



universität
wien

DIPLOMARBEIT / DIPLOMA THESIS

Titel der Diplomarbeit / Title of the Diploma Thesis

“Translanguaging in the Austrian CLIL classroom: a case study at upper secondary level”

verfasst von / submitted by

Julia Daniela Tudor

angestrebter akademischer Grad / in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Magistra der Philosophie (Mag.phil.)

Wien, 2016 / Vienna, 2016

Studienkennzahl lt. Studienblatt /
degree programme code as it appears on
the student record sheet:

A 190 344 299

Studienrichtung lt. Studienblatt /
degree programme as it appears on
the student record sheet:

Lehramtsstudium UF Englisch
UF Psychologie und Philosophie

Betreut von / Supervisor:

Ao.Univ.-Prof. Mag. Dr. Ute Smit

Table of Contents

1.	Introduction.....	1
2.	Bilingualism	3
2.1.	Bilingualism – from dual to dynamic.....	3
2.2.	Bilingual education – the variety of bilingual classrooms	6
3.	CLIL – Content and language integrated learning	8
3.1.	What is CLIL?	8
3.2.	CLIL in Europe	14
3.3.	CLIL in Austria	16
3.4.	Dual Language Program in Austria – the research context.....	17
4.	Translanguaging in education	20
4.1.	“Parallel monolingualisms” (Heller 1999) in bilingual education.....	21
4.2.	Translanguaging and its beginnings	26
4.2.1.	Translanguaging in Wales.....	27
4.2.2.	Further development of translanguaging	29
4.3.	Classroom research on codeswitching and translanguaging	33
4.3.1.	Translanguaging in bi- and multilingual classrooms.....	33
4.3.2.	Translanguaging and code-switching in CLIL.....	37
5.	The study	42
5.1.	Methodology	42
5.1.1.	Classroom research	42
5.1.2.	Classroom discourse analysis	43
5.2.	Participants.....	46
5.3.	Procedure	48
5.4.	Transcription process and conventions.....	49
6.	Analysis.....	50
6.1.	Orienting to language in content	50
6.2.	Orienting to flow of interaction	56
6.3.	Miscellaneous.....	64
6.4.	Material	68
6.6.	Discussion of findings	73
7.	Conclusion	81
8.	References.....	83
9.	Appendix.....	90

8.1.	Abstract (English).....	90
8.2.	Abstract (German).....	90
8.3.	Transcription conventions.....	91

1. Introduction

The today highly debatable ‘monolingual principle’ (Howatt 1984) was most influential in bilingual education contexts in the 20th century; however, as a result of our world becoming increasingly globalized the importance of the different language resources in the classroom is foregrounded more than ever. ¹

In Europe, CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning) has been implemented as an approach that combines language and content teaching and learning and is aimed at fostering plurilingualism among European citizens. Thus, CLIL classrooms offer a bilingual space, where both students’ mother tongues as well as the target language will be used. In connection to this, the changing views with regard to bilingualism in general are noteworthy, as bilingual behaviour is more strongly accepted as natural and not as a sign of deficiency. Furthermore, its significance for bilingual speakers as well as for language learning contexts is increasingly recognised.

As a result, the approach of translanguaging has come into being and its use in the language classroom is now promoted by a growing body of research studies (e.g. Canagarajah 2011a, 2011b; Creese & Blackledge 2010; García and Sylvan 2011; Hornberger & Link 2012; Martin-Beltran 2014; Li 2011). Translanguaging views the languages of bilinguals and emergent bilinguals as a holistic repertoire and, thus, teachers and students are believed to use all their linguistic resources “in order to make sense of, and communicate in, multilingual classrooms” (García & Kleifgen 2010: 45). In other words, the concept of translanguaging recognises the benefits of integrating and welcoming students’ whole linguistic repertoire.

Research on CLIL has largely taken a more traditional codeswitching perspective that still views languages as separate entities; however, gradually the notion of translanguaging, which advocates a fresh dynamic understanding of bilingualism, is employed. Translanguaging research so far has mainly focused on bilingual education settings that are linguistically heterogeneous, and often on language-minority students learning the language of the wider community are the target group. In this study, I

¹ This introduction is based on a paper (Tuder 2015) I wrote for the English for Academic Purposes class at the English Department of the University of Vienna.

want to explore translanguaging in bilingual education in general and how it can potentially open up new possibilities for the use of languages in more linguistically homogeneous classrooms, namely in European CLIL-teaching and –learning contexts. Even though CLIL classrooms are in general less linguistically diverse, there is a need to justify language choice and a translanguaging stance might be able to offer a new perspective on how languages are employed.

This paper begins by exploring the changing understanding of bilingualism. It will then go on to briefly describe the great variety of bilingual education approaches. The second section will closely examine the CLIL approach, focusing specifically on CLIL in Austria and the research context, namely the Viennese Dual Language Program. Section 4 addresses the main topic of this paper, translanguaging, initially describing how bilingual education has once insisted on “parallel monolingualisms” (Heller 1999) and then moving on to describing the concept of translanguaging and its origins. Section 4.3 presents the findings of classroom research on translanguaging, which are linked to the results of this paper’s study in section 5. This penultimate section is concerned with the empirical part of this paper including the methodology used for this study, the participants and the transcription conventions used. Furthermore, the analysis and discussion sections present the findings of this study set in an Austrian DLP classroom and highlight the importance of translanguaging in this context. Finally, the conclusion summarizes the main findings of this thesis.

2. Bilingualism

2.1. Bilingualism – from dual to dynamic

To understand how translanguaging can change bilingual education and how CLIL fits into the wide range of bilingual education programmes, it is imperative to point to a shift in the way bilingualism is and has been perceived by scholars.² The field of bilingualism has undergone vast changes over the years with regard to what is understood as being bilingual as well as the attitudes towards it (see, for example, García 2009; García and Li 2014; Moore & Nikula in press). Thus, this section tries to describe the ways in which our understanding of bilingualism has changed, while the following sub-section takes a look at bilingualism in education before dealing in more detail with a specific bilingual education approach, namely CLIL, in section 3.

García and Li (2014: 11) explain that when bilingualism research first started it was influenced greatly by “the Saussurean vision of language as a self-contained system of structures”. As a result, bilingualism was previously described as “the practice of alternately using two languages [...] and the persons involved, bilingual” (Weinreich 1967: 1). This way of perceiving bilingualism can be regarded as dual or additive, as the languages are believed to be separate from each other (García & Li 2014: 12). This is also the cause of a “deficit orientation” (2014: 12) towards bilingual behaviour. Moore & Nikula (in press) also remark that viewing bilingualism negatively and “tainted with deficiency theories” is linked to the “myth of balanced bilingualism”. Balanced bilingualism was used as an “idealized concept” (Baker 2011: 8), thus, many alternative terms were often used instead of ‘bilingual’ to describe the language performance of people who would today be regarded as being bilingual. In relation to this Auer (1988: 191) criticizes how much literature is based on “the futile discussion of how competent someone has to be in order to be considered ‘bilingual’”. It is now accepted by most researchers though not the wider public in general that “bilinguals use their languages with different people, in different contexts and for different purposes” resulting in different levels of proficiency (Baker 2011: 10). Thus, bilingualism research has developed in a positive direction in that the goal of finding

² Part of this subchapter is a further development of a previous student paper (Tuder 2015) for the English for Academic Purposes class at the English Department of the University of Vienna.

definitions for bi- and multilingualism is now of lower priority³, while the focus is now on “exploring how it ‘works’” (Moore & Nikula in press).

Similarly, the view of bilingualism as dual has not remained stable over the years. Already in 1979 Cummins suggested that languages are not separately stored in the human brain and conversely proposed the idea of a Common Underlying Proficiency (CUP). Accordingly, he states “that cognitive/academic proficiencies in both L1 and L2 are manifestations of the same underlying dimensions” (Cummins 1980: 175). This goes along with Grosjean (1989: 3) arguing that “the bilingual is not two monolinguals in one person.” Gallagher and Colohan (2014: 2) also refer to studies (García 2009; Hoshino and Thierry 2011; Lewis, Jones and Baker 2012a) showing that this non-separation or unity of languages in the bilingual mind can be even further advanced in that “both languages remain active, even when only one is being used by a bilingual speaker and both can be easily accessed”.

García & Li (2014: 14) propose the term dynamic bilingualism and explain how it takes Cummins’ idea of bilingualism even further. It also forms the basis for the development of their notion of translanguaging. The key to understanding this dynamic view is that

a dynamic conceptualization of bilingualism goes beyond the notion of two autonomous languages, of a first language (L1) and a second language (L2), and of additive or subtractive bilingualism. Instead, dynamic bilingualism suggests that the language practices of bilinguals are complex and interrelated; they do not emerge in a linear way or function separately since there is only one linguistic system (García & Li 2014: 14).⁴

What distinguishes the model of dynamic bilingualism the most is that even though languages in bilinguals were also previously thought to interact, it is the first model to insist “that there is but one linguistic system” (García & Li 2014: 15) from which bilinguals select features that conform to the present context. García and Otheguy (2015, quoted in García & Li 2014: 15) similarly propose that bilinguals have access to “a single array of disaggregated features that is always activated”. This does not mean that bilinguals only employ language fluidly, they might still speak in a seemingly ‘monolingual mode’. However, even if they “act ‘monolingually’” García & Li (2014:15)

³ For definitions of the terms bilingual, multilingual and plurilingual see García & Li (2014: 11-12)

⁴ For a graphic explanation of the shift from how bilingualism was traditionally perceived to dynamic bilingualism see García & Li (2014: 14)

argue that they do not have command over two separate language systems but that languages form one language system. In other words, the monoglossic view of bilingualism has been superseded by what García and Li (2014) refer to as dynamic bilingualism. It proposes that bilingual language speakers as well as learners have one common/collective language system at their disposal (2014: 15). Similarly, Jørgensen (2008) and Møller (2008) stress that “speakers use features and not languages” (Jørgensen, 2008: 166); however, they employ “the term polylingual” (Møller 2008: 218; see also Jørgensen 2008; Jørgensen, Karrebak, Madsen & Møller 2011) instead of dynamic bilingualism. The concept of translanguaging, which is investigated in this study, and the model of dynamic bilingualism are often mentioned together by García (2009), García and Kleifgen (2010), García & Li (2014), as well as others. Thus, in this paper, the term that will be used to describe this new understanding of bilingualism is dynamic bilingualism.

These developments are related to the shift away from a “monolingual bias” that defined applied linguistic research. Ortega (2014: 32) explains that it “result[ed] from the assumption that monolingualism is the default for human communication and from valuing nativeness as a superior form of language competence and the most legitimate relationship between a language and its user”. While it was already mentioned that deficit attitudes have dominated bilingualism research for some time, Ortega also identifies this problem in SLA research. She criticizes that much research was preoccupied with “explaining why bilinguals are not native speakers (i.e. monolinguals)” neglecting more important issues (Ortega 2014: 33). Therefore, Ortega (2014: 32) strongly argues for “a bi/multilingual turn” in all fields that aim “to understand multiple-language learning as an object of inquiry and to support bi/multilingualism as a societal and individual right and asset”.

Dynamic bilingualism is strongly linked to the multilingual turn that is occurring in language education, pedagogy and practice. Still, adopting a dynamic bilingualism view in applied linguistic research as argued by García & Li (2014) demands a fundamental shift and “dismiss[ing] old conceptions of language, language education, language education paths and goals, bilingualism, multilingualism and plurilingualism” (Melo-Pfeifer 2015: 179). Thus, challenges are involved in its application - as will be seen in section 4 when exploring the notion of translanguaging. To sum up, three

conceptions of bilingualism can be identified that have succeeded each other, namely traditional bilingualism, bilingualism that is based on “cognitive interdependence” (García & Li 2014: 13) and dynamic bilingualism.

2.2. Bilingual education – the variety of bilingual classrooms

While the previous section has described how conceptions of bilingualism have changed in more general terms, this section focuses on bilingual education specifically. In broad terms, bilingual education can be defined as “the use of two (or more) languages of instruction at some point in a student’s school career” (Cummins 2009a: 19). However, as noted by Creese and Blackledge (2010: 104), bilingual classroom contexts vary greatly and there is a wide scope of different bilingual education programmes. In short, “bilingual education is a *simplistic label for a complex phenomenon*” (Baker 2011: 207, original emphasis).

The aforementioned definition of bilingual education by Cummins (2009: 19) includes models that often follow the line of subtractive or additive bilingualism (García & Li 2014: 49). According to García and Li (2014: 49) subtractive bilingualism in bilingual classrooms is employed “when schools take away the home language of the child who speaks a minoritized language and substitutes it with a majority language.” These programmes are often referred to as transitional bilingual education (Baker 2011: 207). In contrast, as its name already suggests, additive bilingualism programmes involve the addition of another language in the classroom (García & Li 2014: 49).

This is a very general distinction but in order to describe and distinguish the nature of bilingual education programmes more clearly, Cenoz’s (2009) proposal of describing the features of the models is very useful. She suggests differentiating them according to the “*Continua of Multilingual Education*” (original emphasis) including subject taught, language of instruction, teacher and school context (Cenoz 2009: 34). A description of an education programme might then, for example, include information on the teachers’ language proficiency and whether they have been specifically trained for bilingual education (2009: 36). Furthermore, the variable of ‘language of instruction’ describes what languages are used in instruction and in how far they are integrated “in syllabus design and language planning” (ibid.). All of the “educational variables [...] can be represented as a continuum that goes from ‘*less multilingual*’ to

'more multilingual'" (original emphasis, *ibid.*). Although Cenoz (2009: 33) refers to multilingual education specifically she states that "bilingual schools can also be considered a type [sic] of multilingual school because the term 'multilingual' refers to multiple languages and this can be understood as two or more languages." In the description of the specific bilingual education programme investigated in this study, the different features listed by Cenoz (2009) are considered.

In agreement with the above, Baker (2011: 208) observes that bilingual education models have "the intrinsic limitations [...] that not all real-life examples will fit easily into the classification".⁵ Still, several typologies of bilingual education models exist. Baker (2011: 209-210), for example, distinguishes ten models that are further subcategorized under the headings of "monolingual forms of education for bilinguals", "weak forms of bilingual education for bilinguals" and "strong forms of bilingual education for bilingualism and biliteracy". In the context of this study the strong forms, namely immersion, maintenance/heritage language, two way/dual language and mainstream bilingual programmes, are of the greatest interest.

García and Li (2014: 50) contrast maintenance and heritage bilingual education as measures for non-dominant language students with prestigious and immersion bilingual education as approaches to teach dominant language-majority students. What they criticize is the underlying assumption of these approaches that students are homogenous and that they can be assigned to either of the two groups. Therefore, they suggest viewing bilingual education programmes from the perspective of dynamic bilingualism as described in the previous section or recursive dynamic bilingualism that focuses on ethnolinguistic groups introducing measures for language revitalization (García & Li 2014: 50). This means acknowledging that students bring various language practices to the classroom and taking on pedagogic approaches that do not view languages as separate entities and, thus, support a dynamic bilingualism stance.

Space precludes a more thorough look at the numerous bilingual education programmes in this thesis; however, in the following sections various different models will be mentioned briefly when research studies and findings are described. The next section is focused on a specific bilingual education model, namely CLIL, and its implementation in Austria. Furthermore, a view is given in section 4 on how bilingual

⁵ Baker (2011: 209) offers a thorough list of limitations of typologies of bilingual education models.

pedagogy has developed and has taken on a more dynamic perspective. This is then connected to the main topic of this paper, translanguaging.

3. CLIL – Content and language integrated learning

3.1. What is CLIL?

Content and Language Integrated Learning – in short CLIL – is an educational approach that has been gaining relevance in Europe since the 1990s. In a similar fashion, on other continents an increasing number of CLIL programmes have been launched and carried out in schools. All these programmes share certain fundamental features; at the same time, with regard to a number of aspects no unanimous understanding of CLIL has been reached (see, for example, Cenoz, Genesee & Gorter 2013; Dalton-Puffer 2011; Dalton-Puffer, Llinares, Lorenzo & Nikula 2014; Ioannou Georgiou 2012). As the focus of this study is on translanguaging in an Austrian CLIL classroom, this bilingual education approach and its features as understood in the context of this thesis are defined in the following. While this and the following sections focus on CLIL and its development in more general terms, sections 3.3 and 3.4 give a more detailed description of CLIL provision in Austria with a specific focus on the Viennese Dual Language Program (DLP), since the data for the study has been obtained from a DLP classroom context.

In general, CLIL is part of a wider spectrum of bilingual education programmes and contexts. There are several definitions for the CLIL approach and among the most cited and concise is Coyle, Hood and Marsh's (2010: 1) view that "CLIL is a dual-focused educational approach in which an additional language is used for the learning and teaching of both content *and* language" (original emphasis). Another definition is provided by Marsh (2002: 58) who explains that

CLIL is an umbrella term adopted by the European Network of Administrators, Researchers and Practitioners (EUROCLIC) in the mid 1990s. It encompasses any activity in which a FL is used as a tool in the learning of a non-language subject in which both language and the subject have a joint role.

In other words, CLIL is an educational approach where a non-language content subject is taught by the means of a foreign language (FL). This could, for example, mean teaching history in Austria in English or teaching science in French schools in German.

In the above quotation Marsh (2002: 58) addresses the “joint role” of language and content and Coyle et al. (2010: 1) point out a dual focus in CLIL. This dual focus is – according to Ioannou Georgiou (2012: 495) – the defining feature of CLIL. CLIL should thus be aimed at both language and content, while other approaches may “either use content but only aim towards a language learning syllabus or may use a foreign language but only with reference to a subject curriculum” (Ioannou Georgiou 2012: 495). Coyle et al. (2010: 3) even speak of a “fusion of both”, though CLIL might be implemented in different ways depending on whether more focus is put on content or language learning. In the Eurydice report on *Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) at School in Europe* (2006: 8) it is mentioned that “achieving this twofold aim calls for the development of a special approach to teaching in that the non-language subject is not taught in a foreign language but with and through a foreign language”. While Dalton-Puffer, Nikula and Smit (2010: 2) agree that content and language are both aimed at in any CLIL classroom, they voice their scepticism with regard to the development of “specific CLIL-teaching methodology” that differs from the methodologies and didactics used for other subjects.

As already mentioned CLIL has taken different forms on different continents but also in Europe CLIL programmes differ in a number of ways. These differences often relate to the question of quantity and intensity of exposure to the foreign language that the programmes offer (Dalton-Puffer et al. 2010: 2). Dalton-Puffer et al. (2010: 2) draw attention to the wide range of possible and actual realizations of CLIL programmes, which can be distinguished with regard to being “short-term or long-term” as well as “low-intensity” or “high-intensity” or in-between. Cenoz (2015: 11), for example, describes differences of CLIL programmes that are linked to quantity and intensity when she says that CLIL can “refer to teaching one or more subjects through the medium of the L2 and it can also refer to just content-based themes in language programmes.” Additionally, she mentions that “CLIL can take place at different educational levels in preschool, primary school, secondary school and higher education” (Cenoz 2015: 11). Mehisto, Marsh and Frigols (2008: 12-13) take this even

further when stating that CLIL is characterized by a great flexibility, which is illustrated in their figure below. While some of the points mentioned in their figure seem to conform to CLIL as generally understood, other forms of CLIL as mentioned by Mehisto et al. (2008) seem to go beyond it, such as student exchanges, family stays and work-study abroad opportunities. Even though CLIL implementations demonstrate flexibility, this paper does not consider these scenarios to be among the “many faces of CLIL” (Mehisto et al. 2008: 13).

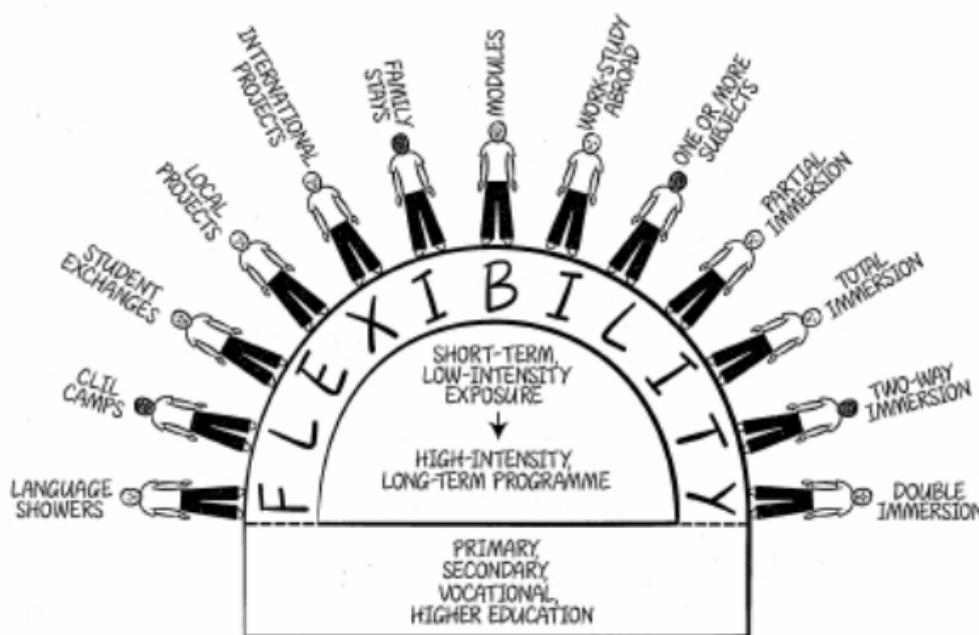


Figure 1: The Many Faces of CLIL (Mehisto, Marsh & Frigols 2008: 13)

To sum up, CLIL can be implemented in a variety of ways. The CLIL programme investigated in this study, namely the Dual Language Programme (DLP) of an Austrian school, similarly has its specific features.

