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„On the use of the L1 in beginner's English and French language classrooms – a case study of Austrian teachers' beliefs and practices"

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1 Introduction

Student: "Peter liegt am Boden und atmet nicht mehr!" [Peter is lying on the floor and doesn't breathe anymore!]

Teacher: "En français, s'il te plaît!" [In French, please!]

First language use in the foreign language classroom is a controversial and hotly debated issue in language teaching methodology. Throughout the 20th century, the role of the mother tongue has been downplayed or ignored altogether, suggesting that target language exclusivity and the monolingual principle, as the teacher in the introductory quote appears to pursue it, are the preferable ways of teaching a second or foreign language (Cook 2001: 403-404) (see chapter 4). Research on teachers' beliefs indicates that language teachers largely believe in target language exclusivity or at least in a need for extensive target language use (Macaro 2009: 36). However, research also shows that espoused beliefs are often incongruent with enacted practices (Borg 2011: 167) (see chapter 3), and that the mother tongue is very much present in the foreign language classroom (Simon 2001: 319). In recent years, theorists have called the monolingual principle into question and demanded a re-evaluation of the role of the mother tongue in foreign language teaching (Macaro 2001: 531). Some suggest that the first language is a valuable resource that can be beneficial for foreign language teaching and learning (Cook 2001: 402) (see chapter 4).

In light of these theoretical considerations, a case study was conducted to explore English and French language classrooms at an Austrian general high-school (AHS). The school is of particular interest, because students can choose between English and French as their first foreign language. Through teacher interviews and classroom observations, the study aims to understand foreign language teachers' beliefs and practices of the first language when teaching beginners.

Before presenting the results of the empirical work in part II, this thesis will discuss the theoretical background of the case study. Part I will begin by contextualising the foreign language classroom. Chapter 2 will discuss unique features of the language classroom and attempt to define the studied beginners' classroom. Subsections will further present English and French language teaching in the context of the Austrian education system, and show how the two teaching contexts differ. The final subsection will raise some terminological issues.

Moreover, chapter 3 will provide theoretical considerations on the research field of teachers' beliefs and discuss definitions, and sources and functions of beliefs. The chapter will investigate how teachers' beliefs might change and how espoused beliefs are connected to enacted practices. A literature review will then focus on beliefs' language teachers hold towards the role of the mother tongue in second and foreign language teaching.

Furthermore, chapter 4 will investigate pedagogical and communicative aspects of the language use in foreign language teaching. The subsections will present a historical overview of language teaching methods, as well as the widespread approach of target language exclusivity, before turning to considerations on code choice in the foreign language classroom. The chapter will close with presenting the positive role the mother tongue can take in foreign language learning and its functions in foreign language teaching.

As for the empirical part, chapter 5 will present the research methodology of the study, including research instruments, data collection, transcription, data analysis, the research setting, and participants. Finally, chapter 6 will present the results of the case study and discuss them in relation to the theoretical considerations. The discussion will aim to integrate the present study into the existing body of research, and to identify unanswered questions that call for further research.

This project is driven by a personal interest in language teaching methodology and possible differences in conducting English and French foreign language teaching. The literature reviewed for this project is principally concerned with teaching English as a second and foreign language. Other language contexts are less represented in the literature. Additionally, no study to my knowledge explicitly compares two language teaching contexts, as attempted in this project. The results of this study will contribute to the literature on language classroom research in general and possibly provide insights into the teaching of distinct languages.

Part I – Theoretical background

2 Contextualising the foreign language classroom

School in general and the foreign language classroom in particular is often understood as a parallel universe where students are prepared for the real world outside the walls of the school building. Many linguists (e.g. Walsh 2011, Breen 1985) reject this notion and recognise the classroom as a social and linguistic context in its own right, characterised by specific features. In order to contextualise the foreign language classroom, this chapter will investigate specific features of the language classroom (subsection 2.1), and define the beginners' classroom (subsection 2.2). Subsection 2.3 will put English and French language teaching in to the context of the Austrian education system, before subsection 2.4 closes with the discussion of some terminological issues.

2.1 The nature of the language classroom

Communication between teachers and students is "highly complex and central to all classroom activities" and, as in other social and linguistic contexts, communication in the classroom is characterised by specific interactional features (Walsh 2011: 2). These interactional characteristics of the language classroom can be approached by viewing the foreign language classroom as a distinct speech community. Gumperz (1986: 16) defines a speech community as following:

> […] speakers [of a speech community] share knowledge of the communicative constraints and options governing a significant number of social situations. […] Members of the same speech community need not all speak the same language nor use the same linguistic forms on similar occasions. All that is required is that there be at least one language in common and that rules governing basic communicative strategies be shared so that speakers can decode the social meanings carried by alternative modes of communication.

The classroom is only one of the many social situations where a speech community shares knowledge, which indicates that the concept of the speech community is broader than the notion of the classroom. Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that the "shared knowledge of the communicative constraints and options" Gumperz (1986: 16) refers to coincides with Walsh's (2011: 4-17) features of classroom interaction.

The first feature of classroom interaction concerns control of an interaction. The participants of the speech community, teachers and students, are aware of their asymmetrical roles in the classroom. No matter how learner-centred the classroom, teachers assume a role of authority.

They are usually in control of the interaction, decide on the topic, grant students speaking time, might interrupt students, etc. The students are clearly in a less powerful position than the teacher, and therefore often exhibit restraint in their communication.

The difference in hierarchical status between teachers and students also indicates that these participants assume divergent roles and relationships. Simon (2001) explains that the roles and relationships of the members of the language classroom entail multiple identities. On the one hand, the language students take on the institutional role of the learner, on the other hand, they take on the social role of "a speaker in a conversational exchange" in a specific speech community (Simon 2001: 336). Similarly, the teacher occupies the role of the institutional authority, as well as the role of a member of the speech community.

The second characteristic of the language classroom is speech modification. This again applies rather to the teachers than the students. Teachers adapt their speech and often use a "restricted code" that can be compared to parents talking to their young children (Walsh 2011: 6). Teachers employ a great number of modification strategies, such as speaking more slowly, more loudly, more deliberately, with more gestures, etc. The reason why teachers modify their speech is primarily to make themselves understood. Understanding each other is crucial for successful interaction in any speech community. A modification strategy which is not mentioned by Walsh does not suggest a restricted code, but employs an alternative code altogether, for example, the students' first language. Other characteristics of the language classroom are elicitation techniques, or how to get a learner to respond, and repair, or how to deal with errors (Walsh 2011: 6-7).

One last feature specifically applies to the language classroom. Long (1996) addresses in his Interactional Hypothesis that every kind of learning or knowledge acquisition happens through interaction and language. For example, in a traditional history classroom, history is the object of study, and learning is achieved through the means of language. Walsh (2011: 2) points out that in the language classroom, the object of study is the language itself. At the same time, the language is also the vehicle of study. Hence, in the language classroom the language is both object and vehicle of study. With regard to second and foreign language teaching, the equation is just as applicable: in the foreign language classroom, the foreign language is both the object and the vehicle of study. From a pedagogical point of view, this equation suggests that the target language is automatically the medium of instruction. The question of the medium of instruction in the foreign language classroom has been hotly debated for decades and is still highly controversial (Turnbull & Dailey-O'Cain 2009:1-2)

(see chapter 4). It should be underlined that the target language can be considered the default code choice in the foreign language classroom.

Simon (2001: 319) describes this default code choice as a "tacit contract [between teachers and students] to use the foreign language exclusively" in the foreign language classroom. Simon's (2001) assumption of a tacit contract reflects that the foreign language classroom has properties of a speech community. All participants share the knowledge, knowledge which does not even have to be verbalised, that in the foreign language classroom the foreign language is the main means of communication. However, it has been observed on countless occasions that the foreign language is not exclusively used and that the students' mother tongue is also present in the foreign language classroom (e.g. Blyth 1995, Castellotti & Moore 1997) (see chapter 4).

It has been established that the foreign language classroom is a social and linguistic context with specific characteristics and interactional features. It is most important that in the language classroom the language is both the vehicle and the object of study. The following subsection will look more closely at the specific context of this study, namely the English and French beginners' classroom in Austria.

2.2 The beginners' classroom

This study focuses on teachers' beliefs and practices of first language use in the specific context of the beginners' classroom. As one Austrian foreign language teacher suggests, the beginners' classroom comprises mostly of the first and second years of lower secondary school, when instructed foreign language teaching and learning generally commence. Definitions of the beginners' classroom are generally very vague. Knapp-Potthoff (2003: 455) speaks of "Neubeginn im Sinne eines Erstkontaktes mit einer fremden Sprache" [beginning to learn a foreign language in terms of a first contact with the language, *my translation*]. Teachers in this case study define the beginners' classroom similarly as a first contact with a new language, or as a first confrontation with a language that is not the mother tongue.

However, these characteristics of the beginners' classroom do not necessarily apply to this study. Due to pre-school and primary school language teaching, students do not start learning a foreign language from scratch when they enter secondary school. Fägersten (2012: 82) points out that "instruction in English is characterized by generally preexisting familiarity and basic skills". This situation is also reflected in the teacher interviews of this project.

When asked about what makes the difference between teaching English and French to beginners, one teacher notes that one can expect much more prior knowledge in English than in French. This indicates that English learners in secondary school in Austria tend not to be complete beginners.

The same is true for the studied French classroom, which is not a traditional French second foreign language classroom. The students of a so called FIPS (Français intégré aux projets dans le secondaire) class study French as their first foreign language. They all have a certain amount of prior knowledge of French. Some have one or two French-speaking parents, some others learned French at primary school. Again, students in this language class are technically not complete beginners. Nevertheless, teachers make use of school books, such as *Amis et compagnie* (Samson 2008) and *The new you and me* (Gerngroß et al. 2005), for French and English respectively, that are designed for beginners with no prior knowledge.

2.3 Teaching English and French in Austria

As for the foreign languages classroom in Austria, some methodological issues might arise from the status of the taught language, the motivation to learn a specific language, and the amount of target language exposure.

2.3.1 The special status of English

The English language is on its way of becoming *the* world language. In fact, about one quarter of the world's population can communicate in English. Moreover, English is the most taught and learned language in the world (Crystal 2003: 69). With regard to the English-speaking population, Kachru's (1992) original model of English in the world describes firstly an Inner Circle, where English is spoken as a native language (e.g. United Kingdom, United States, Australia). Secondly, he describes an Outer Circle, where, for historical reasons, English is often spoken as second language and has, amongst other languages, official status (e.g. Nigeria, India). Thirdly, he describes the Expanding Circle, where English is learned as a foreign language (e.g. Austria, France). For the last group, English is significant not for historical, but for cultural and economic reasons. Over the last decades, the *Expanding Circle* has grown ever larger, and today non-native English speakers far outnumber native English speakers. This development means that Austrian students are much more likely to speak English with non-natives than with natives (Seidlhofer 2004: 211).

The global spread of the English language has multiple reasons. Historically, the vast expansion of the British empire and the rise of the United States to a world power advanced

the diffusion of English. In the last century, English was always one of the working languages, or the only working language of major political and economic institutions, such as the UN, NATO, Council of Europe, the EU, OPEC, and ASEAN, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations. Moreover, English is the language of popular culture. The American entertainment industry makes music, movies, TV series, etc. in English available all over the world (Kötter 2016: 502). Furthermore, English is taught at school in approximately 100 countries around the world, which makes it the most widespread language amongst teenagers (Crystal 2003: 6). Finally, an English dominated internet has also helped to bring the language into world's most remote places.

All these factors have made English a global lingua franca and the primary means of international communication in business, technology, science, media, entertainment, travel, and so forth. This global linguistic phenomenon has been given an array of terms, such as *International English* (Jenkins 2000), *World English* (Mair 2003), or *Global English* (Crystal 2003), but it is most prominently referred to as *English as a Lingua Franca* (ELF) and defined as "communication in English between speakers with different first languages" (Seidlhofer 2005: 339).

The spread of English and its importance as language of business, science, technology, travel, etc. also has an impact on the Austrian education system. Among modern languages, English clearly dominates in schools. 99% of lower secondary school students and 96% of upper secondary school students study English (ÖSZ 2007). Obligatory foreign language sessions in primary schools were introduced in 2003. English also dominates at the primary school level with 97% of students learning the language (ÖSZ 2007). Even though English is not stipulated by the curriculum, figures reveal that it is the top first foreign language in Austria. For the Austrian school-leaving exam Matura at general high-schools, students are obliged to take, inter alia, one written exam of a foreign language (classic, modern, first, second or another foreign language which has been taught for a certain minimum hours) (Bundeskanzleramt RIS 2016). In practice, the clear majority of students takes English for Matura, which influences their extrinsic motivation to study the subject.

Furthermore, a significant educational trend in Europe and Austria is the introduction of Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL), where teaching combines content subjects and language instruction. In this setting, e.g. a geography lesson is taught in the foreign language. English dominates again as the medium of instruction, partially due to the demand of parents (Dalton-Puffer, Faistauer & Vetter 2011: 183).

2.3.2 Some issues with French

French is still widely spoken throughout the world, for example, in France, Belgium, Switzerland, Quebec, and many countries on the African continent and in the Pacific Ocean. However, French is increasingly losing influence. Even though French is one of the working languages of the European Union, it must frequently give way to English (Minuth 2016: 507). Additionally, a study conducted by the Austrian Federal Economic Chamber (WKO) has shown that Austrian business people primarily rely on English for communication. Only for a minimum of occasions do they need Italian before French (Eisl 2010: 182).

In the Austrian education system, French is traditionally taught as a second foreign language and mostly in upper secondary school. Although the explanations in this section are less applicable to the investigated FIPS classroom, where French is taught as a first foreign language, they are still important to take into consideration for this project. Amongst the second foreign languages, French is still in a leading position, studied by 25% of students in upper secondary level. In primary school, only 1% studies French. Although French has long been the most studied foreign language after English, it is increasingly losing ground in favour of Spanish and Italian. CLIL lessons where French is the medium of instruction are rather insignificant (Eisl 2010: 183).

The emergence of English as a global lingua franca and the impact this has had on other languages might have had an influence on how modern languages are taught and learned. The following two subsections will investigate how motivation and linguistic exposure may vary in English and French foreign language teaching in Austria.

2.3.3 Motivation

The progression and ultimate success of acquiring a foreign language are influenced by numerous factors, e.g. learner aptitude, personality, intelligence, motivation, age, exposure, etc. (Lightbow & Spada 1999). Teaching and learning English and French in the Austrian education system seemingly differ especially with regard to motivation and exposure.

Research has shown that motivation and positive attitudes are connected to second language learning. However, it is still unclear how exactly motivation increases success, or if success in turn increases motivation. Motivation in language learning is a complex phenomenon and comprises (a) the learner's communicative needs, and (b) the learner's attitudes towards the target language and the target community. According to Lightbow and Spada (1999: 56),

> [i]f learners need to speak the second language in a wide range of social situations or to fulfil professional ambitions, they will perceive the communicative value of the second language and will therefore be motivated to acquire proficiency in it. Likewise, if learners have favourable attitudes towards the speakers of the language, they will desire more contact with them.

The special status of English as global means of communication certainly impacts a learner's communicative needs. Today, knowing English can be considered a job prerequisite in nearly every industry, on an international, and a national level. As McKay (2003: 127) points out, "the second language that almost everyone is engaged in learning is English, primarily because it is seen as having more economic capital and international currency". In contrast, French is used less and less in political and economic settings, consequently decreasing the need for Austrian teenagers to acquire it for future professional purposes. Moreover, French suffers a relatively negative reputation amongst Austrian teenagers. It is often seen as a language of luxury, diplomacy, and an elitist society. Prejudices are also held towards the native population, French people are largely perceived as arrogant and unwelcoming by Austrian students (Eisl 2010: 183-184).

Another important aspect affecting both French teaching and learning is the perceived difficulty of the language. The teacher in the pilot study mentioned that French is more difficult to learn, and therefore must be approached in a methodologically different way than English. In fact, French poses several problems to beginners with German as their native language. French phonology with its nasal sounds, morpho-syntactic differences with German, divergence between pronunciation and spelling, etc. are hard to grasp for beginners. Turkish natives are at least aided by a great number of French loan words in their first language. Additionally, everyday language, music and movies are particularly difficult to understand due to elision, contractions, and *verlan*, a form of French teenage slang (Minuth 2016: 508). To sum up, the above explanations indicate that Austrian teenagers have more motivation to learn English than French.

2.3.4 Exposure

Quality and quantity of input of the target language and exposure to it, especially outside the language classroom, make a difference between English and French foreign language teaching in Austria. Like motivation, input and exposure in second language acquisition are complicated matters, and the literature does not agree on how exactly they affect second language acquisition. Nevertheless, there is overwhelming consensus that input and exposure are crucial for second language acquisition (Young-Scholten & Piske 2009) and

studies confirm that "amount of exposure never ceases to be a determinant factor" (Muñoz 2014: 466).

In traditional French foreign language teaching in Austria, the classroom is usually the sole environment where students encounter French, with the teacher being their primary interlocutor. As one participant of this expressed, unless the student's parents are very fond of the French language and regularly travel to France, Austrian teenagers do not get in touch with French outside school. Compared to French, English is much more present in the world of Austrian teenagers. Given the presence of Anglophone entertainment and pop culture, students watch TV series and read books in English before they become available in any other language. Students hear music in English on the radio, watch YouTube videos, read blogs on the internet and are, hence, much more surrounded and embedded in the English language. In sum, the availability of resources in the target language for both teachers and students might have an impact on teaching and learning the foreign language (Eisl 2010: 1984).

2.4 Terminological issues

The use of terms, such as mother tongue, first language, or foreign language, as was regularly done in previous sections, calls for a specification of these linguistic labels. The distinction between *foreign* and *second* language was introduced in English language teaching in the mid-20th century (Howatt 2005). Klein (1986: 19) describes the two terms as follows:

> The term 'foreign language' is used to denote a language acquired in a milieu where it is normally not in use […] and which, when acquired, is not used by the learner in routine situations. […] A 'second language' on the other hand, is one that becomes another tool of communication alongside the first language; it is typically acquired in a social environment in which it is actually spoken.

This definition is based on a distinction of two dimensions. Firstly, the local dimension refers to the language being used in a native speaker environment. Secondly, the social dimension refers to the current communication needs of the learner. Klein's (1986) definition might be applicable when talking about French language teaching in Austria, but becomes problematic when talking about English language teaching in Austria and elsewhere. As was described above, English is becoming the global means of communication and is easily accessible even in non-native speaker environments. Therefore, Fägersten (2012: 82) claims that English is no longer a foreign language, but a second language for the global population. Even though the distinction between second and foreign language is questioned (e.g. Mitchell, Myles & Marsden 2013: 1), it is still widely used in the language classroom

literature. Since in the Austrian language teaching curriculum (BMB 2016: 1) English and French are referred to as foreign languages, this project will keep the same label.

Just as second and foreign language teaching and learning are debatable labels, so are L1 (first language) and L2 (second language). Given increasing global multilingualism and the rise of English as a global lingua franca, assuming a distinctive mother tongue, clearly separated first and second languages, and isolated foreign languages is outdated (Cook 2011: 2001: 140). Therefore, it seems more appropriate for this project to adopt Edmondson's (2004) terminology of *target language* and *common language*. The target language represents the language learned and taught in the foreign language classroom (Edmondson 2004: 156). The common language, similar to Gumperz' (1986) phrasing, is some other language shared by the participants. This might be the national language or a local dialect, the language in which the educational institution operates, and/or the mother tongue of some or all the students, and the teacher (Pochard 1997: 411-413). In the case of this project, English and French are the target languages, German is the common language.

2.5 Summary

The aim of this chapter was to contextualise the foreign language classroom and describe it in the context of the Austrian school system. It has been established that the foreign language classroom is a unique social and linguistic context where participants with different statuses and roles come together for the purpose of acquiring mastery of a foreign language. The fact that the foreign language is both object and vehicle of study adds to the uniqueness of this classroom. It has also been discussed that the term foreign language is debatable. The spread of the English language and its omnipresence in the world of Austrian teenagers makes the language in fact highly familiar. Additionally, students of the studied FIPS classroom are partially bilingual, and therefore not technically exposed to a foreign language. Furthermore, a focus was set on institutional conditions of language teaching, motivation and exposure that affect language acquisition and, consequently, language teaching. The following chapter will present one of the theoretical frameworks for this case study and discuss research on teachers' beliefs.

