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**Problematism of the Absence of Heritage Languages in CLIL
schools: The case of Moroccan Arabic in Spain**

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Abstract

In line with heritage language studies and bilingualism (Cummins, 2015; Bethele & Lambelet, 2017), this study analyses the possibility of implementing a heritage language proposal in Spanish bilingual education/CLIL. This work focuses on the problematization of the absence of the heritage language studies and data in the Spanish context, focusing specifically on Moroccan Arabic as the main point of interest. In order to accomplish the objectives, the present study has three points of interest: (a) the introduction of a heritage language focus in Spanish CLIL, (b) the description of the use of Moroccan Arabic and its place as a heritage language in Spain, (c) a proposal of a feasible programme for heritage language inclusion in public CLIL schools. To carry out this study, an exploratory quantitative analysis through a self-rating language scale was conducted together with a qualitative analysis taken from policy documents and testimonies of Moroccan heritage language speakers. The results of this study are concluded with a proposal for implementing these languages in the schooling environment opening thus the field for future research in this area.

Keywords: Heritage Language, Heritage Language Students, Heritage Language Maintenance, bilingual education, CLIL, Arabic, Spain.

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Breve Resumen

Desde que surgiera la educación bilingüe, el campo de las lenguas de herencia ha ido cobrando especial interés por investigadores y lingüistas de todo el mundo especializados en la materia (Mackey, 1971; Fishman, 1976). Sin embargo, esta rama de la lingüística es todavía una novedad dentro del sistema bilingüe español en el que el término lenguas de herencia no presenta grandes aportes a la investigación nacional. Por tanto, este estudio tiene como objetivo presentar el árabe como lengua de herencia dentro del contexto español, así como su estudio en los centros públicos bilingües madrileños como parte del programa educativo y como apoyo a los estudiantes con un historial lingüístico y/o familiar minoritario. La falta de investigación sobre las lenguas de herencia dentro del sistema educativo español dificulta este estudio el cual se ve obligado a abrir el debate sobre el mantenimiento y la apreciación de las lenguas de herencia basándose en ejemplos de otros países con un panorama lingüístico y sociocultural parecido (Charalampidi et al, 2015; Abate, 2017; Berthele & Lambalet, 2017) y en la teoría lingüística de las lenguas de herencia (Valdés, 2000; Fishman, 2006; Cummins, 2015). Habiendo establecido esto, se plantean tres cuestiones para el desarrollo de este estudio: 1. ¿Existen consideraciones teóricas y culturales sobre los hablantes de lenguas de herencia en la educación bilingüe española? 2. ¿Qué uso tiene el árabe marroquí por parte de los hablantes de lengua de herencia? y 3. ¿Cómo podría ser incorporado como parte del entorno escolar dentro del programa bilingüe?

Habiendo establecido las cuestiones a tratar el siguiente estudio se divide en cuatro secciones a parte de la introductoria. La segunda sección se encarga de hacer un recorrido histórico sobre el nacimiento y desarrollo del campo lingüístico de las lenguas de herencia para culminar con las definiciones contemporáneas tomadas sobre las lenguas de herencia para tratar este estudio. La tercera sección por su parte se adentra en el programa bilingüe español con una breve definición y dos subsecciones en las que se hace un recorrido por los documentos del programa *Madrid Comunidad Bilingüe* y dos proyectos educativos de centro que ayudan a comprender cómo se tratan las cuestiones de diversidad cultural y lingüística en el panorama educativo, lo cual ayudará después a evaluar si efectivamente se puede incorporar las lenguas de herencia dentro del sistema educativo. Esta sección nos proporciona también puntos de información importantes para la identificación de un marroquí hablante de lengua de herencia. La quinta sección está dedicada a presentar el

método de investigación, los participantes y los materiales utilizados en este estudio que dará paso a la sexta sección en la que se presentan los resultados cuantitativos y cualitativos del análisis. Finalmente se presentan las conclusiones del estudio y una pequeña propuesta educativa para la implementación de las lenguas de herencia dentro de los centros bilingües.