Nevertheless, there are similarities or defining features of CLIL programmes in Europe, South Africa and parts of Asia that are also applicable to the aforementioned DLP. These are specified by Dalton-Puffer, Nikula & Smit (2010: 1-3) and Dalton-Puffer (2011) among others and summarised in the following. One similarity of CLIL programmes in a European context is that they are “content-driven” (Dalton-Puffer et al. 2010: 2). Stoller (e.g. 2004: 261) describes how particular translations of CLIL into curricular models can be placed along a continuum according to whether they are

more language- or content-driven. Banegas (2012: 118) likewise explains that the different varieties of CLIL result from the continuum that can be identified within these two aims. Drawing on research findings, he explains “that to expect an approach to deal with content and language on equal terms is simply an illusion” (Banegas 2012: 118). In other words, a CLIL approach that manages to balance both language and content focus equally is unrealistic. Interestingly, the aforementioned predominance of content in European programmes coincides with the goal of improving students language skills, which might “be high but remain implicit” (Dalton-Puffer et al. 2010: 2). Dalton-Puffer et al. (2010: 6) also note that “policy statements and stakeholder views [...] actually indicated expectations that are squarely centred on students improving significantly in their foreign language competence, rather backgrounding aspects of content learning.”

Furthermore, while the definitions above mention no specific language used for teaching in a CLIL approach, Marsh’s definition (2002) clarifies that this language is a foreign language. Coyle et al. (2010) speak of an additional language and note that though languages used in CLIL are usually foreign languages, students’ second languages might also be used. Dalton-Puffer et al. (2010: 1), however, highlight that “CLIL is about using a foreign language” and Dalton-Puffer (2011: 183) stresses that a foreign language or lingua franca is used – “not a second language”. They further specify that “the language of instruction is one that students will mainly encounter at school since it is not regularly used in the wider society they live in” (Dalton-Puffer et al. 2010: 1). This is also linked to the fact that CLIL teachers are usually non-native speakers of this language and they are mostly but not exclusively content- and not target language-experts (2010: 1-2). In the case of the study carried out for this thesis, however, both teachers observed and recorded during their CLIL lessons are also EFL teachers.

As already mentioned no specific foreign or additional language is required to be used for CLIL teaching. Still, as Dalton-Puffer et al. (2010) point out it has become associated with teaching a content subject through English. Here, it is important to note that “English dominates as the CLIL target language in all non-Anglophone countries” (Dalton-Puffer & Nikula 2014: 119), thus, research has inevitably focused on CLIL in English but did not produce this focus. The dominance of English in CLIL rather

reflects “the fact that a command of English as an additional language is increasingly regarded as a key literacy feature” (Dalton-Puffer 2011: 183). Coyle et al. (2010: 9) agree that English has become “a popular vehicular language in non-Anglophone areas” due to the increased need for English as a lingua franca; however, they still emphasize “that CLIL is not synonymous with English language learning and teaching” and mention a variety of CLIL programmes or programmes similar to CLIL that employ other languages. In contrast, Dalton-Puffer et al. (2010: 286) even suggest that though in applied linguistic research as well as political discourse the acronym CLIL is used, what actually is referred to and investigated is to a high degree “CEIL, Content and English Integrated Learning”, which is also true for this study.

Relevant for this study is another interpretation of the acronym CLIL suggested by Moore and Nikula (in press) as they state “that in practice, we are dealing with integrating content and *languages*”. This observation is very useful in the context of this study that takes a dynamic view on bilingualism and does not view languages in bilingual education as separate entities, as will be further explained in section 4. It rather affirms the “usefulness of translanguaging as a construct that helps make the coexistence and value of both L1 and L2 in CLIL more visible” (Moore & Nikula in press).

Another feature of CLIL is that students are already able to read and write in their first language, so CLIL is preceded by L1 literacy skills (Dalton-Puffer et al. 2010: 1). Wolff (2007: 15-16) then mentions that CLIL is also unique in that “classroom content is not so much taken from everyday life or the general content of the target language culture but rather from content subjects, from academic/scientific disciplines or from professions.” This means that parallel to the CLIL lessons, which “are usually scheduled as content-lessons” (Dalton-Puffer et al. 2010: 1), the language is also taught on its own in foreign language lessons. Dalton-Puffer et al. (2010: 2) summarize that “CLIL resembles non-language content teaching that entails a foreign language enrichment measure.”

These prototypical core features of the CLIL programmes in Europe help to distinguish CLIL from other bilingual education approaches and programmes. Still, there remains some confusion with regard to an umbrella term for similar education approaches. In their response to Cenoz, Genesee & Gorter’s (2013) critique of the

ambiguity of terms such as CLIL and immersion, Dalton-Puffer, Llinares, Lorenzo and Nikula (2014) also address this issue; however, they emphasize that core features (as those described in the above) have been identified. Furthermore, they point out that the historical and social contexts of the terms should not be ignored. They acknowledge that CLIL and similar bilingual education contexts are difficult to distinguish because of “the myriad of contextual variables that come with different implementations and make comparison and generalization a tricky business” (Dalton-Puffer, Llinares, Lorenzo & Nikula 2014: 213). For this reason they also say that “research findings [...] uncritically transferred” from one context to another are problematic but also that “this problem is inherent in comparative educational research in general” (2014: 215). Thus, they assert that hierarchical concepts of different terminologies should not keep researchers from conducting comparative studies across contexts. Quite on the contrary, they argue for “an overarching concept” that enables “researchers to carry out comparative studies across contexts” (2014: 217). They conclude that a possible concept is that of ‘additive bilingual programmes’ but also end with an invitation to employ CLIL as an umbrella term, thus, their title “You can stand under my umbrella” (2014: 217). Ruiz de Zarobe and Cenoz (2015: 91) then point out that “the choice of a single umbrella term may not be so important after all, once we acknowledge the existence of many different approaches to address the integration of content and language in the curriculum”.

In agreement with this idea of making comparisons possible between research studies on differently labelled approaches and those that actually have different core features than prototypical European CLIL, the literature review on translanguaging conducted for this thesis does not only include studies particularly focused on CLIL but also on other bilingual education contexts. Similarly, Lo (2015: 286) argues that “referring to relevant literature in various educational setting [sic] can further enhance the effectiveness and practice of CLIL.” Especially as translanguaging – the research focus of this thesis – has been investigated mostly in other bilingual education contexts than CLIL, it is very useful to have a broader perspective and, thus, draw on a greater wealth of translanguaging research than otherwise possible. By describing the prototypical features of CLIL in this section and discussing DLP in section 3.4 it is possible to distinguish CLIL from other bilingual education approaches as well as to

facilitate comparison between these. It will be seen that while certain features of translanguaging identified in bilingual education contexts so far are applicable to CLIL, others are not.

3.2. CLIL in Europe

In schools in Europe teaching via a foreign language has increased in popularity over the last 25 years. Still the roots of CLIL go back even further. As Dalton-Puffer et al. (2010: 3) point out “teaching and learning in a foreign language is an ancient practice that could be found in many civilizations of the past”. For example, Latin was used as a vehicular language for teaching content for centuries; however, this was strongly linked to prestige and limited to the elite classes (Dalton-Puffer et al. 2010: 3). Also in ancient Rome a foreign language, namely Greek, was used in the classroom (Coyle, Hood and Marsh 2010: 2). Coyle et al. (2010: 2), thus, state: “This historical experience has been replicated across the world through the centuries, and is now particularly true of the global uptake of English language learning”.

The term CLIL was coined in 1994 in Europe, and since then it has been enforced increasingly throughout the European Union (Eurydice 2006) “as a tool to aid in the promotion of increased multilingualism and intercultural competence amongst the inhabitants of member states” (Moore & Nikula in press). Its origins lie in various provisions of the EU with regard to language policy and language education (see, for example, Coyle, Hood & Marsh 2010: 8). The development of similar models already started before the 1970s (Mehisto et al. 2008: 9; Eurydice 2006: 7). At this time an approach existed that was restricted to specific areas that were “linguistically distinctive” and, thus, only few students were affected by these “‘bilingual’ schools” (Eurydice 2006: 7). In the 1970s and 1980s, the successful Canadian immersion programmes influenced the endeavours taken in Europe greatly. With this immersion programme Canada aimed at providing students speaking the national language English with an education that would foster the acquisition of the second national language, French (ibid.).

In 1978 an important step towards CLIL in Europe was made as the European Commission invited member states to encourage education through more than one language (Coyle et al. 2010: 8). Later on shortcomings of language education in Europe

were identified by the European Parliament (ibid.). In the 1990s the perceived need for innovation and diversity in language education led to the European Commission's (1995) goal that "[u]pon completing initial training every [European citizen] should be proficient in two Community foreign languages" and proposed that "secondary school pupils should study certain subjects in the first foreign language learned". As Dalton-Puffer (2007: 45) points out this was initially planned to be a way of targeting less frequently spoken languages; however, English has become the main language chosen in CLIL classrooms, "reflecting its ever increasing role both as the European lingua franca and as the most influential language".

Not only did the European Union realize that languages were becoming more important in the globalised world characterized by greater mobility and internationalization, also on a societal level the "social and economical asset for both individuals and societies" of "versatile language repertoires" (Nikula, Dalton-Puffer & Llinares 2013: 71) was recognized. As Nikula et al. (2013: 70) point out: "In Europe, CLIL has been fueled both by top-down and bottom-up processes". Coyle et al. (2010: 8) identify four driving forces behind the development and implementation of CLIL in Europe:

families wanting their children to have some competence in at least one foreign language; governments wanting to improve languages education for socio-economic advantage; at the supranational level, the European Commission wanting to lay the foundation for greater inclusion and economic strength; and finally, at the educational level, language experts seeing the potential of further integrating languages in education with that of other subjects.

Dalton-Puffer (2007: 46) also identifies various factors that influenced the implementation of CLIL education so far. An example given is the parents' demand for CLIL programmes "sometimes even with the support of local business organizations" (Dalton-Puffer 2007: 46). Furthermore, CLIL programmes might also be initiated by the schools themselves for reasons of developing a more attractive school profile. Thus, further education options for CLIL teachers were developed as well as "school-based measures" applied (Dalton-Puffer 2007: 47).

The way in which these forces have interacted is also dealt with in the next section with regard to a specific example, namely CLIL in an Austrian context; however, "national language policies, education systems and educational practices" (Dalton-

Puffer 2007: 45) differ in all countries. Thus, this example only gives limited indication of how CLIL might have developed in other places. As Dalton-Puffer et al. (2010: 5) put it, “while general policy lines are formulated at EU-level, it is not ‘Brussels’ that decides on educational legislation and financing but the 27 national governments”. As a result, CLIL has been implemented in different ways in different countries; even within single countries a variety of CLIL models have been created. García and Li (2014: 76) summarize the efforts in Europe to create the CLIL approach as follows:

The exigencies of global communication, the failures associated with foreign/second language education, the neglect of autochthonous regional minorities, and the absence of provisions for bilingual education have led many European countries to develop what are called CLIL [...] programs.

3.3. CLIL in Austria

In her own study on CLIL in Austria, Dalton-Puffer (2007) summarizes some of the main processes that led to CLIL provisions in Austria and some of the features national CLIL models exhibit. She points out that “the political climate for launching foreign language teaching initiatives was particularly favorable in the early 1990s because of the country’s upcoming accession to the EU” (2007: 46). Thus, the aforementioned plans of the European Commission for fostering plurilingualism were well received.

However, Dalton-Puffer (2007: 46) also mentions that in Austria grass roots movements were of major importance in the implementation process of CLIL. Frequently innovators were teachers themselves and school heads were often supportive as they recognized the chance to “enhance their school’s profile and customer appeal” (2007: 47). Later, some “in-service CLIL teacher education programmes” (2007: 47) were developed. What is interesting is that though Dalton-Puffer et al. (2010: 3) also note that the term CLIL has become a kind of brand-name that is very positively attributed and linked to efficiency and innovation, the benefits of teaching CLIL in Austria from a financial perspective are basically non-existent. As Dalton-Puffer (2007: 47) states:

[T]he gratification of CLIL teachers is almost exclusively symbolic, the satisfaction deriving largely from meeting a professional challenge successfully. There are no financial rewards, no reduced teaching hours and sometimes not even extra funds for additional teaching materials.

Furthermore, as a result of CLIL programmes being initiated individually at different venues, Dalton-Puffer (2007: 47) identified “no sense of a consolidated CLIL scene that would follow clearly defined curricular models, working towards explicitly formulated objectives”. Similarly, the Eurydice (2005: 5) description of CLIL in Austria said that “the [then] current situation in Austrian secondary schools is characterised by a diverse spectrum of organisational forms ranging from ‘mini-projects with just a few lessons to bilingual schooling”.

3.4. Dual Language Program in Austria – the research context

As the previous section illustrates, CLIL provisions in Austria are rather diverse and have often been initiated by grass-roots movements. Still, in Vienna a bilingual language programme, namely Vienna Bilingual Schooling (VBS), was developed by the Vienna Board of Education due to an “expected influx of English-speaking children” (Eurydice 2005: 6). Later, another important CLIL programme was developed – the Dual Language Programme (DLP). Four DLP lessons of a seventh grade classroom participating in the DLP programme of their school are investigated in this study. Both programmes resulted from the Vienna Board of Education identifying the promotion of bilingualism among the city’s students as a major future goal; it is even referred to as the “Wiener Bilingualitätsoffensive” (<https://www.wien.gv.at/rk/msg/2003/0410/014.html>, 4.2.2016) by the Vienna Board of Education, which can be translated as ‘Viennese educational offensive for bilingualism’.

A general definition of the Austrian DLP is given here:

[M]ainly German-speaking students [are] taught subject content in the target language, predominantly by qualified German-speaking teachers (sometimes supported by target language mother tongue teachers) for clearly defined periods of time” (Eurydice 2005: 4).

The DLP as understood in the Austrian, or to be more precise, Viennese context, needs to be differentiated from DLPs as they are more generally understood. Despite being identically named, the Austrian DLP does not try to preserve and promote a minority language by exposing students to both majority and minority language equally, which

according to Torres-Guzman (2007: 52) is the more typical goal of DLP. Also, DLPs usually postulate strict language separation, for example, by using one language in the morning and the other in the afternoon (Torres-Guzman 2007: 52). While it is suggested in the Austrian DLP's definition that the target language is used as the language of instruction "for clearly defined periods" (Eurydice 2005: 4), there is no demand for such strict separation. In other words, these DLP features do not apply to the DLP in Vienna; rather, the Viennese DLP can be understood as a CLIL or CEIL teaching approach with the typical features of CLIL as discussed in section 3.1. Thus, the terms CLIL and DLP are used synonymously in the empirical part of this thesis.

On the European office website of the Viennese Board of Education that lists different Austrian language programmes, the following general information about DLP can be found: "Emphasis is on the acquisition of language skills, especially in the lingua franca English and English is used as the language of instruction across the curriculum" (<http://www.europabuero.ssr-wien.at/>, 2.2.2016). Furthermore, it is specifically stated that DLP is a CLIL approach. The description of DLP's implementation does not state that specific subjects should use a CLIL approach but rather that "subject topics are carefully chosen to be particularly suitable for being taught in English and support is offered by English Native Speaker Teachers" (<http://www.europabuero.ssr-wien.at/>, 2.2.2016). There is no specific information on how often English is employed.

On the school's homepage more information on this specific DLP is given. It says that as many subjects as possible are taught in English to an increasing degree, after an introductory phase for lower secondary students (http://www.brg14.at/?page_id=4238, 2.2.2016). It is also stated that a key feature is that English native speakers participate in the lessons as so-called 'teaching assistants' for six to seven hours a week. Again, there is no strict guideline regarding the quantity of English language usage in content lessons but the official aim is to use a CLIL approach in less than 50% of the lessons. Thus, the definite decision on the extent of employing bilingual teaching seems to reside with the CLIL subject teachers.

Another noteworthy point is that not all students of the school investigated participate in the programme. Lyster's (2007: 11) description of immersion programmes is fitting here if adapted to CLIL programmes: "Immersion programs tend to be housed in dual-track schools: that is, schools that offer both an immersion and a

regular non-immersion program.” In other words, there are separate classes for those experiencing CLIL lessons and the standard EFL lessons and those students enrolled in the regular curriculum with EFL lessons but no CLIL lessons.

As already mentioned earlier, also in former times languages such as Latin or Greek were used to teach content subjects. Here, the prestige of having mastered these languages was in the foreground of elite education (Dalton-Puffer et al. 2010: 3), while today’s CLIL programmes are mostly available for free to the wider public. In the case of the DLP investigated in this study, it can still be argued that there is a greater “flavour of elitism” (2010: 3) to it than other CLIL programmes. This is partly due to the fact that students have to apply to participate in this programme and have to pass an orientation talk. In her diploma thesis, Koller (2014: 46) mentions that two main skills are at stake in such orientation talks, namely the ability “to compensate for lack of linguistic knowledge” and team work with the participating students. Another factor is that a financial contribution has to be made of approximately €220 per year and student towards the payment of the language assistants (http://www.brg14.at/?page_id=4240, 2.2.2016). A more inclusive example of employing a CLIL approach in Austria is the CLIL programme that has been introduced in upper secondary schools of technology “known by the abbreviation HTL, which stands for Höhere technische Lehranstalt” (Hüttner, Dalton-Puffer, Smit 2013: 272). Every student attending these schools is now also part of a CLIL programme, thus, every student might benefit from it.⁶ This shows that not only is CLIL implemented differently from an international perspective; also on an Austrian national level there are variations in how CLIL is realized.

Finally, VBS and DLP are contrasted here, as the school investigated in this study also offers VBS since 2012/13, a very popular programme in Vienna. In fact, the DLP of the study’s venue is a terminating programme. In the lower secondary classes a similar programme remains called ‘Focus English’ (http://www.brg14.at/?page_id=4240, 2.2.2016), while VBS gradually replaces DLP at this venue in all grades. Both VBS and DLP have been launched in Vienna in primary as well as lower and upper secondary school. VBS can be distinguished from DLP mainly

⁶ More information on CLIL in HTLs can be found, for example, on the website: <http://www.htl.at/htlat/schwerpunktportale/clil-content-and-language-integrated-learning.html> (2.2.2016)

in that it is intended for native speaker students of either German or English and that ideally native speakers of both languages should be present in the classroom. The European office states that VBS is a bilingual programme in which

both English and German are used as the languages of instruction from the first day of school. [...] Further skills in the respective second language are acquired to a level over and above those that would normally be possible in the language lesson of a regular primary class (<http://www.europabuero.ssr-wien.at/>, 2.2.2016).

Here, the website refers to primary schools specifically but later it is added that it is also possible to enter a VBS programme “after having an orientation talk with a positive outcome at the beginning of lower secondary, as well as at the beginning of upper secondary schooling.” An important feature of VBS and its “quality and sustainability” (<http://www.europabuero.ssr-wien.at/>, 2.2.2016) is that a minimum number of students with English as their L1 needs to be enrolled. Only when there “is a balance of pupils with either German or English as a first language, [can] a successful bilingual education [...] take place” (<http://www.europabuero.ssr-wien.at/>, 2.2.2016). The final part of the statement might be criticized as also CLIL, and thus, DLP, is a bilingual education programme not necessarily relying on native speakers being present in the classroom. This, of course, depends strongly on what is regarded as bilingualism and when somebody might be said to be bilingual. When taking a view of language that regards the language repertoire as a unified entity and not separated into different languages, all the students, whether they are attending VBS or DLP classrooms can be considered as emergent bilinguals.

While this and the previous sections have focused on describing the main features of CLIL and demonstrating what a great variety of CLIL programmes exist, the following sections turn to the topic of language use in bilingual classrooms, specifically focusing on translinguaging in CLIL.

4. Translinguaging in education

When talking about translinguaging in education, we presuppose a fundamental paradigm-shift in language education pedagogy that moves away from how bilingualism was traditionally perceived to a dynamic bilingualism stance as described

in section 2.1. As Lo and Lin (2015: 263) point out, “the notion of linguistic purism has aroused heated debates over the past several decades”. Language separation and the role of the majority language or mother tongue are among the most controversial and contentious issues in language education overall, from traditional foreign language classrooms, to second language programmes (for minority-language students) and bi/multilingual education. The aforementioned debates have had a great effect on research in the many-faceted realm of language education and have resulted in great opposition regarding the practice of strict language separation in education. Instead, the beneficial use of the students’ entire linguistic repertoire in the classroom is starting to be recognised today.

4.1. “Parallel monolingualisms” (Heller 1999) in bilingual education

In 2005, Cummins presented the then status quo with regard to instructional strategies explicitly “challenging monolingual instructional assumptions” (Cummins 2005: 587). He claimed that bilingual instructional strategies should be preferred over monolingual ones; however, the belief persists that teaching monolingually is favourable, ignoring the fact that teaching “for transfer across languages” and using students’ L1 “as a resource for learning” (Cummins 2005: 587) has substantial advantages. Even in programmes that are explicitly focused on bilingual or foreign education, it is expected and demanded “that the two languages of instruction be kept rigidly separate, resulting in cross-language transfer that is haphazard and inefficient” (Cummins 2005: 587). Cummins (2005: 588) summarized several assumptions that are at the core of this misguided belief in the advantages of adhering to monolingual instruction strategies:

1. Instruction should be carried out exclusively in the target language without recourse to the students' L1; bilingual dictionary use is also discouraged.
2. Translation between L1 and L2 has no place in the teaching of language or literacy. Encouragement of translation in L2 teaching is viewed as a reversion to the discredited grammar/translation method; or in bilingual/immersion programs, use of translation is equated with the discredited concurrent translation method.