3 Teachers' beliefs

Teachers are active, thinking decision-makers who make instructional choices by drawing on complex, practically-oriented, personalised, and context-sensitive networks of knowledge, thoughts, and beliefs.
(Borg 2003: 81)

This introductory citation illuminates the complex inner workings of a teacher when making informed decisions about teaching. Borg (2003) presents the numerous aspects teachers take into consideration in order to reach these informed professional decisions. The aspect that Borg (2003: 81) mentions last, namely beliefs, will be investigated in this chapter. To understand the relationship between teachers' beliefs and teachers' practices (subsection 3.4), the following subsections will explore definitions and characteristics of beliefs in general and teachers' beliefs in particular (subsection 3.1), sources and functions of teachers' beliefs (subsection 3.2), and change of teachers' beliefs (subsection 3.3). The final subsection 3.5 will be concerned with teachers' beliefs specifically about the use of the L1 in foreign language teaching, which is also one of the foci of the empirical study.

3.1 Defining teachers' beliefs

Research into teachers' beliefs aims to better understand teachers' behaviour and their practices. Pajares (1992: 307) points out that the underlying assumption of these studies is that "beliefs are the best indicators of the decisions individuals make throughout their lives". In fact, it is generally accepted that the beliefs teachers hold significantly influence their professional judgment and classroom behaviour (Skott 2015: 16). Additionally, it is suggested that, in order to improve teachers' practices, it is vital to understand their beliefs (Pajares 1992: 307).

Studies into teachers' beliefs are generally confronted with a common obstacle: defining the concept of beliefs. Reasons for this challenge are the frequent use of the term *belief* in everyday conversation and the abundance of synonymous terms found in the literature, e.g. attitudes, opinion, values, perceptions, internal mental processes, practical principles, and so forth (Pajares 1992: 308-309). Additionally, teachers' beliefs are often studied under the name of teacher cognition. This terminological inconsistency and the fact that researchers often only define the concept so that it fits their own studies are additional reasons for the methodological discrepancy in the literature (Skott 2015: 18).

Despite the lack of consensus on the concept of beliefs, Skott (2015: 18-19) describes four key aspects of beliefs on which researchers in the field seem to sufficiently agree. Firstly, he identifies that "[beliefs] describe individual mental constructs, which are subjectively true for the person in question". Subjective truth implies that the person is to some extent convinced by their beliefs, and that the person can hold these beliefs even though they might appear unreasonable. Secondly, beliefs have both cognitive and affective aspects. Thirdly, "[beliefs] are temporally and contextually stable reifications that are likely to change only as a result of substantial engagement in relevant social practices". In other words, beliefs are very resistant to change, unless the person makes a significant experience which touches them profoundly. As for teachers, such experiences can arise from their personal lives, their time at school, their education programmes, and their work in educational institutions. Lastly, and as indicated above, beliefs are understood to influence practice. In other words, teachers might be led by their beliefs in the way they approach their teaching, and in the way, they deal with problems of their practice. However, this causal relationship between beliefs and practice is often questioned (Kagan 1990). A proposedly more dynamic but also more arbitrary link between the two concepts will be discussed in subsection 3.4.

Identifying characteristics of teachers' beliefs elucidates a further central issue of the above-mentioned methodological discrepancy: the distinction between knowledge and beliefs. There is disagreement on a clear distinction in the literature, as Kagan (1990), for instance, makes no difference between the two concepts. She indicates that teachers' knowledge is subjective, therefore, very much like beliefs. However, other scholars (e.g., Pajares 1992, Richardson 1996) discriminate between the two concepts. Richardson (1996: 103) states that a lack of differentiation between knowledge and beliefs has caused confusion in the research of teachers' beliefs. In the many disciplines, which are interested in the study of beliefs, such as philosophy, sociology, etc., the concept of knowledge is attributed some sort of truth condition, meaning that the members of a community agree that a proposition to be true. Richardson (2003: 3) argues similarly to Pajares (1992: 309) that beliefs are highly individual, are only true for the beholder, and do not require the consensus and agreement of the community. In contrast, "knowledge [is considered as] a set of warranted propositions held by a community of experts" (Richardson 2003: 4). Borg's (2011: 370-371) rather open definition of beliefs being "propositions individuals consider to be true and which are often tacit, have a strong evaluative and affective component, provide a basis for action, and are

resistant to change" appears most suitable for this empirical research and shall be adopted as working definition.

3.2 Sources and functions of teachers' beliefs

Beliefs can have a multitude of sources, of which Richardson (1996: 106) has described the three seemingly most important ones for teachers' beliefs: (1) personal experience, (2) experience with schooling and instruction, and (3) experience with formal knowledge (school subjects and pedagogical knowledge).

The form of personal experience includes a vast variety of aspects, such as

> formation of world view, intellectual and virtuous dispositions, beliefs about self in relation to others, understandings of relationship of schooling to society, and other forms of personal, familial, and cultural understandings[, e]thnic and socio-economic background, gender geographic location, religious upbringing, and life decisions (Richardson 1996: 106).

All these aspects potentially affect a teacher's beliefs system, and consequently, this person's development in teaching. A case study by Bullough and Knowles (1991) serves to exemplify this myriad of personal experience aspects. In this study on an individual novice teacher, the teacher had formulated a personal metaphor of her teaching approach. It was found that the teacher's initial metaphor for teaching, namely teaching as nurturing, was strongly influenced by the teacher' role of being a caring parent.

With regard to schooling, it has been suggested that teachers draw their beliefs mostly from being former students themselves and that pre-service teachers start their teacher education with profoundly held beliefs about teaching and learning based on those very experiences at school. Lortie (1975, cited in Borg 2003: 86) coined the term "apprenticeship of observation" to describe this phenomenon. When training for a profession, the apprentice usually discovers a completely new environment. When a young person studies law to become a lawyer, for instance, they have rarely been to a courtroom before, and will form their beliefs throughout the study programme and professional training. By contrast, every student who trains to become a teacher has been to school themselves and has been profoundly influenced by their personal perception of school, learning and teaching. Richardson (1996: 107) indicates that "these strong beliefs, in combination with the salience of the real world of teaching practice, create conditions that make it difficult for pre-service teacher education to have an impact". It becomes clear that experiences of schooling and instruction are a highly important source of teachers' beliefs.

The third source of teachers' beliefs, experience with formal knowledge, incorporates, on the one hand, knowledge of the subject matter and beliefs on how learners acquire this subject matter, and, on the other hand, pedagogical knowledge that student teachers' first encounter during their teacher education programmes and usually prior to extensive teaching experience (Richard 1996: 107). In comparison with personal experience and experience through schooling, pedagogical knowledge appears to be the least influential factor of teachers' beliefs. However, pedagogical knowledge should not be neglected, since it shows that pedagogically educated students differ greatly in terms of beliefs about teaching form non-pedagogically educated students (Levin 2015: 51).

After having identified the sources of teachers' beliefs, the question arises: what are the functions of beliefs and how do they manifest themselves in teachers' practices? Fives and Buehl (2012: 478) describe three major functions of teachers' beliefs, namely filters, frames and guides.

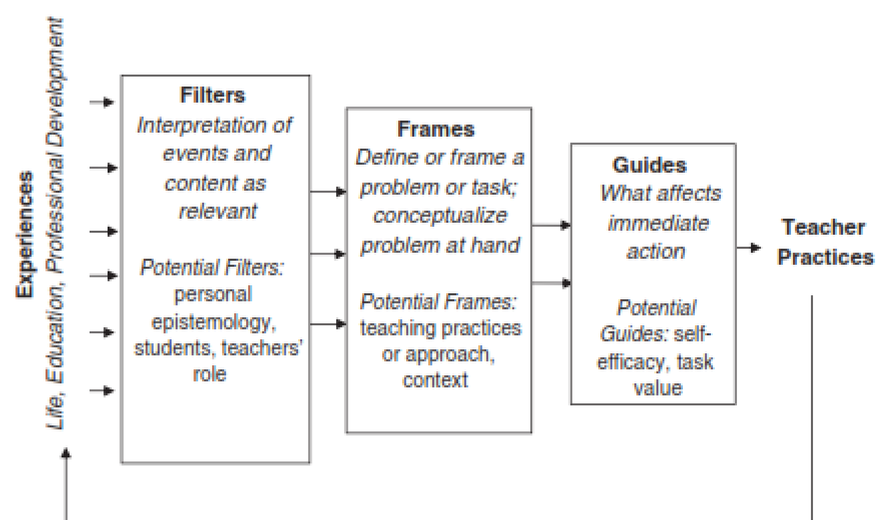

Figure 1: Beliefs acting as filters, frames, and guides (Fives & Buehl 2012:478)

As visualised in the graph, Fives and Buehl (2012: 478) describe that on a first level beliefs act as filters. Beliefs acting as filters influence how individuals interpret information and experience. Fives and Buehl (2012: 478) point out that "an individual's understanding of reality is always seen through the lens of existing beliefs". This function of beliefs is especially relevant for teachers. Since beliefs function as a filter of perception and interpretation, teachers' beliefs are decisive for what teachers learn about teaching. Teachers' beliefs, formed during individual learning, teacher training, teaching experiences, and cooperation with colleagues, determine what aspect of new information or new

experiences is taken in. Richardson (2003: 10) made a similar observation. She noted that pre-existing beliefs, especially in student teachers, “appear to affect what the teacher candidates learn and how they learn it”. The function of filtering information can go so far that teachers’ beliefs determine what teachers perceive as worthwhile and valuable for discussion with students. Other information might be filtered out and judged as irrelevant.

At a second stage, beliefs function as frames and influence how an individual defines a problem. In a study by Yadav and Koehler (2007) pre-service teachers had to select good instances of reading instruction from several videotaped cases. The pre-service teachers had to explain why they considered the example to be a case of good reading instruction. The participants were said to have different beliefs about learning and knowledge, and therefore argued very differently for good instances of reading instruction. One pre-service teacher, holding a simplistic view of knowledge, concentrated on how the teacher pointed out and corrected mistakes. The other pre-service teacher, holding a more integrated view of knowledge, was more concerned with how the teacher dealt with student contributions. This shows that the pre-service teachers defined the problem or instance of reading instruction in two very different ways, which was influenced by their opposing beliefs about knowledge. In this case “beliefs help [the pre-service teachers] to define the nature of the problem” (Fives & Buehl 2012: 479).

After having identified the problem, beliefs come to function as guides for intention and action. This function manifests itself in a teacher’s motivation to act upon a problem. These motivational constructs can also guide teachers to the teaching goals they set for themselves. The guiding role of beliefs further influences how much effort teachers put into achieving these goals. In this sense, beliefs influence teachers’ motivation and consequently their practice.

To recapitulate, teachers’ beliefs stem from several sources, such as personal learning experiences at school, experiences with teaching and cooperating with other teachers, teacher training, pedagogical knowledge, etc. It appears that teachers, especially pre-service teachers, are most influenced by their individual experience of schooling and instruction. This phenomenon is termed “apprenticeship of observation” and explains that more than a decade of attending school and being a student deeply affects a person (Lortie 1975). It is generally understood that these beliefs influence a teachers’ behaviour, but Fives and Buehl (2012) suggest that this influence is not direct. They indicate that beliefs act as filters for information, as frames for problems and as guides for action before they manifest themselves

in teachers' practices. Now that sources and functions of teachers' beliefs have been established, attention shall be directed to how teachers' beliefs might change.

3.3 Change of teachers' beliefs

The research on change of teachers' beliefs is highly complex and studies yield contrasting results. Researchers in the field do not agree whether beliefs can change at all, and if they do, how difficult it is to change beliefs, and to what extent changed beliefs affect teachers' practices (Richardson & Placier 2001: 906). Nevertheless, it has also been suggested that teachers possibly change their beliefs, on the one hand, through socialisation and experience, and on the other hand, through staff development programmes (Fang 1996: 49).

With regard to socialisation and experience, an important number of studies focus on student teachers since they are in a critical transition from formal pedagogical preparation to entering the teaching profession (Fang 1996: 52). For instance, Cochran-Smith (1991) studied how student teachers changed their beliefs about their role as a teacher. It was found that student teachers moved from a more humanistic view to a more custodial view of the teacher role and even a rather authoritarian teacher role, assuming that students need to be controlled. The researcher suggested that being socialised on the teachers' side of school and experiencing the conservative pressure of the education system initiated the beliefs to change (Cochran-Smith 1991: 116).

As for staff development programmes, in-service teachers appear to be fairly apt to changing their beliefs. Research has been done on the types of staff development programmes and their likelihood of impacting the beliefs of participating teachers. It has been indicated that programmes adopting a constructivist teaching approach are more fruitful in inciting teachers' reflection about their beliefs. In such programmes , in-service teachers can reflect on initial beliefs and test newly acquired approaches against their classroom practices. This testing then facilitates the actual change of teachers' beliefs and consequently their teaching practices (Murphy & Manson 2006).

3.4 Relationship between teacher' beliefs and teachers' practices

The previous sections have established that teachers hold beliefs about many aspects of teaching and learning, stemming from various sources, and that changing beliefs is a complicated matter. The core question to this investigation is, if, how, and to what extent, these teachers' beliefs influence teachers' practices. Therefore, the following section will discuss the relationship between teachers' beliefs and teachers' practices.

Many researchers have indicated that a relationship exists between beliefs and practices of a teacher (e.g., Basturkmen 2012: 282; Woolfolk-Hoy, Davis & Pape 2006: 715). Pajares (1992: 307) even goes as far as to say that beliefs are prime indicators for teachers' practices. However, the abundant literature on teachers' beliefs and practices shows evidence for congruence and incongruence of the relationship between teachers' beliefs and teachers' practices. Basturkmen (2012: 282) indicates that the absence of espoused beliefs in some enacted teacher practices is no reason for dismissing the influence beliefs can have. Rather, it is crucial to understand the complex relationship between beliefs and practices as well as the numerous internal and external factors that potentially shape this relationship.

Buehl and Beck (2015) reviewed a vast body of empirical and theoretical work, and found a range of relationships between teachers' beliefs and teacher's practices. First of all, they describe that beliefs influence practice, since "beliefs are often identified as precursors to behaviour" (Buehl & Beck 2015: 68). Pajares (1992: 308) similarly mentions that people act on the basis of beliefs they hold. The review mentions studies that have found support for this specific relationship by identifying teachers' beliefs (through interviews or other evidence) and comparing these beliefs to observed or reported practices. "When teachers' beliefs are correlated with, aligned to, or reflected in their practice, various researchers have concluded that teachers' beliefs influence their practice" (Buehl & Beck 2015: 68). Song and Looi (2012), for example, conducted a case study where they thoroughly analysed and compared two teachers who executed the same mathematics lesson plan in a computer-supported collaborative learning environment. The two teachers reportedly held divergent beliefs on student learning, which, as the researchers argue, led to a contrasting execution of the lesson plans. The different teacher practices consequently led to different student learning processes and outcomes. The authors concluded that "the teacher holding 'innovation-oriented' beliefs tended to enact the lesson in patterns of inquiry-principle-based practices and technology-enhanced orchestration" (Song & Looi 2012: 129). These inquiry-principled-based practices in fact led to substantial student-inquiry learning and effective use of technology. In this study, teachers' beliefs significantly influenced classroom practices.

While the study above supports the view that beliefs influence practice, there is also evidence that practice influences beliefs. In fact, teachers' beliefs can also be "shaped by engaging in specific actions and practices" (Buehl & Beck 2015: 69). This relationship between practices

and beliefs indicates that beliefs can change due to professional development and field experiences, as was indicated in the previous section.

An opposing view suggests teachers' beliefs and practices are completely disconnected (Buehl & Beck 2015: 70). However, as studies by Liu (2011) and Lim and Chai (2008) show, the picture is not so simple. Liu (2011) analysed Taiwanese teachers, their learner-centred beliefs, and integration of technology into instruction. As it turned out, even though the majority of teachers held learner-centred beliefs, most teachers preferred a lecturing style of teaching. An initial conclusion might be that beliefs and practice do not align. However, Liu (2011: 1016) indicates that contextual factors influenced teachers' practices more than their beliefs did. Liu (2011: 1017) identified that teachers were more concerned with external requests and student test scores, than learner-centred teaching. Similarly, Lim and Chai (2008) observed teachers and their implementation of computer-mediated lessons. Even though most of the teachers held constructivist views of teaching, nearly all lessons observed were rather traditionally conducted. Again, this shows a disconnect between teachers' espoused beliefs and teachers' enacted practices. However, teachers reported that contextual constraints, such as fulfilling the syllabus and preparing students for an exam, hindered them from adapting a more constructivist teaching (Lim & Chai 2008: 821).

It is also suggested that teachers' beliefs might stand in a "reciprocal, but complex relationship" (Buehl & Beck 2015: 70). For instance, Zevenbergen-Jorgensen et al. (2010) studied Australian teachers who work in a remote, indigenous region, and the relationship between their teaching practices and espoused beliefs. The study identified areas where beliefs and practices were inconsistent, e.g. group work, and importance of culture, as well as areas where beliefs and practices were inconsistent, e.g. learning environment, and intellectual quality. The researchers deduced the importance of contextual constraints and factors that support or hinder a link between beliefs and actions. The point of interest is not necessarily to determine whether beliefs influence practices and vice versa; it is more important to consider the degree of congruence and to identify the contextual factors which enhance or impede an alignment of teachers' beliefs and teachers' practices (Zevenbergen-Jorgensen et al. 2010: 172).

In their reviews, Buehl and Beck (2015: 73) and Fives and Buehl (2012: 482), describe various factors which support and hinder teachers in the realisation of their beliefs in their practices. It is a common practice among researchers to classify these factors and contextual constraints as either internal or external. The following figure illustrates that the reciprocal

beliefs/practice relationship is embedded in a vast and multileveled system of internal and external factors.

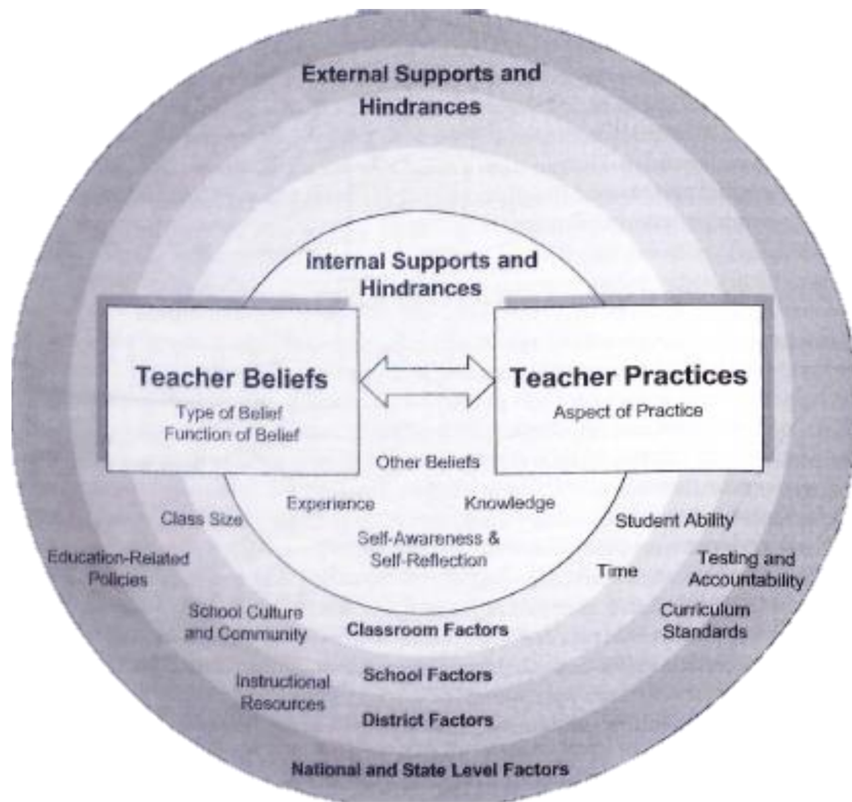

Figure 2: Relationship between teachers' beliefs and practices (Buehl and Beck 2015: 74)

Experience is one internal factor which might facilitate or impede the implementation of beliefs in teachers' practices. Several studies have shown that teachers with a higher level of expertise demonstrate a more congruent relationship between their espoused beliefs and enacted practices (Buehl & Beck 2015: 72). Basturkmen (2012: 287) makes a similar observation: less experienced teachers, such as those who have only recently started in the profession, were more likely to show a disconnect between teachers' beliefs and teachers' practices. Referring back to changes of teachers' beliefs, Buehl and Beck (2015: 72) indicate that a "lack of relationship between teachers' beliefs and practices may be attributable to changes in teachers' beliefs that are not yet reflected in their practices or vice versa, and thus, may represent a natural part of teacher development".

