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Teachers' and pupils' beliefs about using English and target language in the Scottish
secondary modern language learning context

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Abstract

There has been significant research attention paid to the pedagogical value of using first language (L1) in the language learning classroom, particularly in multilingual contexts (Shin et al., 2019). However, in the Anglophone language learning context, where English monolingualism is often perceived as the norm, less is understood about the perceived benefits of using L1 in the classroom, let alone how use of target language (or L2) is believed to be valued.

The primary aim of this thesis is to investigate teachers' and pupils' beliefs about using English and target language in the Scottish secondary modern language learning context. The study approaches these aims by adopting mixed methods, with the included use of creative methods.

Participants were sampled across eight Scottish secondary schools. Questionnaires were employed to compare 15 teachers' and 174 pupils' beliefs about using English and target language in the modern language classroom. Metaphor prompts included in the pupil questionnaires elicited deeper, affective reflections. Semi-structured individual interviews were then conducted with the 15 teachers and 46 pupils to gain a better understanding of teachers' and pupils' beliefs in context. Prior to interviews, pupils were also given a cartoon storyboard task to prompt their thinking and reveal other insights into their perceptions about language use in the modern language classroom.

The questionnaire findings revealed several mismatches between how teachers and pupils believe English and target language should be used in the classroom, while

metaphors showed that pupils have more favourable beliefs about using English in the classroom than they do target language. Analysis of the interviews revealed themes that were framed contextually using Gayton's (2018) working model of L2 motivation in Anglophone language learning settings. Themes were categorised at macro (societal), meso (community and wider school) and micro (classroom) contextual levels. A fourth level also emerged from both teacher and pupil interviews regarding how context shapes the overall value that pupils in Scotland ascribe to learning languages and how the languages learned at school may or may not be consciously considered an aspect of multilingual identity. Interview findings showed that teachers' and pupils' beliefs about using English and target language in the Scottish modern language context are influenced by wider UK attitudes about the importance of learning languages other than English. In addition, peer influence was also found to be a significant factor influencing pupils' beliefs about using English and target language. At the classroom level, the need to relate target language to pupils on a more personal level was identified. Finally, cartoon storyboards showed that pupils primarily depicted themselves using a mix of English and target language but depicted their classmates using mostly English, further suggesting that peers have a significant influence on pupil language use in the classroom.

This study will contribute to an understanding of the Scottish language learning context, particularly in light of both Scotland's 1+2 language policy and perceptions about the UK as a monolingual nation. The study also serves to augment pupils' voices

and demonstrate the potential of using creative methods to explore beliefs about language learning.

Keywords: modern language learning, Anglophone settings, 1+2, creative methods, teacher beliefs, pupil beliefs, L1 language use, target language use

Lay Summary

This doctoral thesis adds to the body of research exploring teachers' and pupils' beliefs about how languages should be used in the modern language learning classroom.

Beliefs about language learning is an area especially important to explore in contexts where speaking only one language may be considered the norm. In settings where English is spoken as a first language, and perhaps as the only language, it may be difficult to encourage young learners to see the value in learning other languages.

Fifteen modern languages teachers and a total of 174 pupils from eight Scottish secondary schools were included in this study. The study uses four different methods for data collection: questionnaires, interviews, metaphor elicitation and cartoon storyboard drawing. Together, each of the four methods form a rich understanding of how languages are believed to be used in Scottish modern language classrooms and inform us about how pupils in Scotland feel about learning languages. The questionnaires showed where teachers and pupil beliefs matched and where they differed, while the interviews provided context around their beliefs. The metaphors and cartoon storyboards gave depth to the pupil data. The study's focus on both teachers and pupils is important for understanding Scotland's approach to language education policy. The importance of making language learning relevant and making the use of the language in the classroom encouraging for pupils are some of the important implications of this study.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Chapter introduction

Section 1.1 establishes some key terminology used throughout the thesis and Section 1.2 sets out the unique problem that exists in Anglophone modern language education contexts, situating the current study. The main purpose of this chapter is to contextualise modern language learning in the Scottish context, which is done in Section 1.3. The aims and objectives of this research are presented in more detail in Section 1.4, while Section 1.5 outlines the remaining chapters of the thesis.

1.1.1 Note on terminology

In the last 15 years, Macaro's (2006) work on codeswitching has been a seminal research reference in the area of classroom language use. He defined codeswitching as the switching between codes, or languages (often abbreviated as L1 for first language and L2 for second language) that occurs naturally in bilingual settings when speakers find it easier to communicate in a mixture of two shared languages rather than in one single language. The concepts of L1 and L2 also extend to include non-bilingual settings (Macaro, 2001), such as a secondary school classroom in Scotland. The concept of codeswitching differs from translanguaging in that codeswitching is often considered the intra or inter sentential switching between two languages, which implies languages as being separate (a monoglossic view) whereas translanguaging involves the holistic mixing of what can be multiple languages (a heteroglossic view), or otherwise 'softens the boundaries between languages' (Cenoz & Gorter, 2021, p. 1).

Goodman & Tastanbek (2020) suggested that codeswitching is a now an older concept, given that codeswitching characterised much of the research on language practices from the 1970s to the 1990s while translanguaging has been a key concept in more recent research since its emergence in the Welsh bilingual context in the 1990s and early 2000s (Williams, 1994; 2000). However, there continues to be overlap between the two concepts in studies of teacher and learner beliefs about classroom L1 and L2 practices. Some scholars have stated that codeswitching is a practice included within translanguaging while other scholars have maintained that the concepts are distinct and separate (García & Otheguy, 2020). Wei (2018) argued that translanguaging, though not a replacement theory for codeswitching, challenges the idea of a code, such as with ‘Chinglish.’ What is consistent about both these concepts is that they have been explored more so in bilingual settings than in settings with populations of English L1 speakers who are predominantly monolingual, such as in Scotland.

Nevertheless, holistic views of languages and the goal to ‘turn monolingual speakers into multilinguals’ (García & Otheguy, 2020, p. 24) has permeated Scottish language education policy, which will be described in more detail in Section 1.3.2. Plurilingualism is another concept coined, like translanguaging, to account for multilingual practices in language education. According to García and Otheguy (2020), plurilingualism was promoted by the Council of Europe to promote cohesion across the European community. This has led to support for ‘partial competence in multiple languages rather than full competence in two or three’ languages (García and Otheguy, 2020, p. 22). Additionally, plurilingualism supports a heteroglossic view of languages,

that is, a more complex view of the variance within languages, rather than an ‘additive’ view. The notions of heteroglossia, first conceived of by Bakhtin (1981), and heteroglossic are defined as representing not only the integration of various languages but also of the ideologies, or world views, social tensions and diversity associated with various languages (Blackledge & Creese, 2014, p. 7). An additive view refers to the adding on of a second language without reducing the first language ($L1+L2=L1+L2$), as opposed to a subtractive view, which adds an L2 at the expense of an L1, such as the case of some minority languages in settings where schooling is in the L2 (García, 2009; García & Otheguy, 2020). While an additive view of languages seems positive, García (2009) has criticised the concept as insufficient to account for ‘the linguistic complexity of the 21st century’ (p. 142). In Europe, plurilingualism has influenced teaching practices, such as in the form of Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL), which generally refers to the teaching of languages embedded within school curriculum subject content (through various models). The Scottish language teaching approach aligns with a plurilingual philosophy executed through an additive model (mother tongue plus two additional languages). However, the schools sampled in the current study do not follow a CLIL curriculum.

From a multilingual perspective, L1 and L2 (and L3 and so forth) are challenging to define because they may not align to first language, second language, third language and so forth in a clear-cut way. L1, L2, L3 etc. imply an acquisitional hierarchy, which does not account for, for example, simultaneous bilingualism, that is, two L1s. In the case of many Anglophone foreign language classrooms, where monolingualism might

be perceived as the norm, learners will typically share English as an L1, however, it is important to remember that English L1 does not represent the only L1 of all learners in the classroom. Additionally, target language, or TL, is often substituted for L2 (for example, as evidenced in Littlewood & Yu, 2011 and Chambers, 2013). Additional terminology includes mother tongue (MT) or native language when referring to L1, though the concept of a native speaker has been problematic, purporting linguistic homogeneity and impossible ideals (Davies, 2004). For the purposes of this thesis, L1 and L2 will be used in the literature review with reference to common syntheses in literature, though occasionally, and in particular in the findings and discussion chapters, L2 will be interchanged with target language, which is the terminology that the teacher participants were familiar with from their own teaching context and which pupils were familiarised with during data collection.

1.2 The problem of ‘English is enough’ attitudes and their impact on language learning in Anglophone contexts

Teachers in Anglophone contexts face a unique problem in motivating their learners to learn a Language other than English (LOTE), given the pervasiveness of English around the globe and the ‘myth’ that ‘everyone speaks English’ (Education Scotland, 2022). According to Lanvers and Graham (2022), the United Kingdom is ‘entering its fourth decade of [the language] crisis with no end in sight’ (p. 223). The crisis they refer to is the United Kingdom’s poor reputation for learning languages, which Lanvers, Doughty and Thompson (2018) claimed has been intensified as a result of Brexit. Lanvers and Coleman (2017) cited low levels of motivation and changing language

education policy as reasons why people in the United Kingdom are considered to be poor linguists. To address this problem, research exploring Anglophone pupil motivation toward learning languages other than English has been crucial, particularly given that most research within L2 motivation is devoted to English-language learning (Ushioda, 2017).

This challenging, macro-level context for languages raises the question of how macro attitudes about languages affect pupils' experiences of language learning at the classroom level. To combat perceptions that 'English is enough,' the Scottish Government (2012) implemented the 1+2 approach to language learning, raising the question as to what Scottish language pupils believe about the language(s) they learn and whether they see languages as personally relevant and valuable. These questions warrant a contextual approach to research within Scottish language education to uncover how contextual factors, such as societal perceptions about languages other than English as unimportant, impact on individuals' beliefs about languages. Given that current research in the field of language education is progressing toward a holistic view of an individual's languages, or linguistic repertoire, beliefs about mother tongue, or L1, also merit attention.

1.3 The Scottish language learning context

This section first provides a historical overview of how language education has changed in Scotland since the late twentieth century, which saw the establishment of the Scottish Parliament giving new oversight to education in Scotland in place of Westminster (Jones, 2020). Scotland's 1+2 approach is then explained with reference to its main

goals, provision of L2 and L3 and persisting challenges, such as the issue of uptake in secondary language study.

1.3.1 Historical overview of language education in Scotland

The late 1980s saw a revitalised push for language learning in Scotland, where previously language education had disappeared from the primary curriculum. In 1989, the 'Languages for All' initiative implemented the teaching of languages other than English (French, German, Spanish and/or Italian) at what was considered at the time 'Standard Grade,' or National Qualifications for pupils aged 14-16 years, in the hopes of increasing enrolment and attainment at qualification level (Scottish Education Department, 1989; Scott, 2015). At the same time, the Modern Languages at Primary School (MLPS) program launched to re-introduce languages at primary level (Johnstone, Cavani, Low & McPake, 2000). The MLPS initiative was implemented at P6 and P7 across all Scottish primary schools by 1993, under which pupils received 60 minutes of language learning per week, either in one block or split between two 30-minute blocks (Tierney, 1999). However, despite pupil enthusiasm for languages, a key limitation to the MLPS programme was consistent teacher training (Crichton & Templeton, 2010; Jones, 2020).

According to reports from Scottish Education Department Curriculars 1178 and 1187 (1989), the Scottish Consultative Council on the Curriculum (1989) and the Scottish Office Education Department (1991; 1994), compulsory languages underwent shifts throughout the 1990s, from being compulsory only at S3/S4 to being compulsory at S1/S2, eventually leading again to declining enrolment (Scott, 2015). By 2000,

modern languages enrolment at Standard Grade was experiencing decline (Templeton, 2005). McPake, Johnstone, Low and Lyall (1999) published the Foreign Languages in Upper Secondary School (FLUSS) report, which identified key causes of the decline, including lacking instrumental motivation, sense of achievement and confidence amongst pupils. These findings were significant in establishing renewed initiatives to tackle the language decline by reviewing the qualifications in place. New National Qualifications and a Ministerial Action Group led to the removal of the concept of compulsory language education (Scottish Ministerial Action Group, 2000), thereupon referred to as an entitlement to 500 hours of modern language learning' (Scott, 2015, p. 18). The Curriculum for Excellence comprises of a Broad General Education (BGE) phase from nursery to S3, followed by a senior phase from S4 to S6 (Scottish Government, 2008). Its four main objectives are to foster successful learners, confident individuals, responsible citizens and effective contributors. Planning and implementation of the Curriculum for Excellence took place between 2008-2010 and is the current national curriculum in place. Launched in 2011 and taking the place of the 'Languages for All' policy, the 1+2 language policy is the Scottish Government's most recent approach to reinvigorating languages in primary and secondary schools, with the continued aim of tackling low language enrolment at National Qualification level. The 1+2 policy will be described in more detail in Section 1.3.2.

1.3.2 The Scottish 1+2 language policy

The Scottish 1+2 approach to language learning entitles pupils in Scotland to learn two languages in addition to their mother tongue (MT). A first additional language (L2) is taught from the first year of primary school (P1) until fifth year (P5) when a second additional language (L3) is introduced (Education Scotland, 2022). From P5 until the third year of secondary school (S3), which is the final year of Broad General Education (BGE), both L2 and L3 are offered (Table 1.1). After S3, pupils have the option to choose which languages to carry forward to qualification or none at all. The policy began in 2011 and since 2021 has been fully implemented since P1. The 1+2 approach was developed to address concerns about the value of knowing other languages by adopting the European Union's approach to language policy, whereby EU citizens are expected to learn two languages in addition to their mother tongue (Scottish Government, 2012; Iskra, 2022).

Table 1.1: The Scottish 1+2 model

Year (Ages)	Modes of language study
P1 - P5 (5 - 9)	Mother tongue + L2
P5 - S3 (9 - 14)	Mother tongue + L2 + L3
S4 - S6 (14 - 17)	Pupils have the option to continue learning a language, leading to a National Qualification ¹ (i, e., National 4, National 5, Higher and Advanced Higher)

¹ The languages available at National Qualification level are French, German, Spanish, Italian, Gaelic for learners, Urdu, Mandarin and Cantonese (Education Scotland, 2023).

The goals of 1+2

According to Kanaki (2019), 1+2 represents Scotland's attempt to 'dispel the hegemonic identity of a monolingual country' (p. 44). Indeed, the Scottish Government (2012) have stated that 'the damaging perception, especially within the UK, that languages are not important because everyone speaks English has to be challenged' (p. 6). In addition to equipping pupils in Scotland to be able to participate in society and the economy at a global level, three other statements made by the Scottish Government (2012) encapsulated key points regarding the purpose of the approach, which are to maintain mother tongue literacy, bolster the economic profile of Scotland's future workforce and make languages appealing to pupils for overall enhanced quality of life. The Scottish Government (2012) noted (with my emphasis added in bold) that:

- 1) 'Learning an additional language [...] facilitates a deeper understanding of the possibilities of language and communication, **including those relating to the learner's mother tongue**' (p. 6).
- 2) 'It is also at the beginning of secondary school that strong messages relating to the link between language learning and employability can be made. **However, future employability is not the sole reason for continuing to learn languages in secondary school.** In an increasingly global world, we must look to the kind of international contacts the citizens of tomorrow will have, not only in their work but in their leisure activities, social life, and engagement in continuing education' (p. 20).

- 3) 'It is important to ensure that ***language learning is attractive to young people and that they recognise the relevance of language learning skills to their lives*** and future careers' (p. 22).

The ways in which modern languages are implemented in Scottish schools differs between primary and secondary levels. At primary level, language instruction is embedded into the existing curriculum through activities that aim to build pupil confidence in recognising sounds and phrases. Songs, poems, rhymes and games are encouraged to foster enjoyment of the language. Examples of how L2 is embedded into the curriculum include taking the register, discussing weather and date, lunch routines, greetings, Physical Education warm-ups, distributing classroom materials, classroom commands, praise and assemblies (Education Scotland, 2022). By P7, pupils should ideally have an interest in and awareness of languages and cultures. Practically speaking, P7 pupils should be able to give a short presentation and engage in short conversations. At secondary level, the modern languages curriculum is independent, like the teaching of English, mathematics or science.

The teaching of modern languages at both primary and secondary schools is also framed by the Principles and Practice document and align to Curriculum for Excellence goals (Education Scotland, 2009). They emphasise the interconnectedness of languages, global citizenship and communicative competence. This framework is specified into a series of experiences and outcomes in relation to the listening, talking, reading and writing skills that pupils are expected to develop as they progress through first (to the end of P4), second (to the end of P7), third and fourth levels (S1-S3) of the

Broad General Education phase. The Experiences and Outcomes guide teachers in planning teaching and learning aspects as well as assessment. Benchmarks provided are intended to specify national standards expected at each level and are aimed at helping teachers to make decisions on the types of activities and topics to include in their lessons (Education Scotland, 2017b). The Principles and Practice document also provides guidance in relation to implementing L2 and L3.

L2s offered in Scottish primary and secondary schools

The most common L2s offered in Scottish schools are French, German and Spanish, which Doughty (2019) referred to as ‘the big three.’ According to 2021 survey findings of 30 out of 32 local authorities published by the Scottish Government (2022), languages other than ‘the big 3’ offered as L2s in primary and secondary schools tend to be Italian, Gaelic and Mandarin. Tables 1.2 and 1.3 show which languages are offered as L2s in primary and secondary schools in Scotland, respectively. This data were provided during the 2020-2021 academic year. Across 30 local authorities, 98% of primary schools were reported to provide either the full L2 entitlement (69%) or partial L2 entitlement (29%) and 100% of secondary schools were reported to provide either the full L2 entitlement (70%) or partial L2 entitlement (30%). The information in Tables 1.2 and 1.3 reflects double counting of some schools where two languages, such as French and Spanish, are both offered as an L2 (percentages are provided by the Scottish Government 2022 report of the 2021 survey findings).

Table 1.2: L2s offered by primary schools in Scotland based on 2020-2021 data (Scottish Government, 2022)

L2s offered	Number of primary schools (out of 1,722)	Percentage
French	1,452	84%
Spanish	174	10%
Gaelic (Learners)	46	3%
German	23	1%
Other Chinese	10	<1%
Italian	7	<1%
Mandarin	6	<1%

Table 1.3: L2s offered by secondary schools in Scotland based on 2020-2021 data (Scottish Government, 2022)

L2s offered	Number of secondary schools (out of 315)	Percentage
French	270	86%
Spanish	73	23%
German	36	11%
Gaelic (Learners)	17	5%
Italian	4	1%
Mandarin	3	<1%

Overall, in Scotland, French is the most popular L2 in both primary and secondary schools, followed by Spanish. In secondary schools, German is the third most common L2 offered. ‘The big three’ languages thus served as the backdrop of the current study.

L3s offered at Scottish primary and secondary schools and how L3 implementation differs from L2 implementation

According to the 2021 local authority survey, provision of L3 is lower than L2, with 64% of primary schools and 87.5% of secondary schools offering L3 entitlement in the 2020-2021 academic year. The L3s offered by Scottish primary and secondary schools are

summarised in Tables 1.4 and 1.5. Percentages are not provided by the Scottish Government (2022) report and are difficult to calculate based on the unknown number of schools providing more than one L3, such as Spanish and Mandarin.

Table 1.4: L3s offered by primary schools in Scotland based on 2020-2021 data (Scottish Government, 2022)

L3s offered	Number of primary schools (out of 1,722)
Spanish	523
French	202
German	177
Mandarin	150
Gaelic (Learners)	138
Italian	31
Urdu	5

Other L3s offered at primary schools included BSL (offered by 113 schools), Scots (100), Makaton (25), Polish (12), Japanese (8), Arabic (5), Latin (4), Portuguese (4), Russian (3) and Dutch (1).

Table 1.5: L3s offered by secondary schools in Scotland based on 2020-2021 data (Scottish Government, 2022)

L3s offered	Number of secondary schools
Spanish	199
German	94
French	89
Mandarin	34
Gaelic (Learners)	24
Italian	15
Urdu	4

Other L3s offered at secondary schools included Scots (offered by 15 schools), BSL (9), Portuguese (3), Latin (2) and Makaton (1).

One of the challenges in implementing the 1+2 approach between the primary to secondary transition is that primary schools have freedom in deciding which L3 to implement, independent of what secondary schools offer. While the L2 offered must have continuity into secondary school and National Qualification level, the L3 is unrestricted in this sense. L3 can be delivered in a variety of ways, such as through designated blocks of time between P5-P7 or through an interdisciplinary project spanning over a number of weeks. The same L3 may be offered from P5 to P7 or different L3s may be introduced each year. Like the L2, L3 should be integrated into the existing primary curriculum and should enable pupils to engage in basic transactions. In secondary school, L3 may also be delivered in a number of ways, including as a full option course or elective, as part of an interdisciplinary project or taught over a block of time in conjunction with L2 teaching.

Additional ongoing challenges of the 1+2 policy

Several challenges regarding the 1+2 approach have been raised. For one, Kanaki (2019) addressed the limited number of heritage and migrant languages offered. However, Christie, Robertson, Stodter and O'Hanlon's (2016) report on the progress of the 1+2 policy implementation pointed out that a major impediment to offering these languages is the lack of available qualified teachers. Other challenges still needing to be met in 2016 were reported, including funding and resources available to implement the policy, further guidance about implementing L3, the role of initial teacher education, reaction of secondary schools and review of expected outcomes in response to the policy.

Perhaps the greatest challenge of the 1+2 policy is continuing low levels of language uptake into senior phase, which may be due to Anglocentric attitudes that languages other than English are not needed. According to Lanvers (2017), Global English threatening motivation in English first-language speakers to learn modern foreign languages. The low linguistic skills and low language uptake believed to characterise the United Kingdom (in relation to other European nations) was referred to by Lanvers and Coleman (2017) as the 'UK language learning crisis' (p. 4). This is associated with a high demand for learning English as the lingua franca of the global economy. Additionally, Brexit has contributed to sentiments about foreign languages as being unimportant in the United Kingdom (Broady, 2020). However, it is important to consider Scotland in its own right, particularly given its unique approach to language education in the form of the 1+2 policy. Gough (2019) noted the tendency for language policy and practice in England to be referred to as that of the United Kingdom, making it even more important to understand Scottish-specific attitudes about languages given Scotland's different approach to language education policy than that of England's.

According to a 2015 Scottish Social Attitudes Survey, 89% of people surveyed believed learning a language other than English is important (Scottish Government, 2016). Of 1,288 respondents, 63% believed that Western European languages were most appropriate for pupils to learn in school. Thus, attitudes about learning languages in Scotland appear to be positive. However, according to Scottish-specific data about trends in language uptake between 2012-2019 compiled by Doughty (2019), uptake in the Scottish secondary context has shown decline in French and German uptake but

increased uptake in Spanish. Entries in below Higher level (which entails National 4 and National 5 qualifications and the 11 to 14-year age group included in the current study) for French show a 65% decrease between 2012 and 2019. German has also experienced a decrease of 65% since 2012, however Spanish has slightly increased since 2012 (by 8%).

Table 1.6: Scottish entries for French, German and Spanish below Higher level (Doughty, 2019)

	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
French	30,260	28,586	18,181	15,552	12,933	12,517	11,057	10,720
German	6,725	5,926	3,748	3,150	2,813	2,559	2,400	2,416
Spanish	6,589	7,688	6,200	6,075	6,182	6,277	6,809	7,089

Uptake at Higher level for Spanish has increased more significantly since 2012 (by 92%), while uptake in French at Higher level has declined by 27% and German has declined by 30% since 2012 (Table 1.7). In relation to both Higher entries and entries at the level immediately below Higher, Doughty (2019) stated that ‘increased entries for Spanish have not compensated for the decreases seen in French and German’ (p. 6).

Table 1.7: Scottish entries for French, German and Spanish at Higher level (Doughty, 2019)

	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
French	4,691	4,239	4,157	4,572	4,581	3,918	3,780	3,417
German	1,122	1,051	1,006	1,114	1,020	890	817	787
Spanish	1,593	1,645	1,880	2,413	2,600	2,809	2,795	3,054

At Advanced Higher level, French entries showed a smaller decrease (6%) whereas Spanish entries increased by 95% between 2012 and 2019. Entries in German at Advanced Higher level are the same as they were in 2012 but 26% lower than their

peak in 2017 (Table 1.8). Uptake for Spanish also experienced a 2% decrease since its 2016 peak.

Table 1.8: Scottish entries for French, German and Spanish at Advanced Higher level (Doughty, 2019)

	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
French	646	673	618	671	697	774	638	603
German	127	138	142	109	146	172	124	127
Spanish	240	248	239	326	480	433	456	469

Thus, languages in Scotland may not be entirely in crisis given that popularity for Spanish in secondary schools is on an upward trend, however uptake in French and German does appear to continue to be a challenge across all levels. This is concerning given that French and German are the most common languages taught in Scottish schools. It is hoped that the current study sheds light on the issues of uptake by means of examining beliefs about the language use practices in the Scottish modern language classroom.

1.4 Research aims and objectives

This section details the broader intents of this study, the aims, and the specific steps taken to achieve the desired outcomes.

1.4.1 Aims of the research

While understanding what motivates Anglophone pupils to learn languages other than English is important, research has thus far overlooked a key aspect in the Scottish modern language classroom – beliefs about classroom language use practices. In the modern language classroom, there is an interplay of multiple languages (namely L1,

including pupils' multiple L1s, and the additional languages being learned) taking place, which is unlike any other subject course in a typical Scottish secondary school. The current study supports Goodman and Tastanbek's (2020) claim that 'research on teachers' beliefs and language practices need to be reviewed critically to identify whether they take a monoglossic or heteroglossic view of languages practices' (p. 1) and further explores whether factors within the Anglophone language learning context are perceived to impact on beliefs about language use and language learning. In the current study, teachers' beliefs and practices are complemented by pupils' accounts of their own beliefs about language use and beliefs about their teachers' language use.

The main aim of this study is to develop an understanding of teachers' and pupils' beliefs about using L1 and L2 in the Scottish modern language learning context. In addition to sampling Scottish language teachers, the study targeted pupils at between years S1-S3, the period before S4 pupils make the crucial decision whether to continue with language study, in order to shed light on the uptake challenge. While the primary focus of this study is beliefs about L1 and L2 use, the study is framed in the unique context of Scottish modern language education. In light of perceptions about UK citizens as 'poor linguists,' (Lanvers & Coleman, 2017) additional focus is given to what language learners in Scotland believe about the importance of L2, or indeed whether they feel L2 has personal relevance in their lives.

1.4.2 Objectives and research questions

The research objectives are four-fold, aligning to the research questions. The research questions are:

- 1) What are teachers' and pupils' beliefs about using English (L1) and target language (L2) in the Scottish secondary modern language classroom?
- 2) Based on teachers' and pupils' accounts, what macro, meso and micro level contextual factors are perceived to influence pupils' beliefs about using English (L1) and target language (L2)?

The objectives are to:

- Use *questionnaires* to collect teachers' and pupils' beliefs about L1 and L2, including the extent to which they believe L1 and L2 are and should be used in the classroom and for what purposes they should be used
- Explore the potential of using *metaphor elicitation* to provide unique insight into pupils' beliefs
- Understand teachers' and pupils' L1 and L2 beliefs in greater depth, and help to explain some of the findings from questionnaires, in consideration of contextual factors through use of *semi-structured interviews*
- Explore the potential of using *cartoon storyboard drawings* to better understand pupils' perceptions of how languages are used in the classroom environment and reveal what emotions exist in the Scottish language learning classroom

1.5 Outline of the thesis

This introduction has given an overview of the unique context of language learning in Scotland and presented the research aims and objectives.

Chapter 2, the Literature Review, guides the reader through theories of second language acquisition which have influenced how L1 and L2 are perceived in the language classroom today. The body of research exploring teachers' and pupils' beliefs about L1 and L2 is reviewed and gaps in the literature are identified. Focus is also given to the areas of L2 motivation, multilingual identity and emotions in language learning, which are relevant to findings that emerged from the current study regarding pupils' beliefs about themselves as target language speakers.

Chapter 3, the Methodology, describes the chosen research design and its suitability in answering the research questions and thereby, achieving the research aims. A pragmatic approach is taken, employing mixed methods to collect data from four sources: questionnaires used with 174 pupils and 15 language teachers, metaphors about language learning and using L1 and L2 in the classroom gathered from 131 pupils, semi-structured interviews conducted with 46 pupils and 15 teachers and cartoon storyboard drawings about the language classroom collected from 45 pupils.

Chapter 4 presents and discusses findings from questionnaires and metaphors in answer to the first research question. Comparison of the teacher and pupil questionnaires showed that teachers and pupils agree that L1 has pedagogical value in the L2 classroom but disagree on many instances where they believe L1 and L2 should be used (such as when teaching/learning grammar). The presentation and discussion of metaphor findings provides additional depth on pupil beliefs regarding L1 and L2 use in the classroom. The metaphors showed that pupils tend to have favourable beliefs about

using English in the L2 classroom but less favourable beliefs about using target language.

Chapter 5 presents and discusses teacher and pupil interview findings, integrated with the questionnaire and cartoon storyboard findings in answer to the second research question. The interview findings help to explain why many pupils have unfavourable beliefs about language and also help to explain some of the questionnaire findings, such as why some teachers believe that using target language for classroom routine language (such as asking to go to the bathroom) is arbitrary and therefore, should not be encouraged. The cartoon storyboards depict how pupils perceive languages to be used by the teacher, by themselves and by their peers, providing a unique perspective of pupils' beliefs about the languages used in the classroom. The cartoon storyboards also shed light on the emotions that pupils in Scotland associate with using L1 and L2.

Finally, chapter 6 concludes the thesis through discussion of the scope and implications of the study. Recommendations for future research are made and the thesis concludes on reflection about the contributions the study makes to knowledge in the field of classroom L1 and L2 research.

Chapter 2 Literature Review

2.1 Chapter introduction

This chapter provides the justification for developing a study on beliefs about using L1 and L2 in the Scottish language learning context through evaluation of existing empirical work and identification of relevant gaps, which the study aims to fulfil. The rationale for inclusion of specific concepts and theories is shown through explanation of how they have influenced the current Anglophone language learning landscape.

In order to understand the debate around classroom L1 and L2 use (Section 2.5.1), we have to first understand how second language acquisition theory has influenced language classroom practices. For example, we must consider why some schools of thought believe L2 immersion to be the best language teaching and learning approach whereas others purport L1 inclusion to be the best approach. The answer can be found through synthesis of the developments in scholarship about the way our language repertoires affect and aid in our language processing. However, our understanding of the way in which second languages are learned would be incomplete without considering psychological and social factors affecting the individual language learner. In other words, contextual differences must also be accounted for as well as their implications on the way L1 and L2 are used in the language learning environment.

This task includes close examination of societal factors. Societal attitudes about languages will affect the way in which languages can be taught – if Anglophone learners have been exposed to ideas in wider society that languages are unimportant, then an immersive language learning environment is unlikely to be effective in shifting such

attitudes. Societal factors, as well as other factors at the community, school and classroom levels, impact on an individual's motivation to learn languages, which is a complex area of study linked with an individual's self-concept as a speaker and learner of languages. In the Anglophone context, a learner's self-conceptualisations as a language learner must be considered in connection to beliefs about the value of knowing languages other than English. This complex network of theories and concepts, pedagogical beliefs about L1 and L2 and contextual factors makes up the foundation upon which the current study is set.

Finally, the methods we use to explore language use in language learning settings must be considered in terms of both what has been tested before and what innovation can augment voices that have been largely unheard.

2.1.1 Outline of the literature review

Section 2.2 will introduce theories of second language acquisition that have been pivotal in shifting the roles of L1 and L2 use in the classroom. This leads to section 2.3, which details how second language acquisition theories have led to changing language teaching trends and how these trends have emphasised L1 or L2 over time.

Communicative language teaching is described in this section, which has in recent years significantly emphasised the role of L2. Yet communicative language teaching has also drawn attention to the benefits of using L1 in the L2 classroom. Spolsky's (1988) model of second language teaching and Gardner's (1985; 2010) socio-educational model are presented as they incorporate and align to elements which will recur throughout this thesis: that of the social context of language learning (in the UK),

attitudes, motivation, learning opportunities (or the learning environment) and outcomes for the learner.

Section 2.4 sets out the important societal context of language learning in the UK. Section 2.5 presents the theoretical debate that has shaped beliefs about L1 and L2 use in the language classroom, with attention focused primarily on Anglophone language learning classroom. Section 2.6 analyses the body of empirical literature that has explored its application to various language classrooms, both in and outside of the Anglophone context and in primary, secondary and tertiary settings. Section 2.7 describes how aspects of L2 motivation and multilingual identity have some relevance in this study of L1 and L2 beliefs. Section 2.8 discusses emotions in foreign language learning. The argument is made for revealing what other emotions exist in relation to beliefs about L2 rather than micro focusing solely on anxiety in language learning. Section 2.9 concludes the literature review with a summary and explicitly states the gaps that are identified throughout the literature review and the interconnectivity between the concepts mentioned here, warranting the need for the current study. Finally, the research questions are presented.

The literature included in this literature review was selected using primarily the following databases: the Education Information Resource Centre (ERIC), JSTOR, ProQuest Dissertations and Theses Global, SAGE Research Methods, ScienceDirect, Edinburgh Research Archive and Google Scholar. Studies were searched for using keywords such as 'beliefs,' 'L1,' 'L2' 'Anglophone' and 'language learning.' Empirical literature was selected based on relevance to classroom L1 and L2 use in the

secondary Anglophone modern language learning context. However, studies that deviated from these areas, such as those focusing on the tertiary language learning context, which is heavily present in the scholarship available, were also drawn from to highlight the methodologies commonly used to explore L1 and L2 in the Anglophone modern language learning context and to emphasise that there is a key gap in exploring L1 and L2 use at the Anglophone secondary level. Findings from the current study were discussed in relation to many of the studies presented in the literature review, however additional literature was included in the discussion chapters based on themes emerging from the data analysis.

2.2 Theories in second language acquisition

Language acquisition theory has undergone significant evolution, particularly throughout the mid to late 20th century up to present day. This section provides a brief historical overview of some key theories in second language acquisition from the perspective of their shifting implications on the roles of first language (L1) and second language (L2) in second language learning. Epochs within language acquisition theory can be broadly categorised into three dominant phases: linguistic, psychological and social. Each have framed second language acquisition since the mid 20th century, building upon one another across the decades (Saville-Troicke & Barto, 2016). Thus, it is difficult to indicate when one phase ends and another begins. Furthermore, each has made prevailing contributions to the field of second language acquisition today.

2.2.1 Linguistic perspectives in second language acquisition

Linguistic perspectives in second language acquisition theory emphasised languages as systems, including both outer and inner (Saville-Troicke & Barto, 2016). The outer systems refer to lexical, syntactical, morphological and phonological characteristics of a language while the inner systems include individuals' underlying knowledge of language. This section details three linguistic theories of second language acquisition for their relevance to early conceptualisations of the relationship between L1 and L2: contrastive analysis, error analysis and the monitor model.

Contrastive analysis

Linguistics dominated second language acquisition theorising in the 1950s and 1960s when second languages were believed to be learned based on a cognitive model of stimulus and response as well as repetition for habit reinforcement (Saville-Troicke & Barto, 2016). Approaches during this time emphasised languages as systems of rules. However, whether these rules must be learned or whether individuals are innately conscious of these rules has convoluted the field. Contrastive analysis (CA), influenced by the work of Fries (1945) and Lado (1957), had significant implications for beliefs about the use of L1. This early linguistics-focused period of second language acquisition theory saw L1 as a reinforcement tool that can be used to grasp the grammatical rules of L2. As summarised by Kramsch (2007), Lado identified where L1 and L2 structures are similar and where areas of difference could pose the greatest difficulties for second language learners to overcome. According to contrastive analysis, positive transfer occurs where L1 and L2 structures are similar. A learner is thus able to apply the rules

of L1 structure to the L2, making a correct utterance. In such scenarios, L1 could be considered very helpful to L2 development. In contrast, where learners apply an L1 structure to L2 incorrectly, negative transfer, or interference, occurs (Saville-Troikke & Barto, 2016). In situations of negative transfer, the L1 causes error.

Lado's work was aimed at language teachers. He insisted that contrastive analysis was necessary for helping teachers to better understand and resolve most common errors made. Though contrastive analysis serves as a basis for translation revival (Kramsch, 2007), which will be further explored in Section 2.5.2, it faced certain criticisms. For example, positive transfer between an L1 and L2 is not guaranteed and learners produce L2 errors that cannot be explained by contrastive analysis with the L1 (Saville-Troikke & Barto, 2016).

Error analysis

In an effort to account for L2 errors produced by learners themselves rather than based on structural comparison of L1 and L2, the theory of error analysis emerged. Rather than relying on L1-L2 transfer, learners' internal processes were thought to determine the errors they made. This has influenced Chomsky's theories of innate grammar knowledge, which attempted to explain why individuals grasp their first language independently of knowing structural rules and patterns (Chomsky, 1965). Similarly, Corder's (1967) claims that learners' errors provide insight into various stages of the language learning process implied that errors are a result of learner experimentation with the language and that these errors can occur regardless of L1 or L2 (Saville-Troikke & Barto, 2016). These types of errors were categorised as intralingual errors, or

errors made within the L2 that cannot be explained due to interference from L1. To explain this, Selinker (1972) proposed the theory of interlanguage. Interlanguage considers the language used by a learner in the process of becoming an L2 speaker to be a language in its own right. In other words, factors including L1, environment and creativity with the language combine to form a temporary language as an individual develops L2 (Saville-Troicke & Barto, 2016). In hindsight, error analysis proved that most errors are not traceable to L1 (Mitchell, Myles and Marsden, 2021). This raises the question as to why they occur. While at this point in second language acquisition theory (1960s and 1970s), L1 was still considered to play a role in L2 acquisition, aspects of the L2 soon came into greater focus, such as the environment in which an individual learns L2.

The monitor model

The growing emphasis on learner processes, evidenced by the seminal work of Dulay and Burt (1973) with children aged between five and eight years and Brown (1973) with children aged between two and four, on morpheme acquisition order studies challenged views on the link between L1 and second language acquisition. Whereas English L1 speakers were shown to produce a consistent order of morphemes, speakers of different L1s seemed to learn L2 morphemes in the same order, challenging the notion of L1 interference. Krashen's (1978) monitor model proposed an idea similar to Chomsky's (1965) language acquisition device (LAD), an alleged innate mechanism responsible for the acquisition of language. Krashen applied this theory to conscious L2 learning, which he differentiated from subconscious acquisition. The idea that learning is

conscious highlights the importance of the environment in which language is taught and how L2 input is controlled. Krashen's model attempted to mimic the subconscious acquisition process by encouraging meaningful communication in the L2, in the way that an individual would process their L1 without formal learning. At the time of Krashen's contributions (1970s), scholars generally accepted that L1 and L2 morphemes are acquired/learned in roughly similar order, which was a catalyst in the debate surrounding whether grammar should or should not be taught explicitly in the classroom (Saville-Troicke & Barto, 2016). This debate is still prevalent today and is further discussed in Sections 2.3.2 and 2.5.1. According to Krashen's input hypothesis, if enough comprehensible input is provided, L2 learners should be able to learn grammar structures implicitly (Mitchell et al., 2021). Comprehensible input should, according to Krashen's theory, be slightly above the learners' competency levels, hence the formulaic representation of this hypothesis as $i+1$. However, the $i+1$ formula has been discredited as too ambiguous given inconsistent definitions of 'i+1' (in particular, whether +1 refers to grammar competency or other linguistic competencies) as well as what exactly is meant by comprehensible input (Liu, 2015). Nevertheless, Krashen's contribution is pivotal in the move away from L1 focused audiolingual methods of language teaching toward L2 communicative methods (discussed further in Section 2.3). However, another key criticism of Krashen's work is his claim that learners do not need to produce L2 output to develop L2 knowledge. This was later addressed by Swain's (1995) output hypothesis, which is expanded upon in Section 2.2.2.

Another important contribution is Krashen's affective filter hypothesis, which drew attention to individual learner differences. According to Krashen (1982), these differences determined whether a learner possessed attitudes 'more conducive to second language acquisition' (p. 31). A learner with a lower filter (which could be attributed to lower anxiety levels) is argued to have greater capacity for comprehensible input. Though there have been many further developments since Krashen's monitor model from within the linguistic perspective, the affective filter hypothesis is a bridge into dynamic development in second language acquisition theory from psychological and social perspectives. According to Oxford and Schramm (2007), 'psychological and sociocultural perspectives are often conflicted with each other in the second language field' (p. 47). Psychological perspectives focus on processes within the individual learner (such as regulation and affective factors) while sociocultural perspectives focus on how language is constructed through interaction with others. However, as will be shown in the next section, psychological and sociocultural perspectives seem inextricably linked.

2.2.2 Psychological and social perspectives in second language acquisition

Psychological perspectives in second language acquisition theory have focused on learning processes as they occur in the brain as well as individual learner traits, such as motivational inclinations and affective factors. Social perspectives in second language acquisition theory considers language communities and both macrosocial (societal influences on language) and microsocial (cultural influences on language based on interactions between individuals) contexts (Saville-Troicke & Barto, 2016). This section

begins with complexity theory, or dynamic systems theory, which ties psychological and social elements of second language acquisition by emphasising the complexity by which language learning takes place. Contrary to Krashen's earlier claim that L2 output was not important, output and interaction hypotheses are also explained as they link to the dynamicity of experience using languages with different interlocutors. Finally, the section ends with sociocultural theory and its impact on L1 and L2 use in the language classroom.

Complexity theory

Complexity theory, when applied to second language acquisition, considers social and contextual factors affecting language learning. Deviating from linguistic perspectives in second language acquisition, complexity theory denies the existence of an inner language faculty and assumes that the language learning process continuously changes based on interdependent factors that are also continuously changing (Cameron & Larsen-Freeman, 2007; Saville-Troicke & Barto, 2016). Additionally, complexity theory considers environmental and psychological differences affecting language acquisition, such as age, gender, motivation, learning style, cognitive style, aptitude and personality (Dörnyei, 2005). In the classroom context, Cameron and Larsen-Freeman (2007) described L2 as 'a moving target' (p.236), emphasising the difficulty that pupils face in learning L2 amidst the many constantly changing factors (i.e., classroom, social, individual factors) that exist within a classroom. As such, Cameron and Larsen-Freeman also stated that to manage this difficulty, pupils 'need to experience the second language as a dynamic system' in its own right, 'shaping their

complex dynamics systems of the new language through working with it, soft assembling what they can from their resources for different tasks and purposes' (p. 237). This is resonant of Selinker's (1972) theory of interlanguage, which emphasises learner L2 development resulting from L1, the learning environment and other external factors. In addition, 'from their resources' sounds reminiscent of the notion that pupils draw from their language repertoires in helping to make sense of the L2, which will be further discussed in the section on translanguaging (Section 2.5.3).

Output and interaction hypotheses

Swain (1995) argued that input is not enough for learners to be able to fully develop in their L2. Cameron and Larsen-Freeman's (2007) statement that learners need to experience L2 essentially by experimentation aligns with Swain's proposition that learners must practice through production of L2. In doing so, learners receive feedback that helps them reflect on and correct errors. Social interaction is crucial for output, as evidenced by Swain and Lapkin's (1998) investigations with French immersion learners in Canada, who were observed overcoming linguistic obstacles and producing L2 output through collaboration. Swain (1985) also stated that by producing output, learners are 'pushed' in a way similar to the concept of $i+1$, with the help of comprehensible input (p. 249). Yet, Swain further argued that without the requirement to produce comprehensible L2 output, learners will not seek to be understood. Thus, comprehensible input is not enough and must be accompanied by comprehensible output. The need to produce comprehensible output could explain why first language English speakers learning other languages are perceived to lack language ability in comparison to English learners

across the globe. That is to say that, given the greater necessity that may be perceived around the use of English, as opposed to languages other than English, Anglophone language learners may not feel they must seek to make themselves understood to the same extent that an English learner would. This will be explored further in Section 2.4.

Complementary to the output hypothesis, the Interaction Hypothesis emerged from observations of learners' interactions with one another, which included acts of negotiation, repetition, confirmation checks and clarification requests during L2 output (Mitchell et al., 2021). These 'adjustments' are thought to help learners' interlanguage development (Long, 1985, p. 378). However, scholars have noted that interaction can only be facilitative of L2 learning and is not a direct or sole cause of L2 learning (Gass, MacKey & Pica, 1998). Long (1985), who is largely credited for expanding on interaction theory, claimed that not enough research has considered the 'linguistic environment' in which interaction takes place, but rather research has been devoted to 'factors internal to the learner, such as attitude and motivation, or socio-psychological variables, such as sociocultural factors...' (p. 389). I support Long's claim in that second language acquisition research must account for the learning context, however I would also argue that the studies of L2 learning contexts cannot be separated out from the internal, social psychological forces at play. From a complex dynamic systems perspective, it seems pertinent to approach the learning context and internal learner characteristics as interdependent components that must be investigated integratively. Similarly, Gass and MacKey (2020) have stated that future research on input, interaction and output 'will undoubtedly be enriched by exploring the connections between various approaches

[innateness, sociolinguistic context and cognitive mechanisms involved in learning a language] ... so as to arrive at a more comprehensive explanation of the L2 acquisition process' (p. 209).

Sociocultural theory

L2 interaction crucially provides learners with opportunities for negotiation of meaning, whereby attention is drawn to mistakes in their output through interaction (Gass & MacKey, 2020). This relates to mediation, an aspect of sociocultural theory, pioneered by Vygotsky's (1978) work, which explored the psychological process underlying L2 development through social interaction (Lantolf, Poehner & Thorne, 2020; Mitchell et al., 2021). Mediation refers to the process by which humans interact through mutual socially constructed symbols (language), which affect regulation of mental processes (Lantolf, 2000). Lantolf and Thorne (2006) defined the internal process of using language to regulate one's inner speech. This process has been somewhat observable through studies of children engaging in private speech, which is an externalisation of the inner speech they use to regulate or mediate their understanding, such as by focusing attention or problem solving a task (Lantolf et al., 2020). Swain (2006) also referred to this as languaging.

In second language learning, languaging has been shown to play an important role. English L1 adult Spanish learners in Antón and DiCamilla's (1999) study were heard to use L1 during private speech, mimicking the process by which children generate understanding, suggesting that in L2 learning, languaging is a tool independent of age. In addition, collaborative languaging allowed pairs to build a

dialogue through scaffolding. To give an example, one partner's reference to 'the s word' triggered the other to arrive at the intended Spanish word, 'salir' (p. 238). Swain & Lapkin (2002) revealed similar findings in the secondary school context. Two young French immersion learners in Canada demonstrated that, through languaging in L1 on a collaborative task, they negotiated how to best convey their intended meaning in a written L2 story. Sociocultural theory has also been shaped by Vygotsky's zone of proximal development (ZPD), the concept that accounts for how language learning can progress with the help of an expert, or more knowledgeable peer (Vygotsky, 1978). One helps a learner move up the ZPD through scaffolding, which is verbal guidance without which a learner is unlikely to perform an L2 related task. This makes collaboration vital to L2 learning. Regarding collaborative learning and L1 and L2 use, Swain and Lapkin (2013) posed the questions, 'What happens when immersion students are put into pairs or small groups and asked to carry out a task? What language do they use? And for what purpose do they use each' (p. 109)? Conceivably, these questions are pertinent to all language learners (including those not in immersion education) as communicative language teaching and collaborative task-based approaches (discussed in Section 2.3.2) have permeated the foreign language context for the past few decades (Brumfit, 1986). Based on a review of studies with which the authors sought to answer these questions, Swain and Lapkin (2013, pp. 122-123) proposed three guiding principles, paraphrased as follows:

- 1) Learners should be allowed to use L1 for mediation and languaging. However, as learners become more developed in the L2, they should rely on less L1 (L2

should become a mediating tool except for when new or complex material is introduced).

- 2) Teachers should use both L1 and L2 for younger learners in order to create a climate where learners feel they can become confident in the L2. As learners' proficiency develops, L1 and L2 expectations can be negotiated.
- 3) L1 use should be purposeful, such as when it is used for comparison with L2 (reminiscent of contrastive analysis), explaining abstract concepts or mediating development within the zone of proximal development.

Regarding guiding principle 2), Swain and Lapkin (2013) stated that successful negotiation of L1 and L2 expectations involves 'making beliefs explicit about the cognitive/emotive interface in language use and language learning, leading to a constructive climate of co-operation in the classroom' (p. 123). The French-Canadian immersion context in which Swain and Lapkin make this conclusion may be more conducive to this than, for example, a modern language setting in an Anglophone context due to the level of proficiency that the immersion learners might have in both English and French. The era of second language acquisition that has built upon input, output and interaction hypotheses and drawn on sociocultural theory has foregrounded the importance of both teacher and pupil L2 use in the classroom. New developments in the field must consider how, given its complexity, L2 learning is facilitated through L1 and L2 use in specific language learning contexts. One area of focus is the language attitudes that exist within a specific language context and how they impact on L1 and L2 use, as well as on language learning. Before expanding on this in Section 2.4, Section

2.3 reviews how L1 and L2 practices have changed given shifting paradigms in second language acquisition theory and provides a framework for second language teaching as it applies to the broader societal teaching context rather than from a second language acquisition theoretical perspective.

2.3 Second language teaching in the classroom

This section begins with an overview of how language teaching approaches have changed given evolving trends in second language acquisition theory in relation to the value of L1 and L2. The overview is followed by mention of communicative language teaching, a relatively recent and popular approach to language teaching that has emphasised meaningful L2 output and interaction, which challenges the role of L1 in the classroom. Emphasis on this approach is chosen specifically over other teaching methods (such as, for example, total physical response) given its close ties to task-based language teaching, an approach commonly encountered in foreign language contexts, including in the UK (Bygate, 2016). Finally, two models of second language learning are presented: Spolsky's (1988) model of second language teaching and Gardner's (2010) socio-educational model. These models were chosen due to their emphasis of the social context where language learning takes place, as well as classroom context and the complexity of other factors influencing the language learning experience (i.e., attitudes, motivation, anxiety).

2.3.1 Shifting methodologies: Using L1 and L2 in the classroom

This section outlines how changes in second language acquisition theory have led to fluctuating teaching methods regarding L1 and L2 use. I have developed Figure 2.1 to give an overview. The grammar-translation method can be traced as far back as the 16th century when the study of classical languages, such as Latin and Greek, required translation of large texts (Renau Renau, 2016). This approach required virtually no spoken L2 and a heavy focus on L1. In contrast with the grammar-translation method, the direct method took precedence in the early 20th century with the rise of modern language study and relied on exclusive use of L2 to mimic a ‘natural’ language learning approach (Brown, 1994, p. 55). With the development of linguistic and psychological perspectives on language acquisition theory, audiolingualism dominated the landscape in the mid 20th century. Audiolingualism reinforced languages as systems through drilling and repetition and while L2 played a role, its role was ‘largely rehearsed and automatised’ (Meiring & Norman, 2002, p. 27).

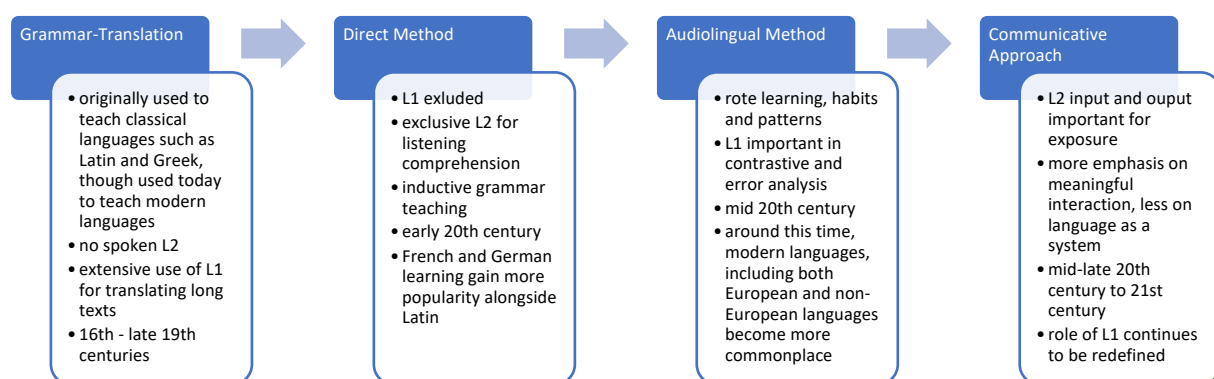


Figure 2.1: Evolution of the roles of L1 and L2 according to prominent second language classroom teaching methods

While grammar-translation and audiolingualism have lost potency over time, the direct method still permeates immersion settings and bilingual education in different forms. For example, the Berlitz method, dating back to the late 19th century, is still an active teaching method that aims to mimic how learners ‘naturally’ acquire their first language (Stieglitz, 1955; Berlitz Corporation, 2021). However, the direct method emphasised L2 input on the part of the language teacher. More recently, communicative language teaching approaches centres around learner production of L2, or target language. Like the direct method, communicative approaches maximise L2, or target language, for comprehension (for both reading and listening skills) but ultimately aim to promote learner communicative competence (for both writing and speaking skills).

2.3.2 Communicative language teaching (CLT)

The concept of ‘communicative competence’ was originally coined by Hymes (1979), who criticised Chomskyan views on language acquisition. Hymes stressed the importance of using language structures appropriately within a social context over having knowledge of language structures alone. Four decades later, Dos Santos (2020) highlighted how the communicative language teaching approach continues to emphasise ‘situation-oriented language teaching practices’ (p. 106) whereby learners take part in activities that enhance their use of appropriate vocabulary in certain situations. Dos Santos expanded on the concept-oriented approach, which either emphasises how a language form is used to perform a function (such as using past verbs forms ending in -ed to describe what someone did yesterday) or emphasises how a function is expressed in context (Bardovi-Harlig, 2020). These contexts, or situations,

have carried over from the audiolingual method, such as going to a restaurant or doctor's office (Cook, 2016). This could explain why many textbooks and learning materials in foreign language education are organised based on thematic units, which pair grammar forms with topical vocabulary, such as learning to use Spanish reflexive verbs to talk about daily routines. Brown (1994) has described this concept as 'notional-functional syllabuses,' in which 'specific notions' are taught pragmatically (p. 66). Examples include greetings/introductions/goodbyes, giving directions and expressing pleasure/displeasure. Gilmore (2007) argued that such materials fail to promote 'pragmalinguistic competence' because 'material writers have relied on intuitions about language rather than empirical data and have focused on imparting lexicogrammatical knowledge at the expense of pragmatics' (p. 100). Thus, there is a need to examine what pragmalinguistic knowledge is most appropriate and relevant for learners based on empirical evidence.

According to Kumaravadivelu (2001), teachers have become 'disillusioned' with the communicative language teaching movement and this has given rise to task-based language teaching (TBLT)² (p.539). Kumaravadivelu (2006) attributed the turn away from communicative language teaching as a rejection of one-size-fits-all pedagogies, taking a more pragmatic view with what he termed postmethod pedagogy. There is limited consensus as to what defines a task (Kumaravadivelu, 2006), however task-

² It is worth noting that these approaches (communicative language teaching and task-based language teaching) have some distinctions, though Cook (2016) ascertained that task-based learning has developed from communicative language teaching. According to Klapper (2003), task-based language teaching 'rejects the assumptions on which mainstream communicative language teaching is based' namely the Presentation-Practice-Production structure, or PPP (p. 35).

based learning can typically involve activities aligned to a communicative learning outcome (whole class, group or pair), such as roleplays and information gap exercises (Brown, 1994; Cook, 2016). As previously stated, in communicative language teaching, a learning unit may be organised based on scenarios such as visiting a doctor's office, however, task-based activities emphasise context-specific, communicative outcomes, such as telling the doctor what is wrong. This is achieved through technique(s) deemed most plausible by the teacher, such as through exclusive target language or through inclusion of L1, with a focus on grammar or vocabulary and/or with use of implicit or explicit strategies (Kumaravadivelu, 2006).

A debate within communicative language teaching is whether curricular scenarios and materials are meaningful and cultivate authentic language use (Gilmore, 2007). While the communicative classroom aims to foster pragmatic use of language in context, the fact remains that the classroom, particularly the foreign language classroom, is a controlled environment. Arguably, complete authenticity may be unrealistic and, indeed, unachievable. Given its many potential definitions, Gilmore questioned whether authenticity should be abandoned altogether 'on the ground that it is too elusive to be useful' (p. 98).

Communicative language teaching and task-based learning may detract from other features of language, such as pronunciation, vocabulary recall and writing conventions (Cook, 2016). An especially contested aspect in relation to task-based language teaching is its approach to grammar. According to Ellis (2016), task-based grammar teaching has adopted the focus on form (FonF) approach that 'relates the form

to the meaning arising from the language in the classroom' (p. 49). In other words, learner attention is drawn to a particular language form as they engage in a task. This is distinct from focus on forms (FonFs), which is characterised by traditional presentation and practice of grammar and focus on meaning (FonM), which purports incidental or implicit learning of grammar through content (Long, 1991; Cook, 2016; Ellis, 2016). Among these approaches lies the question as to which is the most effective strategy in making grammar learning enjoyable while effectively raising consciousness of linguistic rules – particularly in consideration of learner age group and meta-linguistic development (Oxford, Lee & Park, 2007).

Regarding implications on L1 and L2, Cook (2016) identified an important issue in reference to communicative language teaching in general, which can also be applied to the question of task based learning and focus on form grammar instruction; 'Pair work and group work among students with the same first language, for example, can often lead to codeswitching between first and second language, perhaps something to be developed systematically rather than seen as undesirable' (Cook, 2016, p. 278). Research on teachers' (and pupils') beliefs about L1 and L2 use when learning grammar will be expanded on in Section 2.5.

2.3.3 Models of second language learning

Thus far, I have reviewed some models of second language acquisition, such as Krashen's monitor model. Many other language acquisition theories have emphasised cognitive learning processes albeit those influenced by external factors, such as social interaction (i.e., Vygotsky, 1978; Bruner, 1982; Long, 1996). While these are important

contributions to the field, consideration needs to also be given to the complexity of language learning contexts and moreover, how sociocultural context interacts with the language learning/classroom context to impact on L2 learning.

Spolsky (1988) critiqued second language theorists for attempting to align acquisition theory to a 'perfect' teaching method (p. 377). His problem with this was that the search for any single method reduces the complexity of second language learning. It stands to reason that language teaching methods should be equally as complex as second language acquisition theory has proven L2 learning to be. Spolsky (1988) attempted to generate a general model for second language learning that accounts for its complexity (Figure 2.2). Arguably, the effectiveness of his model is challenged by whether a 'general' model can compensate for the complexity Spolsky referred to. Yet its broadness also allows for application to various socio-macro level factors and microlevel learning scenarios.

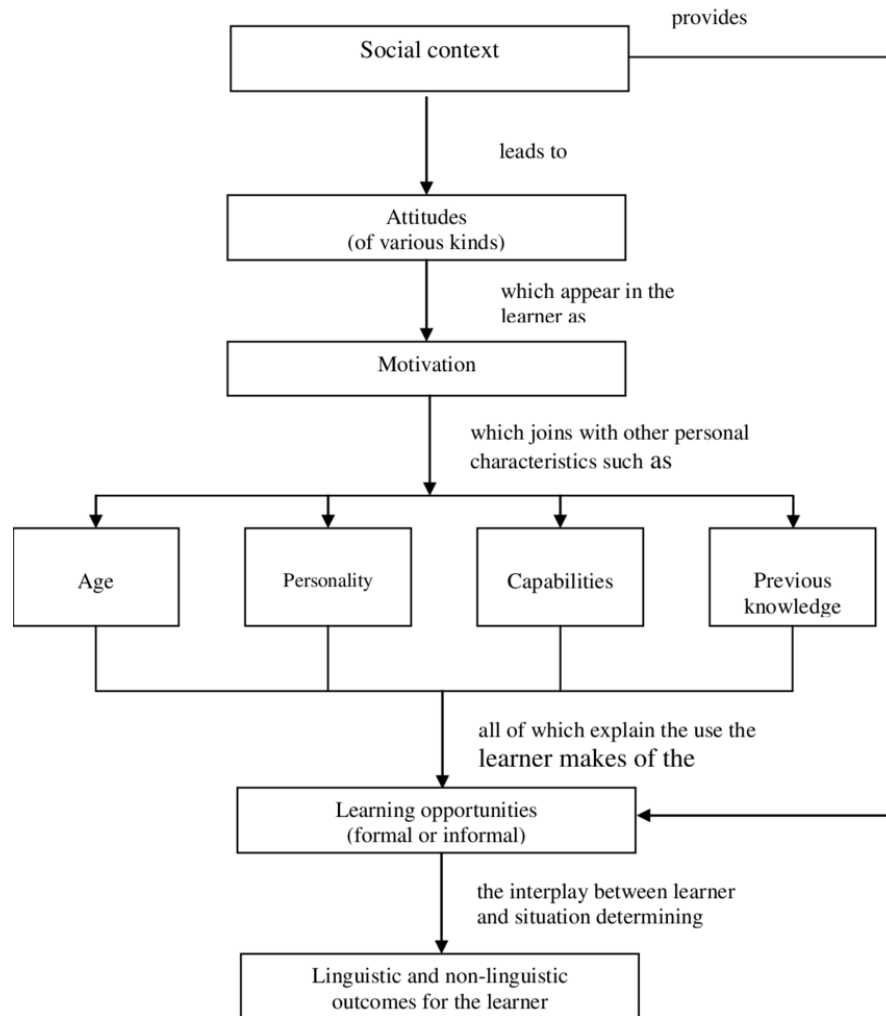


Figure 2.2: Spolsky's (1988) general model of second language learning (p. 28)

The model begins with social context at the top, which includes the extent to which the sociolinguistic context exposes learners to languages (such as through language education policies) and the perceptions of languages held at society, community and family levels. This has an overarching effect on factors trickling down the model (beginning with learners' attitudes toward languages) but is also argued to have a direct effect on whether the learning takes place in a formal or informal setting. Spolsky (1988) described attitudes as those toward the target language community and toward the

‘learning situation,’ which Spolsky believed to include ‘the learner’s expectations and perceptions of the learning task and its possible outcomes’ (p. 285). This is where, I believe, the learners’ perceptions of and attitudes toward L1 and L2 use also come into play, which Spolsky’s model overlooks. Motivation links to characteristics of the learner (age, personality, etc.) as developed by psychological turns in second language acquisition theory. In Spolsky’s (1988) view, capabilities account for both innate language acquisition processes as well as learner specific factors, such as anxiety. According to the model, attitudes manifest within the learner as motivation, which seems to imply a causal relationship between attitudes and motivation, though this is a question for further inquiry. Finally, Spolsky believed attitudes and motivational characteristics impact on what the learner makes of learning opportunities, which affects learner success at achieving outcomes. Though an older model, aspects of Spolsky’s (1988) model of second language learning continue to overlap with more recent models.

Gardner’s (2010) socio-educational model, albeit the latest reiteration of his original 1985 model, is a testament to the the prevailing relevance of social context, attitudes, motivation and individual differences in language learning. For example, both Spolsky (1988) and Gardner’s (2010) model indicate that societal attitudes and/or beliefs influence learner characteristics, such as motivation, which help to make sense of the learners’ experiences in the language learning context, leading to linguistic and non-linguistic outcomes.

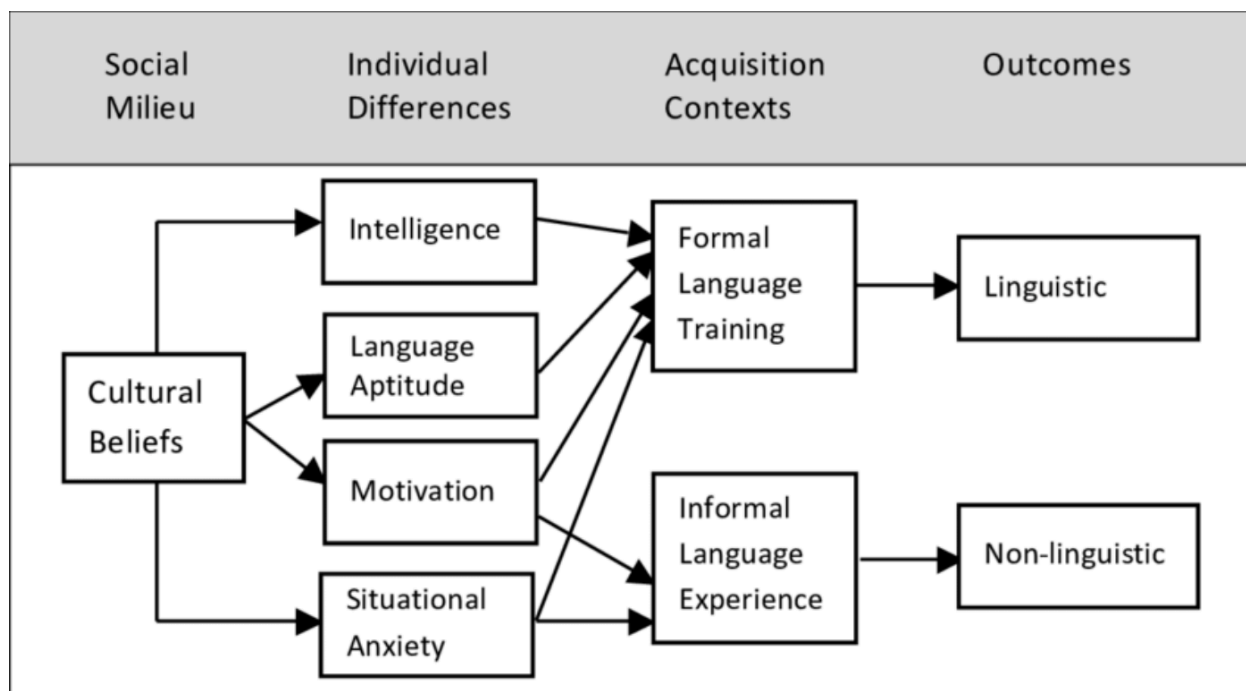


Figure 2.3: Gardner's (2010) socio-educational model (p. 8)

In Gardner's model, sociocultural beliefs inform how learners perceive their abilities within the learning setting as well as how they value the target language and culture (integrativeness). Integrativeness likely differs based on geographic location and target language demand. For example, English as a foreign language (EFL) is in high demand around the globe. Sociocultural attitudes around the English language in say, Germany, will impact on integrativeness differently than sociocultural attitudes around the German language in the UK. This will be explored in Section 2.4.

2.4 Macrosocial language attitudes

As addressed by Spolsky (1988) above (Figure 2.2), attitudes of various kinds influence learners based on the social context of their language learning and this filters into their motivational propensities. This section explores language attitudes in both Anglophone

and non-Anglophone sociocultural landscapes and offers insight into how differences between these two categories potentially shape L2 learning attitudes.

2.4.1 Language attitudes in the Anglophone context and language policies in the UK

In this study, the Anglophone context refers to countries where English is spoken by many as a first language, such as in the United States, United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand. This also refers to countries where English monolingualism might be perceived to be the norm, defined by Lanvers, Thompson and East (2021) as the assumption that that only one shared language is spoken by all. Lanvers and Coleman (2017) have stated that language learning in Anglophone countries is in crisis, particularly with reference to the UK. The crisis that Lanvers and Coleman identified can be summarised as the belief that, given they are speakers of a dominating, global lingua franca, learners in Anglophone contexts are less poised to learn other languages. This is because they can already easily communicate with others all over the world and therefore, may be under the impression that English is the only language they need. In a study that compared representations of language learning in the media across the UK (England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland), Lanvers and Coleman (2017) found that the influence of social context on language attitudes is also embedded in the political context. Despite each nation approaching language education slightly differently,³ they have all experienced declining language uptake within the past decade

³ Language learning is expected until about age 14 in most nations, apart from Wales, where Welsh is compulsory throughout secondary school. In England, no official policy exists, though languages are required in key Stages 2 and 3 (ages 7-11 and 11-14). In Northern Ireland and Wales, languages (apart from Welsh) are considered compulsory only at Key Stage 3 (ages 11-14) (Lanvers & Coleman, 2017; The Languages Company, 2021). Scotland's language education policy, as described in Section 1.3,

(Lanvers & Coleman, 2017). Critical discourse analysis of 90 UK newspaper articles revealed that some newspaper outlets, such as the Scottish Press, use the language crisis to distance themselves from England in an effort to portray England as ‘more linguistically Anglocentric’ (Lanvers & Coleman, 2017, p. 21). Additionally, the authors supposed that Scottish coverage of ‘the crisis’ is also used to promote Gaelic as not only a linguistic, but political ploy strengthening national identity and further distinguishing Scotland from England. The authors stated that this does little to actually help promote languages despite the reported high levels of media coverage.

A year later, Lanvers, Doughty and Thompson (2018) affirmed that ‘modern foreign language education is inherently linked to ideological agendas and often used for political ends’ through analysis of newspaper articles and website texts, which showed countries such as Wales and Scotland touting their commitment to languages as a sign of detachment from Brexit and Westminster politics (p. 775). The danger these nations wish to avoid is that the global status of English, and the perception that ‘English is enough,’ has potential to further exacerbate political isolation - perhaps made even more stark by the United Kingdom’s geographic isolation. However, their commitment to languages must come through in practice as well as in policy.

Language attitudes in England

Indeed, attitudes about languages in the context of the Anglophone socio-political landscape have been widely explored in England. And while the challenge that global

implements compulsory language learning throughout primary (beginning ages 5-6) up to lower secondary (to ages 14-15).

English poses on motivating Anglophone learners to value modern languages is raised time and again (Ushioda & Dörnyei, 2017), there is a large body of research indicating that many Anglophone learners do not subscribe to 'English is enough' attitudes.

Taylor and Marsden (2014) explored English pupil attitudes and perceptions about foreign language study in three secondary schools. The authors also explored whether uptake and attitudes about language learning could improve as a result of interventions addressing the belief that languages are not relevant to learners in the UK. The interventions involved school visit panel discussions in which panel speakers recounted experiences of positive language learning as well as experiences where knowing a language would have benefited them. The interventions also included language lessons given by external instructors, which were thought to be exciting for the pupils because they had the opportunity to experience language learning in a novel way. The interventions did seem to improve uptake in foreign language study past the compulsory stages and increased perceived value of languages (based on the results of pre- and post-intervention questionnaires). This suggests that attitudes about the value of languages are subject to change, and can be swayed positively, despite current political views.

Lanvers (2018) compared attitudes of pupils, teachers and senior management across four English secondary schools, with a view to compare the attitudes based on the socioeconomic status of each school. Lanvers' rationale for doing so is that those from schools with lower socioeconomic status may be more inclined to perceive languages as boring or pointless and be less likely to take languages past a post-

compulsory stage. However, Lanvers (2018) found that regardless of the socioeconomic status of the school, pupils expressed interest in languages and even ‘expressed interest in participating in a global multilingual world – in other words, they demonstrated ‘international posture’ (p. 141), a concept identified by Yashima (2009) in the Japanese EFL context, similar to Gardner’s integrativeness, in which one tries to relate to an international community rather than a specific target language community.

Lanvers and Martin (2021) investigated both parent and pupil views on learning foreign languages in English secondary schools. The authors found that in reaction to Brexit, some parents within the state school sector were dissatisfied with the range of languages offered. These parents believed that French, Spanish, German and Italian will not be the languages most needed. However, most of the parents overall did not perceive language learning overall to be useless. Rather, parents were supportive of their child’s language learning but seemed to believe certain languages to be more useful than others, namely Spanish over French. Furthermore, the pupils’ views tended to echo the parents’ views. Lanvers and Martin (2021) concluded that ‘contrary to some public debates on the language crisis, students are not necessarily linguaphobes, harbouring the belief that English is enough’ (p. 113), though pupils’ views may be significantly shaped by their parents’ views. It is worth noting, however, that that only six parent-student interviews were presented and it is difficult to generalise the extent to which parents’ views influence pupils’ views about the value of languages.

