teacher allowed. If the pupils talked in pairs or small groups, they used Spanish and Basque to the same extent.

English language lesson (3x)

The teacher and pupils only wrote in English. Likewise, the teacher mostly spoke English to the whole group or small groups. When addressing individual pupils, she used English, Basque and Spanish to the same extent. The pupils did not use much English: they spoke both Basque and Spanish to the teacher and amongst themselves. Beneath, an example of a multilingual interaction during the lesson is given:

- Pupil: *iGracias (Name pupil) por preocuparte por mi!*
 [Spanish-English: 'Thank you (Name pupil), for taking care of me!']
- Teacher: *Yes, I care about you!*
- Pupil:(he is talking with a classmate)
- Teacher: *(Name pupil)!!!*
- Pupil: *Pentsatu behar dugu!*
 [Basque-English: 'We need to think about it']

French language lesson (1x)

Except for a few words in Basque, French was the only language spoken and written by the teacher. Likewise, the pupils wrote French and spoke this language to address the teacher. In small groups, the pupils used French, Basque and Spanish to the same extent. However, if two individuals talked to each other, they only used Basque and Spanish.

Spanish language lesson (2x)

The teacher consequently used the target language for teaching, except for organisational parts like asking someone to read aloud or giving the pupils their marks; then she spoke Basque. The pupils used Spanish when addressing the teacher and when talking amongst each other, they mostly used Spanish and in one third of the cases Basque. The written language by the teacher and pupils was Spanish all the time.

4.5 Comparison of classroom observations

In this section the classroom observation data of the four schools are compared and summarised. Again, a subdivision is made between the non-language and the language subjects.

Non-language subjects

Table 11 shows the use of the minority language during the visited non-language lessons at the four schools. As mentioned before, foreign languages could not be heard or seen. The data of the lessons could be merged, because roughly the same use of the dominant and minority language could be perceived per area. When a cross (X) is put at '>60%', this means again that the climate was dominated by the minority language; '40-60%' means an equal use of the minority and dominant language and '<40%' refers to a by Dutch or Spanish dominated climate.

Table 11: Use of the minority language (in percentages) by teachers and pupils in non-language subjects

		FRY	BAC
The teacher to the classroom, small groups of pupils or individual pupils	> 60%		X
	40-60%		
	< 40%	X	
The pupils to the teacher	> 60%		X
	40-60%		
	< 40%	X	
The pupils amongst themselves (in pairs or small groups)	> 60%		
	40-60%	X	X
	< 40%		

Explanation: X = this answer applies here; FRY = in the two Frisian schools; BAC = in the two Basque schools.

As the table above shows, the minority language was used far less in the Frisian classrooms than in the Basque classrooms. However, the differences are small if pupils are talking amongst themselves: in both areas, they spoke the dominant and minority languages roughly to the same extent, except for Bogerman, where the pupils talked a bit more in the dominant than in the minority language.

Regarding the written language production by teachers and pupils and the linguistic landscape in the corresponding classrooms, it must be said that Dutch dominated in the Frisian classrooms and Basque dominated in the Basque classrooms.

Language subjects

With respect to the language subjects, it can be said that at Liudger, the source and target languages were the same during the English and Dutch lessons, except for some informal communication through Dutch and Frisian. German was only taught through Dutch and some Frisian. At this school, the pupils used a lot of Frisian, but when addressing the teacher, they used the target language more often. At Bogerman, all the foreign languages (and Dutch) were mainly taught through Dutch. The pupils used Dutch nearly all the time. No linguistic landscape data were available of Liudger, but at Bogerman, the landscape was partly in Dutch and partly the foreign language taught at the moment.

In Antigua Luberri and La Salle Berrozpe, the target language was consistently used by the language teachers. In the Basque and Spanish lessons, sometimes respectively Spanish or Basque were used for informal or organisational goals. In La Salle Berrozpe, the pupils consequently used the language taught at the moment to address the teacher, but amongst each other they spoke especially Spanish and some Basque. In Antigua Luberri, the pupils used the target language to address the teacher, except for the English lessons, in which they spoke only Basque and Spanish. Like the pupils at La Salle Berrozpe, they mostly spoke Basque and Spanish when talking amongst each other. The linguistic landscape of the two schools was dominated by Basque.

Recapitulation of the language use

To make a recapitulation, it can be said that Dutch dominated the Frisian schools as well in the non-language lessons as in the language lessons. In the Basque schools, the Basque language was clearly dominant, except when other languages (French, Spanish or English) were taught; in that case, the target language was frequently used. In the next section, the opinion of language teachers of both areas is displayed in order to look at their motivation to use one language or the other inside and outside their lessons.

5. Attitudes and language policies of teachers on multilingualism

This chapter provides data on the attitudes and language policies of teachers with respect to multilingualism. As said in Section 3.3.2, interviews were conducted with twelve language teachers, of which six were from Fryslân and six from the BAC. To give an impression, a number of the (translated into English) interviews can be found in appendix II. This chapter starts with answers given by the Frisian teachers (Section 5.1) and then it provides those given by the Basque teachers (Section 5.2).

5.1 Teachers in Fryslân

Attitude towards knowing more languages

The teachers in Fryslân, like their Basque colleagues, had a positive attitude towards knowing more than one language. The English language teacher of Liudger thought for instance: *“They [the pupils] have been raised with two languages, so then one can learn a third language more easily.”* Likewise, the Dutch language teacher of Liudger believed that knowing more than one language results in *“better language learning”*, because of seeing connections between languages. The English language teacher of Bogerman could not imagine how using more than one language could confuse the pupils.

Language policy towards using more languages

The English language teacher of Bogerman said she was using Frisian, Dutch and English in her lessons. About the use of these three languages, she claimed: *“It is not a big issue: everyone understands each other, that is just how it goes.”* Her opinion about the principle of ‘target language is source language’ was: *“I think that does not work. (...) You create a barrier for pupils who are not very proficient in that [target] language.”* Meanwhile, the English language teacher of Liudger preferred this principle: *“I think pupils learn English best when they are taught via English.”* Still, she admitted: *“If twenty pupils are facing you like ‘what is she talking about?’ then you just have to switch to Dutch, to explain what you were saying.”*

Although the English teacher of Bogerman was not willing to use the target language consequently, when she spoke English, she forced the pupils to reply in English. The same went for the English language teacher of Liudger: *“If I ask something in English, I expect an answer in English as well.”* She underscored: *“It is not bad if you make mistakes.”* If a pupil said something in Dutch or Frisian, she asked them: *“Can you try it in English?”*

As mentioned before, the Dutch language teacher of Liudger was positive towards knowing more languages. Likewise, she thought it was important to actually use them. In her teaching materials, a comparison was made with other languages. According to her, this was good, because otherwise pupils saw languages as each having their own collection of rules, without realising the similarities between them.

The Frisian language teacher of Bogerman always spoke Frisian, but he did not want to force pupils to reply in Frisian. At his school two classes could be chosen, i.e.: one in which the language was taught and one in which the culture was taught. In the latter, he encouraged pupils to use Frisian, but

they were allowed to speak Dutch as well. He was an advocate of using other languages, like Dutch, saying: *"It is just practical, because Dutch is the dominant language. (...) I use Dutch contrastively, to indicate the differences with Frisian."*

The Frisian teacher of Liudger was also allowing the use of Dutch: *"That is their reference frame."* She used Frisian as much as possible, but she thought, it was not a problem to speak some Dutch too: *"In the Frisian lessons, I am supposed to use only Frisian. But yeah, one cannot avoid using Dutch."* She used Dutch for explaining concepts, because, she thought, otherwise, pupils did not understand it. If she had pupils who could not speak Frisian, she was, like the Frisian language teacher of Bogerman, against forcing them to speak Frisian: *"That would be a step too far. (...) I do not want to force them. If they can write a bit of Frisian, if they get a feeling for it and they notice Frisian is a language, I think it is okay. One must not have too high demands."* But, like the teacher of Bogerman, she encouraged the pupils to use Frisian: *"I would rather read Frisian with a lot of errors than Dutch."* About the Frisian pupils she said that they were proud to be Frisian and they thought it was nice to have the possibility to speak Frisian in her classroom.