External factors which support or hinder the enactment of beliefs range from the immediate environment with classroom- and school-context factors to a more distant environment with district- and national-level factors (Buehl & Beck 2015: 76-79). A study by Macaro (2001) describes student teachers' practices and their beliefs about the benefits towards communicative language teaching. Macaro (2001: 545) writes that "[b]eing able to put

across the message in the L2 appears to be a cornerstone of Communicative Language Teaching" for the investigated student teacher. However, the external factor of low student proficiency and the concern of not making themselves understood are reasons why the student teachers fell back on the L1 when giving instructions for activities. Thus, their teaching practice conflicted with their unchanged beliefs of successful language teaching and their methodological understanding of CLT. This study shows that external factors might influence teachers' practices without affecting teachers' beliefs. As Li (2013: 175) notes, the relationship between teachers' beliefs and practices is highly complex and in fact subject to influence from micro- and macro-level contexts.

3.5 Teachers' beliefs about L1 use in L2 teaching

After having defined teachers' beliefs and discussed their sources, functions, changes, and relationships to teachers' practices, this subsection turns specifically to language teachers and will present their beliefs about L1 use in L2 teaching. Many studies (e.g., Song & Andrews 2009, Manara 2007, Edstrom 2006, White & Storch 2012) investigated teachers' beliefs about L1 use in relation to teachers' practices. These studies show that language teachers might hold beliefs about the role of the L1 in L2 teaching, its role in L2 acquisition, social effects of language choice, and factors influencing teachers' practices.

Macaro (1997) conducted a study examining student teachers and their beliefs about first language use. The findings suggest that teachers hold three distinct positions about L1 use. Although Macaro (2009) only ever mentions second language teaching, the findings of his study are equally relevant to the foreign language classroom.

Of these three positions on L1 use, the first is labelled *virtual* position. Holding this position, teachers believe that the second language can only be acquired through the medium of the second language. It is assumed that the exclusive use of the target language provides "a kind of 'virtual reality' classroom which mirror[s] the environment both of the first language learner and the newly arrived migrant to the target language country" (Macaro 2009: 36). This explanation is very much in line with the common perception that the foreign language classroom is a copy of a real world outside the school building. In the virtual position, the students' first language has no value and plays no role in second language learning.

The second position teachers may hold about L1 use is the *maximal* position. In this position, teachers also believe that the second language can only be learned through the second language, and that the target language must be used to a maximal extent. However, they

acknowledge that exclusive use of the target language is an "unattainable ideal" and that the students' first language is always present (Macaro 2009: 36). In fact, the maximal position sees the perfect classroom condition of L2 exclusivity "tainted" by the employment of the mother tongue, and "a sin [is] being committed" when teachers make use of it (Macaro 2009: 36). As Macaro (2009: 36) points out, "sinning leads to feelings of guilt". This guilt is reflected in several studies on teachers' L1 use (e.g. Flyman-Mattsson & Burenhult 1999, Simon 2001). In these studies, interviewed teachers reported feelings of bad conscience and guilt when using the first language and not exclusively the target language in their foreign language classroom.

The third position on L1 use is labelled *optimal* position. Here, teachers believe that the L1 can be of valuable use in the second language classroom. It is considered that "at certain moments during the teaching and learning process the use of the first language might actually enhance learning more than sticking to the second language" (Macaro 2009: 36). This means that the L1 can promote second language learning when judiciously used. His rather biased choice of term strongly indicates that Macaro is an advocate of this position and related practices.

In addition, Manara (2007) conducted a study investigating teachers' and students' opinions about the use of L1 in foreign language teaching in Indonesia. Her results show that teachers are aware of the existence and inevitable presence of the first language in the foreign language classroom, and that teachers hold both negative and positive beliefs towards L1 use. A slight majority of surveyed teachers claimed that the first language decelerates the process of second language acquisition (Manara 2007: 154). Furthermore, a majority of teachers believed that English should be used constantly, whereas some teachers believed that the mother tongue is still important for learning a foreign language. These beliefs are in line with the virtual and the optimal position respectively. Both teachers and students agreed that comparing English to their first language supports L2 acquisition (Manara 2007: 154). With regard to L2 use in the classroom, teachers and students were more likely to disagree that when teachers used the L1 in class once, students would expect them to do this all the time. Manara (2007: 154) implies from this result that both teachers and students were in favour of maximum L2 use in the language classroom, without excluding the L1 completely. Edstrom (2006: 276) also reported foreign language teachers to believe in the "need to maximize L2 use in the language classroom".

Song and Andrews (2009) conducted a study about L1 use in L2 teaching at a Chinese university. The participants were all non-native speaker teachers and presented diverging beliefs and practices on the use of their first language in English language classrooms. The teachers held either more "pro-L1" or "anti-L1" beliefs (Song & Andrews 2009: 188). However, most of them thought that the L1 was a useful tool, or "crutch", as one teacher called it, for transmitting knowledge from the teacher to the students. The underlying assumption might be that L2 teaching is mainly a transmission of knowledge. One teacher, who generally disfavoured L1 use, reported to support students by maintaining an authentic and English-only environment, so that students could think and understand in English. Another teacher, who advocated L1 use in the English classroom, explained that "teaching of English majors goes beyond the teaching of the language itself, focused instead on the knowledge that the language expressed" (Song & Andrews 2009: 186-187). The researchers imply that the teachers understood the L1 to be useful for knowledge transmission. Finally, all teachers expressed the belief that the L1 was inevitable in L2 teaching (when L1 is the shared language), regardless of the teacher being for or against L1 use. Song and Andrews (2009: 192) concluded that "if L2 teachers were aware of the potential role(s) of the L1, […] they might be better able to make effective use of the L1 in their L2 teaching".

Other beliefs about mother tongue use in second language teaching can be found in White and Storch's study (2012: 185) on L1 use in French foreign language classrooms. For example, one teacher wished to establish a good social relationship with his students, which he reportedly achieved by making use of the L1. In contrast, his colleague favoured greater social distance to her students, therefore made much less use of the L1.

The above discussed studies, as well as other studies in this field (e.g. Li 2013, Yavuz 2012), not only focus on teachers' beliefs, but also discuss teachers' practices of L1 use and possible factors influencing these practices. Given the complexity of the belief/practice relationship and the numerous related contextual constraints, many authors show difficulties of disentangling these aspects in the presentation of their studies. Therefore, it is often unclear whether internal and/or external factors have an impact on teachers' beliefs, their practices, or both.

With regards to such internal and externa factors, Song and Andrews (2009: 195-203) further deduce from their study that not only beliefs about the L1 influence what language is employed in the L2 classroom. In fact, other contextual factors might be just as influential, such as students' ability, teachers' ability, observation by 'experts', and time pressure. One

of the studied teachers expressed stronger anti-L1 beliefs when teaching higher-level students, as opposed to a more favourable position about the L1 in lower-level teaching. The data suggests that teachers' linguistic proficiency was only an insignificant influence on language use in the classroom. There were more instances of the teachers feeling tired and wishing for effortless communication that influenced L2 teachers in their choice of medium. Furthermore, if an expert came to visit their lesson, all teachers in the study claimed they would adjust their teaching to L2 exclusivity. Finally, some teachers resorted to the L1 to accelerate their L2 teaching. They said that explaining an activity in the L1 was simply faster and allowed them to proceed with other things. Others explained their choice by the belief that the L1 could facilitate memorisation of a language form.

Furthermore, Mansour (2008) identified similar factors that influenced L1 use in the foreign language classroom. These reported factors (with decreasing frequency) were type of course, difficulties and complexities of materials, student's level of proficiency, goal of the material and tasks, and teachers' competence in English. With regard to the type of course, it was reported that courses in English for Specific Purposes demanded more use of the mother tongue. Moreover, the teachers would adjust the amount of L1 use to the level of student proficiency, and they claimed that only beginners' classes require L1 support.

3.6 Summary

To sum up this section on teachers' beliefs, a first obstacle amounts when defining the term belief. Many scholars have defined the term in different manners, but Borg's (2011: 370-371) definition appears to be the most suitable for the present paper: "[B]eliefs are propositions individuals consider to be true and which are often tacit, have a strong evaluative and affective component, provide a basis for action, and are resistant to change". Furthermore, beliefs can stem from various sources, with the most important being personal experience, experience of schooling and instruction, and experience with formal knowledge (Richardson 1996: 106). Based on these various experiences, beliefs then come to function as filters, frames, and/or guides before influencing teachers' practices (Fives & Buehl 2012: 478). In addition, it is debated if and to what degree beliefs can change. Pre-service teachers are said to be more resistant to change, because they lack practical knowledge of teaching. As for in-service teachers, teacher development programmes can be decisive for change in beliefs. Moreover, the relationship between teachers' espoused beliefs and their enacted practices is hotly debated, and the literature offers various and often opposing points of view. It is claimed that beliefs and practices need to be studied in their contexts, and internal and

external factors determine the relationship between teachers' beliefs and practices (Buehl & Beck 2015: 74). Finally, teachers hold many beliefs about the use of the first language in second language teaching. This aspect of language teaching also needs to be considered in its specific context and in more depth in order to close the momentary gap in the literature. Chapter 4 will investigate teachers' practices and discuss language use in the foreign language classroom.

4 Language use in the foreign language classroom

The discussion of language use in the foreign language classroom and the controversy of the presence of the mother tongue alongside the target language have received increased attention in the past decades (Turnbull & Dailey-O'Cain 2009: 1). The exclusive use of the L2 for foreign language teaching is a widespread and seemingly common sense practice among language teachers. However, many researchers call L2 exclusivity into question and claim that the mother tongue plays a valuable role in foreign language learning and teaching (e.g. Atkinson 1987, Cook 2001, Lavric 2012, Macaro 2001, Polio & Duff 1994). Firstly, this chapter will investigate historical perspectives on L1 use and present several teaching approaches and their stance on the use of the mother tongue. Secondly, the chapter will discuss the practice of L2 exclusivity and reasons for its use. Lastly, the chapter will examine the role the first language can play in foreign language teaching, what influences the use of the first language, and which functions it can take in the language classroom.

4.1 Historical perspectives on L1 use

The emergence of explicit teaching methods and language teaching approaches based on theory goes back to the early 20th century. Richards and Rodgers (2014: 1) explain that the concept of method in teaching is "the notion of a systematic set of teaching practices based on a particular theory of language and language learning". During the 20th century, several opposing language teaching methods were established. These methods assert that they take the latest theoretical findings into consideration and by adopting this method, language teachers will achieve the best results (Richards & Rodgers 2014: 1-4). The most popular language teaching approaches of the 20th century can be put into three groups: 1) approaches which grant the L1 a central role (Grammar-Translation Method), 2) approaches that stipulate a complete avoidance of the L1 (Direct Method, Audio-Lingual Approach, Natural Approach), and 3) approaches that allow for judicious use of the L1 (Communicative Language Teaching) (Dörfler 2006).

4.1.1 The Grammar-Translation Method

A method which has strongly declined in popularity, but is still used, is the Grammar-Translation Method. It is based on the study of classical Latin and dates back to the 16th century. During the 19th and early 20th century, the Grammar-Translation Method was expanded to the study of modern languages, despite not being based on any theoretical foundations. The principle goal of Grammar-Translation is to develop reading skills and

grammatical knowledge in order to understand foreign literature. For this purpose, the language is thoroughly analysed for its grammatical rules, vocabulary is presented in bilingual lists, and the knowledge of the language is applied on the sentence level when translating texts. While the primary focus is given to reading and writing skills, speaking and listening are widely ignored. Grammar-Translation explicitly and deductively teaches grammatical rules, and strongly emphasises accuracy. With regard to first language use, the focus on translation makes it evident that the L1 plays a central role in this approach. Firstly, the L1 is the medium of instruction. Grammatical rules and vocabulary items are explained in the L1. Secondly, the L2 is learned through the L1, by translating sentences in and out of the target language and by actively comparing the students' mother tongue to the target language (Brown 2007: 18-19). As Stern (1983: 455) points out: "The first language is maintained as the reference system in the acquisition of the second language". It can be concluded that the L1 plays a pivotal role in L2 teaching through the Grammar-Translation Method.

4.1.2 The Direct Method

In response to the Grammar-Translation Method, the Reform Movement emerged in several European countries where linguists sought to reform language teaching. Phonetics was established as a science, and the Reform Movement emphasised the importance of studying sounds to learn a language. This movement at the end of the 19th century brought about an approaches known as the Direct Method. The Direct Method tried to align second language acquisition with first language acquisition. The primary focus of the Direct Method was oral communication; speaking skills were introduced through the specific study of pronunciation. Grammar was presented and taught inductively, and basic everyday communication was taught through questions and answers between the teacher and the student. Since there was a strong rejection of translation, vocabulary was taught by acting it out, showing objects or pictures, paraphrasing, etc. The L1 plays no role in the Direct Method, for the medium of instruction is the target language (Larsen-Freeman 2011: 30-33).

Despite its popularity until the 1920s, many linguists and teachers criticised the approach. Employing the Direct Method in foreign language teaching was extremely demanding for the teachers. They were expected to be native speakers or have near-native speaker skills. The method was criticised for largely ignoring classroom practicality. The ban of the L1 in the Direct Method classroom often led to frustration among teachers, when they were required to present lengthy explanations in the L2, even though the L1 might have sufficed.

This criticism and the lack of thorough theoretical underpinnings provoked the development of the Audio-Lingual Method (Howatt & Widdowson 2005: 235).

4.1.3 Audio-Lingual Method

In reaction to the criticism on the Direct Method, linguists established the so-called Audio-Lingual Method, focusing first and foremost on oral skills. The method was based on structuralist theory and behaviourism, and presumed that "[l]earning a language […] entails mastering the elements or building blocks of the language and learning the rules by which these elements are combined, from phoneme to morpheme to word to phrase to sentence" (Richards & Rodgers 2014: 63). Teaching a foreign language through the Audio-Lingual Method begins with oral input and spoken language; written language is only addressed at a later stage. The language is practiced through drills and only the target language is employed in teaching. The students' native language is largely forbidden. Since the approach relies uniquely on the target language, like the Direct Method does, the Audio-Lingual Method can be considered a monolingual approach (Richards & Rodgers 2014: 64-65).

4.1.4 The Natural Approach

Another monolingual approach was developed by Krashen and Terrell (1983). The Natural Approach puts a primary focus on comprehensible input, on which language acquisition is seen to depend. Vocabulary is prioritised and grammar plays a subordinate role, while the teacher has to provide meaningful input exclusively in the L2 for the students to pick up the target language most naturally. The L1 is a major source of error; interference between the mother tongue and the target langue leads to faulty learner output:

> Errors show the influence of the first language when we lack a rule in our second language. The cure for interference is simply acquisition - pedagogy does not need to help the acquirer fight off the effects of the first language - it need only help the acquirer acquire the target language (Krashen & Terrel 1983: 41).

The L1 is only granted a very limited role in L2 acquisition, and it is implied that the seemingly unavoidable presence of the L1 will fade out over time. This decreasing role of the L1 reflects the ultimate goal of L2 acquisition, namely to communicate successfully in the L2 in complete independence of the L1 (Krashen & Terrel 1983: 42).

4.1.5 Communicative Language Teaching

A lack of popularity and increased criticism of the above presented methods led to the emergence of more integrated approaches of language teaching (Brown 2007: 40). Since its appearance in the mid-1970s, Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) has become one

of the most widely adopted foreign language teaching approaches. This is also the case for Austria. The curricula for foreign language teaching are all based on the Common European Framework of References, a competence model developed by the Council of Europe, which again is based on the CLT approach (Brock 2007: 349). The aim of CLT is to "(a) make communicative competences the goal of language teaching and (b) develop procedures for the teaching of the four language skills that acknowledge the interdependence of language and communication" (Richards & Rodgers 2014: 86). CLT is significant for a paradigm shift in L2 teaching, as the focus moves from teaching the language as system to teaching the language as communication. This means that the language is acquired through using it in an authentic, natural, and communicative environment. With regard to the students' first language, CLT does not ban the L1 completely from the L2 classroom. Instead, the L1 is allowed under the condition that it facilitates second language learning (Larsen-Freeman 2011: 125; Finochiaro & Brumfit 1983: 91-93). Even though CLT grants judicious use of the L1, some linguists say that CLT is an advancement of the Direct Method. Howatt (1988: 11) explains that

> most of the essential features of direct method and structural language teaching have remained in place in CLT, largely unexamined and undisturbed, just as they have been for a century or more. CLT has adopted all the major principles of 19th century reform: the primacy of the spoken language for instance, the inductive teaching of grammar, the belief in connected texts and, most significant of all, the monolingual (direct method) principle that languages should be taught in the target language, not in the pupil's mother tongue.

Lavric (2012: 166) raises a similar point and suggests that in the 1980s communicative approaches went in the same direction as the previously popular natural approaches. However, the L1 was ignored not to avoid inferences and error, but to provide more space for the target language. The mother tongue was considered by some to compete with the target language and seen as "un phénomène parasitaire" [a parasitic phenomenon] (Lavric 2012: 166).

During the heyday of CLT, this negative attitude towards the L1 was reflected in methodology handbooks, such as Scrivener (1995). In the first edition, the author only addresses the issue by mentioning it in the list of problems (Scrivener 1995: 192). By the publication of the next edition, the research into the role of the mother tongue had tremendously increased and probably affected Scrivener's position on the issue. In the second and latest edition, he honours the judicious use of the L1 and gives a number of examples on how the L1 can be possibly used in the foreign language classroom. A whole

subsection in his book is devoted to L1 use in the foreign language classroom. Even though he starts out with reasons why students might talk in their L1 and how to get them into speaking in the L2, he also provides a list of ideas of how to use the L1 in class (Scrivener 2010: 308-309).

To conclude, the history of teaching approaches and their perspectives on the role of the mother tongue might be compared to a pendular movement (Lavric 2012: 165). While the Grammar-Translation Method granted the mother tongue a central role, the response of the Direct Method, the Audio-Lingual Method, and the Natural Approach was to ban the L1 completely. With Communicative Language Teaching in its most recent understanding, the pendulum moves back towards a middle position where the L1 may be used judiciously. Nevertheless, L2 exclusivity, or attempts of implementing it are still widely popular in foreign language teaching, as the following section will show.

4.2 L2 exclusivity

Before discussing L2 exclusivity in foreign language teaching, a short anecdote shall illustrate this seemingly indisputable classroom practice. At a Central European university, students of a teacher training programme discuss the following statement in their ELT methodology class: "The L1 should be avoided as much as possible". There is an overwhelming agreement to this statement among students, arguing about it appears not worth the time, and student teachers as well as the teacher educator expresses opinions, such as "if the teacher does not make the effort, neither will students", "you have to speak English in order to learn it", "it works in so many English classrooms all over the world where students have multiple mother tongues, so why should it work there and not here", "you can't just teach like you have been taught and ignore the literature". This anecdote highlights how unquestioned the exclusive use of the target language still is in current teacher education.

There are several reasons why L1 avoidance and L2 exclusivity in the foreign language classroom are such widespread teaching techniques and why they are often perceived as common sense. Theoretical underpinnings stem from abundant work on input and interaction in language learning during the 1980s and 1990s. For example, Krashen's (1982) influential Input Hypothesis declares that comprehensible input is the key to second language acquisition. In this theory, the teacher speaking in the L1 deprives students of essential input in the foreign language. Moreover, Swain's (1985) Output Hypothesis provides further

theoretical grounds for L2 exclusivity. This hypothesis acknowledges the significance of comprehensible input for language learning. Yet, only if learners produce valuable output and speak and write in the target language will they acquire the language. The first language is not directly banned in the afore mentioned hypotheses, but the L1 is deemed worthless for second language acquisition or ignored altogether.