Language attitudes in Scotland

Lanvers, Hultgren and Gayton (2019) conducted a study similar to that of Taylor and Marsden (2014), in which they delivered an intervention lesson pack that explicitly taught secondary pupils about the benefits of multilingualism; however, they included both English and Scottish schools. Lanvers et al. (2019) highlighted that instrumental motivators (such as qualifications and career prospects) may not appropriately target early secondary pupils' attitudes. Their intervention included explicit instruction on the cognitive benefits of multilingualism as well as general knowledge about the distribution of languages across the world. Differences between pupils' attitudes in England and Scotland were not explored though this could prove interesting for further study given that representations of languages in Scottish media have attempted to distinguish attitudes in Scotland from those in England, and in particular, those of the Westminster government (Lanvers & Coleman, 2017; Lanvers et al., 2018). However, Lanvers et al. (2019) found that, not only did attitudes change positively toward languages, but their intervention was particularly suitable for changing Anglophone learners' attitudes by explicitly discussing the monolingual norm that can permeate rural areas of the UK. Additionally, the authors drew learners' attention to the idea of self-efficacy, which can help challenge beliefs that language learning is too boring or difficult, which may be particularly prevalent among Anglophone learners, as has been evidenced in England (Tinsley & Board, 2016).

While fewer studies have focused on language attitudes in Scotland alone, Gayton's (2016) study comparing teachers' experiences of teaching English as foreign

language in France and Germany and teaching other modern foreign languages in Scotland, portrayed crucial differences between teaching languages in Anglophone versus non-Anglophone countries. Gayton's findings suggested that there are, in fact, differences between the value exhibited toward English than toward other modern languages. Teachers in Scotland reported the feeling that they must work harder to promote languages than their English-teaching counterparts in France and Germany. In parallel, an English teacher in Germany expressed that regardless of whether a learner is motivated to learn English, they will continue to learn English anyway given that its importance is reinforced by parents, as well as by society.

2.4.2 Differences between Anglophone and non-Anglophone contexts regarding attitudes about languages

It is important to highlight some of the differences between teaching languages in Anglophone versus non-Anglophone contexts to better understand the unique challenge of motivating English L1 speakers to value and learn languages. As stated by a participant from Gayton's (2016) study, although a learner's attitude toward English may not be a particularly motivated one, this does not impede the learner from learning English. In the case of the non-Anglophone world, Schulzke (2014) argues that the dominance of English can be motivating but not in the way one might automatically think: he states that English is a 'malleable language' that is open to change based on its nonnative speakers (p. 235). In other words, Schulzke implies that English is co-constructed by its participants in a way that other languages are not. This idea coincides with Galloway and Rose's (2015) definition of 'new' Englishes. One criterion of a 'new'

English is that it becomes ‘localised or nativised’ by taking on some of the features of the language community within which English is spoken (Galloway & Rose, 2015, p. 97). This raises the question as to whether learners of English are more easily able to identify intrinsically with the language. In comparison, it is plausible that other modern languages are less malleable or open to the type of change Schulzke (2014) described regarding English. Further investigation into perceptions of English as a co-constructed language, whether this has any bearing on non-Anglophone learners’ attitudes toward learning English and whether there are perceptible differences to language attitudes in Anglophone contexts may be warranted.

In an effort to quash attitudes about modern languages as pointless, Scotland’s approach to language education (described in Section 1.3) mirrors a European language model (mother tongue + two additional languages). However, whether Scotland’s alignment with Europe is truly a sign of its commitment to languages is complicated. In reference to supposed English monolingual practices of the European Union, Phillipson (2008) critiqued ‘europeanisation’ as another form of globalisation (p. 253). This suggests that the Anglophone world is not uniquely facing a language crisis. While in the non-Anglophone European world there is a high level of motivation to learn English and dedication to the facilitation of English language learning, there may not be the same level of commitment to the facilitation of learning languages other than English. Returning to the point of the German EFL teacher in Gayton’s (2016) study, though English may be viewed as important by learners in non-Anglophone contexts, attitudes toward it are not necessarily more positive. Whether a learner in any context is

truly motivated to learn and internalise a language, that is, whether they derive intrinsic value from the language, still merits theoretical development and empirical inquiry, both in Anglophone and non-Anglophone learning settings. However, in order to do this, an important next step is situating research within individual classroom contexts. One major aspect to be considered is how languages are taught with regard to the L1 and L2 practices implemented.

As discussed in Section 2.3, language teaching pedagogy has changed how L1 and L2 are used in L2 classrooms according to shifting perspectives in second language acquisition theory. Sections 2.5 and 2.6 delve into the issue of the languages used in the classroom. Section 2.5 will first present debates surrounding uses of L1 and L2, while section 2.6 expands on empirical studies of classroom L1 and L2.

2.5 L1 and L2 (or target language) in the language learning classroom

Views of global English as the product of colonialist powers, which have marginalised and/or suppressed other languages have provided a focal point for language education research in non-Anglophone contexts (Auerbach, 1993; Canagarajah, 1999; Phillipson, 2010) through a lens that considers languages as cultural capital. Cultural capital is defined by Bourdieu (1997) as cultural knowledge, or competence, that an individual possesses, giving them power to access resources that enhance their social mobility (such as education). Systems perpetuating inequalities in society prevent certain groups from accessing and utilising cultural capital. Bourdieu (1977) referred to fixed social status based on one's upbringing as habitus. Lin (1999) has foregrounded L1/L2 research in relation to concepts of capital and habitus in the Hong Kong EFL classroom

context where negative views, or abolishment, of L1 symbolise the imperialist history and power of English. In the Anglophone context, there is less research that considers the socio-political context of language learning, such as whether the dominance of English is, in itself, a motivator for learners to speak in the L2 and separate themselves from a reliance on English or a demotivator (though some studies that have explored self-discrepancy theory as it relates to Anglophone learners' perceptions of themselves as L2 speakers will be expanded upon in Section 2.7). Rather, the study of L1 and L2 use in the Anglophone language classroom has primarily centred around cognitive, affective, pedagogic and sociocultural aspects of language learning more so than socio-political aspects.

2.5.1 The L1/L2 debate

As discussed in Section 2.3.1, L1 and L2 use practices have shifted alongside changing approaches to language teaching, guided by developments in second language acquisition theory. Yet even within the communicative language teaching era, the extent to which L1 is included in the language classroom has been a highly debated topic.

Proponents of L1 exclusion in the language classroom may align to an approach reminiscent of the direct method, in which immersion in the L2 is meant to mimic the L1 acquisition experience (however, as we know, this is impossible given that interference from L1 is inevitable). This approach can also be summarised as the 'virtual' position on classroom language use, which Macaro (2001) defined as the replication of the target language environment in his study of student-teacher codeswitching. In this view, L1 has 'no pedagogical value' (Macaro, 2001, p. 535). Cook (2001) identified other reasons

for excluding L1 from the language classroom, such as lack of shared L1 between the teacher and the learners. In addition, use of L2 for all classroom purposes, including administrative or managerial tasks, has been thought to maximise L2 exposure thereby leading to a greater likelihood of L2 cognitive (and metacognitive) development (Cook, 2001). Earlier studies have evidenced such beliefs held by modern foreign language teachers. For example, Duff and Polio (1990) revealed that foreign language teachers at an American university who used 90% of L2 or more believed that using L2 for 'all classroom functions, from grammar explanations to classroom management' was 'not problematic' (p. 162). Furthermore, students in the same study expressed satisfaction with teachers' L1 and L2 practices (though this was also true of students whose teachers reported less than 90% L2). More recently, however, Chavez (2016) has critiqued an L2-only approach as 'pretended L2 monolingualism' and furthermore, stated that its 'unnaturalness' poses greater 'cognitive and social limitations' than benefits (p. 132).

In the United States, the American Council for the Teaching of Foreign Languages has recommended that teachers strive for at least 90% L2 use in language classrooms (ACTFL, 2010). This approach is characteristic of Macaro's (2001) 'maximal' position on L1 and L2 use, which also ascertains that L1 has little to no pedagogical value, however, teachers will inevitably resort to L1 when a virtual replication of the target language environment cannot be created. Though Macaro (2001) acknowledged that failure to adhere to L2 only approaches can lead to teacher guilt, his findings indicated otherwise. One of his participants felt guilt free for forming

good relationships with learners at the expense of L2. This seems to align with Macaro's (2001) third and final position, the 'optimal' position, which recognises 'some' value in L1 and encourages teachers to reflect on whether L1 use is justified (p. 535).

The justified inclusion of L1 in the classroom has received increasing favour. As a result of their questionnaire, which surveyed 2,785 primary, secondary and tertiary language teachers across 111 countries, Hall and Cook (2013) discovered teachers mostly used L1 for clarifying when intended meaning is unclear, defining vocabulary and explaining grammar. Teachers also reported L1 use for building rapport and maintaining classroom discipline. On the other hand, teachers reported less L1 use for giving instructions, correcting spoken errors, providing feedback on written work and assessing students. However, despite the many reported uses of L1, 61.4% of teachers overall agreed with the idea of excluding L1 from the classroom. Two limitations to Hall and Cook's study are notable. The first is that while some data was collected regarding student L1 use, this data was from the perspective of teachers. It would be valuable to gain both teacher and student perspectives about L1 use functions to allow for comparison of beliefs. The current study collects both teacher and pupil views and thus contributes to filling this research gap. Secondly, while Hall and Cook's study included a generous sample size of participants from a breadth of countries, they all represented EFL backgrounds. A study investigating beliefs about L1 use in other modern foreign language settings, such as the current study, contributes to the development of work on L1 and L2 in the Anglophone context.

There are two contrasting papers that summarise key views on each side of the L1/L2 debate. Forman (2010) detailed how justified inclusion of L1 is incorporated into the L2 classroom while Moeller and Roberts (2013) provided practical strategies for teachers on how to promote an L2 immersive classroom environment. Forman's (2010) framework includes ten principles on L1 inclusion. The first seven were identified from his observations and interviews with nine university teachers of English in Thailand. Forman identified three additional principles (8-10), which were not evidenced in his study but which he declared commonly appear in the research literature. The ten principles are summarised in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1: Forman's (2010) ten principles of L1 use in L2 teaching (p. 90)

Categories	Principles	Use
Cognitive	1) L2 knowledge	Explain grammar, vocabulary, usage, culture
Affective	2) Solidarity	Facilitate easy, natural interaction in class
	3) Collaboration	Develop teamwork abilities
Pedagogic	4) Time-effectiveness	Make use of limited time
	5) Comprehensibility	Ensure meaning is conveyed successfully
	6) Inclusivity	Ensure all students can participate
	7) Contingency	Respond to learners' immediate needs
Pedagogic	8) Classroom management	Maintain discipline
Socio-political	9) Globalisation	Enable code-switching
	10) Resistance	Question the spread of English

The uses of L1 for explaining grammar and vocabulary, as well as for establishing solidarity, are in line with Hall and Cook's (2013) findings that EFL teachers reported

using L1 for defining vocabulary and explaining grammar, as well as building rapport. Forman (2010) also stated that the use of L1 to build rapport is a strategy for mitigating foreign language anxiety, which should perhaps be added to the affective category of Forman's ten principles. Forman (2015) attempted to replicate the anxiety one might experience in a L2 only environment for prospective teachers of English as a second language at an Australian university. He found that, while some fed back feelings of excitement, other prospective teachers experienced anxiety. The effect that the prospective teachers felt suggests that younger pupils are also likely to experience anxiety associated with the L2. Therefore, it seems pertinent that teachers, particularly those who may be attached to maximal L2 approaches either due to having learned in a similar way or due to teacher development L2 manifestos (such as ACTFL's 90% L2 recommendation), be open to using L1 to abate pupil anxiety. In addition, Forman's support for use of L1 for collaboration and teamwork supports notions of sociocultural learning, including L1 for purposes of negotiation of meaning with peers.

The use of L1 for time effectiveness highlights the challenge of whether teachers should give instructions on a task in L2. As was discussed by Cook (2001), conducting classroom administrative or procedural tasks in L2 could provide important opportunities for L2 exposure. However, Forman (2010) alluded to the problem of pupils getting 'lost' where time is already limited (p. 94). As a result, teachers may find that L2 for giving instructions is not the best use of language when it detracts from valuable classroom time that could be spent on a more meaningful task. Regarding comprehensibility, Forman suggested that in addition to modifying teacher L2 based on pupils' proficiency

levels, teachers may also follow L2 with L1. Forman identified this as ‘double scaffolding,’ although he seems to be suggesting translation, which has received mixed reviews in the wake of communicative language teaching and its pushback on methods involving L1 translation (Shin et al., 2019).

The use of L1 for maintaining discipline has also been supported by the teachers in Hall and Cook’s (2013) study of EFL teachers across various contexts. In the Hong Kong secondary EFL context, Lin (1999) described four classroom scenarios, showing how pupils worked through a reading lesson differently according to varying levels of teacher L1 use. Teachers observed using judicious use of L1 had better classroom management, perhaps in part due to having established better rapport with pupils than did the teachers who maintained an L2 only policy.

Forman’s ninth principle, globalisation, enables pupils to code-switch between their L1 and the L2 where suppression of the pupils’ L1 would otherwise represent global and political acts of language marginalisation. Under this principle, prohibiting L1 is baseless for two reasons: the mixing of L1 and L2 benefits learner comprehension and enhances linguistic capital and social mobility. This links with the concept of translanguaging, which will be expanded on in Section 2.5.3. In a similar vein, the final, resistance principle refers to resisting the dominance of English. This principle, though perhaps more applicable to English learning, cannot be discounted from the Anglophone language learning context. As evidenced by Lanvers et al. (2019), explicitly teaching Anglophone learners about English dominance and its negative effect on L2 motivation in Anglophone contexts has the potential to encourage pupils to want to learn

languages in the face of isolating social attitudes. Learners also evidenced a desire to resist the dominance of English in Thompson's (2017) study of two English L1 speakers learning Chinese and Arabic in the United States. Furthermore, this principle is also relevant for pupils in Anglophone settings whose L1 is not English.

In contrast to Forman's (2010) principles on the use of L1 in L2 teaching, Moeller and Roberts (2013) provided a list of 12 strategies for helping teachers to maintain a maximal L2 approach in the context of foreign language teaching in the United States. The L2 strategies are further explained below (pp. 24-34).

- 1) Build a curriculum grounded in theory and standards

Moeller and Roberts (2013) base this recommendation on the principle that the three modes of communication (interpretive, interpersonal and presentational) should be emphasised through L2 with adequate scaffolding. The authors also refer to the use of formative and summative assessments, which along with the three modes of communication, were the driving force behind the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL, 2010) 90% L2 recommendation.

- 2) Create a respectful community of learning that promotes risk taking

This includes teachers and pupils agreeing upon a set of classroom expectations. The authors believe that establishing these expectations together and early will create an environment of mutual respect, lessening

the weight of the affective filter and ultimately allowing pupils to feel comfortable using L2.

3) Encourage learner reflection through ‘meta-moments’

In other words, ask learners to describe moments when their understanding became clearer. While the authors suggest that teachers ask questions such as, ‘How did this become comprehensible to you? Why do you think I used an image rather than the English translation to communicate the meaning? How did this help you to decode the meaning of the story?’ (p. 26), these presumably call upon the use of L1, which the authors do not acknowledge.

4) Use comprehensible input in the form of visuals, gestures, non-verbal cues and prior knowledge

The authors draw on aspects characteristic of total physical response storytelling (TPRS). In this technique, vocabulary is taught through action and gesturing so as to imply meaning without use of L1, which encourages pupils to draw on their schema, or background knowledge/awareness of a concept, to make sense of content. However, a potential problem with this is that learners who may be prone to anxiety may struggle to accept ambiguity in the language learning process.

5) Teach learning strategies such as ‘chunking’, circumlocution, mnemonics, etc.

Moeller and Roberts suggest the use of task-based games that encourage these learning strategies. For example, ‘Pyramid’ is adapted from a game

show whereby learners have to talk around (circumlocute) a vocabulary item, providing description and context without saying the word itself to help a teammate guess the word correctly.

6) Reward self-correction as well as errors

Moeller and Roberts emphasised that recasting or repeating what a pupil says, but with correct grammar forms, helps pupils to become aware of errors to be avoided. This links to Moeller and Roberts tenth recommendation on inductive grammar teaching.

7) Exhibit enthusiasm for pupil successes

This strategy is self-explanatory. The authors recommended using body language (eye contact, facial expressions) as well as verbal feedback to provide encouragement.

8) Integrate technology into the classroom

The authors argued that technology offers pupils a way to creatively produce meaningful L2 output. However, equal access to technology poses a potential challenge.

9) Use extrinsic motivation strategies to move toward intrinsic motivation

It is interesting that Moeller and Roberts view extrinsic motivation to be an indirect cause of intrinsic motivation. The authors argue that teachers can do this by, for example, awarding points for each individual pupil's use of target

language and in doing so, will ‘increase motivation and make language learning more meaningful’ (p. 31). However, the authors did not acknowledge the extent to which a points system can potentially demotivate shy pupils. Doubt can also be cast on ensuring meaningful use of L2 when pupils are placed in competition with one another for the sake of earning arbitrary points. Whether there is a causal relationship between intrinsic and extrinsic motivation warrants longitudinal investigation.

10) Teach grammar inductively

Moeller and Roberts’ support for an inductive approach⁴ to teaching grammar has been extensively reviewed by Ellis (2005), who has referred to the teaching of grammar as ‘one of the most controversial issues’ in second language teaching (p. 96). Whether an inductive or deductive approach to grammar is more effective is still up for debate but undeniably, the context of the learners must be taken into consideration. In a recent study of adult English learners in Indonesia, participants who received deductive grammar instruction and participants who received inductive grammar instruction both reported positive experiences (Nur, 2020). On the other hand, secondary English learners in Germany showed favour toward an inductive approach (Benitez-Correa, Gonzalez-Torres, Ochoa-Cueva & Vargas-Saritama, 2019).

⁴ An inductive approach to grammar reveals examples of a grammar form without preliminary explanation to allow for learners to hypothesize the grammar ‘rule’ based on patterns they notice. In contrast, a deductive grammar teaching approach explains the rules first, followed by examples (Ellis, 2005).

Less research about inductive and deductive grammar teaching seems to be available in the Anglophone modern language teaching context.

11) Personalise lessons

Moeller and Roberts referred to personalising lessons through stories, photos and examples from the teachers' own experiences with L2. In doing so, the authors believed that real life examples of L2 would spark learner interest.

12) Connect lessons to popular culture

This point referred to making L2 more relevant to learners' personal lives through reference to social media, popular figures, etc.

Despite existing views that align with the replication of a virtual L2 environment, or maximising L2 at the expense of L1, scholars have widely accepted that L1 has a place in the L2 classroom. The next section will provide an overview of more recent issues regarding the inclusion of L1 in the L2 classroom.

2.5.2 Recent views on L1 inclusion in the L2 classroom

In an effort to reconceptualise the use of L1 in the L2 classroom, Shin et al. (2019) conducted a systematic review of L1/L2 literature dated between 2011-2018, revitalising the field with recent perspectives on:

- The extent and impact of L1 use
- Factors influencing L1 and L2 use

- Beliefs and attitudes about L1 and L2 use
- Effectiveness of L1 use on skills

The extent and impact of L1 use

According to Shin et al. (2019), ‘compared to bilingual education and content-based education, the literature surrounding foreign language education has been more likely to oppose using L1’ (p. 2). This may be because, thus far, bilingual education settings have been the primary focus of investigations into inclusive use of linguistic repertoires in the classroom. Nevertheless, the four themes that emerged from Shin’s et al. systematic review solidify why use of L1 in the foreign language classroom is at the forefront of current perspectives in foreign language teaching.

In continuation of work such as that of Hall and Cook (2013), recent studies that examine the extent and impact of L1 confirm its justified use for numerous functions, such as explaining grammar, building rapport, etc. (Shin et al., 2019). In the Turkish secondary EFL context, Ölmez and Kirkgöz (2021) found that teachers primarily used L1 for giving instructions, building rapport, maintaining discipline and for ‘intellectual’ functions (p. 602). These intellectual functions included translation from English to Turkish to consolidate pupil understanding. According to Shin et al., translation has received renewed attention in the field. Pintado Gutiérrez (2021) summarised three types of ‘pedagogical translation’ that take place in foreign language classrooms (p. 223):

- 1) Pupils compare L1 grammar with L2 structures when translating texts

- 2) Pupils translate an L2 utterance into L1 to decode its meaning
- 3) Teachers translate for explanatory power, such as explaining the concept of false cognates, which may help learners to avoid certain pitfalls

However, practical application of these types of translation are still unclear. While it is evident that translation is going through a process of reconceptualisation, or reoperationalisation in language teaching, the boundaries between translation and other related concepts (codeswitching, languaging, etc.) need further clarification for practitioners in monolingual and multilingual contexts (Carreres & Noriega-Sánchez, 2021; Pintado Gutiérrez, 2021). Furthermore, while studies have explored teacher L1 functions, there is very little literature examining pupil L1 language use functions, with the exception of L1 in collaborative learning.

Factors influencing use of L1 and L2

Regarding recent investigations into the factors that influence L1 and L2 use in the language classroom, Shin et al. (2019) referred to studies focusing on teacher proficiency level, pupil age and institutional factors, such as language policy. Indeed, in many EFL contexts, L2-only policies pose additional challenges, such as on pupil motivation (Rabbidge & Chappell, 2014) and on teacher identity (Trent, 2013). Shin et al. did not, however, address the influence that teacher education programmes might have on teacher L1 and L2 practices, which seems to be a factor that can vary widely by context and is worth exploring further. In a comparative study of Polish and Spanish EFL teacher trainees, Wach and Monroy (2020) found that student teachers in Poland

were overall more positive about use of L1 (most notably for making teachers more approachable and explaining grammar rules) than student teachers in Spain. In the Anglophone context, it seems that many programmes might encourage maximal L2 use despite current views about L1. Chambers (2013) identified that foreign language student teachers at an English university receive mixed messages about what L1 and L2 practices to adopt in the classroom. Participants suggested that universities purport an 'idealistic view [of target language use] with insufficient reference to the teaching reality in most schools' (p. 48).

Beliefs and attitudes about L1 and L2

There are many studies to date that explore teacher beliefs about L1 and L2 use, which will be expanded on in Section 2.6.1. (McMillan et al., 2009; McMillan & Rivers, 2011; Giannkias, 2011; Izquierdo et al., 2016; Hlas, 2016). Yet although one might support the use of L1 in the L2 classroom in principle, beliefs about L1 use in practice are complex. Hlas (2016) found that secondary Spanish teachers in the United States supported the use of L1 for pedagogic reasons but they also reported using L1 out of fear of losing pupil interest. It is plausible to assume that this is due to the problem of English dominance and 'English is enough' attitudes, suggesting that the complexity of L1 (and L2) use must be considered with the socio-political context of the learning environment. Beliefs may also vary across proficiency levels. Almohaimeed and Almurshed (2018) found that advanced learners of English in a Saudi Arabian university held negative beliefs toward L1, whereas intermediate and beginner learners believed the L1 used in their classrooms was purposeful.

The examples in this section illustrate that university learners' beliefs are more represented in the research than secondary and primary pupils. Perhaps still fewer studies examine teacher beliefs alongside pupil beliefs, which could provide a richer understanding of L1 and L2 and their implications within certain contexts. The current study contributes to this gap in the research by collecting both teacher and pupil data and furthermore, provides triangulation of teachers' and pupils' views through the use of mixed methods.

Effectiveness of L1 inclusion on L2 skills

The final pertinent category that emerged in Shin's et al. (2019) review of current L1 and L2 research is effectiveness of L1 use on L2 skills, primarily related to vocabulary and grammar. Returning to translation, evidence suggests that L1 translation can effectively build learner L2 vocabulary. For example, Zhou and Macaro (2016) found that Chinese university students who received target word explanations through L1 translations performed better on a reading task than did those who received explanations in L2 only. This may be because L2 explanations requires a more complex sequence of cognitive processes, including accessing background knowledge and making inferences. Yet arguably, these processes are important in helping learners to overcome the cognitive complexity⁵ that makes L2 learning difficult. In this case, while L1 translation may help speed and efficacy of learner understanding, that is not to say that translating is necessarily more effective than explaining vocabulary in L2. However, given class time

⁵ Housen and Simoens (2016) defined cognitive complexity as relating to the demand or difficulty of understanding a L2 language feature with regard to the learning context and the individual learner's mental capacity for processing the language feature.

constraints, the use of L1 to translate vocabulary does align to Forman's (2010) time-effectiveness principle and may help teachers to save time while making meaningful use of language to enhance learner cognition elsewhere. Experimental research methods employed in relation to grammar learning revealed similar results. Navidinia, Khoshhal and Mobaraki (2020) found that post test results were better in a group of adolescent Iranian EFL learners after having received grammatical instruction with L1 than the group who received L2 only grammar instruction. These findings, again, question whether high level cognitive processes, in this case those related to implicit grammar learning, should be encouraged with L2 grammar instruction or whether teaching grammar with a focus on L1 is more beneficial. Moreover, given that both L1-translation and L2-only techniques both have their merits, the question arises as to how both languages can be used in harmony to help build up learners' vocabulary and grammar skills efficiently while also triggering the development of advanced cognition in adolescent learners.

2.5.3 Monolingual versus holistic approaches to language use in the Anglophone language learning classroom

A monolingual approach to learning languages, one that prioritises one language over the other (i.e., L2 over L1), has lost traction in recent years. Yet, according to Adinolfi and Astruc (2017), minimisation of L1 is still a concept that permeates foreign language environments. In settings where learning 'takes place through two or more languages,' on the other hand, translanguaging has become a popular movement (Adinolfi & Astruc, 2017, pp 187-188). Translanguaging can be defined as an approach that normalises the

use of an individual's linguistic repertoire to make meaning of an additional language (Creese & Blackledge, 2015). Wei (2018) addressed the ambiguity that still surrounds translanguaging in terms of how it differs from similar concepts, namely codeswitching. For example, Lin (2013) referred to the languages used in classroom codeswitching as 'fluid resources in meaning making practices' (p.196). Yet this does not seem to differ from Creese and Blackledge's definition of translanguaging. Macaro's (2006) definition of codeswitching, presented in Section 1.1.1, implied either an inter or intra sentential back and forth between at least two languages, whereas Cenoz and Gorter (2021) defined translanguaging as a complex and holistic mixing of multiple languages. Nevertheless, both concepts have more momentum in research about English language learning than in Anglophone foreign language learning. Further thought as to how the idea of holistic language mixing can be applied to L1 and L2 in foreign language contexts (where learners may not already be bilingual or multilingual) may help to better inform the L1/L2 debate and recognise the mutual benefits of both languages and how they can be used cohesively in the classroom.

One of the issues addressed by Adinolfi and Astruc (2017) in relation to tertiary Spanish learning in the United Kingdom is that teachers continue to follow curricula promoting a monolingual approach and this is taking a long time to change. Similarly, Mahboob and Lin (2016) stated that language learning materials in ESL/EFL classrooms tended to be based on subtractive rather than dynamic principles. Though they only observed two Spanish foreign language teachers' translanguaging-like practices, Adinolfi and Astruc's (2017) findings are a good starting point for

understanding how translanguaging can transpire in the Anglophone foreign language classroom. The authors observed limited occasions of pupil translanguaging, potentially due to a lack of opportunity given by the teachers, yet they also found that teachers did not make explicit mention of translanguaging. This may be due to the disconnect that seems to exist between research and classroom practice. Explicit awareness building of translanguaging to pupils might help to embed the practice into the classroom. On the other hand, the teachers apparently codeswitched often, particularly to paraphrase L2 with L1, suggesting that greater clarity is needed around the subtle differences between codeswitching and translanguaging and whether one or both concepts are applicable to the Anglophone foreign language classroom. The authors stated that the ‘teachers’ use of both languages in this context appears to reflect an autonomous, intuitive, possibly unconscious strategy to engage their students and support their learning’ (Adinolfi & Astruc, 2017, p. 201). Thus, while it seems that an inclusive approach to classroom language use was present in these Spanish foreign language classrooms, the practice does not yet seem to be made explicit and systematic, nor clearly defined, in the Anglophone language learning context.

2.6 Review of empirical studies on beliefs and perceptions about L1 and L2 (target language)

The complexity behind teacher and pupil beliefs about using L1 and L2, and the limitation in the literature available, makes the investigation of beliefs crucial to expanding L1 and L2 research. The majority of studies available have explored teacher beliefs about L1 and L2. Pupil beliefs have received less attention and still fewer

examine teacher and pupil beliefs in ways that enable comparison of these views. This section reviews work that has advanced our understanding of language teacher and pupil beliefs about using L1 and L2 in the classroom. In addition, ways of exploring pupil beliefs have expanded beyond the scope of traditional methods. The benefit of incorporating creative methods to explore pupil beliefs will also be reviewed.

2.6.1 Studies about teacher L1 and L2 beliefs and perceptions

Polio and Duff (1994) may have been one of the first to pioneer qualitative inquiry into L1 and L2 use. University foreign language teachers in the United States were observed using L1 for eight main purposes: 1) discussing classroom administrative vocabulary, such as homework, 2) grammar instruction, 3) classroom management, 4) building rapport, 5) practicing their own English given that the teachers were all native speakers of the L2 they taught, 6) translating unknown vocabulary words, 7) responding to student lack of comprehension and 8) in response to student use of L1 (English). In addition to observations, teachers were asked to express their views about their use of L1. Overall, teachers seemed to be unaware of their language use practices. For example, one teacher reported using L1 when giving instructions despite no evidence in the observation data to confirm this perception. This suggests a mismatch between teachers' beliefs and actual practices. Moreover, some teachers were observed urging students to use L2 when they themselves did not use L2, further evidencing a mismatch between principles and practice. The teachers' awareness (or lack thereof) for their language use in this study is a testament to how far the field has come in relation to teachers' beliefs about purposeful L1 use, as will become prevalent in further review of

more recent studies on teacher's beliefs. The question of whether recent work has seen principles and practices align remains to be seen. Since the work of Polio and Duff and other prominent scholars of the time (i.e., Macaro, 1997; Turnbull & Arnett, 2002) studies have continued to explore teachers' views from a variety of perspectives and with increasing depth.

McMillan, Rivers and Cripps (2009) investigated not only teachers' views of their own language use but also teachers' views of student language use in a Japanese university EFL setting. Teachers felt both negatively (42%) and positively (42%) about their use of L1. Teachers stated that using L1 'would cause the floodgates to open' but also that use of L1 'depends on the situation' (pp. 773-774). Yet lack of exploration around teachers' views on *how* the languages in the classroom should be used by both teachers and students is a shortcoming. This approach could serve as a complement to the dichotomous positive versus negative views-on-L1-approach McMillan et al. (2009) took, which limits the extent to which teachers' beliefs can be understood, as evidenced by some of the hedging teachers used in their responses (i.e., 'partially' positive and 'partially' negative). Using data from their 2009 study, McMillan and Rivers (2011) re-examined English EFL teachers' views of teacher and student L1 use at a Japanese university, this time with a view to how student use of L1 can enhance their L2 learning within a communicative language teaching framework. Teachers cited reasons for student L1 use, including helping students to express ideas, facilitating peer interaction as well as peer assistance, rehearsing to produce richer L2 output and, through comparison of L1 and L2, 'raise awareness of the linguistic, paralinguistic and pragmatic

characteristics' of both languages (McMillan & Rivers, 2011, p. 257). The L2-only classroom policy that is encouraged in the Japanese university under study added a layer of complexity to teachers' positive views of L1. This suggests that clashes exist between not only principle and practice, but between policy and practice as well.

Type of classroom also seems to determine the reality of whether an L2-only policy can be attained and also potentially has a relationship with teachers' views of L1 and L2. In the Greek EFL context with children aged between 6 to 11 years old, the Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs promotes a communicative approach, by which they mean that target language should be maximised (Giannikas, 2011). (However, as argued by some of the teachers from McMillan and Rivers' (2009) study, a communicative approach does not have to mean exclusion of L1). Giannikas found that teachers who delivered English lessons at language centres, private institutions where supplementary English learning is provided in a strict environment and taken more seriously, felt more confident in their ability to use L2 for learning than their counterparts at state primary schools. At the state schools, teachers were hesitant to use and implement L2 into classroom activities, partially due to fear of losing control over classroom management. The medium used in the state classroom was L1 (Greek), yet pupil performance was not reportedly improved over the language centre pupils. This gives further evidence to the effectiveness of purposeful L1 use, rather than L1 for the sake of L1, but also implies that L2 has importance and cannot be discredited or forgotten in the face of scholarly emphasis on L1. Evidently, both languages need to be present in the language classroom, and while pedagogic uses of L1 have been widely

established, how the two can be used together to create a balance between engaging with L2 while maintaining classroom management needs further investigation from teachers' and learners' perspectives.

The findings of Izquierdo, García, Pulido and Zuñiga (2016) can perhaps be considered a 'how not to' use L1 and L2 together in the classroom. While this does not answer the question raised earlier regarding how L1 and L2 can be used together effectively, it does provide a valuable foundation for further consideration. By video recording Mexican secondary EFL teachers' uses of both L1 (Spanish) and L2 (English) over two months, the authors determined that teachers relied on the use of L1 while simultaneously implementing L2 without 'communicative purpose' that is, their use of L2 was 'strongly associated with formal aspects of the language...and limited to information that was available in the textbook' (Izquierdo et al., 2016, p. 28). The authors concluded that teacher use of L2 was not implemented in a way that could foster meaningful pupil communicative development. Yet this study is limited in its solely quantitative approach to analysis despite the observational method used, which could be complemented with a qualitative approach. This could reveal more insights into whether the teachers in the secondary context believe L2 use does help promote pupil communicative competence and, if so, how. The authors do propose some considerations in this regard for further investigation. For example, using L2 in informalised ways, such as for facilitating conversations between pupils about everyday life may help pupils to perceive that L2 can be used for meaningful communication.

In a mixed method study conducted in the United States, Hlas (2016) examined secondary Spanish foreign language teachers' beliefs about how L1 and L2 should be used in the classroom, in the context of the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL) 90% L2 recommendation. They indicated whether all L2, mostly L2, equal L1 and L2, mostly L1 or all L1 should be used for teaching grammar, vocabulary and culture, as well as for the four skills: reading, writing, speaking and listening. Hlas (2016) uncovered where teachers found sole L1 use to be more appropriate than combined instances of L1 and L2 use. For example, teachers reported using L1 for fear of losing pupil interest in the subject as well as out of exhaustion for working to make L2 comprehensible for pupils depending on their proficiency levels.

Seemingly, there has been little work since 2016 investigating teachers' beliefs about L1 and L2 use in the secondary Anglophone foreign language classroom. While Hlas' contribution provides some scope for understanding combined L1 and L2 use, it did confirm the need for revision of L2-only attitudes, such as those mandated by language policy or recommended by ACTFL in the United States context. In addition, the spectrum of L1 to L2 use with which Hlas framed her investigation of areas for language use paves the way for further research to begin conceptualising how L1 and L2 interweave in the Anglophone foreign language classroom.

2.6.2 Studies about learner beliefs and perceptions

There are few studies that solely explore pupil beliefs about L1 and L2, particularly young pupils. There is a body of research, though limited, that explores pupil beliefs in tandem with teacher beliefs, which will be discussed in Section 2.6.3. According to

Barcelos and Kalaja (2020), research about language learners' beliefs have thus far followed one of two paradigms: one in which correlations between pupil beliefs and factors such as learner characteristics, anxiety and motivation are seen to provide objective knowledge; and the other, which stresses contextual factors and the subjective reality of the learner. This latter line of research has brought about innovative thinking around the potential for exploring pupil beliefs through use of age appropriate, creative methods. Such methods have included journals, narratives, artefacts, metaphors and drawings (Barcelos & Kalaja, 2011). This section will review the work that has investigated learners' beliefs through use of creative methods, with particular focus on drawings and metaphors as these methods are used in the current study.

Exploring learner beliefs through use of creative methods

Within research that investigates learners' beliefs, the use of creative methods has made headway. Aragão (2011) addressed the complex relationship existing between beliefs, emotions and self-perceptions in a qualitative study that combined narratives (which were constructed from various data sources, including a written narrative, video recordings, journal notes, interviews, informal conversations as well as observations) along with participants' visual representations. The participants were adult learners of English in Brazil, who depicted feelings of shyness, fear, happiness and shame. The emotions were linked to beliefs about participants' self-perceptions as language learners and moreover, how beliefs and self-perceptions changed over time. For example, one participant identified herself as 'inferior' in relation to her classmates. However, by her second interview, the participant expressed that she began to feel

more self-assured. Her change in emotions was linked to a change in her self-perception as 'superior,' which, according to Aragão (2011) also linked to a change in 'her relationship with the context and environment,' which Aragão also linked to 'idealised models about language learning' (pp. 308-309). These findings emphasise the importance of learner interaction with the classroom environment. The participant initially felt inferior for fear of being judged by teacher and classmates, leading to feelings of inhibition. An environment where learners do not feel encouraged to communicate seems to be connected to negative emotions and detrimental perceptions about the self as a language learner. Aragão's study shows the potential for using drawing to help increase learners' awareness of their own emotions and beliefs and also highlights that drawing can be an effective method when used with, not only children, but adults as well. Two important implications can be identified here in terms of how creative methods can be applied to the Anglophone language learning context. Firstly, visual representations of Anglophone language learners could increase pupils' own awareness as well as our understanding of the interplay between emotions and beliefs in an environment likely to be influenced by 'English is enough' attitudes. The second implication that can be identified is that visual representations focusing on the use of L1 and L2 in the classroom could provide new perspective on learners' beliefs about language learning, which is the approach taken by the current study.

Exploring learner beliefs through visuals

Researchers have incorporated drawings into studies of learners' beliefs and how they relate to individuals' self-perceptions as language speakers and language learners. For

example, Kusters and De Meulder (2019) used language portraits to explore how participants spanning a broad range of ages and contexts embodied both their spoken and signed languages. The portrait template consisted of an outline of a body. Participants were prompted 'to draw languages (or modalities) that were important to them' (Kusters & De Meulder, 2019, p. 7). Participants also associated languages with certain colours. In follow up conversations, participants provided a narration of what they drew and why they drew the colours they did to represent certain languages and modalities. For example, one participant coloured the feet of the outline green to represent New Zealand sign language as their first language. For this participant, green symbolised the beginning, like plants beginning to grow, and was rooted from the feet. According to Kusters and De Meulder, the fact that participants did not represent spoken and signed languages in a binary-bodily way (that is, sign languages being exclusively connected to hands and spoken languages exclusively to the mouth) demonstrates the complexity with which individuals connect to their languages. Yet, at the same time, the language portraits tend to show an individual's languages as separated rather than integrated. This contradicts the idea of holistic use of one's language repertoire – if language output can be seen to be mixed then it stands to reason that internal or embodied representations of languages should reflect a mixing of languages. This outcome from the language portraits is likely due to the nature of the task and the specific prompting used and does not necessarily mean that participants view their languages as separate. While the study was conducted with multilinguals, the field of language learner beliefs is ripe for the use of similar methods, which investigate

the complexity of how young Anglophone learners connect themselves to, not only the learning environment, but to L1, L2 and any other languages in their repertoires.

Prior to Kusters and De Meulder's data collection, Melo-Pfeifer (2015a) similarly investigated multimodal representations of multilingual repertoires among young language learners but without the structure of the body outline language portrait. Using a more open prompt, learners aged 6-12 years old, who were L1 speakers of Portuguese living in Germany, were asked to draw themselves speaking the languages in their linguistic repertoires. The drawings indicated how the young learners related to their various languages, as well as cultures. For example, one participant framed themselves as three separate selves, each one a speaker of a different language. Another participant self-evaluated their proficiency in their various languages. Though these findings were related to theoretical development of heritage language education, this study demonstrates how the use of an open drawing prompt can be valuable for providing more depth and context around beliefs about languages. The study also demonstrates that drawings can be an appropriate method with early secondary learners. It would be interesting to see how differently language learners in the Anglophone context connect to their language repertoires -in comparison to the multilingual learners in Melo-Pfeifer's (2015a) study - through their depictions of the languages used in the classroom. Furthermore, drawing out the emotions attached to the participants' representations of their languages is an opportunity to shed light on the link between emotion and self-perceptions and/or beliefs about languages addressed by Aragão (2011).

Melo-Pfeifer and Schmidt (2018) conducted a similar study, which further evidenced the advantages of using the drawing method to understand how learners connect to their language repertoires. Drawings elicited from young Portuguese heritage learners in Germany (aged 6-12) emphasised the diversity of each individual's experiences and relationship to their languages. Where one participant represented Portuguese as a language of comfort spoken among family, as one might perceive their mother tongue, another participant depicted Portuguese as a language more closely associated with formal aspects of schooling, akin to a foreign language. The authors believed the drawings to also highlight affective aspects, particularly in relation to those who seemed connected to Portuguese as a mother tongue, that is, they were identified as having stronger 'affective value' than the participants who seemingly depicted Portuguese with more 'cognitive reality anchored in a schooling scenario' (pp. 11-14). The latter example came from an image without colour, which the authors declared was an indication that the learner lacked enthusiasm and motivation and that, furthermore, the affective relationship with the language was missing. However, it seems plausible that a lack of enthusiasm or motivation is still attached to an affective relationship with the language and that affective relationship can be positive or negative. The mutual exclusivity of the two concepts; cognitive versus affective could be considered a limitation of this study. It would be interesting to consider the affective dimensions behind learners' thinking in drawings that represent language as merely a school subject, as opposed to being rooted within pupils' personal lives, to better understand how this links to a possible lack of motivation.

Exploring learner beliefs through metaphor

Another creative tool for exploring learner beliefs has been through use of metaphor. According to Vygotskian sociocultural theory, thoughts are brought to light through interaction (Vygotsky, 1978). From this perspective, metaphor can be considered a form of language that mediates one's interpretation of a particular environment (i.e., the language classroom). According to Wan, Low and Li (2011), metaphors can help to raise consciousness and encourage reflection about a particular issue that may be implicit, such as beliefs about teaching or learning, broadly speaking.

Wan et al. (2011) collected Chinese university students' and teachers' metaphor responses related to beliefs about the role of the English teacher. Questionnaires were used to elicit the metaphors in the form of a sentence completion task ('An English teacher is...'), which were followed by interviews allowing the researchers to gather additional information about the metaphors. The metaphor responses were divided into categories which showed similar conceptualisations of the teacher (as 'nurturer,' 'provider' or 'devotee') and divergent conceptualisations of the teacher (as 'instructor,' 'culture transmitter' or 'authority') (Wan et al., 2011, pp. 408-409). Interesting mismatches between teacher and student beliefs were revealed. Unlike the students, for example, teachers did not believe that they should be viewed as authority figures. However, metaphors are highly subjective and difficult to interpret, posing potential problems regarding researcher bias and accurate reporting of data. Wan et al. (2011) revealed that metaphors categorised under 'authority' comprised of characteristics such as 'magician, expert, sunshine and sky' (p. 409). How the authors see these characteristics to beget the authority category is questionable. Follow up interviews

helped to confirm the researcher's interpretations, making metaphors a complementary method for exploring conceptualisations and beliefs. Additionally, Wan et al. (2011) called for further attention 'to be paid to investigating inter-group discrepancies in beliefs about teaching and learning in order to resolve belief mismatches between different stakeholders in the same classroom [...]' (p. 406).

Jin, Liang, Jiang, Zhang, Yuan and Xie (2014) used pupil metaphors to explore 7–9-year-old Chinese EFL learners' beliefs about English learning. Jin et al. (2014) found the use of metaphors to be 'more revealing than a standard interview format' (p. 296). They analysed 362 metaphors from 128 participants, generating a variety of attitudes expressed about learning English (ranging between positive, ambivalent, neutral and negative). Prevalent themes included food, movement and nature. Reasons for the metaphors given were categorised into four groups: perceptions about the English learning process, outcome/achievement related to learning English, affect/emotion related to learning English or objective/aim related to learning English. These findings indicate that metaphors can reveal extensive underlying thoughts when used with school aged learners, particularly in regard to their beliefs about language learning. However, this requires careful interpretation on the part of the researcher.

Regarding the methodological challenge of interpreting metaphors, Fisher (2017) recommended that researchers can help to convey intended meaning by adding a 'because' clause, allowing the author of the metaphor to explain their thinking and enhance accuracy of the researcher's interpretation. Yet still, it seems unavoidable that researchers interpret learners' beliefs 'through the lens of his or her own assumptions'

and therefore, a level of openness as to the interpretations made through others' metaphors must be maintained to some extent (Fisher, 2017, p. 336). That is to say, the researcher must be careful not to make conclusive claims when interpreting others' beliefs.

In her own study of German foreign language pupils at an English secondary school, Fisher (2013) employed metaphors to investigate beliefs about language learning. Fisher draws on a theoretical conceptualisation of metaphors as products that reveal an individual's thinking processes. In other words, metaphors are both a cognitive and linguistic representation of how one constructs reality of the world around them. As a result, metaphors can arguably reveal more depth around a person's beliefs than other, traditional methods. Pupils were given the prompts: 'Learning German is like...because...', 'If German was a food it would be... because...' and 'If German was an animal it would be...because...' (Fisher, 2013, pp. 378-379). The metaphors were elicited on two occasions within a period of nine months to discern change in one control group of learners' beliefs as a result of an intervention, which involved classroom discussion of the round one metaphor responses. The second round of metaphors indicated that those who received the intervention were more likely to change their beliefs to an overall more positive view about language learning. Moreover, Fisher's findings evidenced the appropriateness of the metaphor elicitation method with learners aged between 12 and 13, showing that early secondary learners were able to think abstractly. In addition, while Fisher's study evidences the effectiveness of longitudinal

inquiry, it is also plausible to consider metaphors as an equally effective tool for providing a snapshot in time of learners' beliefs within a particular context.

The studies described in Section 2.6.2 illustrate the potential for creative inquiry into learners' beliefs. Fisher's work is evidence that despite the challenge to language learning posed by perceptions of English as being the only language needed, Anglophone pupils' display positive beliefs about language learning and that moreover, there is potential for change toward positive views. This warrants creative inquiry into other Anglophone language learners' beliefs, such as in the Scottish context, to see if there are similarly positive beliefs about languages, as was the case in Fisher (2013). This could shed light on the success of the Scottish 1+2 language policy. As stated by Barcelos and Kalaja (2011), future research into language learners' beliefs needs to account for three key aspects in relation to learners' relationships to languages: dynamicity, complexity and context-dependency (p. 287). The use of creative methods for future research that foregrounds these three concepts has the potential to unlock new, context-driven insights on interrelations between beliefs, emotions, identity and motivation (the latter three of which will be expanded on in Section 2.7).

2.6.3 Studies about teacher and pupil beliefs and perceptions about L1 and L2 use

Though studies have investigated both teacher and pupil beliefs, the data collected has not always explicitly been drawn together to provide a comparable picture between the two groups (i.e., Duff & Polio, 1990). An exception is Levine's (2003) study of American and Canadian university language teachers' and pupils' beliefs about the amount and quality of L2 use and beliefs about student anxiety. Though the questionnaires were

adapted accordingly for the students and teachers, they addressed similar constructs (i.e., what students felt about L2 use in the classroom, what teachers believed students felt about L2 use in the classroom). Levine's (2003) findings suggested that, as an initial step in developing a framework for L1 and L2 in the Anglophone language learning context, mismatches between teacher and student beliefs need to be further explored. For example, teachers perceived higher levels of L2 anxiety than students self-reported, which may have implications on when teachers feel the need to use L1 to abate learner anxiety. Furthermore, teacher L2 use may not be the only factor that contributes to student L2 anxiety, suggesting a closer look at factors that contribute to student anxiety in the foreign language classroom. The current study sheds some light on this gap in the UK and, more specifically, in the Scottish secondary school context.

Taking a particular view to address mismatches in teacher and student beliefs, Brown (2009) focused specifically on effective language teaching behaviours, encompassing, to a small extent, beliefs about L1 and L2 use. Brown's study included American university teachers of French, Spanish and German. Teachers tended to believe more strongly in the value of communicative information exchanges whereas pupils tended to favour grammar practice. This finding raises the question as to why students were less enthusiastic of L2 use for learning grammar. This presents an opportunity for follow up qualitative methods to grasp a deeper understanding of students' beliefs about L1 and L2 use and L2 grammar learning.

Thompson (2009) compared American university students' and teachers' beliefs, specifically in relation to L1 (English) and L2 (Spanish) use. Uniquely, a section on the

questionnaire used by Thompson (2009) asked both teachers and students whether they believed themselves (and the other group) to use too little, the right amount or too much English and Spanish. Teachers believed themselves to use the right amount of L2 while they believed students to use too little L2. This coincided with the responses from students, who mostly believed their teachers to use the right amount of L2 and believed themselves to use too little L2. What is interesting about this finding is that in tandem, students also believed themselves to use too much English, which might suggest a subtractive attitude (namely, that more L2 must equal less L1), which does not align to a holistic mentality about classroom language use.

In a similar study, Thompson and Harrison (2014) examined whether teacher or student codeswitching influenced the other group's subsequent code choice with modern language teachers and students at an American university. In line with the many previous studies that have identified purposes behind the use of L1 (Polio & Duff, 1994; Hall & Cook, 2013; Forman, 2010; Shin et al., 2019), the codeswitches in Thompson and Harrison's (2014) study were categorised into eight functionality groups: classroom administration, grammar, establishing rapport, explaining a new topic or assignment, translating, checking for comprehension, maintaining flow and other. Codeswitches included only Spanish-English codeswitches, as exclusive L2 (Spanish) use was the department policy. Findings showed that teachers initiated a substantial amount of codeswitches (averaging 16 codeswitches per Spanish level 102 class and averaging 22 codeswitches per Spanish level 202 class) and that students used more English as a result of teacher codeswitches.

What is very clear from Thompson and Harrison's (2014) study is that codeswitching occurred despite the exclusive L2 policy in place. How to systematise codeswitching effectively in the language classroom, and reasons behind codeswitching, must be closely considered. Upon examination of most common purposes for codeswitching in Thompson and Harrison's (2014) study, both teachers and students tended to codeswitch when discussing classroom administration. In addition, teachers codeswitched frequently when explaining grammar and translating unknown words while students frequently codeswitched when attempting to understand unknown words. These occasions led to increased L1 and decreased L2, though this is arguably positive if L1 is helpful. The problem, however, then becomes striking a linguistic balance, and using L1 as needed, while at the same time helping students maximise L2 where appropriate. The common language classroom functions identified in Thompson and Harrison's (2014) study are important to investigate further and provide a foundation for the current study.

Chavez (2016) examined whether L1 use reduces classroom L2 without 'seek[ing] to define what does and does not constitute 'good' language use in foreign language classrooms' (p. 138). Chavez investigated interactions between teacher-student and between student-student in the German foreign language learning context at an American university through class video recordings and interviews with teachers. Three teachers interviewed each presented different philosophies about L1 use: the first used ample L1 and believed student comfort to be of the utmost importance; the second held an ambiguous view of L1 but stated that 'constantly reverting back and forth [...]

causes problems in the classroom' and the third dominated classroom talk time, believing that the teacher should be a model of L2 (Chavez, 2016, p. 142). The teachers' different approaches did not seem to affect the ways in which students used languages in the classroom. Chavez's (2016) findings implied that where teachers held more extreme views of L2 use, students were not necessarily more likely to use L2. This may be because, as shown by the first teacher, using L1 to prioritise student comfort level may have a more significant positive effect on student L2 use.

This section has shown that many studies comparing teacher and learner language use in the modern language classroom are typically conducted in the tertiary context and do not necessarily draw teacher and student findings together for effective comparison. Additionally, complementary use of qualitative and quantitative methods can provide a more holistic and in-depth understanding of how teacher and pupil language use compare. Qualitative methods can offer greater contextual basis for explaining comparable findings, including where and why teacher and pupil beliefs might mismatch. However, this needs to be examined with a view to understand, not just actual language use, but beliefs and perceptions of language use, which calls for self-reported methods. Thus far, this study has not aligned to any single theoretical framework for classroom L1 and L2 use. Rather it highlights the need for theoretical development which considers purposes for both L1 and L2 use as well as the potential influence of teacher language use on learner language use and vice versa. And while many studies have been conducted in the tertiary Anglophone context, what this review of studies has shown, perhaps most of all, is the need for L1 and L2 research at the

secondary school level. In recent years, there does not seem to be much output that fulfils these identified gaps. It is especially pertinent now, given recent developments in regard to holistic language use approaches, to examine L1 and L2 use in the Anglophone context more closely.

Thus far, this review of literature has expanded on the primary focus of this study, which is beliefs about L1 and L2 use in the Anglophone foreign language classroom. Section 2.7 covers concepts related to L2 motivation, which is necessary to consider as a secondary focus when exploring the unique context of the UK language learning setting (given macrosocial attitudes about the usefulness of languages other than English). Important concepts reviewed in the following section include the motivational self-system and the idea of L2 identity, as these concepts commonly situate up to date research in language learning.

2.7 L2 motivation, self and identity

A growing body of research has investigated L2 motivation in the Anglophone context (Lanvers, 2012, 2016, 2017; Lanvers, Hultgren & Gayton, 2018; Gayton, 2018).

According to Dörnyei (2007), the study of L2 motivation is convoluted with the numerous theories available and related concepts. The following section narrows the theoretical scope, focusing specifically on Dörnyei's (2005) well known framework for exploring L2 motivation: the L2 motivational self-system (L2MSS), which has developed from Higgins's (1989) earlier self-discrepancy theory and also bears influence from integrative and instrumental motivation (Gardner & Lambert, 1972). Additionally, aspects of the L2 motivation self-system framework (the possible selves) link to the notion of L2

identity, which has recently received attention in the UK language learning context in the form of Fisher, Evans, Forbes, Gayton and Liu's (2020) conceptual framework for participative identity construction.

2.7.1 Self-discrepancy theory

Research in L2 motivation is currently framed by notions of the 'self,' deriving from the perspective that motivation is, in part, a result of affective responses tied to one's self-beliefs. Higgins (1989) identified a framework of three 'self-domains' and two additional 'standpoints' (p. 94). The three self domains include:

- 1) The actual self – represents traits already believed to be possessed
- 2) The ideal self – represents ideal traits to be possessed
- 3) The ought to self – represents the traits that should, or ought, to be possessed

The two standpoints include:

- 1) Own – one's personal wishes in relation to the self
- 2) Other – another's wishes imposed on the self

The ideal self could be influenced from one's own standpoint (i.e., ideal/own) or from another's standpoint (i.e., ideal/other). Self-discrepancy theory is based on the assumption that a learner is motivated to match their actual self with a self-guide. In other words, a learner will aim to reduce the divergence, or discrepancy, between the actual self and the self-guides, of which there are four: ideal/own, ideal/other, ought/own and ought/other (Higgins, 1989; Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2009). These

components of self-discrepancy theory are central to Dörnyei's conceptualisations of self in relation to the L2 learner.

2.7.2 The L2 motivational self-system

The L2 Motivational Self-System is a theoretical framework originally proposed by Dörnyei in 2005, influenced by psychological conceptualisations of the self. The L2 motivational self-system can be considered the product of various concepts in the fields of language learning and psychology, including integrativeness and instrumentality (Gardner & Lambert, 1972), self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan, 1985), possible selves (Markus & Nurius, 1986) and more specifically, the ideal self and ought to self (Higgins, 1987). The L2 motivational self-system is made up of three components: the ideal self, the ought to self and the L2 learning experience. Within the framework, the ideal self represents the goals and aspirations that the L2 user envisions themselves achieving (Dörnyei, 2009). The ideal self includes both integrative and instrumental orientations, which have been framed in past research as being at odds with one another. Specifically, scholars have debated whether instrumental orientation more effectively motivates language learners than integrative orientation (Hong & Ganapathy, 2017; Ametova, 2020). Brown (2007) illustrated how integrative and instrumental orientations are interrelated with another dichotomous motivational construct: intrinsic and extrinsic motivation (Table 2.2).

Table 2.2: Motivational dichotomies (Brown, 2007, p. 175)

	Intrinsic	Extrinsic
Integrative	L2 learner has a desire to integrate within the L2 culture	External factor on the L2 learner to integrate within the L2 culture (i.e., parent sending a child to heritage language learning, such as a Saturday language school)
Instrumental	L2 learner wants to achieve goals related to the L2 (i.e., career)	External factor on the L2 learner to learn L2 for instrumental purpose (i.e., a push to undertake language training in another country)

The ought to self refers to the L2 user that an individual believes they should be due to typically instrumental, or extrinsic, reasons. Dörnyei (2005) also characterised the ought to self as driven by the desire to avoid negative outcomes. The L2 learning experience deviates slightly from the future selves and adds a contextual element. The L2 learning experience includes factors related to the learning environment such as the teacher, peers, curriculum and experience of success, though according to Dörnyei and Ushioda (2009), this third component of the L2 motivational self-system requires elaboration from future research.

2.7.3 Review of empirical literature on L2 motivation in the Anglophone context

In the Anglophone context, the work of Lanvers (2012) has examined L2 motivation theoretically framed by the L2 motivational self-system. In her qualitative study, Lanvers found that, although English L1 learners studying modern languages at a UK university expressed negative perceptions of language teaching provision in the UK at a national level, they displayed strong ideal selves. For example, the learners described discovering opportunities that would otherwise be unavailable to them, such as conversations with locals in France, and integrating with the target culture. In addition,

many had a partner or other family members influencing their proclivity for language learning. Yet Lanvers (2012) critiqued the L2 motivational self-system for insufficiently accounting for the personal, social and political complexity within which UK L1 English learners pursue languages. This points to the need for contextually specific theoretical development in the UK. Moreover, Lanvers (2012) noted that a theoretical framework that could 'do justice' to the complex situation in the UK would likely differ greatly in the context of an adult language learning classroom in comparison to a secondary school language learning classroom (p. 170).

In a related study, this time using mixed methods (focus group interviews and questionnaires), Lanvers (2017) explored the relationship between modern language students' motivation and beliefs about English dominance at a university in England. No significant links were found between motivation and beliefs about English dominance. However, findings did reveal that, similar to her earlier study (Lanvers, 2012), university language learners displayed strong senses of ideal self. This is interesting given that, in a prior study conducted among secondary school modern language pupils, Lanvers (2016) found contrasting results. Pupils aged 13-14 years old in England were found to be guided by their ought to selves more so than their ideal selves, unlike the university students in Lanvers (2017) who identified more strongly with the ideal self. Despite finding no relationship between motivation and beliefs about English dominance in her 2013 study, Lanvers suggested that English dominance could be a factor explaining why secondary school language pupils were more inclined to identify with the ought to self over the ideal self. The ubiquity of English seemed to outweigh ideal self-related

reasons for language learning, implying that learners saw little intrinsic value for modern languages, given the ease of using English in many places, and were instead guided by future career and academic reasons for learning a language, either from their own standpoint or other (i.e., parent influence). Thus, it seems that adolescent UK language learners might be less likely to identify with the ideal self and more likely to be negatively influenced by English dominance than university aged language learners. However, in addition to pupils who were motivated by the ought to self/other self-guide (relating to external pressures from parents, teachers, etc.), findings also revealed a number of pupils who were motivated by 'own' standpoints (related to both ideal and ought to selves). These learners were characterised as 'rebellious' in their motivation to learn languages as a way of defying the poor UK linguist stereotype (Lanvers, 2016, p. 87). Similar findings were found by Thompson (2017) in L1 English speaking learners of Chinese and Arabic in the United States. Thompson referred to this motivational self as the 'anti-ought to self,' encompassing a desire to resist social influence (p. 39).

In the UK secondary school context, perceived integrative and instrumental value of languages seems to have fluctuated over the past two decades. Though terminology has changed in favour of the ideal and ought to self, the principles discussed in Williams, Burden and Lanvers' (2002) study are still evident in more recent research. In that study, 11 to 14-year-old pupils expressed a generally high level of integrative motivation toward learning languages yet did not believe that languages other than English were important to learn. These findings are similar to Lanvers' (2012) findings, in which pupils' expressed beliefs related to a strong ideal self but did not think

languages were important. On the other hand, Williams' et al. (2002) findings contrast the findings from Lanvers (2016) in terms of pupils identifying with their ought to selves. A possible explanation for the contrasting findings could be increased exam and qualifications pressures, stressing the importance of languages for future employment. In the United States, Pratt, Agnello and Santos' (2009) findings were more consistent with current findings in the UK context (i.e., Lanvers, 2016), who found that American high school pupils rated personal interest in Spanish learning lower than they rated instrumental reasons regarding their decision to begin learning Spanish. The similar findings between Pratt et al. (2009) and Lanvers (2016) exemplify the ongoing challenge of how to best convey the value of languages to secondary learners.

Diverting from the motivational self-system, Lanvers et al. (2019) offered an innovative methodological approach to investigating 12 to 13-year-old learners' beliefs in England and Scotland about the importance of learning languages. Through the lens of English dominance, the authors conducted an intervention study, which surveyed pupils' views and awareness of multilingualism before and after delivery of a lesson pack. Qualitative interviews were also conducted to gather more in-depth pupil feedback. Findings indicated that the intervention lesson pack, which taught learners about the cognitive benefits of multilingualism and the extent to which multilingualism exists around the world, has the potential to shift Anglocentric attitudes toward seeing the value of learning other languages. This study paves the way for use of methodological approaches that branch away from traditional mixed methods approaches that are limited to questionnaires and interviews.

Perhaps more cutting edge than a traditional focus on the ideal and ought to selves as a theoretical framework for L2 motivation, with respect to young Anglophone learners, is an approach taken by Gayton (2018). Expanding on Lanvers' (2012) critique that the L2 motivational self-system lacks relevance to the unique socio-political context within which UK learners study languages, Gayton emphasised that the third element of the L2 motivational self-system, the L2 learning environment, needed to be brought to the forefront of Anglophone L2 motivation research. Gayton conceptualised the L2 learning environment as consisting of three contextual levels: the macro level (global, societal influences), the meso level (influences within the community, including home and the school as a whole) and the micro level (the classroom). Within each of these levels, possible selves come into contact with a variety of contextual factors. A model of Gayton's contextual levels in relation to Anglophone language learning settings can be found in Figure 2.4.

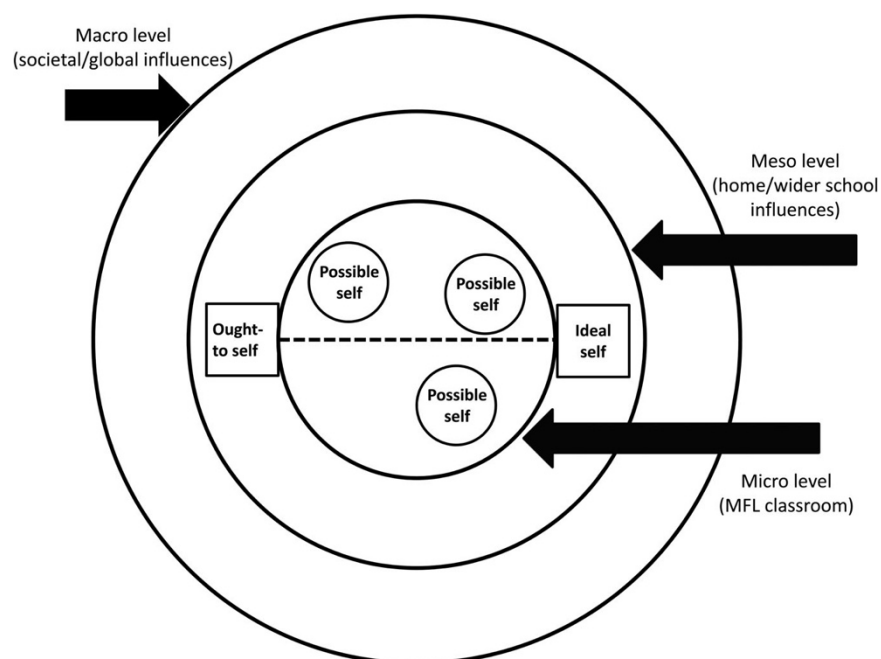


Figure 2.4: A working model of L2 motivation in Anglophone language learning contexts (Gayton, 2018, p. 388)

Gayton's (2018) interviews with three Scottish secondary school foreign language teachers and one member of senior management revealed perceptions about possible selves and how they are believed to be impacted from each of the contextual levels. At the macro level, teachers confirmed that the status of English can act as a motivator to pupils who may want to distance themselves from the stereotype that people from the UK are poor linguists. This coincides with the findings of Lanvers (2016) and Thompson (2017). However, the senior management participant felt that due to the status of English, pupils were generally not motivated to learn languages, and that this was furthermore, a 'justified attitude on the part of the pupils' (p. 392). The senior management participant's view presents an interesting contrast to the teacher participants' views. Regarding some micro and meso level findings, the teacher participants discussed what they perceived to be their role in promoting a positive future

L2 self in the classroom, however Gayton's (2018) participants noted that attitudes at home can present an obstacle if, for example, parents of pupils have had negative language learning experiences themselves or display negative attitudes toward education in general. In addition to demonstrating the appropriateness of the contextual framework used to explore L2 motivation, Gayton (2018) also demonstrated its usefulness in investigating teachers' beliefs and perceptions. The current study takes this theoretical and contextual approach but adds pupil voice to accompany teachers' views.

The empirical studies reviewed in this section detail approaches to exploring L2 motivation in the Anglophone context. While the current study primarily focuses on beliefs about classroom English (L1) and target language (L2) use, Gayton's (2018) macro, meso, micro contextual framework, used to explore L2 motivation in the Anglophone context, also seems appropriate for framing teachers' and pupils' beliefs about using L1 and L2. The next section will expand on multilingual identity, as this links to the possible selves aspect of Gayton's (2018) model. Fisher, Evans, Forbes, Gayton and Liu's (2020) framework for participative multilingual identity construction demonstrates that L2 identity, or multilingual identity, has direct relevance in the Anglophone language classroom. I therefore included this model in the following section of the literature review because I anticipated that identity would emerge as a theme in terms of pupils' beliefs about L2. I believed this to be so because I suspected that exploring beliefs about L1 and L2 would reveal perceptions about whether pupils in Scotland felt motivated to learn and use L2, which, given links between motivation, and

given that identity seems to be deeply rooted in motivation, would also reveal perceptions about pupils' sense of L2 self. This theme also emerged among teachers during interviews in regard to building awareness of multilingual identity, which also relates to Fisher's et al. (2020) theory of participative multilingual identity construction.

2.7.4 Conceptualising multilingual identity in the Anglophone language classroom

Learning a new language also leads to the formation of a new identity (Taylor, 2013). Taylor, Busse, Gagova, Marsden and Roosken (2013) recognised identity as 'the aggregate of a person's self-beliefs, which may be private or public and may differ from one relational context to another' (p. 3). This definition emphasises the importance of the learning context in shaping one's identity as well as the number of complex factors that affect a person's self-beliefs. In the foreign language learning context, identity is often approached from the perspective of the self, such as the possible selves in the L2 motivational self-system. In addition to the motivational selves, Taylor (2013) referred to several other self-perceptions permeating foreign language identity, including self-concept, self-efficacy, self-determination and self-esteem.

Henry (2017) emphasised that a learner's languages are not separated into multiple identities but rather integrated. In that vein, linguistic, or multilingual identity is a more appropriate term than L2 identity, or simply identity, when referring to foreign language learners' self-conceptualisations. Linguistic, or multilingual, identity, which can be traced along psychosocial and sociocultural influences on possible versions of the self, also includes an aspect of creative identity construction (Fisher et al., 2020). In putting forth a model that accounts for a multi-theoretically faceted construction of

linguistic, or multilingual, identity, Fisher et al. suggested that multilingual identity intersects 1) psychological and cognitive development of the individual, 2) interpersonal and collective, or group, social influences and 3) cultural context, including broader historical and social context (Figure 2.5).

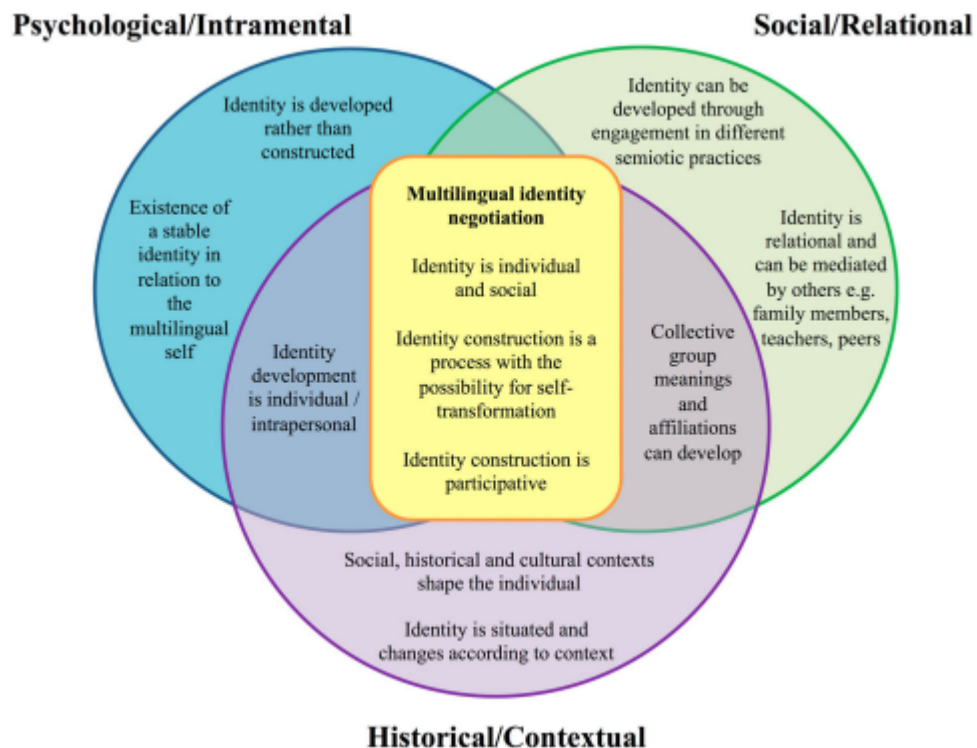


Figure 2.5: Conceptual framework for participative multilingual identity (Fisher et al., 2020, p. 455)

There is some overlap with the participative multilingual identity model framework and Gayton's (2018) contextual framework for L2 motivation in the Anglophone language learning setting. The psychological/intramental sphere refers to identity development within the individual, not unlike the development of possible selves in relation to L2 motivation. The social sphere identifies influential figures on identity, such as family members, teachers and peers, which also influence pupil L2 motivation at the meso and

micro levels. The historical/contextual sphere relates to broader societal and cultural influences according to the context in which an individual lives. In the Anglophone context, this can be exemplified by perceptions of English as a lingua franca that trump the perceived value of other foreign languages. The model demonstrates not only how multilingual identity construction results from converging psychological, social and historical/contextual perspectives but also how, situated within the Anglophone language learning context, an individual's multilingual identity can also be considered a convergence of micro, meso and macro level contextual factors.

In the Anglophone language context, Forbes, Evans, Fisher, Gayton, Liu and Rutgers (2021) recently addressed the assumption that multilingual identity forms independently of explicit awareness-raising on the part of the teacher. They therefore embarked on a study that examined implementation of a new participative multilingual identity education programme (based on Fisher et al.'s (2020) conceptual framework presented in Figure 2.5) with 268 13 to 14-year-old language pupils and their teachers in four English secondary schools. The findings from pre and post intervention questionnaires with three groups (one group receiving the full intervention including explicit encouragement of reflexivity and reflection, one group receiving partial intervention including follow up activities without explicit guidance on reflexivity and reflection and one control group with no intervention) suggested that explicit teaching (coupled with pupil engagement and reflection) of languages in various contexts, links between language and culture and sociolinguistic knowledge related to the language(s) under study has the potential to support development of multilingual identity.

Thus, it is plausible to anticipate that a contextual theoretical framework that takes into account cultural, social and psychological complexities of the Anglophone language learning environment to explore beliefs about classroom L1 and L2 use will reveal some themes related to multilingual identity, such as whether pupils in Scotland will find the languages they learn at school to be related to their personal lives, or indeed whether they are even aware of the concept of multilingual identity. Forbes et al. (2021) defined multilingual identity as ‘being shaped by learners’ experiences of languages and language learning (which includes exposure to and use of languages), their evaluations of languages, and of themselves as language learners (and, by extension, others’ evaluations of languages) and by their emotions relating to language learning’ (pp. 434-435). The authors named this model of multilingual identity the ‘3Es model’ (Figure 2.6). In terms of beliefs, Forbes et al. differentiated between language beliefs (related to languages and the value of language learning) and self-beliefs (related to beliefs about the self as a language learner). Based on their definition of multilingual identity, it seems that focus on beliefs about classroom languages and how they are used is crucially missing in terms of understanding how Anglophone language learners relate to languages and language learning. The definition also points to the important element of emotion in language learning, which is expanded on in Section 2.8.