En primer lugar, se ha dado una breve definición de lo que es la educación bilingüe y a lo que es una lengua de herencia como puntos indispensables para la comprensión del estudio. En lo que concierne a la educación bilingüe hoy en día, es definida como la enseñanza que usa un segundo idioma para la instrucción (Ofelia, 2011). Por otra parte, tenemos las lenguas herencia o HL (*Heritage Languages*) la cual en sus inicios dentro del panorama lingüístico carecían de esta denominación y eran referidas como lenguas minoritarias o pseudo lenguas y se percibían como un impedimento para el desarrollo y éxito académico. Sin embargo, las investigaciones recientes subrayan la importancia de estas lenguas dentro de los contextos bilingües como refuerzo para el aprendizaje de idiomas. Dicho esto, para este estudio se toma la siguiente definición para hacer referencia a la enseñanza de lenguas de herencia: una lengua de herencia hace referencia a un grupo de personas que practican dicha lengua gracias a su aprendizaje dentro del entorno familiar o bien porque guardan algún tipo de relación con ella por su identidad o cultura.

A continuación, se hace un repaso de tres proyectos europeos actuales (2017) de integración de las lenguas de herencia dentro del currículo que posteriormente servirán de ejemplo para crear el propio modelo planteado para este estudio. En primer lugar, nos encontramos con los cursos de lengua y cultura de herencia suizos dirigidos a migrantes portugueses. Esta medida se da gracias a un pacto de colaboración de ambos países en un intento de conservar la lengua y cultura de la comunidad portuguesa residente en Suiza, esta iniciativa forma parte del proyecto HELASCOT (*Heritage and School Language, are Literacy Skills Transferable?*) en el que al finalizar se muestra los progresos en la lengua de herencia y en la lengua de escolarización de los alumnos. El segundo proyecto se toma de una escuela bilingüe en Italia en la que se usa un método focalizado en la lectura y el aprendizaje colaborativo en el que los alumnos migrantes y locales tienen que trabajar en grupos lo cual les permite participar de forma activa y estar integrados en el aula. Por último, se hace mención de las escuelas suplementarias de Reino Unido en las que un grupo de alumnos con el griego como lengua de herencia desarrollan junto a sus profesores una actividad extraescolar en el *British Museum*. Durante esta actividad los

alumnos debían responder a las preguntas de sus profesores en griego con la ayuda de un glosario de términos artísticos, el objetivo de esta actividad es crear lazos entre el idioma utilizado en la escuela y el idioma utilizado por los alumnos con sus familiares.

Dejando de lado el panorama internacional, la cuarta sección se adentra en el sistema bilingüe madrileño con el objetivo de averiguar alguna posible mención sobre las lenguas de herencia. Para llevar a cabo esta tarea, se repasan los documentos publicados la iniciativa de *Madrid Comunidad Bilingüe*, se repasan los *Programas de Atención a la Diversidad* de los centros públicos y dos proyectos educativos de centro (CEIP Alhambra (Fuencarral) y CEIP La villa (Guadarrama). Al finalizar esta sección se determina la ausencia de un programa de lenguas de herencia en sí, sin embargo, las propuestas hacia la apertura a la diversidad y la inclusión reflejada en estos documentos deja la puerta abierta para futuro estudio de este campo dentro de los centros bilingües madrileños.

Para justificar la elección del árabe como lengua de herencia en España, se aporta información demográfica con ayuda de datos obtenidos del Instituto Nacional de Estadística. Uno de los criterios para que una lengua de herencia esté dentro los colegios es la presencia de miembros de esa comunidad dentro de la sociedad. Los datos nos muestran como en 2018 el grupo migrante más numeroso en España proviene de Marruecos con total de 749.670 habitantes, lo cual representa el 15% total de la migración en España. En el ámbito regional y educativo de Madrid, los últimos datos del curso 2018-2019 muestran que en los colegios bilingües el grupo de migrantes inscritos más numeroso pertenece a Rumanía con 27.211 estudiantes (21,9%), seguidos de Marruecos con 19.517 estudiantes (15,5%). Una vez establecido estos datos se da la definición de las características del estudiante marroquí dentro de los programas bilingües. El punto de partida para esta definición es delimitar los tres componentes lingüísticos que forman parte de la identidad de estos estudiantes. Primero nos encontramos con el idioma mayoritario con el que hay más exposición durante los primeros años de escolarización (español), en segundo lugar, la lengua familiar o lengua de herencia (árabe) y el tercer lugar la lengua utilizada como medio de enseñanza (inglés). Las capacidades lingüísticas en estos tres idiomas son muy distintas y cada uno está reservado a un contexto dentro del mundo del hablante de la lengua de herencia. Por ello se toma los programas bilingües como referente en el que se pueda incorporar estos tres idiomas como parte de la enseñanza en el centro.