As a consequence of these theoretical considerations, Atkinson (1987: 242-243) assesses that many teacher training programmes do not address the issue of the mother tongue, and the prevailing conclusion is that the mother tongue should not play a role at all. This lack of attention might provoke conflicting feelings and nervousness about the medium of instruction among inexperienced as well as experienced teachers. Additionally, Cook (2001: 405) mentions that English language teaching methodology was strongly influenced by the teaching of English classes where the instructor is a native speaker and does not share the L1 of their learners, and where learners speak multiple first languages. In this context, the teacher can impossibly fall back on the student's L1 for language teaching. The popular conclusion is that the L1 should be completely absent in any other English language teaching context.

Furthermore, Turnbull and Dailey-O'Cain (2009: 2) mention, among other reasons, official policies as grounds for L2 exclusivity. Language institutions and universities often dictate an English-only policy and officially ban the use of the L1 in language lessons. Additionally, Turnbull and Daily-O'Cain (2009 3) name target-language immersion programmes. These programmes are reportedly highly successful in promoting second language learning. Since a core component of immersion programmes is the exclusive use of the target language, L2 exclusivity has also been promoted in foreign language teaching.

In order to explain the practice of L2 exclusivity in the foreign language classroom, Auerbach (1993) suggests that the English-only practice has reached hegemonic status. Auerbach (1993: 10) points out that the exclusivity of English as medium of instruction in English language teaching has become a widespread assumption in the teaching profession and is somewhat self-evident or common sense for English teachers. However, this common assumption is less a pedagogical matter, but a political one, as Phillipson (1992) suggests that English-only instruction is historically rooted in British neo-colonialism.

In sum, there are several reasons for a complete L1 avoidance in the foreign language classroom. This practice might be motivated by influential theories of second language

acquisition, language policies, or even neo-colonial aspects. However, there is an increasing number of scholars advocating for a judicious use of the mother tongue in second and foreign language teaching. They also favour meaningful switches between the first and the target language, which can enhance language learning. The following subsection will look at the linguistic phenomenon of code-switching and discuss it the context of the foreign language classroom.

4.3 Code choice in foreign language teaching

Speakers of languages possess a vast linguistic repertoire and multi-, bi-, even monolinguals use a range of codes, varieties, styles, and registers. Choosing between these varieties and employing more than one of them in communication is most natural to any speaker (Bullock & Toribio 2009: 2). Interlocutors must frequently choose a specific variety from their linguistic repertoire as a means of communication. Given this aspect of choice, the title of this subsection includes the term *code choice*. Furthermore, in the course of a conversation interlocutors might even mix the varieties or alternate between them (Wardhaugh 2002: 100). This language contact phenomenon is most commonly known under the term of code-switching. There are other related terms which can be found in the literature, and which are often used synonymously, such as language- or code-alternation, code-mixing, etc. Of the great number of language alternation phenomena, which are to be understood as a continuum and not clearly distinguishable concepts, code-switching has received the most attention (Winford 2003: 5).

Code-switching is mostly associated with bilingualism and frequently studied in bilingual societies. However, as mentioned above, any speaker disposes of multiple linguistic varieties and the ability to use them. This is equally true for language learners and teachers. To be more precise, the foreign language classroom constitutes a linguistic context, with a specific speech community, where more than one language is present, and where code-switching has been regularly observed (Lin 2013). In the educational context of the foreign language classroom, teachers do not only code-switch for pedagogical and didactic reasons (cf. subsection 4.5), but also for social and communicative reasons, as is the case for speakers in more traditional code-switching contexts (Simon 2001: 315).

In order to understand why teachers choose a code and how they employ a specific code in their foreign language classroom, it is necessary to discuss the linguistic event of code-switching theoretically. Thus, this subsection will firstly attempt to define code-switching.

Subsection 4.3.2 will then present sociolinguistic models of code-switching, which are relevant for studying code choice in the foreign language classroom.

4.3.1 Defining code-switching

Code-switching is a highly investigated linguistic phenomenon, but providing a concise definition that researchers can agree on is a challenge. As is often the case, definitions may differ, depending on research objectives (Levine 2011: 49). However, before addressing code-switching, one has to illuminate the term *code*.

Auer (2011: 461) points out that "codes of code-switching/mixing are what are usually called languages". By these languages, he means, for instance, English, German, French, etc. However, defining *language* is just as tedious a task as defining code. A popular description of language is Weinreich's (1945, cited in Levine 2011: 48) maxim "a language is a dialect with an army and a navy". This maxim illustrates the relationship between prescribed norms and vernacular forms. Auer (2011: 461) warns from associating language with standard language, and therefore proposes to consider code more in terms of *variety*. This would mean that code-switching occurs when speakers switch from Catalan to Castilian, just as much as from Styrian German to Standard German. In the former example, the codes are considered languages, whereas in the latter example, Styrian German is considered a variety of German. But Auer (2001: 462) suggests that the structural difference between these codes is relatively small. Levine (2011: 49) also makes clear that language and code are very much interrelated.

Levine (2011: 50) proposes two definitions that most scholars would probably agree on:

> Code-switching is the systematic, alternating use of two or more languages in a single utterance or conversational exchange.
>
> Code-switching is the systematic use of linguistic material from two or more languages in the same sentence or conversation.

The two definitions both describe code-switching as systematic, and indicate that code-switching is not a random linguistic phenomenon. The first definition mentions alternating use and implies a directionality of the switch. In other words, the speaker makes a rather abrupt change in variety. Auer (2011: 462) refers to such a sudden transition as "orthodox switching". In the second definition, the emphasis is simply on the use of two or more languages. As Levine (2011: 59) analyses, "whether the speaker moves cognitively or verbally, from one language into another, remains unexplained or irrelevant".

A popular definition by Gumperz (1982: 59) moves away from the concept of language. He defines code-switching as "a juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of

speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems." Mentioning grammatical systems and not just languages, Gumperz (1982) allows for all codes and varieties of a speaker's linguistic repertoire to be subject of code-switching. As the first definition, Gumperz' (1982) definition also implies a rather clear transition from one variety to the other.

Another definition which speaks of more than just language is that of Romaine (1992: 110): "Code-switching is the use of more than one language, variety, or style by a speaker within an utterance or discourse, or between different interlocutors or situations". Like the definition above, Romaine (1992: 110) explicitly mentions variety and style, and points out that not one single speaker has to do the switching, but the switch can occur between the interlocutors.

One very general definition comes from Heller (1988). Code-switching is described as "the use of more than one language in the course of a single communicative episode" (Heller 1988: 1). This definition will figures as working definition for this thesis, for it is broad enough to be applicable in the foreign language classroom.

4.3.2 Sociolinguistic aspects of code-switching

The study of code-switching is mainly approached from three different perspectives, from a grammatical, psycholinguistic, and sociolinguistic perspective (Muysken 2011). From a grammatical perspective of code-switching, linguists hope to understand how languages are organised. From a psycholinguistic perspective, researchers hope to gain insights into language processing. From a sociolinguistic perspective, linguists investigate code-switching as conversational strategy and how speakers negotiate their identities and social roles in interactions (Muysken 2011). Since the language classroom and its speech community are, amongst other features, characterised by specific roles and role relationships (cf. subsection 2.1), the following section will focus on the sociolinguistic aspect of code-switching.

4.3.2.1 Situational vs. metaphorical code-switching

One of the first investigations of the social meaning of code-switching was undertaken by Blom and Gumperz (1972). They studied a Norwegian village and the villagers' use of dialectal Norwegian and standard Norwegian. Their study was influenced by Ferguson's (1959) concept of *diglossia*. In a diglossal society, two linguistic varieties co-exist and are strictly linked to specific domains. One of the varieties is attributed a higher prestige because

it is spoken in public domains, such as politics, administration, education, etc. The alternative variety with lower prestige is reserved for the personal domain of home, family, and friendship. In case of the French overseas department Réunion Island, for example, French, the language of public life, constitutes the H-language (higher prestige), whereas Réunion Creole, the language of everyday life, constitutes the L-language (lower prestige) (Oaks 2013: 30). It can be seen that the linguistic phenomena of diglossia depends on the separation of domains or activities.

Blom and Gumperz (1972: 417) took up this social separation of activities and its consequential associations with roles, relationships and identities. They established two uses of code alternation. In the first situation, *situational code-switching*, a specific situation is associated with a specific linguistic variety. Due to this "co-selectivity between language varieties and social contexts, language alternation can be used as a strategy for negotiating a change in the speech situation" (Gafaranga 2009: 286). Such a change in speech situation can be brought about by external factors, for example, when a new topic is introduced or when a new interlocutor joins the conversation. Depending on the situation, interlocutors must choose and possibly switch codes.

The second situation of code-switching that Blom and Gumperz (1972: 409) describe is *metaphorical code-switching*. In this case, factors internal to the speaker are at work. The speaker might wish to change the atmosphere or to re-establish the role relationships, and therefore initiates the code alternation. With this alternation "the unexpected variety is a metaphor for the social meaning that a given variety has come to symbolize" (Simon 2001: 320). In other words, the interlocutor signals with a metaphorical switch that more is going on in the conversation than just an exchange of information. The interlocutor might also wish to signal a position of superiority. This aspect of hierarchy is also relevant in the language classroom, since teachers and students assume an asymmetric relationship with each other (cf. subsection 2.1, Walsh 2011: 6).

The study by Blom and Gumperz (1972) was ground-breaking and highly influential, because it showed that speaker-internal factors, such as role relationships and more importantly identity, can cause a code-switch. Code-switching is in fact not a static phenomenon. When investigating any kind of code-alternation, it is crucial to analyse who the interlocutors are and how they use the codes available to them (Winford 2003: 116).

4.3.2.2 Markedness Model

Partially inspired by the work of Blom and Gumperz (1972), Myers-Scotton (1993, 2002) developed another highly influential approach to sociolinguistic code-switching: the Markedness Model. This model assumes that the use of more than one code indicates rights and obligation sets. Myers-Scotton (1993: 85) defines rights and obligation sets as "an abstract concept, derived from situational factors, standing for the attitudes and expectations of participants toward one another". With these rights and obligation sets in mind, the interlocutors can choose between the *unmarked* or the *marked* choice to communicate their message. The unmarked choice "is derived from whatever situational features are salient for the community for that interactional type" (Myers-Scotton 1993: 84). In other words, the unmarked choice is the expected variety and perfectly tolerated by the speakers. In contrast, the marked choice is the unexpected variety which deviates from the norm (Muysken 2011: 305-306). When speakers choose between the unmarked and the marked code based on the rights and obligation sets, they "'index' that choice accordingly, that is, they position themselves socially and interactionally relative to their interlocutors" (Levine 2011: 52). In other words, interlocutors present and negotiate their multiple identities through their choice of code (Myers-Scotton 2002: 206).

With regards to the foreign language classroom, it was mentioned above that code-switching regularly occurs in this educational context, even though the target language constitutes the default language of instruction (Lin 2003, Walsh 2011). The review in subsection 4.5 will shed light on this issue and show that the target language is not always the unmarked choice in the language classroom. Some teaching instances might favour a different code choice.

According to Myers-Scotton (1998: 33), three filters are at work in order to arrive at a choice of code. The first filter, or social constraint, allows the speaker to assess, on the one hand, social factors (e.g. social identity characteristics of the speech partner, age, sex, etc.), and on the other hand, discourse features (e.g. setting, topic). These factors influence "the speaker's linguistic repertoire" (Myers-Scotton 2002: 207). This repertoire includes all languages, codes, varieties, dialects, and styles speakers have at their disposal.

The second filter, or markedness evaluator, allows interlocutors to assess markedness. Based on experience and an analysis of the specific interaction type, speakers can align their available linguistic varieties on a marked/unmarked continuum. Thanks to the markedness

evaluator, speakers are also aware of the reception of any marked code and the possible consequences of their choice (Myers-Scotton 1998/2002).

The third filter encapsulates that the Markedness Model also draws on Rational Choice Models. As the name suggests, this filter is mainly characterised by rationality and "encompasses the mechanism which permit speakers to consciously select a particular outcome among the several different options provided" (Moradi 2014: 16). At this stage, the interlocutors undertake a cost-benefit analysis. They weigh their options, knowing what outcome the choice might provoke, and judge if a particular code will benefit or cost them (e.g. time, power, etc.). This cost-benefit analysis of the interaction is influenced not only by the speakers' options and opportunities (established thanks to the markedness evaluator), but also by their personal motivation, desires, temporary goals, prior beliefs, and values. Since language teachers operate in an environment where more than one code is available, they are constantly confronted with code choices. When the teachers share the first language with their students, such a cost-benefit analysis influences their linguistic decisions.

4.4 The positive role of the mother tongue in language learning

As seen in subsection 3.5, many researchers have investigated language use in the foreign language classroom and have challenged the exclusion of the first language. They have brought forward a large body of empirical research suggesting that the mother tongue is not only present in the foreign language classroom, but can play a positive role in L2 acquisition (e.g. Duff & Polio 1990, Turnbull & Arnett 2002, Antón & DiCamilla 1999, Swain & Lapkin 2000).

Studies investigating the quantity of the first language in foreign language teaching show that teachers use the L1 to extremely varying degrees. For instance, Duff and Polio (1990) surveyed 13 undergraduate language courses and reported that the use of target language ranged from 10 to 100%. Only one out of the 13 teachers exclusively employed the target language and never used the students' L1. Moreover, Turnbull and Arnett (2002) surveyed four French teachers in secondary schools and also reported a varying target language use of 28% to 76%. Even when the university dictated an English-only policy, as was the case in the study by McMillan and Rivers (2011), every surveyed teacher employed the students' mother tongue at least to some extent. These are only a few examples which underline the very presence of the mother tongue in the foreign language classroom.

Since a learner's first language is reportedly omnipresent in the foreign language classroom, many researchers have contemplated its cognitive value and benefit for language learning. Macaro (2009) conducted a study examining a link between code-switching and vocabulary learning. The study took place in a reading class were the teacher discussed two allegedly challenging texts. Chinese teenagers learning English were assigned to two conditions. In the first condition, the students received L1-equivalents of unknown words of the text. In the second condition, students received definitions of the unknown words in the target language. The unknown words were identified through a pre-test of receptive vocabulary. Thus, the teacher provided information on the unfamiliar words for the two groups through code-switching and paraphrasing respectively. A third group received both types of information and figured as a control group. Students took one test on receptive vocabulary immediately after having discussed the text in class and another test two weeks later. The paraphrase group scored higher in receptive vocabulary in only one of the immediate post-tests. This result was not sustained, and there were no significant differences between the three groups in the delayed vocabulary post-tests two weeks later. Since the reading activities did not only aim at vocabulary acquisition, but also at text comprehension, Macaro (2009: 43) concludes that providing information on unfamiliar words in the first language does not "harm" any of these two objectives. He suggests that "one might hypothesizes that, given processing limitations, providing L1 equivalents lightens the cognitive load freeing up processing capacity to focus on the meaning of the text as a whole" (Macaro 2009: 43).

Various studies examined the cognitive and social benefits of first language use by language students. For instance, Antón and DiCamilla (1999) explored language use in collaborative interaction and found that students employed their mother tongue especially for scaffolding purposes. Students showed to

> enlist and maintain each other's interest in the task throughout its performance, develop strategies for making the task manageable, maintain their focus on the goal of the task, foreground important elements of the task, discuss what needs to be done to solve specific problems, and explicate and build on each other's partial solutions to specific problems (Antón & DiCamilla 1999: 237).

It shows that students use the L1 effectively when dealing with the foreign language and when trying to make sense of a text in the foreign language. Furthermore, the L1 can serve a social purpose during collaborative activities. Particularly at lower proficiency levels, the L1 facilitates cooperation by constructing social space where students can discuss the task.

The collaborative work in the L1 reportedly aids completing a task in the foreign language and creates an opportunity for language acquisition (Antón & DiCamilla 1999: 240).

Furthermore, Swain and Lapkin (2000) made similar observations. The students in their study learned a foreign language through an immersion programme and were taped performing pair work. Students spoke in their first language much more than the researchers expected. Teachers in the immersion programme stated that extensive students' L1 use discourages them from assigning group work. However, the data shows that the clear majority of student L1 talk was task-related and served peer-scaffolding purposes. Students would speak in their first language to 1) move the task along, 2) focus attention, and 3) interact personally (Swain & Lapkin 2000: 257). This interaction in the L1 resulted in a more effective completion of the task. The researchers concluded that "judicious use of the L1 can indeed support L2 learning and use" especially when students are dealing with complex tasks (Swain & Lapkin 2000: 268).

Besides cognitive processing, the students' mother tongue might also play a role in learner motivation. Lin (1999) investigated eight teachers and their English classrooms in Hong Kong. One of the teachers made considerable use of Cantonese, the students' L1, particularly when reading texts in the target languages. The teacher employed Cantonese when focusing on the story and English when focusing on the language. This code-switching practice, as opposed to a monolingual and English-only approach, allowed students to enjoy the story, while at the same time learning the target language. The researcher suggests that this bilingual approach raised students' confidence in reading English literary texts and "thus transform[ed] the habitus of these working class students for whom English had been an alien language irrelevant to their daily life" (Lin 2013: 203).

In conclusion, an abundant body of empirical research, of which only a fraction was presented, supports the positive role of the mother tongue in foreign language learning. Cook (2001: 405) draws a very vivid picture revealing that complete L1 avoidance is unrealistic in the foreign language classroom: "Like nature, the L1 creeps back in, however many times you throw it out with a pitchfork". This is especially the case, when teachers and students share the same first language. As the research shows, students can benefit from using their mother tongue when learning a foreign language. The following section will show that L1 use can also be beneficial for teachers.

4.5 Functions of L1 in foreign language teaching

Besides the cognitive value of the first language in foreign language learning, researchers also discuss the pedagogical value of the mother tongue for foreign language teaching. Theoretical considerations, empirical studies which establish functions of L1 use and the Austrian curriculum for modern languages will be discussed below.

Cook (2001) is one of many scholars who promotes the L1 as a pedagogical tool. He claims that the mother tongue can be beneficial for teaching by basing it on existing classroom practices and names four relevant factors: effectiveness, learning, naturalness and external relevance. As for the first factor, effectiveness, a teacher might ask the question if something can be done more efficiently and effectively through the medium of the L1. Secondly, Cummins (2007: 231) points out that learning is enhanced when students can link newly learned knowledge to pre-existing knowledge. Since language learners already have one existing linguistic system, namely the system of their mother tongue, building L2 knowledge on L1 knowledge might improve language learning. Thirdly, there might be topics in the foreign language classroom about which students speak more comfortably in their first language. Lastly, language learners may face situations in the future where employing the mother tongue as well as the foreign language is necessary. Even though Cook (2001: 413) is in favour of a judicious use of the first language, he warns about the overuse of the L1, especially by teachers who are not highly fluent in the target language. He establishes that exposure to large quantities of the target language is desirable and clearly necessary, and that an overuse of the L1 might result in decreasing L2 input and output by both teachers and students.

A review of empirical studies identifies several functions of L1 use in the foreign language classroom. A first function is explaining unknown vocabulary in the target language (Lavric 2012: 169). According to her classroom data, teachers initially engage in various methods to avoid translation, such as paraphrasing, contextualising, and using images and gestures. But eventually, they resort to the L1 to explain the unknown lexical item. Even though the L1 can have multiple equivalents for an L2 lexical item, students will at some point do their own translation. Atkinson (1987: 242) noted that translation is the preferred student strategy when acquiring new lexical items. Lavric (2012: 170) makes a similar observation and states that the efforts of a teacher to present vocabulary in the target language often end with a student saying: “Ah, *x* in French means *y* in German”. With regard to false friends, Lavric (2012: 171) points out that ignoring the first language for limiting interference might be

counterproductive. In fact, explicitly comparing the L1 to the L2, e.g. pointing out orthographical pitfalls as in German *Telefon*, French *téléphone* and English *telephone,* might enhance L2 learning.

Moreover, grammar instruction is frequently conducted in the L1, because it is often judged too difficult to understand in the target language. Especially in beginner's lessons, but also at more advanced levels, teachers deliberately turn to the L1 as medium of instruction when elaborating on or revising grammatical points (Lavric 2012: 171). Similarly, Polio & Duff (1994: 317) describe that all teachers in their study employed the first language for teaching grammar to at least some degree, be it for entire utterances or only grammatical terms. In a school context, teaching grammar seems to be the prime domain where teachers employ the L1.