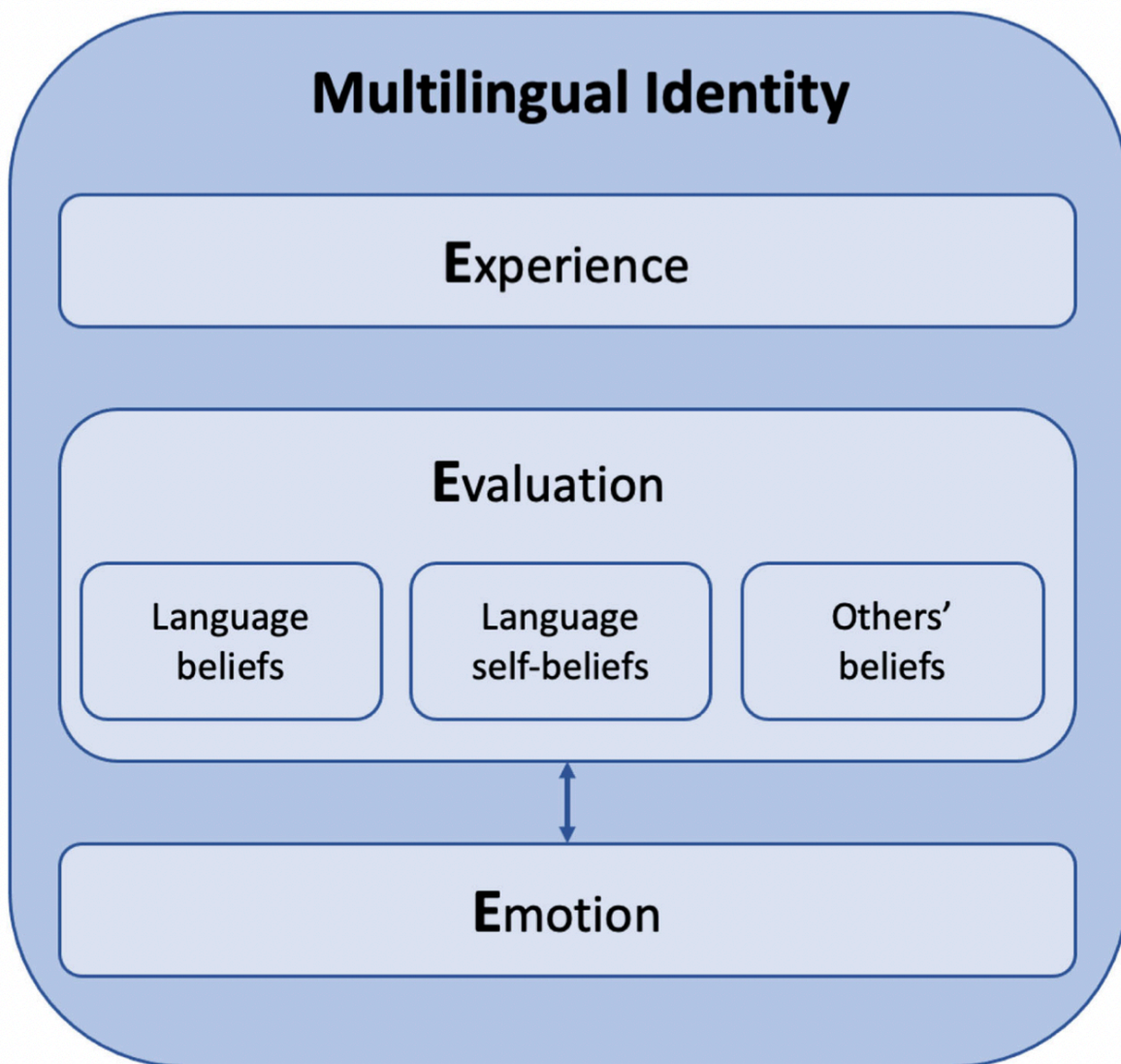


Figure 2.6: Forbes' et al. (2021) 3 Es model of multilingual identity (p. 435)

Situated within the interplay of factors that make up one's multilingual identity, Fisher et al. (2020) proposed how learners can actively take part in multilingual identity construction in the language classroom in a four-stage process, which is seen in Figure 2.7.

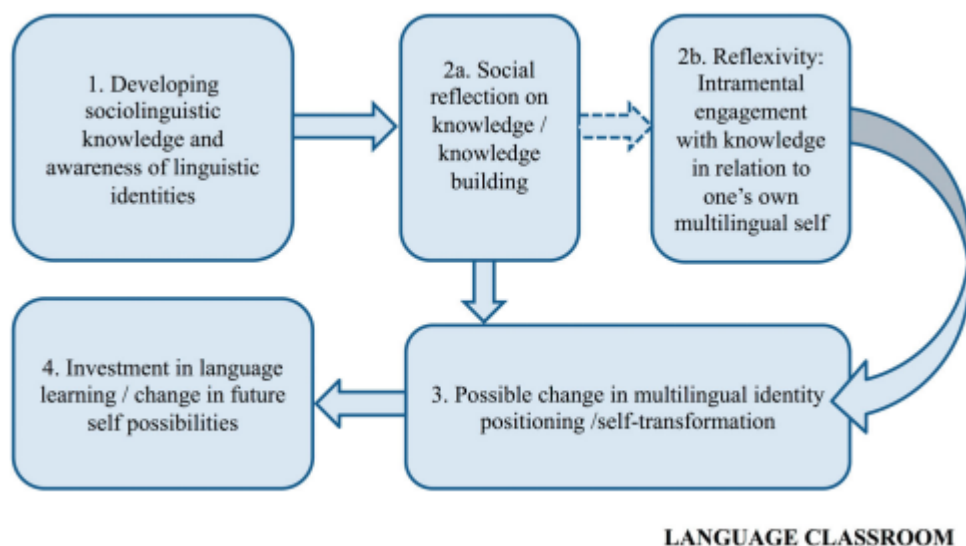


Figure 2.7: A framework for participative construction of multilingual identity in the language classroom (Fisher et al., 2020, p. 460)

Stage 1 involves teaching learners explicitly about languages spoken by others, as well as themselves. In other words, this stage aims to build learners' sociolinguistic knowledge about the world around them. Stage 2 involves getting learners to engage with increased sociolinguistic knowledge. This is done through a) class discussion about, for example, what it truly means to know other languages or the value that others ascribe to multilingualism as well as b) personal reflection on new sociolinguistic knowledge gained. Stage 3 involves learners actively choosing to identify with specific languages under the emphasis that this is a choice. Stage 4 includes long term, future possibilities of language learning. This refers to whether individuals view languages as a lifelong learning opportunity and their willingness to devote time and effort to their pursuit and preservation. In my view, the final two stages are less concrete than the first two stages and would benefit from further, empirical development to assess and inform their applicability in practice.

Multilingual identity construction has implications on L1 and L2 use. According to Block (2007), 'in the foreign language setting, there is usually far too much first language-mediated baggage and interference for profound changes to occur in the individual's conceptual system and his/her sense of self in the target language' (p. 144). Block implied that too much L1 in the classroom impedes L2 identity construction but presumably also referred to L1 identity related baggage as well as L1 use baggage, as I would argue the two go hand in hand. Arguably, the stages outlined by Fisher et al. (2020) must be conducted in L1 in order to be meaningful, especially in earlier stages of L2 proficiency. Yet more contextual evidence is first needed to understand what role beliefs about English (L1) and target language (L2) use play in L2 motivation and L2 identity construction. Investigating beliefs about English (L1) and target language (L2) use through a framework that aligns to the complex and intersecting contextual factors outlined in conceptualisations of L2 motivation and L2 identity may help to bridge this gap.

2.8 Emotions in foreign language learning

Quantitative research has traditionally dominated investigation into emotional factors in language learning, particularly through the use of surveys to explore relationships between foreign language anxiety and other variables, such as aptitude or academic achievement (Horwitz, 2001). For example, the foreign language classroom anxiety scale (FLCAS) is an instrument that has been widely used to measure learner anxiety in many contexts for over three decades (Horwitz, 2016). However, recent research into

affective factors in language learning have embraced exploring emotions in greater depth through qualitative means.

2.8.1 Foreign language anxiety

One of the tenets of complexity theory, or dynamic systems theory, is that there are overwhelming internal and external variables impacting on one another differently within each individual's language learning experience (de Bot et al., 2005). Foreign language anxiety has been attributed to (though not clearly evidenced to be related to) such variables, including age, personality and confidence levels. Specifically, Oteir and Al-Otaibi's (2019) systematic review of scholarship around foreign language anxiety identified several causes of foreign language anxiety:

- Students' perceptions about their proficiency
- General self-esteem
- Test anxiety
- Shyness/inhibition to speak
- Evaluation by peers (as well as by the teacher)
- Teachers' teaching style/the learning atmosphere

Based on their systematic review, Oteir and Al-Otaibi (2019) believed that the literature available on foreign language anxiety can be summarised into six main categories, including '1) interpersonal and personal anxiety, 2) learners' beliefs about learning a foreign language, 3) classroom procedures, 4) employing teacher-centred methods, 5) teachers' beliefs about language teaching and 6) language examination' (p. 313). Some

crucial areas for focus can be identified here. The first is the importance of both learners' and teachers' beliefs regarding the language, illustrated by Oteir and Al-Otaibi's second and fifth categories. These points support the link proposed by Forbes et al. (2021) between beliefs about languages and the language learning experience and emotions about languages and language learning. This suggests that understanding beliefs about language learning and teaching may also help us to better understand foreign language anxiety. Furthermore, Luo (2014) claimed that the target language is one of the main sources of foreign language anxiety, which necessitates exploration of beliefs regarding how target language is used in the classroom.

Despite the primary attention that anxiety has received in the fields of language learning and L2 motivation, Dewaele (2015) has purported that there are a complex host of emotions playing on foreign language learning. He also draws attention to an affective perspective in language learning, which he argued has received less attention than cognitive and social perspectives. However, given that affect and peer interaction inevitably overlap in the learning setting (for example, fear of evaluation by peers), this is debatable. Indeed, MacIntyre, Dörnyei, Clément and Noels (1998) have considered the role that peer groups play, both externally and internally, on learners' willingness to use target language, which will be further explored in Section 2.8.2. Nevertheless, Dewaele made the intriguing observation that emotion may often be ignored in the classroom (presumably on the part of the teacher). This was indeed evidenced early on by Lin (1999), where one teacher was observed to maximise the use of L2 under an L2-only classroom policy despite signs of pupil boredom and frustration. Moreover,

emotions, with the exception of anxiety, are largely absent from studies about language use and motivation, as well as beliefs. This latter group of studies seems poised for an emphasis on emotion, which is further evidenced by the work of Fisher (2013) reviewed in Section 2.6.2, whereby metaphors revealed highly emotive reflections of learners' beliefs. In support, Dörnyei (2010) stated that 'a) classrooms are venues for a great deal of emotional turmoil; b) emotions are known to be salient sources of action (for example, when we act out of fear or anger or happiness); and c) the process of language learning is often emotionally highly loaded for many people' (p. 22). What is strongly identified here is the need to focus on positive emotions in the language learning process as equally important to the negative emotions.

2.8.2 Other emotions in foreign language learning

In the Japanese university EFL classroom, Imai (2010) explored how emotions manifest during communicative tasks. Imai argued that the emotions elicited mediated learners' understanding, placing importance on emotions as a driving force behind sociocultural learning processes (i.e., negotiation of meaning). Emotions in language learning have, until more recently, been viewed through cognitive and psychological lenses (primarily exemplified through studies of learner foreign language anxiety). However, Imai defines emotions as socially constructed, as opposed to manifesting solely from within an individual. Moreover, Imai's (2010) focus on emotion and communication is anchored in the view that the two are 'far more complex and nonlinear' than the notion of emotion as a simple result of interaction, or reaction to external stimuli (p. 288). A videotaped group of three students working on a presentation, and their transcribed conversation,

revealed that the groupmates commiserated on their feelings of boredom toward the English class. In a follow up interview, one of the group participants said that their boredom led to a successful presentation because they wanted to make the class more interesting for themselves. Thus, not only did Imai successfully observe the collective construction of emotion within a group of English learners during a collaborative task, but the data also revealed how the emotions permeating within the group contributed to their learning development.

However, Imai (2010) observed only one other emotion in addition to boredom: frustration. This adds to the body of literature that examines negative emotions, such as anxiety, in foreign language learning. The question still remains as to the range of other emotions that have yet been unexplored in the foreign language learning classroom. It would be beneficial to identify what other negative emotions aside from anxiety, as well as what positive emotions, manifest in class and during collaborative tasks (as well as during other class scenarios), and particularly in relation to L1 and L2 use. In addition, identifying what positive emotions occur in the foreign language classroom could shed light on how to harness positive emotions in the language classroom. It is also worth noting that while the learners in Imai's study were self-motivated in getting the most out of the class despite their boredom, this might not be the case, particularly for younger learners, who may collectively take an alternative approach as a result of negative emotions, such as becoming disengaged. This makes it doubly important to identify how positive emotions manifest in collaborative, classroom language learning environments, which is why the current study incorporates an element that explores what emotions

pupils associate with the language learning classroom. Taking the view that emotions are socially constructed, as well as cognitively and psychologically constructed, the current study explores emotions alongside pupils' depictions of the classroom environment and instances of L1 and L2 use taking place. Interviews also provided some context for emotions that pupils in Scotland associated with their beliefs about their own language use in relation to their peers, such as the fear of making mistakes in front of those who are perceived to be more competent L2 speakers.

Teimouri (2017) explored three specific emotions (anxiety, joy and shame) among secondary EFL learners in Iran. As well as measuring the three emotional variables, the quantitative study employed a questionnaire that also measured ideal self (own), ideal self (others), ought to self (own), ought to self (others), promotional and preventional motivational orientations, L2 willingness to communicate (WTC) and intended effort. Teimouri's study focused on anxiety as both a potential facilitator, as well as debilitator, to the language learner. Teimouri's decision to also focus specifically on shame and joy aligns with the L2 motivational self-system (Dörnyei, 2005). Based on the reasoning that the ideal self 'has a promotional focus and involves the presence and absence of positive outcomes, a congruency or a match between learner's present self and their desired self,' (which Teimouri considered to include both ideal and ought-to self), Teimouri (2010) argued that reaching one's desired self is likely to elicit joy (p. 690). In that vein, discrepancy between the learner and their desired self consequently might lead to shame. Regarding the relationship between the emotions under study and the L2 selves, there was, perhaps unsurprisingly, an association between anxiety and

the ought to selves (others and own) but no relationship between anxiety and the ideal self. Teimouri argued that this supports the notion of anxiety as a facilitator due to its role in prevention motivational orientations (the desire to avoid negative outcomes). Joy was strongly associated with the ideal-self and did correlate (although weakly) with the ought to self (others), suggesting that the desire to please others (such as a parent or teacher) may also be a facilitating factor. Shame showed a positive correlation with all of the L2 selves.

The strong relationship between ideal self and joy may help to explain findings from Csizér and Lukács (2010) who found that, in the Hungarian secondary English and German learning context, ideal self was the most salient factor influencing pupil language learning motivation (in comparison to other factors, such as cultural interest, anxiety and parent encouragement). This suggests that perhaps joy is a more powerful emotion in facilitating language learning than anxiety (or reducing anxiety). Teimouri's study points to the complexity of emotion and indicates that considering emotions dichotomously as either positive or negative limits our understanding of the role that emotions play in the classroom. This is why the current study allows for the emergence of multiple emotions in an open prompt (which is detailed in the methodology chapter, Section 3.5.4). Identifying a wider breadth of emotions that exist in the Scottish language classroom can be a steppingstone for further research into what factors cause certain emotions and ultimately, how positive emotions can be facilitated.

2.9 Chapter conclusion

This concluding part of the literature review weaves together the main points explored throughout scholarship relevant to researching beliefs about L1 and L2 practices in the language learning classroom and reviews the major gaps that the study aims to fulfil.

The research questions are then presented.

2.9.1 Summary

The literature review has addressed theoretical developments in first and second language acquisition, which have influenced how emphasis on first and second language use in the language learning classroom has changed over time. Empirical work exploring the use of first and second language use has examined the debate centring around the question of whether first language should be used in the second, or foreign, language classroom. Recently, this question challenges monolingual approaches to classroom language use in favour of more dynamic, holistic approaches that are inclusive of an individual's language repertoire. In addition, the language learning context, which in the case of the current study reflects the Anglophone language learning context, is host to a complex network of factors that situate the language learning setting and the beliefs, attitudes and emotions that pupils shape about languages and language learning.

2.9.2 Gaps

The most crucial gaps that the current study aims to address include increasing understanding of the underrepresented Scottish language education context, gathering

pupil and teacher data that provides comparable value, adding pupil voice to current scholarship regarding their beliefs about how languages should be used in the classroom, drawing attention to the potential of incorporating creative methods into a mixed methods study design and revealing what emotions exist in the Anglophone language learning classroom from pupils' perspectives, in relation to L1 and L2 use.

2.9.3 Research questions

In order to address the gaps identified concerning the body of research around beliefs about using L1 and L2 and language learning in the Anglophone context, the current study explores the following research questions:

- 1 What are teachers' and pupils' beliefs about using English (L1) and target language (L2) in the Scottish secondary modern language classroom?
- 2 Based on teachers' and pupils' accounts, what macro, meso and micro level contextual factors are perceived to influence pupils' beliefs about using English (L1) and target language (L2)?

Chapter 3 Methodology

3.1 Chapter introduction

The first main section of this chapter (Section 3.2) states my positionality in undertaking this research. Section 3.3 describes and provides a rationale for the chosen research methodology. Section 3.4 outlines the sampling and data collection procedures. Section 3.5 presents each of the methods, detailing their justification, design and implementation based on the findings of a pilot study, as well as the approach to analysis of each method and associated challenges. Section 3.6 discusses ethical considerations, followed by a chapter conclusion (Section 3.7).

3.2 Researcher Positionality

In this section, I explain the theoretical perspective underpinning the epistemological and ontological views guiding this study. I also discuss how I approached my positioning within the research process.

3.2.1 Pragmatism

This study is constructed upon a pragmatist worldview. Pragmatism is often considered when taking a mixed methods approach to answer the research questions as fully as possible, sometimes referred to as a 'whatever works best' approach (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). The foundations of pragmatism, however, go deeper than this. Contrary to positivist, postpositivist, constructivist paradigms etc., pragmatism does not necessarily outline a philosophical framework for designing mixed research, though Biesta (2010) proposed that it can. Biesta addressed

a fundamental problem countered by pragmatism, that of dualistic paradigms, referred to by Dewey (1922) as the 'philosophical fallacy' (p. 123). This fallacy exposes the tendency to align oneself with certain philosophical inclinations (notably positivism or interpretivism) only to further perpetuate perspectives, or 'systems', that have long been employed in the same ways as they always have for the sake of tradition, rather than to address a new problem in and of itself. Pragmatism offers a solution to the philosophical fallacy in that it brings together ways of conducting research that do not necessarily have to go together (Biesta, 2010). In other words, pragmatism breaks down the dualistic paradigmatic hierarchies that often guide the theoretical frameworks underpinning the social sciences. I align myself with Biesta's position that research should instead seek to address problems rather than perpetuate traditional systems for the sake of doing so.

There is some debate around how pragmatists consider ontology and epistemology in social science research. Although pragmatism rejects ontological dualism, one may still align to either a mechanistic ontology, in which *measuring* causality of human action is a priority, and a social ontology, in which the meaning of and intention behind actions are *interpreted* (Biesta, 2010). A pragmatist might accept a singular reality worldview or a multiple reality worldview (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011; O'Hanlon, 2018).

Epistemologically, pragmatism acknowledges that both subjective and objective knowledge have value (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). This does not, however, necessarily equate to a combination of epistemological perspectives. According to

Biesta (2010), Dewey emphasised the importance of deriving meaning from the relationship between human interaction with the world and the consequences of those actions in a particular place, and 'thus ends up in a situation of complete subjectivism' (p. 19). In other words, if knowledge is built from an individual's experiences in a particular context, this implies that knowledge is constructed. Here Biesta implies that although pragmatism encourages researchers to blur the dichotomy between quantitative and qualitative paradigms, research aims will likely align to seeking either objective or subjective knowledge.

Futhermore, Biesta (2010) argued that the pragmatist must treat epistemology as an issue separate from the notion of a quantitative or qualitative paradigm. When framing a study through a pragmatic lens, Creswell and Plano Clark (2011) also suggested adopting a philosophical perspective at the level of research design rather than at the level of ontology and epistemology. This is in line with Teddlie and Tashakkori (2009), who also rejected the division of quantitative and qualitative paradigms. Indeed, Biesta (2010) supported the idea that a pragmatic approach can be employed at the level of the mixed methods and data analysis, which he deemed 'unproblematic' (p. 28).

With this understanding of pragmatism in mind, I first examined my research purpose, which was to understand beliefs about classroom language use as a result of individuals' experiences in the Scottish secondary modern language classroom context. I determined that a quantitative method would be useful in initially gathering background information about teachers' and pupils' beliefs, which I then decided I would investigate

in greater depth through qualitative means. Thus, I realised that I aligned to a constructivist view that individuals shape reality in their own ways, based on their unique experiences (Gray, 2014). The different aspects relating to my philosophical position and research design are summarised in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1: Summary of research methodology of the current study

Ontology	There may be singular or multiple realities but for the purpose of this research I adopt an interpretivist stance			
Epistemology	The way in which we seek knowledge depends on the questions asked and the research purpose. In the case of the current study, the research questions seek to understand individuals' constructions of reality based on their experiences in a particular context.			
Theoretical Perspective	Pragmatism			
Methodology	Quantitative	Qualitative		
Methods	Questionnaire	Metaphor elicitation	Semi-structured interview	Cartoon storyboard drawing
Research questions	Research question 1 (<i>teachers and pupil data drawn upon</i>)	Research question 1 (<i>pupil data drawn upon</i>)	Research question 2 (<i>teachers and pupil data drawn upon</i>)	Research question 2 (<i>pupil data drawn upon</i>)
Research purpose	To generate understanding of the Scottish language learning context through interpretation of teachers' and pupils' beliefs about language use practices and how those beliefs may be shaped by various contextual factors.			

3.2.2 Reflexivity

In addition to the ontological and epistemological positions I adopted to fit the research purpose, I also took a reflexive approach in considering my dual position as both an outsider (researcher) and insider (former modern language teacher) to the sociocultural context under study. Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2018) defined reflexivity as the process by which researchers seek to understand their potential influence on the

research undertaken. As this requires a degree of sensitivity to the cultural and social context of the research (Holmes, 2020), my previous experience as a classroom modern language teacher afforded me a nuanced understanding of the complexity of the modern language classroom. This helped to establish a relationship between myself and the teachers, who, given my background, trusted that my purpose as a researcher was not to scrutinise teachers' language use practices but rather to represent participants' views in the interest of improving experiences of language teaching and learning for all stakeholders in the Scottish language learning context. Indeed, this is an advantage to being an insider, described by Holmes (2020) as 'the ability to ask more meaningful or insightful questions [during the teacher interviews] due to the possession of a priori knowledge' (p. 6).

On the other hand, I took care to avoid some potential disadvantages. It was important for me to be aware of any potential bias that I may unconsciously bring into the research, as a former teacher, such as my own stance on classroom L1 and target language use. To maintain objectivity as best as possible, I had to continuously check my own judgement as to what I consider to be appropriate language use practices and acknowledge that there is no single, correct approach to L1 and target language use. At the same time, according to Greenbank (2003), educational research can not be completely 'value free,' with which I agree. For this reason, I believe that an insider perspective ultimately helps to ease potential tensions in conducting the research as opposed to approaching the research context with limited understanding of, in this case,

the social, pedagogical, cultural and political values permeating Anglophone language classrooms.

3.3 Research Methodology

In this section, I justify my decision to use mixed methods, including use of creative methods, to fulfill the research purpose.

3.3.1 Mixed methods research

Section 3.2.1 has established that pragmatism in research is often driven by the research questions and should not discriminate between quantitative and qualitative approaches, which has guided the current study. In this section, I explain and justify the chosen type of mixed method design.

Rationale for mixed methods

There is no one way to design a mixed methods study. Bryman (2006) stated that there may be multiple reasons for choosing to use mixed methods. I outline my main purposes for using mixed methods below, building from O'Hanlon's (2018) adaption of Greene's et al. (1989) framework for possible rationales:

- 'Triangulation – Data derived from the quantitative and qualitative methods are compared to test the consistency of the findings produced. Aims to increase validity of findings by counteracting method or inquirer bias.'
- 'Complementarity – The complementary strengths of qualitative and quantitative methods (i.e., depth and breadth, inductive and deductive

approaches) are used to clarify and illustrate results. Using both qualitative and quantitative approaches is believed to counteract ‘weakness’ or ‘bias’ in each method, and thus to increase the validity of study constructs and results.’

- ‘Expansion - Aims to expand the scope (depth or breadth) of the study through the use of both quantitative and qualitative data’
- ‘Initiation – Uses qualitative and quantitative methods as different lenses for examining a research problem – looking for contradictions and the stimulation of new thinking.’

(pp. 113-114)

Finally, use of mixed methods can result in a robust research design that provides more evidence for understanding a research problem than the sole use of either quantitative or qualitative approaches (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). In order to achieve rigor and coherence, the implementation of mixed methods must be considered at every stage of research planning, including sampling, data collection, data analysis, data interpretation and representation and application of interpretations on theory and practice (O’Hanlon, 2018). The relevant sections of this chapter will continue to consider how mixed methods are considered within each stage of the study’s design.

Type of mixed method approach used in the current study

Creswell and Plano Clark (2011) identified a typology-based approach in designing mixed methods studies, which consider timing, prioritisation and integration of the

quantitative and qualitative aspects. According to O'Hanlon's (2018) summary of these aspects, the current study can be characterised as QUAL + quan, meaning that the quantitative and qualitative data sets occur concurrently, with priority given to qualitative methods. An added quantitative component that is employed concurrently with the qualitative data can, as suggested by O'Hanlon (2018), 'provide complementary information that will enable a more complete, or a more accurate, account of the phenomenon of interest' (p. 117).

However, when broken down, there is a slight difference to the prioritisation of methods within the teacher and pupil groups. The methods used with the teacher group are equally split between quantitative and qualitative. This resembles a QUAN + QUAL typology. On the other hand, the pupil typology more accurately reflects QUAL + quan. The emphasis on a qualitative perspective through creative methods (metaphor elicitation and cartoon storyboard drawing) with the pupil group is to adequately amplify pupils' voices given the lack of pupil representation in academic literature (Section 2.6.2) and given that 'voices of participants are not directly heard in quantitative research' (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011, p. 12).

The study follows a mostly convergent design in that the quantitative and qualitative datasets are collected during the same time period (data collection timelines are discussed in Section 3.4.3) and are later interpreted alongside one another in order to provide a holistic picture of the phenomenon investigated (Figure 3.1). Creswell and Plano Clark (2011) described the purpose of a convergent design as being to 'develop a complete understanding by collecting both quantitative and qualitative data, because

each provides a partial view' (p. 151). This works well for the current study given that quantitative and qualitative data each provided a partial view of both the teacher and pupil groups, forming a cohesive picture when brought together. Integration is another key aspect in mixed methods research. In the current study, integration occurs at the level of data comparison and interpretation (Biesta, 2010; O'Hanlon, 2018).

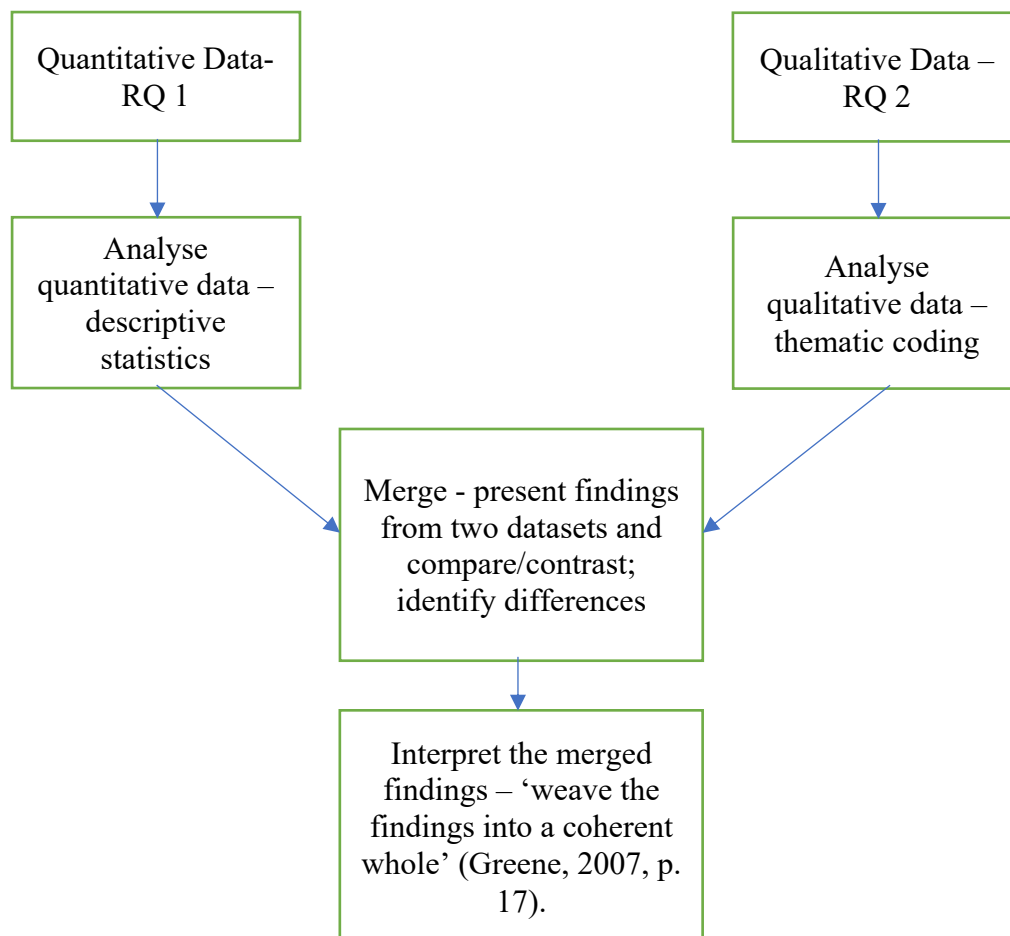


Figure 3.1: Flowchart of the convergent mixed methods design chosen for the current study (adapted from Creswell and Plano Clark, 2011, p. 79)

Strengths and limitations of mixed methods research

The support and potential for mixed methods approaches, particularly in applied linguistics research, outweighs its criticisms. Maxwell and Loomis (2003) pointed out the danger of an ‘anything goes’ approach when combining different types of methods. This kind of mentality calls into question whether mixed methods studies can truly be coherent and purposeful. Similarly, Dörnyei & Ryan (2015) identified the danger of superficial mixing without maximising the potential of the two approaches. Yet according to Dörnyei (2007), ‘in most cases a mixed methods approach can offer additional benefits for the understanding of the phenomenon in question’ (p. 47). Ormston, Spencer, Barnard and Snape (2014) agreed that there is no reason researchers shouldn’t be free to access their ‘research toolkit’ (p. 17) in order to serve their research aims, as long as one can strike a balance between their epistemological and ontological philosophy and mixed methods, as discussed in Section 3.2.1. Ushioda (2019) also supported mixed methods ‘for refining one’s skills, particularly student researchers and early career academics (p. 669).

Mixed methods in classroom-based research

Critically, Dörnyei (2007) highlighted how the complex environment of a classroom lends itself well to mixed methods research. He distinguished between two classroom dimensions:

‘the *instructional context*, which concerns the influences of the teachers, students, curriculum, learning tasks, and teaching method, amongst other things, and the *social context*, which is related to the fact that the classroom is also the main social arena for

students, offering deeply intensive personal experiences such as [...] identity information.'

(p. 186)

The mixed methods design of this study is justified by Dörnyei's (2007) reflection of the classroom setting. The quantitative data serves to gain an understanding of the instructional context, that is, the beliefs that surround language use practices in modern language classrooms. The qualitative data examines these beliefs within their social context, or the lived language teaching and learning experiences taking place in the Scottish language classroom. Dörnyei (2007) classifies these two contexts as interdependent but also as interacting with one another. In a similar way, the convergent parallel design of this study views the quantitative and qualitative elements as interdependent perspectives that merge to provide a more complete picture of Scottish language learning classrooms.

[Inclusion of both teachers and pupils as research participants](#)

The parallel focus on both teachers and pupils in the current study also aligns to the idea of two interdependent entities, representing different experiences and perspectives, which converge to form a clearer, whole picture of the Scottish modern language classroom. The benefit of focusing both on teachers and pupils was well captured by Wan et al. (2011) who stated that 'when students' beliefs are seriously incongruent with those of their teachers, problems arise, as students may misinterpret their teachers' expectations and intentions, and this may in turn trigger students' passive or even active resistance' (p. 404). Using mixed methods for the purpose of

iteration are crucial here for revealing potential contradictions between teacher and pupil language use beliefs. Bringing such potential incongruencies to teachers' awareness could have an effect on pupil passivity or resistance to languages and mixed methods approaches can bring this to light more effectively than a solely quantitative or qualitative study design.

Empirical examples of mixed methods research exploring beliefs about language use and L2 motivation in the language learning classroom

Riley's (2009) study, which investigated 661 students' and 34 teachers' beliefs about English language learning at a Japanese university, is an example of how qualitative interviews can explore and help to explain differences identified from the quantitative data in greater depth. Questionnaires revealed that students' and teachers' beliefs differed in relation to speaking English during pair and group work, which teachers strongly encouraged, while students were skeptical about the effectiveness of using English with peers. Subsequent discussion groups examined the complex set of attitudes, experiences and expectations exerting on students' beliefs. A key finding from discussion groups that shed light on teachers' and pupils' contrasting beliefs about using English for pair/group work was that students experienced a loss of confidence and hope in their English-speaking ability when engaging in pair or group work. This study exemplified the complementarity of using both quantitative and qualitative methods. Similarly, in the current study, the interviews provided context around students' and teachers' beliefs identified in the questionnaires.

Wesely (2010) demonstrated how the use of both quantitative and qualitative methods can be used together to explain unanticipated findings. The study revealed unique perspectives on social psychological constructs related to pupil L2 motivation. Interviews conducted with 11 to 13-year-olds, who had completed French and Spanish immersion programmes at primary level, complemented quantitative data generated from Gardner's (1985) Attitude/motivation test battery (AMTB) survey. Surprisingly, the quantitative findings suggested that attitudes about language learning were more positive among those who left immersion programmes than those who continued. The qualitative data had explanatory power when integrated with the quantitative data at the level of analysis and interpretation. Potential explanations put forth for the surprising quantitative findings, based on the interview data, were that pupils had difficulty defining what language learning entailed, which may have skewed their ability to respond to the questionnaire accurately. Additionally, while pupils could appreciate the benefit of language learning, they still might have been frustrated by the effort required to learn grammar rules, for example. These empirical examples speak to how useful mixed methods can be for purposes of complementarity and initiation in achieving unique insight, which have guided my decision to use a mixed methods in the current study's design.

Challenges in using mixed methods approaches

There is a myriad of challenges involved in classroom-based research, even more so in mixed method classroom-based research, as pointed out by Dörnyei (2007). These include catering to different learner needs and school standards (which may not be

compatible with teachers' preferences), fluidity of the student body (withdrawal and attrition as well as absenteeism and newcomers), time demands, cooperation from both teachers and pupils, unexpected events and interruptions, obtrusive researcher effect, ethical considerations, technical difficulties and the challenge of multisite research designs. As a former language teacher, now back in the classroom as a researcher, these challenges were not unfamiliar to me. I anticipated that given the difficulties and resulting shortcomings of classroom-based research, a traditional methodological approach might not be sufficient. Indeed, Ushioda (2019) cautioned that questionnaires and interviews are no longer a fresh take on the mixed method approach. For this reason, this study includes the use of creative methods to complement the traditional methods used.

3.3.2 Creative methods

In addition to the use of more traditional mixed methods, such as questionnaires and interviews, the study also includes creative methods, specifically metaphor elicitation and cartoon storyboards. In addition to the fresh perspective they provide in this mixed methods study, creative methods are especially suited to answering the research questions in terms of pupils' beliefs. They also align to the ontological and epistemological beliefs underpinning this study in that they richly detail pupils' constructions of the realities they experience in the language classroom. Furthermore, creative methods may better reflect the complexity of social contexts and, when complemented with traditional methods, can provide a fuller picture (Kara, 2015). The following subsections provide a rationale for the use of creative methods, with reference

to some empirical examples, while the specific use of metaphor and cartoon storyboards will be further justified in Sections 3.4.2 and 3.4.4.

Rationale for using creative methods

The inclusion of creative methods with pupils in addition to the more traditional methods incorporated appealed to the 11 to 14-year age group. Given reliance on self-reported data, which as Ushioda (2019) noted, raises concerns about reliability and social desirability bias, the creative methods bolster the research by gathering as full a picture as possible to compensate for the lack of observed data. In conjunction, the pupil questionnaire, interview and creative methods triangulate the data.

Ushioda (2019) argued that neither quantitative surveys nor qualitative interviews truly address implicit or unconscious processes occurring in regard to language motivation. This is where the creative methods play a crucial role. The metaphors and cartoon storyboards reveal how pupils conceptualise aspects of classroom language use that may otherwise be too abstract to extract with traditional methods. According to Farmer and Cepin (2017) nontraditional methods also help children and young people to engage with research in ways they may find more meaningful. This is an important consideration when thinking about wellbeing of the pupil participants, for whom the study should ultimately be of benefit. This relates to transformative views of young people as active agents in research rather as objects of study (Farmer & Cepin, 2017).

Furthermore, given my experience as a classroom language teacher, I anticipated that creative, task-based approaches would be welcomed by pupils. While it is difficult for teachers to be involved in action research given time demands, my

background as a practitioner gives me insight as to how to construct a methodology that is realistic for the classroom context and will give teachers meaningful and practical outcomes.

Challenges in using creative methods with young people

Farmer and Cepin (2017) acknowledged key challenges to using visual and creative methods with young people, such as inclusion of young people in the research process. Creative methods also require careful prompting or instructions, making examples important so that participants are familiarised with creative processes. As stated in the paragraph above, the researcher must be careful in reflexively and justifiably interpreting young peoples' views. The authors suggested that researchers take care to engage in discussions with young participants that 'delve into reflecting on the complexities of issues that children discuss' (Farmer & Cepin, 2017, p. 309) to avoid merely reporting on their output.

In doing so, Farmer and Cepin (2017) argued that researchers should aim to construct knowledge *with* young people. The use of creative methods helps to achieve this by avoiding making judgements about young people driven solely by 'adult driven research' (Farmer & Cepin, 2017, pp. 309-310). The emotional and affective experiences of young people must also be supported through dialogue between the researcher and the young person, such as the way that cartoon storyboard drawings were discussed with pupil participants during interviews in the current study. The use of a creative, visual method provides young participants with ownership of their role in helping to inform the research landscape.

In terms of using metaphor specifically, Cortazzi and Jin (2020) highlighted the difficulty in ensuring that metaphors elicit the targeted information, as well as the challenge of researcher interpretation. This could also be extended to the use of visual methods, such as cartoon storyboards. Like Farmer and Cepin (2017), Cortazzi and Jin (2020) also suggested that participants be given the opportunity to engage in discussion about the task they have completed, in order to offer their own explanations.

This section has highlighted some of the challenges associated with using creative methods in research with young participants as well as how these challenges can be abated. Challenges specifically related to the use of metaphor and drawings, including analysis, will be further considered in Sections 3.4.2 and 3.4.4, respectively.

3.4 Sampling and data collection procedures

This section details the sampling and data collection procedures undertaken in the current study.

3.4.1 Sampling and gaining access to schools

Secondary school modern language teachers and pupils in Scotland were needed in order to answer the research questions. In relation to the UK language uptake problem discussed in Section 2.4.1, pupils between years S1-S3, (ages 11-14), were chosen to situate the study's focus among learners who have yet to decide whether they will continue with languages after S3, when language learning is no longer compulsory.

Given that schools in major cities tend to be saturated with university researchers and student teachers, a wider sampling net was cast to also include local authorities

across the central belt of Scotland, where travel would also be feasible. Initial emails detailing aspects and requirements of the study were sent to approximately 70 Scottish secondary schools, virtually all secondary schools in Edinburgh and the surrounding local authority areas. Comprehensive mixed and private schools were emailed in order to sample from a wide socioeconomic range, however, no private schools responded. Emails were first sent to head teachers. Following their approval, head teachers forwarded details of the study to the Principal Teacher of the school's modern languages department, who disseminated information about the study to their team. Teachers from a total of 12 schools expressed interest in participating, with four dropping out before data collection commenced. Thus, a total of eight schools from six different local authority areas participated. Pupil data was collected from six schools, due to Schools 7 and 8 being sampled after the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic. The participating schools are predominantly co-educational, state secondary schools.

Following initial email exchange, a meeting was then set up with willing language teachers to discuss the study in greater detail and agree on a timetable for visits and data collection. This was done either in person at the school or via phone call. Before beginning data collection, Schools 1, 2, 4, 5 and 6 invited me to visit their classes to present the study to pupils and to distribute consent forms. My initial presentation of the research lasted about five minutes long, detailing for the pupils who I was and that I hoped to better understand modern language learning in Scotland from their perspectives. I also explained what pupils would do if they decided to participate, that participation was entirely voluntary and allowed time for pupils to ask questions. These

visits allowed me to build a rapport with teachers and pupils, who became familiar with my presence. School 3 preferred to explain the study and distribute information sheets and consent forms themselves prior to my arrival (Appendices 1 and 2). Consent forms required signatures from both pupils as well as a parent or carer.

3.4.2 Teacher and pupil participants

In total, 15 teachers and 174 pupils from eight secondary schools participated (Table 3.2).

Table 3.2: Overview of participating schools, teachers and pupils across six local Scottish authorities ⁶

Local Authority	School	Number of teacher participants	Number of pupil participants	Breakdown of pupil participants by year
A	School 1	3	28	S1 = 9
				S2 = 8
				S3 = 11
B	School 2	2	20	S1 = 5
				S2 = 13
				S3 = 2
C	School 3	1	43	S1 = 34
				S2 = 9
	School 8	2	-	-
D	School 4	1	50	S1 = 16
				S2 = 19
				S3 = 15
E	School 5	2	19	S1 = 10
				S2 = 9
F	School 6	3	14	S2 = 4
				S3 = 10
	School 7	1	-	-
Total	8	15	174	174

⁶ Local authority areas and schools are anonymised and participants' names used in this thesis are pseudonyms.

The teachers mostly considered English to be their first language, except for Yvette whose first language was French, and Aria who identified growing up with another L1. The most taught languages were French (n=15), followed by Spanish (n=6) and then German (n=4), with most teachers teaching combinations of either French and Spanish (n=6) or French and German (n=6), as summarised in Table 3.3. Two teachers were additionally qualified in Italian.

Table 3.3: Teaching background of teacher participants

School	Teacher	L1	Language(s) Taught
School 1	Gail	English	French, Spanish
	Oona	English	Spanish, French
	Yvette	French	French, Spanish
School 2	Cat	English	French, Spanish
	Thomas	English	French, German
School 3	Aria	English + another L1	French, Spanish
School 4	Shona	English	French, Italian
School 5	Owen	English	French, German
	Eloise	English	French
School 6	Olena	English	French, German
	Marjorie	English	German, French
	Bethan	English	German, French
School 7	Cerys	English	French, German
School 8	Mairi	English	French, Spanish
	Deirdre	English	French, Italian

Of the 174 pupil participants, 74 were in S1, 62 were in S2 and 38 were in S3 (Figure 3.2). The majority of pupils (88%) in this study come from English L1 speaking backgrounds⁷ (Table 3.4).

⁷ Pupils at School 1 often conflated Scottish with English. It is unclear whether pupils consider Scottish to be the same language as English or Scots. This raises questions of language and identity among Pupils in Scotland. The category English/Scottish was used to incorporate both possibilities.

Table 3.4: Language backgrounds of pupil participants

School	Year Group	Language(s) spoken at home
School 1 (n=28)	S1 - 9	English/Scottish (n=6) English + Balto-Slavic language (n=1) English + Romance language (n=1) English + Indo-Iranian language (n=1)
	S2 - 8	English/Scottish (n=3) English + Balto-Slavic language (n=1) English + Indo-Iranian language (n=1) English + Dravidian language (n=1) Balto-Slavic language (n=2)
	S3 - 11	English/Scottish (n=10) English + Balto-Slavic language (n=1)
School 2 (n=20)	S1 - 5	English/Scottish (n=5)
	S2 - 13	English/Scottish (n=12) English + Romance language (n=1)
	S3 - 2	English/Scottish (n=2)
School 3 (n=43)	S1 - 34	English/Scottish (n=31) English + Celtic language (n=1) English + Romance language + other Germanic language (n=1) Balto-Slavic language (n=1)
	S2 - 9	English/Scottish (n=8) English + Romance language (n=1)
	S3 - 0	-
School 4 (n=50)	S1 - 16	English/Scottish (n=15) English + Indo-Iranian language (n=1)
	S2 - 19	English/Scottish (n=19)
	S3 - 15	English/Scottish (n=14) English + Indo-Iranian language (n=1)
School 5 (n=19)	S1 - 10	English/Scottish (n=19)
	S2 - 9	
	S3 - 0	
School 6 (n=14)	S1 - 0	-
	S2 - 4	English/Scottish (n=3) English + other Germanic language (n=1)
	S3 - 10	English/Scottish (n=9) English + Indo-Iranian language (n=1)

Other languages spoken at home by 11% of pupils included Polish, Punjabi, French, Spanish, Urdu, Hindi, Kurdish, Malayalam, German, Welsh and Lithuanian. The pupils' language backgrounds are summarised by percentages in Figure 3.3.

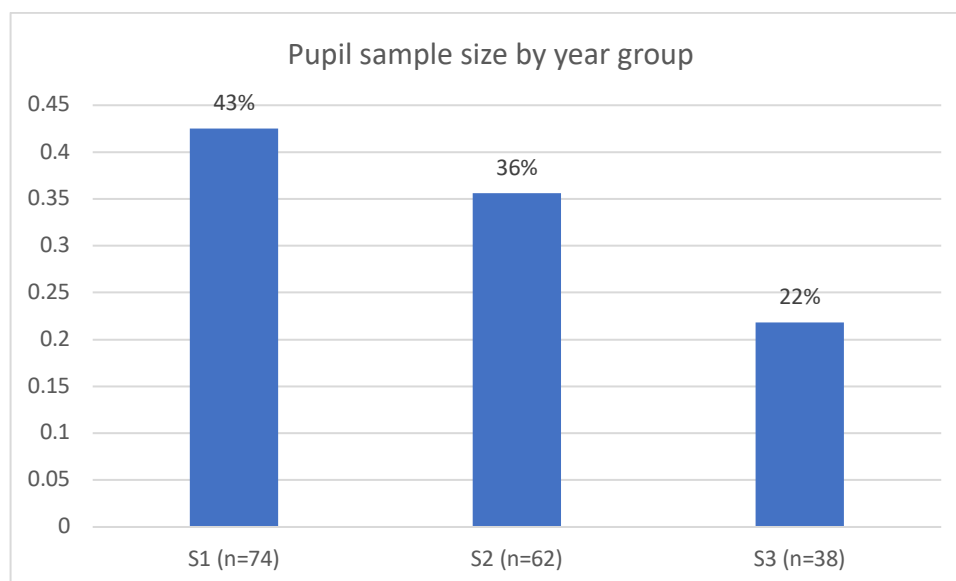


Figure 3.2: Total percentages of pupils sampled by year group

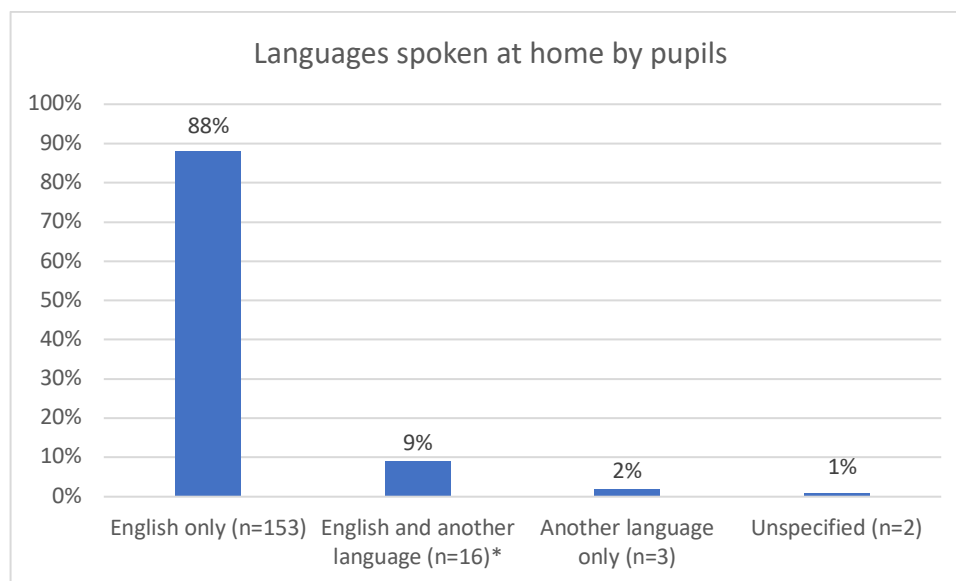


Figure 3.3: Total percentages of pupils by language background

3.4.3 Data Collection procedures with teachers and pupils

This section details the procedures followed during the data collection period, which took place between November 2019 and June 2020.

Data collection procedure with teachers

In order to answer the two research questions, teachers were asked to complete a questionnaire and participate in a semi-structured interview (Table 3.5). Before data collection, teachers received an information sheet detailing the goals of the study and what their participation would entail (Appendix 3). They returned a signed consent form indicating that they were happy to voluntarily participate in the study and understood their rights in relation to withdrawal from the study (Appendix 4).

Table 3.5: Mixed methods approach used with teachers

Research Question	Methodology	Method	Analysis and Purpose
1) What are teachers' and pupils' beliefs about using English and target language in the Scottish secondary modern language classroom?	Quantitative	Questionnaire	Descriptive statistics – to provide an overview of teachers' language use beliefs; to reveal potential mismatches with pupils' beliefs
2) Based on teachers' and pupils' accounts, what macro, meso and micro level contextual factors are perceived to influence pupils' beliefs about using English and target language?	Qualitative	Semi-structured Interview	Robson & McCartan's (2016) five step thematic coding approach (detailed in Section 3.5.3) – to explore teachers' beliefs in context

First, teachers were asked to complete the questionnaire (Appendix 5). Six teachers completed paper-based questionnaires at a time that was convenient to them, which they returned to me during one of my school visits. Nine questionnaires were returned digitally after the COVID-19 lockdown commenced. After completion of the questionnaire, teachers then participated in an interview (Appendix 6) which took place in an empty classroom during a free period.

There were three additional questionnaires returned by teachers which I was unable to follow up with interviews due to the COVID-19 pandemic halting collection of teacher data. I decided not to include the data from these three questionnaires in the thesis so that the interviews could be used to corroborate the views of the 15 teachers who also completed questionnaires.

Data collection procedure with pupils

The pupil data collection was completed in three phases: questionnaires (which included the metaphor prompts), cartoon storyboards and interviews. This was mostly done in three separate school visits, with the exceptions of Schools 2, 3 and 6 (Table 3.6). The pupil data collection timeline varied by teacher and school preferences. At School 3, I was allowed one visit and pupil interviews were not permitted, thus pupils completed questionnaires and cartoon storyboards on the same day. Schools 1, 2, 4, 5 and 6 allowed repeat visits, which took place on the same day each week, for three to four weeks. At School 2, I was invited for a fourth visit to conduct more pupil interviews and at School 6, I was invited to visit in two rounds (four visits) to first conduct questionnaires and cartoon storyboards on the same day and then interviews on

another day. Data collection primarily took place in an empty classroom, which was approved by the schools given that I had acquired necessary documentation under the Protecting Vulnerable Groups (PVG) scheme, which involved a background check.

Table 3.6: Timeline of school visits for pupil data collection

School	Visit 1	Visit 2	Visit 3	Visit 4
School 3	Questionnaires and Cartoon storyboards			
School 1	Questionnaires	Cartoon storyboards	Interviews	
School 2	Questionnaires	Cartoon storyboards	Interviews	Interviews
School 4	Questionnaires	Cartoon storyboards	Interviews	
School 5	Questionnaires	Cartoon storyboards (Make up questionnaires)	Interviews	
School 6	Questionnaires and Cartoon storyboards	Interviews	Questionnaires and Cartoon storyboards	Interviews

The questionnaires gathered information related to pupils' beliefs about English and target language use (Appendix 7). The final section of the pupil questionnaire contained three metaphor prompts to support the more traditional questionnaire aspects. Pupils took about 25 minutes to complete the questionnaires. Those happy to continue after completing the questionnaire then did the cartoon storyboard, in which they depicted scenes of language use taking place in their language class and what emotions they felt (Appendix 8). Pupils were given a full class period (50 minutes) to complete their cartoon storyboard, except for pupils at Schools 3 and 6 due to teacher

and/or school preference that the research be carried out as quickly as possible. Pupils at Schools 3 and 6 completed their cartoon storyboards in about 25 minutes. Those with more time were not necessarily more detailed, but more time allowed for a more relaxed environment, where I was able to build rapport with pupils before and after they completed the exercises. Finally, pupils were invited for a semi-structured interview to explore their beliefs about classroom language use in context (Appendix 9). Pupil interviews lasted between 15-20 minutes, which provided substantial information in answer to the research question without demanding too much of the pupil participants. Table 3.7 summarises the methods used with pupils, how they were analysed and their purpose.

Table 3.7: Mixed methods approach used with pupils

Research Questions	Methodology	Method	Analysis and Purpose
1) What are teachers' and pupils' beliefs about using English and target language in the Scottish secondary modern language classroom?	Quantitative	Questionnaire	Descriptive Statistics – to overview pupils' language use beliefs; reveal potential mismatches with teachers
	Qualitative	Metaphor Elicitation	Elicited metaphor analysis (Cortazzi & Jin, 2020) – to explore pupils' language beliefs from an alternative perspective
2) Based on teachers' and pupils' accounts, what macro, meso and micro level contextual factors are perceived to influence pupils' beliefs about using English and target language?	Qualitative	Semi-structured Interview	Robson & McCartan's (2016) five step thematic coding process – to explore pupils' beliefs in context
	Qualitative	Cartoon Storyboard	Thematic content analysis – to tally instances of language use and explore emotions in the language learning environment

Of the 174 pupils who completed questionnaires, 157 completed the metaphor elicitation section, which included three prompts yielding 334 metaphors, and 132 pupils completed cartoon storyboards. Forty-six pupils participated in interviews (summarised in Table 3.8). Out of the total 174 pupils sampled, 17 opted not to complete the metaphor section. Forty-two pupils either opted out of the cartoon storyboard or were absent on the day when the cartoon storyboard task took place. Of the 132 pupils who completed cartoons storyboards, 46 were selected for analysis and those pupils were invited to participate in a subsequent interview. The following criteria were used to determine which cartoon storyboards/pupils would provide the richest and most valuable information in relation to the language classroom context and in answer to the research questions:

- Whether they depicted notable occasions of English and/or target language use, particularly amongst pupils themselves
- Whether they had depicted any strong emotions, either positive or negative, toward their language class
- General completeness of the cartoon storyboard, showing that pupils took interest in the task and were likely to engage in points of discussion in interviews

I selected pupils for interview between visits (generally between Visits 2 and 3), after having looked through the cartoon storyboards. Though the 131 cartoon storyboards could be viewed as a heterogeneous sample representing a range of experiences, choosing to analyse only the cartoon storyboards that were followed by interviews

allowed for a more in-depth understanding of the data presented in the cartoon storyboards. As a secondary benefit, reducing the number of cartoon storyboards to analyse made the project more feasible in light of the large amount of data generated.

Table 3.8: Total pupil participants sampled by school and method

Local Authority	School	Questionnaires	Metaphors	Cartoon Storyboards	Interviews
A	School 1	28	24	24	10
B	School 2	20	20	19	15
C	School 3	43	32	12	Pupil interviews not allowed
D	School 4	50	50	47	8
E	School 5	19	18	16	7
F	School 6	14	13	14	6
		174	157	132	46

3.5 Methods

In this section, there are four subsections. Each provides a rationale for the method described and a description of its design and implementation. The strengths and drawbacks of each method are also described as well as approaches to analysis.

Section 3.5.1 describes the use of questionnaires with both teachers and pupils while 3.5.2 details the pupil metaphors. Section 3.5.3 describes the interviews used with both teachers and pupils, while Section 3.5.4 presents the pupil cartoon storyboards.

3.5.1 Questionnaires

Rationale for using questionnaires

Questionnaires have been popularly used in previous language attitude studies.

Levine's (2003) use of questionnaires in the American university foreign language context to explore instructors' and students' beliefs about how much target language should be used in the classroom and for what purposes, such as for discussion of topics, task instructions, grammar and tests, was influential. In a mixed methods study also conducted in the American university foreign language context, Thompson (2009) paired questionnaire data with interview data, which explored teachers' and students' beliefs about English and target language use, their perceived amounts of language use and reasons for teachers' beliefs about classroom language use. The questionnaire data enabled Thompson to understand the beliefs behind English and target language use before exploring contradicting data (between instructors and students) in greater depth. These examples, which demonstrate how questionnaires can effectively and quickly gather various types of information about beliefs about language use, form the basis for the teacher questionnaire used in the current study. The five sections that make up the teacher questionnaire (ranging from use of Likert scale items to multiple choice and fill in the blank items) reflect the versatility of the questionnaire method.

Like the teacher questionnaire, the pupil questionnaire builds on previous work in the field (Levine, 2003; Thompson, 2009). According to Dörnyei, (2003), Gardner's (1985) Attitude/motivation test battery (AMTB) is 'one of the most well-known L2 questionnaires in existence' and has set the scope for using questionnaires to explore

pupils' attitudes and beliefs (Dörnyei, 2003, p. 34). The ATMB explores constructs such as motivation, anxiety, attitudes toward learning language, parent influence, integrative orientation and instrumental orientation. More recently, Teimouri (2017) revitalised some of these constructs and created a questionnaire that explored specific emotions among pupils regarding English and target language attitudes (joy, anxiety and shame), as well as ought-to and ideal-self, linking to the L2 motivational self-system. The pupil questionnaire format used in the current study reflects aspects from Gardner (1985), Levine (2003), Thompson (2009) and Teimouri (2017), which is expanded on below in discussion of each questionnaire section.

Design and piloting of the questionnaires

One secondary French teacher and five S2 French pupils consented to participating in a pilot study. The teacher piloted the questionnaire instrument during a free period.

Changes were made to the questionnaires before the main data collection based on the results of a pilot study. These changes were deemed necessary for overall clarity and feasibility of the questionnaires. Changes to the teacher questionnaire primarily included clarification of wording, such as using the correct terminology when referring to head teachers, inspectors, etc. The changes made as a result of the pilot are further detailed below in relation to each questionnaire section. Similarly, changes made to specific sections of the pupil questionnaire are also detailed below.

The five pupils piloted the pupil questionnaire during one class period, in a quiet room. The pupil questionnaire pilot was particularly helpful in determining how to best verbally instruct pupils to complete the questionnaire, increasing the method's

effectiveness. Pupils reportedly enjoyed the variety of question types. However, they also felt the questionnaire was too long. Thus, the questionnaire length was shortened, which reduced time and cognitive load on pupils. The questionnaire was reduced from seven to five pages, per Dörnyei's (2003) recommended maximum page limit.

Overall, the questionnaires were broadly constructed according to Dörnyei's (2003) five steps, which guide researchers on the length, sequence and presentation of questionnaire items. The five sections of the teacher questionnaire include A) biographical items, B) Likert scale questions, C) multiple-choice, D) fill in the blank and E) rank order items. The pupil questionnaire format is the same with the added metaphor section (Section F).

Section A: Biographical Information

Section A gathered biographical data pertaining to the participants. For teachers, this included languages spoken and taught as well as school profile information, such as their school's Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD) level. For pupils, this included year at school, languages spoken at home and intention to continue language study after the current year.

Section B: Likert scale questions about general beliefs regarding classroom L1 and L2 use

Participants indicated their responses to items in this section on a five-point scale, ranging from 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree,' with a neutral option given. The questions focused on seven major constructs, which can be found in Table 3.9.

Some questions were compiled from other questionnaires used in previous literature, given their relevant findings (Levine, 2003; Thompson, 2009). For example, from Part 3 of Levine's (2003) instructor questionnaire, Likert scale questions regarding teachers' attitudes about English and target language use were borrowed such as, 'I believe there are no situations in which English is used in the classroom (i.e., I believe total immersion in TL is best).' Some questions were also adapted from Thompson (2009) regarding interaction between pupil and teacher language use, such as 'I believe that regardless of how much target language pupils use, I believe that I should use target language at all times.' Additional questions about government/school/department influence on teachers' English and target language use beliefs and about the affective impacts of English and target language use on pupils were inspired by previous literature (Chambers, 2013) and in consideration of what would best answer the research questions. Likert scale items for the pupil questionnaire were adapted from both Gardner (1985) and Teimouri (2017) in order to explore pupils' attitudes toward English and target language against six of the constructs (Table 3.9).

Table 3.9: Likert scale item constructs explored in Section B of the teacher and pupil questionnaires

Questionnaire Likert scale item constructs	Teacher	Pupil
General beliefs about L1 inclusion and target language maximisation	5 items	3 items
Government/school/department influence on English and target language use	4 items	
Interaction between pupil and teacher English and target language use/Teacher influence on pupil target language	3 items	3 items
Beliefs about/affective factors relating to pupil enjoyment/anxiety toward English and target language use	2 items	3 items
Parent influence on English and target language use		2 items
Social/peer influence on English and target language use		4 items
Personal/future goals related to English and target language use		5 items

After piloting, terminology in Section B was clarified in order to match the language that teachers were familiar with within their teaching context, such as ‘Education Scotland’ in reference to Scottish Government influence on target language use practices. Additionally, ‘HMIE inspector’ replaced ‘evaluator’ in reference to the language use expectations for teacher evaluation purposes.

Changes in Section B (Likert) of the pupil questionnaire as a result of piloting primarily included revision of the language used to make more pupil friendly and elimination of repetitive questions. For example, ‘*My classmates tend to use a lot of target language in class*’ was cut to avoid repetition given its similarity to ‘*My classmates tend to use a lot of English in class.*’ Similarly, the statement ‘*I usually feel frustrated when my teacher uses target language,*’ was not included in the current study given that

the statement '*I dislike when my teacher uses target language*' already sufficed. The original total of 27 Likert questions was reduced to 20.

Section C: Multiple choice items about perceived amounts of L1 and target language use

There are four multiple choice questions in Section C, which ascertain teachers' and pupils' beliefs about how much English and target language they believe they use and how much English and target language they believe their teachers or pupils use. This section, adapted from Thompson (2009), was included to explore beliefs about amounts of English and target language as opposed to actual amounts used because a comparison of teacher and pupil perceptions could potentially reveal interesting findings.

One of the limitations of the original questionnaire brought to attention as a result of piloting was the difficulty for teachers to generalise questionnaire questions for all their S1-S3 classes. For example, in Section C, question 2, '*I believe that I use (too little/the right amount of/too much) English in the classroom,*', the teacher felt that while 'the right amount' was the correct answer for one class, 'too little' was most likely the case for another class. This was overcome by asking teachers to answer as best as they could in relation to the classes who participated in the study, with the understanding that judicious use of English and target language could vary between classes. The interview then allowed for in-depth reflection on how language use perceptions differed by year groups. Some of the factors that might characterise the

languages used in one class differently from another are also considered in the interviews, such as classroom management.

During the pupil pilot, pupils pointed out that the format of Section C could be confusing so formatting was improved between options and verbal instructions were expanded upon, demonstrating for pupils how to complete the sentence.

Section D: Fill-in-the-blank items on beliefs about how L1 and target language should be used in the classroom

Section D contained fill-in-the-blank items aimed at determining teachers' and pupils' beliefs about the functions of English and target language use. Levine's (2003) questionnaire laid the groundwork for this section, which was further modified with inspiration from Thompson (2009). However, rather than asking participants to mark situations where they believed English should be used, the language use functions listed in Section D (i.e., when teaching grammar, when going over tests, quizzes, etc.) gave participants the option to indicate whether they believe English, target language, or a combination of both languages should be used to perform those functions. This was done in view of holistic use of language repertoires.

As a result of the pilot feedback, formatting of Section D was improved, separating teacher language use functions and pupil language use functions into two separate columns. Instructions and wording of some of the language functions were clarified, such as 'establishing class solidarity,' which changed to 'establishing classroom expectations.' Pupil friendly wording was used on the pupil questionnaire, such as 'Getting to know/connecting with pupils' rather than 'building rapport.'

Section E: Rank order items on teachers' reasons for their L1 and target language use practices and pupils' reasons for studying languages

Section E was also adapted from Thompson (2009). Teachers were given a list of choices relating to reasons for their beliefs about English and target language use, such as department/team policies, pedagogical theories and previous teaching experience. This was included to provide additional context around teachers' beliefs, which would potentially be valuable for discussion in interviews, such as language teacher education. Similarly, pupils were given a list of choices relating to their reasons for studying a language and were asked to rank the top three. This allowed for more insight into pupil's views which precluded a discussion of similar topics in the interviews.

At the end of the questionnaire is a space for teachers and pupils to leave additional thoughts that have come up if they wish. Oppenheim (1992) warned that while closed questions can be quick and limit bias, they also limit spontaneity. Originally, open ended questions were included in the questionnaires to account for this limitation. After piloting, however, this section was omitted to avoid unnecessary repetition with topics discussed in the interviews and to allow for greater ease in analysing the questionnaires.

Section F: Metaphors

Section F, which is the metaphor section on the pupil questionnaire, will be described in greater detail in Section 3.5.2.

Analysis

The questionnaires were analysed using descriptive statistics. Responses were coded by number on a 5-point scale (for example 'strongly disagree' = 1, 'strongly agree' = 5).

The mean and standard deviation of responses were then calculated in order to uncover general trends, which were then represented visually in graphs. The means and standard deviations enabled me to compare responses to the different questions.

Challenges and reflections

Dörnyei (2007) pointed out that valid and reliable questionnaires are uncommon despite the wide use of questionnaires in applied linguistics research and that questionnaires are often constructed ad hoc. Most of the sections of the current questionnaire were constructed from parts of questionnaires used in previous studies that have already successfully yielded results, which, along with piloting the questionnaire, helps to increase internal validity. Hyman, Lamb and Bulmer (2006) supported the use of pre-existing questions because they are likely to have already gone through a previous period of testing and refinement, the details of which are not always divulged. External validity, or generalisability, can also be problematic when the questionnaire sample does not necessarily represent a wider population. With a teacher sample size of 15, the current study does not aim to make generalisable claims from the teacher questionnaire findings.

The extent to which a questionnaire can reflect true beliefs and feelings is also difficult to guarantee (Robson & McCartan, 2016). Yet the current research touches on an issue personally relevant to the teachers who agreed to participate in this study,

which is likely to result in more reliable self-reported data than if the teachers had been observed using language in the classroom, which may have made them feel scrutinised. While there is a danger that questionnaires can superficially engage with a topic, the complementary qualitative data components compensate for this challenge.

Another challenge of using questionnaires, particularly with pupils, is the administration of them in the classroom where pupils may not take the task seriously. Their responses can also be influenced by their peers or teachers. For example, a pupil may feel the need to rein in a negative response in consideration of the teacher. However, strategies were put in place to counter this, such as explaining the purpose of the questionnaire in advance during initial visits to schools before pupils were given an information sheet and invitation to participate. According to Dörnyei (2007), this ‘raises the professional feel’ of the questionnaire in addition to fulfilling important ethical considerations, such as obtaining informed voluntary consent (p. 114). Additionally, pupils were informed that teachers would not have access to their responses so that pupils felt they could honestly express their thoughts.

3.5.2 Metaphor Elicitation

Rationale for using metaphor elicitation

According to Cortazzi and Jin (2020), metaphors in educational research are an effective tool for exploring pupils’ beliefs about teachers as well as their conceptualisations of, or motivations in, language learning. In the English context, Fisher (2013) found that using metaphor to explore pupils’ beliefs about learning German as a foreign language reveals a deeper picture of pupils’ insights than

traditional questionnaire methods, as metaphors provide not only a product; they also show the process by which pupils make sense of their environment. The result is a construction of reality that offers a more dynamic understanding of pupils' thoughts.

Farjami (2012) encouraged use of metaphors for their potential in raising awareness on how L2 learners conceptualise their own language learning. The metaphors may also have the power to raise learners' awareness about their own attitudes towards languages. And while metaphors have made contributions to how language teachers are conceptualised and beliefs about their roles (Wan et al., 2011), Fisher (2016) noted that few studies 'have focused on learners' beliefs about the language learning process or about themselves as language learners' (p. 333).

Some have also viewed metaphors from a sociocultural perspective, whereby metaphor as a form of expression is seen as a mediation tool in revealing learners' constructions of their social environments (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006). Borrowing from Vygotsky's (1980) work, metaphor, in this case, reflects the interaction of language and thought. Thus, metaphors serve the double purpose of providing a window into pupils' thought processes as well as helping us to understand how they make sense of their environment. Wan et al. (2011) added that, as a result, metaphors allow for reflective opportunities and awareness raising among pupils, as well as teachers, which may help to mediate teachers' understanding of pupils' beliefs about learning and teaching. Facilitating enhanced understanding among these two stakeholder groups could, in turn, help shape classroom practices.

Design and piloting of the metaphor prompts

Pupils responded to three metaphor prompts in the final section (Section F) of the pupil questionnaire. Table 3.10 shows the original prompts, which were piloted. The prompts were inspired by Fisher's (2013) work.

Table 3.10: Piloted metaphor prompts

Metaphor	Prompt
1	Learning [language] is like...because...
2	If [language] were a person, it would be...because...
3	If [language] were a food, it would be...because...

For the pilot, the word 'person' in prompt 2 was changed from 'animal.' Given the adolescent age range of the pupils (11-14 years), I felt that the word 'person' was more likely to reveal richer responses that were relevant to pupils' spheres of influence (i.e., popular culture). The five pupils who participated in the pilot enjoyed the creative freedom of this section. However, the pilot brought to my attention that the second and third metaphor prompts, while shedding light on pupils' attitudes toward the language of study, were not directly in answer to the research questions, in terms of beliefs about language use. The first prompt was retained while the second and third metaphor prompts were revised to link cohesively with the research question, as shown in Table 3.11. In addition, the pilot encouraged me to consider how best to introduce and explain

the metaphor section to the pupils, as thinking metaphorically may be unfamiliar for some.

Table 3.11: Final metaphor prompts

Metaphor	Prompt
1	Learning [language] is like...because...
2	Speaking [language] is like...because...
3	Using English in [language] class is like...

Analysis of the metaphors

As outlined in Section 3.3.2, metaphor analysis can be challenging given that the researcher must accurately convey the meaning intended by the pupils. Adding a 'because' clause allows the researcher to interpret metaphors with minimised ambiguity (Fisher, 2017). The researcher must also be clear about what constitutes a metaphor. Cameron and Low (1999) described metaphoric statements as crossing different domains. Cortazzi and Jin (2020) referred to these domains as 'a source domain' and 'a target domain' (p. 492). The source domain relates to the actual words used to construct the metaphor while the target domain refers to the underlying thoughts or beliefs expressed. Below is an example of a non-metaphoric response and a metaphoric response from Fisher's (2013) study:

Non-metaphoric (same domain) - 'Learning French is like learning Latin' (Fisher, 2013, p. 336)

Metaphoric (different domains) - 'Learning German is like getting a spider to fart through its ears' (Fisher, 2013, p. 382)

Cortazzi and Jin (2020) outlined four main approaches to analysing metaphors, drawing on conceptual metaphor theory (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), corpus linguistics, discourse-based approaches and elicited metaphor analysis. The current study takes an elicited metaphor analysis approach through the use of given sentence stems, or metaphor prompts. Elicited metaphor analysis can be considered an extension of conceptual (or cognitive) metaphor theory, whereby metaphors collected are categorised thematically (Cortazzi & Jin, 2020).

Fisher (2017) claimed that coding of metaphors was the most challenging aspect of metaphor analysis. Researchers must decide whether to code all metaphors or look for certain themes. Farjami (2012) poignantly summarised the complexity of the researcher's decision making in terms of how to best analyse metaphors:

'On the one hand, it does not sound advisable to try to fit the themes which emerged or even the specific images into sweeping interpretations. For one thing, subjectivity is a prominent feature of these data from their very conception and development in the learners, to their expression on paper and their interpretation and categorisation by the researcher. On the other hand, one cannot help identifying several strands and tendencies. One is an affective strand. Many of these images about language learning may imply positive or

negative attitudes and the expression of ease or difficulty, fear or attraction or pleasure or pain as seen by those who offered them' (p. 104).