Language policy towards using Frisian in (in)formal situations

The Dutch language teacher of Bogerman made a division between the formal and the informal environment. When she was teaching, she spoke Dutch, but sometimes it happened that pupils asked her something in Frisian and she replied in Frisian. In the informal context, she always addressed the pupils in their mother tongue. About the Frisian-speaking pupils she said: *"If you're talking about the personal contact, then I try to make this in Frisian. (...) It makes the distance smaller."* She thought, it was important that the pupils knew they could address her in Frisian: *"For the direct contact goes: what is the language of your heart? Then one must have the chance to speak in this language to the teacher."* She was very positive towards using Frisian: *"We are living in a bilingual environment and one has the right to make that clear, I think."*

Like the teacher of Bogerman, Liudger's Dutch language teacher sometimes used both Dutch and Frisian outside the classroom. She also thought Dutch to be the language for teaching: *"I teach Dutch, so everything I do, is in Dutch. (...) When I am in the doorway, I let them enter in Dutch and from then on, everything is in Dutch."* Sometimes, the teacher of Bogerman made an exception in answering a pupil in Frisian, but the teacher of Liudger was very consequent. If pupils spoke Frisian to her – her mother tongue was Frisian – she corrected them: *"In Dutch!"* She forced her pupils to speak Dutch, because: *"I think, Frisian is a nice addition, but the language of The Netherlands is of course just Dutch."*

5.2 Teachers in the BAC

Attitude towards knowing more languages

In general, the Basque teachers were very positive towards knowing more than one language. They thought pupils would learn easier if they knew more languages, it would broaden their view and they would achieve higher grades. The French language teacher of La Salle Berrozpe said for instance: *"It is visible from the moment they are little: those who bring two languages from home, have a broader way of view."*

At Antigua Luberri, the English language teacher said: *“The more languages one knows, normally, the more capable he will be to learn new languages.”* Nobody believed knowing more than one language would be an obstacle. However, the reaction of the Basque language teacher of Antigua Luberri was ambiguous. On the one hand she thought knowing more languages enriches and helps to learn other languages. On the other hand she said: *“My children first were monolingual and only spoke Basque,”* while she continued with saying about her multilingual raised nephews: *“I think my nephews speak Basque worse. And why? Perhaps because they speak more languages. For example, my children speak Basque perfectly.”*

Language policy towards using more languages

During the earlier visits by Arocena Egaña et al. (2010), it was noticed that the language separation was very strict in the Basque schools (see Section 2.2.2). The Basque language teacher of La Salle Berrozpe indeed pleaded for this: *“In Basque language classes, I do not allow them to use another language but Basque. (...) They know they cannot use Spanish to communicate with me.”*

The Spanish language teacher of La Salle Berrozpe took an intermediate position. He said, sometimes, he only used one language, but that it was depending on the class: *“If there is a group that needs reinforcement in one language, you should give them that and once mastered, introduce the other language.”* However, he was inconsequent, saying: *“The explanations and questions can be done in Basque, whatever language they feel comfortable with”* and *“If a teacher speaks more than one language, it helps getting closer to the pupils.”* On the surface, this teacher seemed to be strict in the language separation, but later on in the interview, he proved to be positive towards using more than one language in the lessons. The same applied to the Basque language teacher of Antigua Luberri: *“Being a D model school, the basic idea is that all subjects are given in Basque. There’s no need for using other languages.”* Further on in the interview, his opinion was less sharp: *“It could be enriching to use all languages to compare them and to understand the relation between them.”*

In Antigua Luberri, the principle of ‘target language is source language’ clearly was the starting point. The English language teacher of this school replied on the question if the pupils used Spanish and Basque in oral communication: *“Usually more than they should. (...) In spontaneous communication they do not use English.”* And regarding the language of the pupils when they addressed her: *“I tell them to repeat me in English.”* With this teacher, we see a contradiction between the separation principle and the will to use more than one language. She claimed: *“Sometimes, resorting to the other language is very useful. (...) I do know that many people disagree with this and think that we should identify a teacher with a language,”* and she added that using other languages was good for making comparisons: *“I think for many kids it is useful to see that languages are similar and it looks like the language they already know.”*

Next to the will to use more than one language, there were teachers who considered using more than one language to be a necessary evil, for example when the pupils did not understand the target language. The English teacher of La Salle Berrozpe, for instance, said: *“They [the pupils] complained that I only used English in class, so I use Basque or Spanish if they do not understand the first explanation in English.”* The French teacher of this school said the same: *“Using only French is a problem, since there are different levels of performance amongst the pupils.”* The Basque language teacher of Antigua Luberri also said: *“In some cases I have to translate words that they don’t know a*

synonym for in Basque. (...) If I give four synonyms and they still don't get it, I will translate it to Spanish."

Language policy towards using Basque in (in)formal situations

At La Salle Berrozpe, the teachers encouraged or even forced the pupils to use Basque. Their motivation was that the school was the only environment in which the pupils could learn Basque, because out on the street and at home they spoke Spanish. The French teacher of this school encouraged Basque, by saying: *"In informal occasions, we teachers know that the pupils' time in school is the opportunity they have to use Basque. So, in order to help them, we use Basque."* The earlier mentioned English teacher of Antigua Luberri encouraged pupils to speak Basque instead of Spanish: *"You have to tell them to speak Basque: 'We're at school, so you should not talk to me in Spanish'."* The English language teacher of La Salle Berrozpe was stimulating the pupils to use Basque as well, except *"when talking about personal matters, I use Spanish when that is their language."*

Finally, the Basque language teacher of Antigua Luberri added some interesting remarks about the pupils' language: *"They are able to use the technical words in Basque, because that's the academic language. Or they use "Euskañol", which is a mix of Basque and Spanish."* She said that in her youth one would not dare to speak Spanish to a teacher of a Basque school, while *"nowadays, some students talk without any trouble to me in Spanish. (...) There's no conscience that they have to communicate in Basque with me."* This is rather remarkable, for it is a D model school. She added: *"There are Basque speakers who find Spanish more cool or more realistic. The language of the youth is Spanish."*

Recapitulation of the attitude and language policies of teachers

We can see from the foregoing that both Frisian and Basque teachers had a positive attitude towards knowing more than one language. According to them, pupils learn (new languages) easier, they have a broader view and achieve higher grades. Likewise, in both areas, most teachers found it practical to use other languages for making comparisons, so for better language learning. In both areas, however, teachers could be found, who considered using another language than the target language to be a necessary evil. They had to use it when pupils really did not understand the latter. In spite of the similarities, a striking difference could be found concerning the minority language use. At the Basque schools far more than at the Frisian counterparts, there was a tendency towards using the minority language during the lessons. At the Frisian schools, Frisian was more limited to the use outside the classroom, or at least outside the formal teaching matters within the classroom.

6. Linguistic landscape

This chapter gives an overview of the linguistic landscape in the three schools where photographs were taken: in Antigua Luberri (N=105) and La Salle Berrozpe (N=96) in the BAC and in the Frisian school Bogerman (N=29). Table 12 shows how many and what languages were used on the textual signs inside these schools and in the schoolyard.

Table 12: Language use on the textual signs (in percentages)

	Bogerman	Antigua Luberri	La Salle Berrozpe
Monolingual signs	72%	90%	72%
Minority language	10%	79%	64%
Dominant language	38%	5%	5%
English	24%	3%	3%
Other language	0%	3%	0%
Bilingual signs	24%	10%	26%
Minority and dominant language	7%	10%	26%
Dominant language and English	10%	0%	0%
Minority language and English	4%	0%	0%
Other language combination	3%	0%	0%
Signs with > 2 languages	3%	0%	2%
Total	100%	100%	100%

In all three schools, the signs were usually monolingual. In Section 6.1, properties of these monolingual signs will be described. In Section 6.2, the signs with two or more languages on it will be described.

6.1 Monolingual signs

At Bogerman, the majority of the monolingual signs was initiated by the teachers and often were monolingual Dutch or English (Figure 2). The pictures were taken mostly of posters. Only 10% had a monolingual Frisian text on it (Figure 3). Figure 3 contains explicit minority language promotion, but except for this sign, Frisian was promoted nowhere in the school building.

Figure 2: Monolingual English sign at Bogerman



Figure 3: Monolingual Frisian sign at Bogerman: "Praat mar Frysk" (= "Let's speak Frisian")



Figure 4: Monolingual Basque sign at La Salle Berrozpe (= "No parking")



In the two Basque schools, the monolingual signs were especially initiated by the schools themselves. Most signs were in Basque, although some were monolingual Spanish as well. The majority was informative, concerning the general school rules (Figure 4). Next to this, a considerable part – and this probably has to do with a so-called “Basque Week” that was going on – was intended to promote the teaching (and the use) of the minority language.

There were also signs produced by commercial organisations or pupils. The signs written by the pupils were all in Basque, but those produced by commercial organisations could be also in Spanish or in English.