3. Within L2 immersion and bilingual/dual language programs, the two languages should be kept rigidly separate; they constitute “two solitudes.” (Cummins 2005: 588)

These assumptions have “minimal research basis” (Cummins 2005: 388) and, thus, should not be taken at face value. For example, as the later analysis of a DLP lesson shows (see section 6), translation can certainly be a worthwhile bilingual instruction strategy. Butzkamm (2003: 29) likewise points out that in mainstream language teaching a deficit orientation was in place for a long time and, thus, “the official guidelines in many countries recommend that lessons be planned to be as monolingual as possible drawing on the mother tongue only when difficulties arise”. Butzkamm and Caldwell (2009: 13) then also address this “mother tongue taboo” and in agreement with Cummins (2005) clearly state that it is “without justification of any substance” (Butzkamm & Caldwell 2009: 13).

Similarly to Cummins (2005), Lin (2015: 75) names a number of reasons for the preservation of monolingual instruction strategies focusing explicitly on monolingual immersion approaches in which Lin includes CLIL. These factors are:

- (i) the pedagogical ideology of teaching the target language (L2) through the target language only (or: multilingualism through parallel monolingualisms);
- (ii) the stereotyping of L1 use in the classroom as equivalent to the extensive use of L1 in grammar translation or concurrent content translation approaches;
- (iii) the one-sided application of the ‘maximum input hypothesis’;
- (iv) the reported advantages of the separation strategy in some early bilingual education studies in the USA. (Lin 2015: 75)

The first two points of both Cummins (2005) and Lin (2015) are very similar, and Cummin’s third point and Lin’s fourth factor both explain that the belief in the advantages of the separation of languages often still persists. Additionally, Lin’s third factor clarifies that Krashen’s (1982) ‘maximum input hypothesis’, which stresses the importance of a maximum of input for learners in SLA, is often applied too extremely. Lin (2015: 87) asserts that “the maximum input hypothesis needs to be considered in conjunction with the ‘comprehensive input hypothesis’”, and thus, that the L1 is at times needed to make input comprehensible.

These points go hand in hand with Lasagabaster’s (2013: 2) observation that advocates of the direct method in foreign language teaching claimed that “any L1 use would interfere with the students’ attempts to master the target language”. Similarly,

other approaches such as the audio-lingual method or the Total Physical Response approach denied the relevance of the L1 in the language classroom (Lasagabaster 2013: 2). This assumption is often referred to as the *monolingual principle* (Howatt 1984), which “emphasizes instructional use of the target language (TL) to the exclusion of students’ home language (L1), with the goal of enabling learners to think in the TL with minimal interference from the L1” (Cummins 2009b: 317). This shows that one of the main persisting fears was and often still is that if the students do not get enough or not exclusive target language input, their acquisition of this language is inhibited.

As mentioned in section 3 on CLIL, this approach became more and more popular in the 1990s. Lasagabaster (2013: 3) identifies another shift occurring at the same time, namely that “importance was once again attached to the mother tongue in the foreign language classroom”. Butzkamm (2003: 31) even puts it like this: “[...] the mother tongue is the master key to foreign languages, the tool which gives us the fastest, surest, most precise, and most complete means of accessing a foreign language.” Similarly, Cook (2001) advocates the judicious employment of the L1, though he still notes that “it is clearly useful to employ large quantities of the L2, everything else being equal” (Cook 2001: 413; see also Levine 2003; Macaro 2006; Turnbull 2001). ‘Judicious use’ is understood by Swain, Kirkpatrick and Cummins (2011: 7-13) as involving three features:

- a) build from the known
- b) provide translations for difficult grammar and vocabulary
- c) use cross-linguistic comparison

This shows that the attitude towards L1 use in the classroom has become more welcoming and that teachers need not feel guilty about it or that bilingual strategies are professionally inappropriate (Swain, Kirkpatrick & Cummins 2011). In short, the L1 is increasingly regarded as a useful tool for affective and cognitive reasons, rather than an interference or sign of low language proficiency (Moore & Nikula in press).

Creese & Blackledge (2010: 104) agree that “bilingual education has traditionally argued that languages should be kept separate in the learning and teaching of languages”. This is grounded in the aforementioned monolingual principle (Howatt 1984), “two solitudes” (Cummins 2005: 588) assumption or in the so-called “parallel monolingualism” view that has been put forward by Heller (1999). The latter

refers to the assumption that “each variety must conform to certain prescriptive norms” (Heller 1999: 271). Another term that reflects the language separation stance is the term ‘diglossia’ that has been used by Baker (2003) to describe how languages are employed in different and separate social domains. The term has also been applied in language education contexts. In the talk “To translanguage or not to translanguage? How to and how not to” given by García at the NABE 2010 San Diego Conference (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uk0ygruQ7pw>, 9.2.2016), she argues that many language ideologies take a diglossic point of view and consider languages separate even to the extent that they are restricted to certain domains “and that they never touch”, which she explicitly criticizes.⁷ In connection to this non-separability of languages, she goes on to state that she does not believe that language use in the classroom can be talked of in percentages.

Other similar terms include Swain’s (1983: 41) “bilingualism through monolingualism” and Creese and Blackledge’s (2008) “separate bilingualism”. All of these terms describe the assumption that teachers and students in bilingual classrooms are in fact “two monolinguals in one body” (Gravelle 1996: 11). In support of this assumption the approach that was propagated in bilingual classrooms was that only the target language should be employed. The reason why language separation in the bilingual classroom has persisted and been encouraged for so long becomes apparent in the following:

Bilingual educators have usually insisted on the separation of the two languages, one of which is English and the other, the child’s vernacular. By strictly separating the languages, the teacher avoids, it is argued, *cross-contamination*, thus making it easier for the child to acquire a new linguistic system as he/she internalizes a given lesson. [...] It was felt that the *inappropriateness* of the concurrent use was so self-evident that no research had to be conducted to prove this fact. (Jacobson & Faltis 1990: 4; own emphasis)

In the above, the authors refer to the fact that also in the field of bilingual education research, the view of separate monolingualisms was not challenged for a long time. As noted by Creese and Blackledge (2010: 105), “emotional implications for insistence on separate bilingualism in educational contexts” are inherently connected to this, which

⁷ For a concise overview of Garcia’s stance of translanguaging and bilingualism see this talk: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uk0ygruQ7pw> (9.2.2016)

is not hard to understand, when terms such as “cross-contamination” and “inappropriateness” (Jacobson & Faltis 1990: 4) are used to refer to bilingual behaviour. Creese and Blackledge (2010: 105) refer to a range of literature that shows that bilingual behaviour in the classroom was long considered inappropriate, a sign of low language proficiency, embarrassing and ultimately “bad practice” (Martin 2005: 88). Creese and Blackledge (2010: 104) explain how such negative attitudes towards bilingual behaviour have persisted, in their opinion, especially in the UK “in a macro-ideological order, which is increasingly hostile to multilingualism and multiculturalism through its insistence on monolingualism”. They believe that this attitude has also pervaded education and, thus, can be seen in connection as to why, for example, “codeswitching is rarely institutionally endorsed or pedagogically underpinned” (2010: 105). With regard to code-switching Gierlinger (2015: 349) summarises that it “is regarded by many teachers as a response to the undesirable constraints of the classroom that need to be overcome as quickly as possible, or at best, is to be used like a transit room on a journey to another country”.

Researchers taking a dynamic bilingualism stance regard bilingual language practices very differently. Similarly, codeswitching research has previously recognized the benefits of bilingual language resources.⁸ This has resulted in researchers encouraging the use of codeswitching and viewing it “as a vital resource, rather than a liability” (Gierlinger 2015: 349), and even further to developing new pedagogic concepts to be used in bilingual classrooms. Lo and Lin (2015: 263), for example, identify “a growing consensus [among SLA researchers] on the potential value and functions of using local language(s) other than the target language in L2 learning classrooms”. This consensus has not yet been accepted by educators and policy-makers. Lin (2012: 81) puts it like this:

Once educators and policy-makers can think outside of the box and break away from the static concept of languages as discrete monolithic entities then they might find a whole new space for exploration of innovative means to achieve reachable goals in both English learning and content learning.

Similarly, in CLIL classrooms language use or codeswitching was mainly viewed from a perspective of dual bilingualism. Moore and Nikula (in press) trace this

⁸ For studies on codeswitching see, for example, Blom & Gumperz (1972), Poplack (1980) and Gumperz (1982).

restrictive view towards language use back to a time when bilingual classrooms had not emerged. They note that “many classrooms would have been idealised as monolingual spaces (often in the face of evidence to the contrary)” (in press). CLIL classrooms, however, are bilingual classrooms and according to Moore and Nikula (in press) this “implies choice” as well as “variety” and presumably “tensions”.

To sum up, this section has shown how researcher’ attitudes towards language use in bilingual education have been and are changing and that the L1 is increasingly welcomed as a multi-faceted resource rather than an obstacle. The next section focuses on the concept of translanguaging that has its origins in these developments and strongly advocates the importance of students’ whole linguistic repertoire in bi/multilingual classrooms.

4.2. Translanguaging and its beginnings

As already mentioned previously, García and Li’s (2014) understanding of translanguaging is based on a shift from traditional to dynamic bilingualism and on a variety of other notions regarding language use and bi/multilingualism. When exploring the term’s origins, one realises that it has “acquired diverse connotations” (Moore & Nikula in press) over the years and is still developing. These different ways of how the term has been employed up until today are presented in this section (see also Canagarajah 2011a, 2011b; García & Li 2014; Lewis et al. 2012a, 2012b). Also, other terms that take a similarly radical stance against language compartmentalisation within and outside the classroom are mentioned.

Lewis et al. (2012a) offer a concise overview of the development of translanguaging from its origins, to how it was expanded and popularised. They stress that the concept of translanguaging is still in a process of change and will be further shaped and specified by ongoing research (2012a: 642). In an effort to refine the notion of translanguaging, for example, García and Li (2014) have published their book *Translanguaging – Language, Bilingualism and Education*. This example can be said to illustrate that the term is acquiring more and more popularity.

4.2.1. Translanguaging in Wales

The term translanguaging was originally coined by Cen Williams in Welsh using the term *trawsieithu* (García & Li 2014: 20). Initially, the Welsh label was translated to ‘translinguifying’, but later changed to ‘translanguaging’ (Lewis et al. 2012a: 643). This can be linked to the term ‘languaging’ increasing in popularity as noted by Moore and Nikula (in press). They explain:

The –ing largely reflects a move towards understanding language as a verb – an action, contextually situated, jointly constructed and essentially mutable, rather than as a noun – a static set of norms, and can be linked to what has become known as the ‘social’ or ‘sociocultural’ turn.

Similarly, Swain, Kinnear and Steinman (2015: 51) state that translanguaging as such is fundamentally connected with the socio-cultural theory of second language learning as it stresses the social aspect of language and considers language “as a tool in the process of cognitive transformation” (ibid.). Another similarity is that the concept of translanguaging is multidisciplinary (ibid.).

Moore and Nikula (in press) explain that the way in which the term translanguaging was used in the 1980s in Wales, referred to “a pedagogic strategy involving the deliberate alternation of languages for input and output in bilingual (Welsh/English) classrooms”. This could mean that a text might be read in English (reception), followed by a writing task (production) in Welsh or the other way around (García & Li 2014: 20). This strategy is based on Williams’ (1996: 64) belief that “[b]efore you can use that information successfully, you must have fully understood it”. Thus, translanguaging was essentially developed as a measure to foster “dual-language processing” (Lewis et al. 2012a: 644). Furthermore, this pedagogic theory was centred on the child and considered specifically “appropriate for children who have a reasonably good grasp of both languages”, thus, it was not considered as “valuable in a classroom when children are in the early stages of learning and developing their second language” (Lewis et al. 2012a: 644).

The cause of the development of translanguaging in Wales can be traced to the changing status of the Welsh language. After a suppression of Welsh for centuries, efforts were made to revitalise the language at the end of the 20th century (Lewis et

al. 2012a: 642). The perception of bilingualism in Wales changed and Lewis et al. (ibid.) summarise that while bilingualism was once linked to mental confusion and having a limiting effect on intelligence, later research not only showed that bilingualism had some benefits, but “by the 1980s, the idea of Welsh and English as holistic, additive, and advantageous was beginning, allowing the idea of translanguaging to emerge” (Lewis et al. 2012a: 642). Likewise a shift in the perception of bilingualism can also be observed on a global scale as explained in sections 2 and 4.1. As Lewis et al. (2012: 643a) say, “‘bilingualism’ moved in the 20th century from being viewed (by many but not all) as a disadvantage to an advantage, from causing mental confusion to the benefits of dual language capability, from solitudes to synergies”.

As described earlier in this paper, languages are also being viewed differently in the classroom, and the tendency goes away from strict compartmentalisation but towards integrating two or more languages. This changing attitude towards bilingualism in education helps to explain why the term translanguaging has been expanded and taken up on a global level by researchers since its original development in Wales. Baker (2011: 288) explains that translanguaging “captur[es] the imagination of those who believe that teachers and particularly students naturally use both languages to maximize learning”. He offers a definition of translanguaging that describes it as “the process of making meaning, shaping experiences, gaining understanding and knowledge through the use of two languages” (Baker 2011: 39). With regard to this, Baker (2001, 2011) has drawn attention to four potential advantages of translanguaging in Wales:

- It may promote a deeper and fuller understanding of the subject matter.
- It may help the development of the weaker language.
- It may facilitate home-school links and co-operation.
- It may help the integration of fluent speakers with early learners.

With regard to the first advantage of deepening understanding, Baker (2011: 289) mentions that when students are taught monolingually, it is possible that students might not reach a full understanding of what they read or write as “[p]rocessing for meaning may not have occurred”. He argues that “[it] is less easy to do this with ‘translanguaging’. To read and discuss a topic in one language, and then to write about it in another language, means that the subject matter has to be processed and

‘digested’” (Baker 2011: 289). The first two aspects mentioned by Baker (2001, 2011) can be said to be relevant in CLIL classrooms as well, while the other two points do not apply to CLIL as it is understood in this paper.

All in all, this section shows that translanguaging has its roots in Wales, while the following section explains in more detail how the concept was expanded and then reapplied to bi- and multilingual classroom contexts.

4.2.2. Further development of translanguaging

Translanguaging was originally employed only with reference to classroom contexts and as a pedagogic theory; however, translanguaging and “potentially competing terms” extend this notion “beyond the realms of pedagogic strategy, to account for attested bilingual behavioural phenomena” (Moore & Nikula in press). For example, Canagarajah (2011b: 401) defines translanguaging as “the ability of multilingual speakers to shuttle between languages, treating the diverse languages that form their repertoires as an integrated system”. García and Li (2014: 21-22) claim that their take on translanguaging extends this concept even further. As García (2012: 1) states:

translanguaging posits that bilinguals have *one linguistic repertoire* from which they select features *strategically* to communicate effectively. That is, translanguaging takes as its starting point the *language practices of bilingual people as the norm*, and not the language of monolinguals, as described by traditional usage books and grammars (original emphasis).

In other words, translanguaging is here described as a tool that bi- and multilinguals rely on and use to “make sense of their bilingual worlds” and to communicate effectively (García 2009: 41). How profound and important research on translanguaging is, becomes even clearer, when we realise that more than half the people in the world use more than one language every day and can be said to be bilinguals (Grosjean 2010). Still, it needs to be noted that even though many researchers are now taking the position of dynamic bilingualism, this does not necessarily apply to bi- and multilinguals themselves. It can be argued that bilingual

speakers still have a clear social awareness of their languages, and might consider these separate to some extent.

García and Li (2014: 22-23) aim to clearly distinguish translanguaging from code-switching, or rather, explain that code-switching is only a possible feature of translanguaging. They explain this further using an analogy: codeswitching is compared to the language-switch on the iPhone; thus, when talking about code-switching “bilinguals are expected to ‘switch’ languages” (2014: 22). They note, however, that when writing text messages other semiotic resources, such as emoticons may be used, thus, the function of the language-switch becomes useless. Thus, “a translanguaging epistemology would be like turning off the language-switch function on the iPhone and enabling bilinguals to select features from their entire linguistic repertoire, and not solely from an inventory that is constrained by societal definitions of what is an appropriate ‘language’” (García & Li 2014: 23). This also illustrates that translanguaging is not restricted to spoken language, but can include a multitude of semiotic resources, such as written text, pictures, photographs, videos, gestures and mimic. Similarly, Moore and Nikula (in press) refer to Lewis et al. (2012b) when stating that translanguaging “incorporates codeswitching and code-mixing yet goes beyond them to embrace transfer, translation, calques, nonce borrowings, coinages and any multilingual strategy, verbal or non-verbal, which people might employ to convey meaning”.

Furthermore, Lewis et al. (2012b: 659) claim that code-switching is grounded in the field of linguistics focusing on the speech of bilinguals, whereas “translanguaging is essentially sociolinguistic, ecological, and situated”. Likewise, García and Li (2014) hold the view that translanguaging is based on sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic findings. Moreover, the difference between the two terms is also based on contrastive ideologies. As already mentioned, translanguaging has moved away from a language separation perspective that is associated with code-switching and “approves flexibility in language use and the permeability of learning through two or more languages” (Lewis et al. 2012b: 659).

The benefits of translanguaging within and without the classroom have been championed by numerous researchers and scholars, as the following sections will show in more detail. As described in the above paragraphs, translanguaging has been initially

defined as a pedagogic strategy in bilingual classrooms, and was later extended to bilingual behaviour in the outside-of-school environment. This extension of translanguaging has been reapplied to educational contexts and it now also refers to pedagogical approaches using “multiple discursive practices” (García 2009: 41), which include and allow for a greater variety of verbal and non-verbal language practices to express oneself and negotiate meanings. Lewis et al. (2012a: 644) point out that translanguaging is not simply about translation, but that it requires and develops cognitive processes. “[...] It moves from finding parallel words to processing and relaying meaning and understanding” (2012a: 644). They also emphasise that “translanguaging is a strong version of bilingual education that stresses bilingual processes in learning, rather than just bilingual outcomes. It accents that two (or more) languages are not just the result of bilingual education, but the very nature of how a bilingual thinks, understands and achieves” (Lewis et al. 2012b: 667). Furthermore, Hornberger and Link (2012: 274) ascertain that translanguaging can

offer new spaces to be exploited for innovative programs, curricula, and practices that recognize, value, and build on the multiple, mobile communicative repertoires, translanguaging and transnational literacy practices of students and their families.

Gierlinger (2015: 348) describes translanguaging as “a more radical stance towards a neatly compartmentalised monolingual approach” in the language classroom. He also adds that in translanguaging “the language practices of classroom participants are meant to confront and question linguistic inequality and increase participants’ multilingual symbolic capital” (ibid.). With regard to linguistic inequality, the importance of translanguaging is emphasised when it comes to language-minoritised students who are said to frequently suffer from traditional monolingual practices and, thus, cannot show their full potential. In this context, it is often accentuated that translanguaging is a “democratic” and “socially relevant” (García & Li 2014: 36) practice and bilingual theory that contributes to “social justice” (2014: 49) and welcomes “creativity, criticality and transformations” (2014: 66).

Lewis et al. (2012a: 650) explain that a further aspect of translanguaging is being researched, namely its neurological benefits. This means that researchers investigate “brain activity modulations when both languages are activated” and Lewis

et al. (2012a: 650) state that this “holds much for the future”. The neurological evidence gained might then be used to substantiate the claims already made in other fields with regard to the importance of bi- and multilingualism in education.

Before discussing research on translanguaging in educational contexts in the next section, it is also worthwhile to draw attention to the fact that a number of similar or related terms exist. García and Li (2014: 36) claim that heteroglossia is an umbrella term for all these competing terms citing Bailey (2007: 267) who states that “[h]eteroglossia can encompass socially meaningful forms in both bilingual and monolingual talk”. Lewis et al. (2012b: 656) rather list heteroglossia among the terms in competition with translanguaging. Other terms used are – to name a few – crossing, polylingualism, metrolingualism, multivocality, translingual practices and bilanguaging (García & Li 2014: 36-41). This list could be extended and all of these terms overlap in a number of ways. It is a terminological jungle and the question posed by Lewis et al. (2012b: 656) is: “Do they all refer to the same concept, or are there subtle variations and differences, or even different concepts? The danger, in breaking new ground is that we are setting up a maze of terminology”. They correctly identify the challenge in distinguishing these terms that all seem to be similar in some ways. In order to set off their conception of translanguaging from competing terms, García and Li (2014: 42-43) state that translanguaging

offers a transdisciplinary lens that combines sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic perspectives of the complex multimodal practices of multilingual interactions as social and cognitive acts able to transform not only semiotic systems and speaker subjectivities, but also socio-political structures.

Still, frequently other terms are used by researchers and scholars, even though they are referring to a very similar concept – the boundaries between the terms seem to be fluid. In this study, the term translanguaging is preferred and used as described above; however, in the following sections studies on translanguaging employing competing terms might be drawn upon.⁹

⁹ García and Li (2014: 36-43) offer a detailed description of similar terms and distinguish their understanding of translanguaging from these other concepts. In the same vein, Lewis et al. (2012b) account for these differences in their article “Translanguaging: developing its conceptualisation and contextualisation”.

4.3. Classroom research on codeswitching and translanguaging

4.3.1. Translanguaging in bi- and multilingual classrooms

The previous sections have focused on how the perception towards language use in language classrooms, whether they are bilingual, EFL, CLIL or other, is changing and becoming more open towards the employment of the students' mother tongue or the majority language.¹⁰ Also, the historical and conceptual development of translanguaging from classroom pedagogy to how it captures bilingual language behaviour in general has been investigated. This section now aims to answer in greater detail how this widened understanding of translanguaging can and has been re-applied to classroom contexts and, thus, reviews a number of studies that have explored translanguaging and codeswitching in language education contexts.¹¹

Research on translanguaging in educational environments has been conducted among others by Canagarajah (2011a, 2011b), Creese & Blackledge (2010), García and Sylvan (2011), Hornberger & Link (2012), Martin-Beltran (2014) and Li (2011). These studies are set in what Moore and Nikula (in press) refer to as “‘naturally multilingual’ contexts involving ‘minoritised’ speakers” and in so far are rather unlike CLIL classroom contexts, which usually refer to the use of a majority language as an instructional tool in the classroom and this majority language being not regularly employed in their wider outside-of-school environment (Dalton-Puffer et al. 2010: 1). Still, even if the contexts differ the results described in these studies are worthwhile to explore and the suggestions made by researchers with regard to translanguaging in the bilingual classroom might be adapted to CLIL contexts. All in all, these studies uniformly assert the usefulness of bi- and multilingual practices in the classroom and discourage strict language separation.