I coded the metaphors used in the current study according to Fisher's (2013) themes.

Given the closeness in context between Fisher's study and the current study as well our similar aims in using metaphor to uncover beliefs about language learning, the themes appropriately coded many of the metaphors from the current study.

The eight themes adapted from Fisher (2013) included:

- surmountable challenge
- pleasure
- unpredictability
- mystery
- exertion/struggle
- difficulty/impossibility
- drudgery
- physical suffering

However, I also generated new categories according to emerging themes that were unique to the data to exert the full potential of the metaphor method on exploring pupils' beliefs and attitudes. Additionally, some of the themes borrowed from Fisher took on an additional aspect in the current study to convey meanings specific to the metaphors produced by the pupils in Scotland. These included:

- pleasure (with the added aspect of satisfaction)
- mystery (with the added aspect of confusion)

The two excerpts below demonstrate how the inclusion of confusion (in parentheses) added a distinct element to mystery.

“Speaking French is like a dinosaur's bones because it is difficult to match together.”

*(S2 pupil, School 4) **Mystery***

“Speaking French is like watching a movie sequel but not watching the first one

*because you know nothing about it.” (S1 pupil, School 4) **Mystery (Confusion)***

Like Fisher (2013) and Jin et al. (2014), I categorised metaphors according to whether they were positive, neutral or negative in relation to language use and language learning. I then added these to determine whether pupils’ beliefs tended to be conducive to holistic use of languages and language learning (or not conducive). The themes are presented throughout Section 4.3.

Challenges to and reflections on using metaphor elicitation

In addition to the challenge of analysing and interpreting metaphors, there are other worthwhile considerations. While the metaphors may appeal to some, not all pupils are comfortable with abstract, creative expression. Some require added scaffolding with guiding examples, as was identified in the pilot study. The 90% metaphor response rate from the 174 total pupils sampled for the questionnaire in this study could reflect the efficacy of this method with young learners.

There is the chance that metaphors, like all self-reported methods, may not reflect true representations of pupils’ underlying thinking and behaviors (Fisher, 2017). Yet for others, the metaphor method will reflect underlying thinking more meaningfully than traditional methods. As a final consideration, the metaphors in this study reflect a snapshot of pupils’ thoughts and therefore may not reflect the dynamicity of the

language learning experience over time but are rather static. However, given that this study aims to generate a snapshot of the Scottish modern language learning context, this is not problematic to the aims of the research.

3.5.3 Interviews

Rationale for using interviews

According to Gray (2014), interviews are useful in gathering participants' personal accounts, can help participants to feel free to express themselves and are particularly suitable when the research largely involves exploration of attitudes. In a mixed methods study, follow up interviews can generate a deeper understanding of the perspectives reported on in questionnaires, as evidenced by Hlas (2016) in the American secondary school Spanish foreign language learning context. Unlike questionnaires, interviews allow for meaning to be clarified. In addition, the current study utilised the interview method to add to the body of literature that reflect pupils' voices through in-depth interview, which is limited. Unlike the aims of this study, research has tended to instead rely on adults' perspectives (Eder & Fingerson, 2001). As explained throughout this chapter, I have navigated the methodological, developmental and ethical challenges of research with young people to better enable my use of interview to augment pupil voice alongside teacher voice.

The semi-structured nature of the interview allowed for a degree of uniformity across participants but also allowed for some flexibility. A pre-prepared interview schedule helped guide the direction, pacing and length of the interview but interviewees were also asked to elaborate on points of interest. Dörnyei (2007) encouraged this form

of interview when the researcher ‘has a good enough overview of the phenomenon or domain in question’ but does not want to ‘limit the depth and breadth of the respondent’s story (p. 136).

Design and piloting of the interviews

Designing the interviews was an iterative process. First, I thought of key information I wanted to gather from teacher and pupils followed by an initial round of editing in consideration of whether the interview questions were in line with the research questions. Another round of editing resulted in a reshuffling of questions to ensure they followed a logical sequence. For this stage, I referred to Robson and McCartan’s (2016) interview structure which can be broken down into five parts: 1) introduction, which included verbal confirmation of participant consent, 2) warm up questions, 3) main content questions, 4) closing questions and 5) wrap up.

The teacher interview schedule was then piloted. The piloted interview schedule contained nine questions asking teachers to discuss their beliefs about English and target language as well as how they perceive pupils to feel about English and target language use. After the pilot, many of the interview questions were then worded more broadly in order to allow for additional subthemes to emerge and to streamline more effectively from broader societal aspects of language use (i.e., attitudes about the value of languages) to more specific aspects of classroom language use (i.e., whether asking to go to the bathroom in target language facilitates meaningful language use). Questions were also added to direct conversation toward other relevant topics, such as the Scottish 1+2 language policy, identity, multilingual awareness, and

social/affective/motivational factors influencing pupils' beliefs about language use.

Piloting the interview was also particularly useful in determining the pacing of the interview, with unproportionate time originally spent on the opening question. The piloted teacher interview lasted 50 minutes. The added questions did not greatly impact the length of the interview, given that the average interview lasted 57 minutes depending on the teacher's time, comfort level and talking speed. The final teacher interview schedule, which can be found in Appendix 6, contained 13 questions, the topic areas of which are summarised in Table 3.12.

Table 3.12: Teacher interview schedule by topic area

Question number	Topic area
1	General sense of beliefs about language learning from pupils, administrators, parents & community (Warm-up)
2	Teacher education background
3	Teacher language use
4 – 5	Pupil language use
6 – 7	Motivational, affective, social factors driving beliefs about language use
8	Language use and pupil identity
9 – 10	Awareness of multilingualism, Brexit, the linguistic climate in Scotland
11	Implications of 1+2 on language use/language beliefs
12 – 13	Consolidation and summary (Wrap up)

The piloted pupil interview schedule required similar changes to those of the teacher interview to match the specified research focus but rather than wording questions more broadly, pupils benefitted from greater specificity. For example, 'How do you feel about your teacher's use of English and target language?' was broken down into more direct questions, such as 'Can you give some examples of when your teacher

uses English/target language?’ and ‘Do you like when your teacher uses English/target language? Why or why not?’ The final pupil interview schedule included 14 questions (Table 3.13).

Table 3.13: Pupil interview schedule by topic area

Question number	Topic area
1	Warm up
2	Favorite/least favorite things about languages/language class
3 - 4	Teacher English and target language use
5 - 7	Personal English and target language use
8 - 9	Classmate English and target language use/peer influence
9 - 11	Motivating/non-motivating language experiences
12 - 13	Language use and identity
14	Perceptions about language use in Scotland/multilingualism
15	Wrap up

Analysis of interviews

The interviews were analysed qualitatively through a process of thematic coding.

Interviews were first transcribed so coding could be conducted in NVivo due to the large amount of interview data generated. Robson and McCartan (2016) laid out five steps for conducting thematic analysis, including familiarisation with the data, initial coding, identifying themes, constructing thematic networks and integration and interpretation of the data.

In order to clarify how to carry out steps two and three, I also consulted Miles, Huberman and Saldaña (2014), who differentiated between first cycle and second cycle coding. Step two reflects first cycle coding, which is useful in organising the data. The three initial codes used were teacher language use, pupil language use and contextual

aspects about language learning. This first round of coding was descriptive. Stage three reflects second cycle coding, which consisted of generating more specific themes and categorising data into groups, leading to generation of patterns. This round of coding moved toward analytic, rather than descriptive coding.

There is some debate as to how to best generate themes and whether they should be generated inductively, from the data, or deductively, predetermined to some extent by the research questions or theories. Given the flexibility of thematic analysis and range of potential aspects of interest (Braun & Clarke, 2006), using a deductive approach to generating themes can help the researcher decide what aspects to focus on. This is a useful way to begin the coding process. Yet Robson and McCartan (2016) suggested that coding can be both theory and data driven. This attitude seems more in line with the purpose of the semi-structured interview method. Thus, later stages of coding were both theoretically oriented and based on emerging themes from the data.

The study's design was influenced by Grant and Osanloo's (2014) advice in that occasionally a theoretical framework may evolve as a research project progresses and that 'in some instances, the predetermination of a theoretical framework would be the antithesis of the very nature of the method itself' (p. 21). After analysis, I determined that Gayton's (2018) working model of L2 motivation in Anglophone language learning settings was particularly well aligned to the interview findings. The framework includes three contextual levels:

- Macro – the macro level of wider societal influences about the pervasiveness of English as a global language, and the subsequent impact on the valuing of other languages
- Meso – the meso level of home influences, and those also from the wider school beyond the languages classroom, on language learning motivation, given messages that pupils receive relating to the value of language study
- Micro – the micro level of the foreign language classroom environment

(Gayton, 2018, pp. 387-388)

Challenges to and reflections on using interviews

While useful in gathering rich data, conducting and analysing interviews is time consuming. Robson and McCartan (2016) advised that the researcher must be staunch about closing the interview after the desired time limit has been reached. This can help to ensure reliability of the interview data. However, during interviews, there was a fine line between being both aware and respectful of the interviewee's time but also allowing for generation of valuable data. Ensuring transferability and credibility was also a challenge. Gray (2004) suggested that issues of validity in interviewing can be addressed by ensuring that the researcher consistently steers the conversation back to the research objectives, which I strived to do. This resonates with the nature of semi-structured interviews, which strike the best balance between dependability, transferability, credibility and rich data in comparison to other interview styles.

Another challenge was ensuring an equal power balance between the participant and the researcher. Spencer, Ritchie, O'Connor, Morell and Ormston (2014) highlighted

the importance of the researcher's role in making participants aware of the benefit of their participation rather than simply acting as 'a recipient of information' (p. 181). Responsive interviewing counters this, which is dependent on the level of rapport established between interviewer and participant. Responsive interviewing involves building a relationship with the participant and offering reactions to the participants' responses but without allowing bias to affect the way that wording of interjections is phrased (Spencer et al., 2014). This also speaks to the need for the interviewer to be reflexive about their positioning. This was approach was taken to make participants feel part of a conversation, rather than simply an interview.

Brenner (2006) also pointed out the power differential that exists, particularly between adolescents and adults. Pupils are seen as a vulnerable group, given that they are often considered to have less power and status than adults (Eder & Fingerson, 2001). It was crucial that the interview did not exacerbate these differences. Questions were worded carefully within pupils' frame of reference to make young interviewees feel at ease. Eder and Fingerson (2001) also encouraged researchers to consider reciprocity – to make the benefits of the research explicit to pupils. Before each interview, I disclosed my experience as a former language teacher who wanted to better understand what pupils think about their language learning experience. This strategy was recommended by Eder and Fingerson (2001) to pique the interest of respondents who may be 'eager to be listened to in a non-judgmental and accepting manner' (p. 7). In addition, saving the pupil interview as the last method of data collection meant that pupils had become familiar with my presence based on two or three prior visits.

Discussion of cartoon storyboards was an effective warm up, helping pupils to feel comfortable during interviews.

In consideration of a possible alternative approach, group interviews can be a way to make pupils feel more comfortable and mitigate power differentials in an interview setting with an unfamiliar adult. Farmer and Cepin (2017) discussed including pupils in a collective interview process with drawings, where pupils are asked to share and discuss their drawings and generate questions for one another. This, however, could pose additional challenges in ensuring the trustworthiness of the data.

Additionally, while the company of peers could make some pupils more comfortable, it could also sway some pupils from sharing their true thoughts, particularly for those prone to shyness if another participant is more dominant or outspoken (Adler, Salanterä & Zumstein-Shaha, 2019). In weighing the advantages and disadvantages of group versus individual interviews, individual interviews were decidedly more suitable for the current study. Given the individualistic nature of the cartoon storyboard task, individual interviews gave more emphasis to each pupil's unique experiences and brought out their individual perspectives and stories. Pupils were reassured at various points that their responses would not be shared with anyone else to deter pupils from giving only answers that they felt were expected of them.

3.5.4 Cartoon storyboards

Rationale for using cartoon storyboards

Brenner (2006) advised that young participants may be more comfortable in an interview setting when a prop or picture is used. In part, the cartoon storyboard served

as a warmup prop in the current study to ease pupils into the interview process. This also informalised the interview to an extent, which Alderson and Morrow (2020) argued results in more complex and richer responses than when young participants are asked to express their thoughts in a formal setting. Prosser and Loxley (2008) described image-based methods as reciprocal, allowing the participant to be active in determining what is researched, which is in line with the aims of creating reciprocity in the interviews (Eder & Fingerson, 2001; Spencer et al., 2014). Moreover, Denzin and Lincoln (2008) believed that drawings encouraged pupils to think introspectively.

In the case of the current study, using drawings with pupils prioritised their role in the research process by allowing them to set the agenda for what was discussed at the beginning of the interviews to an extent. This minimises the power differential between the pupil and the researcher. Pupils can also capture scenes from their learning contexts quicker and more accurately in a drawing than if the researcher were to rely on, for example, observations. In contrast, observations would emphasise the power differential between researcher and pupil participant.

However, Prosser and Loxley (2008) also noted that drawings can be ambiguous. For this reason, Melo-Pfeifer (2015a) advised researchers not to rely on drawing alone but rather a combination of data sources or modalities that include drawing. She likened drawings to visual narratives; a multimodal way for pupils to show aspects of the language classroom, such as presence of the teacher and other pupils as well as statuses of languages within an individual's repertoire. Drawings can be used to favourably or unfavourably depict the languages used in the classroom through both

visual representation and text (i.e., speech/thought bubbles), a particularly useful feature relevant to the current study and the guiding principle for structuring the drawing method into a cartoon storyboard format.

Furthermore, visual representations can reveal emotions involved in language learning and associated beliefs. The drawings in Aragão's (2011) study, which were complemented with interviews, revealed embarrassment and self-esteem as emotions fundamental to the way Finnish pupils viewed themselves as speakers of target language [English]. The drawings first provided an understanding of the perceived context of the language learning environment, which were later supplemented by pupil interview data.

Wall (2017) supported the specific use of cartoon storyboards in exploring perceptions of pupils aged 4-16 years old, arguing that the cartoon storyboard was familiar schema. The cartoon storyboards in Wall's study were met with general enthusiasm from the pupils and provided rich data. However, Wall (2017) also acknowledged that the open-ended nature of the cartoon storyboard resulted in an 'overwhelming' amount of data to interpret (p. 324). Thus, while cartoon storyboards can provide rich data and more structure than an open drawing task, such as a language portrait (Kusters & De Meulder, 2019), they still require specific prompting to ensure that the task elicits relevant information. This informed the cartoon storyboard format used in the current study.

Design and piloting of the cartoon storyboards

The pupils were given four scenes to draw, each one specifying who and what to draw to ensure uniformity and that the data generated reflected the research aims (Appendix 8). Piloting was especially important in determining the feasibility of the cartoon storyboard. Inspired by Melo-Pfeifer (2015a) and Melo-Pfeifer and Schmidt (2018), the activity originally included a single prompt (i.e., 'Draw scenes taking place in your language classroom'). The instructions, however, did not explicitly ask pupils to depict English and/or target language use, which I realised deviated from answering the research question. After piloting, each of the four scenes were divided with specific instructions refocusing what pupils should include. For example, in scene one, pupils were specifically asked to depict their teacher and what language(s) their teacher used. The other scenes call on different aspects (self-language use, peer language use and internal emotion) resulting in a clearer picture of how pupils see languages to be used and how they situate themselves as language learners/language speakers within the language class.

Analysis of cartoon storyboards

As Melo-Pfeifer (2015a) pointed out, analysis of drawings in applied linguistics is relatively new and still developing systematically. In the literature available, drawings tend to be analysed through content analysis, either quantitatively or qualitatively, or both. In the current study, a qualitative, initial coding process was used to track tendencies or consistencies in the drawings (Kalaja, Dufva & Alanen, 2013). The codes assigned to each scene are summarised in Table 3.15.

Melo-Pfeifer and Schmidt (2018) additionally incorporated a quantitative element to their content analysis of drawings by counting up the frequencies with which patterns/themes appeared. This was appropriate given their multimodal use of both drawing and text, so repeated words and phrases could easily be counted. Wall (2017) also incorporated a quantitative element to analysing cartoon storyboards given its time effectiveness. Thus, the cartoon storyboards, which could perhaps be considered semi-structured given the parameters of depicting certain subjects, language use and emotion, were then analysed in a quantitative manner. Instances of English use, target language use and emotions were counted similar to the approach taken with the metaphor prompts.

Table 3.14: Summary of cartoon storyboard content analysis themes

Scene	Subject	Themes
1	The teacher	Teacher use of English Teacher use of target language
2	The pupil	Pupil use of English Pupil use of TL
3	The classmates	Classmates' use of English Classmates' use of TL
4	Emotions	Bored Happy Mixed Fine Stressed/Nervous Focused/Interested Eager to leave No emotion indicated

Challenges to and reflections on using cartoon storyboards

Some pupils may at first feel inhibited by drawing (Wall, 2017). To abate this, pupils were reassured that they did not have to be good artists to complete the task and that they could use stick figures and text to express themselves as best as they could.

Another challenge in the use of drawings is their analysis and interpretation. Asking pupils to describe their drawing at the start of the interview avoided sole reliance on the researcher's interpretation (Pavlenko, 2007). This allows the pupils' description of the drawings to be more accurately understood by the researcher.

In the current study, the cartoon storyboards reflect a snapshot in time and could be considered static. They may not fully account for the dynamic, complex nature of language learning as a continuous process. Farmer and Cepin (2017) suggested transforming the research tools along the research process to allow for flexibility of the drawing method. However, this might be more appropriate for a longitudinal study and would pose additional challenges regarding dependability. Given the relatively underexplored area of cartoon storyboards in applied linguistics research, my priority was to ensure as rigorous a method as possible, so I opted for more rigidity in the cartoon storyboard. Despite the challenges associated with the drawing method, their portrayal of 'semiotic landscapes' are a valuable way to reveal the complexity of pupils' experiences and the emotions they associate with those experiences (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006).

3.6 Ethical considerations

In order to ethically undertake data collection for this study, key considerations were taken into account, including benefit to individuals, dignity and respect, voluntary and informed consent, confidentiality and data protection, integrity and transparency and responsibility and accountability. Extra consideration was given to how to conduct research ethically in Scottish schools and how to maximise the wellbeing of the participants, particularly the pupils.

3.6.1 Research in schools

I familiarised myself with the ethical guidelines of the Scottish Education Research Association (SERA), specifically the starting points for educational research in Scotland (Shanks, Japp, Darling-McQuistan & Adams, 2020), the British Education Research Association (BERA, 2018) and University of Edinburgh ethical principles, which include dignity, respect, care for others, honesty, integrity, objectivity, accountability, openness and leadership (Rusbridge, 2011). Regarding research in schools, SERA outlined six main points to abide by (p. 8):

- *Ensure the research is relevant and meaningful to the participants*

This study aims to improve understanding of language learning in Scotland and more importantly, aims to benefit the participants involved. The previous sections in this chapter have outlined how the research methods were refined to be as relevant and meaningful to the teacher and pupil participants as possible. The outcomes of the research have the potential to influence teachers' language use practices. By

representing both teacher and pupil accounts, teachers may also gain a more nuanced understanding of pupils' language learning experiences, through anonymised summary of the findings that will be fed back to the teacher participants. This could potentially help teachers to make more informed decisions, which in turn could contribute to the quality of language education in schools. The research will help to further shed light on the language learning context in Scotland, which is underrepresented in Anglophone language education scholarship. It is hoped that greater awareness on the part of the teachers will ultimately enhance pupils' experiences.

- *Provide participants with a clear rationale for the research and what is expected of them*

As stated in Section 3.4.3 detailing procedures followed, participants were provided with an information sheet detailing the rationale of the research and what their participation in the research would involve. Specific details, such as when data collection took place, were adapted to the teachers' preferences and timetables.

- *Communicate with local authorities and understand their expectations/demands*

Schools were sampled from a total of six local authority areas. I contacted each of the six local authorities before commencing data collection. Generally, the local authorities required a prescreening process, which included consent from school headteachers, confirmation that a Protecting Vulnerable Groups (PVG) certificate had been obtained and completion of a form that specified aims of the research, ethical considerations, dissemination of the findings, what was expected of the participants, how much of their

time was needed, etc. Each local authority confirmed their approval via either letter or email.

- *Consider issues such as informed consent from all stakeholders, proper documentation from Disclosure Scotland (PVG), approval from all relevant ethical committees and risk of harm*

Informed consent was sought and approved from local authorities, headteachers, teachers, pupils, parents and carers. Ethical approval was also obtained from the University of Edinburgh, which included a risk of harm assessment for participants and the researcher. Any risk of harm was assessed to be unlikely. Additionally, participants were assured that their real names would not be used in the write up of the research. Care was taken not to detail identifiable characteristics, evidenced by the presentation of language backgrounds in Section 3.4.2.

- *Consider how to present the research to participants*

The information sheets given to teachers and pupils were revised to reflect user friendly language, particularly the pupil version. I met with teachers in person to have an initial conversation regarding the details of the study⁸. As cautioned by Cohen et al. (2018), researchers need to monitor how much they share with participants to avoid creating response bias. Care was taken to present the research without stating my own positions regarding classroom English and target language use. Furthermore, my presence in the

⁸ After COVID-19 lockdown, this initial conversation with teachers took place via email exchange.

classroom presenting and handing out information related to the research gave a more personal and engaging impression to participants.

- *Decide on how the findings will be disseminated to participants and potential stakeholders*

With regard to dissemination, it is important to first acknowledge that what participants disclosed was kept (and will remain) confidential and their anonymity protected by use of pseudonyms. The findings will be disseminated by publishing and/or presenting via practitioner-relevant platforms such as Scotland's National Centre for Languages (SCILT), Languages Network Group Scotland (LANGS) and the Scottish Association for Language Teaching (SALT). An electronic summary of the findings will be sent to the teacher participants to evidence the outcome of their participation. Teachers will also be encouraged to share outcomes with pupil participants, if possible.

3.6.2 Additional considerations with research involving children

A key feature of this study warranting emphasis is its involvement with children aged between 11-14. Given the age range of the pupils, extra consideration was given to ensure their wellbeing. Where permitted by the school, I made as many prior visits as possible to become familiar to the pupils and establish a level of rapport. These visits primarily included introducing myself and presenting the research to pupils and handing out information sheets and consent forms, administering the questionnaires, administering the cartoon storyboards and finally conducting the interview. In the case of School 5, I was able to shadow teacher participants and their respective classes for a

full school day. Where I established less rapport tended to be in schools that either did not permit pupil interviews (School 3) or required that a teacher be present in the room for pupil interviews (School 6). While that limited the amount of pupil data collected from School 3, a positive effect can be identified regarding School 6. While pupils might have felt less inclined to reveal their true thoughts, some might have felt more comfortable having a familiar adult in the room, given that I was not able to visit this school more times prior to pupil interviews. Schools 1, 2, 4 and 5 permitted that the interviews took place in a quiet space without the teachers' presence. Parents, whose signed consent was required in addition to the pupils', were informed of this in the consent forms.

Pupils (as well as teachers) were assured that participation was entirely voluntary and confidential and that choosing to withdraw for whatever reason at any time would not have any adverse effects. Ongoing consent was also verbally sought at later stages of data collection (before cartoon storyboards and interviews). Pupils were also assured that their individual responses would never be shared with their teachers at each stage of data collection.

While the study required a temporary disruption from pupils' normal activities, this was welcomed enthusiastically by the pupils who volunteered to participate. The topic of the research carried out with pupils and the content within each of the methods was considered unlikely to cause emotional harm. No pupils reported or displayed any concerning emotions as a result of participation in this study.

3.6.3 General data protection regulation (GDPR) and data handling

This project complied with the University of Edinburgh's data management policy which includes providing the participant with transparency regarding the research purpose and the participants' rights, responsibly gathering consent, explaining the legal undertaking of the research as a public task as part of a reputable university, and safe storage of personal data (Rusbridge, 2011). All paper-based documents (consent forms, questionnaires and cartoon storyboards) were stored in a locked cabinet in the researcher's office. At the time of the COVID-19 lockdown, these were transferred to a safe place in the researcher's home. Cartoon storyboards were digitalised for the purpose of sharing images in the thesis write up. Digital files such as these, as well as interview audio recordings, were stored on OneDrive, the university's recommended safe storage space. The participants consented to personal data storage for a minimum of five years and to the possibility of the data to be used in future studies. Participants were made aware that the findings will be written into a doctoral thesis.

3.7 Chapter Conclusion

This convergent, mixed methods study reveals teachers' and pupils' beliefs about English and target language use and explores their beliefs in the context of the Scottish language learning classroom. A convergent, parallel mixed method design was employed, in which quantitative and qualitative data, including creative methods, were collected concurrently, analysed separately and then merged during interpretation. The questionnaires and metaphors first provide a broad overview of the beliefs about English and target language that exist among teachers and pupils. The cartoon

storyboards and interviews then consider the contextual factors surrounding beliefs in more depth.

Chapter 4 will present and discuss findings in relation to research question 1, including data from the teacher and pupil questionnaires and the pupil metaphors.

Chapter 5 will present and discuss findings in answer to research question 2, including data from the teacher and pupil interviews and pupil cartoon storyboards.

Chapter 4 Findings and Discussion on Research Question 1

This chapter presents and discusses findings from questionnaires and metaphors in answer to the first research question – what are teachers’ and pupils’ beliefs about English (L1) and target language (L2) use in the secondary Scottish modern language classroom? Comparable findings from the teacher and pupil questionnaires are presented in Section 4.1, followed by discussion in Section 4.2. Findings from pupil metaphors are presented in Section 4.3, followed by discussion in Section 4.4.

4.1 Findings from teacher and pupil questionnaires: Beliefs about English and target language

Section B of the questionnaires resulted in findings that were directly comparable between teachers and pupils, as well as findings that were specific to either teachers or pupils. This section will present and discuss questionnaire findings that were directly comparable between teachers and pupils. Additional teacher and pupil specific findings that complemented interview data are discussed in Chapter 5. Section 4.1.1 presents four major findings from the questionnaires, including teachers’ and pupils’ beliefs about:

- 1) The exclusive use of target language in the modern language classroom
- 2) The inclusion of English (L1) in the modern language classroom
- 3) Whether teacher target language use encourages pupil target language use
- 4) Whether teacher target language use is a source of pupil anxiety

Teacher and pupil beliefs were similar regarding the first two points but differed regarding the latter two points. Section 4.1.2 then presents findings from questionnaire Section D, which included items about how teachers and pupils believe English and target language should be used in the language classroom.

4.1.1 Likert scale items related to general beliefs about English and target language use

Analysis of eight Likert scale items in Section A (questions 1, 3, 5 and 8 from the teacher questionnaire and questions 1, 2, 3 and 5 from the pupil questionnaire) showed aspects where teachers and pupils agreed or disagreed about classroom language use. The first four items indexed whether teachers should always use target language in the language classroom and whether English should be included in the language classroom (Figures 4.1, 4.2, 4.3 and 4.4). About 67% of teachers (n=10) and 74% of pupils (n=128) believed that target language should not always be used in the language classroom.

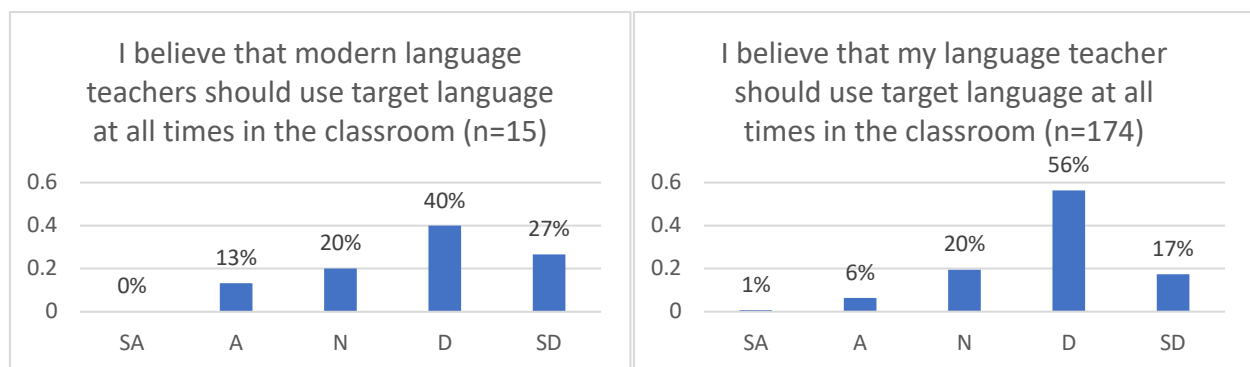


Figure 4.1 (left): Teachers' beliefs about using target language at all times in the classroom

Figure 4.2 (right): Pupils' beliefs about using target language at all times in the classroom

While Figure 4.1 refers exclusively to teacher target language use, Figure 4.2 did not distinguish between pupil or teacher English use. This might explain why teacher and pupil beliefs aligned more closely regarding beliefs about English use, with 100% (n=15) of teachers and 94% of pupils (n=163) indicating that they disagreed or strongly disagreed with the idea that there are no appropriate situations for English use in the classroom (Figures 4.3 and 4.4).

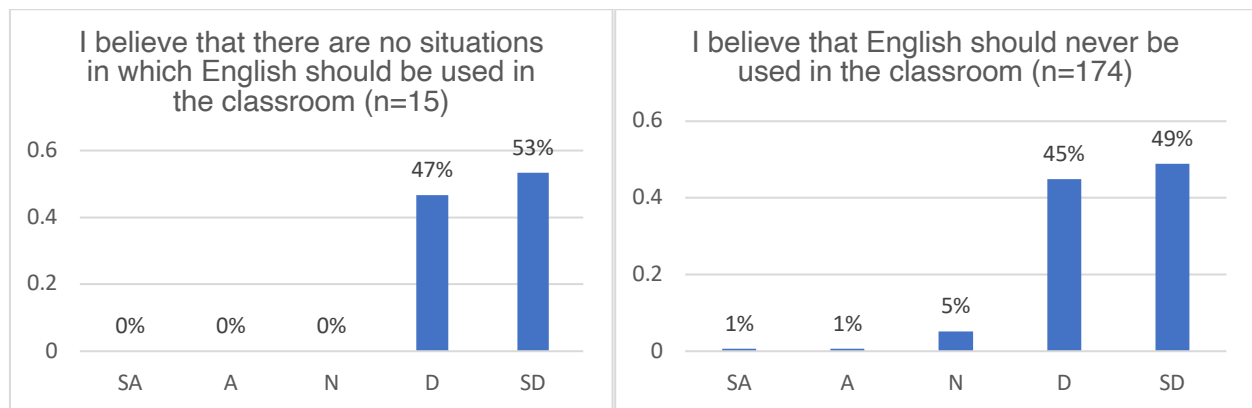


Figure 4.3 (left): Teachers' beliefs about English use in the classroom

Figure 4.4 (right): Pupils' beliefs about English use in the classroom

Figures 4.5 and 4.6 showed an area where teacher and pupil beliefs differed. The items shown in these figures indexed beliefs about whether teachers and pupils believed teacher target language to encourage pupil target language. Although 67% of teachers (n=10) believed that their use of target language encourages pupil target language, pupils' responses were more varied (Figure 4.5). Only 29% of pupils (n=50) felt that their teacher's use of target language made them want to use target language.

Another 28% of pupils (n=48) did not feel that their teacher's use of target language made them want to use target language and 44% (n=76) remained neutral (Figure 4.6).

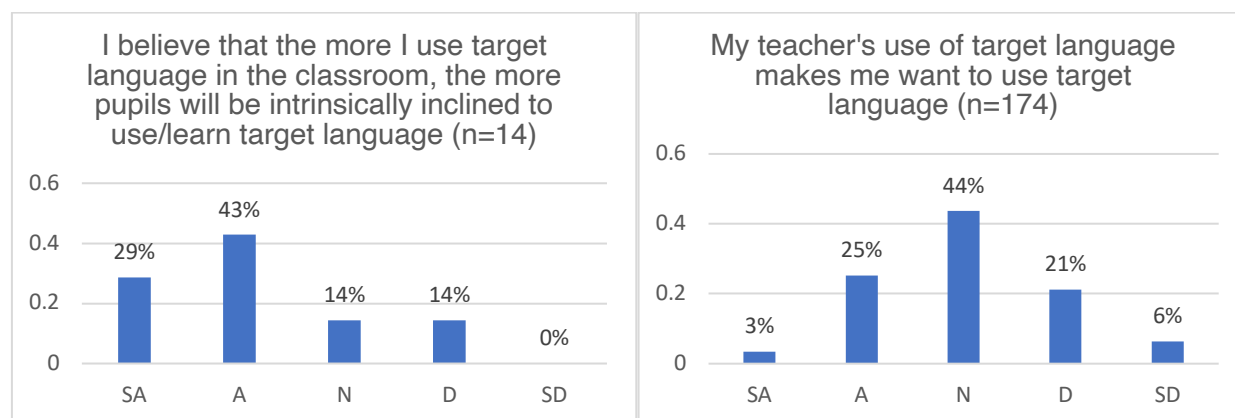


Figure 4.5 (left): Teachers' beliefs about whether teacher target language use influences pupil target language use

Figure 4.6 (right): Pupils' beliefs about whether teacher target language use influences pupil target language use

Figure 4.7 shows whether they believed teacher target language to lead to pupil discomfort and/or anxiety. Eight percent of teachers (n=12) believed their use of target language to be a contributor. However, 55% of pupils (n=95) indicated that they do not feel anxious when their teacher uses target language. Another 31% of pupils (n=54) remained neutral and only 14% of pupils (n=25) indicated that teacher target language makes them feel uncomfortable or anxious (Figure 4.8).

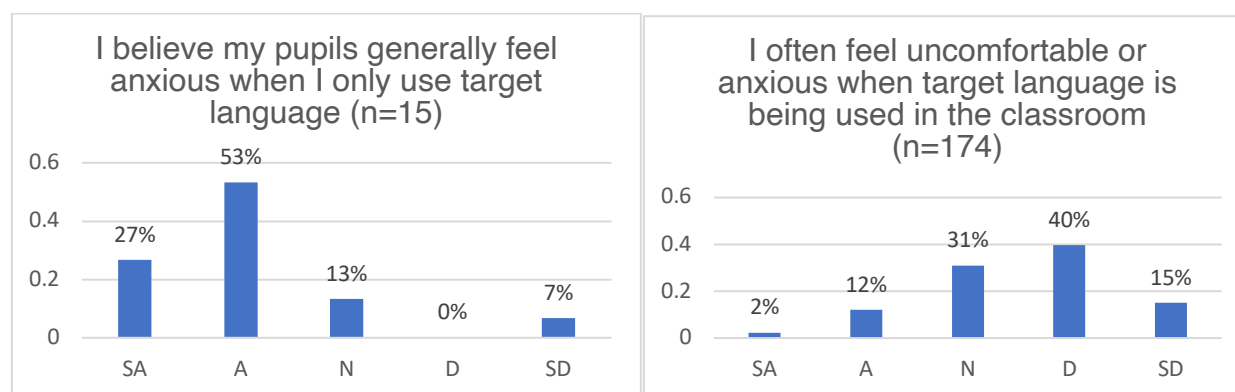


Figure 4.7 (left): Teachers' beliefs about whether teacher target language use makes pupils anxious

Figure 4.8 (right): Pupils' beliefs about whether teacher target language use makes them anxious

The findings from the Likert scale items presented above introduced some overarching teacher and pupil beliefs about whether the language classroom should be a target language immersive environment or whether the classroom should be English inclusive. While comparison of these Likert scale items showed that teachers and pupils agreed about the value of at least using some English in the target language classroom, another questionnaire section (Section D) revealed many areas of agreement and disagreement about *how* teachers and pupils believe target language and English should be used.

4.1.2 Teacher and pupil beliefs about how English and target language should be used

In Section D of the questionnaire, teachers and pupils indicated whether English, target language or a combination of both languages should be used for both teacher and pupil language functions.

Regarding teacher language use, teachers and pupils tended to favour a monolingual, English only approach for five of the eight functions listed, including addressing off task behaviour, discussing administrative items, introducing a grammar topic, responding to pupil confusion and interacting with a pupil outside of class. While pupils also indicated a preference for their teacher's exclusive use of English for building rapport and giving instructions on a task, teachers believed these should be done in both English and target language.

In terms of pupil language use, teachers and pupils believed that pupils should use both English and target language during pair or group work and when working on a culture-related activity. However, for socialising with classmates, inner thought, using survival phrases and asking for help, pupils favoured English-only whereas teachers' views reflected a holistic approach for these four functions. Teachers' and pupils' beliefs also differed regarding what languages should be used for grammar work.

Teacher language use

Figures 4.9 and 4.10 show teacher and pupil beliefs related to teacher classroom language use. As teacher language use functions are the focus of this subsection, teacher beliefs about their own language use (Figure 4.9) are presented before pupil beliefs about teacher language use (Figure 4.10). The following eight teacher language use functions were considered: 1) addressing off task behaviour, 2) discussing tests, announcements or other administrative items, 3) discussing a grammar topic, 4) discussing a cultural topic, 5) building rapport⁹, 6) giving instructions, 7) responding to pupil confusion and 8) interacting with a pupil outside of class.

Upon analysis, the functions were ordered in Figure 4.9 by most to least teacher support for English use, given that English was the most popular language choice among teachers. For example, 73% of teachers (n=11) indicated that English should be used for addressing off-task behaviours (the first language use function listed) and only 27% (n=4) indicated that both English and target language should be used. Thus, this

⁹ For the pupil questionnaire, building rapport was reworded to 'getting to know/connecting with a pupil' to be more pupil friendly.

function was placed first. On the other hand, no teachers indicated that English should be used for giving instructions so this function was placed last. Instead, 67% of teachers (n=10) believed instructions should be given in target language and 33% (n=5) believed instructions should be given in both English and target language. Pupils' views on teacher language functions are presented below the teachers' views (Figure 4.10) and are ordered the same as the functions in Figure 4.9, rather than by most to least English use support, to allow for more effective comparison between teachers and pupils.

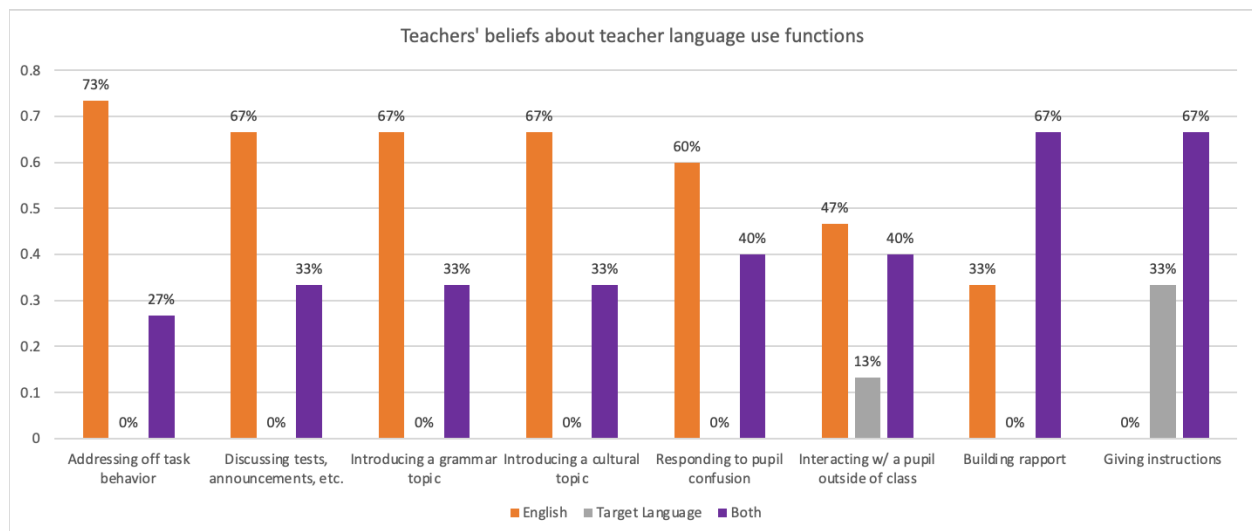


Figure 4.9: Teachers' beliefs about how teachers should use languages in the language classroom

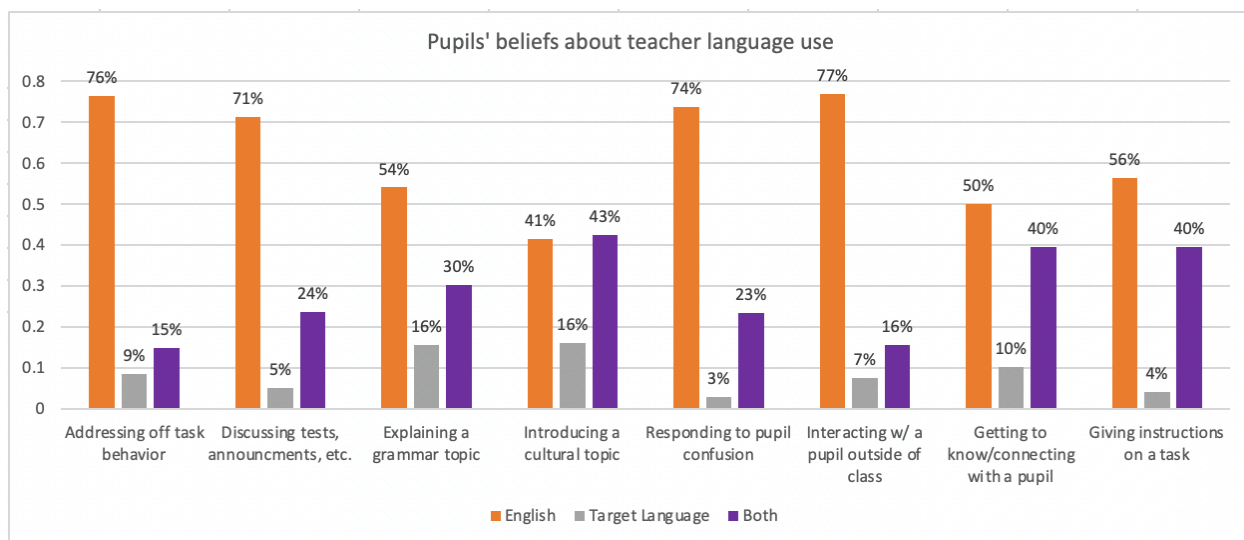


Figure 4.10: Pupils' beliefs about how teachers should use languages in the language classroom

Of the eight functions, five resulted in similar beliefs between teachers and pupils regarding which language(s) teachers should use and three resulted in contrasting beliefs. The majority of teachers (Ts) and pupils (Ps) believed that teachers should use English for:

- Addressing off task behaviour [English: Ts=73%, Ps=76%; English & TL: Ts=27%, Ps=15%; TL: Ts=0%, Ps=9%]
- Discussing tests, announcements and other administrative items [English: Ts=67%, Ps=71%; English & TL: Ts=33%, Ps=24%; TL: Ts=0%, Ps=5%]
- Discussing grammar [English: Ts=67%, Ps=54%; English & TL: Ts=33%, Ps=30%; TL: Ts=0%, Ps=16%]
- Responding to pupil confusion [English: Ts=60%, Ps=74%; English & TL: Ts=40%, Ps=23%; TL: Ts=0%, Ps=3%]
- Interacting with a pupil outside of class [English: Ts=47%, Ps=77%; English & TL: Ts=40%, Ps=16%; TL: Ts=13%, Ps=7%]

Teachers (Ts) and pupils (Ps) expressed different beliefs regarding what language(s) teachers should use for:

- Discussing a cultural topic [*English: Ts=67%, Ps=41%; English & TL: Ts=33%, Ps=43%; TL: Ts=0%, Ps=16%*]
- Building rapport [*English: Ts=33%, Ps=50%; English & TL: Ts=67%, Ps=40%; TL: Ts=0%, Ps=10%*]
- Giving instructions [*English: Ts=0%, Ps=56%; English & TL: Ts=67%, Ps=40%; TL: Ts=33%, Ps=4%*]

In general, teachers felt they should use English for most functions. Occasionally (for the purposes of building rapport and giving instructions) teachers felt they should use English and target language. Pupils believed that teachers should use English for almost all functions, except for when discussing a cultural topic. Few teachers and pupils believed target language only to be appropriate for any of the teacher language use functions.

Where teachers believed they should use English and target language (building rapport, giving instructions and interacting with a pupil outside of class), pupils tended to believe that teachers should perform those functions in English only. This was reversed for discussing a cultural topic, which pupils felt teachers should do in English and target language, while teachers felt they should discuss culture in English.

Pupil language use

In Section D of the questionnaire, teachers and pupils were also asked to indicate whether they believed English, target language or a combination of both languages should be used for the following seven pupil language use functions: 1) socialising with classmates, 2) thinking (metacognition), 3) pair/group work, 4) using survival phrases¹⁰, 5) asking for help/questioning, 6) during a cultural activity and 7) during a grammar activity. Figures 4.11 and 4.12 prioritise the pupils' views on pupil language use functions (Figure 4.11) followed by the teachers' views on pupil language use functions (Figure 4.12). Figure 4.11 shows the language use functions in order of most to least pupil support for English use, given its popularity among pupils. Socialising with classmates had the most English support from pupils, with 89% of pupils (n=154) believing that English should be used so this function was placed first. Doing a grammar related activity had the least English support from pupils, with 48% of pupils (n=84) choosing target language only, 38% (n=65) choosing English and target language and 14% (n=24) choosing English only, putting this function last. The functions listed in Figure 4.12 reflect the same order as Figure 4.11 to allow for more effective comparison between pupils and teachers.

¹⁰ Pupils were given examples of survival phrases on the questionnaire (i.e., asking to go to the bathroom, asking to get a drink of water, etc.).

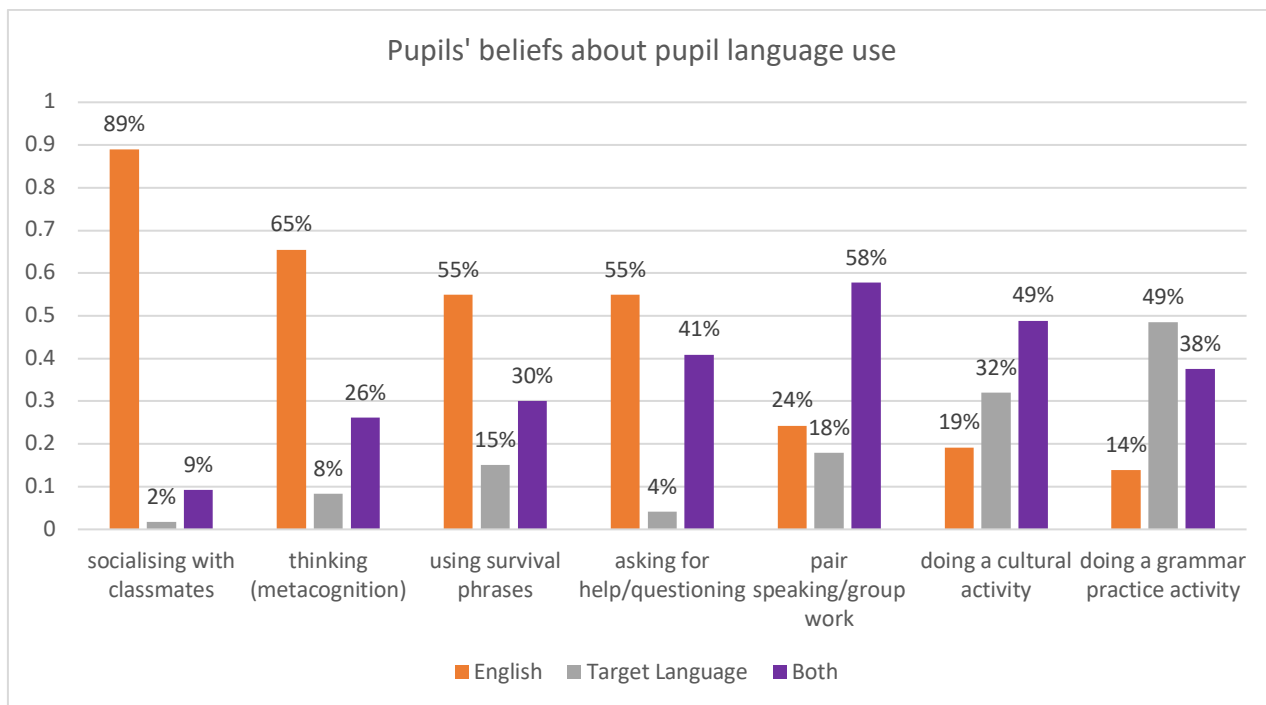


Figure 4.11: Pupils' beliefs about how pupils should use languages in the language classroom

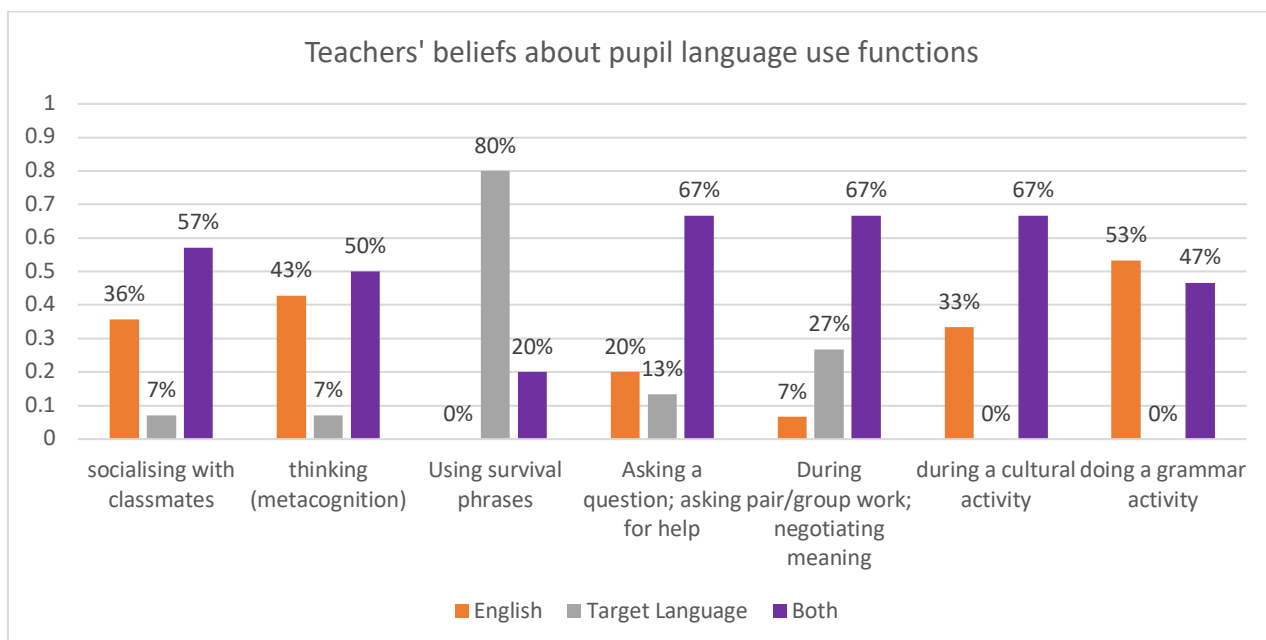


Figure 4.12: Teachers' beliefs about how pupils should use languages in the language classroom

The majority of pupils (Ps) and teachers (Ts) believed that pupils should use English and target language for two of the seven functions:

- pair speaking/group work and [*English: Ps=24%, Ts= 6%; English & TL: Ps=58%, Ts=67%; TL: Ps=18%, Ts=27%*]
- during a cultural activity [*English: Ps=19%, Ts=33%; English & TL: Ps=49%, Ts=67%; TL: Ps=32%, Ts=0%*]

Pupils (Ps) and teachers (Ts) expressed differing beliefs on which language(s) pupils should use for:

- socialising with classmates [*English: Ps= 89%, Ts=36%; English & TL: Ps=9%, Ts=57%; TL: Ps=2%, Ts=7%*]
- thinking (metacognition) [*English: Ps=66%, Ts=43%; English & TL: Ps=26%, Ts=50%; TL: Ps=8%, Ts=7%*]
- using survival phrases [*English: Ps=55%, Ts=0%; English & TL: Ps=30%, Ts=20%; TL: Ps=15%, Ts=80%*]
- asking for help/questioning [*English: Ps=55%, Ts=20%; English & TL: Ps=41%, Ts=67%; TL: Ps=4%, Ts=13%*]
- doing a grammar activity [*English: Ps=14%, Ts=53%; English & TL: Ps=37.5%, Ts=47%; TL: Ps=48.5%, Ts=0%*]

After comparing teachers' and pupils' views on which language(s) they believed both groups should use for the various language use functions, there are some notable differences. For example, while teachers and pupils agreed that teachers should use

English for explaining grammar, they disagreed on what language(s) pupils should use when doing a grammar activity. Perhaps surprisingly, 48% of pupils (n=84) felt they should use target language only for grammar while teachers believed they should either use English (53%, n=8) or a combination of English and target language (47%, n=7). Also notable is that teachers and pupils tended to agree more on how teachers should use English and target language than how pupils should use English and target language.

4.1.3 Summary of teacher and pupil questionnaire findings

While teachers and pupils agreed that English should be included in the language classroom, they did not agree on whether teacher target language encourages pupil target language or whether teacher target language contributes to pupil anxiety.

Furthermore, comparison of teacher and pupil beliefs revealed three major trends:

- i. the use of English-only: teachers and pupils tended to agree on when teachers should use English-only - addressing off task behaviour, talking about administrative items, teaching grammar and clarifying
- ii. the use of either English-only or both English and target language, which accounted for most disagreement regarding both teacher and pupil language use - for teachers, this included teaching culture, rapport building, giving instructions and interacting with pupils outside of class and for pupils, this included socialising, thinking and asking for help

- iii. the use of either English-only or target language-only: teachers and pupils tended to disagree about which language(s) pupils should use for survival phrases and doing a grammar activity

4.2 Discussion of questionnaire findings: A comparison of teacher and pupil beliefs about English and target language use

This section discusses the comparable teacher and pupil questionnaire findings from the current study in relation to previous research. This section is divided into four subsections: the first (Section 4.2.1) discusses teachers' and pupils' positive beliefs about the inclusion of L1 in the L2 classroom, which is mostly consistent with older literature and is surprisingly inconsistent with some more current studies. Section 4.2.2 discusses teachers' positive beliefs about whether teacher target language use encourages pupil target language use, as well as pupils' neutral beliefs, in relation to similar and contrasting findings from previous studies. Section 4.2.3 discusses teachers' beliefs about their use of target language as a contributor to pupil anxiety and pupils' contrasting beliefs. Finally, Section 4.2.4 is divided into three parts to reflect the three major trends/debates listed above in terms of which language(s) teachers and pupils believe should be used for certain functions:

- i. English-only
- ii. English and target language or English-only
- iii. English-only or target language-only

4.2.1 Beliefs about including L1 in the target language classroom

Teachers and pupils agreed that target language should not always be used in the secondary modern language classroom and that there is a place for English use. This is in line with Macaro's (2001) Optimal position and echoes many studies conducted since the 1990s, which have advocated for L1 inclusion in language classrooms (Hall & Cook, 2012). Other earlier scholars, such as Turnbull (2001) and Cook (2001), also acknowledged that there is a place for L1 in the classroom, although Turnbull's comment that too much L1 is 'an unfortunate waste of time' is not in line with the Optimal position (2001, p. 535). In this vein, Lin (1999) demonstrated how secondary teachers in English medium education in Hong Kong judiciously incorporated L1 into the learning. More recently, however, Tsagari and Diakou (2015) found that, in response to the statement '*there are no situations for L1 use*,' 49% of 96 Cypriot EFL (n=47) high school students sampled between the ages of 15 and 18 disagreed and 48% (n=46) responded that they did not know. Only 3% (n=3) agreed. In response to the item, '*Teachers should use L2 at all times*,' 42% (n=40) of pupils agreed, 22% (n=21) disagreed and 37% (n=35) responded that they did not know. The 174 pupils in the current study expressed stronger views relating to these two items. In response to '*I believe that English should never be used in the classroom*,' about 94% (n=163) of pupils disagreed or strongly disagreed and 5% (n=9) remained neutral, whereas only 49% of pupils in Cyprus disagreed and 48% didn't know. In response to '*the teacher should use target language at all times*,' 74% (n=128) of pupils in Scotland disagreed or strongly disagreed while 20% (n=34) remained neutral whereas pupils in Cyprus were

more split regarding teacher L2 use. Based on this comparison, it seems modern language pupils in Scotland are more opposed to exclusive target language than EFL pupils in Cyprus and more supportive of using L1. This attitude could be due to attitudes about languages in the UK context, discussed in Section 2.4. Perhaps EFL learners are more inclined to believe that L2 should be used at all times and that there are fewer situations for L1 in the L2 classroom than Anglophone language learners given attitudes about the perceived necessity of learning English. Considering pupils' views in greater depth and in context in Chapter 5 will provide a better determination as to whether this assumption is true.

Additionally, Tsagari and Diakou (2015) found that the three EFL teachers interviewed shared similar beliefs to the pupils in Cyprus about giving priority to the target language and additionally expressed beliefs that L1 should be limited. These findings present a contrast to the beliefs of both the teachers and pupils expressed in the current study and challenges recognition of the benefits of L1 use in the L2 classroom. However, as mentioned in the paragraph above, a key difference between the Scottish context and the Cypriot context is the greater demand for English learning (the target language in the Cypriot context) in Cyprus over the learning of other modern languages in Scotland. Tsagari and Diakou's (2015) findings do not seem to be in line with recent reconceptualisations of L1 and L2, which are often framed, in bilingual and English language learning classrooms particularly, by translanguaging pedagogy (Adinolfi & Astruc, 2017). Given the views expressed by teachers and pupils in the current study, their support for an L1-inclusive language learning environment may be in

line with the ideals behind holistic use of language repertoires in the classroom. This is further discussed in Section 4.2.4 as beliefs about which language(s) should be used to perform certain functions may shed additional light on whether teachers (and pupils) in Scotland conceive of holistic language use in their perceived language use practices.

4.2.2 Beliefs about whether teacher target language use encourages pupil target language use

Teachers in the current study tended to believe that their target language use encourages pupil target language use. Furthermore, teachers believed that their target language use increases pupil motivation to use target language intrinsically. This finding coincides with Moeller and Roberts (2013), who proposed that maintaining consistent L2 use promotes intrinsic motivation among pupils. However, the 44% (n=76) of pupils in Scotland took a neutral stance on this issue, making it unclear whether pupils feel that their teachers' use of target language makes them feel encouraged to use more target language themselves. In contrast, the 96 EFL secondary school pupils in Tsagari and Diakou's (2015) study expressed clearer views. In their study, pupils expressed beliefs that they would communicate better in target language if teachers used more target language. Similarly, the three teachers interviewed in Tsagari and Diakou's (2015) study believed that the more target language they used for the purpose of cultivating communicative proficiency, the more likely pupils would be to replicate target language. This contradicts an early statement made by Chambers (1991) that 'there is evidence that pupils do not spontaneously respond in the foreign language, even if the teacher manages the lesson in the foreign language' (p. 30). As pointed out more

recently by Giannikas (2011), increased use of target language does not necessarily lead to more efficient target language use. To this point, Littlewood and Yu (2011) added that believing teacher target language to increase pupil target language does not equate to a view that L1 has no value in the classroom but rather reflects a pedagogical interest in 'how teachers' appropriate use of target language encourages student use' (p. 65).

At the same time, Giannikas (2011) highlighted that without target language exposure, English learning pupils aged 6 to 11 in the Greek primary school context were unlikely to initiate target language use themselves. Within the same study, supplementary interviews with former pupils, aged 14 to 15, reflected that they were not encouraged to use L2 and, as a result, did not initiate target language use themselves. Along these lines, Izquierdo et al. (2016) observed low rates of teacher target language use in Mexican secondary English learning classrooms and argued that, as a result, pupils did not perceive target language as valuable in real life communication. Though the teachers in Giannikas' (2011) study had success using target language with the outcome of increasing pupil target language, this success was reflected more in a private school setting than in state schools and at more advanced levels, suggesting that the extent to which teacher target influences pupil target language is highly dependent on contextual factors and age of learners. In line with Giannikas' (2011) findings, perhaps findings in Scottish private schools would reveal different perceptions about classroom language use and the importance of language learning. Comparison

between the private and public Scottish language learning context could be worthy of future research.

Chavez's (2016) findings in the American tertiary German foreign language learning context may also help to explain why 44% of pupils in the current study took a neutral stance regarding the influence of their teacher's target language use on their own target language use. Chavez found that the 18 to 23-year-old students were less likely to imitate teachers who held extreme views of language use than teachers who maintained a more even L1 to target language ratio. However, all three teachers interviewed in Chavez's (2016) study, two of whom were 'extreme' in their beliefs about limiting their L1 use as opposed to one who 'held the middle ground,' maintained the view that teacher target language use determines pupil target language use (p. 154). Similar to Chavez's findings, 72% of teachers (n=10) from the current study believed their target language use to lead to increased pupil target language use and may be surprised to find otherwise. A potential explanation in line with Chavez's (2016) findings is that, given teachers' wholehearted support for L1 in the classroom in the current study, their language use might lean 'too extremely' toward L1. In other words, perhaps pupils in Scotland would be inclined to believe that their target language use is influenced by teacher target language if their teachers used a more even balance of L1 and target language (though actual language use amounts were not observed).

In the American tertiary Spanish learning context, Thompson and Harrison (2014) noted that student language use did not always correlate to teacher language use, which was supported by Chavez's (2016) findings that more teacher target

language does not necessarily equate to more student target language. Interestingly however, the more teachers codeswitched, the more students tended to use L1, showing that teacher and student codeswitching practices were correlated although sole teacher and student L1 use and sole teacher and student target language use were not. This raises questions about the potential for mixing L1 and target language and its influence on pupil/student language use in the L2 classroom. The questionnaire used in the current study asked teachers and pupils whether they believed teacher target language use to contribute to increased pupil target language use. The questionnaire did not, however, ask whether teachers and pupils believed a combination of teacher English and target language to influence pupil language use. Based on Thompson and Harrison's (2014) findings, this may be a crucial way to frame future inquiry into pupil/student language choice.

Crichton (2009) investigated the opportunities that secondary teachers in Scotland created for pupil target language output. Frequent target language use by the teachers, such as encouraging classroom routines to be carried out in target language, seemed to increase pupil target language. However, a major difference between this study and the current study, though both conducted in the Scottish context, is that Crichton (2009) sampled schools where the language uptake into higher levels tended to be above average. Additionally, the teachers sampled in Crichton's study all committed to frequent target language use, while the teachers in the current study tended to prefer English use or, reportedly, a combination of English and target language use for most functions.

As the teacher and pupil groups in the current study were each supportive of the inclusion of English in the classroom, and based on the findings of previous studies, the reason why pupils neither agreed nor disagreed about whether teacher target language encouraging their target language may be because there is not enough teacher target language use in the classroom for pupils to confidently base their beliefs on. A certain amount of target language exposure may be needed to facilitate pupil target language but the question as to how much remains and age also seems to be a factor. However, it does seem evident from this section of the discussion that exploring pupil beliefs about their language choice based on solely teacher target language use, rather than teacher English and target language use, is limiting.

4.2.3 Beliefs about whether teacher target language use leads to pupil anxiety

Teachers in the current study also felt that their target language use contributes to pupil anxiety. However, most pupils (about 55%) indicated that they do not feel uncomfortable or anxious as a result of their teacher's target use. This is in line with Levine's (2003) findings, which discerned that foreign language teachers at an American university perceived higher associations between target language use and anxiety than the students. Similarly, Brown (2009) revealed that students in another American university reported more enthusiasm about teacher target language use than teachers perceived. Tsagari and Diakou (2015) indicated that, though pupils felt relaxed during teacher L1 use (Greek), they also indicated that teacher target language use did not make them feel anxious. Thus, in accordance with previous studies, there seems to be a

widespread belief among language teachers that their target language use causes more anxiety than pupils feel.

Bruen and Kelly (2014), however, found that Japanese and German learners at a university in Ireland, while believing in the necessity for L1/target language balance, felt that L1 made the learning environment less intimidating. The authors suggested that the use of L1 'is justified in situations where it can help to reduce either cognitive load or learner anxiety' (p. 13). Brooks-Lewis (2009) also suggested that, based on findings related to Mexican adult English learners' beliefs about L1 use, the inclusion of L1 reduces anxiety. Given that the teachers in the current study also believe in the ample use of L1, it is possible that the pupils in the current study do not experience teacher target language to a degree that induces anxiety. According to the interview data, pupil target language use seems to be a greater contributor to pupil anxiety in the L2 classroom. This finding from the qualitative data is expanded on in Section 5.1.3.

4.2.4 Beliefs about how English and target language should be used

The data on teachers' and pupils' views on which language(s) to use for certain functions, in relation to both teacher and pupil language use, presented one main area of agreement and two main areas of debate. Teachers and pupils agreed on several instances where they believed teachers should use English only. Yet for most of the functions explored, teachers and pupils raised debate among whether English only versus English and target language was preferable. Another two instances related to pupil language use (using survival phrases and doing grammar activities) raised debate as to whether target language-only or English-only was preferable.

English-only

Regarding teacher use of English, most teachers and pupils seemed to agree that English only should be used when talking about administrative items, managing pupil behaviour, teaching grammar, interacting with pupils outside of the language class and clearing up pupil confusion. These findings are supported by teachers' beliefs reported in previous studies, such as using L1 to manage pupil behaviour (Hall & Cook, 2013), to discuss administrative items (Thompson, 2009; Cook, 2016), to teach grammar (Hlas, 2016; Bruen & Kelly, 2017) and to manage off task behaviours (Forman, 2010; Rabbidge & Chappell, 2014). Yet most of these studies compared teachers' and pupils' beliefs in terms of their own language use, meaning that literature that cross examines teachers' beliefs about pupil language use and pupils' beliefs about teacher language use is limited. Teaching grammar and using L1 for clarification seem to be two highly discussed topics in the L1/L2 literature.

Teaching grammar and discussing administrative items

Thompson (2009), who compared university teacher and student beliefs about both teacher and pupil language use functions in the American Spanish learning context found a notable difference between teachers and pupils regarding discussion of administrative items (tests, quizzes, announcements, deadlines, etc.) While students felt L1 (English) was appropriate (as did the pupils in the current study), Spanish level 202 teachers believed that target language (Spanish) should be used. The difference between findings in comparison to the teachers in the current study may be due to the

age of the students/pupils. According to the guiding principles on target language use from the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (2010), the 10% recommended amount of L1 should be used 'for very strategic purposes,' including 'explaining deeper understanding on an assessment.' This point relates to using L1 to ensure context and cognitive validity when test taking, or in other words, to ensure that that learners fully comprehend what they are being tested on and are aware of the task demands (Nakatsuhara, Taylor & Jaiyote, 2019). This could be a possible explanation for why the teachers in Scotland believed L1 to be appropriate for discussing administrative items, including tests and quizzes.

Thompson (2009) also found that students and teachers agreed about the need to use L1 for grammar instruction, as did the teachers and pupils in the current study. In the American secondary Spanish foreign language context, Hlas (2016) also found that none of the 201 teachers surveyed felt that grammar should be taught exclusively in target language. Hlas pointed out factors unique to the secondary classroom environment, such as fatigue given the range of pupil learning styles, needs and proficiency levels, as well as time constraints, may help to explain why the teachers in the current study favour English for explaining grammar. Pupils' views about using L1 for grammar instruction may link to findings from Brown's (2009) study but this will be further discussed in relation to teachers' and pupils' beliefs about what language(s) pupils should use for grammar learning/practice (pp. 221-223).

Clarifying/clearing up pupil confusion

Teachers and pupils agreed that teachers should clear up pupil confusion using English. Clearing up pupil confusion referred to the teacher's need to either define an unknown word or clarify pupil misunderstanding. Teachers have long relied on L1 to compensate for lack of understanding and to provide translations for unknown words (Polio & Duff, 1994).

Using direct translation from target language to L1 to define unknown words has been viewed unfavourably if depended upon too much (Shin et al., 2019). Thornbury (2017) listed several reasons why translation has been viewed unfavourably, including that it encourages L1 dependence, interferes with L2 development, equates L1 and L2 as alike systems, is considered an easy way out and diverges from a natural approach to learning language. This last point is especially contestable as it implies that learning a second language is the same as acquiring first language.

However, some scholars proposed the reconsideration of translation as a beneficial tool in the L2 classroom. For example, Pan and Pan (2010) suggested that using L1 can be a worthwhile way to convey meaning when a concept is too complex to define or explain in target language, thereby leading to less pupil frustration. Bruen and Kelly (2014) found that using L1 for explanation and clarification of complex language was the most significant use of L1 for teachers of German and Japanese at an Irish university. Students also reported appreciating this practice. Based on a survey conducted by Hall and Cook (2013), 72% out of 2,785 (n=2005 approx.) teacher respondents across various teaching contexts reported using L1 to clarify meaning when pupils are uncertain. Pupils have also been shown to be supportive of L1

translation in previous studies. For example, among 351 students at a Taiwanese junior college (post-secondary education for ages 16 to 18 combining high school diploma and associate degree), Liao (2006) found that students believed L1 to play a significant role in facilitating L2 learning, for reasons such as checking comprehension, helping to develop and express ideas and reducing anxiety. However, negative effects were also mentioned similar to some of those described by Thornbury (2017), such as impeding L2 comprehension and production processes and creating L1 dependency. Despite some of the negative effects of translation purported, it seems that teachers' and pupils' support for L1 to clarify meaning in the Scottish modern language classroom is considered beneficial and is in line with many previous studies.

Interacting with pupils outside of class

In the current study, almost 47% (n=7) of teachers and 77% (n=134) of pupils believed that teachers should interact with pupils outside of class in English. This is unlike the views of a French teacher described in McMillan and Turnbull's (2009) study in the Canadian French immersion context, who used only target language in interactions with pupils in the schoolyard, and even with parents and community members. However, the immersion setting of McMillan and Turnbull's study may explain the difference in findings, as it stands to reason that interactions outside the classroom in a bilingual/immersion setting would be in the target language. Yet, 40% (n=6) of teachers in the current study believed that they should interact with pupils in both English and

target language outside the classroom. This is slightly more in line with Brown's (2009) findings, who discovered that while American university foreign language teachers believed that the ideal language teacher should encourage target language use (Spanish, French and German) outside the classroom (in emails, participation in extracurricular events, etc.), students' views did not match up. For those teachers who believed they should interact with pupils in English and target language outside of class, this may be in line with their beliefs about building rapport, which 67% (n=10) of teachers also believed should be done in English and target language. This is supported by an older study conducted by Lapkin and Swain (1996), who described a teacher who habitually interacted in target language (French) during lunch with 10 to 14-year-old pupils in target language, and in doing so, built positive rapport with pupils while teaching vocabulary in a laid-back setting. Yet, again, this was found in the Canadian French immersion context and specifically describes target language use outside of class rather than combined English and target language use.

According to Chavez (2003), 303 Year 1, 2 and 3 German students surveyed at an American university reported observing their teachers using L1 to interact with students outside of class. Additionally, Years 1 and 2 students preferred their teacher's use of L1 outside of the classroom. Year 3 students, however, expressed a desire for their teacher to use more target language outside of the classroom. This is interesting in light of the finding that students across all three years preferred using L1 in their own interactions with teachers outside of class. Based on these findings, it may be that students become more comfortable or confident with target language interactions

outside of the classroom as they get older. In the current study, teachers and pupils expanded on the use of language outside the classroom in the interviews in terms of language use in the real-world scenarios, which is presented in Section 5.1.4. Though not directly related to student-teacher interactions outside of the classroom, the qualitative data offers more explanation of beliefs about the perceived usefulness of bringing target language outside of the classroom.

English and target language or English-only

For many items regarding both teacher and pupil language use, there was disagreement as to whether an English-only approach or an English and target language approach was most appropriate. Teachers and pupils disagreed on which language(s) teachers should use for teaching of culture, building rapport and giving instructions. Teachers' preferences for using both English and target language align somewhat with a holistic approach to using languages in the classroom, while pupils in the current study aligned more with a monolingual approach. Regarding pupil language use, however, most teachers and pupils agreed that pupils should use English and target language during pair or group work and when working on culture-related activities.