6.2 Multilingual signs

The number of bilingual signs was relatively small. In the two Basque schools, the amount was about 10%. In Bogerman, a quarter of the photographed signs was bilingual. Here, the bilingual signs contained a combination of Dutch and English (see Figure 5) or Dutch and Frisian. They were all of a *complementary* kind, which means that one needed knowledge of the two languages to understand the whole message. The languages were equally prominent, except for a few signs in which the majority or English language was more visible.

Figure 5: Multilingual Dutch-English sign at Bogerman (=“From the 10th of December, you can see UR every Saturday at 17:30 on SBS6”)



Figure 6: Multilingual Basque-Spanish sign at La Salle Berrozpe (= “Forbidden to smoke around the campus (including the schoolyard, the meeting room, etc.”)



Figure 7: Multilingual Spanish-English-Basque sign (including Braille) at La Salle Berrozpe



In Antigua Luberrri and La Salle Berrozpe, the bilingual signs were especially initiated by the schools themselves and also by the government and by organisations like the fire brigade or cultural associations. They consisted of a combination of Basque and Spanish. Almost all were *duplicating signs* (see Section 2.3.1), which means that the Spanish and Basque texts gave exactly the same information (Figure 6). In all Basque-Spanish signs, the two languages were equally prominent, with the same letter size, except for two, in which the minority language was depicted bigger.

In both regions, only a couple of signs with more than two languages could be observed. They mostly contained English in combination with the minority and dominant language. Figure 7, which is again a *duplicating multilingual sign* if you look at the words 'zona', 'zone' and 'gunea', even contains Braille.

Recapitulation of the linguistic landscape

To recapitulate, in the three school buildings, mostly monolingual signs could be perceived. At the Basque schools, they were mostly written in the minority language, while in contrast at Bogerman they were especially written in Dutch or in English. Bilingual signs were less used and signs which contained more than two languages were rare. At the Basque schools, most bilingual signs contained a combination of the minority and dominant language; at Bogerman, there were also signs containing the dominant and the English language. A striking difference was that at the Basque schools, the same content was given in both languages, while at Bogerman, the content in both languages was complementing.

7. Discussion

The main question of this investigation was how multilingualism is functioning in secondary education in Fryslân and the BAC. We visited two Basque and two Frisian secondary schools for one week; we observed lessons, interviewed teachers and took photographs of linguistic signs. This chapter discusses to what extent the expectations mentioned before are fulfilled (Section 7.1) and which new questions can be investigated (Section 7.2).

7.1 Expectations and results

7.1.1 Pupils' and teachers' language use

The first sub-question was how often the teachers and pupils use the minority language, the dominant language, English and other foreign languages. The first expectation was that in the BAC, the minority language was used more often than in Fryslân. For the non-language subjects, this expectation could be confirmed. Because the Basque pupils had chosen the D model, all the non-language subjects were taught almost completely through Basque. The pupils, however, used also Spanish amongst each other. Although at Liudger the use of some Frisian by the pupils could be perceived, the language of instruction of the Frisian schools was Dutch. In both areas no foreign languages could be perceived during the non-language lessons. During the language lessons at the Basque schools, the minority language was not used more than at the Frisian schools. In the foreign language lessons of the former, namely, the target language was often used as a language of instruction. In the Frisian schools, again, Dutch was used most of the time.

The second expectation was that English would be used more often during the English language lessons in the Basque than in the Frisian schools. In Antigua Luberri and La Salle Berrozpe, the lessons were indeed taught through English. In Liudger this was also the case, but in Bogerman, Dutch was used nearly all the time. The second expectation, thus, was confirmed by the data.

In the third place, it was expected that Frisian would be used more for informal than formal conversations while this difference would not exist with Basque in the BAC. The situation was more complex than we thought; the expectation could only partly be confirmed. At the Basque schools, Basque was used by the teachers to address the pupils, whether they were inside or outside the classroom. The pupils themselves used more Basque inside than outside the classroom (Table 6 and 11). At the Frisian schools, the teachers did not use more Frisian to address the pupils when they were outside instead of inside the classroom (Table 6 and 11). At Liudger, the pupils indeed used more Frisian outside than inside the classroom, but for Bogerman it applied everywhere that the pupils used mainly Dutch.

The observation data only gave an impression of the reality: the use of the languages was intuitively rated by the researchers. In a future investigation, the share of the languages should be measured by for instance time measuring or word counting. Besides that, at first some pupils seemed to be conscious of their language use, saying things like “Oh, wy moatte Frysk prate” (“Oh, we have to speak Frisian”). The presence of the observer may have influenced the teachers' and pupils' language use, if they were aware of the aspects the observer paid attention to.

7.1.2 Attitudes and language policies of teachers on multilingualism

The second research question was about the attitudes and language policies of teachers concerning multilingualism in the classrooms. The expectation was that teachers of Basque schools would be less willing to allow other languages than the instructional language than those of Frisian schools, because in the former, the language use seemed to be more regulated. In practice, in the BAC as well as in Fryslân other languages were allowed to a certain extent, so the expectation was not confirmed by the data. A striking difference between the two areas was however, that at the Basque schools, the minority language was far more promoted than at the Frisian schools.

It must be underscored here that only twelve teachers were interviewed, while the total number of teachers at the four schools was over four hundred. In a future study, more teachers per school could be interviewed, in order to find out whether the opinions given by teachers in the current study are representative for all teachers.

7.1.3 Linguistic landscape

The third question was how visible the minority, dominant and foreign languages were in the linguistic landscape of the school building. The first expectation was that the minority language was more visible in the BAC than in Fryslân. At the three schools, this was indeed the case (Table 12). The second expectation was that English was used more often on signs in Frisian than in Basque schools. Although not many photographs were taken at the Frisian school, this expectation seemed to be confirmed as well (Table 12).

7.2 Suggestions for future research

The aim of this study was not to give a valid presentation of all secondary schools in both Fryslân and in the BAC: the schools were not chosen randomly and only anecdotal evidence is available. It is, however, an important part of the explorative comparative research series, in which the objective is to get deeper insights in multilingualism within the education in Fryslân and in the BAC. In this report, new results have been given. These results give rise to several new research questions, which can be examined in the upcoming researches. These questions are provided in this section.

Language use in various school types

For a next comparative investigation, several issues can be investigated. A first suggestion is to include, next to the Basque D model schools also A and B model schools, and all Frisian school levels (VMBO, HAVO and VWO) to see whether the language policies of teachers differ. For the same reason, also classes which are taught through bilingual or trilingual education could be included. From August 2010 Liudger, for instance, started offering trilingual education to HAVO and VWO pupils. A question for a next research could be: *To what extent can differences amongst the different school types be observed, regarding the language policies of the teachers?*

For the language use, we can also look at the teaching materials of the secondary schools' language lessons: *What teaching materials are used and to what extent is the target language used in them?*

And directed to pupils' skills: *Do the pupils who are taught through the target language have better oral and written skills than pupils who are not taught through the target language?*

Another option for investigating language use, is to involve the environment outside school in the research: *To what extent are the pupils in Fryslân and the BAC exposed to the minority, dominant or English language when they are not at school?*

Attitudes and skills

During the interviews, a Basque language teacher of Antigua Luberri told that Spanish was “the language of the youth”, while the number of pupils that is following the D model has enormously increased from 1983 until 2008 (see Section 2.2.2). It might be interesting to study in more detail what the pupils' attitude towards Basque and Spanish (and for instance English) is. The Frisian language teacher of Liudger said that the pupils were very proud to be Frisian. What is their opinion towards the Frisian and Dutch language? And towards the English language? A research question could be: *What is the attitude of the Basque and Frisian pupils towards the languages they learn at school?*

If we know the attitudes of the pupils towards the minority, dominant and international language(s), it would be interesting to find out if a relation between their attitude and skills in these languages could be found. For example: *Do pupils with a positive attitude towards a certain language achieve higher proficiency levels for this language than the ones who have a negative attitude?*

Linguistic landscape

With respect to the linguistic landscape, in a follow-up investigation it should be checked to what extent pupils actually pay attention to the linguistic signs visible in the school building. In the research described here, this was not checked. Therefore it is unknown how the pupils interpreted the signs: for instance, if they connected a particular language to their identity (Dagenais et al., 2009: 255). To give a suggestion, in the project of Dagenais et al. (2009: 261-263) pupils could participate in an active way: they took photographs themselves and they discussed what using the language on the signs meant to them. With this method, one could be sure that the pupils actually perceive the signs. The research question would be: *To what extent do pupils perceive the linguistic landscape inside and outside the classroom? And if they perceive it: what do they think of the use of the minority, dominant and/or international language(s)?*

Next to allocating an active role to the pupils, it could be taken into consideration that not only language signs can have a symbolic function, but also symbols, like flags where the language is associated with. Then one uses a broader scope: not only textual signs are analysed, but also non-textual signs (see Section 2.3). With respect to the secondary schools in Fryslân and the BAC, a possible question could be: *Are there non-textual signs to which the pupils ascribe a symbolic value and what are these signs?*

Furthermore, it was remarkable that in the BAC, some multilingual signs had exactly the same text in the two (or three) languages, while in Fryslân, the texts in the different languages were used complementary. It would be interesting to examine this more thoroughly: *What kind of multilingual*

signs (duplicate, fragmentary, overlapping or complementary) can be observed in the Basque and Frisian schools, and what is the reasoning behind this?