Con el propósito de estudiar la posibilidad de considerar el árabe como lengua de herencia dentro del contexto español, se ha utilizado dos tipos de cuestionarios para padres y alumnos de entre 7-11 años inscritos en escuelas públicas bilingües en los que dichos participantes tienen que valorar el uso que hacen del árabe y el español u otros idiomas en diferentes contextos y en seis grados diferentes de uso. El cuestionario utilizado es el denominado *Language Background Scale*, el cual se ha adaptado de Colin Baker (2011) como medio de investigación al uso de las lenguas en diferentes contextos por familias con lenguas minoritarias. En estos cuestionarios han intervenido 17 padres y 17 alumnos con el árabe como lengua de herencia. Los cuestionarios fueron distribuidos a las familias y recogidos posteriormente para su estudio y análisis de forma manual. Junto a este cuestionario, se han creado también una serie de preguntas dirigidas hacia los padres de estos alumnos para averiguar cuáles son sus opiniones acerca de la educación bilingüe y el mantenimiento de las lenguas de herencia. Este punto es importante para el desarrollo de este estudio ya que las lenguas de herencia están directamente ligadas al entorno familiar y cultural, con lo cual, es relevante saber cuáles son las elecciones familiares en cuanto al uso y mantenimiento de las lenguas de herencia y así ver si realmente se tienen que implantar en los centros de enseñanza.

Finalmente, los resultados muestran su concordancia con la teoría lingüística de las lenguas de herencia en cuanto a su presencia y a su práctica dentro de la sociedad, en este caso, dentro de la sociedad española, en concreto en Madrid. Teniendo en cuenta este resultado y los resultados anteriores obtenidos mediante el análisis de los principios de los centros bilingües, los programas dedicados hacia la diversidad y el proyecto Madrid Comunidad Bilingüe, se presenta una propuesta de implementación de clases de lengua de herencia dentro y fuera del centro educativo.

Una de las propuestas presenta la posibilidad de incorporar las clases de lengua de herencia dentro del horario escolar, concretamente en las horas en las que asignaturas como la religión que no está destinada a todo el alumnado pueda ser sustituida por clases de lengua y cultura de aquellos alumnos con de lenguas minoritarias. Estas clases pueden desarrollarse desde el inicio de la educación primaria hasta finalizar y los resultados obtenidos pueden ser informados a los padres en los boletines de notas oficiales, así el alumno puede promocionar de un curso a otro y lograr progresar en el aprendizaje de la lengua. La segunda propuesta está destinada para el mismo alumnado, esta vez fuera del horario lectivo, pero en las mismas instalaciones del centro y con continua información a

los padres del progreso académico de sus hijos. Esta iniciativa sirve para crear un vínculo asociativo la lengua de herencia, la lengua de estudio y la lengua mayoritaria como componentes de una buena integración, diversidad cultural y éxito académico.

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1. Introduction

Since the inception of studies on Heritage Languages (HL) there has been substantial research which has tried to give a meaning and a place to this field in the contexts of bilingual education programmes (see Polinsky and Kagan, 2007). This attempt has succeeded in some countries such as Canada with the combination of different languages into the school curriculum: French-English-minority or heritage language. However, in other settings this educational measure is still a novelty that needs to be further developed (Martín Rojo *et al.*,2003)

This study takes into account the multilingual and multicultural environment that is fostered through bilingual education programmes and its advantages to help not only majority language students but also minority language students to enhance their foreign language competence. Against this backdrop, the present paper concentrates on the Spanish bilingual context and its potential for the field of Heritage Language studies. More specifically, Spanish CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning) schools, which is one of the main bilingual programmes developed to teach content through a second/foreign language (i.e. English), will be examined.