Pair/group work

Teachers and pupils agreed that pupils should use both English and target language for pair speaking and/or group work. This coincides with studies that have examined peer language use from a sociocultural perspective. Swain and Lapkin's (2002) observations

of adolescent French learners who used L1 and target language together to construct meaning is a prime example. In this example, the two 12-year-old learners discussed (in L1) their interpretations of a phrase in French, which helped them to decide on the language needed to convey a story in target language more accurately. In doing so, the learners engaged in the process of languaging, or mediation of thinking, performed through collaborative use of their language repertoires. Chavez (2016) noted that during pair/group work, German second year students at an American university used more L2 (than during teacher-led talk) but also significantly increased their use of L1. This could be a case for why increased L1 does not necessarily equate to decreased L2, or vice versa. Rather, this evidence indicates that peer/group work can be an ideal opportunity where L1 and target language are both maximised to their potential.

Hall and Cook (2013) presented contrasting findings. Teachers' responses (which consisted of 2,785 teachers from 111 countries; 19.2% of whom taught ages 6-11, 35.6% of whom taught ages 12-17 and 44% of whom taught ages 18 and over) to the item '*Own-language use helps learners work together*' averaged only 3.19 on a 6-point scale (with 1 = a very weak argument for L1 use and 6 = a very strong argument). This suggests that teachers globally do not strongly value L1 for collaborative work. Yet in the EFL context at a Japanese university, Moore (2013) argued that L1 emerges naturally in pupil-pupil interactions and that the sociocognitive context around L1 use must be better understood 'rather than identifying purposes of instances of L1 use.' This frames the issue of when L1 and target language should be used more complexly. Regarding collaborative work, in some cases more L1 may be necessary during

pair/group work and in other cases more target language may be necessary. This depends on the types of interactions needed for the task at hand, whether they be procedural (i.e., interpreting a rubric or negotiating a topic), performance related, related to creation of content or off task (Moore, 2013). This would support teachers' and pupils' beliefs for using both English and target language during pair and group work.

Teaching and learning about culture

The teachers in the current study tended to favor English and target language for most instances of teacher language use while pupils tended to favor English-only. However, teachers' and pupils' beliefs flipped when it came to teaching about culture. Teachers felt they should introduce cultural topics in English, while pupils felt English and target language were both required. In contrast to teachers' beliefs, Pan and Pan (2010) suggested that aspects of target culture can easily be brought to pupils' attention in target language through use of images and media. In line with pupils' beliefs, Edstrom (2006) stated that while presenting culture in target language is possible, L1 is likely needed for pupils to reach a deeper understanding of culture and to challenge cultural stereotypes. Bateman (2008) also found that student teachers at an American university believed teaching culture to be too complex to do without use of L1. However, neither Edstrom nor Bateman suggested that teaching culture should be solely taught in L1. A potential reason for teachers' inclinations toward English only could be due to the wording used on the questionnaire, which was 'introducing' a cultural topic. Presumably, teachers might feel English is needed to first introduce the cultural topic, which perhaps might lead to a mix of English and target language once the topic is introduced. In

future, wording could be refined to distinguish more clearly between teaching and learning of culture.

Whereas teachers and pupils disagreed about whether teachers should use English or both English and target language to introduce a cultural topic, teachers and pupils agreed that pupils should use English and target language when doing a cultural activity. This coincides with an earlier statement made by Kramsch (1993), which speaks to the culture learned in the classroom environment as a kind of 'third culture.' Kramsch (1993) stated that 'the creation, in and through the classroom, of a social, linguistic reality that is born from the L1 speech environment of the learners and the social environment of the L2 native speakers, [...] is a third culture in its own right' (p. 9). This statement suggests that the learning of culture through solely target language is impossible given that influence from learner's L1 (in terms of language and identity) is inevitable. This is based on the view that language and culture are inseparable (Chan, Bhatt, Nagami & Walker, 2015).

Swain (2006) mentioned that a major challenge of cultural learning is understanding target culture humour, which requires social, cultural and linguistic knowledge. In this vein, Tocalli-Beller (2005) conducted a study in which nine graduate ESL students of varying L1 backgrounds in a Canadian university were observed languaging in order to understand the meaning of English jokes, cartoons and riddles. In this example, although the students used ample target language (presumably given their different L1 backgrounds and perhaps also their age and proficiency level), there was also evidence of students referring to similar expressions in their L1s. Drawing on

one's own background knowledge to make sense of aspects of target culture supports Kramsch's (1993) 'third culture' theory. However, more information is needed in terms of how teaching and learning of culture is approached in the Scottish modern language classroom - for example, whether cultural activities involve understanding of different cultural approaches to humour or whether in the secondary context, learning culture is more simplistic.

Building rapport and giving instructions

While about 67% (n=10) of teachers believed that they should give instructions in English and target language, about 56% (n=97) of pupils believed teachers should do so in English-only. Giving instructions has been shown to be a monolingual L1 practice by teachers in previous studies, which aligns to the pupils' beliefs in the current study. For example, Macaro (2001) found that giving instructions was a primary reason for L1 use by French primary and secondary student teachers in the United States. However, Rabbidge and Chappell's (2014) findings align more closely with the teachers' beliefs in the current study. The South Korean primary EFL teachers in their study were observed giving instructions in both L1 and target language in order to ensure that the task at hand was successfully completed while also increasing target language exposure. Providing exposure might be why the teachers in the current study felt both languages were appropriate. However, it is unclear how teachers see both English and target language to be necessary for giving instructions. Bateman (2008) found that pre-service Spanish teachers at an American university used less target language for giving instructions by the end of the semester than they had at the beginning (based on self-

reports on pre and post questionnaires). Bateman suggested that this was due to the student teachers' discovery of the challenging reality of explaining complex instructions. Possibly, the teachers in the current study also considered this when indicating that they believe both languages should be used. They may have also believed that basic instructions should be explained in target language and more complex instructions in English, rather than consistent use of both languages for all instruction giving scenarios.

Regarding rapport building, which 67% of teachers believed they should conduct in English and target language, it seems that use of L1 for this purpose is still maintained by many teachers (Forman, 2010; Hall & Cook, 2013; Rabbidge & Chappell, 2014; Bruen & Kelly, 2014). Shin et al. (2019) described rapport building in L1 to include making jokes, praising and providing comfort and encouragement. It is surprising then, that the teachers' beliefs in the current study differed. However, Bateman's (2008) findings indicated that 'students teachers felt the need to use L1 [for rapport building] at least some of the time,' implying they also felt the need to use target language (p. 20). Thus, despite the ample literature that has supported use of L1 for building rapport, it could be considered surprising that not all teachers (including teachers in the current study and in previous studies) believe L1 plays a role in building rapport with pupils. Yet more information is needed regarding how teachers strategically incorporate target language use into rapport building.

[Socialising, metacognition and asking for help](#)

As was the case with the teacher language use functions of teaching culture, building rapport, giving instructions and interacting with pupils outside of class, pupils favored

monolingual use of English for their own language use when socialising, thinking and asking for help. Teachers, on the other hand, believed pupils should perform these functions in a mix of English and target language.

Previous literature has demonstrated pupils' preferences for using L1 to maintain peer relationships (Hall and Cook, 2013). Additionally, it seems L1 is important for this purpose regardless of age or proficiency level. Swain, Kinnear and Steiman (2011) referred to the necessity for 9 and 10-year-old Canadian French immersion pupils to be able to let off steam, or in other words, to find comfort in the learning environment. Likewise, according to Kim and Elder (2008), using L1 in order to share emotions, concerns and sympathies can be crucial for creating a positive classroom atmosphere in the New Zealand secondary school context. Fortune (2008) also found that L1 was used more for social than academic purposes and was especially used to express feelings among university English learners in Australia. Thus, it seems that L1 use among peers is linked to affect. The pupils in the current study may therefore believe in the use of L1 to maintain positive classroom relationships and positive emotions. This was corroborated by the interview findings discussed in Section 5.1.3. Yet teachers seemed to feel that socialising was an opportunity for both L1 and target language. The interview findings also revealed that this was, in fact, the case for one pupil, who described using target language with friends for fun. Though generally, teachers and pupils alike described the use of spontaneous target language among peers as unlikely.

Teachers also believed that pupils should use English and target language for metacognition when, in accordance with Vygotsky (1986), L1 has been considered

pivotal in children's internal processing for both private¹¹ as well as inner speech. Moore (2013) stated that 'learners naturally and inevitably draw on their L1 in both private and inner speech' (p. 241). But perhaps L1 and target language used in conjunction for thought could be conceivable when we consider social interaction, and 'the regulatory actions' in which an individual participates (such as using collaborative dialogue, or languaging, to solve a cognitive problem), becoming internalised as 'part of an individual's cognitive processes and knowledge (Tocalli-Beller & Swain, 2005, p. 8). Based on this view, the teachers in the current study may find it appropriate that pupils collaborate in target language and English, resulting in internal processing in both target language and English.

There is some debate as to whether proficiency and ability level play a role in using L2 for thought. Swain and Lapkin (2013) agreed with Antón and DiCamilla (1998) that as L2 proficiency increases, the need for L1 to aid cognition decreases. Antón and DiCamilla (1998) stated that 'the fact that lower achieving students presumably have a greater need for using L1 is not all surprising if we consider the first language as a psychological tool used in moments of cognitive difficulty' (p. 166). Additionally, Macaro (2001) stated that L1 'tends to be the language of thought, unless the learner is very advanced or in the target country,' implying that thinking in target language does not occur until much later stages (p. 177). Possibly, the teachers in the current study indicated that thinking should be performed by pupils in both English and target language, not on one single occasion, but over time. However, the teachers

¹¹ Private speech refers to vocal speech spoken to oneself while inner speech refers to unobservable speech (Vygotsky, 1986).

contradicted this finding during the interviews when they discussed the decrease in target language enthusiasm as pupils continue beyond S1 (Section 5.1.3).

Teachers believed that pupils should ask for help/ask questions in English and target language but pupils believed they should do so in English. In line with pupils' beliefs, Chavez (2003) found that German students at an American university preferred the use of L1 when asking the teacher about a grammar point, asking about instructions and asking about the course. A potential reason the teachers in the current study felt a mix of English and target language was appropriate when pupils ask for help could be in line with Cook's (2001) argument that conducting administrative or procedural tasks in target language are important opportunities for L2 exposure. The teachers may have felt that asking for help in target language raises the profile of classroom target language in a similar way. In other words, encouraging pupils to use target language to ask for help may convey the importance of the target language – that target language is used not only during activities but when conducting other, important exchanges in the classroom. However, this may be inauthentic use of target language, a concern which teachers raised in the interviews (Section 5.1.3).

English-only or TL-only

Regarding pupil use of survival phrases (i.e., asking to go to the bathroom, asking to borrow a pencil, etc.) and doing grammar work, teacher and pupil views differed though they both believed in a monolingual approach for both functions. Teachers believed that pupils should use target language-only for using survival phrases in class, however, pupils indicated that they should use English-only. On the other hand, pupils felt they

should use target language-only for grammar related activities, whereas teachers felt pupils should use English-only.

Survival phrases

Using survival phrases was the only function for which teachers believed pupils should use target language only. Little recent, empirical literature exists examining implementation of and practical use of language such as this in the secondary foreign language classroom but the literature that does exist seems to support target language use. In her study, Chavez (2003) referred to routine language, such as greeting the teacher, which students tended to do in target language. House (1996) described routine language as memorised chunks or 'islands of reliability' designed to make language learners feel they have a kit of expressions with which to build on in developing more complex utterances (p. 226). This implies that such a 'kit' is intended to reinforce target language. Meiring and Norman (2002) also briefly referred to the importance of established protocols for using routine language but stressed that they should serve to move pupils from 'automatic and pre-learnt phrases to spontaneous and individual use of language' (p. 30). There was some debate presented in the interviews as to whether using target language in the ways described in this paragraph are worthwhile opportunities for meaningful output. The findings presented in Section 5.1.3 and discussed in Section 5.2.6 shed light on this debate and thus, on teachers' beliefs about pupil use of target language for survival phrases. Unfortunately, this did not emerge from pupil interviews in the current study and thus comparison of teacher and

pupil beliefs on this language use function is limited. However, this does pose an interesting consideration for future study.

Doing grammar activities

Perhaps surprisingly, pupils felt they should use target language for grammar activities while teachers felt pupils should use English. This finding implies the teachers do not view grammar practice as an opportunity for translanguaging and negotiation of meaning, as was evident with pair/group speaking activities. In addition, a possible explanation for the pupils' beliefs can be linked to Brown's (2009) findings.

Questionnaires administered to 49 university teachers and 1,600 students of various L2s (Spanish, French and German, Japanese, Hebrew, Greek, Arabic, Italian and Turkish) exploring teachers' and students' beliefs about effective teaching practices showed that teachers felt grammar should be taught communicatively (through exchanges of output) while students preferred discrete point grammar instruction, emphasising grammatical accuracy. Brown (2009) also pointed out that teachers 'seemed more enthusiastic about having students use the L2 more frequently...than did their students' (p. 54). On the other hand, students preferred explicit, 'more formal' grammar instruction (p. 53). Though Brown's (2009) findings referred primarily to the teacher's role in grammar instruction, the findings could still suggest that pupils from the current study may have considered 'doing a grammar activity' to entail practicing a grammar structure itself, whereas teachers may have considered that 'doing a grammar activity' meant applying a grammar structure in a communicative task embedded within a real-world context or information exchange. This may help to explain teachers'

preferences for target language and pupils' preferences for English (to understand grammar forms and rules).

American university German students in Chavez's (2003) study reported using more L1 for grammar than they desired. In other words, while they expressed a preference for using L1 for grammar, they also expressed a belief that they should use more target language. However, in the Spanish foreign language learning classroom at an American university, Thompson (2009) found that students were content with the amount of L1 used for grammar activities. Thompson's findings appear to be more in line with the beliefs of the pupils in the current study. Hall and Cook's (2013) findings also supported pupil use of L1 but through translanguaging, which stands to reason given that their study was conducted in the EFL context. This raises the questions as to whether beliefs about grammar markedly tend to be monolingual in the Anglophone context (as evidenced by Chavez's and Thompson's findings) and multi- or plurilingual in the English learning context. Specifically, Hall and Cook (2013) reported that pupils explicitly compared target language grammar to grammar in their own language. From a sociocultural perspective, Bergsleithner (2002) mentioned that Brazilian adult English learners used L1 to negotiate grammar meaning, which implies some use of target language in the metatalk performed by students in L1 in order to make sense of the L2. The sociocultural and translanguaging perspectives on grammar shown by these two studies contrasts the findings from Brown (2009) about a communicative, target-language focus on grammar practice. They seem to explain the pupils' beliefs about L1 for grammar practice but confound the teachers' beliefs about target language only.

Given the previous evidence reviewed, both grammar teaching and learning seems to require a degree of both English and target language. More evidence is needed to understand why the teachers and the pupils in the current study adopted a monolingual preference for teaching and learning grammar.

Extent to which the findings support holistic use of language repertoires in the classroom

Despite the functions for which teachers and pupils purported use of both English and target language, there is no clear evidence whether the findings indicate support for a holistic approach to classroom language use. However, the concept could have been more explicitly drawn out. Yet based on the findings, there is potential for further exploration regarding a multilingual pedagogical approach in the Anglophone foreign language context, with particular focus on rapport building, teaching and learning of culture, pair/group work, social interactions and instruction giving.

The fact that both teachers and pupils tended to favor a monolingual approach for most language use occasions aligns with the findings of Adinolfi and Astruc (2017), who observed limited occasions of pupil codeswitching (though it is important to note the methodological difference in these two studies, being that Adinolfi and Astruc observed actual language use while the current study gathered self-reported data on language use beliefs). The findings run contrary, however, in that while Adinolfi and Astruc (2017) observed more codeswitching among teachers than pupils, the teachers in the current study favored a monolingual approach to most teacher language use functions and, perhaps surprisingly, expected more English and target language use for

most pupil language use functions. This suggests that monolingual norms are still strong in some Scottish modern language classrooms. As long as teachers display a monolingual approach, it is likely that a multilingual pedagogical approach will receive limited development (García and Lin, 2017). The findings of the current study support Shin et al.'s (2019) recommendation for awareness raising of holistic language practices among learners. They stated that some students may struggle with judicious use of L1 and may resist L2 either deliberately or unconsciously. As a result, Shin et al. (2019) suggested the development of workshops that might 'include discussion of the bilingual mind, translanguaging, the possible functions of L1 by going over perceived benefits and drawbacks, with students sharing their reasoning for the judicious use of L1' (p. 11). This approach resonates with the intervention lesson pack implemented by Lanvers et al. (2019) discussed in Section 2.7.3. Perhaps by engaging pupils in discussion with the aim of raising their awareness about holistic use of languages and judicious L1 use, then monolingual norms in the Anglophone modern language classroom may be challenged. However, there is still much to be understood about reasons behind teachers' and pupils' monolingual preferences in Scotland, which is further uncovered in the interview findings (Section 5.1).

4.3 Findings from Metaphors

Section F on the pupil questionnaire, the metaphor section, revealed further dimensions of pupils' beliefs about English use, target language use and language learning in general. A total of 333 metaphors were produced (Table 4.1). The metaphor findings are consistent with the questionnaire data discussed in Section 4.1.2 in relation to

pupils' beliefs about using English for many purposes in the classroom and using target language less so.

The first metaphor prompted pupils to express their beliefs about language learning in general, inspired by Fisher's (2013) use of metaphor with German modern language pupils in England. Out of 128 metaphors, pupils expressed an equal proportion of positive (38%) and negative (38%) beliefs about learning languages overall (Metaphor 1, Table 4.1). Metaphors 2 and 3 were designed uniquely for the purposes of this study (to extract beliefs about English and target language use, specifically). Out of 103 metaphors regarding beliefs about target language use in the language classroom, pupils expressed an equal proportion of neutral (42%) and negative (42%) beliefs and fewer positive (17%) beliefs (Metaphor 2, Table 4.1). Pupils expressed mostly neutral (46%) beliefs about using English in the modern language classroom, out of a total of 102 metaphors (Metaphor 3, Table 4.1). However, using English in the classroom elicited more positive (34%) views than negative (20%) views.

Table 4.1: Total number and percentages of positive, neutral and negative metaphors for each of the three metaphor prompts

	Metaphor	n	Positive	Neutral	Negative
1	Learning [French/Spanish/German] is like...because...	n=128	38%	25%	38%
2	Speaking TL in [French/Spanish/German] class is like...because...	n=103	17%	42%	42%
3	Speaking English in [French/Spanish/German] class is like...because...	n=102	34%	46%	20%

During analysis, it became evident that some metaphors expressed a clear positive view of language learning or language use and others portrayed a clear negative view. A third category of metaphor responses expressed views that could be considered mixed, or perhaps more open to interpretation, though they were neither overwhelmingly positive nor negative. These metaphors were categorised as neutral. The distribution of subthemes across the 3 metaphors can be seen in Figure 4.13.

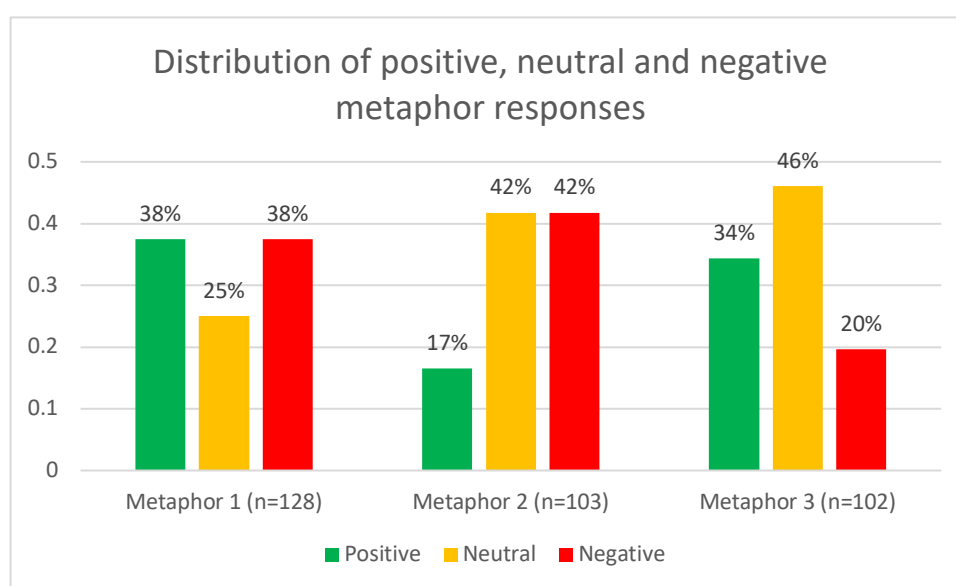


Figure 4.13: Distribution of positive, neutral and negative metaphor responses across the three metaphor prompts

As noted in Section 3.5.2, the approach to analysing the pupil metaphors involved content analysis, which produced a total of 37 themes within the 3 belief categories (positive, neutral, negative).

4.3.1 Metaphor 1: Learning [French/Spanish/German] is like...

Table 4.3 displays the themes that emerged from analysis of Metaphor 1, five within the positive category, five within the neutral category and six within the negative category.

The themes about language learning were equally positive and negative, so positive themes will be presented first, followed by negative, then neutral themes.

Table 4.2: Metaphor 1 themes

Metaphor	Belief Category	Theme	n
1 - Learning [French/Spanish/German] is like...	Positive	Surmountable challenge	30
		Pleasure (Satisfaction)	7
		Discovery	5
		Exhilaration	4
		Ease/Natural	2
	Neutral	Unpredictability	15
		Mystery	7
		Exertion/Physical struggle	5
		Predictability	3
		Rebirth/Reprogramming	2
	Negative	Difficulty/Impossibility	19
		Drudgery	17
		Disgust	4
		Unpleasant	3
		Physical suffering	3
		Pointless/Counterproductive	2

Positive beliefs about language learning

Surmountable challenge was the most common positive theme among the first metaphor. Thirty of the 48 positive responses for this metaphor likened learning languages to a dog learning new tricks, or other such activities that required practice, ultimately leading to reward, such as learning to ride a bike or completing a puzzle.

'Learning French is like training a dog because it takes time and effort and at one point the dog will get it.'

(S1 pupil, School 3)

For seven pupils, learning language is a pleasant experience akin to eating foods they like, such as croissants, cheese or baguettes. Additionally, metaphors within the **pleasure** theme depicted language learning as satisfying.

'Learning French is like watching a waterfall because it is really satisfying.'

(S3 pupil, School 4)

Five pupils associated **discovery** with language learning expressed by the act of opening a new door or revealing a new world. Two others compared language learning to **easy** and **natural** actions, such as walking and breathing.

Negative beliefs about language learning

Difficulty/impossibility and **drudgery** were popular themes among the 48 total negative metaphors. Within the **difficulty/impossibility** theme, 19 pupils equated language learning to instances with slim to no chance of occurring, such as cooking a complicated dish, sports rivals becoming friends and even a cricket insect playing rugby.

'Learning French is like asking a guy out because you think about doing it but never do.'

(S3 pupil, School 1)

For 17 pupils, learning language is as tedious as watching paint dry or grass grow. Another negative belief theme was the **unpleasant** theme. Three pupils compared language learning to looking down a dark hole or listening to the top musical hits of the previous few years. Some believed language learning to be as **disgusting** as fish with peanut butter. As well as viewing language learning as **pointless**, three metaphors went as far as to convey **physical suffering**, such as getting hit with a brick, and even dying.

'Learning French is like scratching my nails on a chalk board because it's irritating and never not annoying.'

(S2 pupil, School 5)

Neutral beliefs about language learning

Unpredictability characterised 15 of the 32 neutral (or mixed) responses for the first metaphor, comparing language learning to instances with uncertain outcomes or something that you might love or you might hate. For example, going on roller coasters and trying marmite were among the activities indicated that could be fun or could end badly. Additionally, this theme expressed initial resistance to language learning.

'Learning German is like going to sleep because at first you do not want to but then you enjoy it.'

(S2 pupil, School 6)

On the other hand, **predictability** was also a neutral theme, which portrayed language learning as a relentless, repetitive loop or constant, like the ‘Energizer bunny.’

‘Learning French is like a loop because it's repetitive.’

(S2 pupil, School 4)

For some, language learning is **mysterious**, like trying to communicate with extraterrestrial life, cracking a secret code or even a complicated board game.

‘Learning French is like Monopoly because there are always hidden rules you’re sure you’ve never heard of.’

(S3 pupil, School 1)

Five pupils also compared language learning to **exertion/physical struggle**, such as running a race or learning a dance with two left feet. For one pupil, learning language was like a **rebirth** or a **reprogramming** of the brain.

4.3.2 Metaphor 2: Speaking [French/Spanish/German] is like...

Table 4.4 displays the themes that emerged from analysis of Metaphor 2, three within the positive category, five within the neutral category and seven within the negative category. Most of the themes about speaking target language were neutral, which will be presented first, followed by negative, then positive themes.

Table 4.3: Metaphor 2 themes

Metaphor	Belief Category	Theme	n
2 - Speaking target language in [French/Spanish/German] class is like...	Positive	Surmountable challenge	8
		Pleasure (Satisfaction)	6
		Exhilaration/Exotic	3
	Neutral	Mystery (Confusion)	23
		Exertion/Physical struggle	7
		Performative	6
		Unpredictability	6
		Rebirth/Reprogramming	1
	Negative	Difficulty/Impossibility	17
		Drudgery	8
		Impeding/Inhibiting	8
		Predictability	4
		Pointless/Counterproductive	4
		Clumsiness	1
		Nerve-racking	1

Neutral beliefs about using target language

Within the 43 metaphors making up the neutral category, speaking target language typically fell under the **mystery** theme, as with the first metaphor. Twenty-three metaphors compared speaking target language to mysterious or confusing instances, such as trying to speak to a cat or dog, reading backwards, watching a movie sequel before the original, talking underwater and finding one's way through a maze. There

was an emphasis on the struggle that some pupils in Scotland feel they have in making themselves understood.

‘Speaking French is like me ordering food over the phone because everyone always ends up confused and no one can understand what I say.’

(S3 pupil, School 4)

In addition to climbing a mountain or running a marathon, seven metaphor responses under the **exertion/physical struggle** theme described speaking target language as having to proceed with caution to avoid pain.

‘Speaking French is like walking on Lego because you have to be cautious of accents/rules etc.’

(S3 pupil, School 1)

Performative emerged as a theme in relation to speaking target language, with six metaphors encompassing aspects of taking on a role, such as acting on a stage or doing a solo performance, with the latter also suggesting a sense of isolation that accompanies being alone on a stage. The **unpredictability** theme present in the first metaphor was also present in the second metaphor. The six metaphors within this theme included activities that could be considered risky, such as holding a red towel to a bull, trying a new food or riding a bike for the first time.

‘Speaking Spanish is like telling a joke because you don’t know how it will work or if you’ll say it correctly.’

(S2 pupil, School 1)

Negative beliefs about using target language

Many associated speaking target language with negative themes, with 17 of the 43 negative metaphors falling under the **Difficulty/Impossibility** theme. Difficult or impossible circumstances included talking about emotions, having perfectly straight hair and shoving five baguettes into one's mouth.

'Speaking Spanish is like a cow saying "Baa!" because it's confusing.'

(S2 pupil, School 1)

Within the **drudgery** theme, eight pupils acknowledged that speaking target language was ultimately beneficial, however undesirable.

'Speaking French is like eating broccoli because it is not my favourite but it will help me by making my diet healthier later in life.'

(S1 pupil, School 5)

Unique to the second metaphor was the **impeding/inhibiting** theme. The eight metaphors within this theme reflected speaking target language as a brain freeze, talking to a brick wall, saying a tongue twister and having one's mouth full of sour sweet candy. **Predictability** took on a negative tendency in relation to target language use, such as predictable sporting loss outcomes.

Positive beliefs about using target language

Surmountable challenge recurred as a theme for the second metaphor, with eight out of 17 positive metaphors comparing speaking target language to solving a puzzle or a Rubik's cube, as well as finally nailing down a move in a sport or videogame after putting in the practice.

'Speaking French is like doing a rainbow flick [in football] because I nearly learnt it.'

(S1 pupil, School 4)

As with the first metaphor, six pupils described speaking target language as **pleasant/satisfying**, such as getting a dart in the bullseye on the first try. Three pupils also compared speaking target language to something **exhilarating**, as in the first metaphor, but with an added element of being exotic, and therefore exciting, such as exotic fruit.

4.3.3 Metaphor 3: Using English in [French/Spanish/German] class is like...

Table 4.5 displays the themes that emerged from analysis of Metaphor 3, six within the positive category, seven within the neutral category and three within the negative category. Most of the themes about using English in the language classroom were neutral which will be presented first, followed by positive, then negative themes.

Table 4.4: Metaphor 3 themes

Metaphor	Belief Category	Theme	n
3 - Using English in [French/Spanish/German] class is like...	Positive	Ease	10
		Pleasure (Satisfaction)	8
		Tool/Crutch	8

		Relief	5
		A lifeline	3
		Authenticity	1
	Neutral	Natural/Essential	15
		The norm	10
		Inevitable	8
		Home/Familiarity	8
		Preferable/Contested	3
		Impossible/Extremely unlikely	2
		Transportive/Boundless	1
	Negative	Pointless/Counterproductive	11
		Taboo	8
		Drudgery	1

Neutral beliefs about using English

Fifteen metaphors out of the total 47 neutral metaphors described using English as something ***natural/essential*** to life, such as sleeping or breathing. Eight pupils likened using English to aspects of ***home/familiarity*** (such as finding Irn Bru on a holiday abroad), though in some cases this was not necessarily a positive association.

‘Using English in Spanish class is like fish and chips because it’s okay but it’s not the best.’

(S1 pupil, School 1)

For 10 pupils, the act of using English makes the language class like any other ***normal*** class, underlying the unique nature of target language use in the Scottish secondary school context. Eight pupils acknowledged that English use in the language classroom is ***inevitable***, such as reaching the bottom of a crisps bag.

‘Using English in German class is like a new Marvel movie coming out because it’s inevitable.’

(S2 pupil, School 6)

Three pupils described English use as the winning choice over target language as if competing in a **contest**, such as the choice of Smarties over M&Ms, implying a monolingual approach to the languages used in the language classroom. Additionally, and in contrast to the **inevitable** theme, two pupils believed the idea of using English as **impossible/extremely unlikely**, like the chance of a Scottish football player moving to a rival team.

Positive beliefs about using English

Of the 36 positive metaphors, 10 pupils referred to English use as **easy** and eight as something **pleasant** in a satisfying way.

‘Using English in German class is like eating a piece of cake because it is easy.’

(S2 pupil, School 6)

The third metaphor also generated new themes, such as using English as a **lifeline** for survival, which three pupils described in their responses.

‘Using English in Spanish class is like someone tossing you a float at the pool because it helps you stay afloat and stay alive.’

(S1 pupil, School 1)

Using English was also compared to a **tool/crutch** that provides extra support, such as using a calculator in maths. The eight metaphors within this category alluded to English use as a review process for consolidating learning.

‘Using English in French class is like drying the dishes after washing them because you need to go over it after.’

(S1 pupil, School 5)

According to five metaphors, the use of English provides **relief**, which pupils compared to the feeling of taking off a belt or taking one’s hair down from a ponytail. One metaphor even referred to the idea of using English as being **authentic** to one’s identity.

‘Using English in French class is like being true to ourselves because it’s our first language.’

(S2 pupil, School 5)

Negative beliefs about using English

The most common theme among the 20 total negative metaphors was the use of English as **pointless/counterproductive**. The 11 metaphors within this theme seemed to express the belief that English does not belong in the language learning classroom.

‘Using English in German class is like putting a flat tire on a car because it’s not useful to you.’

(S3 pupil, School 2)

Eight metaphors further characterised English use as something **taboo**, such as using English as a last resort, cheating or even committing an illegal act.

‘Using English in French class is like staying up past midnight on a school night because you know you probably shouldn’t but you still like doing it.’

(S3 pupil, School 1)

4.3.4 Summary of metaphor findings

In sum, the metaphors revealed that pupils have equally positive and negative beliefs about learning languages in general. On the one hand, learning languages was a pleasant experience, like watching a waterfall because it provides a sense of satisfaction, while on the other, learning languages had a slim chance of success, like two rival teams becoming friends. Pupils believed that using target language in class was confusing, like struggling to be understood over the phone. Using English, however, was more like a lifeline or a safe and familiar space.

4.4 Discussion of metaphor findings

The use and potential of metaphor elicitation among young Anglophone language learners is still relatively novel. The metaphor elicitation procedure of the current study intentionally replicated a part of Fisher’s (2013) study to be able to compare findings across neighbouring contexts. The first part of this discussion on the metaphor findings will focus on how the overall beliefs about language learning (Metaphor 1) compare between the pupils in the current study and Fisher’s (2013) findings in the secondary German learning context in England. Additionally, two metaphor prompts were

introduced in the current study to contribute to new knowledge in relation to beliefs about using L1 and target language. The findings from these two metaphor prompts (Metaphors 2 and 3) will then be discussed in relation to the limited, relevant knowledge available and in light of the potential for metaphor elicitation in future research.

4.4.1 Comparing secondary pupils' beliefs about language learning (Metaphor 1) in Scotland and in England (Fisher, 2013)

As stated in the previous section, Metaphor 1 was adopted from Fisher (2013) for the current study to provide a basis for metaphor comparison across two geographically close national contexts with socioeconomic and sociocultural similarities. Some important differences in these two studies must first be noted. A key difference between the current study and Fisher's (2013) is that the latter was a longitudinal study, in which Fisher conducted two rounds of metaphor elicitation (1 metaphor prompt – 'Learning German is like...because...') conducted 9 months apart (starting after one academic year of German learning) in order to discern change in English pupils' beliefs about learning German. The current study gathered a snapshot in time of pupils' beliefs. Furthermore, Fisher selected one class (out of two sampled) including 26 pupils to undergo a classroom-based intervention in between the two rounds of data collection. The intervention involved class discussion of the metaphors. In her study, Fisher similarly categorised metaphor themes into 3 categories: beliefs conducive to language learning, beliefs not conducive to language learning and neutral beliefs. As discussed in Section 3.5.2, eight themes from Fisher's study were used to code the metaphors in the current study, however two of these were modified to more accurately represent the

beliefs of the pupils expressed in the current study. Despite these differences, there are still some valuable comparisons to be made.

Out of 128 metaphors elicited from pupils in the current study, 48 metaphors were positive and 48 were negative. The most popular positive categories were ***surmountable challenge*** and ***pleasure (satisfaction)*** while the most popular negative categories were ***drudgery*** and ***difficulty/impossibility***. These themes were also prevalent in Fisher's (2013) study of 59 total 12 to 13-year-old German learners in England.

In Fisher's first round of metaphor elicitation and in the current study, ***difficulty/impossibility*** was the most common negative theme. Yet of the 50 metaphors in Fisher's first round, 13 metaphors (26%) related to ***difficulty/impossibility*** while in the current study only 19 out of 128 metaphors (15%) fit under the ***difficulty/impossibility*** category. Based on this finding, it seems the pupils in Fisher's study found language learning more difficult than the pupils in the current study. This may be because the pupils sampled in Fisher's study had only received one year of German learning, while the pupils in Scotland in the current study included pupils from S1 (who had received language instruction at primary school given the 1+2 policy) to S3 (who had received language instruction at primary school plus two years of language education at secondary level). This may also suggest that the 1+2 policy has helped to ease notions of learning languages as difficult.

The second and third most common themes in Fisher's first round were ***drudgery*** and ***mystery***, with 7 metaphors pertaining to each (14%). In the current

study, **drudgery** accounted for 17 of the 128 metaphors (13%) and **mystery** accounted for 7 (5%). **Drudgery** was the second most common negative theme across both studies. While **mystery** was the most common neutral theme in Fisher's study, **mystery** was the second most common neutral theme in the current study, after **unpredictability** (12%). Fisher interpreted feelings of frustration within the **mystery** theme, which was more prevalent in the **unpredictability** theme of the current study than it was under the **mystery** theme. Rather, the **mystery** theme in the current study tended to reflect feelings of confusion. However, the **unpredictability** theme in the current study also encompassed activities that could be hard but also fun, such as riding a roller coaster, which is why it was categorised as neutral. Given their different interpretations, the **mystery** theme across the two studies is similar but not the same. Therefore, comparison across this theme must be treated with caution. The similar findings suggest that 1) the pupils in both England and Scotland found language learning to be almost equally tedious and that 2) pupils in England found language learning to be mysterious in a frustrating sense more so than pupils in Scotland found language learning to be mysterious in a confusing sense. Again, the 1+2 policy is a plausible explanation as to why pupils in Scotland may find language learning to be less mysterious given exposure at primary school establishing familiarity with the target language.

The fourth most common theme in Fisher's first round of metaphors was **surmountable challenge**. Only 10% of Fisher's metaphors fell under this theme, while, in the current study, 23% of metaphors fell under this theme. The pupils in the current

study viewed the challenge of language learning as more surmountable and rewarding than the pupils of Fisher's first round. A comparison of the total metaphors found within each of the eight themes across both studies can be found in Tables 4.5 and 4.6.

Table 4.5: Comparison of metaphor totals by theme between Fisher's (2013) first metaphor elicitation round and Metaphor 1 from the current study

Theme	Total metaphors from Fisher's (2013) first metaphor elicitation round (n=50)	Total metaphors from the current study (n=128)
<i>Difficulty/Impossibility</i>	13 (26%)	19 (15%)
<i>Drudgery</i>	7 (14%)	17 (13%)
<i>Mystery</i>	7 (14%)	
<i>Mystery (Confusion)</i>		7 (5%)
<i>Surmountable challenge</i>	5 (10%)	30 (23%)
<i>Pleasure</i>	5 (10%)	
<i>Pleasure (Satisfaction)</i>		7 (5%)
<i>Physical suffering</i>	5 (10%)	3 (2%)
<i>Other</i>	8 (16%)	45 (38%)

In her second round of metaphor elicitation, Fisher found that pupils from the intervention group showed a positive change in their beliefs. In the second round, a larger percentage of the pupils in Fisher's intervention group regarded language learning as a ***surmountable challenge*** than the pupils in the current study (Table 4.6). Fisher suggested that this shift may be due to the dynamic nature of beliefs and that one could expect beliefs to change at any second point of data gathering. Another explanation is that the intervention shifted perceptions of German as difficult. This may be due to two specific questions posed by the classroom teacher during class discussion: 'Why might

learning a language be a slow process?’ and ‘Can we ever be like a German person (native speaker)?’ (Fisher, 2013, p. 379). These questions reveal a possible reason for selecting **difficult/impossible** metaphors to represent their beliefs - because pupils held up native-like ideals, which may be very difficult to attain. This is supported by interview findings presented in Section 5.1.3.

Unpredictability and **exertion/physical struggle** (two neutral themes) reflected 23% (n=10) and 18% (n=8) of pupils’ beliefs, respectively, in Fisher’s second round. The second round also revealed more positive metaphors about language learning as a **surmountable challenge**.

Table 4.6: Comparison of metaphor totals by theme between Fisher’s (2013) second metaphor elicitation round and Metaphor 1 from the current study

Theme	Total metaphors from Fisher’s (2013) second metaphor elicitation round (n=44)	Total metaphors from the current study (n=128)
Surmountable challenge	17 (39%)	30 (23%)
Unpredictability	10 (23%)	15 (12%)
Exertion/Physical struggle	8 (18%)	5 (4%)
Other	9 (20%)	78 (76%)

As Fisher (2013) suggested, the dynamic nature of beliefs makes it unclear whether beliefs change along a trajectory, whether they are more random, or indeed, whether it is possible to say at all that ‘new beliefs existed where they did not before’ (p. 389). Nevertheless, the metaphor elicitation process may ‘have a role to play in [...] developing beliefs and may encourage learners to construe their language learning experience in helpful ways’ (Fisher, 2013, p. 390) and has thus been worthwhile in

exploring pupils' beliefs. However, there may be unique, contextual differences in the Scottish modern language classroom at play, given the many unique themes identified in the current study. In the positive category, pupils in Scotland also believed language learning to be **exhilarating**, **easy/natural** and like making a new **discovery**. In the neutral category, they believed language learning to also be **predictable** and like being **reprogrammed**. And in the negative category, they believed language learning to be **disgusting**, **unpleasant** and **pointless/counterproductive**. Fisher's (2013) point about the complexity of beliefs – that is, whether they change along a pattern or are more random, or indeed whether the metaphors themselves had an effect in developing learners' beliefs - warrants further exploration. Regardless of contextual differences, an intervention approach conducted in the Scottish context to discern potential changes in beliefs could be valuable.

4.4.2 Similar findings with other studies regarding beliefs about learning languages (Metaphor 1)

A study conducted by Farjami (2012) yielded 200 metaphors pertaining to Iranian university students' beliefs about learning English. The most prevalent theme in Farjami's (2012) study was **exploration**. Fifty-six of the 200 (28%) metaphors were categorised under **exploration**, which included metaphors such as 'opening a door to a new world.' A similar theme identified in the current study, **discovery**, characterised 5 of the 128 (4%) metaphors in relation to language learning. For example, learning languages was like 'opening a new door because it means you get to communicate in other countries' (S1 pupil, School 3) or 'opening a new world because we have never

learned it' (S2 pupil, School 3). Yet characterising only five metaphors in the current study, this was not as prevalent a theme as in Farjami (2012). **Journey** was also a popular theme in Farjami's study, characterising 22 of the 200 metaphors (11%). These metaphors described long journeys, 'on bumpy and winding roads', whereas the pupils in the current study tended to refer to a discovery as something more static or with a clear end, such as walking somewhere or traveling (Farjami, 2012, p. 103). This links to beliefs about native speaker ideals, which were questioned during the intervention conducted in Fisher's (2013) study and may have resulted in fewer pupils believing language learning to be **difficult/impossible** in the second round of metaphor elicitation. This finding implies that pupils in Scotland perhaps envision a clearcut end to language learning, in other words, they may envision themselves becoming a perfect target language speaker, whereas the participants in Farjami's study viewed language learning as a long-term endeavour. The idea that pupils in Scotland expect to gain native proficiency almost instantaneously is supported by the interview findings and further discussed in Sections 5.1.3 and 5.2.8. The metaphors also emphasised the novelty of initial **discovery**, unlike the long winded, more serious **journey** metaphors in Farjami's study, further suggesting that pupils in Scotland may not perceive language learning as a long-term undertaking. In the interviews, teachers in Scotland also discussed initial excitement for language learning which declines over time in the interviews, which is presented in Section 5.1.3. This may be explained by notions about the importance of language learning in the Anglophone world.

In Jin and Cortazzi's (2011) study analysing metaphors about learning in China from 1,036 students (n=3,235 metaphors) and 258 teachers (n=471 metaphors), 153 students expanded on the idea of learning as a *journey*. They described the journey as 'long term and purposeful,' involving 'features of direction and movement' such as 'onward' or 'forward' (p. 74). However, it is important to note that the metaphors in Jin and Cortazzi's study were about learning in general within the Chinese context and were not specific to language learning. Nevertheless, their findings support those of Farjami (2012), though they emphasise forward movement rather than winding, bumpy movement. The metaphors about learning as *exploration, journey* and *discovery* across the three studies (Farjami, 2012; Jin and Cortazzi, 2011 and the current study) also suggest that older learners consider language learning (and learning in general) a long process, perhaps because they are further along in their journey than the secondary pupils in Scotland and likely have a better understanding of the long-term commitment required to learn a language.

Whereas the metaphors in Farjami's (2012) study were mostly positive, Jin and Cortazzi (2011) revealed metaphors that described *physical suffering and pain*, as did the pupils in the current study (though again, these were in relation to learning in general). For example, a Chinese student expressed that learning is 'a needle which pains each bone and each nerve in our bodies but skillful acupuncture can make you feel warm and comfortable after pain' (Jin & Cortazzi, 2011, p. 77). This resonates more with the *surmountable challenge* theme from the current study, rather than the *exertion/physical struggle* theme as it culminates in a reward. Ninety-two other

metaphors revealed more positive themes, such as ***happiness*** and ***joy***. There were fewer metaphors in the current study (across all three metaphor prompts) that explicitly linked to happiness and/or joy, though some referred to the ***pleasure or satisfaction*** of eating one's favourite food. Perhaps this difference is due to Jin and Cortazzi's (2011) focus on learning versus the current study's focus on language learning. Yet, the question then raised is whether pupils in Scotland find less joy in language learning than in other subjects. This may also be linked to pupils' attitudes about school in general, which the interviews revealed can be negatively influenced by parents or peers. For example, some pupils may be hesitant to appear enthused by school. This is discussed in Section 5.1.3.

Another study conducted at a university in the Inner Mongolia region of China yielded similar themes to the current study related specifically to English learning (Fang, 2015). Metaphors were categorised as either positive oriented, such as reading a book (which also emerged in the current study under the ***pleasure*** theme) or negative oriented, such as cooking a complicated meal (which emerged under the ***difficulty/impossibility*** theme). Similar to Farjami (2012), ***exploration*** characterised some of the metaphors and, like Jin and Cortazzi (2011), the ***journey*** theme was also present. Many of the metaphors generated by the Chinese students reflected perceptions of English learning as a process that is times difficult, boring and sometimes painful, much like the pupils in Scotland expressed. Yet a substantial number of Chinese students (47%) also emphasised the 'systematic hard work' as well as the 'solid foundation, perseverance, confidence and patience' involved in learning

English, which also echoed some of the surmountably challenging aspects of language learning mentioned by the pupils in Scotland (Fang, 2015, p. 69). Along that line, a further 23% of Chinese students reflected on the benefits of learning English. Fang found that freshman (first year) English learners tended to be more optimistic in their beliefs about English learning than sophomores (who are one year further along their journey than freshmen). It may be the case that S1 pupils expressed more positive metaphors than S2 and S3 pupils, though this information was not specifically sought out for the purposes of the current study. However, teachers suggested in the interviews that S1 pupils are more enthusiastic about target language than S2 and S3 pupils (Section 5.1.3), posing an interesting consideration for further study.

It is interesting that neutral or ambivalent categories were not identified in Fang's study. This could be due to the researcher's interpretation or perhaps university aged learners are more fixed in their beliefs about language learning than secondary pupils and indeed, Fang (2015) stated that students had a 'clear' attitude toward English learning (p. 65). Yet this contradicts a dynamic view of both beliefs and language learning motivation. Jin et al. (2014) explored beliefs about English learning among young children in China aged seven to nine years. They yielded 362 metaphors from 128 participants. More in line with the current study, they categorised metaphors as positive, ambivalent, neutral or negative. Of the 362 metaphors, 55% were positive, which supports the idea that younger learners may be more enthusiastic or optimistic about language learning than older learners. Of these positive metaphors, most referred to foods they liked, as the pupils in Scotland did within the *pleasure* theme.

In a study that collected a total of 125 metaphors from six adult learners of beginner German at two universities in London, Ellis (2002) believed that the metaphors generated revealed that ‘many of the beliefs that learners hold relate to the problems they experience while learning’ (p. 7). The metaphors were categorised under five themes, which resonate with the current study, despite the age difference between the participants: ***journey, puzzle, suffering, struggle*** and ***work***. These five themes suggest as their learning intensifies, students encounter more problems. However, this does not necessarily mean that their views about languages are more negative. This could also explain why younger learners’ views reflect seemingly more positive themes in comparison, as in Jin et al. (2014). Ellis also distinguished between metaphors that reflected cognitive and affective features of language learning, which could perhaps benefit from being teased apart more explicitly in future study. Ellis also differentiated metaphors from those who positioned themselves as an agent in their learning and those who saw experiences as happening to them. This notion of agency may also explain differences in findings between age groups, given that it stands to reason that young pupils may see themselves as less of an agent in their own learning in the secondary school, compulsory language learning context.

4.4.3 Beliefs about using target language in the classroom (Metaphor 2)

The second and third metaphors are more novel prompts rarely found elsewhere in existing literature. Their wording emphasises the uses of both English and target language whereas metaphors used in previous studies tend to explore beliefs about language learning in general. An exception is found in Dincer’s (2017) study, which

investigated beliefs about speaking English (as a foreign language) through metaphor elicitation in a university context in Turkmenistan. Like the current study, Dincer used the metaphor prompt, ‘Speaking English is like...,’ as well as, ‘A good English speaker is like...’ in order to explore students’ beliefs about being a good English speaker (p. 104). (This second metaphor prompt reflects question 9 from pupil interview schedule about what makes an ideal language pupil – the findings in answer to this question are discussed in Section 5.1.3). The 46 metaphors provided by 50 students in relation to speaking English revealed five themes, which overlap with the **difficulty/impossibility**, **exertion/physical struggle** and **pleasure** themes from the current study: **arduous**, **pleasurable**, **universality**, **privileged** and **anxiety-provoking**. Out of the 46 metaphors, 50% were characterised as **arduous**, whereas **difficulty/impossibility** characterised 18% of metaphors (n=17) related to target language use in the current study. It is interesting that the difficulty of speaking English was so prevalent in Dincer’s findings given that the participants were adult learners.

Additionally, negative beliefs about using target language contrasts with findings described in Section 4.4.1, which reflected positive beliefs about language learning in comparison to Fisher (2013), but this may be due to the difference in metaphor prompts. Drawing out beliefs about speaking target language specifically seems to elicit more feelings related to a process which, as evidenced by Dincer (2017) and the current study, is an arduous one, whereas metaphors about language learning in general may elicit more feelings about a particular outcome (i.e., a sense of reward or the pain of stepping on Lego). This could explain the popularity of the arduous theme in Dincer’s

(2017) study and the higher number of neutral and negative themes characterising Metaphor 2 in the current study.

Forty out of 128 metaphors (31%) in the current study compared the use of target language to things that are difficult, impossible or confusing, such as expressing difficult emotions or trying to understand a dog or alien. As stated previously, the literature that explores pupil beliefs through metaphor tends to focus on beliefs about language learning rather than language use. Although Farjami's (2012) metaphors focused on beliefs about language learning, Farjami's '**personal growth/identity renewal**' theme is somewhat comparable to a metaphor from the current study, which compared target language use to learning how to speak again. This was categorised under the '**rebirth/reprogramming**' theme. While only one metaphor reflected this in the current study, Farjami found 15 out of 200 metaphors expressing ideas such as rebirth or taking on a new persona or new life. Given the age difference between the adolescent learners in the current study and the university learners in Farjami's study, perhaps rebirth or identity renewal is still too abstract to be more prevalent among pupil metaphors. This raises questions about whether young Anglophone language learners can conceive of language learning and target language use as part of their identity and in fact, this was a key finding from the teacher and pupil interviews (Section 5.1.4), which is further discussed in Section 5.2.9.

4.4.4 Beliefs about using English in the language classroom (Metaphor 3)

The belief that English, or L1, use is a natural occurrence in the classroom is precisely in line with recent theoretical perceptions of the role of L1 in foreign language learning

(Shin et al., 2019). Despite that, several pupils compared using English (L1) in the classroom to **taboo**, or something that should be avoided, which links to the disconnect between theory and practice discussed in Section 2.5.3 in terms of feeling that one must avoid L1 use in the classroom despite support for its use in current research. Some potential explanations for these pupils' views may be supported by the findings of Rolin-lanziti and Varshney (2008), who examined 52 French students' beliefs about L1 and L2 in the Australian tertiary context, though not through use of metaphor. On a questionnaire, some students indicated that English could be considered a 'danger' for reasons such as limiting target language exposure (Rolin-lanziti & Varshney, 2008, p. 260). Interestingly, students of this view indicated that English use impedes immersion, suggesting a favourable view toward immersion, which contrasts the questionnaire findings of the current study showing that both teachers and pupils in Scotland do not support target language immersion. Immersion was also favourably conceptualised by Oxford, Longhini, Macaro, Cohen, Griffiths and Harris (2014) through liquid-related metaphors – i.e., through immersion, one can 'soak up language' and be completely immersed in the 'flow of language' (Oxford et al., 2014, p. 25). This runs in direct contradiction to the pupils in Scotland, one of whom expressed English use as 'someone tossing you a float at the pool because it helps you stay alive,' referring to liquid from a different perspective. This view paints immersion in a dangerous light, at risk of drowning lest English keep one afloat.

4.4.5 The methodological potential for metaphors

While not related to pupil beliefs, Oxford et al.'s (2014) narrative accounts revealed metaphoric language used to describe language teaching strategies. Some of these strategies resulted in metaphors similar to the pupils' metaphors in the current study, though they may have referred to different aspects of language. For example, in the current study, one pupil compared speaking target language to '*walking on Lego because you have to be cautious of accents/rules etc.*' – that is, if you step on a Lego, (or make a mistake) it will hurt (result in a negative consequence). Interestingly, Oxford et al. (2014) used Lego to figuratively describe language as creative construction whereby the teacher must provide the tools (target language as a tool, rather than English as a tool). She also referred to collaborative creative construction: when you combine Lego sets with a friend, you have more to build from. The different interpretations of target language as Lego highlight the importance of accurate reporting of the data but also the richness of data procurable.

Pupils in the current study often referred to foods they liked to describe target language as a pleasant activity and they referred to foods they find disgusting to refer to language learning as unpleasant overall. Oxford et al. (2014) referred to food in terms of the structure of a foreign language (i.e., building a sandwich). Similarly, Oxford et al. (2014) described music orchestration as a 'joyful, communicative' representation of language teaching (p. 32). Some of the pupils in the current study referred to music they like to describe the feeling of using target language but they also compared target language use to music as something mysterious or confusing (trying to understand a

rap song). In addition, pupils referred to music they did not like to describe language learning overall as an unpleasant experience. Sport was also a popular theme among both pupils in the current study and Oxford et al. (2014), who described having to overcome obstacles in language education, much like a horse and jockey jump over barriers.

It is interesting that the metaphors created by the pupils in the current study produced themes about language learning and language use that were similar to metaphors produced by well-known experts in the field regarding language teaching, though the themes were interpreted differently. This suggests that use of metaphor elicitation as a method for exploring language beliefs is appropriate for both pupils and teachers. Recently, Zambon Ferronato (2022) evidenced this in a metaphor study involving EFL teachers and students at a university in Uruguay. While the metaphors elicited teachers' beliefs about English teaching and students' beliefs about English learning, the findings still provided valuable points of comparison. For example, teachers were found to make most decisions on behalf of the students based on teachers' previous experiences and studies. Furthermore, Zambon Ferronato (2022) noted in the Uruguayan EFL context that 'knowing the group in-depth allows teachers to select language learning strategies that best suit their class' (p. 117). This implies that student voice is missing from classroom decision-making and raises the question as to what students', or pupils', expectations are and whether they match or conflict with the teacher's expectations. This calls for a comparison of beliefs through analysis of pupil metaphors alongside their teachers' metaphors as well. As pointed out by Wan et al.

(2011), ‘although numerous studies in the last two decades have investigated beliefs about teaching and learning from both teachers’ and pupils’ perspectives...it remains entirely unclear whether, and how far, teachers can reconstruct and develop their beliefs about teaching and learning when they are exposed to students’ perspectives’ (p. 404). As a final point, a future study that elicits metaphors from both teachers and pupils could provide valuable and unexplored comparison.

4.5 Chapter summary

This chapter has presented and discussed findings from the teacher and pupil questionnaires, including pupil metaphors, in answer to the first research question. Section 4.5.1 summarises the main points discussed regarding comparable teacher and pupil questionnaire findings. Section 4.5.2 summarises the main points discussed regarding pupil metaphor findings.

4.5.1 Teachers’ and pupils’ beliefs about English and target language use: Findings from questionnaires

The similarly structured teacher and pupil questionnaires offered points of comparison between teacher and pupil beliefs. Sections B and D asked teachers and pupils about their beliefs related to classroom English and target language use. Section B, which adapted items from Gardener’s (1985) AMTB, Levine (2003), Thompson (2009) and Teimouri (2017), contained Likert scale items comparing teacher and pupil beliefs about exclusive use of target language and L1 inclusion, as well as perceived influence of teacher target language on pupil target language and perceived influence of target

language on pupil anxiety. Section D compared teacher and pupil beliefs about functions of English and target language use.

In line with recent literature, teachers and pupils both believed that English should be included in the classroom (Shin et al., 2019). However, there were several mismatches found among teacher and pupil beliefs. According to the findings, and in accordance with Levine (2003), teachers believed that their target language was a source of pupil anxiety, while pupils indicated that their own target language use was a greater source of anxiety, when used at risk of negative evaluation from peers (which was revealed in the interviews). At the same time, teachers generally believed consistent use of target language on their part would encourage pupils to use more target language. However, pupils' views were mixed as to whether teacher target language use encouraged their own, suggesting that other factors may be likelier indicators of pupil target language use, such as perceptions about their peers' competency.

In addition, there were mismatches regarding how both teachers and pupils believed English and target language should be used. Teachers and pupils tended to agree that teachers should use English when managing classroom behaviours, going over administrative items, clarifying when pupils were confused and teaching grammar. Teachers and pupils also agreed that pupils should use both English and target language during pair or group work and when doing a culturally related activity. Yet teachers and pupils seemed to disagree on more language use functions than they agreed upon, which suggests that English and target language use expectations could

be discussed between teachers and pupils as part of establishing classroom atmosphere. Two major language use debates emerged, namely:

- whether teachers should use English only or English and target language when teaching culture, building rapport with pupils and giving instructions and whether pupils should use English only or English and target language when socialising with classmates and for inner speech (thinking/metacognition)
- whether pupils should use English only or target language only when using survival phrases and when practicing grammar

In terms of the pedagogical uses of L1, the findings presented some stark contrasts with previous literature. For example, it is interesting that teachers believed that building rapport should be done in both English and target language, while pupils, in line with teachers' beliefs in other studies, believed that teachers should use English to build connections with their pupils (Forman, 2010; Hall & Cook, 2013; Rabbidge & Chappell, 2014; Bruen & Kelly, 2014; Shin et al., 2019). Another surprising area of mismatched beliefs was that while teachers and pupils agreed that pupils should use English and target language when working collaboratively, as supported by the concept of meaning negotiation (Swain & Lapkin, 2013), teachers also believed that pupils should use both languages when socialising with classmates – or discussing non-lesson related content. Pupils, on the other hand, believed they should chat with their classmates in English only. For teachers, the language classroom may reflect an environment for pupils to adopt target language, not only for learning, but for social

interaction. Yet pupils seem to separate the learning and target language from their social interactions with peers. This also related to findings from the interviews that reflected a struggle personally relating target language to pupils and relates to languages rarely being viewed as something beyond a school subject, which will be expanded on in Chapter 5.

4.5.2 Pupils' beliefs about English and target language use: Findings from metaphors

On the questionnaires, pupils were asked to complete three sentence stems about their views on language learning, using target language in class and using English in class (i.e., Learning French is like...). Each statement also included a 'because' so that pupils could expand on their meaning. The metaphorical responses showed equally positive and negative views on modern language learning in general. Metaphors about speaking target language in class tended to be more neutral/negative while metaphors about using English in class tended to be more neutral/positive.

While about 23% of metaphor responses reflected language learning positively as a surmountable challenge, metaphor responses also showed that about 15% (n=19) saw language learning as difficult to the point of impossible and another 13% (n=17) likened language learning to drudgery and tedium. The themes derived from analysing the metaphor responses were similar to those of Fisher (2013) in the English secondary context, indicating similarly mixed beliefs about modern language learning. Pupils' beliefs in Scotland were more positive than pupils' initial beliefs in England, however, after an intervention conducted by Fisher and a second round of metaphor elicitation, the beliefs of the pupils in England shifted. This points to the potential of shifting

attitudes about languages but also highlights the complex and changing nature of beliefs.

This study also shed novel depth on pupils' beliefs about language learning by adding two metaphor sentence stems: 'Speaking target language is like...because...' and 'Using English in [language] class is like...because...'. The former yielded responses that portrayed target language as mysterious and difficult. The latter described the use of English in class as essential, easy and normal. The metaphors corroborated data from the pupil questionnaires, such as the belief that the classroom should not be target language immersive environment and that target language only was rarely thought to be appropriate for the language use functions explored. Thus, according to pupils, it seems that sole use of target language use is generally unfavorable. Yet pupils (and teachers) do seem to support the combined use of English and target language, which could imply that a holistic approach to language use in the classroom is desirable. It is still unclear how such an approach may be possible but this will be expanded on in Chapter 6 (Conclusion) in terms of possible future research directions.

Chapter 5 Findings and Discussion on Research Question 2

This chapter answers the second research question - based on teachers' and pupils' accounts, what macro, meso and micro level contextual factors are perceived to influence pupils' beliefs about using English (L1) and target language (L2)?

Complementary perspectives are provided through integrated presentation and interpretation of questionnaire and interview findings, as discussed in Section 3.4.2.

Section 5.1 presents findings from teacher and pupil interviews with findings from the teacher and pupil questionnaires, followed by discussion in Section 5.2. Section 5.3 presents findings from pupil cartoon storyboards with findings from teacher and pupil questionnaires, followed by discussion in Section 5.4.

5.1 Findings from interviews and questionnaires: Triangulating questionnaires with contextual depth from interviews

Contextual factors discussed in the current study fell under either macro, meso or micro levels of influence, providing the basis for organisation of the major themes (Table 5.1).

A fourth level emerged, which pertained to matters related to the individual pupil, including personal relationship with language(s) and perceived relevance and value of the target language. This fourth level considers how contextual factors shape pupils' experiences.

Table 5.1: Major themes from interviews by contextual level

Contextual Level	Themes
Macro	Languages in Scottish society
Meso	Parent attitudes
	Wider school factors
Micro	Teacher language use
	Pupil language use
Individual	Perceived relevance of languages
	Personal connection to languages/awareness of multilingual identity

Section 5.1.1 presents macro contextual findings from teacher and pupil interviews. The following sections (5.1.2, 5.1.3 and 5.1.4) present teacher and pupil interview findings alongside related questionnaire findings that were not presented in Section 4.1 because they did not show direct comparisons between teachers and pupils and, when integrated with related interview findings, help to form a more complete picture of teachers' and pupils' perspectives here. The questionnaire data presented in these sections was corroborated by data from the interviews and furthermore, the interview data provided depth and context around the questionnaire data. The datasets drawn upon in each subsection are specified in Tables 5.3 - 5.7, where themes and subthemes are also presented. An overview of the 15 teacher interview participants and 46 pupil interview participants can be found in Table 5.2. Pseudonyms were given to the 15 teachers.

Table 5.2: Interview teacher and pupil participants by school

School	Teachers	n	Pupils	n	Total n
1	Oona Gail Yvette	3	S1 pupils	4	10
			S2 pupils	2	
			S3 pupils	3	
2	Thomas Cat	2	S1 pupils	5	15
			S2 pupils	8	
			S3 pupils	2	
3	Aria	1	-	-	-
4	Shona	1	S1 pupils	4	8
			S2 pupils	2	
			S3 pupils	2	
5	Owen Eloise	2	S1 pupils	2	7
			S2 pupils	5	
6	Olena Marjorie Bethan	3	S2 pupils	2	6
			S3 pupils	4	
7	Cerys	1	-	-	-
8	Deirdre Mairi	2	-	-	-
Total		15			46

5.1.1 Factors at the macro contextual level

The themes and subthemes presented in this section, and the datasets drawn upon, can be found in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3: Themes, subthemes and datasets drawn upon at the macro contextual level

Contextual level	Themes	Subthemes	Datasets drawn upon
Macro	Languages in Scottish society	English dominance	Teacher and pupil interview findings
		Multilingualism in Scotland	
		Perceived mismatch between languages in the community and languages taught in schools	

Languages in Scottish society

Teachers and pupils discussed their beliefs about teaching and learning languages in an Anglophone climate where the widespread use of English affects perceptions about the benefit of learning other languages. They also discussed their perceptions about multilingualism in Scotland and the languages spoken in their communities.

English dominance

During teacher interviews, teachers were asked specifically whether the globally dominant status of English impedes pupil willingness to learn languages and use target language (Question 9 in Teacher Interview schedule, Appendix 6). Teachers believed English dominance to be a major factor impeding target language use in Scottish classrooms. They noted that pupils do not need to learn to speak French, German or Spanish with the same urgency as pupils learning English in non-Anglophone parts of the world. Many teachers were resigned to the fact that the global presence of English meant that perceptions were difficult, even impossible, to shift. Shona from School 4 called this a ‘wider problem’ that cannot be the sole responsibility of schools and language teachers to change.

‘It needs to be a wider problem. It cannot just be what's going on in schools. We cannot just blame 1+2. [...] it's the mentality in the UK probably, [...] that you do not really need another language.’

(Shona, School 4)

While teachers unanimously described the challenges posed by the global status of English, pupils expressed varied positions regarding their perceptions of living in a predominantly English language societal context and its impact on pupil target language use attitudes. Whether or not pupils perceived English dominance to be problematic emerged as a follow up question to 14 on the pupil interview schedule, which asked pupils whether they perceived many languages to be spoken by people in Scotland (Appendix 9). Some pupils affirmed the challenge pointed out by teachers:

'[...] normally they [tourists] know how to speak English so like...I don't see why I need to learn a different language here.'

(S2 pupil, School 5)

Pupils also discussed a stereotype of British people viewed as 'naïve or ignorant' when it comes to languages and mirrored Shona's comment about attitudes being unshifting.

'I think it's something British people are quite bad at to be fair. We kind of just rely on other people [...] [people in] Germany or France or something, they do multiple hours of English every week and they'll be able to speak it fluently by a young age but...you can't really do anything about it.'

(S2 pupil, School 4)

While Aria from School 3 expressed a message of hope that English dominance does not impact intrinsically motivated pupils, Cerys from School 7, on the other hand,

voiced that pupils are aware that they can get by with ease in English and will ‘loudly express their discontent’ at having to do something in a different language. Many pupils, however, acknowledged the existence of English dominance as a problem and that English alone should not be relied upon. For some pupils, the dominance of English is a reason itself to speak other languages as a consideration to nonnative speakers of English. For example, one S3 pupil expressed the importance of using target language on holiday in France or Spain rather than relying on others to speak English. Another S2 pupil expanded on feeling a sense of obligation:

‘I feel almost guilty that they have to learn another language to speak with us. So I feel like I’d be giving something back by learning another language.’

(S2 pupil, School 2)

To other pupils, speaking target language changes the way an English native speaker is perceived by debunking the ‘stereotype’ of relying on others to use English.

‘They’ll see you as a French-speaking person, not an English-speaking person with the stereotypes maybe...’

(S3 pupil, School 1)

In conversations about English dominance, teachers highlighted some of what they believed to be major differences between the Anglophone world and non-Anglophone parts of the world. French, Spanish and German seem less integrated within media and popular culture in Scotland than English in French, Spanish and

German speaking countries. During her time in France, Yvette from School 1, experienced a heavy focus on developing English speaking skills. In Scotland, where she teaches French, she has found that the focus centres on reading and writing to prepare pupils for exams. Shona from School 4 also felt that French adolescents do not seem to be embarrassed by speaking English to the same degree that a pupil in Scotland might be by speaking French (or another target language). Additionally, pupils in Scotland reported that their French speaking peers will respond back in English regardless of whether they try to initiate conversation in target language. Shona reflected that when her pupils practice target language in a non-Anglophone context, they might feel limited given their French counterparts' level of proficiency in comparison to theirs. Similar to Shona's point, Eloise from School 5 felt that English has an element of 'coolness,' a profile which other languages do not match.

'If you're watching things in the [target culture] media or whatever people drop little English phrases in because it's kind of cool, you know, like in the in the way that I guess in like the '70s or '80s [...] like, 'Oh well I do not know, je ne sais quoi,' [had] a kind of coolness to it [that] we've lost [...] whereas speaking English in other countries does and you've got the cultural currency all around you ehm, that gives you that pull ehm, whereas in English we are isolated culturally.'

(Eloise, School 5)

Olena from School 6 pointed out that if languages do not have a place in wider aspects of pupils' lives, then this will always isolate Scotland from the rest of Europe in

terms of linguistic capability. Bethan from School 6 also raised this issue and added that pupils in Scotland often believe that they are not good at languages and will therefore, dismiss language learning altogether. English learning pupils, however, will view English as an expectation and thus the difficulty associated with learning a language does not act as a barrier to the same extent. Aria from School 3 believed the United Kingdom to be ‘notoriously’ bad at languages despite geographic proximity to European nations. This seems to filter down to pupils creating a fixed mindset, as evidenced by Bethan from School 6 who commented that pupils in Scotland are predisposed to believe they are not good at languages. She noted that English learning pupils in Europe, on the other hand, face higher expectations. This is supported by a statement made by one S2 pupil from School 5, who believed pupils in the United Kingdom to be ‘lazy.’

‘So people think, ‘oh I don’t need to know how to speak French ‘cos I’m never going to put this into a real situation. I don’t want to go to France. I don’t want to go to Canada. I don’t want to go to Cameroon. I don’t want to go to Africa. Why would I need to know how to speak French?’ So people just do not see the point in it [...] Because English and Scottish people are lazy. And when Scottish people or English people or basically, British people, see that there’s no point in it, we don’t want to do it, so it doesn’t happen.’

(S2 pupil, School 5)

Multilingualism in Scotland

Teachers were asked about their views regarding pupil awareness of multilingualism in Scottish society (Question 10, Teacher Interview Schedule, Appendix 6). The level of

awareness that teachers believed pupils to have about speakers of other languages varied depending on a few factors, such as geographic location, the teacher's role and pupil background. Olena from School 6 believed that due to the proximity of their school to a large city, pupils hear many languages spoken and therefore have a greater perception that languages are important than those not exposed to more languages.

'We're educating youngsters to be open minded, to be more culturally aware... But if you're in a smaller place somewhere else, where everyone is Scottish, or everyone is British [...] that will never happen. So around the capital city, the big cities, maybe yes, we've got a hope.'

(Olena, School 6)

This is consistent with Yvette, who acknowledged that while Scotland is a tolerant country in her view, pupils at her school are not exposed to much cultural diversity and therefore unaware of other languages. This was also consistent with the views of some pupils, who also expressed their perceptions of multilingualism within Scotland (Question 14, Pupil Interview Schedule, Appendix 9). Pupils in schools farther from larger cities tended to report only English use in their communities.

Bethan linked 'everyone speaks English attitudes anyway' to be more prevalent in areas of greater deprivation. Similarly, a pupil believed their area, classed as an area of deprivation, exuded less openness to languages. Interestingly, this pupil also described the area as its own linguistic microcosm.

'I think most of our area just has its, almost its own language, the way we speak slang and that...if we go away no one will understand us if we're talking normally.'

(S2 pupil, School 4)

One S3 pupil made an interesting distinction between family members' attitudes nearer a major city, who 'couldn't be bothered' about learning languages, compared to family members' in the north of Scotland who 'quite like learning languages.' This contrasts the opinions expressed by Olena and the S2 pupil from School 4. It may be that this pupil referred to family in the north of Scotland who spoke Scots or Gaelic, suggesting that proximity to cities doesn't necessarily equate to more open attitudes about languages.

Proximity to other countries also seemed to influence pupils' perceptions of multilingualism in Scotland. Pupils felt that Scotland's proximity to other English-speaking nations limited the extent to which pupils in Scotland learn languages, like this S3 pupil from School 2:

'I think they're (continental Europeans) learning different languages 'cos they're all like, surrounded by each other. In Scotland, we're just with like, England.'

(S3 pupil, School 2)

Aria from School 3 considered the role that teachers take in explicitly linking for pupils that by learning languages they also partake as members of a multilingual society. However, Aria stated that she is 'never teaching in a way that gets pupils to think of themselves as multilingual'. The pupils who consider themselves as multilingual

tend to be only pupils with family ties to a particular language or culture. Simply learning French at school, Aria went on to say, is just another school subject and not one that gets pupils considering themselves as part of the Francophone world. Likewise, Marjorie from School 6 had never considered having an explicit conversation with pupils about the fact that by learning a language they could someday consider themselves as multilingual, unless they already have other languages in their home lives.

Interestingly, some teachers expressed surprise toward pupils who were resistant to the classroom language despite being a speaker of another language at home. Cerys from School 7 described how even though multilingualism is a close concept to these pupils, their perception of learning French, Spanish or German at school is not necessarily positive. She believed that because these pupils had acquired their home language(s), which is different to learning languages, the fact that they are already multilingual does not change the fact that these pupils still 'find learning the language we're teaching annoying.'

Some teachers also raised the point that while pupils oftentimes appreciate multilingualism when they observe another speaking a different language, the effort required to become multilingual can be a demotivating factor.

'If a class are kind of difficult behavior wise or in their attitude towards it [speaking other languages], I do sometimes say, you know, 'Put your hands up if you'd like to be able to speak another language' and basically all, apart from the 'really cool ones' say yes. And then you know, I start saying, 'Hands up if you'd like to be able to do it, but just without doing any of the work' and then - some are just like, 'Yeah, I'm up for the work,' - but

there are a lot of them that are like, 'Yeah, I just want to do it but I cannot bother trying.'