Another domain where teachers frequently make use of the L1 are organisational matters, both on a micro and a macro level. The micro level comprises all instructions for classroom activities, exercises, and homework. The macro level comprises exam syllabi, lesson content, office hours, meetings, etc. In fact, instructions are often given in the target language before being repeated or reformulated in the first language. Teachers usually explain this practice by increasing and ensuring student comprehension (Lavric 2012: 172).

Sert (2003) points out that language teachers are confronted with a dilemma when choosing the medium of instruction, especially when teaching beginners. In the most extreme case, teachers either use the students' mother tongue or risk not making themselves understood. Since understanding the teacher's instruction is vital for establishing a successful foreign language classroom, the first language seems necessary at times.

Additionally, foreign language teachers employ the first language to build rapport and establish a personal relationship with their students. Teachers also resort to the students' L1 to express concern for a student or to make a humorous side note (Polio & Duff 1994). The researchers explain in more detail that "[the teachers] use English to temporarily background their role as teacher, and to perhaps foreground their role as empathetic peer, and to digress from instructional sequences" (Polio and Duff 1994: 318). This observation is in line with what Simon (2001) calls the boundary-levelling effects of code-switching. By resorting to the shared language, the teacher reduces the social distance between herself and the students. Some teachers commented that jokes and light-hearted exchanges allowed them to create a

more comfortable classroom environment, which might again enhance foreign language learning.

Furthermore, Macaro (2001) identified that the L1 is used by teachers for keeping control of the class, as well as disciplining and reprimanding students. His teacher interviews show that using the L1 in these situations did not discomfort any of the teachers. This finding implies that teachers might be more willing to employ the L1 for some purposes than for other. As Levine (2014: 337) suggests in her review of code-choice in the foreign language classroom: "The L1 may be the *unmarked* language of communication in many arguably crucial moments of communication in the classroom. The aim of our pedagogy should thus be to optimize L2 use through a principled approach to L1 use [original emphasis]".

Finally, the Austrian curriculum is quite specific about the roles of the mother tongue and the target language in foreign language teaching. In the general educational part of the curriculum it is stated that foreign language teaching is required to teach adequate communication skills, be it in the first or the foreign language (BMB 2016: 1). In the subsection on methodological principles, the curriculum does not dictate a medium of instruction, but the target language is to be used as much as possible in the classroom. Transfer and translations are only to be used selectively to aid comprehension, and are reserved for teaching upper secondary level:

> Im Unterricht ist so viel Fremdsprache wie möglich zu verwenden. Die Techniken der Übertragung und Übersetzung sind lediglich punktuell als Verständnis- und Lernhilfe einzusetzen; als spezielle Lern- und Lehrziele bleiben sie dem Fremdsprachenunterricht der Oberstufe vorbehalten (BMB 2016: 3).

Furthermore, the L1 might be used judiciously, as the curriculum encourages reasonable and reflective comparisons between the mother tongue and the target language under the condition that this practice improves linguistic awareness and enhances language development:

> Ein bewusster und reflektierter Umgang mit Sprache (auch im Vergleich mit der Unterrichts- bzw. Muttersprache) ist zu fördern. Komparative und kontrastive Methoden sind vor allem dort angebracht, wo sie zu einem verbesserten sprachlichen Bewusstsein der Fremdsprache gegenüber führen und den Lernerfolg wesentlich verstärken (BMB 2016: 3).

Eventually, the Austrian curriculum for foreign language teaching does not prescribe L2 exclusivity in the language classroom, and allows teachers to use the L1 for pedagogical reasons.

To recapitulate, first language use by the teacher can have many functions in the foreign language classroom, such as translating or explaining unknown vocabulary, discussing grammar, organisational matters, expressing empathy, bridging students' lack of understanding, giving instructions, and controlling the class.

4.6 Summary

This chapter demonstrated that the various language teaching methods which were developed during the 20th century have divergent views on L1 use. From an initially central role of the L1 in the Grammar-Translation Method, to complete avoidance of it in the Direct Method, the Audio-Lingual Method, and the Natural Approach, the currently most popular approach, Communicative Language Teaching, encourages a judicious use of the first language. Nevertheless, target language exclusivity is still a widespread technique among pre-service and in-service teachers, partially because the role of the mother tongue is only marginally discussed in teacher training programmes. Even though many teachers might try to eradicate the students' first language, research shows that the mother tongue is omnipresent in the foreign language classroom, especially when teachers and students share the same first language. Research also shows that students' use of their mother tongue is not disadvantageous and can even enhance foreign language learning. Moreover, a review of various studies has shown that teachers tend to make use of the mother tongue in various teaching domains, mainly for teaching grammar, translating unknown vocabulary, explaining tasks, establishing an emphatic level, and managing the classroom. Based on the theoretical considerations in part I, part II will present the empirical study which investigates teachers' beliefs and practices in Austrian foreign language classrooms.

Part II – Empirical study

5 Research methodology

This project is designed as a case study which investigates English and French language teachers' beliefs and practices of the use of the mother tongue when teaching beginners. A case study can be defined as "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (Yin 2009: 18). A further characteristic of a case study is the attempt to understand a particular case as it is embedded in its unique and dynamic context. Moreover, case studies are sensitive to many variables which feature in a case. In order to understand a case in its complexity, case studies make use of more than one research instrument to collect data. Furthermore, case studies can provide insights into cause and effect. One of the advantages of case studies is that "they observe effects in real contexts, recognizing that context is a powerful determinant of both causes and effects, and that in-depth understanding is required to do justice to a case" (Cohen, Manion & Morrison 2011: 289). Case studies are frequently employed to investigate teachers' beliefs and practices (Bullough & Young 2015). To allow comparisons with previously conducted studies in this field, this empirical work adapted this research format.

The present case study utilises two research instruments in order to answer the following research questions:

- What are foreign language teachers' beliefs about mother tongue use?
- How do foreign language teachers use the mother tongue, what functions does it take, and what goal do the teachers pursue?
- What factors influence foreign language teachers in their choice of language?
- Are there methodological differences between the English and the French foreign language classroom?

This chapter will present the research instruments which were employed to collect and analyse data, namely semi-structured interviews, classroom observations and qualitative content analysis (subsection 5.1). The subsection 5.2 will discuss data collection, transcription, and data analysis. The final subsection 5.3 will describe research setting and participants. As terminological issues were mentioned in section 2.4, the languages available in the language classroom are referred to as *target language* and *common language*. For

describing English and French language teaching in Austria, the term *foreign language teaching* will be employed.

5.1 Research instruments

5.1.1 Semi-structured interview

Qualitative research often seeks to reconstruct a person's view of the world. Attitudes, beliefs, and practices are the basis of such world views and can be accessed through conversing with the person in question. Therefore, interviews are a frequently used research instrument in qualitative research (Lamnek & Krell 2016: 313). Since this project explores beliefs and practices of foreign language teachers, an interview appears to be a suitable research instrument.

An interview can be described as an arranged meeting between two people who directly interact and converse about a previously established topic. The interlocutors are aware of their roles of interviewer and interviewee, and of the asymmetrical flow of information this relationship entails. Qualitative interviews can be conducted in a variety of forms and the choice of a specific type of interview largely depends on the purpose of a study (Friebertshäuser & Langer 2013: 438).

The semi-structured interview was selected as one research instrument for this project, because it combines a guided interview structure with open-ended questions. Based on thorough theoretical considerations, the researcher formulates an interview guide which will serve as the general structure of the interview. To avoid a question/answer situation, the interviewee is provided with sufficient space to elaborate on any issue raised during the interview. Additionally, the interviewer may ask spontaneous questions to further develop a specifically interesting aspect of the interview (Dörnyei 2007: 136).

5.1.2 Interview guide

The interview guide for the teacher interviews consists of five parts (see appendix). Part A of the interview guide is concerned with personal information of the participant. The questions in this part elicit when and where participants did their teaching degree, where and for how many years they have been teaching, and what their mother tongue is.

Part B of the interview investigates language use in the beginners' foreign language classroom at lower secondary level. Since this project is concerned with teaching beginners, participants are asked to define the beginners' classroom for themselves. Furthermore, the participant's attention is initially drawn to the students' language use before turning

questions to the teachers' personal language use. Moreover, one incidence of code-switching detected in a classroom observation is used to direct participants to their personal teaching practices and language choices. Finally, a list of classroom situations is presented and participants are asked what language, the target, or the common language, they predominantly employ in these situations. The aim of this last part is to elicit specific information on teachers' practices and their language use in the foreign language classroom. The focus is consistently drawn to the context of the beginners' classroom.

Part C explores factors influencing the participants in their choice of language. The first question asks the participants explicitly for such factors. The following questions are concerned with institutional and personal policies of language use in foreign language teaching. Moreover, one question addresses feelings teachers might experience when using the common language, since the literature indicates many language teachers have feelings of guilt when doing so. Additionally, participants are asked about their teacher training programmes and their personal language learning experiences in school. These questions seek to determine the extent to which knowledge and experiences influence teachers' practices.

Part D of the interview is concerned with beliefs and attitudes about language use when teaching beginners. Participants are given several statements about target and common language use and asked to comment on them. In order to give participants maximum freedom, the interview guide does not include any sort of Likert scale.

The final part of the interview elicits possible differences in English and French foreign language teaching. The interview closes with an opportunity for the interviewee to "have the final say" (Dörnyei 2007: 138). With the final question, participants are invited to give final remarks on the matter of mother tongue use in foreign language teaching.

A first version of the interview guide was tested in a pilot phase in order to identify any problematic formulations and to train the researcher in conducting an interview. This step should guarantee comparability of the case study interviews (Friebertshäuser & Langer 2013: 440). The interview guide was piloted with a general high-school (AHS) teacher who teaches English, French, and music at lower and upper secondary level. The pilot setting was not identical with the research setting of the case study, as the pilot teacher taught French as a second foreign language. This setting represents traditional language instructions in Austrian general high-schools where English is taught as a first foreign language from 5th

grade, followed by a second classic or modern language from 7th grade upwards. Nevertheless, the findings of the pilot interview are of great interest for this project and are incorporated into the qualitative content analysis. After the piloting phase, the complex wording of some of the statements in part C was adjusted to keep the risk of misunderstandings to a minimum.

5.1.3 Classroom observation

Besides asking questions, observation is a second research instrument which provides insights into a person's practices (Lamnek & Krell 2016: 515). Observations are frequently used in classroom research, with the aim to better understand this teaching and learning environment. As Dörnyei (2007: 178) points out, observation greatly differs from interviews, as "it provides direct information rather than self-report accounts".

Classroom observation is usually conducted as *nonparticipant* observation. This means that the researcher is only minimally or not at all involved in the classroom setting, and only focuses on observing the environment. The observations might be structured or unstructured. In structured observation, the researcher enters the classroom with a specific focus and observational categories in mind. In unstructured observation, the focus is less clear and the researcher might still decide whether the observation is relevant for a study or not. This project involved structured observations, for which reason an observation scheme was designed (Dörnyei 2007: 179).

Classroom observation was selected as an additional research instrument to complement interviews because it allows for a more direct investigation of teachers' practices. The use of an observation scheme increases reliability and comparability of the collected data. An obvious disadvantage of observations is the fact that the sheer presence of the observer might affect and alter a participants' behaviour. Moreover, observing classroom practice does not necessarily allow the researcher to comprehend the reasons for teachers' practice. Therefore, the interview guide for this project includes the discussion of at least one observed teaching instance, with the aim to better understand the teachers' reasoning for their practices. Finally, structured observation reduces complex observed situations to a number of categories, and the researcher might miss important information which is not part of the observation categories (Thierbach & Petschick 2014: 856).

5.1.4 Observation scheme

Because data for this project was gathered through structured observation, the researcher compiled an observation scheme (see appendix) . The employed observation scheme is largely based on Spada and Fröhlich's (1985) COLT (Communication Orientation of Language Teaching) observation scheme and was adapted to the specific observation focus of this study.

The focus of the structured observation was on teachers' practices and their use of the common language German. Besides general information, time, activities, and social form, ten classroom situations were incorporated into the observation scheme. The observer noted down which language the teacher used in each situation, writing down 'E' or 'F' for the target language, and 'G' for the common language. The observation scheme also includes space for comments. Other observations were noted at the bottom of the scheme or at the back of the sheet.

Like the interview guide, the observation scheme was piloted with teacher P, to identify problem areas of the scheme and to train the observer. In a first observation of the pilot teacher, the researcher conducted an unstructured observation and only took field notes. These notes were incorporated into the final design of the observation scheme.

5.1.5 Qualitative content analysis

Qualitative content analysis is a tool which allows researchers to systematically analyse texts, from interview transcripts and newspaper articles to online material and pictures. This analysis combines an in-depth text analysis of qualitative research with the rule-based, systematic procedure of the quantitative content analysis (Mayring 2014: 39), and for this reason, this research instrument has been chosen for this project.

This analytical tool is based on a number of principles. First, the material which is to be analysed is embedded in a communicative model. The context of the text, its production, the author(s) of the text, the functions and goals of the text are taken into consideration. This means that qualitative content analysis is not a text analysis as such, but seeks to draw conclusions which go beyond the text. In the present project, for example, the analysis of interview transcripts and observation schemes should be indicative of teachers' beliefs and practices (Mayring & Fenzl: 2014 546).

Moreover, qualitative content analysis is not a free interpretation, but strictly rule-based. Every analysis, which has to be adapted to the specific research goals, is oriented towards a

sequence of analytical steps. Additionally, this tool is highly systematic, as units of analysis are defined beforehand. The context defines which information falls into the unit of analysis, or the coding unit. Consequently, a category system is developed, and in the analytical procedure, text passages are assigned these coding units. To guarantee reliability and validity of the analysis, the assignment of codes and the codes themselves need to be revised and may be refined after a number of initial coding (Mayring & Fenzl 2014: 546).

Finally, there are three techniques of qualitative content analysis. *Summarising* aims at reducing the material in a way which keeps the most important information. Through paraphrasing, generalisation and abstraction, this technique creates a corpus manageable in size, which is still representative of the entire text. *Explication* aims at understanding individual complex text passages by investigating additional material. *Structuring* aims to extract specific information from the text in order to evaluate the material based on previously defined categories (Mayring 2002: 115).

5.2 Data collection, transcription, and data analysis

The data for this study was collected at a general high-school between October and December 2016. Contact with participants was initially established in person during a team meeting of the school's French teachers, where the project was briefly presented. The organisation of interviews and observations was later coordinated via email.

Each participant was observed during two lessons before the interview took place. In order to increase reliability of the data, participants were only told that the project investigates English and French beginners' lessons. The specific focus of the study was only revealed in the interview. Three out of four interviews were recorded. One teacher preferred not being taped. Therefore, answers were noted down as the interview went on. The interviews were conducted in German, extracts from the transcripts presented in chapter 6 were additionally translated into English. The following table shows the schedule of the data collection.

Participant	Research instrument	Length	Language classroom	Date
P	Observation	Approx. 50 min	French	20th Oct.2016
P	Interview	48 min 44 sec	-	20th Oct. 2016
P	Observation	Approx. 50 min	English	21st Oct. 2016
T1	Observation	Approx. 50 min	English	24th Oct. 2016
T1	Observation	Approx. 50 min	English	25th Oct. 2016
T1	Interview	Approx. 30 min	-	25th Oct. 2016
T2	Observation	Approx. 45 min	French	4th Nov. 2016
T2	Observation	Approx. 50 min	French	11th Nov. 2016
T2	Interview	39 min 47 sec	-	11th Nov. 2016
T3	Observation	Approx. 50 min	English	6th Dec. 2016
T3	Observation	Approx. 50 min	English	7th Dec. 2016
T3	Interview	55 min 35 sec	-	12th Dec. 2016

Table 1: Schedule of data collection

Three interview recordings were transcribed for data analysis. The interview which was not recorded was edited immediately afterwards. Producing transcripts has the purpose of making oral speech available for scientific investigations, by transforming spoken words and utterances, sounds and noises, as well as gestures into written form. However, a transcript is never a true representation of a recorded conversation, because even highly detailed transcripts or videotapes will highlight some aspects and neglect others. A transcript is in fact a "specific scientific construction", for it can neither directly represent the recorded data, nor the specific situation of the conversation. Moreover, a transcript is only a referential text for research and does not reflect the context of the interview (Langer 2013: 515-516).

Furthermore, transcriptions can greatly vary in form, and the purpose of a study dictates which aspects of a conversation and how many details are incorporated into the transcript. The level of detail already points to the subsequent analysis, since only elements included in the transcript can be taken into consideration. Conversational aspects which are left out in the transcript are no longer existent for analysis (Lamnek & Krell 2016: 368).

There are four aspects of spoken discourse which are generally included in written transcripts. Firstly, the verbal component of spoken discourse, "an audible sequence of sound" is most frequently represented in standard orthography, following spelling presented in a standard dictionary (O'Connell & Kowal 2009: 242). Secondly, prosodic features of spoken discourse, including pitch, duration and loudness, are commonly encoded by discrete

graphic units. Thirdly, paralinguistic components comprise of vocal non-linguistic features, such as breathing, sighing, laughing, and crying. These components are typically encoded as separate segments. Lastly, extralinguistic components can vary from nods to the sounds of a school bell (O'Connell & Kowal 2009: 243-244).

The transcription rules for this study follow the mark-up conventions of the VOICE Project (2007). Additionally, verbal components are transcribed in standard German, however include some minor dialectal forms, such as *ich hab* for 'ich habe' [I have]. Punctuation is in standard German. Non-verbal affirmation or agreement is left out (Kuckartz & Rädiker 2014: 391).

As for the data analysis, the translation of oral language into written language already constitutes a first interpretation of the data and an initial coding (Dörnyei 2007: 250). The development of the coding scheme was continued following the rules of qualitative content analysis. In a first deductive category assignment, categories were defined based on theoretical considerations, the research questions and the areas covered in the interview. The categories were defined, illustrated with examples, and given a code. Figure 3 below clarifies the steps of deductive category assignment.

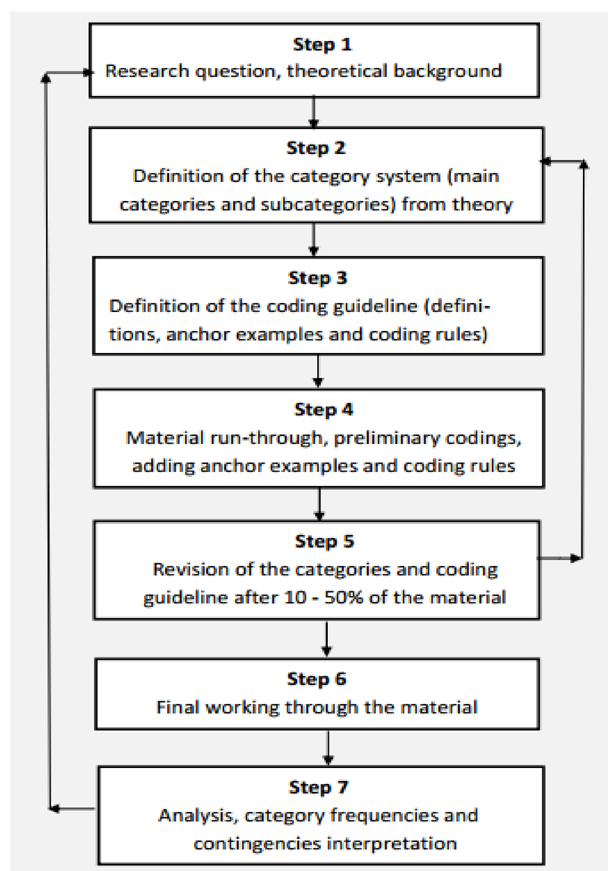

Figure 3: Steps of deductive category assignment (Mayring 2014: 96)

For this project, step 5 additionally included an inductive category formation. Here, categories arise directly from the analysed material. Based on a significant text passage which does not fall into a previously established category, a new category is defined and illustrated with an example. With a finalised coding manual at hand, the interviews of the three case teachers and the pilot teacher were thoroughly analysed (for coding manual see appendix).

The observational data was included in the analysis to a limited extent and only in the discussion of teachers' practices. Given the fact that each teacher was only observed during two lessons, the data cannot represent a complete picture of their varied and complex teaching practices. The observational data was mainly consulted in order to see if self-reported teachers' practices converge with observed teachers' practices. However, this comparison bears obvious limitations, since self-reported practices may have been enacted during other lessons which were not observed.