Creese and Blackledge's (2010) study, for example, focuses on a “flexible bilingual approach” (2010: 103) in Chinese and Gujarati community language schools in

¹⁰ Gierlinger (2015: 365) notes that he prefers the term majority language instead of mother tongue. He explains that often students had different mother tongues in his research context. The student participants in this study are less heterogeneous linguistically, thus, the terms L1 is employed to refer to German.

¹¹ This subchapter is a further development of a previous student paper (Tuder 2015) for the English for Academic Purposes class at the English Department of the University of Vienna.

the UK, identifying a number of translanguaging strategies in spoken classroom and school discourse. Their stance is that skills and knowledge are not different from one language to another, but that they interact and are interdependent across languages (2010: 103). An interesting observation is that translanguaging can be used as a style resource serving identity performance and, thus, is “more than a face-saving act to hide a lack of proficiency” (2010: 110). Another point made with regard to “identity work” is that moving between languages might be employed to create distance to the topic under discussion (2010: 11). These uses of translanguaging are also explored in the analysis section (section 6) and similar observations are made in the DLP lessons investigated. Thus, I agree with Creese and Blackledge (2010) who contend that their research lends empirical support to the claim that translanguaging enhances and supports “identity performance, lesson accomplishment, and participant confidence” (2010: 112). However, they also mention “the importance of responding to local circumstances” (2010: 107), thereby, acknowledging the need to explore different bilingual settings and adapt translanguaging practices accordingly. They are certainly correct in asserting “the need for further research to explore what ‘teachable’ pedagogic resources are available in flexible, concurrent approaches to learning” (Creese & Blackledge 2010: 113).

Canagarajah’s study (2011b) then also points out that translanguaging is not only a feature of spoken discourse but also part of writing practice. In his study he explores and describes the translanguaging strategies of a multilingual student in her essay writing. Although his study has its limitations focusing on a single student, he draws attention to a number of important issues. While he mentions translanguaging to be a “naturally occurring phenomenon for multilingual students”, he believes that translanguaging needs to be taught; a point that in his opinion has been neglected by other studies (2011b: 402). This is an interesting though controversial claim. Translanguaging regards the use of the bi- and multilingual repertoire as natural, thus, it seems to go against the grain of the concept to teach translanguaging behaviour. Furthermore, translanguaging can include numerous semiotic resources, and it would seem to be a difficult task to ‘teach’ translanguaging. Rather, it can be argued that the classroom should open up spaces for students to try out their linguistic repertoire in a safe and encouraging environment. Linked to this issue is his assertion that there is still

a need to identify teachable strategies, and that the way to do this is to observe multilingual students' language practices while they simultaneously "work toward the development of [their] translanguaging proficiency" (Canagarajah 2011b: 415). In his study, four broad translanguaging categories emerged, namely recontextualisation, voice, interactional and textualisation strategies, though he remarks that this is not an exhaustive list (Canagarajah 2011b: 415). Mazak and Herbas-Donoso (2014: 5) aptly summarise that Canagarajah's "emphasis on the process of the graduate student exploring the ways in which she can use all of her communicative repertoire as an integrated system shows how translanguaging in texts is strategic". Also Canagarajah (2011b: 416) addresses the question in how far this "codemeshed writing" is useful for students in their wider environment or as academic writers and whether employing bilingual resources in writing could be an accepted practice and helpful to retain your 'voice' in writing.

Canagarajah's (2011b) study is complemented by Velasco and García's (2014) research, who also investigated translanguaging in writing. They argue that in all of the stages of the writing process, namely planning, editing and production, bilingual strategies can be usefully employed (2014: 20). However, they also point out that even though all of the texts they looked at were written by bilinguals, some student writers used no bilingual resources at all. Possible reasons suggested for this are "strict adherence to the language separation that dual-language programs enforce" or that these students employ other strategies than translanguaging in writing (2014: 21). Nevertheless, Velasco and García (2014: 21) still assert that for those students who employed their bilingual resources translanguaging represented an important strategy. It "allowed [them] to solve challenges in language comprehension and production when creating their own text and conveying their unique voices" (ibid.).

Martin-Beltrán's study (2014) is based on sociocultural theory and focuses on the use of translanguaging among linguistically diverse peers and how learning opportunities are created in their interactions employing translanguaging. She investigates the transcripts of these interactions from an explicitly socio-cultural stance employing so-called microgenetic methods for analysis. These methods "offer a moment-by-moment explanatory account" (Martin-Beltran 2014: 214) of what happens in the discourse implying that the language behaviour of the students is

studied in great detail. The findings suggest that “drawing upon wider linguistic repertoires creates a more equitable learning context because more students are recognized as legitimate participants in academic literacy practices” (2014: 226). Martin-Beltrán (2014: 226) also contends that “translanguaging can become a tool for learning when students are able to consider multiple perspectives of semiotic systems, which may lead to deeper understandings of literacy”.

Another interesting study has been conducted by Palmer, Martínez, Mateus, and Henderson (2014) exploring the “dynamic bilingual practices” (2014: 768) of two bilingual teachers in their classrooms. They assert that their study further illustrates the inherent potential in translanguaging in the classroom and they “posit that modeling and engaging in dynamic bilingualism, celebrating hybridity and moments of metalinguistic commentary, and positioning children as competent bilinguals could be potentially powerful translanguaging pedagogies” (Palmer et al. 2014: 768). They even used their results to offer “potential translanguaging instructional strategies” including:

- (a) modeling dynamic bilingual language practices,
- (b) positioning students as bilingual (even before they are), and
- (c) celebrating and drawing attention to language crossing (2014: 757)

Point (c), for example, refers to the valuing of metalinguistic knowledge as well as the noticing of similarities and differences between languages. Furthermore, it suggests “drawing on bilingual children’s linguistic resources as tools for learning” in the classroom (2014: 767).

In sum, these and other studies on translanguaging provide substantial evidence that translanguaging should be accepted and encouraged in the classroom and, thus, they uniformly advocate a shift away from dual to dynamic bilingualism. Canagarajah (2011b: 8) summarises that translanguaging research has shown that it “is a naturally occurring phenomenon for multilingual students”. Thus far, research seems to confirm that translanguaging in the classroom can be helpful along the path of becoming a bilingual language user.

4.3.2. Translanguaging and code-switching in CLIL

As already mentioned, a crucial difference between European CLIL classrooms and the bilingual education contexts explored in the studies mentioned above is that, though CLIL focuses on the teaching of a non-language content subject in a majority language, this language is usually not used in the students' outside of school environment (Dalton-Puffer & Smit 2013: 546). However, recently there has been an uptake of the notion of translanguaging to investigate more homogenous classroom settings, such as CLIL in Europe. In their book *Translanguaging* García and Li (2014) also briefly mention translanguaging in connection to CLIL and state that "this new acceptance of translanguaging in CLIL programs signals another promising space" (2014: 77), still saying that the way translanguaging as understood in this context seems to be "closer to the Welsh original definition" (ibid.). Furthermore, studies on codeswitching have frequently adopted a stance that is closely related to translanguaging and are less focused on language separation than was previously the case. Thus, studies on translanguaging in CLIL environments as well as a number of studies on codeswitching in CLIL will be drawn upon in order to explore how translanguaging might also open up new possibilities in more linguistically homogenous classrooms, namely in European CLIL-teaching and -learning contexts. These studies can also contribute to overall translanguaging research by identifying their own translanguaging practices in their own local CLIL contexts and relating them to previous non-CLIL studies. In the following paragraphs, studies that have focused on codeswitching and translanguaging in CLIL settings, and thus on the question of language choice, are reviewed.

To begin with, a study conducted by Nikula (2007) in Finnish CLIL classrooms using English makes no reference to the term translanguaging; however, Nikula (2007: 206) points out that "earlier research on CLIL has tended to focus on matters of language learning or content mastery rather than on details of classroom interaction". In her study, she already labels the CLIL classroom as a "bilingual space" (2007: 206) and the students as emergent bilinguals and, thus, moves her study on codeswitching in the direction of translanguaging research. This shows that bilingual awareness can be said to be older than the term 'translanguaging'. The results also show that Finnish (L1) or combined language use was not dependent on "insufficient language skills"

(Nikula 2007: 214) in English, but either on the switch being “in itself meaningful and motivated by interactional or social reason”, or on the meaningfulness of “the co-occurrence and concurrent use of two languages” (Nikula 2007: 214). These observations can also be linked to the results mentioned in the previous section that bilingual resources are often used for ‘identity work’.

Gené Gil, Garau and Salazar Noguera (2012) compare oral language choice in CLIL and EFL secondary education contexts in Spain. They structure the choice between the target language and the L1s depending on whether it can be considered planned or unplanned discourse. They noticed an increased use of the target language in planned discourse. Furthermore, in the EFL classroom teachers and students adhere to target language use to a high extent, while the language use in the CLIL lessons is more varied. Commenting on Gené Gil et al.’s study (2012) Moore and Nikula (in press) point out that it “is clearly initially cast within monolingual paradigms”; for example, Gené Gil et al. (2012: 133ff) explain the concept of translanguaging, but then refer to it as a type of code-switching. Furthermore, Gené Gil et al.’s concluding remarks are described by Moore and Nikula (in press) as “something of a catharsis”, as Gené Gil et al. (2012: 140-143) describe the L1 as “a source of relief and support” with teachers resorting to the L1, while still stating that “the L1 was not a rival of the TL” and saying that this “may be accounted for by the new multilingual perspective in FL teaching”.

Kontio and Sylvén (2015) investigate learner-initiated and teacher-impelled language alternations in a vocational upper secondary CLIL and EFL context using ethnography as well as referring to the greater sociolinguistic background. What distinguishes their study from more traditional codeswitching studies is that they too acknowledge the points made with regard to translanguaging and heteroglossia, that these “related terms refer to the fact that languages are not countable units that exist independently” (Kontio & Sylvén 2015: 2). Still, they stress that in their opinion the use of “the arbitrary expressions ‘languages’ or ‘the language’ [...] in order to refer to collections of idiolects and varieties culturally recognised” (ibid.) is indeed necessary. They justify this by saying that this “simplified concretisation” allows to “approach the issues that de facto are at stake” (ibid.). The results of their study show a very strict adherence to the monolingual norm in the EFL classrooms, while the CLIL workshop context displays a variety of language alternation instances. Language alternation is

either used “as a meta-language to play around with language” or employed strategically in order to explain problems. They compare their results to Nikula’s (2007) study mentioned above and summarise that the use of all the students’ and teachers’ communicative resources is observed in contexts where students deal with hands-on problems and want to gain mutual understanding to solve these issues (Kontio & Sylvén 2015: 11).

Lasagabaster (2013) views the language choice question from the perspective of the teachers polling their attitudes towards L1 use. His results show that there are five main categories in which L1 use was approved of by the teachers:

- i) to help students’ understanding of instructions and concepts
- ii) to make L1 and L2 comparisons
- iii) to feel comfortable in the CLIL class
- iv) to boost debate
- v) to deal with disciplinary issues (Lasagabaster 2013: 8)

As pointed out by Moore and Nikula (in press), “these beliefs were largely intuitive” as teachers were not instructed on how and when to use the L1. Thus, while Lasagabaster (2013) believes that the use of the L1 may have positive effects in the CLIL classroom, he argues for a more “principled use of the L1” in favour of the “randomized practice” that has also been shown in his study (Lasagabaster 2013: 17).

Another recent article by Gierlinger (2015) is concerned with the use of codeswitching in CLIL classrooms and indicates a lack of research in this direction. In contrast to the “randomized practice” observed by Lasagabaster (2013: 17), Gierlinger’s longitudinal study seems to confirm that codeswitching by teachers “follows an educationally principled approach” (2015: 347) and, thus, is motivated by and adjusted to the contextual needs. Though Gierlinger refers to codeswitching specifically, he also looks at some aspects of the classroom contexts through a translanguaging lens. For example, he mentions that in the CLIL classrooms explored, “teachers did not necessarily see themselves as the ever-dominant linguistic authorities but instead to a certain extent as other language learners” (2015: 363). Furthermore, similar to other codeswitching research his take on codeswitching is not motivated by a deficit view that regards it simply as a “lack of lexical resources” and, thus, “a negative and avoidable technique”. He also states that quite “[o]n the contrary, the non-language specialists even reported on using their vocabulary deficits

as an incentive to involve their students into a joint and more democratic learning process” (2015: 363). This shows that code-switching in the way as Gierlinger uses it is close to the concept of translanguaging.

Furthermore, Lin and Wu’s (2014) recent study of another CLIL context, specifically a science class taught in English, has shown that using the students’ native language Cantonese can enhance understanding and also allow them to show their understanding of English language use in the classroom, if they are allowed to speak Cantonese as well. While this study is rather small-scale, it further contributes to previously mentioned research that has provided support for translanguaging in bilingual classrooms.

Gallagher and Colohan’s study (2014: 5) has also taken a look at translanguaging in a CLIL classroom and explores whether “codeswitching/translanguaging between the native language and the language of instruction during content-related tasks might prove a useful technique for drawing students’ attention to particular grammatical points in the CLIL vehicular language.” Slightly confusing is that they seem to use the terms codeswitching and translanguaging synonymously, the definition of both corresponding largely to today’s understanding of translanguaging. This might indicate that translanguaging still needs to be more carefully defined; however, it is questionable whether unanimous understanding of this concept will ever be reached. Gallagher and Colohan’s findings substantiate calls for “focused, planned and targeted use of the L1 through bilingual instructional techniques” (2014: 11) and they note that the techniques presented in their article are adaptable to other contexts than CLIL.

Current research that is focusing explicitly on translanguaging in CLIL is conducted, for example, by Moore & Nikula (in press). They draw attention to the fact that though codeswitching research on CLIL exists, “the concept has been used in a way that highlights the essentially binary nature of switching” (Moore & Nikula in press). As a result, they point out that “if we accept a holistic view of language, we need a model that can do justice to it” – and they suggest translanguaging as such a model. They investigate in-situ bilingual classroom practices of both teachers and learners and categorise the translanguaging episodes they found in their multi-sited data set in two ways. Their method of categorisation is also employed in this study

and, thus, is described more thoroughly in section 5. The results of their research show that translanguaging is “an effective communication strategy” and that “CLIL has the potential to go beyond FL as typically conceived, to contribute to the development of functioning bilinguals” (Moore & Nikula in press).

This and the previous section review a number of research publications that have investigated translanguaging in language education. On the whole, the results are very positive; however, drawbacks of the studies often are that teachers and schools do not follow an explicit translanguaging approach; thus, translanguaging is rather incidental and intuitive and does not take the form of an explicit pedagogy. Still, the presence of translanguaging in language classrooms is evident and a great number of researchers agree on its validity and usefulness in educational contexts for a variety of reasons, such as increasing (academic) language proficiency, creating space and identity work.

5. The study

5.1. Methodology

5.1.1. Classroom research

In general, this study belongs to the greater field of classroom research involving the collection of qualitative data (see Dörnyei 2007). The research data in this thesis is drawn from one main source, namely audio-recordings and subsequent transcriptions of four lessons in an Austrian DLP classroom. Furthermore, the materials used and produced in the lessons are analysed.

Dörnyei (2007) describes three particular features of classroom research. He mentions “classroom observation” (Dörnyei 2007: 176), “mixed methods research” (ibid.) and he also identifies “challenges” (2007: 177) of research in this particular setting. The latter aspect is addressed by Schachter and Gass (1996: viii) who say

Reports of research projects make it all look so simple. [...] There is no indication of the blood, sweat, and tears that go into getting permission to undertake the project, that go into actual data collection, that go just into transcription, and so forth.

In the case of this study, this description is certainly exaggerated; however, some challenges had to be faced, some frustration needed to be overcome and my timeframe adapted accordingly before research could actually be conducted. For prospective classroom researchers, it is useful to be aware of the fact that permission of various parties is needed. Teachers as well as the principal of the school need to be asked whether they want to participate, and also parents need to be contacted to give their permission for their children to participate. Furthermore, the local school board, in my context the Vienna Board of Education, needs to be contacted and it will ask for a number of documents to be handed in. Depending on the usefulness and purposefulness of the study from the perspective of the board, permission will either be given or not. Thus, several weeks need to be spent organising the study including a possible waiting period of several weeks – only then will you know whether the school board has accepted the research proposal or dismisses it.

5.1.2. Classroom discourse analysis

With regard to the analysis of the data, the main focus of this study is on the discourse of two DLP teachers and their students during the four lessons that were observed and recorded. As pointed out by Moore and Nikula (in press) teacher and learner language use are of equal interest as the participants can be regarded “as bilinguals and language users in a bilingual environment”. The analysis can be considered multi-modal (see, for example, Jewitt (ed.) 2003) as some attention is drawn to the small data-set of materials used in class; however, non-verbal resources such as posture, gaze and gesture are only included to a very limited extent as only audio-recordings were made.

The main goal of this study is to explore which translanguaging practices can be identified in the Austrian DLP lessons, for what reasons translanguaging is employed and in how far translanguaging can be considered useful in these DLP lessons. As Dörnyei (2007: 37) points out, qualitative research is characterized by an “emergent research design”, thus there is “no aspect of the research design that is tightly prefigured” and the “study is kept open and fluid so that it can respond in a flexible way to new details or openings that may emerge during the process of investigation” (ibid.). In agreement with Dörnyei (2007), this study also tries to remain flexible with regard to the analysis of translanguaging instances and is exploratory and interpretative in nature. The study of Lo (2014: 276), for example, uses a taxonomy of functions and also analyses the use of different functions statistically. This study focuses more on what Lo names “patterns of language use” (276), but also tries to determine the functions of translanguaging and compares instances of translanguaging with those found in other studies. Thus, this study chooses the same approach as Moore and Nikula (in press) in their analysis and employs the “tools of qualitative classroom discourse analysis to discuss what appears to be happening”. Nevertheless, two tables give quantitative information to support and emphasise the qualitative analysis.

Research into classroom discourse dates back at least forty-five years and has since become “an important direction in applied linguistic and education research” having as its goal an increased understanding of “the nature and implications of

classroom interaction (Zuengler & Mori 2002: 283). Early studies into classroom discourse investigated “students and teachers engaged in using their native language”; however, a greater variety of classrooms is explored today from “second and foreign language classrooms, multilingual/multicultural classes in various subject matter areas, different age groups [...] and to classrooms in many different countries” (Zuengler & Mori 2002: 284). Zuengler and Mori (2002: 283) note that the field of research into classroom discourse has become more and more heterogeneous over time.¹²

Among this great variety of classrooms investigated is also the Austrian DLP classroom explored in this study; by conducting microanalyses of the classroom discourse, I try to provide evidence for the existence of translanguaging in this classroom context and the variability in its use as already mentioned. In order to do so, I marked all translanguaging instances in the transcripts by using italics to indicate German language use and standard font for English. As the transcripts show quite clearly, the target language was most dominantly employed during the lessons. These translanguaging episodes were then divided into two categories that have been suggested by Moore and Nikula (in press), namely the use of bilingual resources “Orienting to Language in Content” and those “Orienting to Flow of Interaction”. Like Moore and Nikula (in press), I also planned to group translanguaging episodes using a taxonomy of functions; however, the instances are so varied that I also decided to opt for a “more holistic exploratory approach” (Moore & Nikula in press). As the two-fold way of categorising translanguaging in this study turned out to be insufficient to group all of the instances clearly, I chose to create another category that lists miscellaneous translanguaging episodes. In this study also the materials used and produced in class are investigated. The use of the blackboard, visuals, computer and beamer, an online bilingual dictionary, handouts and mobile phones are described in the analysis section and I will draw attention to notable examples of translanguaging in these materials and resources in a similar way as in the analysis of the transcripts.

A point that needs to be kept in mind is that classroom discourse analysis involves “the potential mismatch between intention and interpretation – between the teacher’s intention and the learner’s interpretation, on the one hand, and between the

¹² For more information on and overviews of classroom discourse and research in this field see, for example, Walsh (2011) or Cazden (2001)

teacher's and learner's intention and the observer's interpretation, on the other" (Kumaravadivelu 1999: 458). Likewise, this study is also of an interpretative nature and inherently subjective as it is based on the interpretation of a single researcher. Still, classroom discourse analysis allows us to view discourse and context in connection with each other in that "larger linguistic units" are investigated. In this respect, the classroom is viewed "as a social event and [...] as a minisociety" (ibid.). According to Kumaravadivelu (1999: 458) this means that "the experience of teachers and learners within this minisociety" is foregrounded. Seedhouse and Walsh (2010: 131) note that classroom discourse differs from ordinary conversation in that it is goal-oriented and aimed at an objective. For example, in the investigated DLP classrooms certain aims and objectives with regard to language use are in place, thus, both institutional and teacher goals are likely to affect classroom discourse and as a result the use of translanguaging in the DLP classrooms is affected as well.