So I think they do think it's a cool skill to have. But some feel they just do not get it.'

(Cat, School 2)

Perceived mismatch between languages in the community and those taught at school

From teacher and pupil discussions of multilingualism in Scotland emerged the idea that the languages in Scottish communities do not match the languages taught in schools.

The most popular languages taught at Scottish schools are French, Spanish and German. According to one S1 pupil, Spanish and French speakers are not as prevalent in Scotland as they are around Europe.

'[...] 'cos I think Scotland is...like not gonna get a lot of Spanish and French speaking people [...] but like other places in Europe, yeah.'

(S1 pupil, School 2)

Cerys from School 7 suggested that perhaps pupils would be less frustrated about language learning overall if the multilingualism represented in their immediate spheres of reference were reflected in formal education. Thomas from School 5 also said that the amount of, for example, Polish or Hindi that pupils might hear in their communities is nothing compared to the amount of English that, for example, French pupils hear in their day to day lives.

'You've obviously got [...] different communities of people who come to Scotland ... but then...I don't know what impact that has on the pupils and whether they see that as, sort of, multilingualism because it's not something that they're having to learn in school.'

(Thomas, School 2)

This raises questions about which languages should be taught in schools and whether there is potential for local authorities to choose languages that reflect the community, given the 1+2 language strategy. A S2 pupil pointed out the lack of target language exposure that results from the mismatch between languages taught at school and languages most heard outside of school.

'Most people won't speak a language apart from English at home. Probably English, or maybe Arabic [...] but it's [target language] not really used apart from in the French classroom so no one's getting the experience of using French.'

(S2 pupil, School 5)

Aria from School 3 addressed that even national languages, such as Gaelic and Scots, are not widespread enough to be motivating. Despite Aria's belief, some pupils argued that Gaelic should be taught in schools in place of, for example, French, which one S2 pupil stated was 'pretty useless' in Scotland.

'[We] should be learning proper Scottish languages since that's the country that we live in.'

(S1 pupil, School 2)

Some pupils lamented that friends who speak another language at home do not have the opportunity to develop their heritage language skills at school. Moreover,

pupils commented that their multilingual friends tended to hide their heritage language(s) at school.

‘People do not talk about it [at school]. Most people I know in this school do not usually use the language that they speak [...] it feels wrong.’

(S3 pupil, School 1)

Summary of macro level findings

Teachers do indeed find the widespread use of English to be a problem in motivating pupils in Scotland to see the value in learning modern languages, particularly when compared to English exposure in non-Anglophone English learning settings. Some pupils displayed ‘English is enough’ attitudes while others felt it was their duty to challenge English monolingual stereotypes in Scotland and in the United Kingdom. In general, pupils do not perceive Scotland to be a multilingual place due to geographic proximity to other English-speaking nations, with the exception of large cities. Teachers reported that they do not explicitly address the idea of pupils as active participants in multilingualism in classroom discourse.

5.1.2 Factors at the meso contextual level

In the interviews, both teachers and pupils identified parent attitudes to be a factor influencing beliefs about English and target language use. These findings linked to findings from the pupil questionnaire about whether, according to pupils, parents believed target language to be important. The teacher interviews also detailed wider school factors impacting on teacher English and target language use, which

corroborated some findings from the teacher questionnaire (in terms of modern language team and government influence on language use practices) and provided more depth around other wider school factors, initial language teacher education, 1+2 and uptake. Pupils also gave some commentary on learning languages at primary as well as uptake in terms of their beliefs about compulsory language learning and its effect on desire to learn languages. The themes and subthemes presented in this subsection, and the datasets drawn upon, can be found in Table 5.4.

Table 5.4: Themes, subthemes and datasets drawn upon at the meso contextual level

Contextual level	Themes	Subthemes	Datasets drawn upon
Meso	Parent attitudes	Positive parent attitudes	○ Pupil questionnaire findings ○ Teacher and pupil interview findings
		Ambivalent parent attitudes	
		Parent attitudes about the importance of less commonly taught languages	
	Wider school factors	External (government) and internal (school) influences on target language	○ Teacher questionnaire findings ○ Teacher interview findings
		Teacher education	○ Teacher interview findings
		1+2/Languages at primary	○ Teacher and pupil interview findings
		Uptake/Compulsory language learning	○ Teacher and pupil interview findings

Parent attitudes

On the pupil questionnaire, one item asked about parental views of target language use in the classroom and the second about target language use in general. In both cases, neutral was the most commonly chosen position, which could mean that parents are

neither overwhelmingly supportive of nor against target language use or pupils do not know their parents' views.

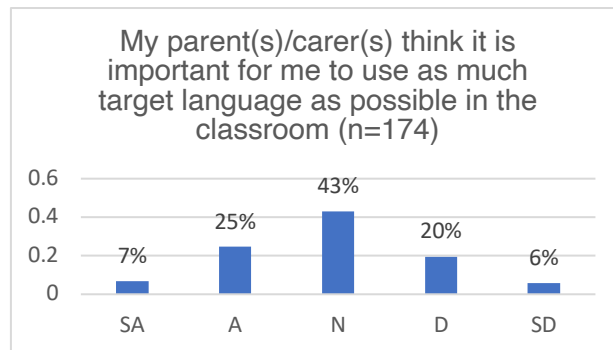


Figure 5.1: Pupils' beliefs about whether parents/carers think target language use in the classroom is important

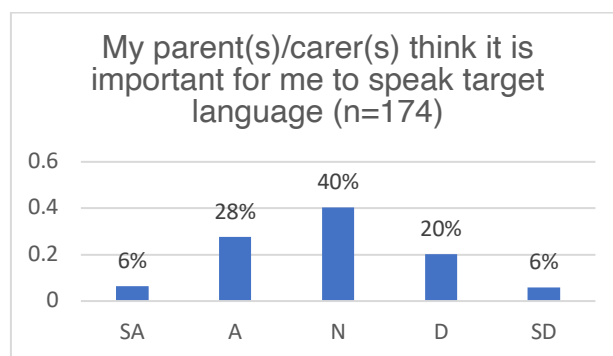


Figure 5.2: Pupils' beliefs about whether parent/carers think the ability to speak target language is important

In the interviews, teachers were asked what attitudes they perceive from parents about languages (Question 1, Teacher Interview Schedule, Appendix 6). While, according to teachers from Schools 6, 7 and 8, positive parent attitudes mostly coincided with support from school management and levels of affluence in those communities, all teachers described three camps of prevalent parent attitudes: 1) parents who are supportive of languages, 2) parents who are ambivalent toward language learning and 3) parents who believe their child should be learning more

important languages than the languages on offer at schools. The mix of attitudes described by the teachers supports and sheds light on the pupil questionnaire findings, which predominantly showed neutrality coming from parents, according to pupils' views (Figures 5.1 and 5.2).

The second camp of parents were described as having negative language learning experiences themselves and subsequently passed the mindset that languages are difficult along to their children, resulting in pupils who dislike languages before they have begun language study. Though not specifically asked about in the pupil interview, one S1 pupil recounted witnessing their parents struggle to use French on a family holiday:

'[...] just waiting there seeing them struggle. I probably plan not to like, go to France. I think 'cos my family has not really enjoyed it...'

(S1 pupil, School 4)

One S3 pupil described a change in her parents' attitudes despite their own negative experiences learning French, suggesting that not all pupils are predisposed to match their families' language attitudes.

'[They are] quite fascinated at the fact that I enjoy it now...yeah, it has already changed the way my parents view it.'

(S3 pupil, School 1)

The third camp of parents were described as valuing language learning but felt schools should be offering languages they deemed more useful which, at the time of data collection, included Russian or Mandarin. Eloise from School 5 expressed the challenge of trying to persuade these parents that a language such as French is not an outdated language.

'When you sort of have these kinds of arguments [...] you're trying to helpfully convince them that the courses that we're teaching are valuable, they're often met with resistance. It's like you're challenging a core belief [...] and it's not really fact based, it's, it's emotional.'

(Eloise, School 5)

Additionally, teachers found that parents will often push for more STEM subjects on their child's timetables over languages. This makes language teachers feel they have the added pressure of having to sell their subject. Some pupils will eventually sign on to two or more science-oriented subjects, eliminating room for languages on the timetable. This is one reason why Shona from School 4 advocates for languages as being part of the core curriculum as are mathematics, sciences and English.

Wider school factors

Regarding wider school factors, teachers indicated on the questionnaires the extent to which they believe their English and target language use practices to be guided by Education Scotland and by their school's modern language team. In the interviews, teachers also discussed influences on beliefs about using English and target language

from their initial teacher education experiences as well as issues related to language uptake and the effect of the 1+2 approach to languages at both primary and secondary schools.

External (government) and internal (school) influences on target language

On the teacher questionnaire, teachers responded to four items about factors within the school that influence their target language use, including influence of department members and Education Scotland.

According to 73% of teachers (n=10), an inspector would not expect teachers to always use target language in the classroom (Figure 5.3). Yet teachers were mixed as to whether Education Scotland guidelines, the national body that provides curriculum resources and conducts inspections, influence teacher language use. Forty percent of teachers (n=6) felt that Education Scotland does not currently influence their language use while 27% (n=4) of teachers felt that Education Scotland does currently influence their language use (Figure 5.4). Thirty-three percent (n=5) of teachers remained neutral. As to whether Education Scotland should exercise greater influence over teachers' language use practices, 53% (n=8) of teachers did not think so, while 33% once again remained neutral (Figure 5.5).

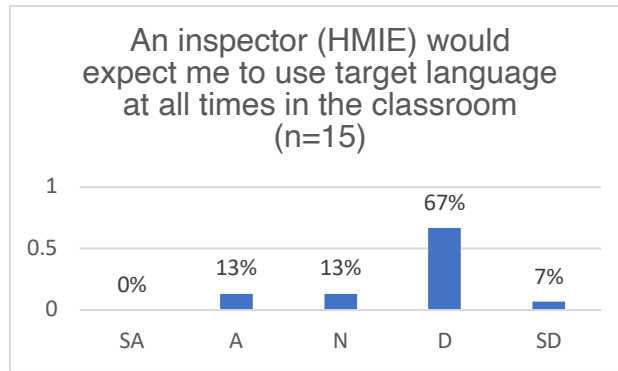


Figure 5.3: Teachers' beliefs about whether an HMIE inspector would expect exclusive use of target language in the classroom

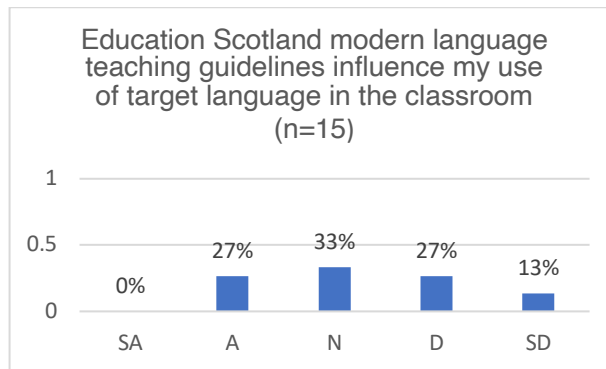


Figure 5.4: Teachers' beliefs about whether their target language use practices are guided by Education Scotland

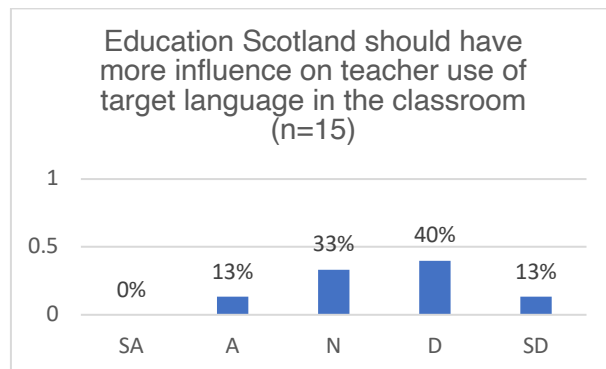


Figure 5.5: Teachers' beliefs about whether Education Scotland should influence their target language use practices

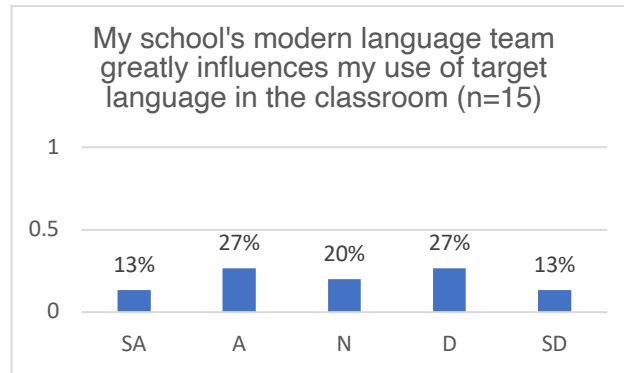


Figure 5.6: Teachers' beliefs about whether their target language use practices are guided by colleagues

Forty percent of teachers (n=6) felt that their team influenced their language use while another 40% of teachers felt that their team did not influence their language use. Those who felt their use of target language was not guided by their team's influence are likely instead guided by personal experience rather than a mandated or collective decision. Section E on the teacher questionnaire, which asked teachers to select the top reason behind their target language and English use beliefs, coincides with this finding from Section B showing a split response from teachers in relation to the perceived influence of language departments on their use of target language (Figure 5.6). The top-rated reason was hands on teaching experience, as opposed to department/team policies or teacher education.

Language teacher education

Teacher interviews revealed that, while Education Scotland and team influence on teacher language use seems to vary, almost all teachers reported that they were encouraged to use 100% target language during their initial teacher education (ITE) school placements (Question 2, Teacher Interview Schedule, Appendix 6). This is

interesting considering the finding from the questionnaires that most teachers felt 100% target language was not sought after in an inspection. Owen from School 5 stated that language student teachers are led to believe that the host teacher's classroom will be a 100% target language environment. Presumably, once student teachers encounter the reality of the classroom, they adopt a new target language stance, which is in line with why teachers ranked personal teaching experience as the top reason behind their language use beliefs. Owen recalled using 100% target language on placement while at the same time feeling aware that he was using 100% target language simply for the sake of it.

Cat from School 2 suspected that, despite what language departments might claim, language teachers generally do not use much target language. According to Olena from School 6, early career teachers most likely find that teaching becomes easier after 'giving up the battle' of using 100% target language. Shona from School 4 recounted her surprise when, during her student teaching, a mentor teacher advised her to avoid speaking activities altogether. In the setting she described, target language often meant a loss of control over classroom management.

Eloise from School 5 recalled a mentor teacher who, unlike most, did not push 100% target language. She was forthright about her limited target language use and pointed out that student and probationer teachers have yet to gain enough experience to justify their lack of target language. This is very much in line with amount of personal teaching experience as the number one ranked reason behind teachers' language use.

These findings raise the question as to whether teacher education prepares language teachers for the practicalities of target language use, which Cerys summarised:

'I think there's a disconnect between what we [think we] should do, what the research shows that we should do and then the local context in which we work and the culture of the establishment in which we work. And it can be difficult to join those two elements and get rid of that disconnect.'

(Cerys, School 7)

1+2/Languages at primary school

Additional school factors brought up by teacher and pupil interviews included the language learning and target language at primary level and how this impacts language learning and target language attitudes at secondary level.

During interviews, teachers were asked if 1+2 has had (or could have) a positive impact on pupils' target language use at secondary school (Question 11 Teacher Interview Schedule, Appendix 6). According to Gail at School 1, 1+2 provides pupils with target language exposure and has helped pupils with pronunciation and in recognition of target language patterns. However, most teachers reported that pupils are not coming up to secondary level with improved language skills. Bethan felt hopeful that 1+2 has the potential to bring Scotland in line with other European nations. However, she felt that target language proficiency does not progress sufficiently. An example given was that some pupils by S1, S2 or even S3 rarely use target language beyond giving the date, time and weather. Cerys wondered whether more consistent

target language at primary would remove some of the challenges secondary teachers face in implementing target language:

'I think if they [pupils] were used to hearing and seeing and talking the target language much more often, then that, some of those challenges would be removed.'

(Cerys, School 7)

However, primary teachers may not be poised to deliver language instruction with more target language use. Teachers at primary have had less target language training than secondary teachers, who are specialised in their languages, but they are still expected to integrate target language into their teaching. Secondary teachers suggested that primary teachers should be required to have a language qualification. Additionally, teachers expressed concern that some primary teachers who did not have positive language learning experiences themselves pass down negative preconceptions to pupils.

'If you teach it with positivity and enthusiasm and kindle a love of language learning then you've cut out half our work in high school. But if you approach it from a nervous, anxious point of view, the kids will pick up on that and they'll pick up on the fear and like, it's going to be harder.'

(Deirdre, School 8)

Thomas from School 2 also drew attention to the importance of shaping positive attitudes at primary level because, he argued, there is only so much that can be done to

motivate pupils by secondary level. Aria from School 3 agreed that a negative primary experience will lead to a fixed mindset at secondary level. However, Shona from School 4 felt that given the 'randomness' of what is covered in primary language education, pupils enjoy 'getting to do it for real' when they arrive at secondary school.

Despite how the primary language learning experience might help or hinder attitudes about languages, teachers voiced their doubt whether 1+2 has the potential to make a positive impact on languages overall. Oona from School 1 argued that what pupils learn at primary is not consistently implemented by the school or by teachers across a cluster. As a result, teachers at S1 spend extra time getting pupils to an even playing field. The L2 (and L3) taught across schools/clusters may change unpredictably. For example, Shona from School 4 explained how a primary school within her cluster switched from L2 French to L2 Spanish after Shona and other secondary teachers had already built a curriculum in French for primary teachers so that topics covered would be more consistent. Shona also lamented that primary teachers barely have time to sufficiently implement L2 let alone L3. Yvette from School 1 argued that as a result, French is 'dying out' because emphasis is placed on L2 more so than the L3, and Spanish has gained popularity as the L2.

According to Oona from School 1, tacking on a second foreign language has made some pupils feel they are not good at either their L2 or their L3. She argued that the system should perhaps instead be set up in a way that gets pupils excelling in one language, in addition to mother tongue, rather than two. Shona from School 4 similarly felt that 1+2 has aimed for too much breadth rather than depth. This was backed up by

some pupils. According to one S3 pupil, learning two languages at the same time has been confusing and frustrating. This is also in line with cartoon storyboard Image 5.3, presented in Section 5.3.2, where an S2 pupil depicted feeling confused as to whether he was in Spanish or French class. Some pupils reported feeling more comfortable with Spanish (than French or German) suggesting that pupils feel more successful in only one of the languages they carry over from primary school.

While many teachers admitted that 1+2 is a good idea in principle, teachers also questioned whether the goals of 1+2 might be arbitrary or otherwise unachievable given their opinion that primary schools have not been provided with sufficient training, resources and funding. Thomas from School 2 and Oona from School 1 both declared that the measures in place, while labeled as something new ('1+2'), mimic previous initiatives.

'I do not see anything changing. It's just going to drift on as it is until we decide that

1+2...we'll rebrand it and we'll call it something else.'

(Thomas, School 2)

Questions 10 and 11 on the pupil interview schedule (Appendix 9) asked pupils to describe a time when they felt most successful or motivated in their language learning and a time when they felt least successful or motivated. Many pupils (ranging from S1-S3) referred to their primary experience in answer to this question. Their accounts of primary teacher target language use varied. Some pupils reported positive

experiences with the way target language was implemented across the school day, such as this S2 pupil, who described using target language for classroom routines:

'She used French even in like, not in French class. She used it like, all the time. And when she was like, 'Oh are you here?' she used French. Like doing the register and that. I feel that was really good.'

(S2 pupil, School 4)

Uptake/Compulsory language learning

In the interviews, teachers and pupils also raised the issue of low uptake and pupils expressed their views on compulsory language learning. Some teachers, like Aria from School 3 did not feel that the 1+2 language policy is contributing to increased uptake.

'I just don't think we're going to get a huge jump. I don't think it's going to be like, wow, like 40% of high schoolers are taking languages like, that's a ways off. If it ever happens.'

(Aria, School 3)

Owen from School 5 pointed out that having the option to drop languages after S2 or S3 contradicts the purpose of 1+2. Similarly, Deirdre from School 8 suggested that compulsory language learning should continue into at least S4. This way, more pupils will obtain some level of qualification. Yvette described how small language class numbers are into the senior phase:

'My biggest challenge in that school in the last ten years, I would say, has been the uptake. The uptake is awful. It's very challenging, very demoralising...to see classes of Highers with three pupils, six pupils. I mean, it is really, really, really quite bad in our school.'

(Yvette, School 1)

An S3 pupil shared a similar sentiment about the low uptake:

'So there's going to be like five of us doing [language] next year probably, and it's quite heartbreaking because we learnt that from when you were about P5 or whatever.'

(S3 pupil, School 4)

Some pupils expressed that if languages were made a compulsory, core subject then they would be viewed as importantly as English or mathematics. Others felt that the compulsory element is a deterrent, like this S3 pupil:

'I think if last year we had the choice whether to take it I think the people in the class would [...] be more enthusiastic about it. But because we were made to take it, I do not think people take it seriously or want to take it.'

(S3 pupil, School 1)

However, another S3 pupil from School 1 reflected on how compulsory language learning opened her mind to learning other languages:

'I probably wouldn't have taken French if I didn't have to. But now I'm thinking of taking it next year so like, having to take it was in a sense a good thing.'

(S3 pupil, School 1)

Eloise proposed that addressing uptake in Scottish language education requires a systemic shift; one that ties pupils to languages in terms of their own identity and personal connection rather than academically. This idea is further expanded on in Sections 5.1.4 and 5.2.9.

'When you look at the national picture where fewer and fewer pupils every year are choosing languages ...I think we have to reevaluate our systems and our expectations. I think we have to reevaluate what our priorities are and maybe if we've got a traditionalist approach¹² where it's academic, and sort of academically valued, ehm, that's not the way that we should be going anymore. I think we should be really forcing that kind of...finding something in languages that...finding ways of identifying with languages that isn't through academia because it is traditionally an academic subject and we need to move away from that.'

(Eloise, School 5)

Summary of meso contextual factors

In addition to the macro level factors, which showed that 'English is enough' attitudes contribute to the difficulty of promoting the value of target languages, and language

¹² By 'traditionalist approach,' Eloise was referring to language instruction which emphasises vocabulary and grammar, which are key components needed to be successful on the exams in place.

learning, meso contextual findings showed that beliefs about the languages used in the classroom are also influenced by parent attitudes. Additionally, teacher education programmes may be setting unrealistic target language expectations for new language teachers. Teachers also expressed that they believe varied attitudes and ability levels among primary teachers to impede the success of the 1+2 approach and pupils voiced their varied opinions about compulsory language learning.

5.1.3 Factors at the micro contextual level

At the micro contextual level (the language classroom), teachers and pupils discussed factors related to teacher and pupil language use. As with the findings from the meso contextual level, the micro level findings revealed several subthemes. Given that the micro contextual level revealed a large amount of valuable data, the themes and subthemes related to teacher language use (Table 5.5) are presented here. The themes and subthemes related to pupil language use (Table 5.6) are presented further on in this subsection.

Table 5.5: Themes, subthemes and datasets drawn upon at the micro contextual level (teacher language use)

Contextual level	Themes	Subthemes	Datasets drawn upon
Micro	Teacher language use	Using less target language to maintain pupil interest	○ Teacher and pupil questionnaire findings ○ Teacher and pupil interview findings
		Translation	○ Teacher and pupil interview findings
		Influence of teacher target language on pupil target language	○ Teacher and pupil questionnaire findings ○ Teacher and pupil interview findings

Teacher language use

Regarding teacher target language use, teachers discussed their belief that intentionally using less target language retained more pupil interest. This finding was in line with views expressed in the teacher and pupil questionnaires that teachers should not always use target language in the classroom but the extent to which teachers feel they should limit target language is an interesting supporting finding from the interviews. Teacher and pupils also expressed their preferences for using direct target language to English translation, finding it to be a beneficial resource. Finally, the questionnaires showed a mismatch between teachers' and pupils views regarding the impact of teacher target language use on pupil target language use. The interviews revealed that while teachers ultimately believe teacher target language to lead to increased pupil target language output, this is not necessarily a direct result of mere teacher target language but rather a result of other factors, such as using target language in an entertaining way or using target language to improve listening comprehension without added pressure for pupils to produce output. Teachers and pupils also suggested that balanced English and target language use leads to pupil target language use.

The belief that teachers must limit their target language use to maintain pupil interest

Questionnaire data presented in Section 4.1.1 showed that 100% of teachers and 95% believed English use to be appropriate in the classroom (Figures 4.1 and 4.2). Yet while the teacher and pupil findings were almost unanimous regarding the exclusion of English in favour of an immersive environment, further quantitative data from the teacher and pupil questionnaires revealed that 67% of teachers (n=10) and 75% of

pupils (n=128) did not believe in exclusive use of target language (Figures 4.3 and 4.4). Thus, while teachers and pupils strongly support inclusion of English in the classroom, their slightly more mixed beliefs about target language suggests more complexity. The interview findings examined views on teacher target language use more closely.

The interviews revealed that teachers believed in a need to limit target language so as not to deter pupil interest and enthusiasm for the language class (Question 3, Teacher Interview Schedule, Appendix 6). Aria from School 3 described using less target language to maintain pupil enthusiasm.

‘And I’m just trying to, like in S1, try and get them to enjoy it and S2, I’m just trying to get them on my side [...] when you’re catering to such a diverse ability range in a class of 28 kids, you’re trying to lose the least amount as possible.’

(Aria, School 3)

She also added that sometimes, ‘the more [target language] you use, the more [pupils] you lose.’

While most pupils did not support exclusive use of target language by the teacher, some advocated for more teacher target language in interviews. These pupils felt that the teacher should use more target language to bolster vocabulary. Pupils also suggested that teachers could ask questions that pupils know in target language, rather than just using target language at the start of class for greetings, as was depicted by many pupils in their cartoon storyboards.

'She says 'Guten tag' but [...] pretty much that's one of the only times that she uses German to the whole class.'

(S2 pupil, School 6)

Pupils who advocated for more teacher target language expressed that target language sets the language class apart from other classes, making the class more interesting.

Cat from School 2 thought that if teachers persevered with more target language consistently across S1, S2 and S3, then pupils might be less resistant as they move further up the school. Yvette also voiced her frustration about inconsistency with target language.

'I do really think that if there were more [target language] from S1, every [language] class they go to, then when they came to you, they would be less inhibited, you know? I think it's maybe a lack of speaking full stop.'

(Yvette, School 1)

In addition, timetables pose an obstacle. Pupils may have different language teachers for the same language, within a single week, and each with their own varied beliefs about target language use. While one teacher might mold a class to meet certain target language expectations in S1, this might be inconsistent with another teacher's practices and expectations.

More target language at S1 however, challenges the idea that using less target language prevents pupil deterrence from language learning. Shona from School 4 believed that while there is potential for more target language, using target language

would ultimately jeopardise pupil interest. However, she also acknowledged that in attempting not to deter pupils with target language teachers are ‘making it a bit too easy.’ Yet language teachers have the added pressure of having to sell their subject, Shona added, and this fact is at the forefront of her mind, making target language difficult to incorporate into her teaching.

Thomas from School 2 countered that S1 pupil enthusiasm and interest for target language can go one of two ways: either they are very keen at the start of secondary school or they might not have a solid foundation from primary school to build on and therefore get discouraged quickly by target language. Thomas felt that enabling the latter type of S1 pupil in English so that pupils feel they can contribute is preferable over forcing more target language. This thought relates back to variation of primary school learning experiences.

Translation

In the interviews, teachers and pupils both supported the use of direct translation to help pupils make sense of teacher use of target language. As part of the push for 100% target language that most of the language teachers experienced during initial teacher education, Cat from School 2 was discouraged from ‘sandwiching,’ that is, translating directly from target language to English to aid pupil comprehension. Similarly, Shona from School 4 chided herself on ‘being terrible for automatically translating things.’

Yet Marjorie from School 6 questioned why translation should be avoided when it allows pupils to show their understanding.

'I would still beget [sic] people to translate to make sure the understanding has happened so that we're not starting a task with half the class lost.'

(Marjorie, School 6)

In discussion of teacher target language (Question 4, Pupil Interview Schedule, Appendix 9), pupils supported translation of target language into English to help avoid confusion. One pupil also suggested that having a help sheet to assist pupils to translate themselves could enable the teacher to use more target language more effectively.

'I feel like it would be better [if] she could use more French but if she explained to us before [in English] what the kind of stuff meant, [or] using it [target language] for like...explaining' something but then having us to have a like little sheet so we could translate it...'

(S2 pupil, School 5)

Impact of teacher target language on pupil target language

Teachers indicated on the questionnaires that the more target language they use, the more, they believe, their pupils will use target language. Questionnaire data presented in Section 4.1.1 revealed that 67% of teachers (n=10) believed that their target language led to more pupil target language (Figure 4.5). Only 29% (n=50) of pupils agreed and 28% (n=48) reported that their teacher's target language use did not encourage them to use target language (Figure 4.6).

Additional questionnaire items showed that teachers and pupils were both split as to whether pupils should be expected to use target language spontaneously and independently of teacher target language. Out of 15 teachers, 40% (n=6) did not expect pupils to use target language spontaneously. Another 40% of teachers did expect pupils to use target language spontaneously, while 20% (n=3) remained neutral (Figure 5.7). When asked if pupils should use target language regardless of whether their teacher used teacher target language, 47% of pupils (n=82) took a neutral stance. Sixteen percent of pupils (n=28) felt they should use target language regardless of whether the teacher used target language and 36% (n=63) reported that they should not use target language if their teacher is not using target language (Figure 5.8).

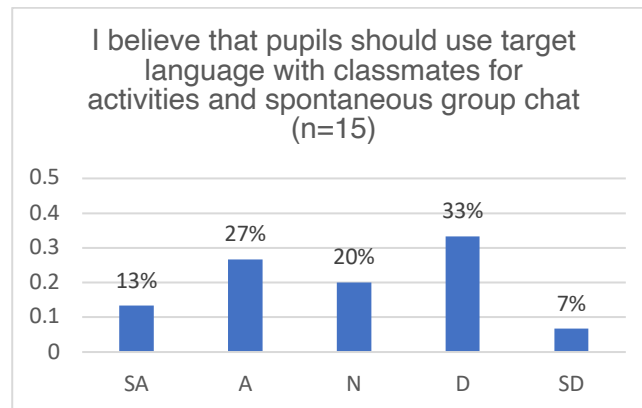


Figure 5.7: Teachers' beliefs about whether pupils should use target language spontaneously

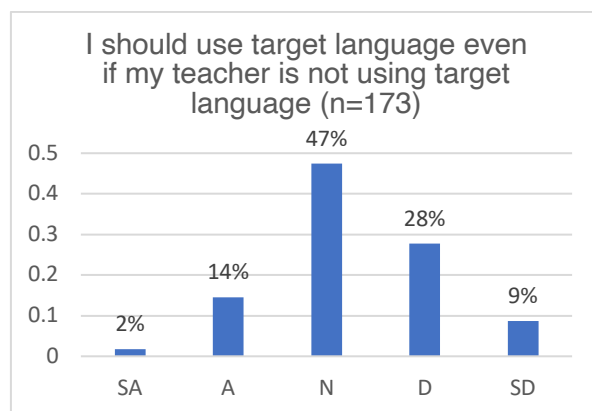


Figure 5.8: Pupils' beliefs about whether pupils should use target language independently of the teachers' target language use

During interviews, teachers were asked to reflect on whether they believed target language to encourage pupil target language use (Questions 3 and 6, Teacher Interview Schedule. Appendix 6). This led to deeper reflection of their own target language use. Shona from School 4 and Owen from School 5 both stated that teacher target language is beneficial for pupils' listening skills but does not necessarily contribute to pupil target language output. However, Gail from School 1 commented that if she asks a question to pupils in German, then pupils are more likely to respond in German. Marjorie from School 6 considered that hearing target language can be a motivating factor but must be coupled with other important factors for it to have a positive influence on pupil target language. In other words, teacher target language alone does not encourage pupil target language.

Cat from School 2 noted that, although pupils feel unmotivated when they do not understand, teacher target language can sometimes be exciting.

'There have been scenarios where I've just persevered, because maybe it's, rather than them like, rolling their eyes at me, they're just looking like, 'Oh, do not know what she's saying' but in a sort of, enthusiastic, excited way.'

(Cat, School 2)

One S2 pupil confirmed Cat's statement by describing how peers also show a sense of awe when they hear someone competently using target language.

'People get intrigued because it's a different language and you're like 'oh, I want to be able to do that' because it is cool to be able to speak another language.'

(S2 pupil, School 2)

Eloise from School 5 and Mairi from School 8 provided two different approaches to cultivating pupil target language enjoyment. Eloise, who reported little personal target language use, has found that pupil enjoyment of the language develops organically and independently of the teacher's target language use.

'The more enjoyment pupils find in learning the language, the more they're going to want to try and have a go in the target language. Now, that does not necessarily mean that they're seeing a lot of target language. I think their motivation to speak comes from an enjoyment of speaking, or an enjoyment of going, 'Hey, I can do this, I can manipulate this language, I can express myself and say something that I want to say.' I might not bother with a lot of target language, but I model an enjoyment of using the language.'

(Eloise, School 5)

Though she claims to use very little target language, Eloise described how she models fun with the language, such as by playing games, saying tongue twisters, and demonstrating that mistakes and silliness with the language are okay. On the other hand, Mairi reported using so much target language that pupils perceive her as ‘the crazy Spanish teacher.’ In Mairi’s view, she also makes the language fun by using the language in such exaggerated ways that she is rarely viewed by pupils as separate from her subject. In doing so, she believes her language use leaves an impression on pupils’ subconsciouses and makes them more confident in their target language use down the line. However, this approach, she acknowledged, can clash with some teachers’ personalities. According to an S3 pupil, teacher target language ‘forces us to use the target language’ and helps to get in the right mindset.

‘I don’t know, it [teacher target language] just makes me feel more professional and such, like I’m, you know, I’m in the mindset’

(S3 pupil, School 1)

The other teachers expressed more conflicted views when considering the role of teacher target language on pupil target language use. Like Marjorie, Bethan from School 6 believed teacher target language to have an adverse effect when pupils cannot understand instructions and end up whispering amongst themselves (in English). She stated that target language does not increase motivation yet also stated that just

enough 'gives them a buzz' if they are able to understand and respond. This suggests that there is a threshold to how much target language can be motivating.

Deirdre from School 8 stressed that teachers cannot sustain target language without losing their relationship with the class. She pointed out that this may be different in non-Anglophone contexts where pupils have 'wider linguistic perspectives,' meaning that where pupils are more exposed to English, there is less fear and more absorption of language, whereas the acceleration of target language in Anglophone language learning contexts seems to come at the expense of positive pupil relationships. Deirdre summarised the difficulty in finding a balance:

'I think they feel shortchanged if there's none and I think they feel overwhelmed if there's too much.'

(Deirdre, School 8)

Some pupils believed less teacher target language created a low-pressure environment, making them feel more comfortable to use target language. Cerys made a similar comment in which pupils enjoy teacher target language when there is no pressure for pupils to produce target language themselves.

'They quite like sometimes listening to me talking it [target language] without the pressure of them having to respond.'

(Cerys, School 8)

Yet these pupils did not necessarily oppose target language use, rather they described a preference for balance.

'Enough English that we know what we're doing, enough French that we can learn things.'

(S2 pupil, School 5)

The teachers were also asked to what extent teacher target language use encourages spontaneous pupil target language use and the answer is seemingly very little. At School 2, according to Cat, spontaneous target language is rare even in the Senior Phase. The most you might hear, she said, is someone responding with 'gracias' when borrowing a pencil. She also stated that the reason more spontaneous target language use does not occur naturally is due to the nature of the topical curriculum. The topics are not set up in a way that equips pupils with language they might use with each other in casual conversation. Yet this statement from an S2 pupil disputes the idea that there is not enough opportunity for spontaneous conversation in target language:

'I wish we used more German so then you'd start to understand more stuff. I think it would be helpful to say stuff in German as well as write it. Once, me and my friend decided to have a German conversation. Because we got bored.'

(S2 pupil, School 6)

However, the following S2 pupil from another school confirmed that spontaneous target language among pupils just for fun was unlikely:

'It's not like you can have a conversation with one of your friends in French and it's not like, what you'd want to do anyway.'

(S2 pupil, School 4)

Pupil language use

The themes, subthemes and datasets drawn upon related to pupil language use within the classroom context, summarised in Table 5.6, are presented here.

Table 5.6: Themes, subthemes and datasets drawn upon at the micro contextual level (pupil language use)

Contextual level	Theme	Subthemes	Datasets drawn upon
Micro	Pupil language use	Anxiety and fear of making mistakes	○ Teacher and pupil questionnaire findings ○ Teacher and pupil interview findings
		'Native' speakers	○ Teacher and pupil interview findings
		Perceived difficulty	○ Teacher and pupil interview findings
		Authentic language use and survival phrases	○ Teacher and pupil questionnaire findings ○ Teacher interview findings
		Peers	○ Teacher and pupil questionnaire findings ○ Teacher and pupil interview findings
		Speaking tasks	○ Teacher and pupil interview findings

Anxiety and fear of making mistakes

In Section 4.1.1, teacher and pupil beliefs regarding teacher target language and anxiety were compared. Findings indicated that teachers believed pupils to be more

uncomfortable with teacher target language use than pupils reported (Figures 4.7 and 4.8).

On the questionnaires, pupils also indicated whether they felt afraid to use target language in class (Figure 5.9). Out of 174 pupils, 45% (n=79) reported that they do not feel afraid to use target language in class, while 29% of pupils did (n=51). Yet when asked whether pupils feel embarrassed to use target language, 37% reported that they did (n=65) and 37% reported that they did not feel embarrassed (Figure 5.10).

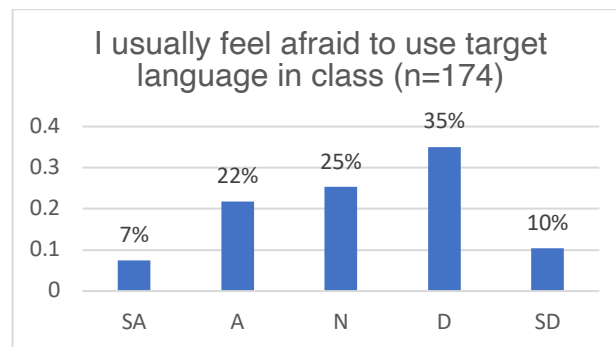


Figure 5.9: Pupils' beliefs about whether they feel afraid to use target language in class

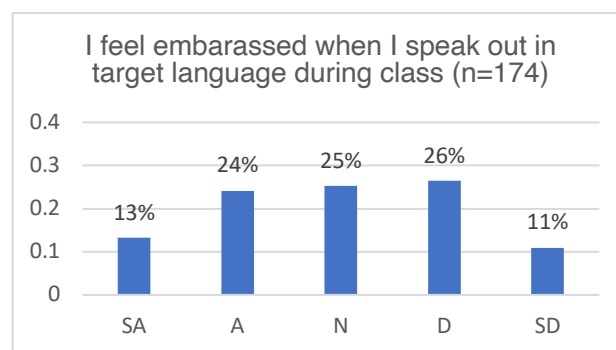


Figure 5.10: Pupils' beliefs about whether they feel embarrassed to use target language in class

In the interview, teachers were asked what factors they believe inhibit pupil target language use (Question 7, Teacher Interview Schedule, Appendix 6). Teachers

expressed that S1-S3 pupils are especially afraid to make mistakes in front of their peers. Eloise from School 5 described this experience for pupils:

'There's just too much at risk for them [...] You're not just asking them to do the task, you're asking them to do something which is emotionally very challenging.'

(Eloise, School 5)

When asked the same question about what factors might discourage target language use (Question 7, Pupil Interview Schedule), many pupils described feelings of embarrassment, primarily attributed to fear of making mistakes. One S2 pupil described the language classroom as a particularly high stakes environment for embarrassment compared to other classes because 'there's so much that can go wrong.'

Teachers believed that in S2 and S3, pupils are no longer enthusiastic about the aspects that make target language enjoyable for pupils at S1 (gesturing, songs, etc.). Aria from School 3 has found that this is due to increased self-consciousness and friend groups. As friend groups begin to solidify around S2, pupils no longer wish to appear too eager in front of their friends, unless their friends participate willingly. Aria added that the avoidance of appearing too eager is a school-wide phenomenon and not just language learning specific. At School 8, however, being seen to be academic minded and intelligent is valued, according to Mairi.

'I would actually say that School 8 is a school where it's less of an issue, which I quite like. A lot of these kids are [...] like they have this kind of intrinsic self-confidence which is amazing.'

(Mairi, School 8)

At this school, pupils are seemingly encouraged by observing their peers engage with target language. Deirdre, also from School 8, added that while pupils can feel a sense of accomplishment using target language with peers in pair or small group activities, they tend to see communicating with their peers is a one off and not a continuous process that builds their confidence and independence with the target language.

Some pupils will intentionally be mischievous with the language to avoid negative reinforcement from peers. A S2 pupil stated that some pupils will treat an in class speaking exam as a joke in order not to be overheard by peers as trying and failing. Owen from School 5 suspected that in some cases, pupils will in fact, enjoy roleplaying in target language but do not want to be seen as enjoying target language out of personal choice. Therefore, if pupils are instructed to use target language, the pressure of being perceived as 'nerdy' is removed. One S3 pupil expressed a comment attune to this:

'But something tells me with some people that maybe they care about it a bit more than they let on.'

(S3 pupil, School 1)

Like Aria, Thomas from School 2 attributed pupil target language inhibition to a fear of taking academic risks.

'...comes from embarrassment, fear of failure and partly that they're not wanting to show off, eh, and to be the center of attention... you get some kids at school who want to be the center of attention, but not for academic reasons, just for, you know, clowning around... when it comes to academic things, no one really wants to stick their head above the parapet.'

(Thomas, School 2)

The ideal of being 'near-native'

Interviews revealed that the concept of the native speaker was particularly detrimental to pupil target language use. Oona from School 1 recounted how pupils in her view have too high expectations to appear 'nativelike.' Pupils also described an 'all or nothing' mentality, that is, if an utterance is unlikely to be 100% perfect, pupils will refrain from trying. Shona from School 4 further stated that this can be especially pronounced in higher ability pupils; the better they are the more self-conscious because they want every utterance to be 100% correct. Conversely, she felt that lower ability pupils might be more willing to use target language to 'get a laugh.'

According to teachers, many pupils feel discouraged when they find they are not immediate fluent speakers of the target language. Gail from School 1 highlighted how pupils forget that hesitations, backtracking, etc. are all natural speech patterns in L1 yet they feel their target language production should be perfect.

'They think they should be able to just speak it. And I feel that they do not see that sense of progression. They're a bit too hard on themselves [...] so they think they do not understand anything at all, and therefore, they haven't succeeded.'

(Gail, School 1)

Pupils were asked to describe, in their view, an ideal language learner (Question 9, Pupil Interview Schedule, Appendix 9). Almost all pupils described the ideal language pupil as someone who can use target language to near perfect fluency. Pupils described the ideal language pupil as someone confident who can understand and use target language almost automatically, as if they required no effort. Confidence and speed were also coveted by pupils as signs of the ideal language pupil.

‘They know exactly how to say it...and they just get it straightaway.’

(S2 pupil, School 4)

Only a few pupils described traits such as ‘has an enjoyment of the language,’ ‘has a willingness to take a risk even if they are unsure of an answer,’ ‘has a willingness to try again if they are wrong’ and ‘someone helpful to others.’ One S3 pupil described having ‘the right mindset’ and a willingness to ask for help as more important traits than natural ability.

‘I feel like if I don’t know what I’m doing then I’ll sort of feel intimidated to ask, especially in like a quiet setting. Ability level doesn’t play into it as much because as long as you have the right mindset people find themselves doing well.’

(S3 pupil, School 1)

Perceived difficulty

Interviews also revealed that languages are perceived to be especially difficult by pupils, given the distinctness of modern foreign language learning and uniqueness of using target language in comparison to other subjects. Eloise from School 5 described two categories of pupils: 1) those who pick up language naturally and therefore gain satisfaction from speaking the language and 2) those who get frustrated by the language thereby label the language as too difficult. Shona from School 4 expressed that as pupils begin to struggle, they default to thinking, 'I'm not going to need this anyway.' For Marjorie from School 6, pupils who do not feel confident leads to negative behaviour exacerbating the lack of target language even further. This is a stark contrast to Olena's account at School 6, where she believes S1-S3 pupils rarely have a 'can't do' mentality, provided they have options. For example, pupils have the choice to aim from anywhere between 2-6 minutes for an oral presentation, given what they feel they can manage.

Pupils also expressed that languages are too difficult or require more effort than they are willing to put forward. This might link to pupils' beliefs that to be an ideal language pupil, one must be quick to learn, or naturally competent. Pupils described a 'can't be bothered' mentality when it comes to overcoming the difficulty and effort required for learning a language.

'In general, a lot of people get bored of it [language learning]. I don't know if it's whether they struggle with it or can't be bothered working.'

(S2 pupil, School 2)

According to Owen from School 5, the enthusiasm that pupils carry into secondary school at S1 diminishes when they realise that languages require a distinct level of work from what they experienced at primary. Thomas from School 2 added that the type of work required for languages is unique to other classes. Many pupils felt that their peers generally lack the motivation required to learn languages, which, like Owen, one pupil distinguished from other classes.

‘I think for a lot of people [...] well, like, for me included, I think it is really important but like, we lack the motivation because it seems like such a heavy task rather than you know, like learning something in biology. It seems like a whole other place so it seems more difficult.’

(S3 pupil, School 1)

For some pupils, this initial perception changes upon entering the language classroom.

‘Seems like a lot of effort but once you get there it’s not as hard as you imagine it to be.’

(S2 pupil, School 2)

Whether the use of target language for survival phrases represents meaningful language use

As presented in Section 4.1.2, teacher and pupil beliefs differed regarding what language(s) pupils should use for classroom routines (or survival phrases). Pupils predominantly felt they should use English (55%), whereas 80% of teachers felt pupils should use target language (Figure 5.11).

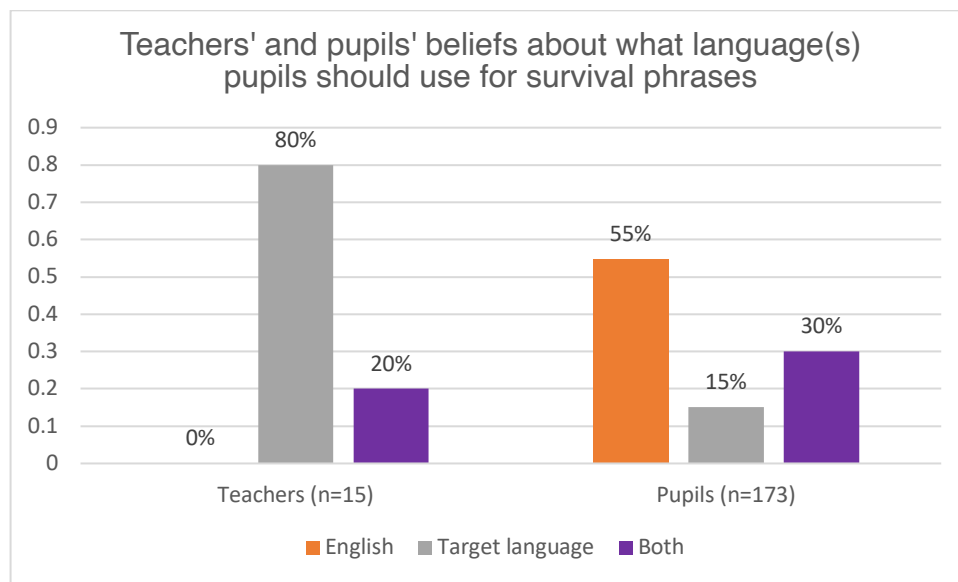


Figure 5.11: Teachers' and pupils' beliefs about which language(s) pupils should use for survival phrases

Teacher interviews revealed contrasting teacher opinions around the use of survival phrases. For some teachers, the expectation for pupils to produce target language does not go beyond survival phrases even up to S3, despite Shona's thinking that S3s could cope with more target language.

Deirdre from School 8 shared that at S3, 'it's brilliant if pupils can give you the date and the weather.' However, the consistency with which teachers expect pupils to utilise survival phrases in target language fluctuates. Thomas from School 2 admitted that he might push survival phrases at the start of the year but later too many other priorities get in the way.

For Aria from School 3 and Eloise from School 5, survival phrases pose a different problem. For Aria, expecting pupils to use survival phrases in target language is a 'push' because she finds enforcing these phrases tedious. Eloise agreed that pupils 'parroting' target language is not meaningful use of language.

'I'm not actually sure that being able to say 'Can I have a pencil?' is that useful. [It's] language for the sake of language, it's not developing an understanding of what other people are saying, not developing a depth of expression.'

(Eloise, School 5)

Aria additionally coined the phrase 'fake authenticity' to describe the kind of target language encouraged by certain topics within the curriculum. For example, buying a plane ticket in target language, she argued, is simply not relevant for pupils unless they were to have to do so in a real-life context. Olena's perspective differed. She felt that using supermarket vocabulary, for example, is authentic enough for the pupils, even in the classroom, because it requires active learning rather than a PowerPoint presentation or a worksheet. Yet Eloise wondered whether some teachers incorporated certain, formulaic target language expectations into the classroom regardless of their relevance or authenticity. She added that teachers might do this given their own positive associations with target language or their previous learning experiences and wish to replicate these experiences for pupils.

Peers

Section 4.1.2 revealed that teachers and pupils share similar beliefs about what language(s) pupils should use during pair speaking (or group work). Fifty eight percent of pupils (n=100) and 67% of teachers (n=10) believed that pupils should use both English and target language during pair speaking or group work (Figure 5.12).

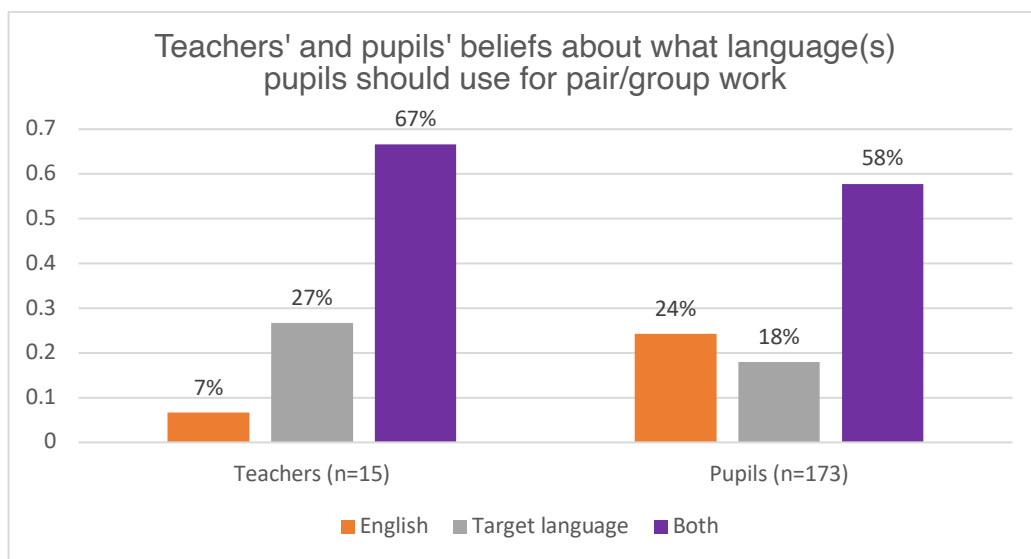


Figure 5.12: Teachers' and pupils' beliefs about which language(s) pupils should use during pair/group work

Several additional pupil questionnaire items referred to the influence of peers on language use. Firstly, 87% of pupils (n=152) reported that their peers tended to use English in the classroom (Figure 5.13). In tandem, only about 12% of pupils (n=20) reported that their peers tended to speak target language (Figure 5.14).

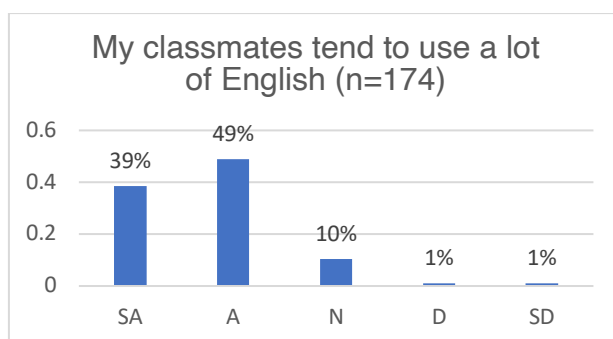


Figure 5.13: Pupils' beliefs about classmates' English use

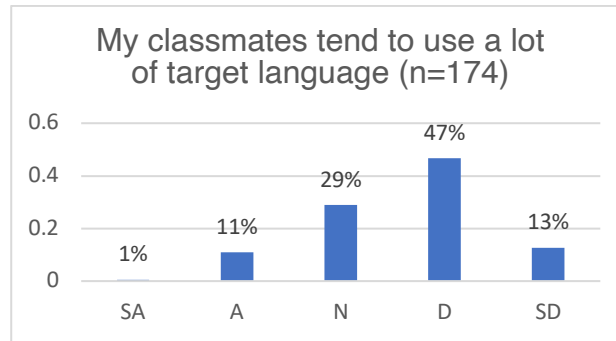


Figure 5.14: Pupils' beliefs about classmates' target language use

When asked whether their target language use was influenced by peers, 53% of pupils (n=92) stated that it was not (Figure 5.15). However, 42% of pupils (n=72) indicated that they would use more target language if their peers did (Figure 5.16).

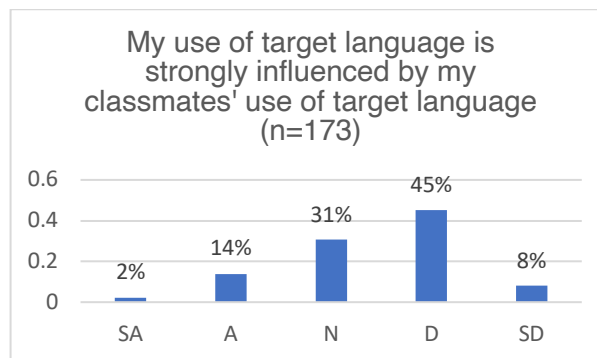


Figure 5.15: Pupils' beliefs about whether their target language use is influenced by their classmates' target language use

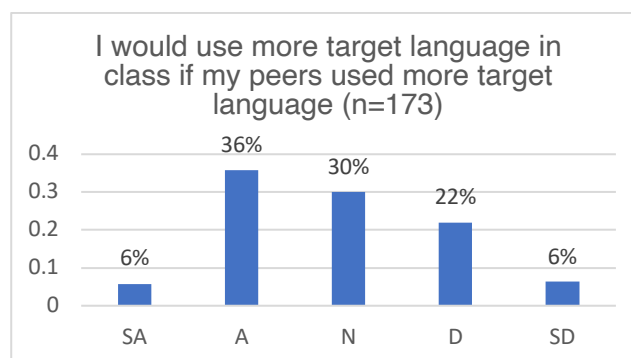


Figure 5.16: Pupils' beliefs about whether they would use more target language if their pupils did

In the interview, pupils were asked to reflect on their peers' language use and the influence peers have on their personal target language use (Question 8, Pupil Interview Schedule, Appendix 9). Many pupils felt they would be encouraged to use target language if their peers used more target language, in line with the 42% of pupils who reported on questionnaires that they would use more target language if their peers did. Furthermore, pupils believed their confidence and capability would improve the more target language their peers used.

'I think if they talked in French it would probably make me want to talk in French.'

(S3 pupil, School 1)

On the other hand, one pupil felt motivated by her peers' lack of target language use.

'My classmates, they only speak Spanish if it's required or necessary...I think in a way they are [an influence] because I see them not doing it, and that just makes me want to.'

(S1 pupil, School 1)

Speaking tasks

In answer to factors that contribute to or inhibit pupil target language use (Questions 4 and 7, Teacher Interview Schedule, Appendix 6), teachers emphasised the effect of speaking tasks. On one hand, Shona from School 4 reported that generally pupils hate coming to language class 'because they know they're going to get forced into something,' such as a conversation with a partner in target language. For Olena at

School 6, she has found pupils to be quite willing to experiment with their peers in target language and may be more comfortable in doing so than with the teacher.

When it comes to speaking target language during a partner task, Gail from School 1 believed her pupils to respond quite positively with target language. Thomas from School 2 reported that pupils enjoy using target language for activities like ‘speed dating.’ Cerys from School 7 stated that these activities require constant monitoring from teachers to prevent pupils from automatically switching into English, despite their being capable to perform the activity in target language.

Pupils were also asked to describe their language use during speaking tasks (Questions 5-7, Pupil Interview Schedule, Appendix 9). Interestingly, despite some pupils describing pair speaking tasks as low-pressure opportunities for target language use, preferable to using target language with a teacher or other fluent speakers, pupils admitted that peers will rarely take these opportunities seriously when the teacher’s attention is elsewhere, confirming Cerys’s point.

‘...most of the time if our teacher’s like, ‘you need to have a conversation in French’ and if she steps out of the room everyone just starts speaking in English and even if she’s still in the room...’

(S2 pupil, School 5)

Despite teachers’ and pupils’ indications in the questionnaires that pair/group work should be an opportunity for both English and target language, the participants did not expand on how the languages could be used together. Rather, comments focused on a

lack of target language use. One pupil acknowledged the use of both English and target language for speaking tasks but was critical of the amount of English spoken.

'On tasks, I think we do it with enough French and English. So I like the amount but I think we probably do speak more English than we should. Especially the class as a whole.'

(S3 pupil, School 1)

According to Bethan from School 6, even though she will converse with the pupils about the purpose of speaking activities, she found that they will usually revert to English due to target language confidence, but perhaps most crucially, because there is no real consequence.

Behaviour was also a common thread among teachers and pupils. Oona from School 1 and Aria from School 3 felt they needed to spend most of their energy trying to motivate off-task pupils and for this reason, felt the willing pupils were deprived of opportunities for target language use.

'I genuinely feel bad for the highflyers, or even just the middle to upper able kids, because they're not getting the best learning experience because of how much time is wasted. And how much of my energy and effort is wasted on the disengaged kids.'

(Aria, School 3)

Some pupils felt that poor classroom behaviour interfered with fun opportunities for target language use, such as roleplaying or working on a group poster. Yet, in

accordance with what teachers said, they feel robbed of these experiences due to frequent off task behaviour.

'All you get is a book. I don't want to do it...that's just like, harder...and because of that, that also encourages bad behaviour because you get so bored sometimes.'

(S1 pupil, School 4)

Deirdre suggested that lack of target language was due to inconsistency on the part of the teachers rather than due to poor pupil behaviour:

'I don't think we do nearly enough talking. We don't ask the kids to do as much. And I think there's a fear of loss of control or loss of focus. And that's our issue, not the kids' [...] when you hear a noisy, active classroom, if you really listen, you can hear a lot of that target language.'

(Deirdre, School 8)

Pupils also expressed that they would like to be able to use target language more during pair speaking tasks but find varying levels of proficiency among individuals an obstacle.

'Having other people like, 'what does that mean?' 'what does that mean?' all the time. Like, oh there's no point in saying it if they don't know what it means. If everybody knew it and was at the same level it would be perfectly fine.'

(S1 pupil, School 1)

Summary of micro contextual level findings

While teachers felt they should limit target language so as not to deter pupil enthusiasm, some pupils recounted positive experiences during earlier language learning stages when they recalled using more target language use. The question of whether more target language early on, when pupils are more enthusiastic, makes a positive impact on target language use and attitudes about language learning overall remains. The teacher and pupil interviews also indicated that pupils enjoy listening to the teacher's target language but not necessarily when there is a requirement to respond back in target language.

Regarding affective aspects surrounding target language use, anxiety, embarrassment and fear were explored in the questionnaires and also emerged as a salient topic in teacher and pupil interviews. Another area that emerged from teacher discussion of pupil language use was the extent to which target language use in the classroom, particularly in relation to using survival phrases or classroom routine language, reflected authentic, meaningful language use. This provided an interesting contrast to findings from the questionnaires, where most teachers indicated that they believed pupils should use only target language when using survival phrases.

While teachers and pupils agreed that pupils should use both English and target language for pair and group work, pupils indicated that their classmates tend to rely on English. While it seems that pupils would like to use more target language, standing out from group norms makes this challenging.

5.1.4 Factors at the individual pupil level

The focus on the three contextual levels (macro, meso and micro) and their influence on beliefs about classroom languages in the interviews expanded into two themes in relation to the pupils' individual relationships with target language in particular: perceived usefulness and/or relevance of the target language and personal connections to target language. Additionally, the subthemes and datasets drawn upon in this section can be found in Table 5.7.

Table 5.7: Themes, subthemes and datasets drawn upon in relation to the individual pupil

Fourth level	Themes	Subthemes	Datasets drawn upon
The individual pupil	Perceived usefulness and relevance	○ Holiday/Travel ○ Employability ○ Personal enjoyment ○ Pointlessness	○ Pupil questionnaire findings ○ Teacher and pupil interview findings
	Personal connections to target language	○ Multilingual identity	○ Teacher and pupil interview findings

Perceived usefulness and relevance of languages

On the questionnaires, pupils responded to items about personal desire to use target language and its relevance in their lives. Thirty six percent (n=63) of pupils reported that they want to use as much target language as possible in the language classroom while 25% (n= 43) reported they do not (Figure 5.17). Despite that, 68% (n=119) of pupils felt that it was important to use target language as much as possible in the classroom for eventual use outside of the classroom (Figure 5.18).

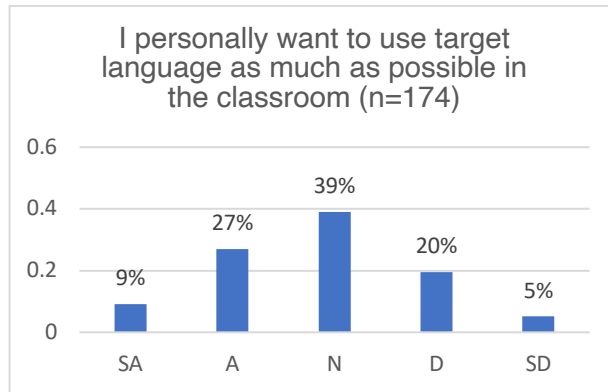


Figure 5.17: Pupils' personal desire to use target language in the classroom as much as possible

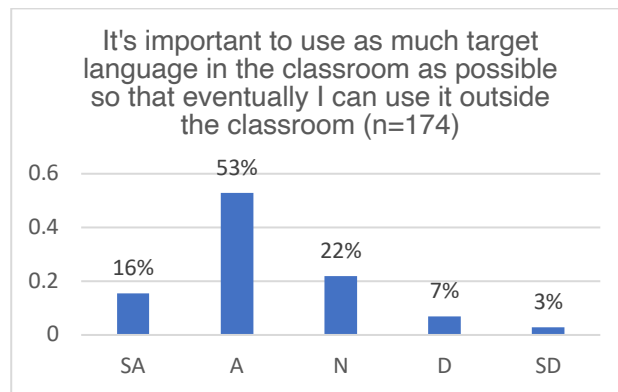


Figure 5.18: Pupils' beliefs about whether it is important to use target language in the classroom as much as possible

Forty nine percent ($n=85$) of pupils could not imagine themselves using target language in their future career and only 20% ($n=35$) could (Figure 5.19). Thirty four percent ($n=66$) of pupils felt that being able to speak target language was important to them (Figure 5.20), suggesting other personal reasons aside from future career, which the interview data sheds light on. For 31% ($n=54$) of pupils, being able to speak target language was not important. Additionally, 31% of pupils took a neutral stance regarding whether target language was important and whether they could imagine using target language in their future careers.

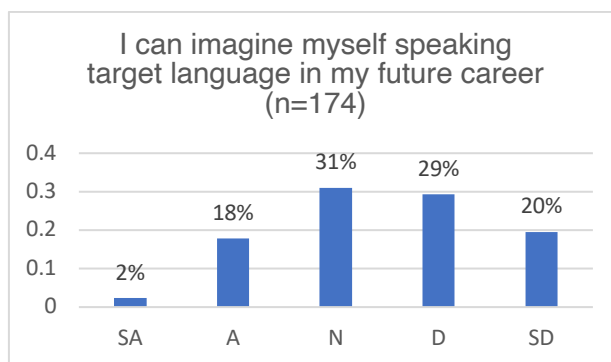


Figure 5.19: Pupils' beliefs about using target language in their future career

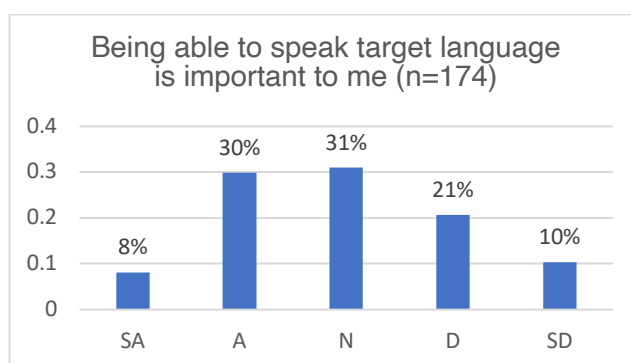


Figure 5.20: Pupils' beliefs about personal importance of speaking target language

In the interviews, pupils were asked whether learning languages/speaking target language was important to them (Question 12, Pupil Interview Schedule, Appendix 9). Their mixed responses corroborate with the mixed quantitative findings, which showed that 34% of pupils do find language important while 31% do not. Pupils largely discussed speaking target language for purposes, such as holiday travel, future job or personal enjoyment. Some pupils stated that target language was 'pointless.'

Using languages on holiday/for travel

Pupils expressed that target language was useful for travel. Many also felt that Spanish would be more useful than French. In addition to being prepared for unexpected situations, pupils spoke to the benefit of immersing in a culture and being able to communicate with others.

'It means that you could go somewhere and actually communicate with people and then maybe you'll know some of the culture there so you can actually appreciate being there.'

(S2 pupil, School 6)

One pupil said that they only began to enjoy target language once they could apply the language to scenarios abroad or outside of the classroom.

'[I] started trying to learn it on my own a bit on holiday or something like that, I'd try to go over it more in my own time. And I enjoyed it a lot more that way. And I kind of manage with it okay in class now.'

(S3 pupil, School 1)

The excitement of having used languages abroad supports the finding that 67% of pupils felt target language was important to learn for use outside of the classroom. However, pupils pointed out that opportunities for target language use abroad, or other authentic opportunities, are limited.

'I wish I could speak it more but I do not find myself in situations for it. But I think it would be cool to be in a situation where it would be handy.'

(S3 pupil, School 1)

For those who have used target language abroad, the experience evoked a sense of pride. One S3 pupil felt like a 'shining star' speaking French on holiday where no other family members spoke French.

'They don't use English, like none of the people knew English. And like none of my family really knew French – just like the basics but I knew the foods and that so I could order all the foods so it was quite cool. It was really fun and I felt pure good about myself.'

(S2 pupil, School 4)

Employability and promotion of other benefits to speaking languages

Teachers considered what purposes for speaking target language pupils realistically have between years S1-S3. Many language faculties market languages for employability to maintain pupil numbers past Broad General Education level. However, at S1-S3, as Aria from School 3 stated, pupils are generally not at this level of forward thinking. Gail from School 1 argued that perhaps schools are too focused on employability. She has tried to convince pupils of the benefit of speaking languages by also discussing the communication and interpersonal skills gained to advertise becoming 'a more open minded, global citizen.' Thomas from School 2 also opined that pupils are not likely to get a job where they use the target language they are learning in

school. Yet, Owen highlighted why selling target language by other means is challenging:

‘Whereas our kids are being told, ‘this is going to be good for you.’ And they’re thinking, ‘Yeah but I do not see the immediate benefit. I’m not using it in day-to-day life because I’ve no French friends,’ right, or, in most cases, French relatives, so it’s like you’re selling them the idea of some kind of deferred skill...and they want to see immediate benefits sometimes, I think.’

(Owen, School 5)

Despite efforts to advertise the benefits of language learning, some pupils simply ‘can’t be bothered.’ Oona’s strategy at School 1 is to bargain. She tells pupils that they should ‘make the most of it’ and have the options to drop languages later.

‘So it can be quite challenging to motivate those pupils to work when they do not see the value and they do not see the relevance. And you can end up engaging in a conversation where you’re trying to put passion onto them and you just cannot, you know, you cannot make somebody feel the same way as you feel about something, it’s not possible, you know?’

(Oona, School 1)

Personal enjoyment

Additionally, pupils spoke to learning target language out of personal enjoyment. Some accounts described feeling a sense of encouragement, enjoying the challenge and

adding variety to pupils' day to day lives. For some pupils, it was important to be able to make friends in other languages or to better understand different lifestyles.

'I have French friends and stuff. I find it really interesting to be able to speak another language. I think that's really cool. Because a whole other world gets opened up to you of like going to another country, you're able to watch TV shows and movies in other languages, you get to connect with other people and it all just sounds really interesting and cool to me.'

(S3 pupil, School 1)

Despite not wanting to use target language in the classroom unless needed, this S3 pupil finds enjoyment using French at home:

'I probably won't use French unless I really need to in class. I find myself using French a lot more at home though just because it's funny and it freaks my family out. It's getting a lot better. When I get it right it feels really good though. Because you're like, 'I just said a sentence in another language.'

(S3 pupil, School 1)

Pointlessness

Regardless of travel opportunities, employability and personal satisfaction, other pupils simply saw no point to learning to speak target language. Some argued that learning another science related subject would be more useful. One pupil could not imagine how target language would benefit them in the future:

'It's not really the class, it's just...I don't understand the point of it. I don't really see the point in it, my family doesn't really see the point in it. I do not think it will affect my future in any way.'

(S3 pupil, School 6)

Some pupils assumed that languages would not be necessary for the job they had in mind, such as being a mathematics teacher. Others decided they were unlikely to travel anywhere where target language would be needed, implying that knowledge of languages other than English within Scotland was unnecessary. Others felt they had already learned the amount of target language needed to get them by if they traveled. For some pupils, failing to see any immediate benefit to speaking target language trumps the idea that target language may become useful in the future. Others felt jaded by the fact that language study between S1-S3 does not lead to a qualification.

'I think people just think, well if I don't have to get an exam out of it, I don't need to work.'

(S2 pupil, School 5)

For these pupils, teachers struggle to help them see how target language can be relevant in their lives. Some teachers described giving pupils personal examples of how using target language has helped them in authentic settings abroad, such as using their circumlocution skills to find unknown words. Yet, hearing a secondhand account seems less effective than having a firsthand experience with the language. Thomas from

School 2 stated that the value of target language teachers try to convey might impact pupils in the short term but does not make a long-lasting impact. Moreover, he acknowledged that pupils are unlikely to internalise the message from teachers. Shona from School 4 has told her pupils that someday, for example, they might meet a Japanese person who speaks Spanish and Spanish is the mutual language used to communicate. Yet, Shona reported that the pupils almost seemed not to believe that this scenario is ever likely to happen. Oona from School 1 has tried to give pupils examples she believes are more plausible for pupils, such as ordering ice cream, and stated that even a minor impact is a small win.

'Even if they can appreciate culture a little bit and if they go abroad, they can at least speak a little bit. We've taught them something, you know, they're not going there being completely ignorant.'

(Oona, School 1)

An S3 pupil gave their own example confirming Oona's point:

'And then it was last year I went to Paris and I was more comfortable and it actually really helped because we were given directions and my mother didn't understand them but I could because we had just learned directions in class and they [parents] were really impressed.'

(S3 pupil, School 1)

Making personal connections to target language

Teachers reflected on the extent to which they believe pupils connect with languages on a personal level (Question 8, Teacher Interview Schedule, Appendix 6). Aria from School 3 argued that for most pupils, the teacher is the only authentic window into the language and culture but what happens in the classroom is not an authentic enough environment for pupils to significantly internalise the language.

Marjorie from School 6 described trying to make aspects of culture relevant to pupils, such as bringing in cake for Three King's Day but admitted that these efforts tend to be banal. Although, Bethan thought that media and technology may be advancing enough to bolster target language relevance in pupils' lives. This S3 pupil identified with 'becoming' the target culture and felt that this bettered her as a person:

'I think it would just be like, a lot of fun to go and to just not feel like a tourist and to become the culture and things. [I would] think higher of my capabilities and things if I knew that I'd been able to learn a language.'

(S3 pupil, School 1)

Another S1 pupil, perhaps remarkably, described learning target culture as 'tying into what you find interesting about yourself.'