5.3 Research setting and participants

The case study was conducted at a general high-school in Austria. Most students are introduced to instructed English foreign language teaching in 5th grade, as is generally the case. However, the school under investigation is one of very few schools in Austria which additionally proposes French as a first foreign language. All students at the school are introduced to Latin in 6th grade and to a second foreign language, French or English, in 7th grade.[1]

The FIPS (Français intégré aux projets dans le secondaire) classes are designed for children who have prior knowledge of French. This prior knowledge can stem from having one or two French speaking parents, or for from having attended a primary school where French is taught as a first foreign language. At upper secondary level, students in FIPS classes additionally have content lessons where French is the working language (Französisch als Arbeitssprache).[2]

All participants of this case study received their teaching degree from Austrian universities. Additionally, two out of three participants studied at American universities. With regards to working experience, participants have been teaching for 3, 6 and 26 years, mostly at the investigated high school. One participant additionally gained teaching experience in French

[1] Source: school website; not explicitly mentioned for reasons of anonymity
[2] Ibidem

speaking countries. All participants reported their mother tongue to be German. Even though the foreign language teachers might not share their students' first language, all classroom participants have knowledge of German, and therefore share the common language. The following chapter 6 will present the results of the case study.

6 Results and discussion

After having discussed the research methodology, this chapter will present the results of the interview and observation analysis and discuss the findings in relation to theoretical considerations of chapters 2, 3 and 4. Subsection 6.1 will present teachers' beliefs about the use of the common language in foreign language teaching. Subsection 6.2 will address teachers' practices, their use of the common and the target language, and the goals they pursue with their choices. Finally, subsection 6.3 will present internal and external factors, which influence foreign language teachers in their practices and their beliefs. As has already become clear in the theoretical considerations, teachers' beliefs, practices, goals, and influencing factors are very much intertwined and interdependent concepts. Nevertheless, the following sections attempt to present the empirical results of this study as systematically as possible.

6.1 Teachers' beliefs about L1 use

The analysis of the teacher interviews and observations will firstly discuss teachers' beliefs about the use of the common language and the target language. As described in section 3.5, Macaro (1997) identified three sets of beliefs on L1 use: the virtual position, the maximal position, and the optimal position. A goal of the data analysis is to determine what position the three language teachers in this case study and the pilot teacher hold.

The participants generally hold beliefs which are in line with the *maximal position*. First of all, the teachers mention on multiple occasions that the target language should be used as much as possible in foreign language teaching. Following the statement "it is important to teach English/French in English/French" T1 comments: "Ja natürlich, möglichst viel in der Unterrichtssprache, von Anfang an." [Yes of course, as much as possible in the target language, right from the beginning].

On other occasions during the interview, teachers expressed their desire to deploy the target language to a maximum degree. T2 notes: "Mir ist wichtig, so viel wie möglich Französisch zu sprechen." [It is important for me, to speak French as much as possible]. Furthermore, P expresses: "Da gibt es […] den Konsens, dass wir sagen, möglichst viel [Französisch]." [There is a consensus that there should be as much French as possible].

According to Turnbull and Arnett (2002: 211), the literature on classroom language use generally agrees that teachers should pursue the goal of maximal target language use. While the three case teachers support maximal use of the target language, they recognise the

presence of the common language (German), particularly in the beginners' classroom. As T1 puts it: "Es ist irreal kein Wort Deutsch zu verwenden, gerade im Anfängerunterricht." [It is unrealistic not to use any German, especially in the beginners' classroom]. However, teachers do not necessarily accept the presence of the common language. For example, when students use the common language to express themselves, T1 declares that this behaviour is not tolerated in her classroom. She would repeatedly ask students to say it *in English*, or *en français*. It was in fact observed during her lesson that the teacher repeatedly reminded her students to speak in the target language. Additionally, she states that some students try "tricks" and claim only to be able to say something in German, which the teacher would again not allow. The fact that students must make use of "tricks" to make a contribution points towards a deep desire for communication and for participating in the classroom discourse. Simon (2001: 335) reports a similar scenario, where students would only make contributions in their mother tongue. According to Simon (2001: 336), students are very much aware of the communicative constraints of their classroom speech community and of the pedagogical contract which calls for the target language as sole means of communication in the foreign language classroom. It appears that students initiate a metaphorical code-switch in these situations and renegotiate their identities. They move from their role of language learners, who should speak in the target language, to the role of interlocutors who wish to express themselves in a communicative encounter and in the common language.

Not only a student's eagerness to contribute, but also a student's impatience can provoke common language use. Even though it is highly important to encourage students to use the target language, students will always express themselves in their first language to some degree (Harmer 2001: 133). As T2 explains, students are often restless when she gives explanations or presents new lexical items in the target language. Some faster students who had already made the inference and had understood what she was saying would often shout out a translation. T2 notes: "Damit wird das Deutsche irgendwie immer Einzug halten". [Therefore, German will somehow always be present].

While students' use of the common language is to some degree tolerated as part of classroom reality, the teacher's use of the common language is perceived as much more regrettable. A reason for this might be that, in most traditional foreign language classrooms, the teacher is the primary source of input. Students usually do not encounter the foreign language in their immediate surroundings, and are only exposed to the target language in the foreign language classroom (Wigglesworth 2002: 17). However, this situation is debatable, especially for

English language teaching and learning. Austrian students are constantly in touch with the English language through music, popular culture, social media, and the internet. This is less the case for traditional French foreign language teaching, as the pilot teacher explains. As for the FIPS French class, at least one parent is the primary source of input for most students.

For many foreign language teachers, the maximal use of the target language entails that the mother tongue must be avoided as much as possible. For instance, one case teacher notes: “Natürlich, so viel wie möglich das Deutsche weglassen” [Of course, leave out German as much as possible]. The widespread belief of maximal target language use being equal to avoidance of the mother tongue can have profound emotional repercussions for the teachers. As studies show (e.g. Wigglesworth 2002, Edstrom 2006), the fierce avoidance of the common language might provoke mixed feelings among teachers. Independent from the language they teach, two case teachers and the pilot teacher express having no problem with using the common language. However, one teacher expresses deeply negative feelings: “Am Anfang hatte ich ein schlechtes Gewissen weil ich mir gedacht hab, irgendwie sollt ich nur Französisch sprechen“. [In the beginning, I had a bad conscience, because I thought I should only speak French]. The teacher laughed when expressing her feelings of a bad conscience. This laughter is a paralinguistic gesture and most probably indicates that the teacher is ashamed of her behaviour (Retzinger 1995: 1110). The reasons for her feelings will be discussed at a later stage. Here, it shall be recapitulated that the negative feelings of common language use point the beliefs set of the maximal position. As Macaro (2009: 36) mentioned, in this position the common language is perceived as unavoidable, but any use of it is regrettable.

Part D of the interview, where the language teachers were asked to comment on several statements, aimed at eliciting specific teacher beliefs on common language use. The statements (see appendix for exact wording) and teachers’ explanations are discussed as follows. The first statement and one significant comment were already mentioned in the second paragraph of tis subsection. Statement number 2 hints at the interdependence of teacher and student language use and claims that if the teacher spoke in the target language, so would the students. If the teacher spoke in the common language, students would also speak in the common language. All three case teachers generally agree with this statement. They express that their use of the common language signals approval of students doing the same, and that they do not need to make the effort to speak in the target language. When the teacher uses the common language, students will have the impressions that communication

in the target language is not worthwhile and not necessary. However, studies do not support this belief. Macaro (2009: 72) deduces from his two studies on classroom code-switching that there is no correlation between teacher language use and student language use. As long as the first language had a pedagogical or communicative function and was not simply the medium of the entire discourse, teacher L1 use did not increase student L1 use.

Statement number 3 states that when the teacher uses the common language, students are denied a chance to hear the target language. This idea stems from a naturalistic understanding of language learning (Cook 2001: 408). In this sense, the target language should be used for any kind of communication, and it should be employed most spontaneously, even instinctively. If teachers, for example, ask students to hand in their homework in the common language, they "[are] wasting a golden opportunity" for their students to encounter the target language in a truly meaningful way (Cook 2001: 409).

The case teachers' comments on the interview statement show mixed belief about this issue. One English teacher immediately agrees with the statement, because, when speaking in the common language, the target language is automatically used less, and this is apparently seen as bad practice. The two French teachers are a little more critical about the statement. They both say that it depends on the amount of common language used, and that they do not exclusively speak in the common language when teaching. Additionally, they indicate that some external factors might favour common language use in some situations, and that the mother tongue may be used to some degree. Moreover, T3 makes a valid point when saying that it is less a question of students losing a chance of target language exposure, but rather a question of students even having a chance to understand. She appears to believe that target language exposure is only worthwhile when students actually can comprehend it. In fact, it has been argued that quality of exposure is more important than quantity of exposure (e.g. Dickson 1996).

Statement number 4 says that vocabulary and grammar should be explained in the target language, so that students will start thinking in the target language. Butzkamm (2003: 36) clarifies that the idea of students thinking in the target language derives from language compartmentalisation. It is suggested that two languages are completely separated in the learners' mind and that inferences between the languages hinder acquisition. Therefore, language learners and teachers should make no link between the L1 and the L2 and not resort to the mother tongue. This leads to the learners' and teachers' bilingual capacities being largely restrained. However, it has been suggested in the literature that the language

of thought of foreign language students will always be the mother tongue, unless they are highly advanced and extremely proficient L2 learners (Cohen 1998). The interviewed teachers do not particularly comment on the psycholinguistic part of the statement. Nevertheless, the pilot teacher was particularly sceptical about the idea that her beginner students would soon start thinking in French.

Statement number 5 claims that instructions should be given in the target language, in order to create a need for real communication. Cook (2001: 410) explains that the idea of real communication is a typical view of communicative teaching. Littlewood (1981: 45), for example, writes that

> [m]any learners are likely to remain unconvinced by our attempts to make them accept the foreign language as an effective means of satisfying their communicative needs, if we abandon it ourselves as soon as such needs arise in the immediate classroom situation.

This citation indicates that it is the teachers' responsibility to deploy the target language in meaningful ways and to show students that purposeful communication can be done in the target language. The teachers in this study generally agree with the statement, however, they do not comment particularly on the need for real communication. For instance, T2 states that some instructions like, "take the book", or "open the window" can very soon be done in the target language, because they are recurring phrases and relatively easy to understand. However, her choice appears to be less concerned with creating real communication, but rather with providing as much input as possible.

Statement number 6 claims that the mother tongue should play a role in the foreign language classroom for beginners and that it can facilitate target language acquisition. The teachers' comments on this statement clarify that they see no cognitive value in the mother tongue. To illustrate, T1 disagrees with the statement and claims that the common language is only acceptable to avoid complete communication break-down in the beginners' classroom. T3 describes German as the "lowest common denominator" and views the common language as a "safety net" or "supportive network" one can fall back onto in an emergency. These comments are represented in Butzkamm's (2003: 29) explanation that "[t]he mother tongue is generally regarded as being an evasive manoeuvre which is only to be used in emergencies".

Furthermore, T2 believes that the common language can have accelerating effects. P similarly claims that the common language can save time, be more efficient than the target language, and ensure comprehension among all students. P also acknowledges that target

language exclusivity might be valuable and that highly talented and gifted students will cope with monolingualism in the classroom. However, "normal, fairly motivated students" will manage better with explanations in the common language. This claim is very much in line with Macaro's (2005: 68) observation: "Preference for including the L1 is not based on a perception of its value in terms of cognitive development but because teachers believe the perfect conditions, which would allow the total exclusion of the L1, do not exist".

To conclude, the foreign language teachers in this study unanimously believe that the target language should be used to a maximal degree. In Macaro's (1997) terms, they generally hold a maximal position towards common language use. Moreover, the common language is tolerated, though only in the beginners' classroom, and has little significant value for language acquisition. Instances of common language use are not perceived as meaningful code-switches, but as a last resort, when every other teaching strategy, which would avoid the common language, has failed. Even though the literature (cf. Walsh 2011) describes the language classroom as unique communicative context where meaningful interaction takes place, the language teachers seems to perceive the teaching context only as a setting where language learning is made possible. Finally, one teacher reports having a bad conscience when resorting to the common language.

6.2 Teachers' practices, functions, and goals of the common and the target language

In order to shed light on teachers' use of the common language, this study gathered data on self-reported practices through teacher interviews and on enacted practices through classroom observation. Part B of the interview discussed a number of teaching situations and asked which language teachers generally use in these situations. A comparison of the two data sets shows that the case teachers self-reported language use mostly matched their enacted practices observed in the classroom. The data analysis revealed that some classroom situations are predominantly conducted in the common language, whereas others are mostly done in the target language. However, in any situation both languages were present to some extent. Moreover, teachers were asked what goals they pursue through their choice of language.

As for teaching goals, Kim and Elder (2005: 361) distinguish between *core goals* and *framework goals*. Based on Ellis' (1984, 1994) work on goal orientation, core goals are concerned with teaching the target language itself, or subject contents stipulated by the

curriculum. Framework goals are concerned with organising and managing classroom situations. The following subsections will first discuss common language use before turning to target language use.

6.2.1 Common language use

6.2.1.1 Teaching grammar

Both interview and observation data show that a majority of teachers generally uses the common language when teaching grammar. For instance, T3 uses the common language very explicitly for grammar explanations. During one classroom observation, the teacher discussed comparative and superlative forms in the common language German. When asked about this practice in the interview, the teacher explained that, on the one hand, the school book usually presents grammatical matters in German, and on the other hand, students lack technical vocabulary for the grammar instruction to be done in the target language. The reason for providing explanations in the common language is allegedly to ensure comprehension. In the interview, T3 states that she actively switches to German to raise students' attention and signals that what follows is highly important and really must be comprehended. She initiates a situational code-switch and signals the move to a new topic, or rather to a new focus (Blom and Gumperz 1972: 417). The teacher discusses comparative and superlative forms in a more general way in the target language and then shifts the focus on new, concise, and crucial information by switching to the common language. Furthermore, the teacher believes that grammatical rules are sometimes easier to understand in the common language German than in English, even though she knows that not all her students have German as a mother tongue.

Even though not explicitly mentioned be the teachers, singling out one language as the medium of transmitting the most important information might have serious consequences. Some scholars strongly discourage using any language other than the target language for language instruction, as it could create inequalities and linguistically discriminate against students who are less proficient in this one language. As the teachers report in the interview, their students have diverse linguistic backgrounds and do not necessarily speak German as a first language. Therefore, sticking to the target language, which is more likely a foreign language for all participants, would level the playing field and allow equal opportunities for all learners (Tupas 2015).

Despite the fact that choosing one language over another might put some participants at a disadvantage, German is still the most widely shared language of the studied discourse

community, and teachers still make use of it. Most often, the reason for switching to German is reportedly to ensure comprehension. T2 and T3 want to avoid their students being confused about a grammatical matter. They mention that students are often ashamed and do not dare to admit they have not understood an explanation in the target language. The teacher might only notice this lack of comprehension days or weeks later when, for example, homework is poorly done. Giving an additional explanation in the common language allegedly prevents students from misunderstanding grammatical points. Walsh (2011: 17) even claims that it is a teachers' responsibility to keep students on track. He does not mention using the mother tongue for this, but teachers have to modify their speech to make sure that no student gets lost.

Furthermore, T2 suggests that providing a precise explanation in German might actually help students to work more successfully in the target language:

> Und ich find viele Dinge sind eigentlich sehr einfach und sehr banal zu verstehen, und da ist es für mich schade, wenn ich […] ihnen das verwehre, ihnen das nicht kurz und prägnant auf Deutsch zu sagen und dann können sie damit arbeiten. Und ich glaub, dass man dann auch schneller im Französischen bleiben kann. [I find that some things are very trivial and easy to understand, and I think it is a shame when I deny them a short and precise explanation in German, and then they can work with it. And I think that this helps them to stay in French more quickly].

Van Lier's explanation (1995) reflects T2's belief of the first language supporting engagement with the target language, as he suggests, that quality of input is more important than quantity. He determines quality "by access and by engagement, that is, it depends on what the student can do with the language and wants to do with the language" (van Lier 1995: 40). In other words, a short explanation in the first language can help students better understand the system of the target language. Via the mother tongue, students have more access to the target language, which "creates learning opportunities and promotes depth of processing", thus enhancing foreign language learning (van Lier 1995: 40). In this view, the common language does have cognitive value and can promote foreign language acquisition.

However, T1 reports using English for explaining grammar and using German only when nothing is understood. The reported goal for the code-switch in this case is again to ensure comprehension. This practice is also reflected in the classroom observation. There were instances, such as explaining how to tell the time, where the teacher exclusively employed the target language. German was employed at some occasions for providing metalinguistic

information and information on register. The following subsections will show that code-switches are also done to establish a personal relationship.

6.2.1.2 Personal relationship

Another classroom context where teachers make predominantly use of the common language is establishing a personal relationship with students. One teacher explicitly expressed the desire to establish a positive relationship with her students, and that she could achieve this via the common language German. T2 explains that she feels more approachable for her students when she uses German and when she allows her students to address her in German. Target language exclusivity reportedly creates distance between her and her students. Moreover, target language exclusivity increases the stress level of her students and can even hinder communication.

During one classroom observation, students were very agitated due to a meeting with the author of their class reader. The students were eager to express themselves on their impressions of this meeting, and while T2 first tried to calm them down using the target language, at some point she switched to German and gave them the opportunity to speak up. As T2 explains:

> [D]iese Lesung, das [ist ihnen] so auf den Herzen gebrannt, und dann […], reden sie und sind nicht zu stoppen. Und ich find auch wenn ich dann [die Fremdsprache verlange] wird damit eine Wand heruntergelassen und dann ist das irgendwie unterbunden. [This meeting, it was preying on their minds, and then they talk and can't be stopped. If I demanded the foreign language, it would create a wall and stop their flow].

Moreover, T2 explains that, at the beginning of her career, she tried to establish target language exclusivity in her classroom and only spoke French with her students. However, the interpersonal relationship with her students deeply suffered from this practice. As a consequence, she started exchanging some words in German with her students after class, and the relationship immediately improved. She concludes that foreign language teaching is a balancing act between providing as much target language exposure as possible and having a positive and open relationship with her students. In other words, the common language allows her to balance core goals and framework goals of foreign language teaching.

In such emotional situations, the teachers' code-switch to German can be described as a boundary-levelling strategy (Simon 2001: 326). This strategy relates to the social functions of code-switching and the fact that discourse participants take on different roles. In the case of classroom discourse, participants even take on multiple roles. On the one hand, teachers

and students are in the divergent roles of the hierarchically superior instructor and knowledge provider, and the hierarchically inferior language learner. On the other hand, teachers and students also have the more equal role of members of the linguistic community. As the teacher switches codes, she takes on the role of the conversation partner and facilitates communication by accommodating the students in their preferred code. The teacher employs the situational code-switch as a communicative strategy which allows her to renegotiate the role relationships of this communicative situation (Gafaranga 2009: 286).

6.2.1.3 Disciplining students

Another situation where teachers mostly make use of the common language is related to classroom management. T2 and T3, who are very much concerned with making students comfortable in the foreign language, discipline their students in the common language to avoid negative connotations with the target language. T2 adds that disciplining in the target language might provoke misunderstandings, for she is much less aware of nuances in the foreign language. However, the observations show that most instances where T2 established her authority and disciplined students were done in the target language. There were two instances where she repeated her remark in the common language. While T2 and T3 reportedly discipline students in the common language, they praise students in the target language to actively establish positive associations. The pilot teacher has a different view on disciplining students. P explains that students quickly understand small directives, such as, *taisez-vous* [be quiet], or *allez-y* [start working].

6.2.1.4 Discussing non-school related topics

As a last function of the common language, three out of the four foreign language teachers state that they employ the common language when discussing administrative or non-school related subjects. One teacher suggests that issues which are not directly related to the English classroom will be discussed in German. For example, at one occasion during the observation, students were late for class. The teacher chose to speak in German in order to learn the reasons for their delay. T3 employed the common language to get her students settled and then switched to the target language to signal the beginning of the English lesson. Here the code-switch is a situational code-switch, as the teacher wants to emphasise the shift of the focus from something that happened before the lesson to the beginning of learning English (Gafaranga 2009: 286).