An issue that has been encountered in the analysis of translanguaging also by other researchers is that it is "difficult to describe what happens in translanguaging as process because the language that we continue to use reflects the social categories of autonomous languages" (García & Li 2014: 52). Similarly, this problem has been identified by Moore and Nikula (in press) and Kontio and Sylvén. The latter (2015) employ "simplified concretisation" in order to be able to describe translanguaging instances as mentioned in section 4.3.2. Thus, also with regard to the analysis in this paper, there is a certain difficulty to avoid the terminology of a more monoglossic stance. Even though this terminology is employed, the background of this study is still that of dynamic bilingualism and translanguaging. In other words, languages are not seen as inherently separate entities, but as belonging to one repertoire of the speaker. Mazak and Herbas-Donoso (2014: 10), who also explore classroom translanguaging practices, aptly point out that traditional codeswitching analysis "misses the complexity" of what is happening in the classroom as it is solely focused on the linguistic codes; however, "by looking at the data grounded in a theory of translanguaging [...] the complexity and deeply bilingual, multi-modal nature of the observed classroom practices are revealed".

5.2. Participants

In order to collect relevant data to investigate translanguaging in CLIL, it was necessary to find a school offering a CLIL programme and willing to participate in my small-scale study. An AHS (Allgemein Höhere Schule), an academic secondary school, located in Vienna offering the Viennese Dual Language Programme agreed to me recording DLP lessons in the context of this study. For a description of the Viennese DLP programme and how it is implemented in this school see section 3.4. The participants of this small-scale study are two AHS teachers as well as a class of 7th grade students aged 16-17. Both teachers are certified English teachers, while their second subject, which is also their CLIL/DLP subject, differs. The male teacher also teaches Geography and Economics (GE) and the female teacher Religious Education (RE). Another participant is the female native-speaker teacher (NS-T) present in the GE lessons as support for the GE teacher.

In total, four lessons were audio-recorded and afterwards transcribed, two in the Religious Education class and two in the Geography and Economics class. Figure 2 below outlines how many students were present in each lesson and which lesson was taught by which teacher. In the analysis and discussion of the results, abbreviations are used to refer to the lessons (Le1, Le2, Le3, Le4). Furthermore, abbreviations are used for the different teachers and students.

	Subject	Teachers	Students (female)	Students (male)	Students (total)
Lesson 1 – Le1	RE	T1 (female)	3	1	4
Lesson 2 – Le2	GE	T2 (male), NS-T (female)	13	9	22
Lesson 3 – Le3	RE	T1	5	2	7
Lesson 4 – Le4	GE	T2, NS-T	13	8	21

Figure 2 Information on the four lessons investigated

Figure 3 below also shows that in lesson 2 group work was used for part of the lessons; however, not all groups could be recorded, but three out of four were chosen at random.

	Students (female)	Students (male)	Students (total)
Group 1 (G1)	4	0	4
Group 2 (G2)	4	0	4
Group 3 (G3)	0	4	4

Figure 3 Distribution of students in group work in lesson 2

Gender differences are not regarded in this study, still this information is included, as it might be interesting to see that, for example, the groups recorded were either entirely female or male. Whether this has any effect on the language performance/use of the students is not investigated.

As already mentioned, the students all belong to the same class; however, in the two lessons recorded in the Geography lesson most students were participating, while in one of the RE lessons only four students were present and in the second the full number of seven students as shown in Figure 1. The reason for the smaller number of RE students is that, in Austria, students are allowed to choose whether they want to participate in RE lessons at the age of 16. (<http://www.schulamt.at/index.php/religionsunterricht/faq/96-abmeldung-vom-religionsunterricht>, 5 Feb. 2016).

In the lessons recorded for this study, it becomes apparent that the students are generally very motivated to participate in class. Many students show a high command of their language skills and flexibility and creativity in their language use, as the later analysis of the transcripts demonstrates. This is likely to be due to the fact that the students have participated in the DLP for several years. Also, most students have middle and upper middle class backgrounds. All in all, the class is rather homogeneous with regard to the language skills of the students, their age, their social background, school history and their mother tongue German. Very interesting is the following classroom episode, which shows the positive attitude of students towards the DLP programme and that it is linked to prestige.

Extract 1 (Le1)

- T: *mhm und auch wenns nicht im maturazeugnis steht stehen wird dass ihr DLP habt*
Sf: *das find ich blöd*
T: *ja das ist wegen der neuen reifepprüfung so das war bis vor 2 jahren so dass es noch drinnen stand jetzt stehts nicht mehr drinnen ist es ja egal es geht ja vor allem darum dass ihr in der lage seid euch auf englisch auch auszudrücken in einem fachkontext deswegen machen wir das jetzt ehm ich zeig euch noch einmal etwas das euch dabei hilft und ich versuch jetzt einfach mal auf englisch weiterzureden das stört euch ja nicht*

Here, not only the teacher but also the students express disappointment about the fact that their participation in this programme is not mentioned in their final school certificate.

5.3. Procedure

The researcher was present during these lessons to set up the recording devices, to observe and take field notes. The teachers and students were ensured that the recordings were totally anonymous and only used in the context of this thesis. Conversation between researcher and teacher after the recorded lessons confirmed that the lessons were held as usual with only minimal effects of the recording devices on the behaviour of students and teachers. One teacher noted that students might have participated more actively than usual being proud to some extent that their DLP classroom was chosen as a research site. Some instances during the lessons show that the recording devices may have influenced the students as extract 1 exemplifies:¹³

Extract 2 (Le1)

- T1: *Tina du fühlst dich vom mikrofon ein bisschen sehr nah betreut*
Tina: *ja*
T1: *du lehnst dich sogar zurück beim reden keine sorge keine sorge das vergess ma einfach das mikro*
Tina: *ja und dann paradise with*

Due to space and time limitations the recording devices had to be placed on the students' desks, in this case right in front of the student Tina. Though there is clear reference to the device, the student and teacher seem to forget the presence of the device quickly again or ignore it to a large extent. Tina, for example, immediately goes on to focus on the task without being asked to do so by the teacher. In general, the

¹³ In all extracts, pseudonyms are used to refer to specific students.

students and teachers do not seem to be actively aware of the recording devices, and act as always. Also, the students were not aware that the aim of this study was to investigate translanguaging, thus, their language use was probably not greatly influenced.

5.4. Transcription process and conventions

The data analysed for this study consists to a great part of transcriptions of audio-recorded classroom interaction. To supplement the audio-recordings, I also observed the lessons taking notes that were likely to improve and simplify the transcription process. Still, the transcript can never provide a full picture of what has taken place in the classroom. Some limitations include that not every single utterance can be transcribed as some are whispered and, thus, not audible on the recording. At some points during the lessons parallel conversations took place between students that could not be transcribed accurately. Walsh (2011: 68) has identified background noise as an obstacle in the transcription process. This was also the case in this study, and thus, some passages could not be accurately transcribed and several passages had to be omitted entirely. In the transcription process of Le2 a predominant issue was that three separate groups were recorded, while four groups were working at the same time in the same rather small classroom. Thus, there is a lot of background noise in the recordings and it is frequently difficult to distinguish group members and which utterances belong to which group. As a result, the transcriptions are partially incomplete and fragmentary. Nevertheless, these fragments are still meaningful for the analysis.

The transcription focuses on the language choices made by students and teachers; thus, German language use is indicated using italics. The transcription intends to be clear, but not too detailed. It pays attention to details, such as pauses and intonation; overlapping speech, for example, is not indicated in the transcription as this level of detail is not necessary for the analysis and interpretation of translanguaging in this study. The full transcription conventions used can be found in the appendix.

6. Analysis

6.1. Orienting to language in content

While the previous sections have given information on the background and methodology used in this study, this section deals with the analysis of the four classroom transcripts with regard to translanguaging instances that are “orienting to language in content” (Moore & Nikula in press). The transcript extracts given all have an explicit focus on language and “participants orient to language in order to facilitate content learning”. As in the following sections of the analysis, not all relevant extracts can be included; however, they can be considered representative of the translanguaging in these lessons in general.

In Le1 the RE teacher starts talking in German as this has been the language of instruction for the previous lessons since the beginning of the school year. The class has not been taught through a CLIL approach until this particular lesson, although in the years before CLIL had been used in the RE classroom frequently. The teacher explains that this has to do with the pressure of covering content, while only having one RE lesson a week. After this explanation various instances of translanguaging can be identified throughout the lesson. Moore and Nikula (in press) have found “that translanguaging in content learning largely revolves around key lexis”. Likewise, in this lesson and the other lessons investigated this seems to be the case as extract 1 shows:

Extract 3 (Le1)

T1: language triptych hm interesting word triptych isn't it? you have that tri at the beginning and it already shows you that it is a threefolded system *heißt eigentlich flügelalter* interesting in our context isn't it mhm good so we have three very very good areas ehm the first one's language through learning the second one is language of learning and the third one is language for learning hm any ideas? what the different columns are all about where where would you place content? content the things that you learn where would you place it?

In this extract the term ‘language triptych’ is explained and cross-linguistic comparison employed as the teacher points out that ‘tri’ refers to the term being threefold as well as drawing attention to its literal translation to German. Thus, the teacher focuses the students’ attention on the fact that the word ‘triptych’ might be used in a number of ways and that its literal translation is also very interesting in the context of the subject

RE. By referring to the words prefix, tri-, which is derived from Latin and Greek, T1 draws on her students “underlying language proficiency” (Cummins 2007: 23). Using such cross-linguistic transfer is viewed very positively by Cummins (2007: 233) who says: “[L]earning efficiencies can be achieved if teachers explicitly draw students’ attention to similarities and differences between their languages”. Particularly interesting about this extract is also that the teacher topicalises CLIL in this extract and uses the language triptych model to further the students’ meta-knowledge as section 5.5.4. on the material used in the classroom further explains.

The main topic of Le1 and Le3 is the discussion and interpretation of bible passages. The teacher has already posed three questions in German in the typical format that also their final spoken exam will take (reproduction, transfer and problem solving). The students have also already discussed and answered the first question in German in a previous lesson. Before repeating this answer in English, T1 asks the students to translate the question first. While translating, the three columns of the language triptych model are filled with vocabulary and grammar points on the blackboard, and finally with the content discussed previously. In the following extract the students begin to translate the question “Arbeite die Aussage von Ri 9,7-15 für die altorientalische Hörerschaft heraus”. The students work on the translation as a team with some assistance of T1. By using her bilingual resources in line 4 she draws the students’ attention to the fact that though the word ‘Aussage’ might be translated as ‘statement’ or ‘quote’, this is not the meaning that this lexical item implies in this question. By using the German synonym ‘Botschaft’ the students can easily find the more suitable equivalent word ‘message’ and proceed in their collaborative effort of translating.

Extract 4 (Le1)

Natalie: transfer work on the state-

Sf: quote

Paul: quote

Sf: quote statement

T: *oh aussage ich meine hier nicht als aussage wie ich sage etwas sondern botschaft*

Isabell: message

Sf: ja message

T: message brilliant

Later on, the students start translating the next question. While translating the students consistently engage in creative and playful bilingual language use. An example is Extract 5a below:

Extract 5a (Le1)

1. Sf: for the old orientalic @
2. Isabel: @@
3. Sf: *xx übersetz das immer wörtlich*
4. T: old it's not
5. Sf: *hörerschaft*
6. Sf: <speaks with english accent> *hörerschaft* </speaks with english accent> @
7. Sf: <speaks with english accent> *hörerschaft* </speaks with english accent> @
8. Isabel: @@
9. T: *kennt ihr kennt ihr das wort für altrömisch altgriechisch antik eigentlich*
10. SS: ancient ancient
11. T: ancient very good
12. Isabel : ancient orientalic
13. T: oriental
14. Tina: ancient oriental *hörerschaft* @
15. T: *hörerschaft*

In the first utterance Sf creates the word 'orientalic' as a translation of the word 'orientalisch'. Her and Isabel's laughter as well as her comment that she always 'translates literally' show that she is well aware that this word does not exist. The word 'orientalic' can be said to be an example for creative language use as it merges German and English language resources. Sf overgeneralizes that in German the word 'orientalisch' ends with the suffix -ish, and chooses the English suffix -ic for her translation. In line 13 the teacher corrects Isabel using the correct word 'oriental'. In lines 6 and 7 the students also playfully use their knowledge of accents and pronounce the word 'hörerschaft' with an English accent for humorous purposes. Furthermore, T1 goes on to employ German when drawing attention to another vocabulary item, namely 'altrömisch'. She provides linguistic scaffolding and, thus, simplifies the translation task using the German synonym 'antik', which the students are able to translate easily. A similar translanguaging technique is employed in the next extract with regard to the word 'hörerschaft':

Extract 5b (Le1)

16. T: *hörerschaft*
17. Lukas: listener

- 18. Tina: listener
- 19. T: *mmmh mehr so im sinne von publikum*
- 20. SS: audience
- 21. Tina: *aber nicht public bitte @*
- 22. SS: @@
- 23. T: @
- 24. Tina: <pvc> publicum </pvc> @

T1 is aware that the students struggle again trying to translate the word in a literal manner using 'listener'. Thus, she uses the more frequently used German synonym 'Publikum' and does not simply translate the word for them. Thereby, their metalinguistic awareness with regard to synonyms and existing linguistic knowledge is activated, as the students immediately reply with the word 'audience'. Tina also uses her linguistic knowledge for humorous purposes saying that 'Publikum' means something different than 'public'. She also coins the word 'publicum', a merger between these terms, and can be said to use her linguistic resources in a creative manner. Their teacher also joins in the students' laughter, thus, showing that she basically condones this language usage. As will be shown later, T1 also is not afraid to demonstrate that she too is still a language learner.

In Le4 students take turns reading an article from an English website, and difficult and unknown vocabulary items are discussed. Extract 6 from Le4 again demonstrates that translanguaging is used to refer to a lexical item. In this extract T2 provides a literal translation of a word, while NS-T paraphrases its meaning using the context of voting as described in the article. This probably leads to a student translating the word 'pandering' using the German phrase 'honig ums maul schmieren', which more clearly illustrates what the text is trying to say. Here the student's use of translanguaging is definitely beneficial and gives indication of her linguistic creativity and that she uses her whole linguistic repertoire for meaning making.

Extract 6 (Le4)

- T2: ja pandering is *befriedigen* (.) it's actually a sticky term
- NS-T: pandering is kind of like (.) ehm ya playing to one particular audience (.) in this in this case just to get their vote even if maybe you aren't really going to do exactly what you say you are going to do or (.) bu you want their votes so for a short period of time you like all everything they want to hear (.) so that they'll vote you pandering
- Sf: *honig ums maul schmieren*
- T2: *honig ums maul schmieren* sounds good (.) go on

Creese and Blackledge (2010: 111) refer to Martin's (2005) concept of "bilingual label quests" when "the teacher elicits labels from the students" so that the teaching takes place bilingually. In extract 7 below T2 and NS-T try to elicit the German translation of the term 'austerity' referring to the contexts in which it has been used in the media. As students still do not answer, T2 provides the translation in these contexts but also offers some more information by saying that 'austere' also means '*karg* and *enthaltssam*'. So, the quest for the correct label here takes place bilingually in that the term is used in both languages and explanations are given in English. By using the English explanations T2 and NS-T appeal to the students' existing knowledge regarding foreign affairs and relatively current news.

Extract 7 (Le4)

- T2: thank you (.) ehm austerity is something that's as a word that has been used a lot these past couple of years especially when (.) but but not only talking about Greece (.) so austerity measures (.) any idea what that means (.) austere
- NS-T: lots of protests about them this summer in Greece lots
- T2: well a nice word is *sparmaßnahmen* (.) yeah austerity is also if you live like its *karg* and *enthaltssam* ehm (.) but austerity measures have been put in place in many European countries after (.) ah the financial crisis (.) why are you clicking so much by the way?

In the following extract the focus lies again on an important lexical item. T1 asks for the translation of the word 'literally' pretending she has forgotten what it means. Isabel then translanguages in order to answer the question. This instance can be compared to what Kontio and Sylvén (2015: 2) refer to as "teacher-impelled alternation" explaining that it

occurs when the teacher uses one language in his/her turn to encourage learners to take a turn in the other language, for example, asking in Swedish for the equivalent of an English word, in a jocular manner repeating a Swedish word or by pretending not to understand words uttered in Swedish.

Extract 8 (Le1)

- T1: absolutely you said you shouldn't take it literally {writes 'literally on board'} mhm (4) but I forgot what literally means
- Isabel: *mh also wortwörtlich*
- T1: very good {writes on board} I see that you are really warming to the task please continue (.) continue like this

The next extract is taken from Le2, where the students work in groups answering on a number of questions. After negotiating the correct English word choice for 'aufgeteilt', students have opted for 'distributed' instead of the initial suggestion 'spread'. Their search for the right synonym takes place employing bilingual resources. In Extract 9 NS-T joins their group and when they use the word 'distribute', she explains that 'distribute' evokes the idea of cards being spread out, which is not suitable for this context. Here, a paraphrase is perfectly suitable as it can make the students aware that while 'aufteilen' might be used for both cards and children, in English different word choices need to be made.

Extract 9 (Le2, Group 1)

Sf: ja ehm should offer free language classes children should be distributed

NS-T: distributed? xx

Sf: ja

NS-T: ehm sounds a bit like I don't know cards or something (2) yeah I guess they should be spread out among different

Finally, extract 10 shows that translanguaging orienting to language in content can also mean that multimodal resources are employed. In this extract, T2 asks the students how the government can raise money for its budget. Sf immediately offers one possible way but then hesitates as she is not aware of the second option. So, T2 uses gestures instead of vocal language to help her find the solution. Sf is not immediately able to make sense of T2's gestures and says "strip club", which results in laughter of all participants. Finally, T2 answers the question himself. The gestures did not exactly work as planned by T2 and result in some confusion and finally humour; however, it engages students and teacher in meaning-making as a collaborative effort.

Extract 10 (Le4)

25. T2: well think of the government's perspective (.) austerity measures (2) they need more money (2) and you can get more money two ways (2) for the budget (.) two ways of getting more money for the budget

26. Sf: increasing the taxes

27. T2: yeah and the other way

28. Sf: ehm more (.) giving more money and taking it ah ehm and taking

29. {T2 uses gestures}

30. Sf: spending it

31. Sf: aha (.) strip club (.) I don't know spending it @@

32. SS: @@

33. T2: spending less (1) cutting on spending

All in all, these examples can be said to confirm Moore and Nikula's (in press) study's results that "language in content learning revolves principally around lexis/terminology, with language issues being explicitly oriented to in CLIL classrooms, with emphasis on meaning rather than form". This "emphasis on meaning rather than form" (Moore & Nikula in press) shows that the students may use their linguistic resources creatively in this DLP class and they frequently do so to lighten up the atmosphere. This seems to create a safe space for the students to use their linguistic repertoire.

6.2. Orienting to flow of interaction

In contrast to the previous section the examples of translanguaging listed here are not salient for content learning. Rather translanguaging is used for different purposes and reasons and no explicit attention is drawn to the employment of bilingual (or multilingual) resources by the participants. This implies that "interaction proceeds smoothly as if nothing unusual has occurred" (Bonacina & Gafangara 2011: 329). Similarly to Moore and Nikula (in press), I also expect that translanguaging instances grouped in this category "often signal alignment; either to content/language, [...] or to participants-in-interaction". I also assume that translanguaging strategies are employed for affective reasons and identity work. A defining feature of all these translanguaging instances analysed in this section is that the participants react to the content, emotion or opinion that is being expressed, and not to the use of bilingual resources (Moore & Nikula in press).

An example of strategic use of translanguaging can be observed in the following extract from Le3, in which T1 largely hands over task management and task discussion to the students.

Extract 11 (Le3)

34. T1: no good then let's have a look at the biblical text *also ich zieh mich jetzt wieder komplett zurück zieh mich komplett zurück und lass euch weiterhin so toll arbeiten mit mit frage nummer zwei frage nummer zwei transfer arbeite die aussage von richter neun sieben bis x für die altorientalische hörschaft heraus*
35. Sf: *ham ma das nicht schon gemacht*

36. Tina: *wir hams auf englisch übersetzt und wir haben überlegt was der text bedeuten könnte*
37. Sf: *genau*
38. T1: Isabel
39. Isabel: *soll ich wieder schreiben*
40. T1: *das wär super auch mit dem anfang also mit dem was schon da war*
41. Isabel: *was war denn schon da*
42. Sf: xx
43. Sf: *ja das*
44. Sf: *wir nehmen einfach den*
45. Sf: *und halt den x*
46. SS: x
47. Sf: *ok wir hatten transfer (3) work on the message (5) of book judge*
48. {Isabel moves to blackboard and starts writing}

In line 34 T1 uses both German and English. The English use at the beginning can be argued to imply that the students are expected to work on this task in mostly English. It is interesting to observe that T1 chooses to use German then. This shows that the teacher is open to students negotiating the task using bilingual resources. Similarly, in Extract 12 below from Le1 she explains the students' task in German, then choosing English to add "as a team", which again implies that they should fulfil the task using the target language to a large extent but not exclusively. Furthermore, T1 often uses the students' L1 to praise them, which is also the case in extract 11. In line 34 the teacher expresses that she is confident that the students can work on this task quite independently. In other words, the L1 is used for affective reasons, to build the students' confidence and probably to relate to them on a more personal level.