Despite this S1 pupil's insight, Shona from School 4 argued that S1-S3 pupils do not know themselves well enough and are unable to see a bigger picture at this stage in relation to personal identity. At School 6, S5 and S6 (Senior Phase) pupils will visit Broad General Education classrooms and according to Marjorie, this can help S1-S3 pupils see the use of target language more personally but also added that this idea is

still too abstract for them. For Eloise from School 5, pupils who have ‘a big personality’ are more likely to have an awareness of themselves and could potentially be more inclined to view the target language as an extension of their identity. Cerys from School 7 noted that when pupils begin expressing their opinions in target language and ‘have the freedom to express what they feel,’ then they begin forging a personal connection to the language, suggesting an important link between target language and emotion.

Unlike Aria, who stated that she is never teaching in a way that is consciously raising pupils’ awareness of multilingual identity, Eloise from School 5 stressed that getting pupils to see the target language as a part of their identity should be a top priority for all language teachers, though had not thought about this before.

‘I think that’s definitely what we should be striving to achieve for first through third year. Ehm, and finding ways that it can be part of how people view themselves is, you know, um, yeah. Sort of thinking about that, that’s really, it’s just really struck a chord with me.’

(Eloise, School 5)

Yet the challenge she pointed out was that for pupils to be able to connect the language to their identity, they require a sense of self, which as Shona pointed out, may still be out of reach for the S1-S3 age group.

Pupils also reflected on the extent to which they perceive target language to connect with their personal identity (Question 13, Pupil Interview Schedule, Appendix 9). While the concept of identity may not yet be easily discussed by the 11-14 age group, a few pupils demonstrated an awareness for how languages can impact the

‘self,’ suggesting that for some pupils, it is possible for them to conceive of languages as an aspect of their identity.

‘Yeah, I think so, that people [in Scotland] do think it is important to speak multiple languages because it can impact who you are.’

(S2 pupil, School 2)

To some pupils, the ability to speak target language makes them feel special about themselves.

‘I feel like it’s like... it just makes me feel good like if I’m able to speak French, I just feel like, special. I think I can [see French as a part of who I am] because like, I pick it up really easily and I think it could be a part of me.’

(S2 pupil, School 4)

Aria from School 3 felt that only those who have family and travel connections to the target language are in a place to view themselves as a member of the multilingual world. One S2 pupil stated that ‘French is becoming part of my life now,’ whereas for other pupils it’s more of a ‘wee hobby’ or ‘just in case they go to France.’ Having a target language speaking parent is likely a major factor in this pupil’s view of target language as part of their life, whereas pupils without the same family influence expressed a different view:

‘I don’t think [language is important to me] because none of my family talks it, none of my family has talked it and nobody’s learnt it before.’

(S1 pupil, School 4)

Some pupils who spoke a language at home other than English and the classroom target language had interesting perspectives regarding identity. They seemed to categorise their home language(s) as language(s) belonging to their identity while the classroom target language was considered a language with instrumental, rather than intrinsic, value. For example, Punjabi and English were considered personally important to one S1 pupil while 'French will come in handy one day' for work.

Summary of individual pupil level findings

Within the theme of perceived usefulness and relevance of target language, pupils indicated on four questionnaire items whether they felt a personal motivation to use target language and whether they envision target language as part of their future. Both the teacher and pupil interviews provided corroborating information. Pupils see target language to be useful for travel and employment. Some expressed a personal enjoyment for the language while others expressed that target language was pointless. Teachers and pupils also reflected on the extent to which pupils can personally identify with target language, which is challenging for those not in close proximity to the target language and culture in their everyday lives.

5.2 Discussion on integrated interview and questionnaire findings

This discussion section is organised similarly to Section 5.1 in that discussion points are ordered from the macro context, then meso context, followed by the micro context and

ending with interpretation of pupils' perspectives regarding the value and personal relevance of target language.

5.2.1 English dominance

As is prevalent in the literature, the teachers believed English dominance to pose a challenge for Anglophone language learners (Chambers, 1993; Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011). The pupil data revealed that while some pupils see the widespread use of English a reason not to learn other languages, other pupils felt it was important to become proficient speakers of a target language in order to challenge perceptions about Anglophones from the United Kingdom as poor linguists. This is consistent with findings from Thompson (2017), who found that two L1-English speaking learners of Chinese and Arabic at a university in the United States were motivated to study languages based on their 'anti-ought to self' and wanted to challenge expectations or 'societal norms' (p. 47).

Teachers' views illustrate how macro level perceptions about the usefulness of English trickles down into the secondary school context. This was also explored in both the Scottish modern language teaching context and the German and French English teaching contexts by Gayton (2016). She stated that foreign languages get 'sidelined' in secondary schools in favor of English mother tongue as a result of linguistic imperialism (p. 234). Gayton's study of language teachers in both Anglophone and non-Anglophone contexts revealed similar findings to those of the current study. Teachers perceived motivating English learners in France to be 'easier' than motivating French learners in Scotland. This supports Yvette's concern about the low language uptake in Scotland

and her regret at having become a language teacher in Scotland rather than in her home country. The teachers from Gayton's study expressed additional findings similar to those expressed by the teachers in the current study. Firstly, media seems to play a role in whether pupils will see languages as important. The French and German teachers in Scotland in Gayton's (2016) study confirmed what Gail stated about the prevalence of English in French media, and in other countries, whereas pupils in Scotland are far less likely to, for example, watch commercials in other languages. Furthermore, languages were compared to art or physical education as a subject that is for 'leisure' (Gayton, 2016, p. 239).

These findings imply that macro level exposure to languages permeates pupils' perceptions about the importance of languages and affects the extent to which pupils are exposed to the target language. Notably, there were several pupils in the current study who contradicted the belief that English is enough. For example, one pupil stated that 'you feel bad for the waiter' in countries abroad when English speakers rely on English rather than attempt to communicate in the target language. This contradicts 'elitist' or 'chauvinistic' linguistic attitudes which have been associated with the United Kingdom (Lanvers, Hultgren and Gayton, 2019, p. 90). Yet in large part, pupil awareness of or exposure to multilingualism within their communities coincided with Lanvers, Hultgren and Gayton's (2019) statement that pupils growing up in predominantly monolingual English-speaking areas in the United Kingdom tend to lack opportunities to observe multilingualism and therefore, follow suit with the 'English is enough' attitude. Teachers' and pupils' reflections about increased multilingual

awareness in closer proximity to urban areas are consistent with a survey from Language Trends (2009), which identified denser multilingual clusters around major cities. Lanvers, Hultgren and Gayton (2019) also surmised that if UK pupils farther from urban areas lack multilingual models, they may be more inclined to view multilingualism as either too uncommon or too difficult to achieve. This complements what teachers in the current study said about pupils being able to appreciate multilingualism, or ‘think it’s a cool skill to have,’ when they observe it in others but fail to see how they could emulate.

Aria reflected on how she does not explicitly communicate to pupils that by learning a language, pupils could eventually count themselves as multilingual. In saying so, Aria draws attention to the potential influence of intervention strategies on pupils’ perceptions about multilingualism. Lanvers, Hultgren and Gayton (2019) indicated that such interventions might also help to shift ‘English is enough attitudes.’ However, they caution that other contextual influences, such as at school and classroom level, also influence pupils’ language learning experiences and therefore, their attitudes. This is why it is crucial to examine the Scottish language learning context from multiple contextual levels, as this study has done. In their study, Lanvers et al. (2019) implemented an intervention ‘lesson pack’ in four high school language classes (pupils aged 12-13-years-old) in England and Scotland. They found that the intervention, which taught about the benefits of multilingualism, resulted in a significant change in pupils’ attitudes about the value of multilingualism, though did not result in a significant change about the image of languages as a school subject. This aligns to a statement made by

Aria in Section 5.1.1 about pupils in Scotland perceiving French as merely a school subject, and not a subject that has pertinence outside of the classroom.

This further implies that school and classroom level influences on pupils' experiences are important in understanding pupils' attitudes toward languages. Interestingly, the findings from Lanvers et al. (2019) also indicated the pupils who already speak a language in addition to English at home seemed to value languages as a school subject more than those who were monolingual speakers of English (even pre-intervention). This is an interesting contrast to what the teachers in the current study reported about some multilingual pupils: that they were not predisposed to enjoy or be successful at the languages taught in the classroom. The same was suggested by Costley, Gkonou, Myles, Roehr-Brackin and Tellier (2020) in a study comparing 8- to 9-year-old EAL children and their monolingual peers in French classrooms in England. Teachers in the current study suggested that this could be due to the perception that there are few Spanish and French speakers in pupils' immediate spheres of influence. In addition, the finding that, according to some pupils, multilingual pupils 'hide' their heritage languages at school contrasts current research directions about multilingual approaches to language teaching that recognise multilingualism as a resource incorporating pupils' existing linguistic repertoires into the language learning process (Illman & Pietilä, 2018). It may not be enough for teachers to simply ask their multilingual pupils, 'How would say this in x language?' Multilingual pupils in the classroom might also feel uncomfortable with this attention drawn to them. This is also supported by Costley et al. (2020), who discussed that while the knowledge and

experiences of multilingual learners are under-explored and under-utilised, multilingual and monolingual children must be positioned equally in the classroom.

The pupils in the current study may have expressed these views (related to hiding one's heritage languages) given that, in line with what Aria and Marjorie stated, they may not receive lessons dedicated to discussing the benefits of multilingualism. Or, perhaps they do but not at the most crucial stage, which could be between 12-13 years old, after the primary to secondary school transition but before peer pressure and group attitudes 'crystallise,' as Aria stated. Similar interventions in the Scottish context might prove effective at improving attitudes about the value of language learning, which may also help to begin shifting attitudes down into the meso and micro levels.

5.2.2 Pupils' and parents' perceptions about which languages are considered important

Some pupils' perceptions about the usefulness of Spanish and French (but in particular, French) seem to be influenced by negative parent attitudes. Gayton (2016) also found that parents in Scotland failed to see the usefulness of French. According to teachers from the current study, some parents believed languages such as Russian or Mandarin to be more useful. Additionally, some pupils raised the question as to why schools do not teach languages that they observe in their communities, such as Hindi or Polish, or heritage languages of Scotland, such as Gaelic or Scots. A Scottish Social Attitudes Survey (2016) conducted by the Scottish Centre for Social Research (ScotCen) provides a fuller national picture for comparison (Table 5.8). Out of 1,288 adults surveyed in Scotland, 59% indicated that they believe learning languages in schools from the age of five to be 'quite important.' Additionally, 63% believed Western

European languages to be the most appropriate languages for pupils to learn, with 30% selecting French and 25% selecting Spanish. In contrast to the parent beliefs expressed by the teachers in the current study, 6% in the ScotCen survey selected Mandarin and less than 1% indicated Russian. Thus, it seems the parents' attitudes reflected by teachers in the current study do not match the general perception of a wider population of adults in Scotland, who believed that French is the most appropriate language for pupils to learn.

Table 5.8: Languages believed to be most appropriate for school children to learn in Scotland (ScotCen, 2016, p. 4)

Languages/Language groups	Percentage	Languages specified	Percentage
Western European	63%	French	30%
		Spanish	25%
Middle Eastern or Asian	9%	Mandarin	6%
		Arabic	1%
		Cantonese	1%
Gaelic ¹³	8%		
British Sign Language	7%		
Eastern European	5%	Polish	5%
		Russian	<1%
Don't know	3%		
Scots	2%		
Other	2%		
Not answered	-		
	n=1,288		

¹³ Those living in remote/very remote rural areas were more likely than those in less rural areas to choose Gaelic - 24% of those living in remote/very remote rural areas chose Gaelic compared to 6% in large urban areas' (Scottish Government, 2016, p. 4). This could support the statement made by an S2 pupil from School 4 in section 4.5.1 about family residing in the north of Scotland who expressed positive views about languages. While there is no way of knowing for sure, it is plausible that the pupil was referring to Gaelic.

Scotland's Census (2011) showed the most spoken languages in Scotland, which are listed by number of speakers in Table 5.9.

Table 5.9: Most spoken languages in Scotland (Scotland's Census, 2011)

Language	Number of speakers
English	5.1 million
Scots	1.5 million
Gaelic	57,000
Polish	54,186
Urdu	23,394
Punjabi languages	23,150
Chinese languages	16,830
French	14, 623

Perhaps unbeknownst to some parents, French appears to be one of the top five languages spoken in Scotland after English, Scots and Gaelic. Yet these numbers also show pupils to be correct in their belief that the languages they observe in their communities tend to be Polish, South Asian and East Asian languages. This supports the case for such languages to be taught in schools. However, as pointed out in a report carried out by the Association of Directors of Education in Scotland and the University of Edinburgh (Christie et al., 2016), language choice in schools is dependent on the expertise of the existing teacher pool. This then points to the potential of teacher qualifications in languages other than French, German or Spanish.

In the English context, Parrish and Lanvers (2018) investigated how 666 14 to 15-year-old pupils perceived the importance of specific languages and how they made decisions regarding choice of modern language study. Questionnaires were also

administered to 70 head teachers and 119 heads of modern languages. In accordance with findings from the current study, French and Spanish were considered useful for travel, as well as Italian. In addition, German was considered useful in terms of personal/family connections. Japanese was considered useful for specific, cultural reasons (i.e., understanding anime, understanding a Japanese card game and making Japanese rock music) while Chinese was perceived useful for economic reasons. This may explain why pupils in the current study (and their parents) believed Spanish and French to be less important languages, if, for example, they prioritised language for economic benefit over travel (though this is not to say that French and Spanish do not offer economic benefit). These varied perceptions about the importance of various languages have implications on the way in which languages are advertised to pupils. Teachers in the current study voiced their efforts in emphasising languages for employability. However, this may be perpetuating beliefs about certain languages as being more important than others. Doughty (2019) cautioned that, ‘when criteria such as vocational or diplomatic rationales are considered, languages such as German and Farsi have much higher scores so a narrow focus on languages with high number of native speakers may not adequately prepare our pupils for life in the very diverse linguistic and cultural environment that they are likely to encounter after leaving school’ (p. 5). In other words, advertising languages for economic value or employability may reduce the importance of other languages in pupils’ views and may not be entirely relevant to young pupils in Scotland, as was evident from findings presented in Section 5.1.4. Pupils’ reasons for language study are further discussed in Section 5.2.9.

5.2.3 The 1+2 policy: The issue of uptake, language learning experiences at primary school and implementation of L2 and L3

Teachers expressed their doubts about the success of the 1+2 policy and its impact on language uptake past year S3. According to a survey conducted before the implementation of 1+2 by Doughty and McPake (2007), which was returned by 1,466 S3 pupils, only 18% of boys (out of about 706) and 31% of girls (out of about 760) planned to continue language study after S4. Section A of the pupil questionnaires used in the current study, which collected some biographical data, also collected information regarding whether S1 to S3 pupils intended to continue studying languages the following year (Table 5.10). This information is useful in providing some contrast to Doughty and McPake's (2007) findings. Whereas about 25% (n=367) of the S3 pupils sampled by Doughty and McPake (2007) intended to continue studying languages, about 63% (n=924) of the S3 pupils sampled in the current study intended to continue studying languages. This difference could perhaps be due to the much lower sample size of S3 pupils in the current study. It is also possible that the 38 S3 pupils who volunteered to participate in the current study were relatively motivated language pupils.

Table 5.10: Pupils' intentions to continue language study by year group in the current study

Year group	Yes	No	Maybe	Don't know
S1 (n=74)	50%	35%	3%	12%
S2 (n=62)	66%	31%	2%	2%
S3 (n=38)	63%	34%	0%	3%

What is particularly surprising is that in light of teachers' impressions about enthusiasm for languages declining after S1 (Section 5.1.3), Table 5.10 shows a 16% increase in (intended) uptake from S1 to S2, though this is followed by a 3% decrease after S3. S1 pupils had the highest rate of 'don't know' responses, while the S2 pupils sampled expressed more certainty about continuing language study. The intended uptake demonstrated by the pupils in the current study is in line with the 2016 report reviewing the progress of 1+2 policy implementation. Christie et al. (2016) stated that the second year of implementation of 1+2 'significantly increased the pace of uptake' after an announcement was made to increase national funding (p. 4). Based on data reported by Doughty (2019) in Section 1.3.2, the statement made by Christie et al. (2016) is, at present, partially true regarding uptake below Higher. Between 2012-2019, uptake for French dropped (though the rate of decline has slowed) while uptake for Spanish steadily increased and uptake for German slowly declined (Table 1.6).

Despite the number of pupils in the current study who intend to continue language study, uptake overall continues to be a challenge. It seems that the challenging decline in language uptake may be due to macro level attitudes about the value of learning languages other than English. Taylor and Marsden (2014) stated that 'among the perceived causes of this decline are negative societal attitudes toward foreign languages rooted in the global status of the English language' (p. 902). In their intervention study targeted at 13 to 14-year-old learners of French, German and Spanish at three secondary schools in England, they found that pupils who had an initially positive opinion of languages were more likely to react positively to interventions

(which consisted of a panel discussion made up of volunteers who spoke to how languages had positively impacted their lives and language lessons focusing on cultural aspects, such as words related to Christmas, taught by external tutors). This suggests that improved attitudes about languages at the macro level have the potential to improve language uptake. This evidences the interconnectedness of the three contextual levels. It stands to reason, then, that improved attitudes at the macro level and increased uptake at the meso level could also improve pupils' self-perceptions of their target language use at the micro level.

Many pupils in the current study reported positive experiences of target language use at primary school, which were tied to either teacher use of target language use or their own use of target language in a communicative task, such as 'going to the marketplace.' Yet these experiences seemed to contrast with secondary teachers' beliefs about whether primary teachers are using target language consistently enough to improve pupil confidence and proficiency as they enter secondary school. A recent study by Valdera Gil and Crichton (2020) explored 38 primary language teachers' levels of confidence in teaching modern languages in Scotland. The teachers expressed concern over their proficiency. Moreover, they 'appeared most concerned about providing incorrect models of language to their learners without the support of a native speaker or qualified specialist' (p. 464.) This statement supports the argument for language assistants or visiting secondary language teachers in the classroom, which teachers in the current study expressed a desire for. Unlike the secondary teachers in the current study, primary teachers did not reflect on literacy skills development, which

Valdera Gil and Crichton noted was surprising given the emphasis in 1+2 policy documentation on the benefits of language learning for developing literacy skills (Scottish Government, 2012). Teachers in the current study felt that 1+2 had been implemented without full consideration of pupils' L1 literacy development. It may be that primary teachers feel pressure to focus on L2 and L3 instruction, which may be detracting from focus on L1 literacy. Given that primary teachers have had to adapt to significant new content in their workload, it is likely that professional development is still needed in terms of how to bridge gaps between first language literacy and new language knowledge. In a study conducted in the Colombian context with first year pupils in a primary English immersion programme, Salmona Madriñán (2014) found that strong first language skills were key in helping pupils engage with a L2 reading activity, such as knowledge of prepositions of place (up, down, beside, etc.) in L1, which pupils can then transfer to L2 knowledge. Given their young age and early level, the pupils in Mandriñan's study had little previous English background. Where pupils have no previous exposure to their second language, literacy development 'becomes more complicated' and L1 literacy perhaps becomes even more crucial (Salmona Madriñán, 2014, p. 57).

For this reason, teachers in the current study also expressed concern with implementing L3 along with L2, which in the secondary context, should be taught 'in addition to and not at the expense of the time given to the study of L2' (Education Scotland, 2009). Education Scotland (2019) has since provided updated guidance on L3 implementation. The 2019 report suggested that L3 has been viewed as an 'add on'

rather than holistically integrated with L2 within the curriculum, which might explain teachers' concerns (p. 2). The report also stated that primary schools have the choice in determining which L3 suits their circumstances best and that, unlike L2, there are no restrictions on continuity into secondary school (p. 3). Secondary teachers may also feel that lack of continuity between L3 in primary and L3 in secondary poses a challenge in its implementation. At secondary level, schools may choose how to implement L3, which can be as short term as a two-week elective course, which the report argues can still provide a meaningful experience. Yet perhaps a short taste of L3 is not enough to build confidence in L3 target language, as the report stipulated. Another option for implementing L3 includes a full course throughout S3 resulting in a national qualification, yet this is contingent on the school's resources. Notably, at primary level, L3 can consist of languages such as Polish, which links to the mismatch identified by pupils in the current study concerning the languages primarily taught at school and those heard within the community. Without continuation into secondary school, however, a focus on these languages as L3s may fall short.

There was debate among pupils whether languages should be a compulsory subject. For some pupils, having had to take languages opened their minds to a subject they might have otherwise overlooked. This contradicts Parrish and Lanvers' (2018) claim that there is a lack of evidence that compulsory languages led to greater uptake. By surveying 70 head teachers, 119 heads of modern languages and 666 modern language pupils in England (aged 14-15 years), Parrish and Lanvers found that compulsory languages encourage external motivation regulation. That is, they

encourage pupils to take languages for instrumental reasons, which the authors argued may be ultimately detrimental to learner outcomes. In contrast, having a choice in whether to take a language was more strongly correlated with higher intrinsic motivation and self-determined pupils (Parrish & Lanvers, 2018). This challenges the effectiveness of a mandatory language learning policy. Gayton (2016) called for research that explores modern language teachers' experiences with 1+2 since its initial implementation in 2012, which this study has contributed to from secondary teachers' perspectives, in order to better understand whether the 1+2 policy has had a positive effect on teachers. The current study, however, has found that secondary teachers believe truly positive impact is still to be felt and adds that further work is needed to better understand whether the 1+2 policy has had a positive effect on pupils and language learning.

5.2.4 Teacher education and target language pedagogy

Teachers brought up the issue of how much target language to use in the classroom in light of what their teacher education has encouraged them to do, how the classroom and school environment shapes their target language use beliefs and personal beliefs about target language and language learning. Previous studies have shown that teachers enter the field wanting to use as much target language as possible but find an unexpected reality in the classroom that changes their course (Bateman, 2008; Kim & Elder, 2008).

In a study of student teachers' and practicing teachers' observed target language use in English secondary schools, little target language was reported (Chambers,

2013). This study paid particular attention to why target language use was limited despite promotion of target language in teacher preparation courses. The findings confirmed what Cerys expressed in the current study: the 'disconnect' between what teachers believe they should do and what they do in practice. The student teachers in Chambers' (2013) study 'perceived a tension or contradiction between messages received from university ['pro TL use'] and the schools in which they were placed ['significantly less pro-TL use'] (p. 48).

According to Bateman (2008), there can also be a disconnect between the message that student teachers receive from universities and the message they receive from their mentor teachers on placements. Bateman further suggested that mentor teachers are likely to have greater influence over target language practices than teacher educators. Indeed, this was true of a teacher participant in Chamber's (2013) study, who felt a mentor teacher's negative attitude about target language made the student teacher feel they must follow suit. Some teachers in the current study, namely Mairi, Eloise and Shona, reflected on the influence that a mentor teacher had on their language use practices. On one hand, Shona, who was encouraged by her mentor teacher 'not to bother' with target language, reported using little target language in her practice. Mairi and Eloise, on the other hand, described mentor teachers who encouraged target language use but also supported judicious use of L1. Interestingly, both diverged in their own reported target language practices – Mairi toward frequent target language use and Eloise toward minimal target language use. While Shona expressed guilt that she 'should use more target language,' Eloise and Mairi felt justified

in their language use. This suggests that perhaps Bateman's assertion is correct but also implies that a mentor teacher who supports judicious use of L1 and target language encourages teachers to feel justified in their language use decisions, regardless of the amount of target language or English. This coincides with the quantitative findings showing that teachers believed target language use to be a personal decision rather than a department level or school level decision, which runs in direct contrast with earlier studies suggesting department policy and formal training were the greatest indicators of teacher target language use (Duff & Polio, 1990). This contrast could be a result of change over time or a contextual difference between Scottish secondary and American university modern language classrooms.

Teachers in the current study also felt that school inspections were not a driving force behind target language use. When asked whether Education Scotland or the school/department *should* have a more decisive role over target language use, teachers disagreed with this idea. Findings from Chambers (2013) differed. One interviewee suggested that a written target language rule would encourage more teachers to use more target language. Yet there is a danger that this suggests more target language simply for the sake of more target language, rather than purposeful use of target language. On the other hand, Chavez (2016) argued that the teacher is best placed to make decisions about the language used in the classroom. Levine (2011) took a more pupil inclusive view, suggesting that L1 and target language expectations should be negotiated between teachers and pupils.

5.2.5 Teachers' beliefs that less target language use maintains pupil interest in language learning in the long run

Part of the reason why teachers felt target language use should remain a personal decision (rather than something influenced by department/school policy or Education Scotland) could be due to the belief expressed by many teachers, which is that too much target language will turn pupils away from enjoying the subject.

Hlas (2016) revealed similar findings with Spanish middle and high school teachers in the United States. Due to the elective nature of Spanish, teachers felt their priority was to ensure that students enjoyed the class. Spanish Level I teachers especially felt that, as a first impression on students, it was imperative to use L1 so that pupils had a positive experience. This is consistent with the findings of the current study. Moreover, teachers from both studies implied that too much target language would lead to a negative experience and, as a result, pupils would not feel motivated to continue language study. Outside of the Anglophone context, Rabbidge and Chappell (2014) indicated that similar concerns exist for primary school English teachers in South Korea. Despite government-imposed English medium language teaching policy, teachers felt motivation needed to be maintained 'at all costs,' including at the expense of target language (p. 1).

However, this seems to contradict other findings from the current study. Yvette and Cat suggested that perhaps if teachers persisted with target language in S1 and kept target language practices consistent throughout S1 to S3, then perhaps pupils would enjoy target language. This stands to reason in consideration of Chamber's

(2013) finding that target language use was most effective with groups of pupils who had experienced target language consistently from the beginning of their language learning experience. Crucially, this does not have to mean elimination of L1.

Research has shown that L1 can be used purposefully, however use of L1 for fear of losing pupil interest is guided by avoidance of negative consequences and it is questionable whether this is truly purposeful use of L1. As pioneered by Lin (1999), other scholars have also purported the constructive use of L1 to help teach the target language (Miles, 2004; Vaezi & Mirzaei, 2007). It is possible that in an effort to ensure pupils enjoy the language class above all else, the concept of constructive English use, or English inclusion to support and facilitate target language learning gets lost. Over time, teachers will default to L1 out of ease. Translation could be a strategic approach to increased target language and purposeful use of L1 and may be appropriate in helping to scaffold learning without the cost of overwhelming pupils, despite previously held beliefs that direct translation should be avoided in favor of other strategies to convey meaning (Shin et al., 2019). The teachers in Rabbidge and Chappell's (2014) study were found to translate from target language to L1 to help pupils complete tasks. They were also found to translate from target language to L1 seven times more than translating from L1 to target language, which could be further explored in terms of whether one is more effective than the other. These findings coincide with a suggestion made by pupils in the current study, who suggested a help sheet that could assist pupils to translate themselves. Pupils also suggested that teachers could use more target language for questioning. Though intended for application to immersion/dual language

contexts, Tedick and Lyster (2019) suggested that ‘the overuse of English for explanatory purposes decreases the students’ need and motivation to process context and reduces opportunities for their cognitive engagement with the language’ (p. 132). In line with pupils’ suggestions that teachers could use more target language in their questioning, Tedick and Lyster proposed tactics for doing so with the ultimate aim of maximising pupil target language production, such as asking follow-up questions for clarification to promote more complex expression (i.e., Why do you think that?). However, Tedick and Lyster (2019, p. 134) also encouraged teachers to teach familiar language ‘chunks,’ contradicting some teachers’ notions of authentic target language, which is expanded upon in the next section.

5.2.6 Challenging whether survival phrases are a meaningful opportunity for target language use

Contrary to Tedick and Lyster’s (2019) recommendation that familiar chunks of language provide scaffolding to encourage pupil target language production, some teachers believed that language such as this (routine language, formulaic language, survival phrases) does little to enhance pupil target language production. In addition, debate also arose considering the extent to which curriculum content such as learning to shop in a supermarket or buy a plane ticket is meaningful target language production for S1-S3 pupils. Osborn (2005) has also stated that the discussion fostered by foreign language classroom content such as ‘buying vegetables, discussing hobbies or school activities and careers ... are typically no more meaningful to our students’ than past audiolingual or grammar drilling methods of past foreign language teaching approaches

(p. 29). House (1996) addressed debate that has long surrounded whether routine or formulaic language can be considered creative language. Some scholars asserted that routine speech and creative speech are independent of one another, and that, furthermore, routine speech is more appropriate for beginners of a language (Krashen & Scarcella, 1978). Still, there are many occasions in everyday, advanced target language conversation that call for routine language.

The work of Langer (1989) suggested that the line between routine language and creative language is blurred. In other words, Langer hypothesised that creative language is in fact made up of automatic and routine speech. They could perhaps be considered the building blocks. Polarising points of view about routine language and meaningful language align to the views expressed by the teachers in the current study. While, as Eloise pointed out, being able to ask for a pencil may not be particularly meaningful or useful in an authentic situation and, according to Aria, being able to buy a plane ticket is not relatable for pupils, perhaps the memorisable chunks of language associated with these speech acts indirectly, or implicitly, help to provide the pupils with communication strategies that can be put to use in certain situations (though perhaps these opportunities are still lacking for pupils in the Scottish modern language classroom). House's (1996) earlier findings suggested that explicit help with conversation routines did help university English learners in Germany recognise some conversational procedures (i.e., use of gambits) during audio recorded conversations. However, House also acknowledged that the artificiality of the classroom poses a situational challenge. The findings from House's study contradict the belief that routine

language is more suitable for beginner learners, as the participants were advanced level English learners. However, it is evident from comparison with the older, relevant studies available that refreshed attention to this topic is needed.

If we assume that routine language chunks do not simply serve as steppingstones for beginners, but for learners of all levels, perhaps this implies a reconceptualisation of how routine language is used and developed along a continuum between S1-S3 (and onwards). In other words, a re-examination of whether the chunks that pupils learn each year is differentiated based on their level/objectives. Another question raised is how secondary pupils may be appropriately encouraged to play with chunks of language. In a study of 2 to 5-year-old English foreign language learners in Taiwan, the young participants demonstrated creative play with language when involved in formulaic recitation of the days of the week (Wang & Hyun, 2009). According to Bell (2012), though oftentimes a production of inaccurate language in early stages, the ability to play with formulas allows for a greater range of expression. Another example of language play from Pomerantz and Bell (2011) aligns to Deirdre's feeling toward mocking the language. Her point was that even using language as a joke is still valid target language production. In their study, Pomerantz and Bell observed occasions where university Spanish learners' sarcastic use of the phrase 'me gusta' (I like) signaled playfulness but also usefulness for the task at hand, which was to have a small group discussion about forms of government. Pomerantz and Bell (2011) argued that use of humor provides a 'safe house' for students and allows for construction of 'several

desirable identities' which might lower target language inhibition (p. 153). The link between identity and target language will be further discussed in Section 5.2.9.

Yet despite the ability to play with language, the challenge of authenticity persists. Pomerantz and Bell stated that humorous reconstruction of routine/formulaic language chunks and patterns, as well as 'more complex and creative acts of language,' are not often found in L2 instructional settings (p. 148). Bell (2012) further argued that manipulation of formulaic language usually results in scenarios involving 'imitation or creation of a particular persona or character' (p. 195). The performative aspects suggested by language, such as 'imitation' and 'creation of a persona' in essence contradict the idea of authenticity. That is not to say that such manipulation of formulaic/routine language is poor use of target language but rather calls for a rethinking of what authenticity looks like in the modern language classroom environment, particularly the Anglophone modern language environment, where, as Meiring and Norman (2002) stated, the extent to which the foreign language classroom 'replicates natural conditions necessitates some compensation' (p. 31). Furthermore, Bell (2012) noted, as learners get older and gather more life experience, they have a greater range of knowledge and resources with which to formulate creative manipulations of language. Perhaps creating 'fake authenticity,' as coined by Aria, in early levels of language learning is necessary in the interest of target language production. This has implications on teacher, as well as pupil, target language use, particularly if teachers, in their uphill battle to facilitate an authentic environment, resort to L1 out of discouragement.

5.2.7 Peer attitudes toward target language use

There seemed to be many conflicts between pupil desire to use target language and feeling impeded by their peers' attitudes toward target language or perceptions of their peers' proficiency levels. And while both teachers and pupils expressed on the questionnaires that speaking with peers should be an opportunity for both English and target language use, both groups described pupil resistance to target language communication in the interviews. These findings suggest group attitudes are a crucial aspect of willingness to use target language among pupils in the Scottish secondary language learning context. MacIntyre et al. (1998) also identified group attitudes as a key aspect in their original theoretical pyramid model of willingness to communicate. However, they referred to the 'intergroup,' the target culture group with which the L2 learner wishes to integrate, whereas the teachers and pupils in the current study highlighted the significance of classroom group attitudes, which seems linked to macro level attitudes about the value of languages other than English in the United Kingdom.

According to Fushino (2010), the extent to which pupils perceive opportunities for target language interaction to be valuable is likely to determine both pupils' intentions to use target and their actual target language use. Given that during speaking activities, classmates were often reported to resort to English, it seems unlikely that pupils in Scotland will perceive class target language opportunities as valuable. Findings from a study conducted by Wang, Tseng, Chen and Cheng (2020) in the Taiwanese university English learning context further confirmed that peer group attitudes toward target language interaction 'can affect learners' intentions to negotiate meaning, their

interaction behaviours and even the level of competence they ultimately achieve in the target language' and that furthermore, 'teachers' efforts to create quality interactions do not necessarily guarantee learners' [positive] perceptions [toward target language]' (p. 394). Questionnaires given to 329 students showed that group perceptions of classroom interaction had significant direct effect on both intention to use target language and behaviours (though behaviours were not observed but rather self-reported behaviours). The findings of this study imply that strengthening group beliefs about the value of target language interaction in the classroom could positively influence pupil willingness to use target language but the question remains as to how. Wang's et al. (2020) findings align to pupils' beliefs in the current study that more peer target language would increase their confidence and perceived capability. Yet it is still unclear to what extent pupil target language is a result of peer group attitudes or lack of meaningful opportunities for interaction. Both are likely factors but deeper investigation focusing on these factors and their effect on pupil target language is warranted.

In addition to pupil attitudes, behaviour also seems to be a factor impinging on pupil target language use. Behaviour was the most cited reason student teachers of French, German and Spanish on school placements in England did not use target language in Chamber's (2013) revisitation of target language in teacher preparation. The behaviour student teachers encountered seemed to stem from negative perceptions about the usefulness of learning a language. While this seems to manifest in boredom or a general display of not caring about the class, among the participants both in Chambers (2013) and in the current study, the complexity of emotion behind the

participants unwillingness or disengagement must be explored further. This is further discussed in relation to findings from the cartoon storyboards in Section 5.3.2.

5.2.8 Anxiety, perfectionism and the perceived difficulty of language learning

As stated by Lanvers, Hultgren and Gayton (2019) learners between the ages of 12 and 14 can be particularly hard to motivate. This may be because emotions in the language classroom, particularly anxiety, may be difficult for adolescent learners to mediate. In the current study, interview accounts described fear of making mistakes as a significant pupil target language inhibitor. This may simply be due to the nature of adolescence.

Like Levine's (2003) findings, teachers from the current study perceived greater anxiety among pupils than pupils reported feeling regarding teacher target language use in the classroom, suggesting that pupil target language use is a greater source of anxiety than teacher target language use. The anxiety referred to by pupils and teachers seemed to stem largely from the idea that pupils must sound near native. When confronted with the difficulty of reaching this arbitrary goal, pupils feel discouraged. This goes against literature that has long debunked the myth that a language learner must become nativelike (Davies, 2003). Though teachers discussed the efforts they make in assuring pupils that making mistakes is a natural part of language, pupils' accounts of the ideal language learner overwhelmingly referred to pupils with a natural ability, who make few errors and hesitations. While there are few studies that consider pupils' perspectives on this issue, Lanvers et al. (2019) considered how the impact of English dominance and Anglocentrism may help to better understand pupils' criticality in their own abilities. They stated that 'in the context of the United

Kingdom environment with a tendency toward Anglocentrism, students might be inclined to view multilingualism as either difficult to achieve, and/or uncommon...' (p. 91).

Furthermore, they highlighted that learner beliefs about ease of learning also influence success. This coincides with teacher findings from interviews stating that learners may feel discouraged upon discovering that language learning requires significant effort and when comparing of their language proficiency to the proficiency of their non-Anglophone counterparts.

The finding that pupils perceived their peers to be more competent is reminiscent of Aragão's (2011) findings with one adult learner of English in Brazil, who expressed feelings of inferiority in comparison to her peers. Based on Aragão's mention of idolised models of language learning, it seems pupils in Scotland idolise their peers' levels of competency and perhaps even exaggerate their peers' abilities. Though based on Aragão's findings that feeling of inferiority and idolisation are not specific to adolescents, Taylor (2013) emphasised that the competitive nature of Western classrooms sparks social comparisons, which has negative consequences on adolescents' senses of self. This may help to explain why pupils in Scotland struggle to see target language as an aspect of their identity, which is discussed further in the next section. However, Taylor (2013) also stated that peers will attempt to outperform one another, which appeared not to be the case among pupils in Scotland. This is perhaps due to pupils' perceptions of their self-efficacy, which Taylor (2013) described as 'one's competency beliefs, influencing one's approach or avoidance of goals and tasks' (p. 29).

5.2.9 Perceived usefulness of target language and personal connection to languages

Taylor and Marsden (2014) found that in England, 13 to 14-year-old modern foreign language pupils' perceived competence, enjoyment modern languages and perceived relevance of modern languages were all closely tied. Based on questionnaire findings from the current study, pupils are not generally instrumentally motivated to learn languages (for a future career). This could be linked to low extrinsic pressure from parents to learn languages, which pupils also indicated. Using target language for travel seemed to resonate more with pupils. It seems that appealing to pupils on an integrative and/or intrinsic level has more potential to foster enjoyment and create meaningful connections with languages (than appealing to pupils based on the value of languages for employment).

Perceived usefulness and relevance of target language

Pupils who could recount instances of target language use abroad, or in settings outside the classroom, seemed likelier to express having a relevant purpose for learning and speaking target language. The perceived relevance of target language for travel is supported by findings from Parrish and Lanvers (2018) that French and Spanish were perceived particularly useful for travel (discussed in Section 5.2.2). Similar findings were also reported by Lanvers and Martin (2021) regarding parents' and pupils' views that Spanish was useful on holiday. This suggests a view that languages are not useful in the Scottish context but rather only outside of Scotland.

While a substantial percentage of pupils in the current study (68%) could see themselves eventually using target language outside of the classroom, many still

seemed on the fence as to whether they could envision target language as part of their future careers. Owen pointed out how teachers attempt to instill the value of language skills but described this as trying to sell a 'skill deferred,' of which pupils do not see the immediate benefit. Similarly, 7 to 11-year-old Finnish EFL pupils described English speaking skills as something that would become relevant 'at some point in the future' (Aro, 2016, p. 33). This suggests that advertising reasons for learning a language may not have immediate relevance to all pupils.

In a systematic review of UK newspapers between 2010-2012, Lanvers and Coleman (2017) found that the importance of language skills for economy and job prospects was a prominent theme. Personal benefits and cultural enrichment were also prevalent themes. However, the authors noted that many articles carried a negative tone, emphasising language decline in the United Kingdom rather than purporting personal and professional advantages of languages (though Scottish newspapers tended to positively promote more than English newspapers). This suggests that instrumental reasons for language learning may be relevant enough to pupils in Scotland, however, messages about the decline of languages may, in a subliminal sense, convey to pupils that languages are not important. And while pupils may not be picking up on these messages directly from news sources, parents may be passing such messages down to their children. It also seems evident that in raising the profile of languages in Scotland, it is vital to address not only personal benefits to learning languages, but also collective benefits for Scotland at the macro-societal level to encourage a positive trickle-down effect.

However, McColl (2005) argued that macro and meso-level notions of country, community and language are often assumed to be implicit in pupils' understanding and need to be made explicit. This is in line with the intervention studies discussed (Taylor & Marsden, 2014; Lanvers et al., 2019; Forbes et al., 2021), which were found to have increased pupils' awareness of multilingualism and its benefits. However, given that teachers in the current study expressed difficulty in making the benefits of languages appealing to pupils, perhaps work is still needed in raising awareness of multilingualism within Scotland and within pupils' communities as well as raising awareness about global multilingualism. Doing so could improve pupils' capacity for understanding their own country, communities and languages and therefore make valuable comparisons with other countries, communities and languages, which may make reasons for learning languages (including for travel, work and so on) more relevant. McColl (2005) also stated that 'evidence suggests that meaningful language learning experiences are more difficult to provide when the foreign language is taught simply for its own sake, devoid of cultural context – and perhaps here is one of the reasons for feelings of alienation experienced by many of our young language learners today' (p. 106). Thus, regardless of how hard teachers try to instill value in learning language for personal development, some pupils will simply not be able to take this in, if they have not had explicit exposure to the interlinked concepts of country, community and language and have not had opportunities to make comparisons between their own and others'. This also supports the case for building culture more robustly into the language curriculum, which some teachers in the current study felt needed to go beyond celebrating holidays. However,

this slightly contradicts Taylor and Marsden's (2014) intervention, which included lessons about Christmas words in target language. Perhaps given that Christmas is a holiday relevant to many pupils' own cultures, learning about how holidays are celebrated elsewhere can be a meaningful way to teach about other cultures.

Multilingual identity construction

Understanding adolescents' identity is especially challenging. According to Taylor (2013), adolescents' emergent identity is influenced by various relational contexts, which are defined as any given social situation 'where the individual interacts with other persons in a particular social capacity, responding to particular social expectations' (p. 9). The four main relational contexts Taylor referred to are parents, friends, teachers and classmates. Henry (2017) viewed multilingual identity from a complex perspective, arguing that a multilingual person has multiple language-specific identities as well as a broader identity that encompasses interactions between multiple motivational self-systems, which are made up of multiple self-guides respective of an individual's L2, L3, etc. Regarding whether languages were personally important to them, pupils' split responses (38% - strongly agree/agree, 31% - neutral, 31% - strongly disagree/disagree) could be a testament to the complex and emergent nature of their multilingual identities.

McColl (2005) argued that learners must first understand themselves before they can develop an awareness and interest in others, supporting the idea that the concept of identity should be made explicit when learning a language. This resonates with Eloise's statement that teachers should be 'finding ways that [target language] can be

part of how people view themselves.’ It also resonates with a S3 pupil’s statement about ‘becoming the culture, becoming a part of myself’ As discussed in Section 5.1.4. Fisher et al. (2020) proposed a conceptual framework for participative multilingual identity construction that guides learners to understanding the sociolinguistic context of their homes, communities and classrooms. Pupils’ perceptions of whether their communities are diverse or predominantly monolingual may be based on their perception of the self and their own linguistic identity. This points to the relevance of Fisher’s et al. (2020) conceptual framework and necessity for learners to be actively involved in building and reflecting on sociocultural knowledge. Recently, Gayton and Fisher (2022) argued that sociocultural knowledge, and more specifically, language awareness (LA), is key to future focus on getting pupils to see how languages can be personally relevant in their lives.

Forbes’ et al. (2021) definition of multilingual identity is inclusive of speakers who are beginners of a foreign language at school and who may have low levels of proficiency. If young language learners in Scotland can identify themselves as multilingual participants within their communities, ‘they may be more likely to invest effort in the learning and maintenance’ of other languages and furthermore, ‘with increasing mobility and greater diversity in communities and classrooms a multilingual mindset might lead to enhanced social cohesion in the school and beyond’ (Fisher et al., 2020, p. 449). Furthermore, the fact that many [upils in Scotland felt discouraged by their limited proficiency aligns to Fisher’s et al. (2020) finding, which is that pupils believed that to identify as a speaker of a language, one must be a fluent speaker of

that language. Helping pupils to view this belief as a fallacy may have positive implications on their agency to identify as a multilingual.

In the current study, Eloise stated that getting pupils to connect the language with their identities should be a first priority with S1-S3 pupils. Yet Aria admitted she does not consciously teach in a way that might encourage learners to consider themselves multilingual. In addition to its relevance to Fisher's et al. (2020) conceptual framework for participative multilingual identity construction, the need to raise awareness of multilingualism within Scotland is also supported by the three Es model (detailed in Section 2.7.4), which Forbes et al. (2021) use to frame their intervention study in modern language secondary classrooms in England. The interventions delivered to 13 and 14-year-old foreign language learners in England included lessons about languages in various close contexts (classroom and community), links between culture and language and sociolinguistic knowledge (such as awareness about dialects). Pupils who received these intervention lessons were found to have improved perceptions of their own self-efficacy and a greater value for languages. Their emotions were also positively impacted, which according to Forbes et al. (2021), could indicate a likelihood that their willingness to identify as multilingual increased. Perceived self-efficacy seems a key factor in the pupils' reflections on perceived difficulty of learning a language, the need to sound native-like and fear of making mistakes in front of peers.

5.3 Findings from teacher and pupil questionnaires and pupil cartoon storyboards

This section presents findings from Section C of the teacher and pupil questionnaires along with the pupil cartoon storyboards, which depicted teacher and pupil language

use in the classroom and pupils' emotions associated with the language classroom. The data presented in this section adds a complementary perspective to perceptions about how much English and target language is used in the classroom.

5.3.1 Beliefs about amounts of English and target language used in the classroom

Section C of the questionnaire compared teachers' and pupils' perceptions of how much English and target language they believe to be used in the classroom. Items from Section C of the questionnaires were fill-in-the-blank, asking teachers and pupils to indicate whether they believed too little, the right amount or too much English and target language were used in the classroom.

Figure 5.21 shows that 60% (n=9) of the 15 teachers believed they used too little target language. However, 77% (n=133) of the 172 pupils who responded to this item believed their teachers used the right amount of target language (Figure 5.22).

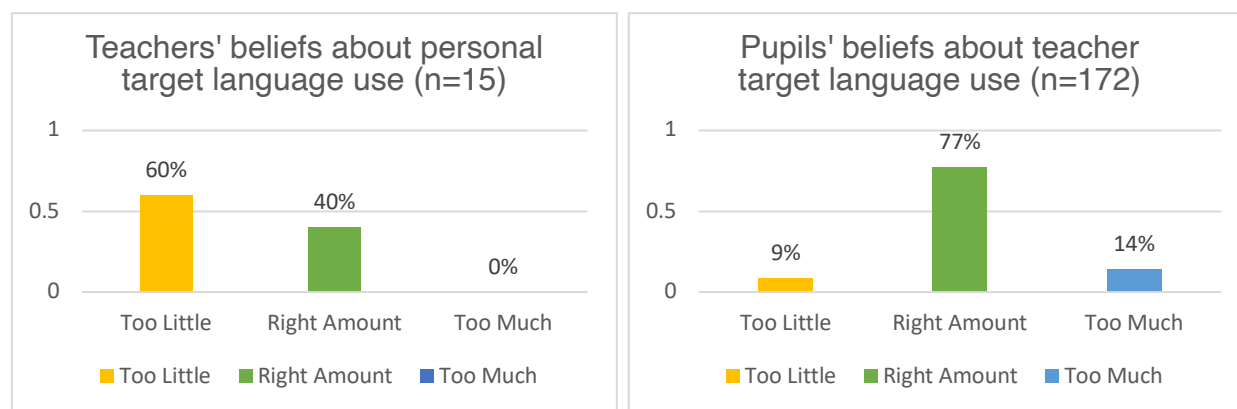


Figure 5.21 (left): Teachers' beliefs about how much target language they use

Figure 5.22 (right): Pupils' beliefs about how much teachers use target language

Figure 5.23 shows that teachers were more evenly split regarding whether they believed themselves to use the right amount of English (46.6%, n=8) or too much English (53.3%, n=7). Most pupils (80%, n=137) thought teachers used the right amount of English (Figure 5.24).

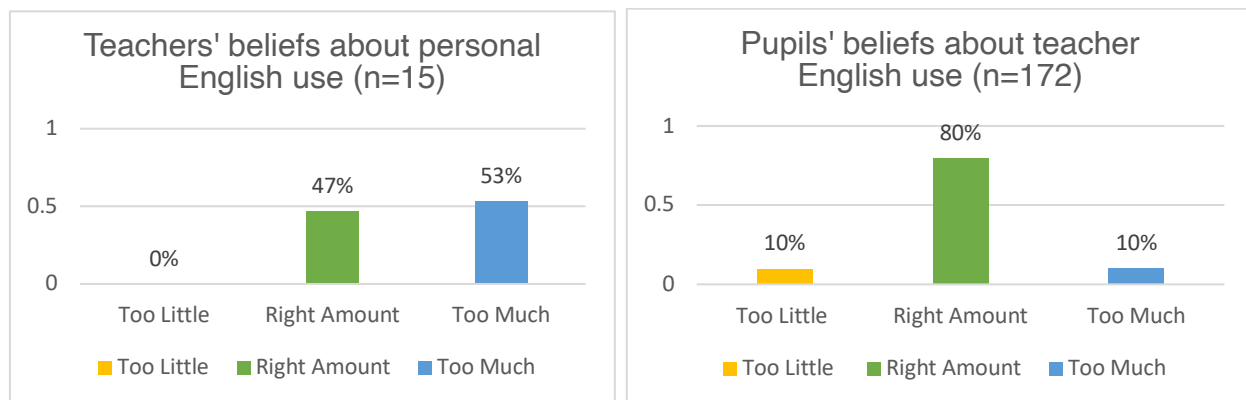


Figure 5.23 (left): Teachers' beliefs about how much English they use

Figure 5.24 (right): Pupils' beliefs about how much teachers use English

In general, there is a common belief among teachers (80%, n=12) that pupils do not use enough target language (Figure 5.25). However, pupils largely believed (60%, n=102) that they used an appropriate amount of target language (Figure 5.26).

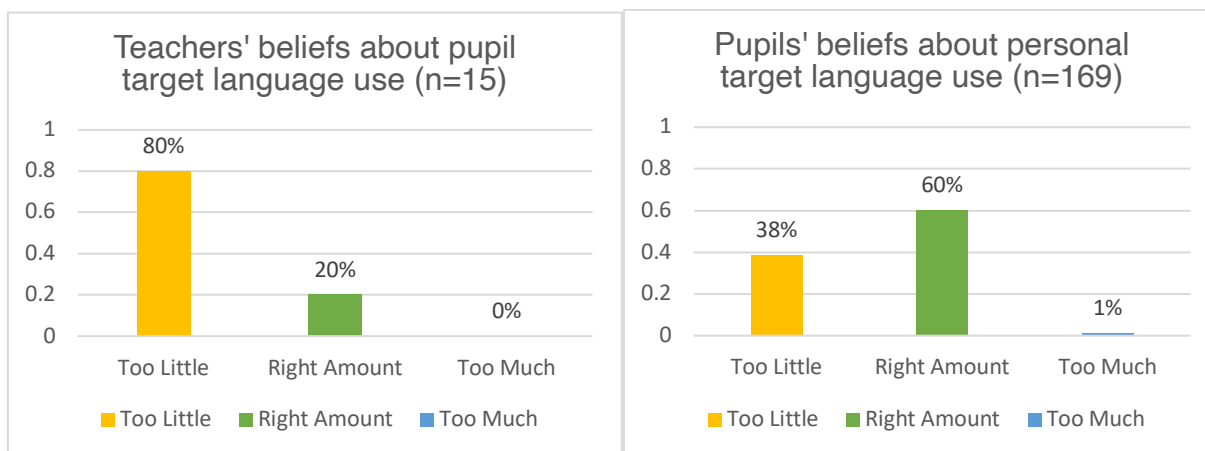


Figure 5.25 (left): Teachers' beliefs about how much pupils use target language

Figure 5.26 (right): Pupils' beliefs about how much target language they use

Inversely, in relation to English use, 80% (n=12) of teachers believed that pupils used too much but 51% (n=87) of pupils believed themselves to use the right amount (Figures 5.27 and 5.28).

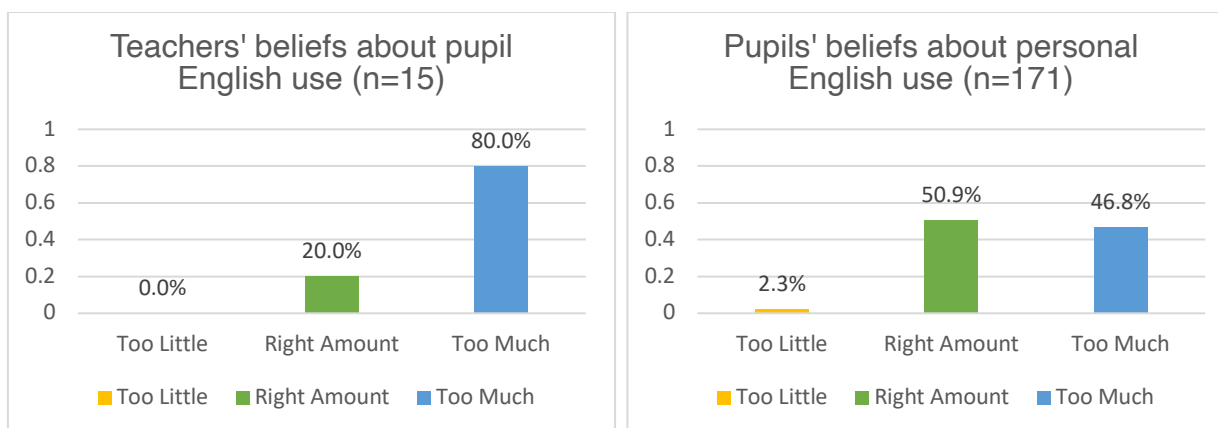


Figure 5.27 (left): Teachers' beliefs about how much pupils use English

Figure 5.28 (right): Pupils' beliefs about how much they use English

5.3.2 Findings from cartoon storyboards

The cartoon storyboards provided more pupil perspective about how much English and target language is spoken in the classroom. Of the 45 cartoons storyboards analysed, 15 were completed by S1 pupils (33%), 18 were completed by S2 pupils (40%) and 12 were completed by S3 pupils (27%). The cartoon storyboard consisted of 4 scenes (see Appendix 8 for cartoon storyboard template). For the first three scenes, pupils were prompted to draw their teacher, themselves and their peers as well as what languages were being used. The fourth scene prompted pupils to indicate which emotions they experienced in the language classroom.

Scenes 1-3: Pupils' depictions of English and target language use by the teacher, the pupil and classmates

Teacher language use was depicted in Scene 1 a total of 37 times, pupil language use was depicted 24 times and classmate language use was depicted 26 times (Figure 5.29). Teachers were primarily depicted using a combination of English and target language (24 out of 37 depictions, or about 65%). Half of the pupil language use depictions (Scene 2) showed pupils using a combination of English and target language. In Scene 3, pupils depicted their classmates using English on 15 out of 26 occasions (about 58%).

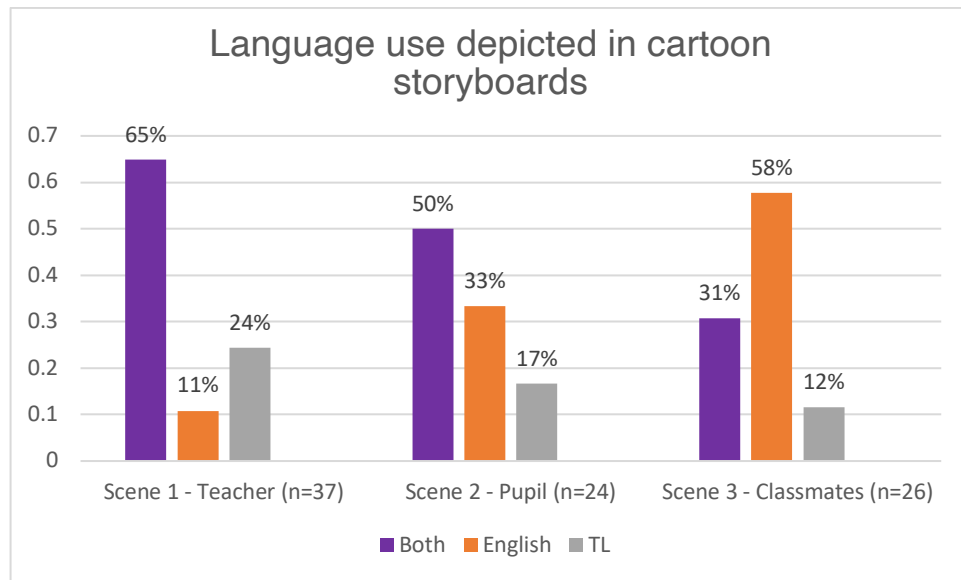


Figure 5.29: Language use depicted through Scenes 1-3 of the cartoon storyboards

The images shown below were selected to illustrate the languages used throughout the first three scenes. Image 5.1 shows a depiction of a teacher using target language.

Image 5.1: 'Répétez!'¹⁴



(S3 pupil, School 1)

¹⁴ It is inferred that the teacher in Image 5.1 is instructing the class to repeat the vocabulary depicted. The spelling of 'repute!' has been corrected to 'répétez!' for the image title.

In Image 5.2, a S2 pupil depicted themselves in Scene 2 feeling at a loss for how to speak the target language. The 'mainly French' written in the lower righthand side of the image indicated, however, that the pupil mainly uses French in the classroom or feels expected to use mainly French.

Image 5.2: 'I have no clue how to speak French'



(S2 pupil, School 2)

Image 5.3 shows a S2 pupil feeling confused as to whether they are in the L2 classroom or the L3 classroom. This image relates to findings presented in Section 5.1.2 regarding some pupils' beliefs that learning one additional language is preferable to two. This Image also supports Cerys' comment that pupils who are already multilingual are not necessarily predisposed to having positive attitudes about the languages taught in the Scottish modern language setting (Section 5.1.1).

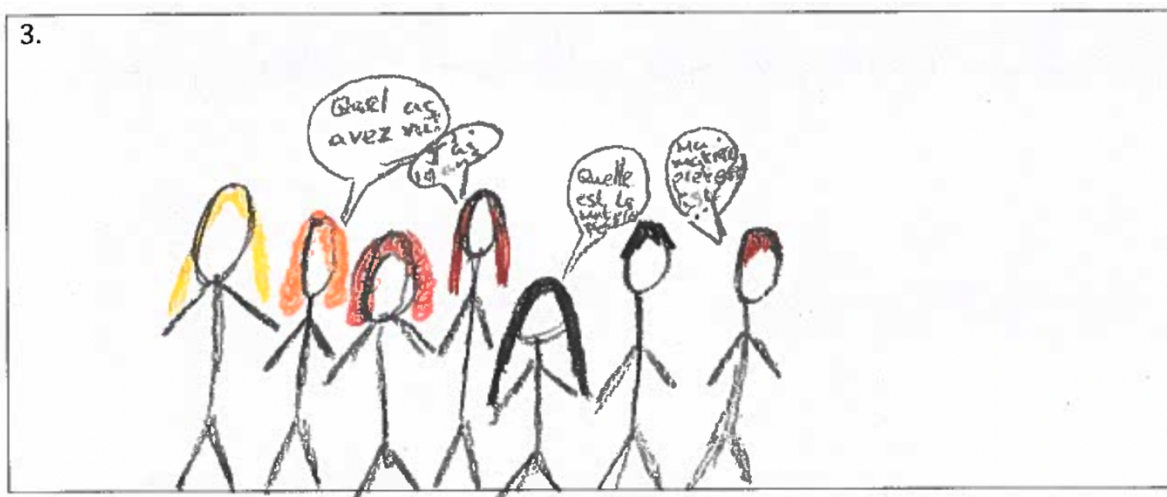
Image 5.3: 'Is this Spanish or French?'



(S2 pupil, School 1)

At School 6, a S3 pupil depicted a small class (of only seven total pupils), who used the target language amongst themselves willingly during a communicative task.

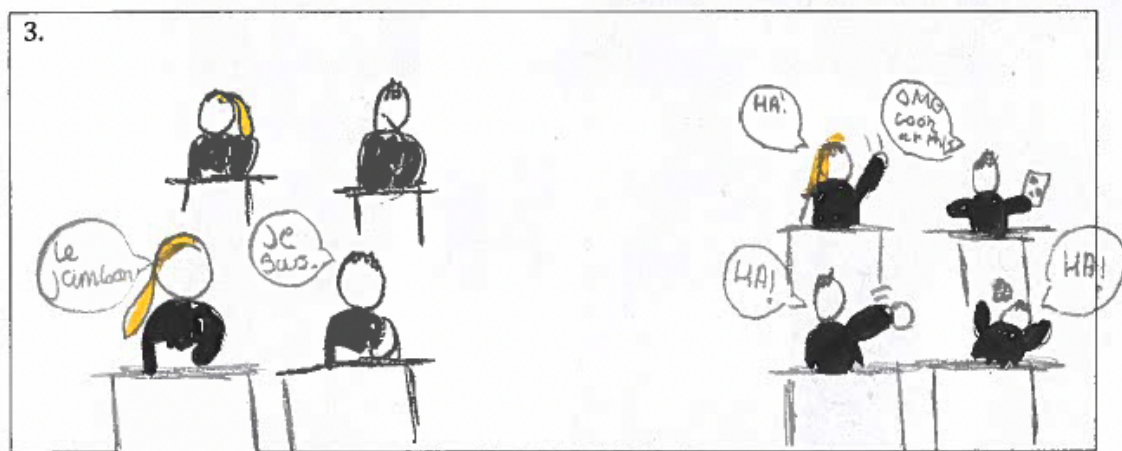
Image 5.4: Target language depicted among classmates during a communicative task



(S3 pupil, School 6)

At School 1, a S3 pupil depicted their class split between sitting silently, using target language and other, off task behaviours, such as throwing objects and looking at something on a mobile phone.

Image 5.5: A split classroom



(S3 pupil, School 1)

Scene 4: Emotions

In scene 4, pupils depicted what emotions they felt in the language classroom. Many images were accompanied with a word or sentence to clarify the intended emotion, minimising researcher misinterpretation. Emotions depicted in Scene 4 were also clarified by pupils during interviews. These scenes were analysed according to year group to reveal whether there were any indications that emotions changed over time, as research has indicated that pupils' attitudes can change over time (Fisher, 2013; Taylor & Marsden, 2014) and given that teachers in the current study expressed beliefs that enthusiasm for languages declines after S1.

As shown in Figure 5.30, 58% of S3 pupils (n=7) expressed mixed emotions. An example can be seen in Image 5.6, where an S3 pupil depicted himself feeling bored but also conflicted in thinking about how languages will benefit him in the future. Other mixed emotions included nervousness coupled with excitement as well as happiness coupled with confusion.

S1s and S2s depicted more occasions of happiness than S3s, which does not confirm teachers' beliefs about declining enthusiasm post-S1 but does not rule this out entirely. Twenty-two percent of S2 pupils depicted themselves as happy (n=4) and 22% also depicted themselves feeling mixed emotions (n=4). In addition, 11% of S2s (n=3) depicted themselves feeling bored, 11% (=3) depicted themselves as feeling fine, 6% (n=1) depicted themselves stressed or nervous and 6% (n=1) depicted themselves as focused or interested.

The most common emotion depicted by S1s was happiness, accounting for 27% (n=4) of S1 drawings. Twenty percent of S1s (n=3) also depicted themselves stressed or nervous (20%), 13% (n=2) were bored, 13% (n=2) felt mixed emotions and 13% (n=2) were focused or interested.

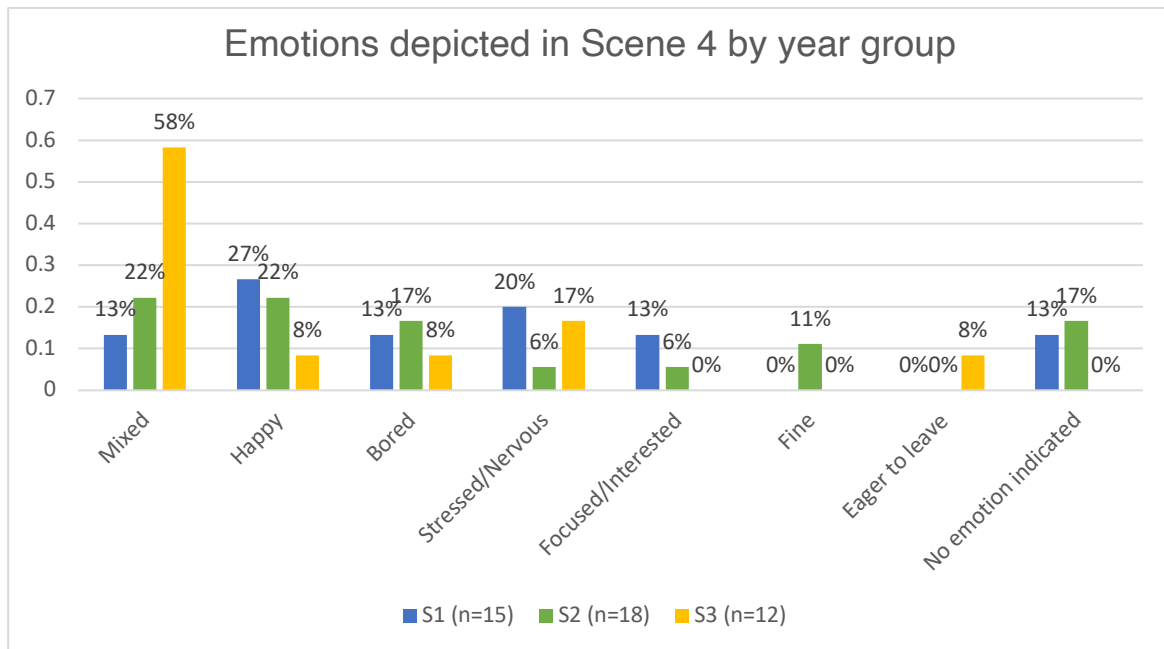


Figure 5.30: Emotions depicted in Scene 4 of the cartoon storyboards by year group

As above, three images were selected to demonstrate the range of emotions depicted by pupils in Scene 4. Image 5.6, drawn by a S3 pupil at School 1, shows the pupil conflicted by feelings of boredom while also understanding how languages would benefit him long term.

Image 5.6: 'Bored but it's for my future'



S3 pupil, School 1

Image 5.7 depicts a S3 pupil, also at School 1, feeling anxious or nervous about being called on by the teacher. In her head, she rehearses verb forms to prepare for that possibility. This image speaks to interview findings about pupils feeling that they must make a perfect utterance (Section 5.1.3).

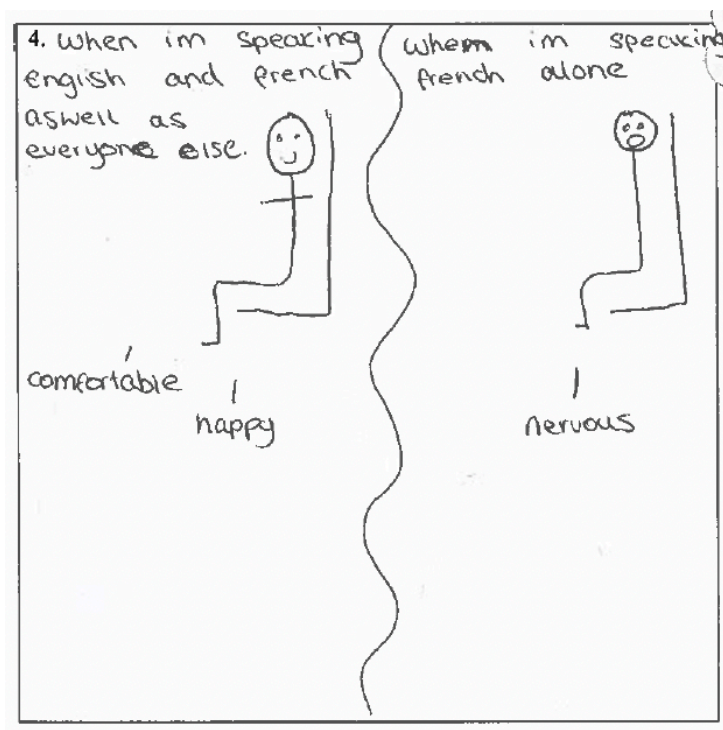
Image 5.7: 'What if she asks me something?'



(S3 pupil, School 1)

Image 5.8 shows one S2 pupil's mixed emotions, particularly in relation to speaking target language. The pupil feels comfortable and happy when speaking along with peers but nervous when speaking alone, supporting findings presented in Section 5.1.3 about the significant influence of peers' attitudes about languages and target language use.

Image 5.8: Mixed feelings



(S2 pupil, School 2)

5.3.3 Summary of Questionnaire Section C and cartoon storyboard findings

The cartoon storyboards helped to triangulate data pertaining to pupils' perceptions about language use and also presented data related to their emotions. Firstly, the representation of both languages used by the teacher in 61% of pupils' drawings in Scene 1 aligns with the satisfaction that pupils expressed about their teacher using the right amount of English and the right amount of target language.

There were fewer depictions of pupil language (Scene 2) use than teacher language use (Scenes 1 and 2) but those depicted showed pupils also using English and target language half of the time, which contradicts pupils' preferences for English

for most pupil language use functions, as presented from Section D of the questionnaire. Unsurprisingly, classmates were mostly drawn using English.

Scene 4 showed emotions taking place in the language classroom in addition to anxiety (stress or nervousness), which usually takes priority in the literature. Other emotions included happiness, interest or focus, boredom, feeling fine and eagerness to leave the language classroom.

5.4 Discussion on perceived amounts of English and target language use, as well as emotions, indicated on the questionnaires and in pupil cartoon storyboards

Discussion on the findings presented in Section 5.3 is organised in three parts. Section 5.4.1 discusses the findings from Section C of the questionnaire, beliefs about how much English and target language is used by teachers and pupils, in relation to related literature. Section 5.4.2 considers how the images produced by pupils in the current study compare to other studies that have embarked on the use of visual methods and what this tells us about the Scottish language classroom. Finally, Section 5.4.3 examines the emotions identified by pupils in Scene 4 of the cartoon storyboards.

5.4.1 Teacher and pupil perceptions of language use amounts

The findings from Section C of the questionnaire can be directly compared to those of Thompson (2009) who also investigated teachers' and students' self-evaluations of their own English and target language use on a 3-point scale (1-too little, 2- the right amount, 3 – too much). Some similarities and differences can be identified.

Thompson (2009) sampled instructors and students from two university level Spanish courses; 102 (first-year, second semester Spanish) and 202 (second-year, second semester Spanish). University Spanish instructors believed themselves to use mostly the right amounts of English and target language, with some lower-level instructors tending to believe they used a little too much English and some higher-level instructors tending to believe they used too little English. It is interesting that despite the higher level, Spanish 202 instructors felt they could use more English, suggesting that L1 is a helpful resource for more advanced learners as well as beginners. Like the 102 instructors, a little over half (53%) of teachers in Scotland believed themselves to use too much English, while 60% believed they used too little target language. This seems to contrast findings from Section 4.1.2, which showed that teachers (and pupils) believe that English should be used for several classroom functions. This is evidence that, although the teachers in Scotland use ample L1 in practice, there may be some internal conflict between feeling justified in using L1 while still believing that one should limit their L1 use.

The 270 university students surveyed also felt that their instructors used the right amounts of English and target language, as did the pupils in the current study. However, the university students were more critical of their own language use than the pupils in Scotland, with most believing that they used too much English and too little target language. Pupils in Scotland on the other hand, tended to believe they used the right amounts of English and target language. It stands to reason that university level students are more critical about their language use than secondary pupils, given their

age and experience, and given that university students have chosen to pursue language learning.

Tsagari and Diakou's (2015) findings revealed mismatches in teachers' and pupils' estimations of teacher language use, unlike the findings from the current study, in which teachers and pupils similarly believed teachers to use the right amounts of English and target language. One potential reason for this difference is that Tsagari and Diakou examined perceived amount of L1 use along a scale (i.e., 0-20% L1, 21-40% L1, etc.), whereas the current study examined beliefs about language use (i.e., too much, the right amount of, too little). The findings from the current study indicate level of satisfaction about English and target language use. Another notable difference is that the teachers in Cyprus were committed to maximising target language, while many of the teachers in Scotland had more relaxed attitudes about teacher target language use.