This statement indicates that the teacher makes a clear distinction between the foreign language classroom and every day school life outside. Additionally, each of these two

domains has its default language: English for the foreign language classroom and German for everything else outside. For example, T2 also describes that she deliberately starts the lesson by switching to the target language. A switch to the common language at the end of a lesson indicates that the session is finished and that some minor issues can quickly be discussed in German.

This distinction between classroom and outside school world might also relate to the role relationships and the tacit contract (Simon 2001: 319). According to this pedagogical contract, inside the foreign language classroom, T3 is the English teacher, therefore she speaks in English and should be addressed in English. However, outside the classroom, T3 is a teacher in general and a member of the larger school community, where the language of interaction is the common language German. Therefore, she may speak in German and may be addressed in German.

To recap, functions of the common language and the reasons for its use are fairly identical in English and French foreign language teaching. It can be concluded from both interview and classroom observation data that the common language is the unmarked choice for grammar explanations, at least in the beginners' classroom. Many studies (e.g. Cook 2001, Kim & Elder 2005, Lavric 2012) have come to the same conclusion that one function of the mother tongue is grammar teaching. The reason for providing information in the target language is almost exclusively to ensure comprehension, but sometimes also to save time. The discussion of non-school related issues is usually done in the common language for the same reason. Moreover, teachers make use of the common language to fulfil a framework goal and to establish a personal relationship with students. Two teachers of different target languages reportedly discipline their students in the common language in order to avoid negative associations with the target language.

6.2.2 Target language use

6.2.2.1 Explaining vocabulary

Turning to classroom situations where teachers predominantly use the target language, this subsection will firstly discuss vocabulary explanations. It shall be noted that the common language is still present in this situation, especially in the form of translation. For instance, explaining unknown lexical items is the only situation where T1 claims to use some German. She explains that students are usually asking for translations of new lexical items. In the interview, T1 acknowledges that having no single German word in her classroom might confuse students. She allegedly explains a new vocabulary item first in a simple way and,

only when necessary, then translates it into German. This claimed practice is represented in the classroom observation data. During an activity practicing prepositions, students repeatedly asked for the meaning of new words, e.g. "was ist *mice*?". In these instances, the teacher mostly provided a German translation. However, there were also occasions where the teacher employed other strategies, such as miming.

T3 acknowledges that, at the beginning, vocabulary work often involves word-by-word translations. The teacher mentions additional strategies for vocabulary explanation, such as describing, miming, drawing on Latin for etymological origins, or mnemonic strategies. During an observation, for example, the teacher explained the word *least* by mentioning the phrase *last, but not least*. Here, the teacher attempted to link the new lexical item to a catchy phrase students are probably familiar with. However, pointing out this common phrase and making the link to the new word was done in the common language. Her observed vocabulary work shows largely reliance on English/German translations. These translations are relevant in the English/German vocabulary lists that the students are asked to keep, and during routine vocabulary revisions, where students are asked to produce English equivalents for German words.

The French teacher makes similar remarks to those of the two English teachers. In the interview, she claims to try to explain vocabulary as far as possible in the target language, but acknowledges limitations of this practice. She switches to German when students do not understand her explanations in French, or when there is not enough time to do it in French. However, it shows at a later point in the interview that the teacher's self-reported practices are not in line with her espoused beliefs. She articulates that explaining vocabulary in French is difficult and that working with pictures is the best way to explain vocabulary. This strategy allows her to minimise using the common language and avoid translations. A reason she might want to avoid translations is the resemblance to the Grammar-Translation method, a method which is considered an outdated and bad practice (Cummins 2007: 222). Contrary to her claims, the teacher sometimes provided a translation immediately, without exploring other monolingual strategies first, e.g. "*La sœur* ist die Schwester. [*La soeur* means sister]".

The pilot teacher argues similarly to T2 and explains that, when the situation allows it, she tries to explain vocabulary by referring to the context or drawing pictures on the board. Nevertheless, she provides translations for reasons of efficiency. The pilot teacher further claims that strategies which avoid the common language are possibly more meaningful for

her students. It appears that the pilot teacher believes that the common language is only useful for efficiency and time reasons.

To recap, all teachers claim to primarily employ the target language for explaining vocabulary. They all mention numerous strategies which allow them to avoid the common language. Only when these strategies fail and students can make no sense of the teachers' explanations, will they switch to German and provide a translation. The observation data confirms that at some point all participants make recourse to the common language when explaining vocabulary. Additionally, it was observed that usually students themselves provide a translation in the common language, which is apparently the preferred student strategy (Atkinson 1987). When asked about the pursued goal of the code-switch in these situations, teachers either want to ensure comprehension, or increase efficiency and save time. Both these goals are core goals and concerned with teaching the target language itself.

The literature holds divergent views on this practice of trying to explain vocabulary first in the target language, but then giving a translation, and mentions both positive and negative aspects of teaching in the target language. On the one hand, such teaching situations are ideal for creating genuine communication and exposing the students to the target language (e.g. Wigglesworth 2002). On the other hand, Pachler, Barnes and Field (2009: 119) mention that explanations in the target language can be extremely time-consuming. This aspect relates to the code choice being a question of efficiency. With regards to the preferred student strategy and the question of efficiency, Butzkamm (2003: 30) raises a valid point when asking:

> Don't we all know it in our bones: when we encounter a new piece of language, we want to know straight away and without further ado what it means precisely, so that we can put it to use immediately, work with it and make the most of it? Isn't it only the 'experts' who tell us that the slow struggle for comprehension with a teacher miming and arm-waving and drawing little stick-figures on the board is preferable? Or are we content with inaccurate guessing and prepared to wait perhaps for weeks until the penny drops?

By "experts", Butzkamm (2003: 30) most probably refers to linguists and methodologists who are in favour of the monolingual principle and promote target language exclusivity.

6.2.2.2 Giving instructions

Another teaching context where teachers primarily employ the target language is giving instructions and explaining activities. The interview and observation data show that all three case teachers make excessive use of the target language when introducing a new exercise. Nevertheless, T2 and T3 still provide an explanation in the common language when students

completely misunderstand their instructions. The reported goal of this code-switch is again to ensure comprehension, a core goal.

The interview data shows that the practice of giving instructions only varies in a traditional French foreign language classroom where students have no prior knowledge of the target language. T2 explains that when she teaches pure beginners, she generally translates everything she says in French into German. The pilot teacher makes a similar report. Her French beginners' classroom is very much based on French/German translations. Both teachers argue that this practice makes students hear the language and become familiar with the pronunciation, sound, etc. of the target language. By reiterating in the common language, teachers can lower students' stress level and make sure everybody understands. As was seen in section 6.1, it is a common belief among foreign language teacher that any instance of common language use deprives students from encountering the target language. However, by first explaining in French and then in German, the teachers actively provide their students with target language input. The pilot teacher states that, especially in the beginning, students simply do not have the grammatical and linguistic knowledge to understand her utterances in the target language. At this point, speaking in French could even be seen as a waste of precious classroom time. Nevertheless, the teacher deliberately provides input in the target language in order to familiarise students with it. At a later stage, students would no longer receive the back-up explanation in the common language, reflecting their increased proficiency. The pilot teacher further elaborates that communicative activities are usually rather complex and difficult to explain. She does not deny that it might be possible to explain these activities entirely in the target language, but this practice would consume too much time, and only the most talented students would comprehend. She prefers to give a precise explanation in the target language, be certain that all students understood, and then give them an opportunity to produce output.

The complexity of communicative and task-based activities influences a teacher's choice of language. Studies show that many foreign language teachers shy away from implementing such activities, for it would be impossible to set up with the limited linguistic resources available in the beginners' classroom. In order to avoid the first languages, many teachers stick to more routine activities and exercises (Swain & Lapkin 2000: 252). This indicates that, paradoxically, a selective and meaningful use of the common language can lead to a more communicative classroom (Meiring & Norman 2002: 32).

6.2.2.3 Giving feedback

A last situation where participants unanimously make use of the target language is when giving feedback on oral or written contributions. The goal for this practice is usually to promote target language acquisition, a core goal. T2 points out that all her written feedback is done in the target language. The feedback is to some extent discussed in class, students may consult the teacher when they have questions, or infer the meaning of the feedback from accompanied symbols. She claims that students do not need a translation here, because they have the time and resources to make sense of the message, as T2 explains.

To recap, there is hardly any classroom situation where foreign language teachers only employ one available language. Some situations, such as giving instructions and feedback are mostly done in the foreign language, almost exclusively with the goal of promoting target language acquisition. Nevertheless, the common language might also be present in these classroom situations as a last resort, when every other strategy has failed, and when teachers want to ensure comprehension among all students. After having discussed teachers' practices and their use of the common and the target language, the following subsection will investigate factors which influence foreign language teachers' code choice.

6.3 Factors influencing code choice

After having identified teachers' beliefs and practices concerning the common language German, the question arises what factors influence teachers in their behaviour. Adapting Dickson's (1996) study, the data analysis distinguishes between internal and external factors.

6.3.1 Internal factors

It was established in section 3.4 that internal factors, such as beliefs, knowledge, and experiences influence teachers' in their practices. Therefore, the three case teachers were interviewed, inter alia, on their personal language learning experiences and their teacher education.

6.3.1.1 Other beliefs

The data analysis did not only reveal teachers' beliefs about common language use, but also teachers' beliefs about language acquisition. It was shown at the beginning of this chapter that all interviewed language teachers generally support the maximal use of the target language in their foreign language classrooms. This support might be explained by the teachers' beliefs about language acquisition. All teachers claim that language acquisition necessitates input and output in the target language. For example, T1 expresses that "[d]ie

Schüler müssen die Sprache hören um sie zu erlernen" [students have to hear the language in order to acquire it], or "[e]s ist besser in der Unterrichtssprache zu arbeiten um die Sprache zu trainieren" [It is better to work in the classroom language, in order to practice the language]. Additionally, two more comments were made by T3 and T2 respectively: "Je mehr sie das Englische hören, und […] selbst verwenden, umso besser" [the more they hear English and use it themselves, the better], "je mehr man auf Französisch macht, desto mehr taucht man ein, desto besser" [the more you do in French, the more you are immersed, the better].

The pilot teacher is less explicit about her beliefs on language acquisition. She mentions that in an ideal case, students deduce meaning from the context. This statement seems to reflect ideas of the Natural Approach (Krashen & Terrel 1983). She also states that explanations in the target language might be useful, and they might render input more intensive, but less efficient in her teaching context.

Besides the need for target language exposure, one English teacher believes that students need to feel positively about the foreign language in order to acquire it. T3:

> [L]ernen [ist] dann am effizientesten, wenn es emotional positiv konnotiert ist. Und […] es geht dann am besten, wenn es angstfrei ist und schamfrei ist. [Acquiring a language is most efficient when it is positively connotated. And it works best when students are anxiety-free and not ashamed].

This belief is supported by literature, as affective factors, such as motivation, attitude, anxiety, and other emotions can enhance and hinder language learning (e.g. Arnold 1999, Hedge 2000). T3 goes on and explains that shame is an incredibly strong feeling and that negative associations with language learning will be engrained in the students' mind for a long period. To avoid such negative connotations, students should never feel uncomfortable when speaking in the target language. Therefore, T3 doesn't force students to speak English in the beginning, when she feels that her students still lack linguistic competence.

Some studies on classroom code choice have particularly investigated the link between target language use and anxiety (e.g. Levine 2003, Oguro 2011). They have shown that imposed target language exclusivity by the teacher can lead to students avoiding to speak up in class, or to students rejecting the foreign language altogether. T3 and T2 mention that their active goal is for students to feel comfortable when using the language and not to develop negative feelings against it. Furthermore, T3 and the pilot teacher, even though they operate in different teaching contexts, express that foreign language teaching is a balancing act between providing maximal target language input and making students comfortable in the language.

Their views are represented in the literature, as Littlewood and Yu (2011: 72) point out that the mother tongue is an important "source of security and support". The balancing act mentioned by the teachers can be understood as aiming to unite core goals and framework goals, teaching the target language and organising the classroom.

Furthermore, Dickson (1996: 11) found that target language exclusivity can not only increase student anxiety, but also be highly demotivating, especially for low-ability students. The pilot teacher expresses a similar thought and believes that foreign language teaching is "eine Gradwanderung zwischen Forderung und Überforderung" [a balancing act between providing challenges and exerting excessive demands].

6.3.1.2 Knowledge

Besides beliefs, knowledge about foreign language teaching influences teachers in their practices. The interview data is largely in line with literature presented in subsection 4.2, as the issue of the mother tongue in foreign language teaching appears to be largely undiscussed in teacher education. The teachers state that they cannot remember over having discussed the subject. One teacher even mentions that the use of the target language as medium of instruction in foreign language teaching was presented as an obvious and common-sense matter, which did not call for any discussion.

One teacher seems to be particularly impacted by the methodological theory that was presented at her university. T2 suggests that her teacher training degree, where maximal or exclusive target language use was assumed, is the reason for her bad conscience (see subsection 6.1). T2's feelings are understandable, when one looks at teaching manuals which write the following: "Im Hinblick auf die Sprachwahl im Unterricht sollte Einsprachigkeit eigentlich eine Selbstverständlichkeit darstellen" [With regards to language choice in teaching, monolingualism should be common sense] (Thaler 2012: 40). This extract implies that target language exclusivity does not need to be questioned and that any divergence can be seen as bad teaching practice.

Possibly guided by such methodologies, T2 further explains that she tried to establish target language exclusivity in her classroom when she started teaching. But working experience, and especially personal reflections on the matter allowed her to adapt her practices to the individual challenges of her classrooms. As is suggested by the study of teachers' beliefs, the process of reflection was only initiated once the participant started teaching. Practical experience allowed the teacher to contemplate her initial beliefs which largely stemmed from

her teacher education. In contrast to Richardson's (1996: 107) observation, this explanation indicates that language teaching methodology taught at university is an important source of beliefs especially for novice and inexperienced teachers.

6.3.1.3 Experience

The previous subsection indicated that working experience can influence teachers' practices. The interview also addressed the teachers' experiences of personal language learning. All four teachers had difficulties remembering their time at school. The English teachers expressed that their former teachers might have influenced their teaching practice to some degree, but not necessarily their language use. The French teachers expressed what Moodie (2016) calls the "anti-apprenticeship of observation". As discussed in section 3.2, teachers are largely influenced by their prior language learning experiences. But Moodie (2016: 37) establishes that inexperienced teachers not necessarily teach like they have been taught themselves. In fact, novice teachers might choose a different teaching style due to extremely negative language learning experiences.

An explanation by T2 illustrates the anti-apprenticeship of observation. She mentions that she endured stress when her teacher demanded she should express herself only in the target language. She states that this negative language learning experience in her personal school career might well be the reason, why she does not "push" towards target language exclusivity at the beginning. Moreover, P claims that her foreign language instruction was of such bad quality that she deliberately goes in the opposite direction. Her working experience allowed her to find her own style of teaching and not to reproduce how she was taught. This observation underlines explanations in subsection 3.2, that personal experiences are a great source of teacher's beliefs and practices.

To recap, beliefs about common language use and language acquisition, knowledge of language teaching methodology, and working and teaching experiences are factors internal to the teacher which can have an influence on their practices. However, factors external to the teacher can be just as, or even more influential.

6.3.2 External factors

6.3.2.1 Student proficiency

Students' proficiency is one of the biggest factors in a teachers' choice of language. All four teachers claim to use the common language to some extent with beginners. As a reason for their practice two teachers explicitly state that, at the early stages of language instruction,

students have a limited linguistic competence and lack grammatical and lexical knowledge to comprehend complex utterances. T3 explains that she must evaluate at any instance of target language use, if students have already acquired sufficient vocabulary and if they even have the chance to understand her. Since the teachers in this study are highly proficient in the common and the target language, they can be considered bilingual teachers (Llurda 2005). As bilingual members of the classroom speech community, they carry out a cost-benefit analysis, which Myers-Scotton (2002) describes in her Markedness Model. In this analysis, teachers evaluate the developing communicative and linguistic abilities of their interlocutors and evaluate what advantages and disadvantages a switch to the common language entails for the learners. This cost-benefit analysis allows teacher to arrive at an informed decision.

Whereas all four teachers claim to use German during early stages of foreign language teaching, they explain that their ultimate goal for foreign language teaching is to eventually arrive at target language exclusivity. This ultimate goal of L2 proficiency independent from the first language is reflected in the Natural Approach (Krashen & Terrel 1983: 42). For example, T2 claims: "Das Ziel ist immer weniger, also natürlich immer weiter weg dem Gebrauch der deutschen Sprache zu kommen." [The goal is to use less, of course, to increasingly move away from making use of the German language]. Additionally, T3 remarks "[dass] schrittweise immer mehr in der Zielsprache gesprochen wird" [to speak increasingly in the target language]. From these accounts, it appears to be general practice in foreign language teaching to allow some common language in the beginners' classroom use, but to gradually decrease its use with students' increasing proficiency.

This practice of making more use of the common language with beginners and making less use with advanced learners is reflected in the literature. Atkinson (1987: 243-244) indicates that some uses of the mother tongue are particularly appropriate at early stages. Harmer (2001: 132) suggests that "there are times, especially at lower levels, where the use of L1 may help both teachers and students".

However, this practice suggests that the teachers view their foreign language classroom as a monolingual environment and not necessarily as a bilingual or multilingual environment. According to Howatt (1984), the monolingual principle requires the target language as sole medium of instruction, no recourse to the students' mother tongue, and aims at students thinking, speaking, and operating only in the target language, like a monolingual. This principle was promoted by the Direct Method, which tried to imitate conditions of first

language acquisition. As was already mentioned, the monolingual principle is currently called into question.

6.3.2.2 Topic of discussion

As was already indicated above, topics which are not directly related to the foreign language classroom are generally discussed in the common language. The variable which influences the teachers' code choice is the topic of the discussion. It was shown in subsection 6.2.1 that personal matters, and discussions outside the language classroom are conducted in German.

Additionally, one teacher mentions explicitly that the content of the lesson influences her code choices. She indicates that a lesson which involves many grammar explanations would be rather conducted in the common language, whereas lesson where the focus is on discussion and comprehension of written and oral texts, the medium of instruction would be the target language.

6.3.2.3 Other minor factors

One less significant factor which reportedly has an influence on teachers' code choice is time. Traditionally, students in Austrian lower secondary schools have three lessons per foreign language and per week. Additionally, students have a dozen other subjects which demand their full attention. Hinting at framework goals, one teacher indicates that, besides foreign language teaching, she must cover many other issues in her 50 minutes' class. Therefore, some teachers refer to the common language as time saver.

Another factor which slightly general teaching practice, but not necessarily code choice is prior knowledge of the target language. The teachers state that prior knowledge of the language acquired in primary school or at home allows them to progress more quickly. The pilot teacher mentioned, for example, that it can be assumed that students entering lower secondary school already know colours, numbers, etc. in English. When starting traditional instruction in French, such prior knowledge cannot be assumed. Nevertheless, the schoolbooks used in lower secondary are designed for pure beginners and the curriculum for foreign language teaching at lower secondary school does not assume a language level higher than A0. This means that language instruction in primary school is not accounted for in secondary school.

The interview discussed several other external factors, which seem to have only insignificant impact on a teacher's code choice. Some teachers claim that the multilingualism in their class influences their teaching practice. However, the observation data shows that neither

the teachers nor the students used any language other than the common or the target language. Additionally, teachers were asked whether an authority attending their class would influence their code choice. All participants denied that they would actively try to avoid the common language if, say, the headmaster was present during a lesson. They explain that, after multiple years of teaching, they can justify any of their teaching practices.

6.4 Summary of findings

The results of this case study show that Austrian language teachers' beliefs and practices about L1 use are largely in line the literature and previous studies on this subject. Congruent with Macaro's (1997) study, the interviewed teachers generally hold a position. They believe that the presence of the common language is unavoidably part of their classroom, but should be kept to a minimum through extensive use of the target language. The common language has no cognitive value *per se*, but is only considered a last pedagogical resort when other monolingual teaching strategies have failed.