Extract 12 (Le1)

T1: *jetzt seit ihr wieder als team gefragt es auf englisch zu erarbeiten gemeinsam as a team*

Extract 11 is also a good illustration of translanguaging for the purpose of negotiating the organisation of the task, for example, from line 39 onwards. Isabel who volunteers to write on the blackboard in both Le1 and Le3 uses her L1 frequently to check instructions and what is expected of her (see lines 39 and 41). At a later point in Le3, for example, she says "*eine mindmap und was soll ich in die mitte schreiben*". She is trying to organise her writing on the blackboard and uses her and her colleagues' L1 to get their attention and to seek help and assistance. Similarly, Moore and Nikula (in

press) report that in their study “students frequently check instructions making use of multiple language resources” and, thus, that translanguaging serves the purpose of “supporting classroom management”. It can be argued that the use of bilingual resources in this and other classroom situations makes the management and organization of tasks less time-consuming and more economical. Creese and Blackledge (2010: 111) also have argued that a teacher in their study effectively used “her bilingualism to pace the teaching and enable the lesson to be accomplished”. This is similar to what the students and T1 are accomplishing using their bilingual resources in Extract 11. Below is another short extract that provides further evidence for this claim:

Extract 13 (Le3)

Sf: *magst du beginnen*

Isabel: *soll ich*

Sf: *ja*

Here the students quickly decide on who should start reading a text. Thus, translanguaging is again used for organisational purposes or what Bernstein (1996) has referred to as ‘regulatory discourse’. This type of discourse is used for classroom management and “provide[s] the tools for creating and maintaining order” (Wright 2005: 138). In the extract the students definitely do not lack the language skills to discuss the matter in English; rather it is likely that they make this intuitive language choice as this rather unimportant question can be more efficiently settled by selecting their L1 from their linguistic repertoire.

As already mentioned earlier, translanguaging might also be used for affective reasons. This is, for instance, the case in extract 14 from Le3 below:

Extract 14 (Le3)

Natalie: *das war irgendwie sehr sehr schwer zu interpretieren*

Here, Natalie adheres to her L1 to say that she is struggling with the task and expressing her doubts as to how to go about the interpretation of the text. Similarly, T1 employs translanguaging for affective reasons as extract 15 shows (turn 49, turn 52, turn 55):

Extract 15 (Le3)

49. T1: so they have the same symbol in a different context ja and that's really that's
ninaaaa sie is total in topform
50. Nina: @
51. SS: @@
52. T1: *ah das ist genial das ist wirklich genial*
53. Sf: *das wissen wir eh alle warum*
54. Nina: @ sei leise
55. T1: *an das nach einer zweistündigen schularbeit du arbeitest da echt wie die leute
auf der uni in der theologie wir haben da stichwortverknüpfung dornen dornen
ja an verschiedenen ah und krone auch als als stichwortverknüpfung also ich
bin ganz platt wirklich wow du hast gesagt gott oder jesus god or jesus would
be the kind of king that others need*

The students seem to enjoy their teacher's praise and Nina laughs as she is slightly embarrassed about it. Using their shared mother tongue enriches the situation in that T1's praise seems to be very natural, animating and encouraging. In turn 55, T1 chooses to continue in German talking about her own experiences in an entirely monolingual German university context. By translanguaging again using English, she signals that the discussion of content continues. In turn 53 a female student remarks on why Nina is in such 'topform', teasing Nina as she is referring to something only the students know about and a matter they seem to have already talked about privately. As already mentioned previously, Creese and Blackledge (2010: 110) investigated a classroom context very unlike DLP; however, they similarly observe that when "students are working in pairs, we see that English [which is their dominant language] is used to joke, tease and play around". Creese and Blackledge (2010: 110) report that the task is discussed using both Gujarati and English. Likewise, during whole-class polylogue in Le3 both German and English are used by all participants.

While working on and assisting the students in interpreting a text T1 adheres to the L1 to a great extent; however, in Extract 16 she again praises the whole class in German showing how impressed she is. Her choice of German seems to be used to build the students' confidence and address them on a more personal level.

Extract 16 (Le3)

- T1: *ihr seids super ihr schlagt euch wirklich wacker alle sieben alle sieben eine lange
schularbeit eine anstrengende stunde ihr seids toll*

In Extract 17 below, T1 turns on the beamer to show the students a photograph. In the previous discussion, English was mainly used in classroom discourse interspersed with some translanguaging episodes. In turn 56 T1 uses English; however, the students choose to language in German, thereby, signalling that they are now switching from the discussion of a text to talking about the new beamer installed recently in the classroom. In turn 63 T1 still adheres to English but in turn 65 she aligns herself to the students' language choice faking panic as a countdown appears on the screen. In the following utterances, the students continue languaging in German for humorous and anecdotal purposes also referring back to the 'self-destruction' or 'explosion' of their classroom water kettle.

Extract 17 (Le3)

56. T1: okay ehm i need to turn it on first (2) is it good that the red light doesn't go away (1) ah okay it turns green
57. SS: xx
58. Nina: *haben wir den schon ausprobiert den neuen (.) und wie ist er? ich war nicht da letzte xx*
59. Sf: *ein bissl schief hängt er da aber sonst funktioniert er*
60. Nina: *stürzt er nicht ab*
61. Sf: xx
62. Sf: *xx spinnt der ton ab und zu*
63. T1: a panasonic i hope it works
64. Sf: *der countdown hier*
65. T1: *hat der einen countdown ohh was passiert wenn er bei null ist*
66. Isabel: *dann zerstört er sich selber*
67. SS: @
68. Sf: *er explodiert*
69. Isabel: *so wie der wasserkocher nur dass der keinen countdown hat*

Extract 18 from Le4 then is a good illustration of creative and affective use of translanguaging in this DLP classroom. Sm first says "just should shut up of this" and then "shut their mouth up". He is very emotional talking about the topic of civil service that affects him personally and seems to be struggling with languaging and constructing his thoughts in English at the end of his turn. His language choice is a merger between both English and German as he anglicises the German phrase 'den Mund halten'. Why he languages in this way is not entirely clear. One option would be that he tries to try to adhere to the monolingual mode but cannot recall the appropriate English phrase. On the other hand, using an anglicised German phrase

might help him to even clearer express his emotions towards this topic and how angry he feels about the issue. Regardless of his intention, the creative merger leads to humour and laughter among the colleagues. This shows that they do not entirely accept Sm's translanguaged expression as they are very aware that it is not 'correct' English language usage and they possibly try to achieve accuracy when languaging in English. Along with other instances, this translanguaging episode can be said to illustrate that students and teachers frequently language in German when they want to express affect and emotion.

Extract 18 (Le4)

Sm: I think so yes because all the old people who voted for for the civil service vote two or three years ago (.) that it should stay the way it is and even though they xx die in three or four years (.) they just should shut up of this (.) shut their mouth up because xx
SS: shut their mouths up @

In Le2 and Le4 a number of other instances can be found where students translanguage when they are very emotional about a topic. In Extract 19 below T2 has asked the students for the legal retirement age in Austria. This leads to a rather heated discussion of why women are allowed by law to retire earlier. From lines 70-81 the discussion gets increasingly emotional one student exclaiming "sexism" (line 73) and T2 saying that "now we have sparks in discussion". In line 82 a student tries to justify the earlier retirement age by mentioning "karenz". This might signal a language gap and also that the discussion is too emotional so that she refrains from an English paraphrase and opts for German instead. In line 83, Sm expresses his discontent with this answer in German, and Carla aligns herself with her colleague in line 84. Carla has already said earlier that she too is dissatisfied with the situation (line 76) in English but basically repeats this in German. This is very noteworthy as Carla, who is a very active and talkative student throughout Le2 and Le4, usually adheres to English entirely.

Extract 19 (Le4)

70. Sm: but isn't it (2) woman live longer (.) so why do they retire earlier
71. Sm: yes
72. T2: hmhhh
73. Sm: sexism
74. T2: ohhh now we have sparks in discussion
75. SS: @@
76. Carla: I think it's unfair I actually think xx
77. Sm: xx like mandatory civil service

78. T2: w-w-w- wait BUT before you say it's unfair why do we have this in the first place
79. Sm: because
80. Sf: probably old laws
81. SS: xx
82. Sf: xx women go to *karenz*
83. Sm: *ja deshalb muss ich auch nicht xx*
84. Carla: *ich sag ja ich finds ja auch doof*

A final example that shows that students use their whole repertoire for emotional expression is Extract 20 from Group 3 in Le3. During a conversation about the refugee crisis, the discussion between students Marco and Tobias heats up gradually. The students largely adhere to monolingual English language use during group work in general, but as the discussion turns to the very current issue of the refugee crisis in Europe, the students start using German more and more frequently. As it is a very controversial and complicated topic, Marco tries to explain what his stance is choosing German in lines 85-87. His colleagues criticize him and often use his first name when they try to show that they do not agree with him. This already goes in the direction of ridiculing Marco, and Marco starts to interrupt using English again. This might be a strategy to show his non-alignment with what his colleagues are saying and that they misunderstood him and also to cool down the situation. The situation, however, reaches a climax when Marco and Tobias again confront each other in German in a very emotional manner (lines 100-105). In line 106, T2 joins them and asks them to use English again. In the context of this situation, it seems to be less that the teacher wants them to adhere to target language use but rather to calm the situation. Using English then, the students can take a step back from their emotions and strong opinions and, as a result, they stop discussing the issue, but rather T2 helps them to acknowledge in a more neutral manner that they hold different views on the topic. Here, Creese and Blackledge's (2010: 110) observation that students' "bilingualism in the classroom is not so much about which languages but which voices are engaged in identity performance" might be reapplied. Furthermore, in relation to this extract Giles' Communication Accommodation Theory is interesting as it argues that "when people interact they adjust their speech, their vocal patterns and their gestures, to accommodate to others" (Turner & West 2010: 17). Giles and Coupland (1991: 60-61) also state that accommodation "can function to index and achieve solidarity with or

dissociation from a conversational partner”, which seems to be the case for the students’ translanguaging in this extract.

Extract 20 (Le2, Group 3)

85. Marco: *das ist dasselbe mit den flüchtlingen (.) die gehen ja auch nach österreich und nicht wo anders hin die müsste man auch irgendwo (.) in andere länder auch bringen können weil sonst ham ma wirklich des problem*
86. Tobias: marco MARco
87. Sm: *die meisten flüchtlinge*
88. Michael: *gehen nach deutschland marco*
89. Tobias: *marco schau mal marco da schau mal da*
90. Sm: *marco schau mal da*
91. Sm: *gehen nach deutschland*
92. Michael: marco xx
93. Tobias: *das war nämlich grad*
94. Sm: *ich meinte damit dass man flüchtlinge verteilen sollte auf auf europa*
95. Tobias: *xx flüchtling nur nach österreich kommen was weiß ich*
96. Marco: okay that’s the problem
97. Tobias: *ja die kommen nur nach österreich*
98. Marco: no in germany
99. Sm: xx
100. Marco: *<emotional> man muss das verteilen (.) man kann nicht einfach die flüchtlinge xx </emotional>*
101. Sm: *aber du hast vorher xx komisch ausgedrückt*
102. Tobias: *<emotional> ja stefan aber zu sagen xx bullshit die verteilen sich in europa </emotional>*
103. Marco: *<emotional> die verteilen sich eben NICHT (.) die haben ja keinen bock (.) glaubst du die wollen nach ungar? (.) oder irgendwoanders hin oder nach spanien </emotional>*
104. Tobias: *<emotional> glaubst du glaubst du es gibt keine in ungar? </emotional>*
105. Marco: *eh nicht (.) aber schau*
106. T2: *whooo- o- o- whatever happened to English?*
107. Marco: yeah sorry
108. Sm: xx talking in german xx time
109. T2: but you see (.) here you already see a problem I mean you would probably never form a political party together
110. Tobias: no
111. Marco: no never

As the extracts demonstrate, my expectations with regard to the uses of translanguaging ‘orienting to flow of interaction’ are largely met. Teachers and students often translanguange for affective purposes and use their linguistic repertoire to show alignment or non-alignment with colleagues or a topic. Furthermore, translanguaging is used for topic switches and management purposes. All in all, this shows that the participants use their linguistic repertoire in a purposeful manner.

6.3. Miscellaneous

To a large extent, Moore and Nikula's (in press) method of categorising translanguaging instances and strategies is sufficient also for this study; however, some uses of bilingual resources could not be clearly grouped in either of the categories or are rather long and, thus, involve translanguaging that is applicable to both categories. This section draws attention to these more miscellaneous instances. Often these instances seem to have a specific focus on the use of bilingual resources but this translanguaging still seems to happen in the flow of interaction. This analysis of the following instances is of course interpretative and readers might still find that some of these instances could be considered as belonging to the other two categories.

An example of translanguaging considered as miscellaneous is taken from the beginning of Le3. In the opening phases of the lessons German is largely used as the instructional language, however, the use of German decreases as the tasks and activities are started. In the extract below, the teacher overhears students talking about the vocabulary tests they had in lower secondary in their RE classes. Sf explains that she used the word 'honk' instead of 'monk'. T1 uses this example to draw attention to a construction that is often used in English-speaking countries, namely "Honk if you like...". This shows that there is both a focus on language use as well as on engaging in jocular conversation. Furthermore, the teacher seems to choose German to align herself with the students' language use.

Extract 21 (Le3)

T1: *was war mit vokabeltest in reli ja*

Sf: *vokabelliste reli das hatten wir in der unterstufe und ich hab statt monk honk geschrieben*

T1: *oh honk hupen ja honk if you like monks kennt's ihr das gibt's manchmal diese plakate in englischsprachigen ländern honk if you like coffee or so es is so schilder neben der straße und dann hupen die leute halt ehm (1) habt ihr das handout mit der frage*

Extract 22 then shows Sf using her whole repertoire to express what she wants to say and again T1 does not force the student to use the target language only; the use of translanguaging here signals a knowledge gap and the teacher steps in providing Sf with the necessary lexical item, but also uses the opportunity to signal alignment with what the student has said and confirming her idea. Moore and Nikula (in press) note

that opportunities, such as this, help “to learn how to give and receive support from peers as well as ‘experts’ in multilingual settings”.

Extract 22 (Le3)

Sf: the thing that i don't understand is why ehm he wants to *dro- er droht ihnen ja*

T1: yeah actually he's threatening

The following extract is included in the miscellaneous section as the uses of translanguaging here can be viewed in a number of ways. The participants are discussing a biblical text and students are actively participating in classroom discourse and interpreting the text. In turn 112, T1 tries to elicit a specific lexical item and decides to use German, asking for a synonym for 'king' that better describes what they are talking about. Interestingly, in turn 113 Sf does not accommodate to T1's German language use but poses her question in English. In turn 116 T1 describes and paraphrases further what word she is looking for. Thus, she signals that the students might be able to access this knowledge if they activate their whole language repertoire. After finding the solution, students and T1 continue using German even though it is not necessary; this again reflects the teacher's acceptance of the use of the bilingual repertoire. The students continue to interpret the meaning of the text employing their linguistic resources in a natural manner, and the teacher does not interrupt them by asking them to use a specific linguistic code, which in this situation might have been counterproductive. Only at the end of the extract, does the teacher choose to employ English again, and she does so as she is referring back to a student's previous English comment that Jesus called himself 'King of Jews'. All in all, this extract shows that T1's language use seems to be very principled and purposeful. She uses her languages to create learning opportunities and also encourages the students to do so.

Extract 23 (Le3)

112. T1: he might be afraid of some kind or revolution yeah because he knows he's really the last choice (.) and as soon as let's say the fig tree says ok yes I want to be king that fig person might be the new king so *ehm wie nennt man so einen könig*

113. Sf: which one the thornbush or the

114. T1: thornbush thornperson

115. Sf: ehm *notlösung*

116. T1: *ja notlösung aber es gibt ja verschiedene bezeichnungen für herrscher neutral ist herrscher könig aber wenns jetzt jemand ist der bereit ist gewalt einzusetzen gegen die eigenen leute*

117. Isabel: xx
 118. Sf: *ah diktator*
 119. T1: *diktator sehr gut hast du auch gesagt Isabel*
 120. Sf: *ja die Isabel hats vor mir gesagt*
 121. T1: *super diktator tyrann*
 122. Sf: *das ist auch gut*
 123. Isabel: *ja*
 124. Nina: *das passt aber gar nicht wenn man das mit gott vergleicht*
 125. T1: *vollkommen das andere schreib mas mal dazu*
 126. Isabel: *wo jetzt*
 127. T1: *beim zweiten teilchen bei message*
 128. {Isabel writes on blackboard}
 129. Simon: *why do they need a a king in the first place*
 130. T1: *perfekt und du hast die synthese gerade gemacht aus diesen beiden message fäden warum braucht man einen könig dass ist die aussage die jotham hier eigentlich hat (.) weil alle könige sind (.) tyrannen*
 131. Nina: *naja nicht unbedingt*
 132. T1: *außer gott (.) muss nicht wahr sein aber das ist seine aussage*
 133. Nina: *das heißt is in dem text wird dieser dornenbusch ist der gott oder nicht*
 134. T1: *nein*
 135. Nina: *eben nicht*
 136. T1: *nein*
 137. Tanja: *ja weil er ein tyrann ist ist er nicht gott geht nicht*
 138. T1: *genau*
 139. Nina: *ja eben weil er gott hätte sowas nicht gesagt wahrscheinlich*
 140. T1: *ganz richtig*
 141. Sf: *weil sich gott ja selber nicht als könig darstellt eigentlich*
 142. T1: *so is es jesus didn't call himself king of jews he was called king of jews by the romans*

In Extract 24, a student uses the word “studenten” after a short pause, which might indicate that she is searching for the right word. One student only reacts to the content of her utterance, while another student interprets the colleague’s translanguaging and hesitation as a signal for assistance-seeking and, thus, offers a translation equivalent. Moore and Nikula (in press) mention that in general CLIL contexts have been shown to be “mutually supportive” and that students’ collectively negotiate subject-relevant language. This instance provides further evidence for this claim.

Extract 24 (Le2, Group 2)

- Sf: *yeah and what if xx in university there is this lehramt that you need to teach somebody something why don't we take (1) studenten*
 Christina: *that is actually not a bad idea because xx in summer*
 Sf: *students (1) university students*

In the extract below, the focus lies on the specific bilingual resources employed but the students do so in the flow of interaction for humour. In line 2, Sf uses the German expression for coughing, “hust hust”, twice which already implies that the teacher, which she then mimics, is somebody she does not like. In the following conversation, the students ridicule this former teacher’s language use and her teaching in general. The students were seemingly not satisfied with her English proficiency and they impersonate her speaking with a strong Austrian German accent and portraying her language difficulties.

Extract 25 (Le2, group 2)

143. Sf: it’s a good idea and this way they can practice without causing any REAL damage like letting kids fail the tests because they fucked up (1) *hust hust* [Name of former teacher]
144. SS: @@
145. Sf: <spoken with exaggerated austrian accent> I remember you xx the whole work dear children (1) xx </spoken with exaggerated austrian accent> xx *beschreiben mit*
146. Sabine: <spoken with exaggerated austrian accent> xx repeat xx repeat next time </spoken with exaggerated austrian accent>
147. Sf: <spoken with exaggerated austrian accent> I think they are now ready <spoken with exaggerated austrian accent> to *beschreiben* it
148. SS: @@
149. Sabine: ja bec-
150. SS: @@
151. Sf: <spoken with exaggerated austrian accent> how many foods are there </spoken with exaggerated austrian accent> xx
152. SS: @@

Likewise, the following extract shows Carla talking about an experience she had where her father, who is of Greek origin, was discriminated against. She translanguages to illustrate that often German speakers use different grammar and speak more slowly when talking to perceived foreigners. Sf then fakes a foreign accent replying “dankeschön” and, thereby, also shows that she has understood what kind of situation Carla is referring to.

Extract 26 (Le2, Group 2)

- Carla: sometimes I think people aren’t like trying to purposely discriminate (.) but they don’t see that it’s rude that like a person who doesn’t speak perfect german comes into a store and they’re like <speaking slowly> *du kannst finden dort hinten (.) du gehen dort hin* </speaking slowly>
- Sf: <with foreign accent> *dankeschön* </with foreign accent>

Extract 27 below then illustrates that translanguaging is a useful tool to distinguish between what is written or read aloud and what is being said. Sm first uses German to say that what follows in English is what he has written down. Similarly, in line three Sm also begins in German to refer to what could be added in their writing. Thus, their bilingual repertoire is here used as a strategy to organise their collective writing.

Extract 27 (Le2, Group 3)

Sm: *so ich hab jetzt geschrieben international programme (1) ah which (.) which show the different working standards of universities and countries*

Tobias: xx

Sm: *und da sagen halt when you come to another country*

As already mentioned, not all translanguaging instances could be clearly grouped within either of the two main categories. The extracts in this section can be said to show that at times there is a focus on language but it happens in the flow of interaction, for example, for affective or humorous purposes. Sometimes the purposes of showing alignment as well as providing lexical items coincide. Furthermore, students use their English and German language resources to imitate other people, and they also make use of their knowledge of accents. These examples illustrate how diverse the reasons for choosing to translanguage are and what possibilities it offers to both teachers and students to employ bilingual instead of just monolingual language resources.

6.4. Material

As already mentioned the analysis of language use in the four lessons is multimodal in that it also discusses the role of the materials used in class. Texts and notes produced by the students are limited in these four lessons and are either (nearly) identical with what was written on the blackboard or in English only, thus, not involving any translanguaging in the writing; in the RE lessons the blackboard was used by students and teacher alike for note-taking. Apart from that, only few materials are used in general.

In Le1 and Le3, the planned materials needed are restricted to handouts and the blackboard and chalk. However, during the lesson T1 also employs the available

computer and beamer for translanguaging purposes. Extract 28 shows that T1 uses the internet to look up the translation of a word. In line 153, a student asks for the English equivalent for the word 'Untergang' and before T1 provides an answer herself, she asks the other students to make suggestions in line 156. When Paul answers 'fall', T1 agrees and provides another German synonym ('niedergang') as well as the English 'downfall'. She also asks Isabel to specify, what kind of downfall she means and in the following exchange their negotiation for the most fitting vocabulary choice combines their bilingual resources. In turn 170, T1 says that her choice would be 'downfall of mankind' but she decides to use an online dictionary search as well. Thereby, T1 identifies herself as a language learner and as an emergent bilingual herself. It also shows that T1 is not guided by the belief that only monolingual instruction strategies should be employed. She rather demonstrates that she considers this strategy valid, and thereby, implicitly encourages students to use bilingual dictionaries as resources, too. Cummins (2005: 588), for example, lists bilingual dictionary use as a strategy that is frowned upon in monolingually oriented classrooms. However, "research has consistently supported the efficacy of bilingual dictionary use for vocabulary learning as compared with monolingual dictionary use or simply learning from context alone" (Cummins 2011: 320). In the same vein, Cook (2001) says that "translation provides an easy avenue to enhance linguistic awareness".