Finally, one can consider to do a long-term investigation of the linguistic landscape, like done by Brown (2011), in order to find out whether the languages have an enduring place in the linguistic landscape or not. Though, in case of a long-term investigation, attention has to be paid to the spoken language environment as well, since Brown states that “attention only to written evidence of the regional language would render invisible the vital oral use of the regional language” (Brown, 2011: 417).

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Appendix I. Background information on Frisian and Basque

In this appendix, a short description of Frisian in Fryslân and Basque in the BAC is given for the readers who want to attend background information on the two areas. In the Netherlands, Frisian is only spoken in Fryslân.⁹ Basque is only spoken in the Basque Country, of which the BAC forms a considerable part. The Basque Country is located in the northern part of Spain and the southern part of France.

Although the implementation and results differed, both Frisian and Basque are covered by the *Charter for Regional or Minority Languages*. In 1992, this charter was adopted by the Council of Europe and the objective is to protect and promote the relative and absolute minority languages (Council of Europe, 2010b: 5).

I.1 Fryslân and Frisian

The province of Fryslân (figure 8) has 643.000 inhabitants. In 2011, a survey of the Province of Fryslân amongst inhabitants of Fryslân showed that 52% of the participants reported Frisian as their mother tongue. 38% stated Dutch as their mother tongue and 10% reported they spoke another language as their mother tongue (Province of Fryslân, 2011).

In Fryslân, Frisian and Dutch are both official languages. They both belong to the West-Germanic language. From a historical point of view, Frisian was more related to English, but it became more and more similar to Dutch. This was caused by the increased dominance of the latter. The late Middle



Figure 8: Fryslân (red)

Ages (1250-1500) were the flourishing time of the Frisian written language (Jonkman & Versloot, 2008: 53). Although no literature in Old Frisian has been found, it was used for the highest domains like jurisdiction and administration (Jonkman & Versloot, 2008: 44). From the sixteenth century on, Dutch took over this function. Frisian was forced back as a written language. In this century the last generation that was used to write in Frisian died out. Dutch had become the ordinary language for writing (Vries, 2001: 204). From then on, Dutch was the prestige language and Frisian was relegated to the status of “farmers’ language”, used only at home (Tiersma, 1:6). In the nineteenth century, there was a reevaluation of Frisian, caused by the Romanticism and cultural nationalism (Howell, 2002: 146).

The twentieth century was dominated by the struggle to allow the use of Frisian in formal domains again. Nowadays the legal position of Frisian in Fryslân is theoretically equal to the one of Dutch: the inhabitants of Fryslân are free to use Dutch or Frisian in several domains. In practice this freedom is

⁹ Frisian in the Province of Fryslân is also called ‘West-Frisian’. In Germany exist two other forms of Frisian, although they considerably differ from the Frisian language spoken in Fryslân: North-Frisian, which is spoken by circa 5000 people on the German-Danish border and Saterland-Frisian, which is spoken by at most 1500 speakers in the province of Saterland (Århammar, 2008: 8, 22).

limited though, as a result of social pressure (Douwes et al., 2010: 8). The dominant Dutch language is the overall language for the formal domains, e.g. the schools, while Frisian still is more or less restricted to the informal domains (like at home). Every Frisian speaker is therefore a bilingual, for he or she also needs to learn and use Dutch (in: Van Bezooijen & Gooskens, 2005: 2-3).

Frisian is mainly a spoken language, which means that the writing skills of the Frisian speakers in this language are limited. Several sociolinguistic survey-investigations (Pietersen, 1967; Gorter, Jelsma, Van der Plank & De Vos, 1980; Gorter & Jonkman, 1994, Province of Fryslân 2007 and 2011) have been conducted, in which Frisian speakers were asked to self-report their skills in understanding, speaking, reading and writing Frisian. In 2011, the reported skills were respectively 92%, 73%, 78% and 32%. In the course of years, the reading and writing skills seemed to have increased (with 10 to 20%), while the speaking skills decreased with 10%. The understanding skills remained the same (Province of Fryslân, 2011). Caution has to be taken with respect to the percentages, for these percentages only apply to the participants' *skills* and not their actual *use* of Frisian. Besides this, the results are based on self-report, so a bias may have occurred in the results.

I.II The Basque Autonomous Community and Basque

The Basque Autonomous Community (figure 9) forms a part of the Basque Country, which is located in the northern part of Spain and the southern part of France. The country covers an area of approximately 20,742 square kilometres and consists of seven provinces. Three are located in France: Lapurdi (in French: 'Labourd'), Zuberoa ('Soule') and Baxenafarre ('Basse-Navarre'). In Spain, four provinces are located: Nafarroa (in Spanish: 'Navarra'), Bizkaia ('Vizcaya'), Gipuzkoa ('Guipúzcoa') and Araba ('Álava'; Cenoz, 2008: 1). The latter three have achieved the status of an autonomous community as the BAC (Zalbide & Cenoz, 2008: 5).

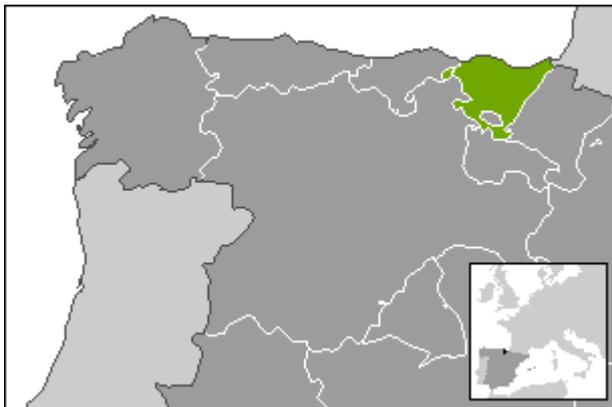


Figure 9: The Basque Autonomous Community (green)

The total Basque population is approximately three million, of which 91% are Spanish citizens (Cenoz, 2008: 1). Together with the French part there are about 700.000 Basque speakers and with a few exceptions all the Basque speakers are bilingual Basque-Spanish or Basque-French.

The BAC is the most highly populated area of the Basque Country with 73% of the inhabitants. 18% is living in Navarra and only

9% lives in the Northern Basque Country in France (Cenoz, 2008: 1). In the BAC, Basque and Spanish have been in contact for several centuries. Basque was, like Frisian, the language of everyday use in informal, orally domains for the bulk of the population. Spanish was the language of formality, the language of power, academic life and had a high status. Nowadays, Spanish has reached the informal domains of the home as well (Zalbide & Cenoz, 2008: 6). It is known that the home domain is the last in which an endangered language normally is maintained (Fishman, in: O'Shannessy, 2011: 81). The increased amount of Spanish took place in the twentieth century, due to industrialisation. A lot of Spanish-speaking people immigrated to the Basque area. From 1939 on,

after the conservative dictatorship, led by Francisco Franco, Basque was even more weakened by its official exclusion from the public domain, including education (Cenoz, 2008: 2).

When Franco died in 1975 the prospects for Basque improved. The *Statute of Autonomy* (1979) affirms that Basque has, like Spanish, the status of an official language in the BAC. The citizens have the right to use both languages (Zalbide & Cenoz, 2008: 5). A study from 2006 by the Basque Government showed that in the BAC, 30,1% of the citizens was fully bilingual in Spanish and Basque, 18,3% reported they had receptive skills in Basque (listening and reading) but not productive skills (speaking and writing) and 51,5% reported they only spoke Spanish (Basque Autonomous Community, 2008: 18).