It is interesting that teachers from the current study, as well as the university instructors from Thompson (2009), reported satisfaction with their target language and English use when many studies still highlight negative associations with perceived lack of target language use. For example, Chambers' (2013) study of French, German and Spanish student teachers' perspectives examined why target language tends to be 'undermined' by so many factors in the foreign language teaching context in England (p. 44). Chambers stated that while teachers generally agree with principles for maximising target language exposure and 'want to use it in their teaching [they find] that the reality within and beyond the classroom impacts negatively on their target language intentions' (p. 45). Chambers also referred to teacher target language use as 'diminishing,'

evidenced by findings from observations of student teachers (p 46). The student teachers were observed to use a blended approach of English and target language, particularly during the start of class and when addressing the whole class, such as when giving instructions. This is consistent with questionnaire findings from the current study, which demonstrated teachers' preferences for using a blended English and target language approach for giving instructions (Section 4.1.1). However, the student teachers in Chambers' (2013) study used a blended approach only where exclusive target language use created the potential for 'risk' (such as disruption or misunderstanding). In other words, the student teachers used English and target language, not necessarily out of belief of their pedagogical value, but rather during periods of 'heightened challenge for themselves' (p. 48). This is consistent with findings from the interviews in the current study indicating that teachers limited their target language use to avoid pupil disinterest. This suggests that while teachers seem generally satisfied with their perceived English and target language use amount, the reason that a majority (60%) felt they used too little target language may be because they have a tendency to believe that their target language use will lead to negative effects (pupil drop out, poor behaviour, etc.).

5.4.2 Extent to which depictions of the language classroom show the classroom environment to be conducive to learning and using languages

Based on comparison with previous studies that have employed visual methods to explore pupils' portrayals of languages and language learning, some comparisons can be drawn between predominantly monolingual pupils in the Scottish context and

bi/multilingual pupils in other contexts. However, it is important to remember that each study prompted visuals differently and thus, the potential conclusions drawn in this section would benefit from further exploration in future research.

For example, the pupils in the current study were asked to draw only the classroom context. Yet, when asked to draw representations of themselves speaking the language(s) they knew, limited representations of school by Portuguese heritage speakers in Germany suggested that school was not considered an optimal place for language learning (Melo-Pfeifer, 2015b). However, these children (aged between 6 to 12-years-old) represented wide linguistic repertoires, which they are likely to have acquired in family and community settings. Still, these findings suggest that out of school contexts are also important contexts for the development of multilingualism and is an implication for further consideration in terms of how schools in the Scottish context can support and stimulate awareness of multilingualism outside of the classroom. It was already made evident in Section 4.5.1 that pupils in the current study generally do not perceive high levels of multilingualism around them and that raising their multilingual awareness could have positive effects on their attitudes about languages. This also raises a question as to what pupils in Scotland might have depicted had they been asked to draw languages they experienced outside of the classroom, which could be carried out in future research.

On the other hand, in their portraits of learning EFL and Finnish as a second language, migrant children in Finland (aged 13 and up) depicted school as the most important place where languages played a role (Hakkarainen, 2011). The difference in

findings may be due to the age of the migrant children, who were slightly older than the Portuguese heritage speakers in Germany. School may play a more crucial role in adolescents' lives than in the lives of younger children. This is supported by Aro (2016), who used semi-structured interviews to compare Finnish primary school pupils' beliefs' about EFL across Years 1, 3 and 5 (ages seven, nine and eleven), and found that 'authoritative viewpoints of the school played a larger role in [Year 5] participants' beliefs' (p. 39). In other words, pupils saw the school's approach to language learning as the *only* approach to language learning. Aro (2016) argued that this may not allow for flexible and meaningful construction of how pupils see themselves as language learners. In the case of the pupils in Scotland, a comment made by one teacher implied that many pupils may have a challenging relationship with school, influenced by either parent attitudes or peer attitudes about school. The type of school, including its socioeconomic background, may also play a role. Mairi and Deirdre discussed how at School 8, a school in a high SIMD area (an area of affluence), being seen to be academic was highly regarded.

Like findings from Kalaja, Alanen and Dufva's (2008) study of EFL learners at a Finnish university, who were asked to draw a self-portrait of themselves as English learners, pupils in Scotland tended to depict themselves (Scene 2) alone. However, the cartoon storyboard prompt used in the current study asked pupils to specifically draw themselves, which may have influenced their decision to draw themselves individually. Additionally, it is unclear whether in Scene 3, pupils included themselves in their drawings of classmates. Kalaja et al. (2008) implied that drawing oneself alone signaled

a lack of collaborative learning. This may explain why pupils in Scotland tended to depict themselves alone and why Scene 3 showed some off task behaviours, such as throwing objects, sleeping or chatting with classmates. Kalaja et al. (2008) also found that learners depicted themselves as mostly receiving input. This is another potential explanation for why pupils in Scotland depicted themselves alone and why teacher language use was depicted on more occasions than pupil and classmate language use. Kalaja et al. (2008) believed this reflected a traditional Western style of learning. However, the authors assumed that a traditional Western learning style does not involve interaction or negotiation of meaning, which seems to be an overgeneralisation and does not necessarily reflect the context of the current study. Scene 3 showed pupils in Scotland engaging in both collaborative learning (Image 5.4) and off-task behaviours (Image 4.5).

In the Chilean context, university EFL learners were prompted to draw how they visualise the language learning process (Farías & Véliz, 2016). Like findings from Kalaja et al. (2008a), learners depicted themselves learning individually as well as receiving various types of input (from the teacher, social media, books, TV and radio). Farías and Véliz also believed this to indicate that participants do not view themselves as collaborative learners. Yet students in Chile tended to depict 'a happy and growing experience' (p. 846). In pupils' depictions of themselves in the current study, negative instances are shown, such as one pupil thinking they do not know how to speak French (Image 5.2) and another pupil confused as to whether they are learning French or Spanish (Image 5.3). Other scenes also depicted pupils with their head on the desk or

trying to focus amidst noise and disruptive behaviours. These findings may suggest that pupils typically do not find the classroom context a conducive place to learn and speak languages. Consideration of the emotions that pupils depicted experiencing in Scene 4 sheds additional light in the next section.

5.4.3 Emotions and beliefs about language learning and speaking target language

Two positive emotions were identified: happy and focused/interested. However, the other emotions identified could be categorised as less than positive: mixed feelings, bored, eager to leave, fine and stressed or nervous. These emotions were depicted along with instances of teacher English and target language use, pupil English and target language use and classmate English use. Again, given the specificity of the cartoon storyboard prompt, the conclusions that can be drawn must be made carefully. Whether certain emotions are associated with certain languages used (and by whom) was not specifically drawn out. However, the emotions and languages depicted still provide a snapshot of pupils' experiences in the Scottish modern language classroom that, in comparison to other findings, can provide a better understanding of pupils' beliefs about languages and language learning.

In the Brazilian EFL context, Aragão (2011) used visual narratives to explore seven university students' representations of emotions, which were linked to their beliefs about language learning in semi-structured interviews. Feelings such as shyness, embarrassment and inhibition were depicted and the classroom was 'construed as a place of discomfort' (Aragão, 2011, p. 306). These findings align to many of the views expressed by pupils during interviews, though pupils did not depict

many feelings of embarrassment or shyness in the cartoon storyboards. This may be because Scene 4 prompted pupils to represent emotions they felt in the language classroom, which pupils may have not specifically tied to speaking the target language (though some did, as evidenced by Image 5.8). According to Aragão, students spoke to the importance of speaking target language without fear of being judged by the teacher or peers. This is also reflected in Image 5.8, where a pupil showed herself feeling happy when speaking target language with everyone else but nervous when speaking the target language alone. Mixed feelings such as this were also reflected in a drawing by a Brazilian EFL student, who was happy in class while at the same time afraid to use the target language. There seems to be an important distinction between lone use of target language versus collective use of target language and beliefs about language learning. Fear of negative evaluation by peers seems less likely to occur when use of target language is normalised and this could have a potentially significant impact on emotional dynamics in the classroom. Furthermore, according to Aragão (2011), emotions have the potential to affect an individual's self-perception. It is plausible to hypothesise that normalised target language use among classmates would increase positive emotions in relation to the target language, thereby improving an individual's self-perception as a speaker and learner of a language and the ways in which they engage with the target language. The potential links between emotions, self-perceptions and language learning warrant focus in future research on the Scottish modern language context.

5.5 Chapter summary

This chapter has presented and discussed findings from the teacher and pupil interviews, including pupil cartoon storyboards, in answer to the second research question. Section 5.5.1 summarises the main points discussed regarding both the insights shed on questionnaire data and the additional insights gained from teacher and pupil interview findings. Section 5.5.2 summarises the main points discussed regarding pupil cartoon storyboard findings.

5.5.1 Beliefs about English and target language in context: Integrated findings from questionnaires and interviews

The interviews provided contextual understanding of teachers' and pupils' beliefs about L1 and L2 use in the classroom. Using Gayton's (2018) working model of L2 motivation in Anglophone language learning settings proved a successful framework for exploring teacher and pupil beliefs from macro, meso and micro contextual perspectives. The use of this conceptual framework also shed additional depth on how the pupil participants perceived languages to be personally relevant, adding a fourth crucial layer to exploring pupils' beliefs about language use and language learning.

Teachers' beliefs about their classroom English and target language use appear to be rooted in firsthand classroom experience, though some teachers spoke about the impact of teacher education on their language use pedagogy. It seems that teachers receive conflicting messages from their instructors during their language teacher education, one example being Shona's experience, who was told 'not to bother trying' to encourage pupils to use target language, and another example being Owen's, who

recalled used 100% target language while on school placement. In corroboration with the questionnaire data, teachers feel they must reduce their use of target language in order to pacify pupil anxiety and/or to maintain pupil interest. In other words, teachers felt that too much target language dissuades pupil from wanting to continue with languages. In line with the Language Trends report (2019), teachers cited uptake as a discouraging problem. Making target language use appealing to pupils seems a better solution than abandonment of target language. In this vein, teachers (namely Aria and Eloise) raised the issue of authenticity. The extent to which the target language used in the classroom is meaningful was brought into question. This is undoubtedly more difficult in the Anglophone language learning setting given that pupils are less likely to be exposed to target language outside of the classroom. Therefore, Eloise believed that getting pupils to make a personal connection with target language between S1-S3 should be a top priority but how remains in question.

Pupils highlighted that a significant inhibitor to their target language use was their peers. Questionnaires revealed that, while generally not anxious about teacher target language use, two thirds of pupils felt afraid or embarrassed to use target language in class. Interviews further revealed that pupils were hesitant to make mistakes or appear too enthusiastic about learning in front of their peers. Pupils also emphasised what could be considered a reverence for those who could speak target language with seemingly no effort and no mistakes. Pupils seemed to put forth almost impossible ideals about proficiency and expressed hesitancy at speaking out if there was risk of even making a single mistake. Another explanation as to why pupils did not indicate

many functions for target language only use in the questionnaire, and why metaphors about target language use expressed negative views, was the difficulty that pupils associated with learning the target language. The expectations within learning a language seem to be perceived as significantly more demanding than other subjects. This attitude seems to be shared and spread amongst pupils causing negative group attitudes, which further perpetuate negative beliefs about language learning. Pupils strongly agreed that their classmates tended to use English and that this affects their decision to use target language. This raises questions as to how beliefs about target language could be improved. Interviews showed that pupils were aware of the usefulness of English globally and some also indicated that this was a reason they believed language learning in Scotland to be unimportant. One solution may be to revisit the languages taught in schools in terms of how they could better reflect the languages pupils are more frequently exposed to within their communities and school surroundings.

The interviews shed additional light on how pupils perceive themselves to relate (or not relate) to target language, providing a deeper understanding about the role that context plays in shaping one's beliefs. Pupils were not particularly instrumentally motivated to speak target language, such as for a future career, as shown by the questionnaires. For those who have used target language in authentic settings, such as on holiday in France or Spain, target language has closer relevance. This may also be due to the early secondary stage of the participant age group, who perhaps have not given ample thought to their future careers or have not had opportunities to experience

travel abroad. Yet still, it seems that classroom exposure has the potential to affect Anglophone pupils' senses of multilingual identity. Teachers in the current study do not have explicit discussions with their pupils about the benefits of multilingualism. Based on evidence from intervention studies with adolescent modern language learners, such as Lanvers et al. (2018), it seems that explicit discussion about multilingualism and identity at the S1-S3 stage, and perhaps earlier, could be crucial in shaping positive beliefs about language learning among Anglophone learners.

5.5.2 Beliefs about how much English and target language is used in the classroom:

Additional findings from questionnaires and findings from cartoon storyboards

The cartoon storyboards served as both an aide in the pupil interviews and also provided another insight into pupils' beliefs about language use in the classroom. The cartoon storyboards corroborated data from Section C on both the teacher and pupil questionnaires, which asked about perceived English and target language amounts. In summary of this questionnaire data, teachers were split between believing that they used the right amount or too little target language and between the right amount or too much English. However, most pupils felt that their teachers used the right amounts of both English and target language. On the other hand, pupils were split as to whether they used the right amount of target language or too little and the right amount of English or too much. Teachers believed that pupils use too little target language and too much English.

In the cartoon storyboards, pupils primarily depicted their teachers using both English and target language (65% of teacher depictions), which could support beliefs

about teachers using the right amount of both languages indicated on the questionnaires. Pupils also depicted themselves using both English and target language (50%) more than they did English only (33%) or target language only (17%). Yet, in line with their indications on the questionnaire Likert items, pupils primarily depicted classmates around them using English (58%). This suggests that at the individual level, pupils may have a desire or willingness to use target language but do not perceive target language use to be the norm among their classmates. As described in pupil interviews, the use of target language would make one negatively stand out. Pupils also expressed that speaking activities are not taken as serious opportunities for target language practice, though this could be due to the nature of speaking tasks as being artificial.

Considering the important role that emotion plays in language learning (Aragão, 2011; Forbes et al., 2021), cartoon storyboards also prompted pupils to depict which emotion(s) they felt in the language classroom. There were mostly mixed emotions depicted across the 45 cartoon storyboards analysed, which included happiness, boredom, stress and focused interest. The findings could indicate that emotions become more mixed over time as most S3 pupils (58%) indicated mixed emotions, while S2s and S1s were more likely to depict happiness.

Chapter 6 Conclusion

6.1 Chapter introduction

This chapter ties together the various methodological aspects of the study, summarising how each of the datasets answers the research questions and together form a holistic picture of L1 and L2 beliefs in the Scottish secondary foreign language context (Section 6.2). The following section (6.3) details the pedagogical implications of the research, followed by the limitations of the study (Section 6.4), which lead to recommendations to guide future research (Section 6.5). Finally, the chapter concludes by stating the anticipated impact of the thesis and its contribution to knowledge (Section 6.6).

6.2 Brief summary

This thesis posed the following research questions in order to understand beliefs about using L1 and L2 in the secondary Scottish foreign language classroom:

- 1) What are teachers' and pupils' beliefs about using English (L1) and target language (L2) in the Scottish secondary modern language classroom?
- 2) Based on teachers' and pupils' accounts, what macro, meso and micro level contextual factors are perceived to influence pupils' beliefs about using English (L1) and target language (L2)?

To answer the research questions, a mixed methods study was designed to gather both teacher and pupil perspectives. This was done through questionnaires and semi-structured interviews, with added metaphor elicitation and cartoon storyboards to

support the pupil data. From eight secondary schools in Scotland, a total of 15 teachers and 174 pupils were sampled.

When drawn together, the findings from questionnaires and metaphors presented in Chapter 4 and the findings from interviews and cartoon storyboards presented in Chapter 5 provide a rich picture of beliefs about using L1 and L2 in the Scottish modern language learning context. The Likert scale items on beliefs about exclusive target language use and L1 inclusion from the teacher and pupil questionnaires first provided important background to the study, showing that teachers and pupils believe that the L2 classroom should be an L1 inclusive environment. Other teacher and pupil questionnaire items revealed where teacher and pupils agreed and disagreed about how L1 and L2 should be used in the classroom. The metaphors proved a powerful way to further explore pupils' beliefs about using L1 and L2. Pupils expressed positive beliefs about using L1 but negative beliefs about using L2, which aligned to findings from pupil questionnaires showing that pupils preferred L1 for most classroom language use functions.

The findings from the teacher and pupil interviews complemented findings from the teacher and pupil questionnaires. The interview findings helped to explain questionnaire findings in greater detail, such as why pupils may be hesitant to use target language (i.e., due to the perception that they must only make near perfect, or 'nativelike' utterances). The interview findings also helped to frame Scottish language education at the macro-societal level, the meso-community and school level and the micro-classroom level. In addition, the personal relevance of, and extent to which pupils

in Scotland identify with, the languages they learn at school emerged as an important aspect of the study. Finally, cartoon storyboards supported data from questionnaires regarding the perceived amounts of English and target language used in the modern language classroom and what emotions they elicit from pupils.

6.3 Limitations: The scope of this research

The limitations of the chosen research methods and the mixed method design of the research were outlined in Chapter 3. This section details some broader limitations in terms of the scope of the study.

This study gathered perspectives related to classroom L1 and L2 use from many angles. As such, there were some relevant concepts that emerged through analysis and discussion that were not the primary focus of this study but warrant primary focus in future studies. Many aspects of pupil willingness to use L2, for instance, hovered around aspects that are also relevant to L2 motivation, such as possible selves. This suggests that there may be a potential relationship worth exploring between L2 motivation and beliefs about using L2 in the Anglophone context. While the current study prioritised its qualitative aspects, inquiry that explores the potential relationships between Anglophone learners' target language use and their self-conceptualisations from a quantitative perspective could prove valuable.

There may have also been potential to note differences between year groups (S1, S2 and S3). However, this was not an original aim of the study and moreover, salient differences between year groups did not emerge from the findings. Similarly, differences in school characteristics (such as SIMD, demographic profile of the school,

etc.) could have also been considered. However, given the challenge of accessing schools and pupils, schools were sampled by availability, and all were state comprehensive schools. Thus, a comparison between private and state school foreign language settings, for example, was not feasible. Given the amount of time needed to transcribe, organise and analyse the data, it was also decided that rather than search for patterns between groups, such as teachers and their pupils, or between year groups, it seemed more plausible to provide a holistic snapshot of, on the one hand, teachers and on the other, pupils in the Scottish language learning context. Additionally, there was limited attention given to L3 in this study. For the most part, pupils described the modern language they were currently most familiar with, which was the L2. Focusing on one language of study helped pupils to avoid confusion when answering questions and prompts.

Some of the quantitative data could not be corroborated and expanded upon with the qualitative components, for example, why teachers believed they should teach culture in English. This was due to the flexible and emergent nature of the semi-structured interview and the limited time available for covering a broad range of topics. In addition, some questionnaire constructs were perhaps too generalised, such as the seven to eight language use functions listed in questionnaire Section D (i.e., 'doing a cultural activity'). Yet the nature of questionnaires is to offer breadth and participants also had the option to write in any other language use functions that they felt were missing. There was also some incomparable data, unique only to either teachers or pupils, given that the instruments were tailored to suit two distinct groups. For example,

teacher specific data included beliefs about L1 and L2 in relation to teacher education and department/government level influences and pupil specific data expanded on emotions felt in the language classroom. However, it can be considered a strength of the study that both comparable and unique data in relation to the two groups was generated as they provide valuable and nuanced depth to understanding the secondary Scottish language learning setting holistically.

The current study included 15 teacher participants and 174 pupil participants. Due to the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic, it was not possible to sample more teachers as they became busy adapting to the new normal of online teaching. Fortunately, I had already visited schools and collected a large amount of pupil data. While it could have been beneficial to have more teacher participants to make more generalisable conclusions about teachers' beliefs in Scottish modern language classrooms, the teacher data obtained still provided valuable comparisons between teacher and pupil beliefs.

The cartoon storyboard design could benefit from further development. The cartoon storyboards were originally designed inductively to see what could be revealed in relation to pupils' perceptions of the languages used in the classroom but before the study commenced were revised to specifically draw out how pupils perceive teachers, themselves and their classmates to use L1 and L2 in the language classroom, as well as what emotions they experience. As such, there were emergent aspects regarding positionality of the subjects, such as teachers at the front of the room instructing (Scene 1) or classmates primarily illustrated sitting in desks (Scene 3), which were not included

for analysis. Additionally, as the prompts specified the subject of each scene, pupils may have interpreted that teachers, pupils and classmates could therefore not be portrayed interacting, which limits the extent to which that cartoon storyboards display classroom language use. Scene 4 was useful in gathering evidence of pupils' emotions while in the language class, however these emotions were not tied specifically to either L1 or L2. Regardless, the cartoon storyboards did provide additional information as to the perceived amounts of English and target language used in the classroom and served as a useful warm up tool for pupils during interviews, as pupils began the interview talking about their drawings.

6.4 Implications

This section details the implications that the findings of this study pose, which can be categorised as theoretical implications for research and implications on pedagogical practices, including methodological implications on classroom-based research. These implications are expanded upon in terms of how they may be built upon in future research in Section 6.5.

6.4.1 Implications for theoretical development

This section details implications of the current study on two theoretical aspects. First, a contextual, conceptual framework for future exploration of beliefs about L1 and L2 use in the language classroom is put forth. Secondly, the need to conceptualise the idea of holistic language use in the Anglophone language learning context is identified.

A proposed model for exploring beliefs about L1 and L2 classroom use in Anglophone language learning settings

Firstly, the current study demonstrates the potential of Gayton's (2018) contextual model for understanding L1 and L2 beliefs in the Anglophone context. This model could perhaps serve as a framework for exploring L1 and L2 beliefs within other Anglophone contexts. However, a slightly revised version of the model is proposed to reflect the insights gained from the current study (Figure 6.1). This proposed model adds a fourth, innermost layer at the center in relation to inner processes impinging on the individual learner alongside influences from factors occurring at the other three contextual factors.

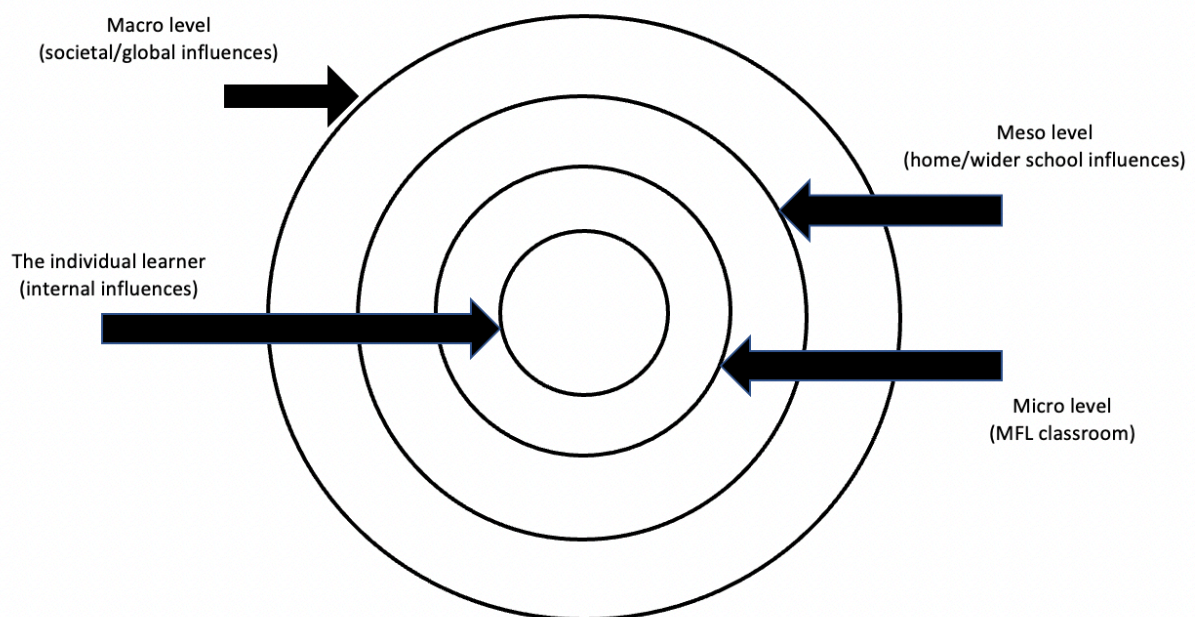


Figure 6.1: Proposed revision to Gayton's (2018) working model of L2 motivation for exploring beliefs about using L1 and L2 in Anglophone language learning settings

There is potential to further explore pupils' conceptualisations of the L2 self, and of multilingual identity, in the Anglophone and Scottish contexts. Though the findings from the current study revealed that many pupils in Scotland could see themselves as using L2 when traveling abroad and, although less so, in their future careers, the relationship between beliefs about L1 and L2 and possible L2 selves is still unclear. The proposed theoretical model emphasises how macro, meso and micro factors influence beliefs about using L1 and L2 but also how they shape the individual learner as an L2 speaker. For example, beliefs about the perceived difficulty of using L2 and fear of making mistakes are likely contributors to pupil hesitancy to use L2 during speaking tasks, which may also lead to a perception of the self as an incompetent L2 speaker and this is exacerbated by perceptions of Anglophones as poor linguists (Lanvers & Coleman, 2017). This suggests that attitudes and beliefs about languages and language learning are connected to pupils' conceptualisations of the L2 self. However, this proposed model is merely a starting point and potential links between L1 and L2 beliefs and possible selves require further conceptual development.

[The relevance of a holistic view on language practices in the Anglophone modern language classroom](#)

The favourable beliefs expressed by teachers toward pupil use of both English and target language for many pedagogical functions (socialising, thinking, asking questions, during pair or group work and doing a cultural activity) implies that teachers support a heteroglossic view of classroom language use, that is to say, a holistic approach to using multiple languages in the classroom. Yet it is not evident whether the teachers in

the current study align themselves to a specific theory or concept. While concepts such as translanguaging and codeswitching (first introduced in Section 1.1.1) have illuminated heteroglossic practices in English language learning around the world and in foreign language learning in the European context (García & Otheguy, 2020; Goodman & Tastanbek, 2020; Cenoz & Gorter, 2021), there is still limited basis for what a heteroglossic, or holistic, approach looks like in theory and in practice in the Anglophone language learning classroom (Adinolfi & Astruc, 2017). Additional challenges are posed given that many pupils in the Anglophone modern language classroom are monolingual English L1 speakers and heritage and migrant languages of the classroom tend to be ignored (Hancock, 2014). As stated by Kanaki (2019), ‘multilingual classroom realities are approached through a monolingual lens’ (p. 45). Teachers in the current study referred to calling on multilingual learners occasionally as a resource but pupils noted that their multilingual peers hide their languages at school.

Perhaps a step toward normalising holistic practices in the Anglophone modern language classroom is by codeswitching, as evidenced by Swain and Lapkin’s (2013) study of pupils learning French along with their mother tongue (English) in the Canadian context. Although different to the Scottish context in that Swain and Lapkin’s study reflected French immersion education, the Canadian pupils were observed using their first language while engaging in intrasentential codeswitching to make sense of a task: ‘I think *sans bruit* is more...she...she...fell asleep and she didn’t make any noise. But *silence* is like everything around her is silent’ (Swain & Lapkin, 2013, p. 106). This example of L1 and L2 use during pair work could be helpful in thinking about how to

normalise holistic use of language repertoires in the Scottish modern language classroom. Perhaps letting pupils in Scotland know that it is okay to mix languages, such as in a single sentence, in order to pacify the feeling that they must make a whole, perfect utterance in L2 (as expressed in the pupil interviews) can stimulate understanding and awareness of holistic views of languages in Anglophone modern language learning. This suggests that codeswitching as a concept has not died out as described by Goodman and Tastanbek (2020). Pair or group work may be an ideal area to encourage holistic use of languages. Other instances of holistic language use, or increased target language use, may be more difficult to encourage, such as during private speech, inner thought or when socialising with classmates, which may feel unnatural to S1-S3 pupils, or indeed to any pupil.

6.4.2 Pedagogical and methodological implications

This section details the pedagogical implications that have emerged from the findings of the current study. The extent to which language teacher education programmes prepare language teachers realistically in terms of their target language is discussed along with the need to raise the status of community languages in schools. Other pedagogical considerations, including examining compulsory languages and the P7 to S1 transition, making target language personally relevant and meaningful to pupils, raising awareness of multilingual identity, taking pupils' beliefs into account when setting target language use expectations and use of direct translation are also discussed in more detail.

Language teacher education, community languages and promoting language study beyond S3

Teachers' first experiences of teaching languages can be frustrating if what they are instructed to put into practice during their training does not match the reality of the language classroom. It seems that promoting either extreme of the L1/L2 spectrum, that is, either promoting 100% target language use or telling new teachers 'not to bother' with target language as was Shona's experience, is unhelpful. It is vital that language teacher education programmes keep up to date with current research about the pedagogical benefits of L1 as well as how holistic use of language repertoires can be incorporated into different modern language classroom settings and contexts.

Regardless of what teacher education programmes purport, teachers will inevitably make their own decisions about their L1 and L2 philosophies based on the needs of their learners. That is not to say, however, that the decision should not be an informed one, based on current research as well as realistic expectations.

It also seems pertinent that incoming primary teachers receive qualifications in languages. Currently, while primary teachers are recommended to have at least a Higher qualification in a language, it is not a requirement. Required qualifications include at least a Higher in English and a National 5 in Mathematics (Jones, 2020; Teach in Scotland, 2022). A modern language qualification requirement may help to raise awareness among pupils of the widespread pursuit of language learning in Scotland. According to Valdera Gil and Crichton (2020), 'there appeared to be an assumption [as a result of the 2012 Languages Working Group recommendations] that

universities would change entry requirements to include a language qualification for those applicants wishing to undertake primary teacher education programmes' but this change has not yet been executed (p. 455). Perhaps all teachers, primary as well as secondary, should be required to earn a qualification in a language, regardless of their subject matter. Though this would require some drastic changes, it would convey the importance of learning other languages across the education sector, which might spill into other areas within Scottish society. Ideally, teachers would earn qualifications in other languages aside from 'the big 3' (French, Spanish and German). However, this also relates to the issue of widening access to university education, and to teacher training opportunities. In a Scottish Government (2018) report about increasing and retaining minority ethnic teachers, issues such as attractiveness and status of teaching to students of minority backgrounds and the effectiveness of university admissions in welcoming a diverse range of applicants were highlighted.

It would potentially be beneficial for pupils (and might be supported by some parents) to see more languages, such as the languages of their communities (i.e., Scots, Gaelic, Polish, Punjabi, Urdu, Mandarin) represented by people of importance in pupils' lives, including teachers, parents, public figures, older siblings, cousins and friends. Hancock and Hancock (2019) proposed several strategies supporting provision of community language learning in schools. They include partnerships between mainstream schools and complementary schools, drawing on the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR) for languages assessments and assessment descriptors to help pupils gain credit in languages that are unavailable through the

National Qualification system, accessing digital resources available such as Confucius classrooms for Mandarin learning and e-Sgoil for Gaelic learning and raising the profile of teachers with community language backgrounds.

It is not enough to improve attitudes about languages by implementing them at the primary level and early secondary levels – languages must also be seen to be important in tertiary study to have broader, societal impact. Pupils in the current study also raised the question of whether languages should be a compulsory subject to qualification level. Based on previous models (as discussed in Section 1.3.1), languages have at times been compulsory through S4. Whether a re-introduction of compulsory language learning post-S3 is worthy of discussion or whether this issue needs to be broached innovatively is another consideration.

The 1+2 approach and the transition between P7 and S1

As stated above, qualifications in languages for primary teachers may help to reinforce and spread the message to pupils in Scotland that speaking languages other than English is important, particularly to those pupils who expressed interest in becoming teachers themselves. Despite the progress of the 1+2 approach, it seems that there are still some aspects that could be further developed. For example, secondary teachers in the current study were of the opinion that pupils are not necessarily entering S1 with improved language skills. As a result of 1+2. Cerys from School 7 suggested that hearing and using target language more consistently at primary might help to overcome this problem.

Target language expectations are specified between P1-P7 (Education Scotland, 2019). However, there seems to be little information available that aligns outcomes between P7 and S1. Perhaps a review of progression between P7 to S1 is needed with a view to aligning target language outcomes during this transition period. This might help to make pupils feel more accustomed to target language use by the time they reach S1 and give them a sense of improvement in terms of their proficiency, thereby lessening self-consciousness. However, based on teachers' comments from the current study, it seems that a review of target language expectations between S1 to S3 might also be beneficial.

Consistent L2s across schools within clusters are needed in order for successful P7 to S1 transition. At the moment, schools make decisions about which languages to implement at primary, provided they are meeting stipulations that all pupils have an entitlement to L2 and L3 instruction, in addition to mother tongue. While most schools work at cluster level to ensure that the languages offered are aligned, evidence from the current study showed that this is not always the case. For example, Shona from School 4 spoke about a primary school's decision to switch the L2 from French to Spanish, given the popularity of Spanish, despite the secondary school having developed more resources for French. Continuity between primary and secondary language learning in terms of L3 may also help pupils to become more confident in target language use production throughout secondary school.

Yet this is not to say that primary schools are not encouraging pupil L2 and L3 output, as some pupils indicated in interviews that they felt they produced more target

language in their primary experience than in their secondary experience. However, as some secondary teachers noted in their interviews, some pupils rarely give more than the date, time and weather even into S3, suggesting that the conditions and expectations for target language development in primary and into secondary may not be sufficiently in place. Self-consciousness during adolescence is inevitably a factor that will inhibit pupil target language production but if pupils were set up to feel tangible success and improvement in their target language output, perhaps they would feel more positively about using target language with their peers.

Another consideration brought up by some pupils and teachers in the current study is that more focus may be needed on creating the conditions for success in L2 before introducing L3. Yet some pupils may find more success in L3 than L2 and therefore, widening familiarity with more language choices is a positive. However, adapting to and integrating L2 and L3 has been no easy feat for primary teachers. Perhaps introducing L3 at a later stage would lessen some of the load (on both teachers and pupils), allow for a strong L2 foundation and refresh pupil excitement for languages from the primary to secondary transition and in the crucial first few years of secondary school when peer pressure and attitudes about languages may be most impactful. More positive experiences with a more focused approach on L2 and cultivating target language development may then also improve L3 experiences at a later stage.

Responding to pupil beliefs

Comparisons between teacher and pupil beliefs about L1 and L2 use in the classroom identified some areas where teachers can reflect and possibly adapt their language use

practices given new perspectives on pupil beliefs. For example, teacher use of L2 is not necessarily a cause for pupil anxiety. In addition, seeing classmates use more target language, rather than the teacher's use of target language, may encourage more individual pupil target language. This perhaps removes some of the pressure from teachers in scrutinising their own lack of target language use and can instead focus efforts on facilitating pupil target language in ways that are comfortable and meaningful for pupils. According to the pupil participants in the current study, pupils should be expected to:

- use English when socialising with classmates, thinking, meeting needs such as asking to go to the bathroom etc. and when generally asking for help
- use target language when practicing grammar
- use English and target language during pair/group work and when doing a culture related activity

Ultimately, teachers will have to outweigh the costs and benefits of when to expect L1 and L2 from their pupils but perhaps these findings can offer them some perspective on pupils' expectations. It may also be prudent for teachers to conduct their own investigations of when their pupils believe L1 and L2 should be used in the classroom in the form of their own action research, which is further discussed in recommendations for future research (Section 6.5).

Meaningful use of target language

The question remains as to how to encourage pupil willingness to use target language in the classroom. A more immediate solution is needed than waiting for societal/cultural perspectives about the value of languages other than English to shift. The above-described compromise around classroom language use expectations could be a steppingstone. Teachers could consider, as per Eloise's comment, that encouraging pupils to ask to go to the bathroom in the target language may be arbitrary use of the language. Some of the pupils in the current study indicated interest in culture suggesting that target language use would be more enjoyable if embedded within a cultural aspect. A speaking task about buying a plane ticket, on the other hand, is not particularly culturally relevant to the age group and life stage of the pupils. However, this suggestion could raise debate around the scope of what culture consists of, or as Nieto (2002) stated, 'culture cannot be reduced to holidays, foods or dances, although these are, of course, elements of cultures' (p. 10). Perhaps a place to start is to derive activities from authentic materials that come from target countries, such as current events articles, magazines, comics, etc. One way to get pupils using target language in a realistic way might be to first engage them in a cultural event or a character/figure from popular culture and then develop a speaking activity around it. For example, one might take an infographic available from the Spanish 'El Mundo' newspaper about athletes and develop an activity where pupils talk about topics related to athletics (what sports pupils play themselves, best athletes or most popular sports in the Spanish speaking world, traits required to be an athlete, etc.). The British Council has many

English teaching resources that could be adapted, many of which do not revolve around a grammar point or textbook thematic unit, which is often the approach in modern foreign language classrooms. This relates to a focus on function approach rather than a focus on form approach and speaks to the potential of implicit grammar learning as a way of incorporating grammar learning into useful communicative scenarios as described in Section 2.3.2.

Multilingual identity awareness raising and connecting pupils to target language on a personal level

Based on findings that revealed how pupils in Scotland conceive of their future L2 selves, it may be pertinent for teachers to raise awareness of multilingual identity construction. One way of doing this, as demonstrated by Forbes et al. (2021) is to teach pupils about the benefits of multilingualism as ‘being provided with information about the benefit of languages may increase the extent to which students value languages as well as their own ability to do well in languages which may also extend to influencing the views of those around them’ (pp 445-446). In the current study, only 20% of pupils (out of 174) could imagine themselves using target language in a future career, with 31% unsure and 49% unable to imagine themselves doing so. Yet 68% of pupils felt it was important to use target language in the classroom as much as possible for eventual use ‘outside’ of the classroom and 38% indicated that being able to speak the target language is important to them, suggesting that there is potential for getting pupils to see value in languages in relation to their personal lives.

When referring to target language use settings outside of the classroom, some pupils expressed the satisfaction of using target language at a restaurant or when understanding directions abroad (or ‘situations where it would be handy’). It seems that pupils perceive knowledge of target language to have greater value when taken outside of Scotland rather than within the country. This may be due to lack of deeper, personal connection with the target language, or in other words, seeing how language can be a part of pupils’ selves. Yet pupils did show capacity for considering the abstract impact that languages can have on one’s identity, with comments such as ‘it is important to speak multiple languages because it can impact who you are’ (S2 pupil, School 5) and ‘I think I can see French as a part of who I am [...] I think it could be a part of me (S2 pupil, School 2).’ Thus, it seems that having conversations with pupils about multilingual identity are feasible in terms of getting pupils to think consciously about the possibility of multiple languages as reflecting their sense of self.

In line with the work of Fisher et al. (2020) and Forbes et al. (2021), raising pupil awareness of how languages are relevant to their self-concept, or to their identities may also help to make target language appealing and personal to pupils. Yet this does not seem to come from teacher use of target language alone, and indeed, pupils believed that teachers should use English only for many purposes. However, pupils also expressed that they would use more target language if their classmates did, which once again begs the question as to how target language use can be normalised among S1-S3 pupils in the classroom and moreover, how to ‘normalise language learning as part of the development of individuals’ (Spöring, Doughty & de Britos, 2017, p. 3). Perhaps

what would be even more effective than teaching pupils about the career-related and economic benefits of languages would be to emphasise ways of making personal connections with target language. Teachers already try to do this, for example, if they are fortunate enough to organise trips abroad or by bringing pen pals into the classroom. Yet these strategies do not seem to be enough.

In their action plan for moving Scotland's 1+2 policy forward, Spöring et al. (2017) argued that human capital is more than economic means and that the 1+2 language policy can only be successfully implemented through a humanistic view where values of tolerance, diversity and mutual respect for languages and cultures are instilled. An example of fostering these values can be taken from Lanvers et al.'s (2018) intervention study about the cognitive benefits of multilingualism. Yet still, pupils need to perceive language as something beyond a school subject if they are to make meaningful use of target language in their lives. One crucial strategy needed is to promote use of and cultivate interest in the target language in early primary years but in a way in which the novelty, willingness to use and enthusiasm for target language does not drop off as pupils grow into adolescence. Pupils also need to feel that they are not required to achieve near 'perfect' fluency.

An additional consideration is one linked to Muñoz (2006), who found that, regardless of beginning language study later in life, adults in Catalonia processed and acquired English more rapidly than pupils who began language study at varied levels (aged between 2-6, 8, 11, and 14). However, Muñoz concluded that, with time, younger starters will reach the same level of proficiency as the adult starters, given consistent

exposure. Valdera Gil and Crichton (2020) believed that the results of Muñoz's (2006) study implied an attitudinal benefit to early language learning over linguistic benefit. This supports the need for more consistent target language exposure at early years.

L2 to L1 translation

A final pedagogical consideration worth noting is the potential for translation, which made Shona from School 4 feel she was doing something wrong. Where once translation was thought to hinder L2 development (Shin et al., 2019), it seems that translation (direct L2 to L1 translation or vice versa) when helping to define an unknown word can lessen pupil frustration. Furthermore, it stands to reason that translation be an acceptable classroom resource if holistic use of one's languages is the current direction for L1 and L2 practices.

Methodological implications on classroom pedagogy: Using creative methods in classroom-based research and classroom practice

The potential for creative methods in research on language beliefs has been exemplified by this study but such methods could also be useful to teachers in the classroom. In addition to, or as an alternative to traditional surveys, teachers could use metaphor elicitation or drawing to gather data from their pupils about various aspects of their learning, such as beliefs about target language use, beliefs about language learning in general, future goals regarding languages or feelings/opinions about the language class. Teachers may be interested to see whether pupil beliefs about how languages should be used in the classroom differ markedly from their own and the use

of creative methods in place of the traditional questionnaire method could be a valuable way to explore this. This further discussed in relation to recommendations for future work in the next section.

6.5 Recommendations for future research

This study sought to fill a gap that exists in terms of exploring beliefs about teachers' and pupils' perceived L1 and L2 use, a gap which is particularly prevalent in the Scottish context. Having now constructed an understanding of beliefs about L1 and L2 use in the secondary Scottish modern language context in the current study, future study that compares teachers' and pupils' beliefs and perceptions to their actual L1 and L2 use could enhance our understanding of the role of L1 and L2 in Anglophone modern language learning. This could help teachers to make more informed decisions about the language use practices encouraged in their classrooms. This can also help teachers to create L1 and L2 use classroom expectations that are responsive to pupils' preferences. Raising awareness among both teachers and pupils about areas where teachers and pupils agree and disagree about language use practices can help both groups to negotiate classroom expectations. Furthermore, a case study that explores pupil language use, grouped in relation to their teacher's language use, which could perhaps be categorised as (i) low English use, high target language use, (ii) mid-English use, mid-target language use and (iii) high English use, low-target language use could also be worthwhile in more closely examining how teachers' L1 and L2 philosophies impact beliefs about pupil language use and/or pupil language learning experience. Such

studies may also contribute to theorising around the application of holistic language use practices in the Anglophone modern language classroom.

Inquiry is also needed in relation to language teacher education in Scotland. It seems that, despite overwhelming evidence that L1 has many benefits in the L2 classroom, it is likely that some language teacher education programmes still encourage maximal L2 use, setting an unrealistic expectation for new teachers. Research is needed to confirm what messages new teachers receive about classroom language use. Views could also be compared across pre-service and in-service teachers to see if their experiences of language teacher education are in line with their experiences in the language classroom. This would shed further light on the possibility of holistic language use practices in the Anglophone modern language classroom and contribute to discussion on what meaningful use of target language entails. This could also further challenge the taboo placed on using translation as a pedagogic resource.

As discussed in Section 6.3.1., this study has expanded on Gayton's (2018) working model of L2 motivation in Anglophone language learning settings. Though originally intended to explore L2 motivation, the model was well suited to explore beliefs about L1 and L2 use. Future research can now implement this model and further explore a fourth potential layer – that of the individual learner and how contextual factors impact on pupils' beliefs about themselves as consumers and users of multiple languages. The potential relationship between the context in which pupils learn and whether language learners in the Anglophone world believe languages to be personally relevant and important is ripe for exploration. This could also be more explicitly linked to

L2 motivation. A mixed methods approach could identify possible quantitative correlations between aspects of L2 motivation and perceived L2 identity, supported by qualitative inquiry. As has been demonstrated by this study, creative methods could also be employed to explore how pupils perceive their L2 selves. The use of creative methods could also be coupled with an intervention study, such as the one conducted by Lanvers et al. (2018) to see if explicit classroom discussion about multilingual identity changes pupils' perceptions of their own identity.

Of potential note was that S3 pupils showed more mixed feelings about the language class than did S2 and S1 pupils in the cartoon storyboards. Furthermore, more S2 and S1 pupils indicated happiness than did S3 pupils. This could suggest a decline in enthusiasm over time from S1 to S3, as mentioned by some teachers, however the cartoon storyboards are not sufficiently evidential to make this conclusion. Determining whether enthusiasm declines over time among pupils in Scotland could be the focal point of a future study, with a view to investigating why, if the case were found to be so.

More research recognising the potential of using creative methods to explore young language learners' experiences and perspectives is also needed. The cartoon storyboard method could be taken further. Drawings could help to better understand when pupils feel most willing and least willing to use target language and when they find use of L1 to be most appropriate. A prompt could ask students to draw what they think the ideal language classroom looks like, for example, in terms of when and how languages are used. Prompts could be made more structured to align to specified

research questions or more open. An open prompt might be particularly suitable for exploring pupil L2 identity, modeling Melo-Pfeifer's (2015a; 2015b) uses of drawing to represent children's multilingual, or plurilingual, selves and resources. The level of structure or openness will likely depend on the age and context of the learners under study. Widening the participant age group that formed the basis of this study to include primary pupils could spur creative investigation into the primary-secondary transition. Drawings could be used to compare primary versus secondary pupils' experiences with, for example, target language or beliefs about language learning in general. This could be incorporated with intervention studies with the aim of raising pupil awareness of themselves as potential multilinguals.

Use of drawings could also link emotions more explicitly to the situations in which they arise. For example, emotions could be elicited specifically in relation to pupil-teacher interactions, pupil-peer interactions and pupil interactions outside of the classroom. These could specifically focus on use of target language or more holistically, include pupils' whole language repertoires. This may help generate understanding of what specific aspects of target language are pleasant and unpleasant for pupils, helping teachers to better determine what instances encourage meaningful target language use. This could then lead to thinking on how to replicate these instances in the classroom. There is also potential for other creative methods not used in the current study, such as keeping visual journals.

Teacher use of creative methods in the classroom is an opportunity for action research, which, according to Banegas and Consoli (2019) can lead to more meaningful

and tangible change in the teacher's context. Teacher led action research aims to transform practices and empower individuals (Banegas and Consoli, 2019). Classroom action research about the uses of L1 and L2 that intentionally involves pupil participation could contribute to co agreement between teachers and pupils in relation to classroom language practices as well as greater accountability in maintaining those practices.

A final needed consideration for future research in the Scottish context is a review of compulsory language learning until S3. As stated above (Section 5.3.2), teachers indicated that despite the 1+2 policy in place, pupils were not necessarily beginning S1 with improved language ability. This may be due to a lack of continuity between target language expectations between primary and secondary language learning. Pupils indicated that compulsory languages in general do not necessarily improve enthusiasm. On the other hand, pupils also indicated that having had exposure to languages during the compulsory language learning period sparked their interest in languages, which they otherwise might not have been inclined to study.

Though there have been reports put forth from the Scottish Government reviewing progress of 1+2, these are usually done from the perspective of a third party, such as classroom observers/visitors (Christie et al., 2016). More research is needed in proximity to the reality of the classroom setting. It is unclear to what extent teachers' reflections of 1+2 are taken into account. The teachers in the current study indicated that there is still much to be improved. It is vital that they be empowered to make their voices heard. A potential solution is increased collaboration. A single teacher taking on an action research project is a heavy task. However, if teachers could be supported by

other stakeholders, such as researchers, other teachers, professional development officers (i.e., in local authorities or in national bodies such as SCILT), head teachers, etc., this may better enable much needed research to take place.

6.6 Contribution to knowledge

To conclude, this thesis has contributed to knowledge of beliefs about using L1 and L2 in the Anglophone context in the following ways:

- Novel light has been shed on the underexplored Scottish language education context. This has been accomplished through the use of mixed methods to construct a holistic picture of beliefs surrounding teacher and pupil L1 and L2 use in the L2 classroom.
- Exploring both teacher and pupil perspectives allowed for valuable comparisons to be drawn between these groups, which may be of use to teachers as they reflect upon the rationale behind their current English and target language use practices. A better understanding of pupils' beliefs also helps to inform, and perhaps negotiate, classroom language use expectation.
- The working model of L2 motivation in Anglophone language learning settings (Gayton, 2018) proved an effective, contextual framework for exploring beliefs in among teachers and pupils in Scotland. This exploration of teacher and pupil beliefs points out the importance of shifting beliefs from the top down (macro-social attitudes about the value of languages) but also from effecting change from the

bottom up (at personal and classroom level). Uniquely, pupil insight was also gathered regarding pupils' awareness of British/Scottish linguistic stereotypes, of which they are indeed aware. For some, the dominance of English is reason enough not to learn other languages while others are motivated to quash the stereotype.

- This study of the secondary school language learning context has also hinted at conversations that must be continued regarding the implementation of 1+2 languages in Scottish primary schools. Specifically, this study has revealed that secondary language teachers still face challenges in maintaining pupil interest in languages. It seems that target language use expectations could be made more consistent and streamlined across the Broad General Education phase, and in particular, between the primary and secondary transition, however lack of primary teacher qualification requirements and funding poses challenges.
- The use of creative methods, namely metaphor elicitation and cartoon storyboard drawing, elicited pupil voice through innovative means. In particular, the potential for using metaphors to emphasise pupils' beliefs about L1 and target language use can be easily replicated in future studies or by teachers themselves.

To conclude this thesis with a final thought, though L1 has been shown to have pedagogical value, the findings of this study indicate that both teachers and pupils in Scotland may over-rely on the use of L1 in the L2 classroom. This is clearly, in part, a result of contested attitudes about the importance of languages other than English in the unique context of the Anglophone modern language learning setting. This, in

combination with other factors, such as adolescent fears about negative peer pressure, contributes to a lack of personal relevance and connection to the target language. If there is a single question to guide future inquiry, it should be this: How can target language and its usage be made more personally valuable to pupils in Scotland?

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Pupil participation information sheet

RESEARCH PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Hi, my name is Maggie Mroczkowski and I am a PhD student at the University of Edinburgh. I'm interested in finding out what pupils think about language learning. This sheet will tell you everything you need to know about the study and what I'd like from you. Please read the following information very carefully with a parent or carer.

WHAT IS THE STUDY ABOUT?

I want to know what pupils think about the languages used in the Spanish, French, German or Italian classroom and what they think about how and when each language should be used.

WHY HAVE I BEEN INVITED TO TAKE PART?

You are invited to participate in this study because you are a secondary school pupil studying a modern language in Scotland.

DO I HAVE TO TAKE PART?

No – it is completely up to you. If you do decide to take part, and your parent(s)/carer(s) agree, please keep this Information Sheet and complete the Informed Consent Form to show that you understand your rights in relation to the research, and that you are happy to participate.

If you do decide to take part, **you are still free to stop at any time** and without giving a reason.

Deciding not to take part or stopping at any time will not affect you negatively in any way.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN IF I DECIDE TO TAKE PART?

You will be given a survey that should take around 20-25 minutes. Later, you will be asked to do a drawing activity and may then be invited to a 15-20 minute interview. If it is okay with you, I would like to audio record your responses during the interview so the

location should be in a fairly quiet area at school. All of this will take place during the school day.

WHAT ARE THE POSSIBLE BENEFITS OF TAKING PART?

By sharing your thoughts, you will be helping me, and the University of Edinburgh, to better understand language learning in Scotland.

ARE THERE ANY RISKS ASSOCIATED WITH TAKING PART?

There are no significant risks associated with participation.

WHAT IF I WANT TO STOP PARTICIPATING?

That is perfectly okay. If, at any time, you no longer want to be part of the study, please let me know either in person or send an e-mail to Maggie.Mroczkowski@ed.ac.uk.

DATA PROTECTION AND CONFIDENTIALITY

Any information collected about you won't be shared with anyone. I am the only person who will view your survey, drawing and interview responses. Any digital information will be kept on a password-protected University computer and all paper documents will be stored in a locked filing cabinet.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN WITH THE RESULTS OF THIS STUDY?

The results of this study will be summarised in my thesis and in the future may also be summarised in articles or reports I write, or presentations I give. Any samples of survey responses, drawings or interview responses will be made anonymous (your name will never be used). Anonymised information may be kept for future research.

WHO CAN I CONTACT?

If you have any questions about the study, please contact me at Maggie.Mroczkowski@ed.ac.uk

If you wish to make a complaint about the study, please contact my academic supervisor: Aileen Irvine, aileen.irvine@ed.ac.uk

Appendix 2: Pupil consent form

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

Study Title: Teachers' and pupils' beliefs about using English and target language in the Scottish secondary modern language learning context

Please initial box

1. I confirm that I have read and understood the Participant Information Sheet for the above study. ☐
2. I have been given the opportunity to think about the information provided, ask questions and have had these questions answered to my satisfaction. ☐
3. I understand that I can ask to stop participating at any time without giving a reason and without being affected. ☐
4. I understand that my anonymised data (name will not be used) will be stored for a minimum of 5 years and may be used in future ethically approved research. ☐
5. I agree to take part in this study. ☐

Name of pupil giving consent

Date

Signature

Name of parent(s)/carer(s) giving consent

Date

Signature

RESEARCH PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

You are being invited to take part in a study on attitudes toward language use in the modern language classroom. Maggie Mroczkowski, a PhD student at the University of Edinburgh, is leading this research. Before you decide to take part it is important that you understand why the research is being conducted and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully.

WHAT IS THE STUDY ABOUT?

The purpose of the study is to understand teacher and pupil attitudes towards the uses of English and target language in the modern language classroom, as well as how those attitudes might influence the language learning experience in Scottish secondary schools.

WHY HAVE I BEEN INVITED TO TAKE PART?

You are invited to participate in this study because you are a secondary school modern language teacher in Scotland.

DO I HAVE TO TAKE PART?

No – it is entirely up to you. If you do decide to take part, please keep this Information Sheet and complete the Informed Consent Form to show that you understand your rights in relation to the research, and that you are happy to participate. If you do decide to take part you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason. Deciding not to take part or withdrawing from the study at any time will not affect you negatively in any way.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN IF I DECIDE TO TAKE PART?

You will be asked to complete a questionnaire regarding your attitudes towards the languages used during class. The questionnaire should take around 20-25 minutes. You will also be invited to partake in an interview (around 45 minutes to 1 hour). Ideally, I would like to audio record your responses during the interview (and will require your verbal consent for this), so the location should be in a fairly quiet area.

WHAT ARE THE POSSIBLE BENEFITS OF TAKING PART?

By sharing your experiences, you will be helping the researcher and the University of Edinburgh to better understand how current attitudes potentially shape the language learning experience in Scotland.

ARE THERE ANY RISKS ASSOCIATED WITH TAKING PART?

There are no significant risks associated with participation.

WHAT IF I WANT TO WITHDRAW FROM THE STUDY?

Agreeing to participate in this study does not oblige you to remain in the study. If, at any stage, you no longer want to be part of the study, please inform the researcher [Maggie Mroczkowski, Maggie.Mroczkowski@ed.ac.uk].

DATA PROTECTION AND CONFIDENTIALITY

All information collected about you will be kept strictly confidential. Only the researcher will view your data. All electronic data will be stored on a password-protected university data space and all paper records will be stored in a locked filing cabinet in a locked university office space. Your consent information will be kept separately from your responses in order to minimise risk.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN WITH THE RESULTS OF THIS STUDY?

The results of this study will be summarised in a doctoral thesis and in the future may also be summarised in published articles, reports and/or presentations. Excerpts or key findings will be made anonymous in any formal write-ups. Anonymised information may be kept for future research.

WHO CAN I CONTACT?

If you have any further questions about the study, please contact the lead researcher, Maggie Mroczkowski, Maggie.Mroczkowski@ed.ac.uk

If you wish to make a complaint about the study, please contact my academic supervisor: Aileen Irvine, aileen.irvine@ed.ac.uk

Please provide the study title and detail the nature of your complaint.

Appendix 4: Teacher consent form

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

Study Title: Teachers' and pupils' beliefs about using English and target language in the Scottish secondary modern language learning context

Please initial box

1. I confirm that I have read and understood the Participant Information Sheet for the above study.

☐

2. I have been given the opportunity to consider the information provided, ask questions and have had these questions answered to my satisfaction.

☐

3. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I can ask to withdraw at any time without giving a reason and without being affected.

☐

4. I understand that my anonymised data will be stored for a minimum of 5 years and may be used in future ethically approved research.

☐

5. I agree to take part in this study.

☐

Name of teacher giving consent

Date

Signature

Appendix 5: Teacher questionnaire

Section A. Please fill out the biographical information. Please note that your name is asked for here only for organisation purposes. Your name will *never* be used or shared.

1. Name: _____ 2. Language(s) taught: _____

3. What do you consider you be your 1st language(s): _____

4. Other language(s) you speak: _____

5. Did you grow up in a bi/multi/pluri-lingual setting? Feel free to elaborate: _____

6. School profile (i.e. SIMD, demographics, anything else you feel is important to mention):

Section B. Circle the option that best describes your level of agreement/disagreement with each statement. (TL= target language)

1. I believe that modern language teachers should use TL at all times in the classroom.

strongly agree *agree* *neutral* *disagree* *strongly disagree*

2. An inspector (HMIE) would expect me to use TL at all times in the classroom.

strongly agree *agree* *neutral* *disagree* *strongly disagree*

3. I believe that pupils should use TL at all times in the classroom.

strongly agree *agree* *neutral* *disagree* *strongly disagree*

4. Education Scotland should have more influence on teacher use of TL in the classroom.

strongly agree *agree* *neutral* *disagree* *strongly disagree*

5. I believe my pupils generally feel anxious when I only use TL.

strongly agree *agree* *neutral* *disagree* *strongly disagree*

6. I believe that there are no situations in which English should be used in the classroom (i.e., I believe that total immersion in TL is best).

strongly agree *agree* *neutral* *disagree* *strongly disagree*

7. I believe that pupils should choose how much TL they want to use in the classroom.

strongly agree *agree* *neutral* *disagree* *strongly disagree*

8. I believe that the more I use TL in the classroom, the more pupils will be intrinsically inclined to use/learn the TL.

strongly agree *agree* *neutral* *disagree* *strongly disagree*

9. I believe that pupils should try to use only TL with their teacher.

strongly agree *agree* *neutral* *disagree* *strongly disagree*

10. Education Scotland modern language teaching guidelines influence my use of TL in the classroom.

strongly agree *agree* *neutral* *disagree* *strongly disagree*

11. I believe that, regardless of how much TL pupils choose to use, the teacher should use TL at all times.

strongly agree *agree* *neutral* *disagree* *strongly disagree*

12. My school's modern language team greatly influences my use of TL in the classroom.

strongly agree *agree* *neutral* *disagree* *strongly disagree*

13. I believe that my pupils generally enjoy when I only use TL.

strongly agree *agree* *neutral* *disagree* *strongly disagree*

14. I believe that pupils should use TL with classmates both for activities and spontaneous group chat.

strongly agree *agree* *neutral* *disagree* *strongly disagree*

Section C. Circle which phrase best completes the sentence.

1. I believe that I use *too little* *the right amount of* *too much* TL in the classroom.

2. I believe that I use *too little* *the right amount of* *too much* English in the classroom.

3. I believe that my pupils use *too little* *the right amount of* *too much* TL in the classroom.

4. I believe that my pupils use *too little* *the right amount of* *too much* English in the classroom.

Section D.

For the actions listed below, write (TL) if you believe you should perform them in target language, (E) for English, or (B) for both.

- _____ giving instructions on a task
- _____ introducing a cultural topic
- _____ explaining a grammar topic
- _____ discussing administrative information (i.e. tests, quizzes, announcements, deadlines, syllabus)
- _____ interacting with a pupil outside of class
- _____ addressing negative or off task pupil behavior/redirecting a pupil
- _____ building rapport with a pupil
- _____ communication breakdowns/lack of comprehension
- _____ responding to pupil use of English
- _____ establishing classroom expectations
- _____ defining an unknown word
- _____ other (please specify): _____

For the actions listed below, write (TL) if you believe pupils should perform them in target language, (E) for English, or (B) for both.

- _____ during a cultural activity
- _____ doing a grammar related activity
- _____ during pair/group work/negotiating meaning
- _____ social chat
- _____ using survival phrases/questions (i.e. permission to go to bathroom, water fountain, asking for help, etc.)
- _____ asking a question/ asking for clarification
- _____ while thinking
- _____ other (please specify): _____
- _____ other (please specify): _____

Section E. Pick the top three reasons influencing your use of language in the classroom and rank them according to importance (1) being the most important, (2) being the second most important and (3) being the third most important. If more than 3 options are important to you, feel free to rank more than 3.

_____ department/team policies	_____ previous teaching experience
_____ teacher training	_____ personal beliefs about teaching/learning
_____ pedagogical theories	_____ teaching method/approach
_____ limited English proficiency	_____ the way I was taught language(s)

If you feel that none of these apply to you, please explain why:

Thank you! Anything else come to mind?

Would you like to express any other thoughts related to your attitudes and beliefs about English and target language use (either by teacher or pupils)? Please do so here!

Appendix 6: Teacher interview schedule

Opening

1) How do you think your pupils generally feel about learning languages? What attitudes about learning languages do you perceive from the school community (parents, administrators, etc.)?

Body

2) In your teacher training, what were you taught in regard to TL use? What advice would you give new teachers on that now?

3) What is your current approach to English and TL use in the classroom? How do you feel about your English and target language use in the classroom?

4) How do you think pupils feel about their own English and target language use in the classroom? What emotion(s) do you think pupils feel about TL use?

5) Do you wish your pupils used more target language (spontaneously?) Is this a realistic expectation?

6) Do you think pupils are more motivated the more target language use there is in the classroom or is that not the case? Is TL a turn off?

7) What are the biggest factors you see influencing (or inhibiting) pupil willingness to use target language (i.e. motivational, affective, social)?

8) Do you think your pupils build a relationship with the language at the S1/S2/S3 level? How do you see or not see TL playing a role in this? Can they see it as part of their personality?

9) Do you think your pupils believe in the idea that, given the ease of using English in many parts of the world, learning modern languages may not be important?

Follow up:

-How do you get pupils to see past this?

10) Do you think your pupils could see multilingualism as a part of their national (Scottish) identity? Is multilingualism a part of Scottish identity or is it something that Scottish identity lacks?

11) Do you think 1+2 goals will impact the way English and target language is used in your classroom? Why or why not? Does TL have any impact on uptake?

Follow ups:

-Do there need to be more consistent guidelines with how languages should be used in the classroom or is it up to the individual teacher? Do teachers need to be teaching more in TL? At primary level?

-Will 1+2 positively impact pupils' attitudes toward language learning? Towards TL?

-Does TL play a role in positively impacting language uptake?

Closing

12) What overall impact does TL have on attitudes toward learning language?

Follow ups:

-Does TL use negatively affect behavior?

-Does more TL use lead to more appreciation for/interest in the language?

-Does more TL use lead to less appreciation for/interest in the language?

Appendix 7: Pupil questionnaire (French version)

Section A. Please fill in the blanks with some information about you. Your name will *never* be used or shared.

1. Name: _____ (will not be shared)

2. Year at school: _____

3 Language(s) spoken at home: _____

4 Do you plan to continue learning language(s) after S3: Yes No

5. If yes, which language(s) do you plan to continue with/learn: _____

Section B. Circle the option that best matches your level of agreement/disagreement with each statement.

1. I believe that my language teacher should use French at all times in the classroom.

strongly agree *agree* *neutral* *disagree* *strongly disagree*

2. I often feel uncomfortable or anxious when French is being used in the classroom.

strongly agree *agree* *neutral* *disagree* *strongly disagree*

3. I believe that English should never be used in the classroom (i.e., I believe that total immersion in French is best).

strongly agree *agree* *neutral* *disagree* *strongly disagree*

4. My classmates tend to use a lot of English in class.

strongly agree *agree* *neutral* *disagree* *strongly disagree*

5. My teacher's use of French makes me want to use French.

strongly agree *agree* *neutral* *disagree* *strongly disagree*

6. I should use French even if my teacher is not using French.

strongly agree *agree* *neutral* *disagree* *strongly disagree*

7. I personally want to use French as much as possible in the classroom.

strongly agree *agree* *neutral* *disagree* *strongly disagree*

8. My teacher feels it is important for me to use as much French as possible.

strongly agree *agree* *neutral* *disagree* *strongly disagree*

9. It's important to use as much French in the classroom as possible so that eventually I can use it outside the classroom, out in the world.

strongly agree *agree* *neutral* *disagree* *strongly disagree*

10. I dislike when my teacher uses only French.

strongly agree *agree* *neutral* *disagree* *strongly disagree*

11. I usually feel afraid or embarrassed to use French in class.

strongly agree *agree* *neutral* *disagree* *strongly disagree*

12. My parent(s)/carer(s) think it is important for me to use as much French as possible in the classroom.

strongly agree *agree* *neutral* *disagree* *strongly disagree*

13. I feel embarrassed when I speak out in French during class.

strongly agree *agree* *neutral* *disagree* *strongly disagree*

14. My French use is strongly influenced by my classmates' use of French.

strongly agree *agree* *neutral* *disagree* *strongly disagree*

15. My classmates tend to use a lot of French in class.

strongly agree *agree* *neutral* *disagree* *strongly disagree*

16. I would use more French in class if my peers used more French.

strongly agree *agree* *neutral* *disagree* *strongly disagree*

17. I can imagine myself speaking French in my future career.

strongly agree *agree* *neutral* *disagree* *strongly disagree*

18. Being able to speak French is important to me.

strongly agree *agree* *neutral* *disagree* *strongly disagree*

19. I can imagine myself speaking French with people in French- speaking countries.

strongly agree *agree* *neutral* *disagree* *strongly disagree*

20. My parent(s)/carer(s) think it is important for me to speak as much French as possible in class.

strongly agree *agree* *neutral* *disagree* *strongly disagree*

Section C. Circle the phrase that best completes the statement.

1. I believe that I use *too little* *the right amount of* *too much* French in the classroom.
2. I believe that I use *too little* *the right amount of* *too much* English in the classroom.
3. I believe that my teacher uses *too little* *the right amount of* *too much* French in the classroom.
4. I believe that my teacher uses *too little* *the right amount of* *too much* English in the classroom.

Section D.

Write (F) if you believe your teacher should do the following in French, (E) for English, or (B) for both. Additional space is provided if you can think of another use for language.

- _____ giving instructions on a task
- _____ introducing a cultural topic
- _____ explaining a grammatical topic
- _____ discussing, tests, quizzes, announcements, deadlines, syllabus
- _____ interacting with a pupil outside of class
- _____ addressing negative or off task pupil behavior
- _____ getting to know/connecting with a pupil
- _____ clarify when pupils are confused
- _____ other: _____

Write (F) if you believe you should do the following in French, (E) for English, or (B) for both. Additional space is provided if you can think of another use for language.

- _____ doing a cultural activity
- _____ doing a grammar practice activity
- _____ during pair/group work
- _____ when socializing with classmates (not about class content)
- _____ when using survival phrases/questions (i.e. permission to go to bathroom, water fountain, asking for help, etc.)
- _____ when asking a question to your teacher
- _____ when thinking
- _____ other: _____
- _____ other: _____

Section E. Pick the top three reasons *why* you think using French in the classroom is important and rank them according to importance: (1) being the most important, (2) being the second most important, and (3) being the third most important. If more than 3 options are important to you, feel free to rank more than 3.

_____ for my future job	_____ satisfy high school qualification
_____ to be able to communicate with family	_____ satisfy parent/guardian
_____ to be able to communicate with friends	_____ for continuation at university level
_____ personal fulfillment; I enjoy it	_____ for travel
_____ other: _____	_____ other: _____

_____ None of these really fit me

Please explain why: _____

Section F. Finish the sentence starters. Each one is followed by a 'Because...' so you can explain your answer.

1. Learning French is like...

Because...

2. Speaking French is like...

Because...

3. Using English in French class is like...

Because...

Thank you!

While you were completing the survey, did any other thoughts about your attitudes to languages come up? Feel free to jot them down in the space below.

This image shows a blank sheet of white paper with horizontal ruling lines. The lines are evenly spaced and run across the width of the page. There are no margins, text, or other markings on the paper.

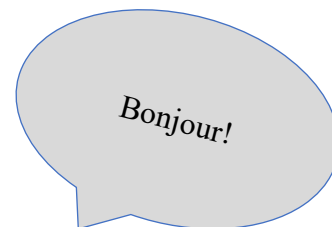
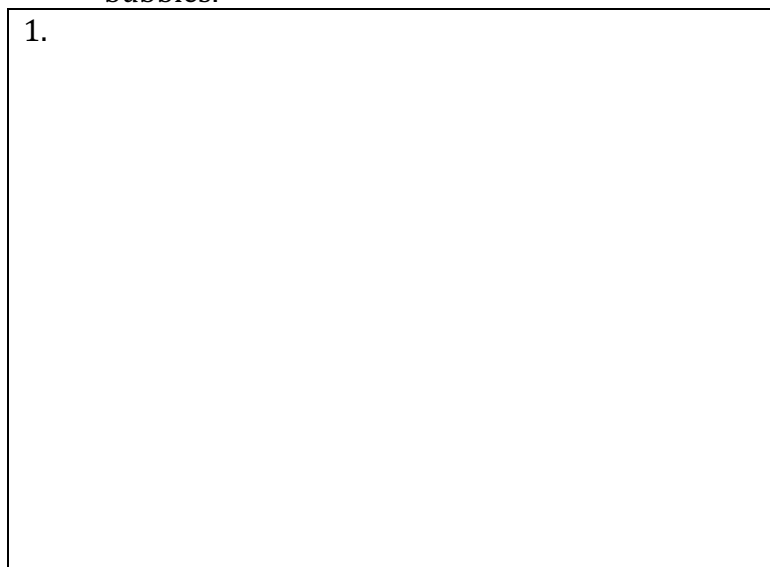
Appendix 8: Pupil cartoon storyboard template (French version)

You are going to draw 4 scenes happening in your French classroom. Follow the instructions above each square. *Don't worry, you do **NOT** have to be 'a good artist!'*

First, draw a picture of your teacher in scene 1.

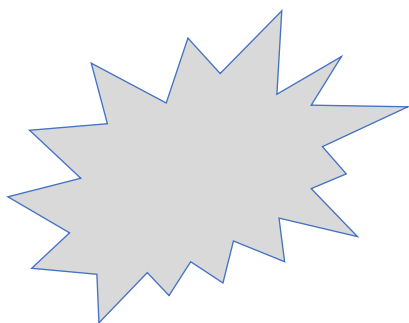
- What is he/she doing?
- What languages is he/she using? English? French? Both? Feel free to use speech bubbles.

1.



Next, draw a picture of yourself in scene 2.

- What are you doing? Listening? Working on a group activity? Chatting with friends? Daydreaming?
- What languages are you using? English? French? Both? None?



2.



In scene 3, draw a picture of your classmates.

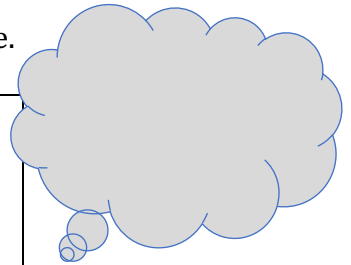
- What are they doing?
- What languages are they using? English? French? Both? None?

3.

Finally, draw a picture of how you are feeling in scene 4.

- Are you happy? Bored? Nervous?
- Why are you feeling that way? Feel free to use a thought bubble.

4.



Appendix 9: Pupil interview schedule

Opening

1) Tell me about your drawing.

(Prompt pupil according to themes that emerge from cartoon storyboard).

Body

2) What are some of your favorite and least favorite things about [language] class?

3) Can you give some examples of when your teacher uses [language] in the classroom?

4) Do you like the way your teacher uses [language] during class? How does it make you feel?

5) Can you give some examples of when you use [language] in class?

6) Do you like using [language] in class? How does using [language] in class make you feel?

7) What are some things that might either encourage you to use [language] in class? What stops you from using [language] in class?

8) Can you give examples of when your classmates use both [language] and English? Do you think they influence the way that you use [language]?

9) Can you describe someone in class who you think is a really good [language] pupil at or really enjoys [language]? What makes you think of that person?

10) Can you think back to a time when you felt really motivated in [language] class? What made you feel that way?

11) Now think back to a time when you did not feel motivated in [language] or class. What made you feel that way?

Follow up: Did [language] use have anything to do with your experience?

12) Is being able to speak a language in addition to English important to you personally?

13) Do you think being able to speak more than one language is an important part of who you are/ your personal identity? Why or why not?

14) Would you say most people in Scotland speak languages in addition to English? What makes you think that?

Follow up: Is it important to you that the world see Scotland as a place where multiple languages are used? Why or why not?

Closing

15) If you were a [language] teacher, do you think you would use mostly English, mostly [language] or a combination of both in the classroom? Why do you think that?