Extract 28 (Le3)

153. Isabel: what does *untergang*
 154. T: *untergang sonnenuntergang*
 155. Isabel: no ehm like *untergang der menschheit der menschen*
 156. T: any ideas
 157. Paul: fall
 158. T: *niedergang yeah downfall wäre der niedergang was für eine art von untergang meinst du*
 159. Isabel: I don't know
 160. SS: @
 161. T: *ja also im sinne von auslöschen?*
 162. Isabel: *ja da steht der fall des menschen*
 163. T: *moment mal wieder einen blick drauf werfen ah wo steht der fall des menschen aso*
 164. Isabel: genesis
 165. Sf: *genesis der fall des menschen*
 166. T: *das ist das mit der sünde gell (7) I'd call it downfall*
 167. Isabel: the downfall
 168. T: of mankind
 169. Sf: mankind is gut

170. T: downfall of mankind (3) but I'll also run a search on the internet there might also be a nicer word {searches on computer for another word}
171. {mostly German whispering while T is searching on internet}
172. {...}
173. T: so I just xx search for *sündenfall* and it says as you just said it's really fall fall of man fall of man because man is not just male person but it can be any kind of person (7) and mankind would also be okay I'm so sorry I'm a scatterbrain today I'm always a scatterbrain you know me very well (7) what else (11) how would you go on to really manage part one

What is striking in the RE lessons is that the teacher lets the students work on questions already dealt with partly in German. The questions are also posed in German, and the first step for the students is to translate these questions, so that the key lexis needed answering the questions becomes available. By using the model of the language triptych the teacher gives the students a tool to structure this process and make note-taking easier. The language triptych model has been specifically developed for CLIL and suggests that language is a learning tool. It includes the three sections language of, language for and language through learning (Coyle 2008). These sections are presented in a table on the blackboard and T1 and her students add to it in the lesson. Talking about where to include content and language can be said to assist students to increase their meta-linguistic awareness and also the awareness of their own skills. T1, for example, explains:

Extract 29 (Le1)

- T: Ja very good at some point you might see that you need more words ja and this is where language definitely comes in it's about self-monitoring <writes on blackboard> how skilled am I already </writes on blackboard> you ask yourself what can I do very well and then you might see ok this is great and other things need to be improved <writes on blackboard> the question is what can I improve </writes on blackboard> mhm so basically this is about content and language mhm

Furthermore, T1 points out the triptych model's usefulness in general saying "and it's very good because you can use it for all subjects useful for all DLP subjects" (Le1). Using this model necessarily opens up the space for bilingual discourse, and shows that it is not embarrassing to lack some vocabulary in English. The bilingual resources of all participants are mobilized and utilized as students and T1 ask for specific vocabulary items and other participants provide a translation.

An instance of spontaneous translanguaging that shows that it is not necessarily linked to verbal language is T1's use of a picture of a thornbush to lead the students in the right direction in the discussion of a bible passage. In the text, several different trees are asked to be king, the last choice being that of the thornbush. A student already recognizes that a thornbush does not provide much shade but by using a picture this becomes even clearer. It visually reinforces why the choice of a thornbush is peculiar and in extract 30 it can be seen how T1 explains this further. In the ensuing whole-class polylogue, students actively contribute and translanguaging to interpret the text further.

Extract 30 (Le3)

T1: oh yes not a lot of shade (.) not what you need (2) I mean okay there is some shade but it's not what you really need when you when you need to hide when you need to be protected

In Le2 and Le4 handouts and an English article are employed as resources. Furthermore, questions are posted on the Moodle platform. All of these materials adhere to monolingual English language use. However, García and Li (2014: 122) suggest that one category of translanguaging is "teacher design of curriculum and classroom structures for translanguaging". They explain that one possible strategy included in this category is that of "research tasks, so that students can translanguaging, as they find new information" (ibid.). In Le2 students work in groups on a task that asks them to formulate a political agenda on a number of issues. When asked by a student, T2 explicitly allows the use of mobile phones in relation to the task as extract 31 shows.

Extract 31 (Le2)

T2: okay good {claps hands} yes you can use your mobile phones

Thus, students could have employed their mobile phones to look up words, find arguments, etc. However, the students do not make use of this resource, though it might have provided them with valuable input and translanguaging options. Likewise, the teacher does not mention it again or reinforce it, while students work on the task, so here the internet is not used as a possible translanguaging resource.

In Le4, there would have been another opportunity for translanguaging as shown in the following extract:

Extract 32 (Le4)

T2: no no no it's just like these two paragraphs are about this song (.) if you want not today but later we can have a look at it you probably understand it your french should be good enough

The class is reading an article where reference is made to a song in French and the teacher says that the students' comprehension of French should be sufficient to understand the text. Unfortunately, the lyrics are not read in this lesson; however, it is clear that this would have served as a great opportunity for translanguaging employing the students' linguistic repertoire not only with regard to German and English but also French.

All in all, the materials used in the RE lessons seem to explicitly invite the use of bilingual resources, for example, in the translation tasks; while the GE lesson materials focus more on target language use and do not offer as many possibilities for translanguaging.

6.6. Discussion of findings

The previous sections of the analysis have demonstrated, first and foremost, that translanguaging was definitely practiced by both teachers and students in these four Austrian DLP lessons as is shown in more detail in the two tables below. At points this use of bilingual resources seemed to be intentional and planned on the teachers' side; however, in general it might be stated that often the way in which the participants chose from their language repertoire can be simply regarded as natural bilingual behaviour. It has to be noted that in the case of these DLP lessons, not the full linguistic repertoire of the individuals was exploited, but the de facto feasible repertoire including English and German.

	Orienting to language in content	Orienting to flow of interaction
Le1	14	19
Le2	8	25
Le3	11	23
Le4	14	9

Figure 4 Translanguaging instances overall (includes both student and teacher translanguaging)

Figure 4 shows how many instances of translanguaging were found in the two main categories of the analysis. Not all participants' separate uses of translanguaging were counted but longer episodes involving frequent translanguaging belonging to one category were regarded as one instance in this table. In Le1 both translanguaging categories were quite frequent though translanguaging in the flow of interaction predominated. In Le3 this was even more so the case. The use of translanguaging for either category depended on task, activity or classroom situation. What was also observable was that both T1 and the students in these lessons employed translanguaging evenly and it is not a frowned upon strategy in this classroom.

Comparing Le2 and Le4 is interesting as in Le2 the first translanguaging category was markedly less frequently employed than the second, while in Le4 the opposite is the case. This might be said to reflect the classroom situations, as in Le2 the students were involved in group work and, thus, talked among themselves more,

while in Le4 a text was read aloud in class and T2 was actively involved in leading the whole-class polylogue.

	Orienting to language in content	Orienting to flow of interaction
T1	17	23
T2	11	2

Figure 5 Teachers' use of transanguaging

A striking point exemplified in Figure 5 is that T1 used transanguaging more frequently in both categories than T2, which might suggest that she views the use bilingual resources in the classroom differently, which is discussed in more detail later. Furthermore, she used the second category of transanguaging more often, while T2 was only observed twice to transanguage in the flow of interaction. T2 used transanguaging when orienting to language in content quite frequently, but only rarely in the flow of interaction. Still, T2 was involved in a number of classroom situations that involved student transanguaging; T2 seemed to prefer to keep transanguaging to a minimum with regard to his own discourse and it was mostly employed orienting towards language in content.

In Le2 students could be observed using a number of transanguaging strategies that can be grouped within both of the categories or cannot be attributed to one or the other. In this lesson it was also notable that the language choices of the students might have been influenced by the presence of the NS-T. She mostly joined group 2, the group that transanguaged least frequently. This could have been due to the fact that the NS-T participated in and sometimes lead their discussion, asked questions, made comments and, thereby, provided useful English key vocabulary. The students in this group seemed to like the NS-T very much and enjoy the opportunity to talk to a native speaker, which might explain why less use was made of bilingual resources. In Le4 the main purpose of transanguaging was that of translation, although several other uses of bilingual resources have been found.

With regard to the language teacher role, Cummins (2011: 320) explains that the monolingual principle in English language classrooms has led to the “empirically unsupported and socially problematic assumption that native speakers are superior English language teachers as compared with non-native teachers”. The DLP classroom

investigated in this study and the translanguaging episodes observed can be said to clearly challenge this assumption. Both T1 and T2 are non-native English speakers and they have the same L1 as most students; rather than this being a hindrance they used their L1 knowledge in a number of ways to relate to their students and also demonstrated that bilingual resources are a useful communicative tool. Especially T1 can be said to have frequently employed her bilingual resources and, thereby, model natural bilingual behaviour. For example, she translanguaged for affective reasons when she languaged in German to praise students. Similarly, students' home language use in the classroom is considered as "a major cause of underachievement" from a monolingual perspective (Cummins 2011: 320). This does not seem to be the case, as the students often used English for complex topics and interpretations, while languaging in German to organize a task which they clearly would have managed in English as well.

What the above paragraphs already imply is that both teacher and student translanguaging seemed to be purposeful – though it might have often been intuitive rather than intentional. Reasons for translanguaging strategies included managing and organising tasks and activities efficiently. Furthermore, translanguaging marked the difference between spoken and written language and it signalled that the topic of discourse changes. A predominant use throughout the lessons was that of translanguaging for affective reasons. As already mentioned, T1, for example, was often observed translanguaging when she praised her students. Furthermore, students' translanguaging might have been employed to signal being non-aligned to either content/language or the opinions of colleagues. They employed it when their emotions were more intense due to a disagreement with colleagues or a topic that was controversial or important to them personally.

Word coinages as translanguaging strategies were also observed in the lessons for humour or when the students were greatly affected by a topic. These might reflect one of the basic translanguaging assumptions that languages in bilinguals interact in varied and complex ways (Creese and Blackledge 2010; Hornberger & Link 2012; Gallagher & Colohan 2014). As Gallagher and Colohan (2014: 2) explain, translanguaging was "long considered to represent language deficit and to be a messy, 'lazy' type of language use"; however, it "is now understood to be not only a normal,

everyday discourse practice, but also a highly sophisticated use of language by fluent bilingual speakers, framed by a deep awareness and mastery of both languages in use". Similarly, the playful and creative language use observed in the lessons is considered indicative of the students' high language skills in both German and English rather than a sign of deficiency or a lack of language knowledge. Furthermore, translanguaging seems to have been used to express their identities in different voices.

With regard to the materials used it can be said that here some translanguaging opportunities were not exploited; however, the analysis confirms that translanguaging might be multi-modal and is not necessarily linked to verbal or spoken language but can, for example, involve the use of gestures and visual material. It might also be argued that translation, an activity that is often considered as having "no place in the teaching of language" (Cummins 2005: 588) from the viewpoint of those supporting completely monolingual instruction strategies, is certainly worthwhile to engage in in a CLIL classroom. Translation is a valuable skill for a variety of jobs and, thus, not an unrealistic task. Engaging students in translation tasks can strengthen their strategies with regard to usage of resources such as a variety of dictionaries (monolingual, bilingual, thesauruses). Furthermore, it can increase their awareness of subtle language differences and connotations. In agreement with this, Malakoff and Hakuta (1991: 163), for example, argue that "translation provides an easy avenue to enhance linguistic awareness". All in all, these observations are in line with previous research (see, for example, Gallagher & Colohan 2014; Lin 2015; Lo 2014; Moore & Nikula in press) and show that translanguaging is also natural in DLP or CLIL classrooms.

Creese and Blackledge (2010: 112) write that they "acknowledge, however, that within complementary schools ideologies often clash, with as many arguments articulated for separate bilingualism as for flexible bilingualism". This also applies to CLIL contexts, such as this DLP programme. The viability of translanguaging strongly depends on a variety of factors that includes the teachers' attitudes towards the employment of bilingual resources and to what extent they personally consider it useful, on the implementation of the DLP guidelines at this particular school as well as on the demands made on a macro-level with regard to how bilingual resources should be employed in the classroom.

In the RE class the use of translanguaging seemed to be generally more varied; however, there were several factors that might have contributed to this greater frequency of bilingual resources. To begin with, the number of students was rather small and, thus, there was more opportunity for all of the students to verbally contribute to class discussion. The situation was similar to group work; however, the teacher was always available as a resource, facilitator, etc. and she was able to guide the students in their task management and language use throughout the lesson. T1's greater translanguaging use in this classroom might have been due to the fact that she could observe the bilingual language use of her students all the time. The fear that students might have chosen to speak in their L1 entirely would seem to be definitely without justification, rather the students seemed to enjoy employing their whole language repertoire.

In contrast, in lesson Le2 and Le4 the context was very different as over 20 students were present. Furthermore, in Le2 students worked in separate groups and, thus, got less guidance from the teacher. Here, it seems feasible and understandable that the teacher opted for a more monolingual mode as he could not always monitor his students' language choices. Furthermore, as already mentioned the different teachers might not have the same opinion towards the use of both German and English in their DLP classrooms. From the four lessons observed it seems that T1 welcomes translanguaging more openly, which lead to more frequent use, while T2 seems to prefer a focus on target language use. He translanguaged seldom and when he did it was most frequently for the purpose of translation. However, he did not entirely condemn translanguaging, and students still translanguaged for a variety of purposes. Both teachers did not explicitly invite students' translanguaging.

With regard to the use of students' whole linguistic repertoire in the classroom, Cummins (2011: 320) suggests that "legitimizing students' L1 as a cognitive tool within the classroom challenges subordinate status of many minority groups and affirms students' identities, thereby promoting what Manyak (2004: 15) has called "identities of competence". Translanguaging in connection to social justice and equality (Cummins 2011: 320) seems to be a less eminent issue in the context of this DLP classroom. All students have participated in the DLP programme since they were ten years old, thus, they are used to using both English and German in school and their

language skills are rather high in general; however, not everybody is on exactly the same level. Thus, allowing for translanguaging can be said to give all students equal opportunity to employ their bilingual repertoire for meaning-making and for a variety of other functions without feeling embarrassed about 'language gaps' or being inhibited in their languaging by a strict demand for English only. T2 urged students to use English only on one occasion – and this seemed to be based on affective reasons rather than adherence to the monolingual principle.

In the DLP lessons investigated the target language English still clearly dominated, which is connected to “the institutional policy underlying the adoption of CLIL” (Moore & Nikula in press). However, I agree with Creese and Blackledge (2010) who state several times that “the combination of both languages [is what] keeps the task moving forward” or at least the use of bilingual resources is no hindrance but rather a resource in the classroom. Creese and Blackledge (2010) point out that all participants in their study seem to be aware of acceptable and unacceptable language practice. In the DLP lessons investigated here, the students seemed to be aware that their teachers expected the use of English to a great extent and as already mentioned these teachers' expectations seemed to differ as well. In all lessons there were numerous translanguaging instances; however, in the RE classroom students employed bilingual resources more freely and frequently. This is not to say that students learn more or less in either of the classrooms, but rather that in CLIL classes the L1 need not be viewed as a source of problems. What seems to apply is that translanguaging might be viewed as “a way of differentiating instruction to ensure that all students are being cognitively, socially and creatively challenged” (García & Li 2014: 92).

Still, I agree with Moore and Nikula (in press) and Canagarajah (2011b) that translanguaging should not be romanitized. As Moore and Nikula (in press) state: “Embracing translanguaging does not mean adopting a *laissez-faire* attitude”. In the lessons it was observed that it is definitely worthwhile to allow students to use bilingual language resources for a number of reasons. For example, students can express ideas even if they do not have the necessary English vocabulary, interpersonal relationships can be strengthened and they can express their identities in creative ways. Similar to what Moore and Nikula (in press) have found, also in this study students and teacher's translanguaging can be said to be highly context-dependent

and fulfil functions within the categories of content learning as well as to benefit the interactional flow. The strategies used seem to be purposeful, and thus, are not employed at random.

These findings and their interpretation are, nevertheless, restricted in a few ways. To begin with, the study conducted is small-scale and, thus, also the collected data is limited in size. This means that the conclusions drawn from the data are not generalizable as CLIL classrooms can differ in many respects. Subjects, teachers, students, materials used, schools, etc. all make up a unique context that has to be taken into account. For example, the Viennese DLP program has a slightly elitist character as has already been mentioned. Dalton-Puffer and Smit (2013: 545) point out the “immense diversity of what is regarded as CLIL”, i.e. not only the contexts in which CLIL is implemented, but also the understanding of the CLIL approach itself can differ. Another limitation is that this study only represents what Dalton-Puffer and Smit (2013: 557) call a “snapshot[] of steady states”. They suggest the need for studies that have “longitudinal designs”, but they also mention the practical problems involved in conducting such studies. This study only offers a brief glimpse in the DLP classroom investigating four DLP lessons for translanguaging, which limits the conclusions that can be drawn from them. For these reasons, these classrooms and this study might not be representative of Austrian CLIL classrooms in general; however, this in-depth analysis of four DLP lessons contributes to translanguaging research in the field of CLIL and in general. Furthermore, the study site might value this analysis of translanguaging as it draws attention to different ways in which the linguistic repertoire of students’ and teachers’ are employed in these four DLP lessons. It might bring to their attention that the concept of translanguaging encourages the use of bi- and multilingual linguistic as well multi-modal resources for languaging in the classroom. This could have effect on how teachers in the VBS or DLP program view and reflect on their own language use in the classroom.

7. Conclusion

This thesis has argued that the way bilingualism is perceived among many scholars and researchers is changing, and this is likely to affect the way languages are and will be taught – also within the field of CLIL. As this paper and research in the field of bilingualism and bilingual education in general have illustrated, bilingual behaviour is diverse – and a growing body of literature suggests that this diversity in bilingual language use is something that should be valued and exploited rather than stifled and suppressed. Furthermore, it has been found that languages are not stored spatially separated in our brains. Thus, monolingual instruction strategies that ask for languages to be used in clearly defined periods of time and spaces are now often considered impractical and not achieving easier or ‘better’ language acquisition by researchers. Research on bilingualism has also resulted in the reapplication of the concept of translinguaging in educational contexts, which presupposes that bilinguals have one linguistic repertoire, and as a result it has been suggested that “new language practices can only emerge in interrelationship with old ones, without competing or threatening an already established sense of being that languaging constitutes” (García & Li 2014: 79). This also implies that in language classrooms students do not “develop monolingual competence a second time around” (Ortega 2014: 33).

CLIL contexts and the discourse in CLIL classroom have usually been explored from a more restrictive code-switching perspective that usually implies that languages are considered as separate entities. Code-switching was frequently viewed as problematic as, for example, Loewen (2014: 46) explains that the belief persists that “when the L1 is used, learners do not receive L2 input; furthermore, there may be no negotiation of meaning, nor are learners pushed to produce L2 output”. The aim of this thesis was to explore the concept of translinguaging within the context of CLIL, specifically focusing on translinguaging in classroom discourse and material use of four Austrian DLP lessons and it clearly negates this negative stance towards bilingual language use in the classroom. As this small-scale study has illustrated, the students and teachers in the DLP classroom investigated use translinguaging creatively, playfully and purposefully. This enables them to communicate effectively and express their identities in different ways than would be possible if the students’ mother tongue

was excluded from use in the DLP classroom entirely. Apart from that it can also be argued that their translanguaging behaviour is indicative of their high language proficiency and strategic competence and only seldom translanguaging instances might be regarded as pointing to language problems.

Still, it is important to keep in mind that translanguaging should still be viewed from a critical perspective that does not romanticise it. Lasagabaster (2013: 1), for example, argues “for a principled L1 use, instead of the current randomize practices” and Paquet-Gauthier and Beaulieu (2016: 178) voice their view that “multilingual usage, as a language of immediacy, should not be the aim of explicit language teaching”. In this paper, I want to argue that principled use is possible when teachers are made aware of when and in which ways the majority language or mother tongue can be employed, so that students can benefit from it. Thus, further research is needed in other Austrian and European CLIL classrooms that also investigates and assesses the long-term effects of translanguaging. Subsequently, action needs to be taken with regard to teacher training at university or in-service training that includes information on how to best exploit the students’ and the teachers’ own full linguistic repertoire. Furthermore, research on translanguaging in Austrian schools might also focus on linguistically more heterogeneous classrooms as translanguaging certainly has the potential to create a more democratic classroom environment in these contexts, and as a result it might also create a greater wealth of learning opportunities, when students are allowed to incorporate their whole linguistic repertoire.

All in all, this thesis provides additional evidence for the usefulness of translanguaging in CLIL classrooms and contributes to research on educational uses of translanguaging overall. It can be argued that a dynamic bilingualism stance in DLP and in other bi- or multilingual classroom contexts is worthwhile, whereas “bow[ing] to dominant political and ideological pressures to keep ‘languages’ pure and separate” (Lemke 2002: 85) is questionable as research on bilingualism has confirmed.