However, the actual use of Basque was lower than the reported speaking skills of the language. Between 1989 and 2001, for over one million people it was indicated which language they spoke on the streets in the BAC. The results showed that in Araba the percentage of people speaking Basque on the street has gone down from 3,9% to 3,3% and in Bizkaia the number has gone up from 8,1% to 11%. In Gipuzkoa the amount of the oral use of Basque on the street was much higher: there, the percentage has gone up from 23,3% to 29,9%. Although in general, the number of Basque speakers has increased, Basque is still a language at risk (Zalbide & Cenoz, 2008: 6-7).

The linguistic distance between Basque and Spanish is large. Spanish belongs to the Roman languages, while Basque is a non-Indo-European language of which the origin is still unknown (Cenoz, 2009: 3). Basque has different dialects, but the mutual intelligibility is of such a great extent that two Basque speakers will not have any problems in understanding each other (King, 1994: 3).

Appendix II. Teacher interviews

II.I The Frisian and Basque language teachers

~ Interview at Liudger, Fryslân

You are teaching Frisian. Do you only use Frisian in the lessons or also Dutch?

I teach Frisian in the first and second class and in the fourth class for a part, and there is one MVO-class included. MVO is “Multilingual Secondary Education”. Last year, we started with a MVO-class and in this class, the pupils receive English and mathematics in English and Frisian and history in Frisian. In the Frisian lessons, I am supposed to use only Frisian. But yeah, you cannot avoid using Dutch. In all the other classes, I speak Dutch as well as Frisian, for explaining concepts, because when I only talk about “tiidwurd” (=verb), “mulwurd” (=past participle) and “notiid” (=present), they do not understand it. They have Frisian only one hour per week, so therefore I say the concepts in Dutch as well. And I do this in the MVO-class as much as in the other classes. The pupils often say: “Miss, you have to speak Frisian!” Yeah, I know I am used to explaining things in Dutch as well. But most of the time I speak Frisian. Every morning, I start in Frisian with a prayer. This just has to be in Frisian, you are used to it. Then we read from a book – always in Dutch – and if I want to add something about it, I will do this in Frisian. And I’ll give homework in Frisian as well, so the biggest part of the lesson I speak Frisian, except for explaining the concepts.

It’s remarkable that the pupils in the MVO-class tell you: “Miss, you have to talk in Frisian!” Does the other way around happen as well: that they speak Dutch to you and that you correct them?

No, in the MVO-class, there are just two pupils who don’t speak Frisian, so they speak Dutch all the time. But no, except for them no one speaks Dutch in class. In the other classes it happens sometimes. Then I say: “You are allowed to speak Frisian!” Most of them think it’s great, but if they are no Frisian speakers, then it is not compulsory. That would be a step too far, I think.

And the non-Frisian pupils speak Dutch to the Frisian pupils?

Yes, I doubt if they can speak Frisian at all. Sometimes, they have to read aloud in Frisian, but for most of them the threshold to speak Frisian is high and I understand that. I think it’s no problem that they don’t speak Frisian.

You don’t have a separation between Frisian and non-Frisian classes?

No, we don’t need that, because the environment is very Frisian. The amount of non-Frisian pupils is so small: maybe a few in each group and they just go along with the others. Now, I have a pupil from Japan. She has to learn Dutch, but in my class, she has to learn Frisian as well. But this girl just participates in Frisian and she achieves high marks. It isn’t too difficult to learn Frisian, but to speak it, sometimes just is a step too far and I don’t want to force them. If they can write a bit Frisian, if they get a feeling for it and they notice Frisian is a language, I think it’s okay. You must not have too high demands.

So you aren't severe in speaking Frisian?

I'm married to a Dutch-speaking husband and the first part of our marriage, we lived outside Fryslân, so the children have not learnt Frisian. I speak Frisian to them and they reply in Dutch, but I know for my daughter: she can speak Frisian, but it takes some effort. It is not as natural as when she speaks Dutch. When the Japanese girl asks a question, I don't say: "In Frisian, please". Then the threshold will become too high. Most of the pupils who choose the MVO-class, are doing this because of English, because they can get far with it. Frisian is less important for them. But they like it and they take it serious.

Do you have other materials for the MVO-class?

No, everywhere, we use the book "Freemwurk" (=Frame work). This book is mostly in Frisian. For the lower levels, the assignments are often in Dutch, but for the higher levels they are just in Frisian.

Did they choose Dutch to make it easier for the children?

Yes, because of the concepts, probably, and because of the difficult words: "Meitsje in kar út..." ("Make a choice out of..."). "In kar, wat is dat?" ("A choice, what's that?") they ask. Or: "Hokker fragen binne goed?" ("Which questions are correct?"). "Hokker?" ("Which?") they then ask.

But they use a lot of Frisian? They don't speak Dutch amongst themselves?

No, I don't think so. A lot of them send text messages and chat in Frisian as well. They apologise themselves, saying: "Yes, we write it in the way we think it will be correct". And most of the time it contains a lot of errors, of course, but that's no problem. I always tell them, when they have to write a paper: "I'd rather read Frisian with a lot of errors than Dutch." Because the more they use Frisian, the better, of course.

Aren't they afraid to make mistakes?

No, pupils have no problems with it. When they chat or send text messages amongst each other, it doesn't bother them. Their Dutch isn't ABN (Standard Dutch) either, that also includes mistakes. Most of the time they just use Frisian.

And it does not depend on whether they are inside or outside the classroom?

No, I cannot imagine that. There's a Dutch-speaking girl and maybe, they speak Dutch to her. And of course the Japanese girl. Her Frisian-speaking friend speaks Dutch to her. And that happens a lot: when one speaks Dutch, the other replies in this language. But the Frisian pupils don't speak Dutch to the other Frisian pupils.

So they aren't ashamed of using Frisian? They don't think Dutch is more fashionable?

No, they aren't ashamed, just the opposite! Especially in the first classes, when they come here and I say "you are allowed to speak Frisian", they say: "O, that's nice! We're allowed to speak just Frisian!" They like it. A colleague of Dutch has asked a Frisian boy a question and he replied in Frisian. My colleague said: "And now in Dutch, please", but the boy's answer was: "Oh, then I don't know it anymore." I thought it was funny, but the Dutch teacher didn't like it at all. But yes, that's the language in which you are thinking. We are in a Frisian environment. Often, I hear the yell "Fryslân boppe, rest yn 'e groppe" ("Fryslân is the best, the rest has no value"). They say it and they agree with it. They are very proud to be Frisian, even if they think it's stupid to learn Frisian: "We already

speak Frisian, don't we?" But, that's because of their age, they have the same attitude towards the other subjects.

Do you make comparisons with Dutch in your lessons?

Yes, in the second class I talk about the verb order and in the book, a comparison is made with Dutch and also with German, so yes, and I compare the spelling, the grammar and the diphthongs with Dutch as well. Whether it's different from Dutch, or whether it's similar.

Okay, because, don't you think it's easier for them, since they learnt Dutch at first at school?

Yes, that's their reference frame. It happens a lot, that you link Frisian to Dutch in the lesson.

So then it's nice to use multilingualism?

Yes, of course! You use it for sure. The knowledge they have of Dutch, you just use it!

~ Interview at Antigua Luberri, the BAC

Do you believe it is a good idea to use other languages during the teaching? Or, is it better to strictly separate the languages? Are you in favour of an approach of one teacher one language?

I don't know. Like using other languages in my explanations? In our case, being a D model school, the basic idea is that all subjects are given in Basque. There's no need for using other languages. Except in some cases where I have to translate some words, that they don't know a synonym for in Basque, I might use Spanish. With English, I don't know how they do it but in Basque it's not necessary. Sometimes, giving a synonym or definition is already enough. Additionally, I might give a corresponding word in Spanish.

One teacher, one language? I don't know, I've never thought about it. In my case, for example, I also gave Spanish lessons a long time ago. I'm graduated in Spanish Philology and Basque Philology. So before giving classes of Basque here, I worked in a smaller school where I gave classes of Latin, Spanish and Literature. To the same students I also gave lessons in the Basque language. I had no problems to identify myself with a language.

Today, this is a much bigger institution which is more specialised, so I don't know what to answer what should be better or worse.

And what do you think about separating the languages?

I don't know. To me it looks like it's the opposite. It could be enriching to use all languages to compare the languages and to understand the relation between languages. That's important, and in bilinguals it exists in their head. To support reflection about languages, I wouldn't associate a teacher or subject with a language if you can mix it. Here, for being a D model school, the principal and academic language is Basque, which is not always the language the students use amongst each other: they use a lot of Spanish. It's important to make reference to other languages: they have these languages present; it would be denying a fact.