As for teachers' practices and use of the common language, the results of this study are again in line with previous studies on this matter. Levine (2014: 337) suggested that the first language is the unmarked choice for grammar teaching. The results of this study confirm that the common language is predominantly used for explaining grammatical points, with the target language being added to some extent. Moreover, the results show that personal relationships are mainly established by means of the common language, which was also found by Macaro (2005: 69). Additionally, classroom management and discussing non-school related issues are dealt with in the common language, as was suggested by Sert (2005). The reasons for employing the common language is these teaching situations was mostly to ensure comprehension. Other reasons were saving time, and establishing a non-threatening and comfortable learning environment.

This study additionally identified functions of the target language. It shows that explaining vocabulary is preferably and mostly done in the target language. Translations to the common language are only employed as a last resort. Additionally, instructions and feedback are mainly given in the target language with the claimed goal of providing target language input.

Lastly, this project reveals internal and external factors which influence teachers in their code choices. Beliefs about language acquisition and the apparent need for a non-threatening learning environment led the majority of teachers to employ the common language. Knowledge gained during teacher education was once identified as the reason for a teacher

feeling guilty when making use of the common language. Experiences made in teaching practice seem to have a greater influence on teachers practices than experiences made in personal language teaching. Compared to their former teachers, the participants reportedly teach in explicitly different ways. Students' proficiency was identified as a main variable in teachers' language use. In the beginners' classroom, where students still lack basic knowledge of the target language, the common language is employed in several functions. However, at higher levels and with increased student proficiency, teachers will reportedly reduce the common language and ultimately operate entirely in the target language. Other external factors which influence a teachers' code choice are the topic of discussion, time constraints and prior knowledge of the target language.

7 Conclusion

The thesis at hand set out to investigate Austrian teachers' use of the common and the target languages in the beginners' English and French language classroom. To allow for a reliable comparison of the two teaching contexts, the study was conducted at a school where both English and French are taught as a first foreign language. The project was guided by several research questions which shall be answered below.

- What are foreign language teachers' beliefs about mother tongue use?

The four Austrian foreign language teachers in this study generally believe in the need for maximal target language use to allow for successful language acquisition. The common language only constitutes a pedagogical necessity in the beginners' classroom, because foreign language teaching will ultimately be conducted exclusively in the target language. Additionally, the common language is not believed to have any cognitive value, or to enhance foreign language learning. The common language is tolerated as a pedagogical tool in the beginners' classroom when teachers want to ensure comprehension, or save time. Finally, the common language also serves a communicative function when teachers seek to establish a personal relationship to their students.

- How do foreign language teachers use the mother tongue, what functions does it take, and what goal do the teachers pursue?

There was no classroom situation where one language was exclusively used, teachers always made use of both languages to some extent. Nevertheless, foreign language teachers predominantly employ the common language in order to teach grammar, establish a personal relationship with their students, discipline students, and discuss non-school related issues. The main goal of common language use is to ensure comprehension. Even though teachers are aware of the multilingualism in their classrooms, many explanations are still done in the common language German. The common language is additionally employed to level the boundaries of the hierarchically divergent roles in the classroom and to allow eye-to-eye communication of personal or non-school related issues. A last goal of common language use is to save classroom time.

- What factors influence foreign language teachers in their choice of language?

Both internal and external factors influence foreign language teachers in their espoused beliefs and enacted practices. However, the exact relationship between beliefs, practices and

influencing factors is still debated in the literature. In this study, internal factors constitute firstly beliefs about language acquisition, or how students best learn a foreign language. Secondly, knowledge acquired during teacher education influences teachers' practices. Programmes promoting the monolingual principle can be a reason, why teacher have a bad conscience when making use of the common language. Additionally, negative experience of personal language learning and teaching experiences as novice teachers influence teachers in their practices.

Moreover, external factors have an impact on teachers' practices. Students' proficiency affects teachers most in their choice of language. Teachers make use of the common language in the beginners' classroom, because students lack knowledge of the target language. At higher levels, teachers reportedly operate exclusively in the target language, for students have reached sufficient proficiency to comprehend instruction. Other external factors which influence teachers in their choice of language are topic of discussion and time constraints.

- Are there methodological differences between the English and the French foreign language classroom?

This case study shows hardly any difference in teachers' language use between the English and the French beginners' classroom. In both contexts, the foreign language teachers employ the common language, as well as the target language in similar situations and for similar reasons. An explanation for the convergence might be the similar starting points for teaching. In both teaching context, students are not pure beginners, but have acquired prior knowledge of the language in primary school or at home. In comparison, teachers make reportedly more use of the common language when students are confronted with the foreign language for the first time. Yet, the functions of the common language are still similar. Therefore, the target language can be eliminated as a variable of a teacher's code choice. The nature of the target language does not influence foreign language teachers' beliefs about common language use, how they employ the common language, and for what reason they make use of the it.

After having answered the research questions, it is important to point out limitations of this study. Given the particular setting of the case study and the small sample size, the results do not allow for drawing conclusions relevant to all foreign language teachers in beginners' classrooms. Additionally, the significance of the results is limited, since "the research

outcome is ultimately the product of the researcher's subjective interpretation of the data (Dörnyei 2007: 38).

As for further actions, a number of implications can be drawn from this case study. In the situation where beginners have some prior knowledge of the target language, linguistic typology of that language can be excluded as a variable in teachers' code choice. Further research into the teaching of beginners with no prior knowledge could deepen the understanding of teachers' linguistic choices. Additionally, a longitudinal study could provide information on the moment when teachers move to target language exclusivity, and if this moment is the same in teaching beginners with and without prior knowledge of the target language.

Moreover, the results propose a need for development in teacher education programmes. The interviews with English and French teachers show that their teacher training programmes largely ignored the role of the mother tongue in foreign language teaching. Teacher training and staff development programmes need to evolve towards recognising that both the target and the common language are used in the foreign language classroom, especially when teaching beginners. These programmes need to incite critical reflection of initial beliefs about mother tongue use, raise language awareness, and providing pre-service and in-service teacher with principled reasoning for the use of the two languages.

To recap, throughout the development of foreign language teaching, teaching methods have risen and fallen in popularity. While first the Grammar-Translation Method proved inadequate for modern language teaching, now the monolingual approach is under scrutiny and is arguably unsuitable for language teaching in the 21st century. Scholars, such as Butzkamm and Caldwell (2009) propose that language teaching moves towards a bilingual principle, where language teaching is possible through conscious and careful alternation between the first language and the target language. This development requires a reconceptualization of the foreign language student. Language learners would need to be understood as aspiring bi- or multilinguals and not as failed native speakers of the foreign language (Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain 2009 131).

Practically no language teacher would question the importance of meaningful input and output of the target language. However, the condition for providing meaningful exposure to the foreign language is not automatically complete avoidance of the common language. The literature investigating classroom practice shows that the mother tongue is omnipresent,

especially in a beginners' classroom and where the teachers share the first language of their students. Instead of fighting the common language, teachers might accept the presence of the mother tongue and make use of this additional pedagogical tool. In order to embrace judicious use of the common language in the foreign language classroom, teachers might first need to confront their beliefs on the role of the mother tongue.

In conclusion, Allwright (2006: 13) points out the "essential and irreducible complexity of the phenomenon of classroom language learning and teaching". No matter what language is taught, every language teacher takes a vast array of internal and external factors into consideration, be it consciously or unconsciously, in order to arrive at an informed decision for a local problem.

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Interview guide

The mother language (German) and the target language (English/French) in the beginners' foreign language classroom at lower secondary school

A. Personal information

1) When and where did you did you do your teacher education?

2) Since when have you been teaching and where?

3) What is your mother tongue? What other language do you speak? How and when did you learn these languages?

B. Language use in the beginners' foreign language classroom at lower secondary school

1) How do you define foreign language teaching for beginners?

2) What mother tongues do your students speak? Does multilingualism influence your teaching?

3) In the beginners' classroom, in what situations do students use German? Why?

   a) What is your reaction? Why?

4) Taking an example from the classroom observation: Here you did …. Why in this situation, what goal did you pursue?

5) When you think you about the following teaching situations at lower secondary school, do you rather use English/French and/or German? Do you possibly employ Latin or other languages? Why this decision, what goal do you pursue with this decision?

   a) Explaining vocabulary
   b) Discussing a grammatical issue
   c) Giving instructions and explaining activities

d) Giving written or oral feedback
e) Praise and support, or discipline students
f) Discuss personal and non-school related issues

C. Factors influencing language use in the beginners' foreign language classroom

1) What influences you in your choice of language when you teach beginners? Age, talent, prior knowledge, etc.?

2) Does your school implement a foreign language policy?

3) Do you have a personal foreign language policy?

   a) Do your students know this policy and do they obey to this policy? Why (not)?

4) How do you feel when you use the mother tongue when teaching beginners? Positively/negatively, why?

5) When you think about your teacher education or staff development programmes, did you discuss the role of the mother tongue for teaching beginners?

   a) Has your education influenced you teaching practices?

6) When you think about your student career at lower secondary school, you did your teacher employ the available languages (E/F, G)?

   a) Has the style of your teacher influenced your teaching style?

D. Beliefs about language use in the beginners' foreign language classroom

Please comment on the following questions. Do you agree with the statement? Why (not)?

1) It is important to teach English/French in English/French.

2) The more I speak English/French while teaching, the more will students speak in the target language. When I speak German, students will do the same.

3) When I use the mother tongue to teach beginners, students lose a chance to hear the target language.

4) When explaining vocabulary or grammar to beginners, I should use target language to have students start thinking in English/French.

5) To create a need for real communication when teaching beginners, instructions to activities should be given in English/French.

6) The mother tongue can facilitate foreign language acquisition and should play a specific role when teaching beginners.

E. Closing questions

1) How would your teaching and the use of German and English/French change, if the headmaster, a colleague, or a parent was present?

2) What would you do differently in your teaching, if you taught English/French? How does English language teaching differ from French language teaching when you think about language use?

3) Is there anything else you would like to add regarding mother tongue and language use in foreign language teaching?

Observation scheme

Observation scheme:	**The mother language (German) and the target language (English/French) in the beginners' foreign language classroom at lower secondary school**		
School: Teacher: Subject:	Class: Language level/Age: Number of students:	Date: Time: Observer:	

Time	**Activity**	**SF[3]**	**Teaching situation**										**Comments**
			Vocabulary explanation	Grammar explanation	Instructions for activities	Transition between activities	Feedback, encouragement	Discipline, authority	Administrative, non-school issue	Answering S questions[4]	Routines[5]	Others	

Other observations:

[3] Social format: T (teacher talking), TS (teacher/student interaction), P (plenary), SS (pair work), G (group work)
[4] Additional explanations for activities, organisational questions, etc.
[5] Start and end of a lesson, checking attendance, collecting homework, etc.

Coding manual

General aspects of the foreign language classroom

CODE	DESCRIPTION	EXAMPLE
MT_T	The teacher's mother tongue	*German is certainly my first language*
MT_S	The students' mother tongue	*Students have multiple mother tongues*
Tstrat_gen	General teaching strategies in foreign language teaching	*The beginning of a lesson, is marked by the ritual of switching to English*
chall_LangTeach	Challenges in foreign language teaching	*This is the dilemma you find yourself in, you've to bring the students back and have them speak French*
diffEF	Differences between English and French foreign language teaching	*You can assume more pre-existing knowledge in English than in French*
LangUse_edu	Discussions of language use in teacher education	*I can't remember to have talked about that subject, it was clear to use the target language*
pol_school	Specific school policies on language use in the foreign language classroom	*In FIPS classes the requirement would be to only speak in French*
pol_pers	The teachers' personal policy on language use in the foreign language classroom	*I want to remain as much as possible in the target language*

Aspects of the beginners' classroom

CODE	DESCRIPTION	EXAMPLE
def_beginn	Definitions of the beginners' classroom	*A first contact with the language*
gen_beginn	General pedagogical aspects of the beginners' classroom	*In the beginning, there must be a focus on pronunciation*
LangUse_beginn	Aspects of language use specific for the beginners' classroom	*In the beginning, there is still a lot of literal translation going on, like with vocabulary lists; later I can use synonyms*
Tstrat_beginn	Teaching strategies concerning language use in the beginners' classroom	*At first you describe vocabulary in a simpler way, if it doesn't work at all, you do it in German*

Aspects of (exclusive) language use in the foreign language classroom

CODE	DESCRIPTION	EXAMPLE
aspCL	Pedagogical or communicative aspects of the common language	*When I am really annoyed, I am most authentic in my mother tongue*
aspTL	Pedagogical or communicative aspects of the target language	*I have the feeling the foreign language can sometimes create misunderstandings*
aspTLexcl	Positive and negative aspects of target language exclusivity	*In some school books, there is no single German word, which can confuse students*
LangUse_feel	Feelings associated with language use in the foreign language classroom	*I admit I had a bad conscience in the beginning when I used German*

Beliefs about language use in FLT

CODE	DESCRIPTION	EXAMPLE
belief_virtual	Features indicating a virtual position	*The mother tongue has no role to play in foreign language teaching*
belief_maximal	Features indicating a maximal position	*The target language should be used as much as possible*
belief_optimal	Features indicating a optimal position	*Both languages have their use and their function*
belief_acqu	General beliefs about language acquisition	*Language can only be learned when it is used*

Functions of the common and target language

CODE	DESCRIPTION	EXAMPLE
func_CL	Domains and teaching instances when the common language is predominantly used	*Many explanations, especially about grammar, are done in German*
func_TL	Domains and teaching instances when the target language is predominantly used	*I mostly give instructions in English*

Goals of language use in the foreign language classroom

CODE	DESCRIPTIOM	EXAMPLE
goal_CL	Pedagogical or communicative goals of common language use	*Again, the target language should be used as much as possible, unless there is a break-down in communication*
goal_TL	Pedagogical or communicative goals of target language use	*Students should experience the target language as a living medium*
CLgoal_comp	The goal of using the common language is specifically to ensure comprehension	*To make sure every student understood, I quickly had to explain it in German*
TLgoal_acqu	The goal of using the target language is specifically to promote language acquisition	*For acquiring the language it is better to work in the target language*
Tgoal	Teachers mentioning any sort of goal; can be related to language use, or general foreign language teaching	*It is my goal for students to be personally motivated to say it in French*

Factors influencing use of the common language

CODE	DESCRIPTION	EXAMPLE
infl_intern	Factors internal to the teacher which influence language use	*When there is really a lot going on, and I am tired, I might speak more German*
infl_S	Factors external to the teacher which influence language use, specifically related to the students	*You cannot expect every student to automatically know the word in German*
infl_extern	Other factors external to the teacher which influence language use	*When there is no time to explain something endlessly, I will say it in German*

Abstract (English)

The use of the first language in the foreign language classroom is a controversial issue in language teaching methodology. Throughout the 20th century, teaching approaches and methods expressed varying positions on the issue, from granting the first language a central role (Grammar-Translation Method), to banning, ignoring, or devaluating it (Direct Method, Natural Approach), to more recently, promoting judicious use of the first language (Communicative Language Teaching). An investigation into teachers' beliefs shows that target language exclusivity is still perceived as the preferable way of teaching a foreign language. However, this monolingual view is increasingly challenged in the literature and a growing number of scholars suggest that the first language is a valuable resource and beneficial for foreign language teaching and learning.

This case study explores beginners' English and French language classrooms and investigates Austrian teachers' beliefs and practices of first language use. Data was collected in classroom observations and teacher interviews and studied by means of Qualitative Content Analysis. The results are generally in line with earlier studies in this field and demonstrate that Austrian foreign language teachers of this study believe in the need for maximal use of the target language. They recognise the presence of the first language, especially in the beginners' classroom, and view it as tool that facilitates language teaching with low proficiency students.

The analysis further shows that teachers' code-switching serves pedagogical and didactic, as well as social and communicative functions, and that the first language is predominantly used for teaching grammar, establishing a personal relationship, disciplining students and discussing non-school related issues. The goal teachers pursue with their language choice is primarily to ensure comprehension, in addition to saving time, and creating a supportive learning environment.

Various internal and external factors have been identified to influence teachers' classroom decisions. Most significantly, beliefs about language acquisition and the contextual constraint of students' proficiency lead teachers to make use of the first language in the beginners' classroom. No significant differences were found in comparing beliefs and practices of English teachers to those of French teachers. This indicates that the target language can be eliminated as a variable in teachers' language use.

This study has implications for teacher education and staff development programmes. Even though foreign language teachers recognise the presence of the first language and their use of it in the classroom, the practice regularly provokes feelings of unease and guilt. Teaching programmes are invited to focus more strongly on language awareness and discussions of literature on the role of the mother tongue in foreign language teaching, in order to reduce such negative feelings and to enhance critical reflection of personal teaching practices.

Abstract (German)

Die Verwendung der Muttersprache im Fremdsprachenunterricht ist ein viel diskutiertes Thema in der Sprachdidaktik. Im Laufe des 20. Jahrhunderts haben VertreterInnen verschiedener Unterrichtsmethoden unterschiedliche Standpunkte zu diesem Thema bezogen. Zum einen wurde der Muttersprache eine zentrale Rolle eingeräumt (Grammatik-Übersetzungsmethode), zum anderen wurde sie ignoriert und abgewertet (Direkte Methode, Natural Approach). Zuletzt betonten kommunikative Sprachvermittlungsmethoden einen gezielten Einsatz der Erstsprache (Communicative Language Teaching). Forschung im Bereich der Kognition von Lehrkräften zeigt, dass die exklusive Verwendung der Fremdsprache nach wie vor als beste Methode gesehen wird, um Fremdsprachen zu unterrichten. Allerdings wird dieses Prinzip von Einsprachigkeit zunehmend kritisiert und immer mehr ForscherInnen betonen, dass die Muttersprache ein wertvolles Werkzeug für das Lehren und Lernen von Fremdsprachen sein kann.

Diese Fallstudie erforscht Englisch- und Französisch-Anfängerunterricht in Österreich und untersucht die Verwendung der Muttersprache im Unterricht und die Ansichten gegenüber dieser bei FremdsprachenlehrerInnen. Daten wurden in Unterrichtshospitationen und LehrerInneninterviews gesammelt und mit Hilfe der qualitativen Inhaltsanalyse ausgewertet. Diese Arbeit weist ähnliche Ergebnisse auf wie andere Studien in diesem Bereich. So zeigt sich, dass FremdsprachenlehrerInnen in Österreich von der Notwendigkeit einer möglichst umfassenden Verwendung der Zielsprache überzeugt sind. Sie erkennen aber auch, dass die Muttersprache vor allem im Anfängerunterricht präsent ist, und verstehen sie als Erleichterung für den Sprachunterricht.

Des Weiteren zeigt die Analyse, dass die Muttersprache pädagogische und kommunikative sowie auch soziale und kommunikative Funktionen erfüllt. LehrerInnen verwenden die Muttersprache vor allem, um Grammatik zu unterrichten, um eine persönliche Beziehung zu den SchülerInnen aufzubauen, um SchülerInnen zu disziplinieren und um über Themen zu sprechen, die nicht direkt den Fremdsprachenunterricht betreffen. Das Ziel, welches LehrerInnen mit ihrer Sprachwahl verfolgen, ist zuallererst das Verständnis bei den SchülerInnen zu sichern. Weitere Gründe für die Verwendung der Muttersprache sind Zeitersparnis und die Schaffung einer guten Lernumgebung.

Zusätzlich werden in dieser Arbeit interne und externe Faktoren aufgezeigt, die die LehrerInnen in ihren Entscheidungen beeinflussen. Dabei spielen Ansichten gegenüber

erfolgreichem Spracherwerb und das Können der SchülerInnen die größte Rolle. Der Vergleich von Haltungen und Praktiken hat zwischen Englisch- und FranzösischlehrerInnen keine signifikanten Unterschiede ergeben. Somit kann die Natur der Zielsprache als Einflussfaktor für den Sprachgebrauch bei LehrerInnen ausgeschlossen werden.

Die Ergebnisse dieser Studie haben Auswirkungen auf die Aus- und Weiterbildung von SprachlehrerInnen. Obwohl FremdsprachenlehrerInnen anerkennen, dass die Muttersprache im Unterricht immer wieder verwendet wird, ruft diese Handlung in vielen Fällen Unwohlsein und Schuldgefühle hervor. Um diese negativen Gefühle zu reduzieren und eine kritische Reflexion der persönlichen Handlungen zu fördern, sollten Aus- und Weiterbildungsprogramme mehr Wert auf Sprachbewusstsein legen und differenzierte Literatur zur Rolle der Muttersprache im Fremdsprachenunterricht diskutieren.