8. References

- Auer, Peter. 1988. "A conversation analytic approach to code-switching and transfer". In Heller, Monica (ed.). *Codeswitching: anthropological and sociolinguistic perspectives*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Baker, Colin. 2001. *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism*. (3rd edition). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Baker, Colin. 2003. "Biliteracy and transliteracy in Wales: Language planning and the Welsh national curriculum". In Hornberger, Nancy (ed.). *Continua of biliteracy*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Baker, Colin. 2011. *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism*. (5th edition). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Baetens, Beardsmore. 2009. "Bilingual education: factors and variable". In García, Ofelia (ed.). *Bilingual education in the 21st century: a global perspective*. Malden, MA: Wiley/Blackwell.
- Bailey, Benjamin. 2007. "Heteroglossia and boundaries". In Heller, Monica (ed.). *Bilingualism: a social approach*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 257-276.
- Banegas, Darío Luis. 2012. "Integrating content and language in English language teaching in secondary education: models, benefits, and challenges". *Studies in Second Language Learning and Teaching* 2(1), 111-136.
- Bernstein, Basil. 1996. *Pedagogy, symbolic control and identity: theory, research, critique*. London: Taylor & Francis.
- Blom, Jan-Peter; Gumperz, John. 1972. "Social Meaning in Linguistic Structure: Code-Switching in Norway". In Gumperz, John; Hymes, Dell (eds.). *Directions in Sociolinguistics*. New York: Holt, Rinehard and Winston, 407-435.
- Butzkamm, Wolfgang. 2003. "We only learn language once. The role of the mother tongue in FL classrooms: death of a dogma". *The Language Learning Journal* 28(1), 29-39.
- Canagarajah, Suresh. 2011a. Translanguaging in the classroom: emerging issues for research and pedagogy. *Applied Linguistics Review* 2, 1-28.
- Canagarajah, Suresh. 2011b. "Codemeshing in academic writing: identifying teachable strategies of translanguaging". *Modern Language Journal* 95(3), 401-417.
- Cazden, Courtney. 2001. *Classroom discourse: the language of teaching and learning*. Portsmouth: Heinemann.
- Cenoz, Jasone. 2009. *Towards multilingual education. Basque educational research from an international perspective*. Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Cenoz, Jasone. 2015. "Content-based instruction and content and language integrated learning: the same or different?". *Language, Culture and Curriculum* 28(1), 8-24.
- Cenoz, Jasone; Genesee, Fred; Gorter, Durk. 2014. "Critical analysis of CLIL: taking stock and looking forward". *Applied Linguistics* 35(3), 243-262.
- Creese, Angela; Blackledge, Adrian. 2008. *Flexible bilingualism in heritage language schools*. Paper presented at Urban Multilingualism and Intercultural Communication, Antwerp, Belgium.
- Creese, Angela; Blackledge, Adrian. 2010. "Translanguaging in the bilingual classroom: a pedagogy for learning and teaching?". *The Modern Language Journal* 94(1), 103-115.

- Coyle, Do; Hood, Philip; Marsh, David. 2010. *Content and language integrated learning*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cummins, Jim. 1979. "Cognitive/academic language proficiency, linguistic interdependence, the optimum age question, and some other matters". *Working Papers on Bilingualism* 19, 121-129.
- Cummins, Jim. 1980. "The cross-lingual dimension of language proficiency: implications for bilingual education and the optimal age issue". *TESOL Quarterly* 14(2), 175-187.
- Cummins, Jim. 2005. "A proposal for action: strategies for recognizing heritage language competence as a learning resource within the mainstream classroom". *The Modern Language Journal* 89(4), 585-592.
- Cummins, Jim. 2009a. "Fundamental psycholinguistic and sociological principles underlying educational success for linguistic minority students". In Skutnabb-Kangas, Tove (ed.). *Social justice through multilingual education*. Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters, 19-35.
- Cummins, Jim. 2009b. "Multilingualism in the English-language classroom: pedagogical considerations". *TESOL Quarterly: A Journal for Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages and of Standard English as a Second Dialect* 43(2), 317-321.
- Dalton-Puffer, Christiane. 2007. *Discourse in content and language integrated learning (CLIL) classrooms*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Dalton-Puffer, Christiane. 2011. "Content-and-language integrated learning: from practice to principles?". *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* 31, 182-204.
- Dalton-Puffer, Christiane; Llinares, Ana; Lorenzo, Francisco; Nikula, Tarja. 2014. "'You can stand under my umbrella': immersion, CLIL and bilingual education. A response to Cenoz, Genesee & Gorter (2013)". *Applied Linguistics* 35(2), 213-218.
- Dalton-Puffer, Christiane; Nikula, Tarja. 2014. "Content and language integrated learning". *The Language Learning Journal* 42(2), 117-122.
- Dalton-Puffer, Christiane; Nikula, Tarja; Smit, Ute. 2010. "Charting policies, premises and research on content and language integrated learning". In Dalton-Puffer, Christiane; Nikula, Tarja; Smit, Ute. (eds.). *Language use and language learning in CLIL classrooms*. Amsterdam (a.o.): John Benjamins.
- Dalton-Puffer, Christiane; Smit, Ute. 2013. "Content and language integrated learning: a research agenda". *Language Teaching* 46, 545-559.
- Dörnyei, Zoltán. 2007. *Research methods in applied linguistics: quantitative, qualitative, and mixed methodologies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- European Commission. 1995. *White paper on education and learning: teaching and learning. Towards the learning society*.
- Eurydice. 2005. *Content and language integrated learning (CLIL) at school in Europe – Austria: national description 2004/05*. Brussels: European Commission.
- Eurydice. 2006. *Content and language integrated learning (CLIL) at school in Europe*. Brussels: European Commission. (available at www.eurydice.org)
- Gallagher, Fiona; Colohan, Gerry. 2014. "T(w)o and fro: using the L1 as a language teaching tool in the CLIL classroom". *The Language Learning Journal*, 1-14.
- García, Ofelia. 2009. *Bilingual education in the 21st century: a global perspective*. Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell.
- García, Ofelia. 2012. "Theorizing translanguaging for educators". In Celic, Christina; Seltzer, Kate (eds.). *Translanguaging: a CUNY-NYSIEB guide for educators*.

- <http://www.nysieb.ws.gc.cuny.edu/files/2012/06/FINAL-Translanguaging-Guide-With-Cover-1.pdf>
- García, Ofelia; Otheguy, Ricardo. 2015. "Spanish and hispanic bilingualism". In Lacorte, Manel (ed.). *The Routledge handbook of Hispanic applied linguistics*. New York: Routledge.
- García, Ofelia; Kleifgen, Jo Ann. 2010. *Educating emergent bilinguals: policies, programs, and practices for English language learners*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
- García, Ofelia; Li, Wei. 2014. *Translanguaging. Language, bilingualism and education*. Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.
- García, Ofelia; Sylvan, Claire. 2011. "Pedagogies and practices in multilingual classrooms: singularities in pluralities". *The Modern Language Journal* 95(3), 385-400.
- Gené Gil, Maria, Garau, Maria; Salazar Noguera, Joana. 2012. "A case study exploring the language choice between the target language and the L1s in mainstream CLIL and EFL secondary education". *Revista de Lingüística y Lenguas Aplicadas* 7(1), 133-146.
- Gierlinger, Erwin. 2015. "'You can speak German, sir': on the complexity of teachers' L1 use in CLIL". *Language and Education* 29(4), 347-368.
- Giles, Howard; Coupland, Nikolas. 1991. *Language: contexts and consequences*. Keynes: Open University Press.
- Gravelle, Maggie. 1996. *Supporting bilingual learners in schools*. Stoke-on-Trent, UK: Trentham Books.
- Grosjean, François. 1982. *Life with two languages*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Grosjean, François. 2010. *Bilingual: life and reality*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Gumperz, John. 1982. *Discourse strategies*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Heller, Monica. 1999. *Linguistic minorities and modernity: a sociolinguistic ethnography*. London: Longman.
- Hornberger, Nancy; Link, Holly. 2012. "Translanguaging and transnational literacies in multilingual classrooms: a biliteracy lens". *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 15(3), 261-278.
- Hoshino, Noriko; Thierry, Guillaume. 2011. "Language selection in bilingual word production: electrophysiological evidence for cross-language competition". *Brain Research* 1371, 100-109.
- Howatt, Anthony. 1984. *A history of English language teaching*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- http://www.brg14.at/?page_id=4238, (2.2.2016)
- <http://www.europabuero.ssr-wien.at/>, (2.2.2016)
- <http://www.htl.at/htlat/schwerpunktportale/clil-content-and-language-integrated-learning.html>, (2.2.2016)
- <http://www.schulamts.at/index.php/religionsunterricht/faq/96-abmeldung-vom-religionsunterricht>, 5.2.2016
- <https://www.wien.gv.at/rk/msg/2003/0410/014.html>, (4.2.2016)
- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uk0ygruQ7pw>, (9.2.2016)

- Hüttner, Julia; Dalton-Puffer, Christiane; Smit, Ute. 2013. "The power of beliefs: lay theories and their influence on the implementation of CLIL programmes". *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 16(3), 267-284.
- Ioannou Georgiou, Sophie. 2012. "Reviewing the puzzle of CLIL". *ELT Journal* 66(4), 495-504.
- Jacobson, Rodolfo; Faltis, Christian. 1990. *Language distribution issues in bilingual schooling*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Jewitt, Carey (ed.). 2003. *Multimodal literacy*. New York: Lang.
- Jørgensen, Jens. 2008. "Polylingual languaging around and among children and adolescents". *International Journal of Multilingualism* 5(3), 161-176.
- Jørgensen, Jens; Karrebak, Martha; Madsen, Lian; Møller, Janus. 2011. "Polylinguaging in superdiversity". *Diversities* 13(2), 23-38.
- Koller, Alexandra. 2014. "Cooperation for content and language integration in CLIL". Diploma thesis, University of Vienna.
- Kontio, Janne; Sylvén, Liss. 2015. "Language alternation and language norm in vocational content and language integrated learning (CLIL)". *The Language Learning Journal*, 1-15.
- Krashen, Stephen. 1982. *Principles and practice in second language acquisition*. Oxford: Pergamon.
- Kumaravivelu, B. 1999. "Critical classroom discourse analysis". *TESOL Quarterly* 33(3), 453-484.
- Lasagabaster, David. 2013. "The use of the L1 in CLIL classes: the teacher's perspective". *Latin American Journal of Content and Language Integrated Learning* 6(2), 1-21.
- Lemke, Jay. 2002. "Language development and identity: Multiple timescales in the social ecology of learning". In Kramsch, Claire (ed.). *Language acquisition and language socialization*. London: Continuum, 68-87.
- Levine, Glenn. 2003. "Student and instructor beliefs and attitudes about target language use, first language use, and anxiety: report of a questionnaire study". *The Modern Language Journal* 87: 343-364.
- Lewis, Gwyn; Jones, Bryn; Baker, Colin. 2012a. "Translanguaging: origins and development from school to street and beyond". *Educational Research and Evaluation: An International Journal on Theory and Practice* 18(7), 641-654.
- Lewis, Gwyn; Jones, Bryn; Baker, Colin. 2012b. "Translanguaging: developing its conceptualisation and contextualisation". *Educational Research and Evaluation: An International Journal on Theory and Practice* 18 (7), 655-670.
- Li, Wei. 2011. "Moment analysis and translanguaging space: discursive construction of identities by multilingual Chinese youth in Britain". *Journal of Pragmatics* 43(5), 1222-1235.
- Lin, Angel. 2012. "Multilingual and multimodal resources in genre-based pedagogical approaches to L2 English content classrooms". In Leung, Constand; Street, Brian (eds.). *English a changing medium for education*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Lin, Angel. 2015. "Conceptualising the potential role of L1 in CLIL". *Language, Culture and Curriculum* 28(1), 74-89.
- Lin, Angel; Wu, Yanming. 2014. "'May I speak Cantonese?' – Co-constructing a scientific proof in an EFL junior secondary science classroom". *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 18(3), 289-305.

- Lo, Yuen Yi. 2015. "How much L1 is too much? Teachers' language use in response to students' abilities and classroom interaction in content an language integrated learning". *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 18(3), 270-288.
- Lo, Yuen Yi; Lin, Angel. 2015. „Special issue: designing multilingual and multimodal CLIL frameworks for EFL students“. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 18(3), 261-269.
- Loewen, Shawn. 2014. *Introduction to instructed language acquisition*. New York: Routledge.
- Lyter, Roy. 2007. *Learning and teaching languages through content: a counterbalanced approach*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Macaro, Ernesto. 2006. "Codeswitching in the L2 classroom: a communication and learning strategy". In Llorca, Enric (ed.). *Non-native language teachers: perceptions, challenges and contributions to the profession*. New York: Springer, 63-84.
- Malakoff, Marguerite; Hakuta, Kenji. 1991. "Translation skill and metalinguistic awareness in bilinguals". In Bialystok, Ellen (ed.). *Language processing in bilingual children*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 141-166.
- Manyak, Patrick. 2004. "'What did she say?': translation in a primary-grade English immersion class". *Multicultural Perspectives* 6(1), 12-18.
- Marsh, David. (ed.). 2002. *CLIL/EMILE – The European dimension: actions, trends and foresight potential*. Brussels: European Commission.
- Martin, Peter. 2005. "'Safe' language practices in two rural schools in Malaysia: tensions between policy and practice". In Lin, Angel; Martin, Peter (eds.). *Decolonisation, globalisation: language-in-education policy and practice*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters, 74-97.
- Martin-Beltrán, Melinda. 2014. "'What do you want to say?' How adolescents use translanguaging to expand learning opportunities". *International Multilingual Research Journal* 8, 208-230.
- Mazak, Catherine; Herbas-Donoso, Claudia. 2014. "Translanguaging practices at a bilingual university: a case study of a science classroom". *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 18(6), 698-714.
- Mehisto, Peeter; Marsh, David; Frigols, María Jesús. 2008. *Uncovering CLIL: content and language integrated learning in bilingual and multilingual education*. Oxford: Macmillan Education.
- Melo-Pfeifer, Sílvia. 2015. "Translanguaging. Language, bilingualism and education". *Language and Intercultural Communication* 15(1), 179-181.
- Møller, Janus. 2008. "Polylingual performance among Turkish-Danes in late-modern Copenhagen". *International Journal of Multilingualism* 5(3), 217-236.
- Moore, Pat; Nikula, Tarja. In press. "Translanguaging in CLIL classrooms". In Nikula, Tarja; Dafouz, Emma; Moore Pat; Smit, Ute (eds.). *Conceptualising integration in CLIL and multilingual education*.
- Nikula, Tarja. 2007. "Speaking English in Finnish content-based classrooms". *World Englishes* 26 (2), 206-223.
- Nikula, Tarja; Dalton-Puffer, Christiane; Llinares. 2013. "CLIL classroom discourse: research from Europe". *Journal of Immersion and Content-Based Language Education* 1(1), 70-100.

- Ortega, Lourdes. 2014. "Ways forward for a Bi-/Multilingual Turn in SLA". In May, Stephen (ed.). *The Multilingual Turn: implications for SLA, TESOL and Bilingual Education*. New York & London: Routledge, 32-53.
- Palmer, Deborah; Martínez, Ramón; Mateus, Suzanne; Henderson, Kathryn. 2014. "Reframing the debate on language separation: toward a vision for translanguaging pedagogies in the dual language classroom". *The Modern Language Journal* 98 (3), 757-772.
- Paquet-Gauthier, Myriam. Beaulieu, Suzie. 2016. "Can language classrooms take the multilingual turn?". *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 37(2), 167-183.
- Poplack, Shana. 1980. "Sometimes I'll start a sentence in English y termino en español: Toward a typology of code-switching". *Linguistics* 18, 581-618.
- Ruiz de Zarobe, Yolanda; Cenoz, Jasone. 2015. "Way forward in the twenty-first century in content-based instruction: moving towards integration". *Language, Culture and Curriculum* 28(1), 90-96.
- Schachter, Jacquelyn; Gass, Susan. 1996. "Introduction". In Schachter, Jacquelyn; Gass, Susan (eds.). *Second language classroom research: issues and opportunities*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Swain, Merrill. 1983. "Bilingualism without tears". In Clark, Mark; Handscombe, Jean (eds.). *On TESOL '82: Pacific perspectives on language and teaching*. Washington DC: TESOL, 35-46.
- Swain, Merrill; Kinnear, Penny; Steinman, Linda. 2015. *Sociocultural theory in second language education: an introduction through narratives*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Swain, Merrill; Kirkpatrick, Andy; Cummins, Jim. 2011. *How to have a guilt-free life using Cantonese in the English class: a handbook for the English language teacher in Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: Research Centre into Language Acquisition and Education in Multilingual Societies, Hong Kong Institute of Education.
- Torres-Guzmán, Maria. 2007. "Dual language programs: key features and results". In García, Ofelia; Baker, Colin (eds.). *Bilingual education: an introductory reader*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters, 50-63.
- Tuder, Julia. 2015. *Literature review - Translanguaging in bilingual education and its value for CLIL*. Unpublished seminar paper, University of Vienna.
- Turnbull, Miles. 2001. "There is a role for the L1 in second and foreign language teaching, but...". *The Canadian Modern Language Review* 57, 531-540.
- Turner, Lynn; West, Richard. 2010. *Introducing communication theory: analysis and application*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Velasco, Patricia; García, Ofelia. 2014. "Translanguaging and the writing of bilingual learners". *Bilingual Research Journal: The Journal of the National Association for Bilingual Education* 37(1), 6-23.
- VOICE Project. 2007. *VOICE Transcription Conventions [2.1]*.
http://www.univie.ac.at/voice/voice.php?page=transcription_general_information (1.3.2016).
- Walsh, Steve. *Exploring classroom discourse: language in action*. London: Routledge.
- Weinreich, Uriel. 1967. *Languages in contact, findings and problems*. The Hague: Mouton.

- Williams, Cen. 1996. "Secondary education: teaching in the bilingual situation". In Williams, Cen, Lewis, Gwyn; Baker, Colin (eds.). *The language policy: taking stock*. Llangefni, Wales: CAI, 39-78.
- Wolff, Dieter. 2007. "CLIL: bridging the gap between school and working life". In Marsh, David; Wolff, Dieter (eds.). *Diverse contexts – converging goals. CLIL in Europe*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- Wright, Tony. 2005. *Classroom management in language education*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Zuengler, Jane; Mori, Junko. 2002. "Microanalyses of classroom discourse: a critical consideration of method". *Applied Linguistics* 23(3), 283-288.

9. Appendix

8.1. Abstract (English)

The question of language choice in the bilingual classroom is an important field of research and no unanimous understanding on this issue has been reached so far. To contribute to research on this topic, this diploma thesis explores the concept of translanguaging in an Austrian CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning) classroom context. Translanguaging offers a view on language choice in the classroom that does not only focus on the linguistic codes – as codeswitching research does to a great extent – but it also views language choice from a socio- and psycholinguistic perspective. Furthermore, a key feature of translanguaging is that it regards a bi- or multilingual speaker's languages as belonging to one repertoire and not as separate entities. The empirical part of this thesis then includes the analysis of the transcripts of four CLIL lessons recorded in the same upper secondary classroom in Vienna. The analysis investigates in how far translanguaging is practiced by the two teachers and the students in this specific CLIL classroom context. The findings show that bilingual language resources are used as a strategy by all participants, and that this allows students and teachers to language creatively and purposefully. Furthermore, viewing this classroom context from a translanguaging perspective means that not only verbal communication is investigated but attention is similarly drawn to how materials and resources are used to convey and express meanings. All in all, this study confirms the usefulness of translanguaging and emphasises the value of employing students' and teachers' English as well as German language resources in the CLIL classroom.

8.2. Abstract (German)

In bilingualen Klassenzimmern stellt sich immer wieder die Frage, inwiefern die Muttersprache der SchülerInnen in den Unterricht eingebunden werden soll. Noch hat die Forschung in diesem Feld diese Frage aber nicht vollständig geklärt. Um zu diesem Thema beizutragen, beschäftigt sich diese Diplomarbeit mit der Frage, wie das Konzept von ‚Translanguaging‘ auf den österreichischen CLIL (Content and Language Integrated

Learning)-Unterricht angewandt werden kann. Dieses Konzept erlaubt einen Blick auf die Sprachwahl im Unterricht, der nicht nur den linguistischen Code in Betracht zieht, wie es oft der Fall in der Forschung zu Code-Switching ist, sondern die Sprachwahl auch aus einer sozio- und psycholinguistischen Perspektive betrachtet. Essentiell an ‚Translanguaging‘ ist zudem, dass die von bi- oder multilingualen Menschen gebrauchten Sprachen nicht als separate Einheiten, sondern als ein ganzes einheitliches Sprachrepertoire gesehen werden. Im Rahmen dieser Studie wurden vier CLIL-Unterrichtsstunden an einer Wiener AHS in einer siebten Klasse aufgenommen und transkribiert und auf den bilingualen Sprachgebrauch von SchülerInnen sowie Lehrpersonen analysiert. Zudem erlaubt eine Translanguaging-Analyse auch, die Verwendung von Materialien und anderer Ressourcen als Kommunikationsmittel in Betracht zu ziehen. Die Ergebnisse der Studie bestätigen, dass Translanguaging eine wichtige Rolle im CLIL-Unterricht spielt und belegen die Nützlichkeit und den Wert für SchülerInnen und Lehrpersonen, welche dafür sowohl ihre englischen als auch deutschen Sprachressourcen nutzen dürfen.

8.3. Transcription conventions

The following transcription conventions were used and they are based on the VOICE transcription conventions (2007). They have been adopted and adapted for the transcription of the classroom recordings:

Emphasis – capital letters

Laughter – @

pronunciation variations – <ipa></ipa>

speaking modes – <reading aloud> </reading aloud> <spoken with exaggerated austrian accent> </spoken with exaggerated austrian accent>

anonymisation – [Sf]

contextual events – {} curly brackets

rising intonation – ?

word coinages – <pvc> </pvc>

The following speaker identities were used for unknown male or female participant students:

Sf – female student

Sf – male student

Speakers who were clearly distinguishable from other participants were re-named by the transcriber for anonymity purposes. The following teacher identities were used:

T1 – female RE teacher

T2 – male GE teacher

NS-T – native speaker teacher