Do you use the other languages sometimes in your class/lesson? Why, or why not? What for? How often?

When I use it? For example by explaining a relative phrase, I compare it with the Spanish structure, because it's totally different. And if there are some verbs that they use wrong, because the influence

of Spanish makes them mistranslate it. To recover these errors, I have to recur to Spanish. I do that, especially to reflect about language and to understand it better. In case of lexicon and text comprehension I prefer using synonyms in Basque, in order to enrich their vocabulary in that language. But if I give four synonyms and they still don't get it, I will translate it to Spanish. I prefer not to do it, and base me on Basque only, but when I have to use metalinguistics, I like to recur to Roman languages as well.

Do the students use other languages? In oral communication, in written exercises, materials?

While speaking amongst themselves? That's very curious. They are able to use the technical words in Basque, because that's the academic language. Or they use 'Euskañol', which is a mix of Basque and Spanish. The language of communication amongst them is Spanish, with some concrete words about what they're doing in Basque. That's very characteristic. I think this has always happened. But nowadays it's more obvious, they don't hide it anymore. Earlier, I also studied at a Basque School (Ikastola). I was born in 1963, so we're talking about one of the first Basque Schools. We never ever spoke in Spanish with the teacher, at that time it was a sin. It wouldn't even occur to you. Nowadays, some students talk without any trouble to me in Spanish, although I'm a Basque teacher. When you have to evaluate their Basque language, that's a little bit... I don't know. There's no conscience that they have to communicate in Basque with me.

Does knowing more than one language help to learn the language you are teaching? Can you explain how? Or, why this is the case? Or, is knowing more than one language an obstacle? Can you give examples?

I think that knowing more languages enriches and helps. But it's also true that the registers the students of 12-13 years old have, are quite limited. I don't think it will prevent them from developing knowledge of another language. But their registers are so limited. First, I always thought they would have enriched. But nowadays I think: "poor ones, they speak the languages so badly, with such a poor register, and in Spanish as well."

I don't know. If the students only go to A-model schools they will have a good register in Spanish. Now, I don't know what to say. I think that by time, a bilingual person enriches, if they are 40 years old for example. But at this age, in the process, I don't know.

I have nephews with an Italian father. They speak Basque, Spanish and Italian. I've got the impression that they don't speak one of the languages well. They mix up those languages. If my niece talks Spanish, she uses Italian expressions as well. Unconsciously, these expressions come up in her head. Instead, my children first were monolingual and only spoke Basque and with the age of four they started learning Spanish by television, at the street, people that speak Spanish to them and so on. They spoke Basque perfectly. I don't know if they had a better linguistic capability or were more stimulated. I don't know. I think my nephews speak Basque worse. And why? Perhaps because they speak more languages. For example, my children speak Basque perfectly.

Are there individual differences amongst the students? Which students use more other languages than others? For example, are there differences between native speakers of Basque and Spanish?

We already talked about this. I think that at this age, amongst others, in the choice between one language or another amongst them, why they communicate in... For example, if one only uses Basque it's because he has a lot of confidence with it and he wants to use it and wants to feel and

present himself as Basque. One that doesn't use it, will mix it. They choose, with this one yes, with another in another way.

There are many that speak Basque at home but don't speak any word of Basque with their friends. They don't have any problem to communicate. Others, Spanish speakers, might have a limit, not having a broad register in a language, and not being very fluent, so they choose for Spanish. There are limits as some Spanish-speaking students, do have problems. They find it difficult to express three sentences in a row, so they won't opt for that language. But there are Basque speakers, that shouldn't have problems, that find Spanish more cool or consider Spanish more realistic. The language of the youth is Spanish. They choose it because of that, but they don't have problems to speak...The Basque they use, it's not that alive in Donosti. Perhaps in a small Basque village they will talk much more in Basque. There's a huge difference.

Are there differences depending on the situation? For example, students speak more amongst themselves than with the teacher(s), or in situations of informal language use with the teacher?

I think that depends very much on the person. If I weren't strict and I would answer in Spanish as well if they say something in Spanish, I immediately would break the borders. Then they would speak to me as they wish in informal situations. But if you always answer in Basque, you mark your territory and they will respect it and make an effort. If it are students that don't have any problem to speak one or another language, you can make them speak to you in Basque in a natural way in informal situations. But as I told you, later they can speak a mix of languages. They will use expressions of the youth in Spanish and swearing certainly will occur in Spanish.

It depends on the kind of student. For those that don't have an ideology or a clear conscience, in the end Spanish wins the battle, unless you have made a promise to yourself not to speak a Spanish word at all on a certain day. But if you are let by the situation, the use of language will be determined. It's also a habit, that's obvious. If you lose the habit you have to make an effort later on to get back your fluency. That happened to me as well. When I was teaching I had two registers. If I gave four classes in Basque using linguistic explanations with terminology in Basque, I would use that in a Spanish group as well. Sometimes, depending on the days, I told myself: "Uff what fluency, how well I'm doing today." But this is not the case in the informal register. In a bar, you wouldn't have any problems. But with terminology or something concrete, you can get really blocked. It's an effort you have to make to switch between languages. And it does enrich.

Do you as a teacher use materials in more than one language? For example, bilingual dictionaries? Issues about grammar explained in another language? Exercises in more than one language?

Normally, there's enough material in Basque and I use material in Basque. Now, I do use bilingual dictionaries of Basque-Spanish. I personally do need that correspondence with Spanish. You have the knowledge and it does enrich you. But grammar exercises are always in Basque.

II.II The Dutch and Spanish language teachers

~ Interview at Liudger, Fryslân

You're teaching the Dutch language. Are you using only Dutch or also Frisian?

No, I teach Dutch, so everything I do, is in Dutch. If they come in, I'm staying in the doorway and say hello to them in Dutch. Sometimes, during the break or in the corridors, we speak Frisian. Then, the pupils are flabbergasted: "Hey, miss Dutch is Frisian!" And they like it very much. But we do everything in Dutch. There are children who prefer to speak Frisian. If it's their turn and they speak Frisian, I correct them: "in Dutch" and by now, the children correct each other as well. If anybody answers in Frisian, they say: "You have to speak Dutch". And then they speak Dutch. We also have discussion assignments in our class – argumentation, debating – and if the children get snappy, it's possible they switch to Frisian. But also then, we force them to speak Dutch.

That is a strict separation: Dutch inside and Frisian outside the classroom!

Yeah, I think it makes sense: they follow the subject Dutch, so they just speak Dutch. The language of instruction at English is English and at Frisian is Frisian.

But...in an English lesson, they use Dutch as well, to make comparisons for example.

Yes, but that's because they still have to learn English. But I think their Dutch is good enough to receive the lesson completely in Dutch.

Don't you make a comparison with Frisian?

Yes, sometimes we're talking about Frisianisms. They often make errors, because of mixing Dutch with a Frisian word, and we correct this. Sometimes, we discuss how you say something in Frisian and how you would do that in Dutch, to make the pupils understand the reason why things are like that.

You don't think it is confusing for the pupils that they know more languages?

No, definitely not. In most lessons at the primary schools the language of instruction is just Dutch, so they are used to it. And we don't live in the little villages above Dokkum, where the people are more Frisian. Here, plenty pupils don't even speak Frisian.

But what language do the pupils use if they debate in little groups?

It depends on the group. If the pupils are Frisian, they speak Frisian amongst each other. And if there is someone who is Dutch, they speak Dutch.

You remain speaking Dutch consequently, even if a pupil asks you something in Frisian?

They don't do that very often. Like I told you, they are flabbergasted when I say something in Frisian, because, well, they call me "miss Dutch". If they hear me talking to another teacher in Frisian, in the corridor, they think it is very special. When, during the break, some pupils stick around, I sometimes switch to Frisian, but in the lesson everything is always in Dutch. Also to involve pupils who don't speak Frisian.

And the Frisian-speaking pupils accept this? You never got a comment like “hello, we are in Fryslân!”?

No, they accept it very easily. I think Frisian is a nice addition, but the language of The Netherlands is of course just Dutch.

But Frisian is not an annoying addition?

No, I like it. I care a lot about Frisian, I think it's a beautiful language.

Okay, let's go to the materials: these are all in Dutch?

Yes, they are all in Dutch. But we have a new method, “Talent”. In the havo and vwo books it is mentioned that particular grammar rules also exist in English, German and French, or that they are different. I think, it's nice that the books show this, so that the children can link the languages to each other. Otherwise it would be: “At this place, we learn Dutch, but as we walk outside the classroom, we have another language with its own rules.” It is not much, only a few sentences, but often, I discuss it in more depth with the pupils and they like it. Otherwise they sometimes ask: “Why do we have to learn all this?” Yeah, it is important for better language learning; you link the languages.

But you don't involve Frisian, except the “Frisianisms”, do you?

No, because I cannot write Frisian and I don't speak it properly: I mix it with a lot of Dutch words. But on the other hand, we have children who sometimes use a Frisianism. Then, they are very surprised that it is wrong, because they have said it their whole life. Everybody knows what the pupil means, so it is not corrected. I try to correct it very accurately.

So, summarising: you use Dutch inside and Frisian outside the classroom?

Yes, in the corridor it is Frisian and when the pupils and I are on a trip, I speak partly Frisian and partly Dutch. I switch in the conversation and I allow everything. But in the lesson, when I am in the doorway, I let them come in in Dutch and from then on, everything is in Dutch.

And you are not involved in the MVO [Meertalig Voortgezet Onderwijs = Multilingual Secondary Education]?

No, that is a pity. I do like it very much! If I would teach another language, I would be enthusiastic about using this language, but in the case of Dutch, it would be weird if I would teach in English, wouldn't it?

~ Interview at La Salle Berrozpe, the BAC

Do you believe it is a good idea to use other languages during the teaching? Or, is it better to strictly separate the languages? Are you in favour of an approach of one teacher one language?

I do not think that using more than one languages in class is bad. If a teacher speaks more than one language it helps getting closer to the pupils. But all classes are different; if there is a group that has not mastered Basque or Spanish, to mix languages in class would be damaging for them. Therefore, I think that you need to know when you can take advantage of using more than one language in class and serve the pupils' needs in that sense. If there is a group that needs reinforcement in one language you should give them that and once mastered, introduce the other languages.

Do you use the other languages sometimes in your class? Why or why not? What for? How often?

I teach Spanish Language (and Literature) in DBH4 and I realise that even though it is in Spanish, using other languages, Basque, help pupils with syntax, verbs and other explanations. If they are studying the same type of texts in Basque class, I use Basque to compare the terminology and reinforce the learning of concepts. I also notice that some explanations are better understood in Basque by certain pupils, therefore, I use both languages.

When I teach geography in Batxillergoa, there are pupils from B and D models, so I teach the subject in both languages. In those cases, I think it is enriching for all.

Do the pupils use other languages?

I do not know English therefore, pupils use only Basque and Spanish normally with me. I try to reinforce Basque with some pupils because they need it. Their time here is when they use Basque. There are others that this is the only time they use Spanish so I reinforce their use of Spanish, through reading sometimes. However, I use both languages with those pupils who are bilingual since very little, regardless of their mother-tongue.

In your opinion, does knowing more than one language help to learn the language you are teaching? Or, is knowing more than one language an obstacle?

It is not a problem in my subjects. Each pupil arrives with good foundations in his or her own mother-tongue language. So based on that language, we use, reinforce, the other one, therefore, it is very helpful to use both languages.

Are there individual differences amongst the pupils? For example, are there differences between native speakers of Basque and Spanish?

Having one mother-tongue language or another does not make a difference on pupils' performance. Their work and work habits make the difference. It is true, though, that many times, the home environment affects their performance; in Basque-speaking households, it is more likely to find grandparents, uncles and aunts, that support and protect the pupils. Immigrants, depending on the situation, might not have an extended family unit and sometimes that affects their performance in school, being not as good. However, they (immigrants) in Andoain are quite integrated so the differences are not that big. The pupils' performance level varies throughout the years, however, traditionally, pupils in the D model have achieved better results, due to mainly the home environment.

Are there differences depending on the situation? For example, pupils speak more amongst themselves than with the teacher(s), or in situations of informal language use with the teacher?

I clearly see two groups; two very distinguishable groups. One group is very Basque; Basque is their mother-tongue and they always communicate in Basque, amongst themselves, their friends, their teachers. They do not have a problem answering in Spanish when addressed in Spanish but they will switch to Basque once it is over. The other group has Spanish as mother-tongue. They always use Spanish, begin to communicate in Spanish and address everybody in Spanish, however, if they notice that the teacher disapproves their choice of language, they will use Basque and we reinforce this because we know they need to practice and use more Basque, although they are able to study in Basque, they need to practice communicating in Basque even though they might make mistakes, this

is the only time they can use Basque. They all know what language to use in each situation and they use them with normality, it does not cause any problem.

Do you as a teacher use materials in more than one language? For example, bilingual dictionaries? Issues about grammar explained in another language? Exercises in more than one language?

Yes, I use both languages in my classes. In geography, I teach in both languages and have all the material in both languages and the pupil is who decides what language he or she would like to receive it in. In Spanish class, Spanish is the base of the subject so the material is in Spanish, however, the explanations and questions can be done in Basque, whatever language they feel comfortable with. I do not have a problem with using Basque in my Spanish class because they might understand better, they realise each language is a tool, they are both just languages, not very different.

II.III The English language teachers

~ Interview at Bogerman, Fryslân

You're teaching English: do you use only English in your classroom?

No, I mix Frisian, Dutch and English. There is a theory of 'target language is source language' – thus, that you're talking in the target language the whole lesson – but I think that does not work. Especially when you're explaining grammar. If you're talking about a language on a meta level, then, in my opinion, you create a barrier for pupils who are not very proficient in that language. So, when I explain grammar, I will do this in Dutch, I won't use difficult concepts like "zelfstandig naamwoord" [= substantive] in English. In the higher grades, I sometimes do, but certainly not in the lower grades. I always try to start and finish the lesson and ask questions in English, but often I mix it with a bit of Dutch or Frisian; I make a mixture of it.

But there is no logic in this mixture?

I do have the rule in my classroom: when I talk English to the pupils, I expect that they answer in English. If they speak Dutch, I'll say: "In English, please." I pursue until they say it in English. And if they have to practice their verbal skills, then, of course, we'll talk in English. I try to do as much as possible in English and I start each module with the thought: "O, I have to talk in English." Still, you notice that, at a certain moment, you go back to Dutch or Frisian, that depends on the pupil.

So, you're talking Frisian to the pupils as well?

Yes, a lot. I have the lip of Doutzen, 'praat mar Frysk' [= let's talk in Frisian] on the window [laughs]. I have about 250 pupils and at the beginning of the year I always tell them: "I don't remember who is Frisian or Dutch, but I prefer to speak Frisian, so speak Frisian to me, then I'll answer in Frisian." But last year I hung a little note beneath the lip: "...but English is even better." At a certain moment you know which pupils speak Frisian and who speaks Dutch.

But when you're addressing the whole class, then you won't use Frisian?

Yeah, maybe I do. I also have classes in which everyone is Frisian, or there are two who don't speak Frisian, but they understand it. Sometimes you're talking to an individual pupil and you think: "Hey,

everyone has to know this.” Yeah, sometimes you do that in Frisian and otherwise you’ll switch to Dutch if they don’t understand it. But that almost never happens.

That is different from the school I went to, in Leeuwarden!

Yes, but that’s a completely different school. Here, the pupils come from Snits and the villages around this town. Here, I think, are a lot of Frisian speakers. You can notice that in our teacher room, it’s all Frisian you hear.

But the pupils themselves, they speak Dutch amongst themselves, don’t they?

Yes, both Frisian and Dutch. When they are making an oral assignment, they speak English amongst each other, at least, that’s what they are supposed to do. I think I hear the same amount of pupils speaking Dutch or Frisian amongst each other. Yeah, that is not a big issue: everyone understands each other, that is just how it goes, without thinking.

That’s nice! But now, they have to learn to automatically talk in English, don’t they?

Yes [laughs], but, they always find it very hard.

Does it matter in which class you teach? Do you use more English in one class than the other?

I teach in the third until the sixth class, havo and vwo. It seems strange, but in the third class I use more English, than in the sixth class. Because they still have to learn it, but also, because in the sixth class we’re doing exam training. As we analyse texts – what is the composition, what are the functions of the different sections – then you do that in Dutch. That’s again the meta level, so that’s in Dutch. The same goes for grammar: that is also in Dutch. And oral skills, okay, then you’ll do it in English. For listening it is the same: they have to try to summarise the content in Dutch.

They do not summarise in Frisian?

No, when we’re working with the whole class, then, most of the time, I don’t do it in Frisian. It depends on the pupils. If they are all Frisian, I speak Frisian. Like I told you, there is one group in which everyone is Frisian, but in the bulk of the classes not everyone is Frisian, so then I don’t speak Frisian to thirty pupils.

Does it matter if you meet them here or outside the school?

No, you just speak in a certain language with the pupil. If I talk to my sister, I cannot speak Dutch. If a friend from Utrecht is here and the three of us are together, then I switch to Dutch when I’m talking to my friend. The same goes for my pupils: you look at them and you start in one language. I find it hard to talk to someone in Dutch, while I know we’re both Frisian, and this goes the other way around as well. That’s artificial.

But the language choice will depend on the materials as well, I guess?

Yes, most of the time, it is in English, but sometimes in Dutch as well. Only since this year we use books in certain classes, instead of the materials we used to make ourselves. I believe that all questions that are in the books are in English, but the grammar is explained through Dutch. I just have to remember how the books are composed [laughs], but yes. This is only the fourth year I’m working here, but we always had the Wasp Reporter. That’s a little book with articles, but that is not really a teaching method. We made our own corresponding assignments. Now, we still have our own

materials next to the books. Every module we test a skill and that is where we're working towards. We have our own schedule and we use the book as an auxiliary plea. Sometimes it is hard for the pupils to keep the overview.

And next to that, the pupils have three languages! Isn't it confusing for learning English: that they mix things up?

No, absolutely not, never. I cannot imagine that!

So, recapitulating: it is a benefit that you have more languages available?

Yes, I think so, it is very important. For five years, I lived in Utrecht and there I had my first education internship. Only since I came back to Snits, I thought: "Man, I missed this, speaking Frisian, just at work, you know, you couldn't do that in Utrecht." When I came here again, I learned that the same goes for the pupils: Frisian pupils prefer to speak Frisian above Dutch, it's just that simple. So I think it is really important to do that. I followed a minor of Frisian in Amsterdam as well. I was the only one, but I liked it very much!

~ Interview at Antigua Luberri, the BAC

Do you believe it is a good idea to use a bit of Spanish and Basque in your English lessons?

Well, that depends on the group and the level. For example, with the students of the ESO (Compulsory Secondary Education) I do resort to Basque or to Spanish very often. Well, very often, I'd rather say quite often. Because I think you can make comparisons and it's useful and I think that translating some things is also a good way to learn. But for example in levels of the 'Bachiller' (High school graduate) and depending on bilingualism in the groups, I hardly use Spanish or Basque at all.

So, maybe you believe that it is better to separate the languages strictly, depending on the classes and/or the focus on 'one language, one teacher'?

I don't know. To me, that is not very clear. I think that sometimes, resorting to the other language is very useful, I don't know... I do know that many people disagree with this and think that we should identify a teacher with a language and that we should stick to that idea. But to me that is not that clear. That is to say, I don't think that for the fact that you sometimes use.... It is often helpful to use your own language. I don't see why we should denounce this. If it's not that you resort to your own language all the time. But, I don't see it that clear, the fact that one person has to use one language and has to stick to that.

And when you use other languages in the class, why or what for is it, and how often?

Well, above all to compare structures that are similar. Because I think that if you see that those.... Of course, with Basque it's more complicated, because Basque and English usually have nothing to do with each other. So normally I refer to Spanish which has considerably more things in common with English as far as grammar structures are concerned. So, I tell them: "Look at this: it's the same as in Spanish, we also say it that way." And well, I think that for many kids it is useful to see that languages are similar and that it looks like a language they already know. How often? Well, that depends.... Sometimes it happens more than once in a group and sometimes not at all.

And the students also use those other languages in your class? That is to say, Spanish and Basque in oral communications, written exercises and materials.

Yes, usually more than they should. It is hard for them. Of course, when they talk to each other they do not speak English at all. I mean, if they are doing a task you told them to do, yes, they will. But in the spontaneous communication they do not use English. They use either Basque or Spanish. And towards me, that depends. Some students always talk to the teacher in English. Many others always talk to them in Basque. I tell them to repeat me in English. You have to tell them to repeat. I think it has to do with embarrassment. They don't like to show in front of the others that they are talking in English. It is just a matter of not being a show-off.

In your opinion, does knowing more than one language help to learn the language you are teaching? Can you explain how? Or, is the knowledge of more than one language an obstacle?

I think that knowing more than one language can certainly not be an obstacle. Quite the opposite; the more languages one knows, normally the more capable he will be to learn new languages. I don't know, certainly not an obstacle. And helpful? Well, as I told you before: I think that if we can refer to a series of similarities between the languages, it always comes in handy knowing more than one language.

And as for the students: Do you notice individual differences amongst the students in the class? Are there differences between native speakers of Basque and Spanish?

If they speak or use more or less...? No I don't think so.

Or are there differences between the individuals? Do some students use more English than others?

Yes, definitely. Of course it depends on their knowledge and on how many English they know. The ones that know more English use it more often, because it's easier for them. Now, referring to the native speakers of Basque I don't see a difference. I think that some have a greater tendency to speak to you in English, because they know this language better than other students. Furthermore, it also depends on the character of the students. There are students that don't become shy at all, although they make hundreds of mistakes. And there are also students that are very perfectionist. If they can't use the language perfectly, they won't use it. But that is very common in language learning, isn't it? Some have a high command of the language, others don't.

And the motivations that some might have to use more English than others, that's not...?

As I told you. I think that according to what someone knows, he or she can be more motivated. Because they know that once they speak they are learning. But I think in most cases the motivation is more in the ease they have. And also the fact that some students are more shy than others, so their personality. And furthermore, also they know that we give marks, so the more they speak in English the higher the mark for the oral part. That's another motivation. But it's hard for them. They don't see it that clear. It's hard, to make them talk to you in English

Are there differences depending on the situation? For example, students speak more amongst themselves than with the teacher(s), or in situations of informal language use with the teacher?

Amongst themselves? That depends on the students. Here, there is a trend to speak Basque amongst themselves. But some do not, as they don't speak Basque at home and they don't handle it very well. There is a lot of difference in level. Sometimes it's enough that someone of those is in the group, and the students will use Spanish. With us the teachers? They always talk to us in Basque, or in our case in English. But the language to use towards the teacher is Basque. Amongst themselves, I think that

many speak in Basque and Spanish. Sometimes, because for someone Basque is difficult, they speak Spanish to him. It depends on which person. For some it's hard to speak Basque. But in general in this school they talk a lot in Basque amongst themselves. Also within their groups of friends. It's not something of class. Again, it depends on the group, the group of friends. To me it seems that they speak a lot in Basque.

But you don't have the impression that some use more different languages at the same time?

Probably yes. Between themselves and in informal situations more than with us. The most normal is to speak in Basque with the teacher. There are some, and that's very curious, who don't speak to you in Basque, they talk Spanish to you. And you reply them in Basque and not in Spanish, but they keep speaking Spanish. You have to tell them to speak Basque: "We're at school, so you shouldn't talk to me in Spanish." But for some students it's difficult. In class they use English or Basque. And amongst themselves they differ more, they mix it up more.

Do you as a teacher use materials in more than one language? For example, bilingual dictionaries? Issues about grammar explained in another language? Exercises in more than one language?

The didactic material usually is in English, and I usually search for exercises that are in English. Sometimes you find exercises which have instructions in Spanish. I usually don't like that. But if the exercise is very good or interesting I might use it. But that's exceptional, usually the tasks are 100% in English. The dictionaries are bilingual. Most of all Spanish-English, English-Spanish. There are less possibilities for English to Basque. Also I try to make them use monolingual dictionaries. But they don't have them at home. At school I can give them one but at home the majority of the students don't have it. All the material is exclusively in English. But more and more, the textbook includes tasks in Basque. If we ask our colleagues what they prefer, the grammar explained in Basque or in English, they will say that that depends also on the level: for the little ones, it might be good that the grammar is explained in Spanish. But with the higher levels, it's better to have it in English. But the students usually like it if the grammar is explained in their language, although they understand English perfectly. Some editorials publish the instructions in English, others in Spanish.

So there's more Spanish than Basque?

Usually yes, although it's in progress. Some editorials give all instructions and explanations and so on in Basque. But still, in Spanish there's more.

So you try to avoid using Basque for explication?

Yes I try to, but sometimes the students ask for it. I don't refuse it: "It's in English and if you don't get it your lost." No, if someone asks you for an explanation, to me that seems no problem. But the majority understands you. They're used to you speaking in English from very early ages on.

And I don't think that they ask you many times: "Repeat that in Basque." Like in the very beginning we had to explain a lot. But nowadays, they understand you very well, also if you use an audiotape. They understand it very well, even better than us. Perhaps because of their younger hearing. But, producing is more difficult for them.



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