While this paper is anchored in the Spanish context, the main interest and object of research is the CLIL¹ programme in the Community of Madrid founded in 2004 under the *Madrid Comunidad Bilingüe* project. The age group referenced goes from 7 to 11-year-old pupils in such public schools. More specifically, this study covers the case of Moroccan heritage language speakers (HLS) living in Spain who at the same time attend bilingual schools in which English is the medium of instruction.

The objectives of this research paper is twofold, on the one hand, it will be a contribution to the literature of bilingual education (CLIL) in Spain and, on the other hand, it will also

¹Throughout this study the terms bilingual education and CLIL will be used interchangeably when referring to the Spanish bilingual education context.

contribute to the research field of Moroccan² as a Heritage Languages in Spain. Hence three research questions are formulated:

RQ1) Are there any policy considerations about Heritage Language Speakers in Spanish bilingual education?

RQ2) How is Moroccan Arabic perceived by Heritage Language Speakers and their parents?

RQ3) How can Moroccan Arabic Heritage Language be implemented as part of the school curriculum to help minority language speakers perform better academically?

For the first RQ the data used are going to be official documents: *Proyecto Educativo de Centro* (PEC) which are the curricular guidelines bilingual schools publish as official policy documents. The objective here is to see how these curricular guidelines describe the school's bilingual proposals and the multicultural environment. The purpose is to establish if these foreign language proposals can be somehow aligned with the heritage language field theory. A review of the diversity programmes of public schools and the documents published to support the initiative *Madrid Comunidad Bilingüe* will also be provided.

As for the second RQ there are two parts to explore: first, a literature review of other heritage language learning programmes in bilingual education from three different countries (i.e. the UK, Switzerland and Italy). These contexts will be taken into account to be adjusted to the Spanish CLIL programmes with Moroccan students enrolled in order to create a proposal for the implementation of their heritage language within the schooling curriculum. The second part will use a questionnaire to assess the language use of parents and students in primary CLIL programmes with a HL background, since this paper defends the presence of Moroccan Arabic as a HL in Spain. The questionnaire is adapted from C. Baker, *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism* (2011). Lastly, the third research question will be tackled through two- small scale proposals for HL implementation in CLIL schools.

The answer to these research questions aligns with the aims of the paper:

² Moroccan, Moroccan Arabic or Arabic are the names used to refer to the Classic Arabic language as a trace of Moroccan migrant identity since it's the first language in the hierarchy of languages in the country of origin, Morocco. There is no consideration of implementing dialects or Arabic varieties in schools, see Garcia-López and Mijares (2001:286).

- Problematised the absence of heritages languages in Spanish CLIL.
- Describe the use of Moroccan Arabic and place it as a heritage language in Spain.
- Propose a feasible programme for heritage language inclusion in public CLIL schools.

Before delving into the Spanish context, this paper offers an overview of the origins and development of the heritage language field in other countries to serve as reference for the current situation of the heritage language field and its potential implementation in the Spanish CLIL setting as the following sections will display.

2. Past and present: origins and development of Heritage Languages

Heritage languages are those which refer to community ethnocultural language. In the majority of cases it is not the student's first language but a reminiscing element of its culture and origins. There are several terms to refer to heritage languages in the linguistic field such as mother tongue, ancestral language, third language, ethnic language, non-official language, first language (L1) and heritage language (Duff and Li, 2009).

In the following section we will provide a historical overview of the origins of heritage languages and the terms given to describe them in each period.

2.1 Past views of the heritage language research field: definitions and terminology

Throughout the years authors and researchers have provided with different names to describe what we know in the present as heritage languages. The American linguist Dorian (1981) coined the term of semi-speakers to refer to Gaelic speakers during her research on the disappearance of Gaelic speakers in the east Scottish coast. This term of semi-speakers can be linked to the definition of heritage language speaker in the sense of a person who has a cultural/ linguistic background but who at the same time is exposed to a majority language which takes over the person's linguistic use and stands out on the linguistic proficiency of the speaker. A semi-speaker, in this context is a person who has access to Gaelic through his community but who ultimately never becomes fluent in that language. Dorian (1982:34) provides a definition to understand better this concept of semi speaker:

I call these last, imperfect speakers of a dying language **semi-speakers**. They represent the youngest age group in the community to make use of the dying language. [...] They can be distinguished at the lower levels of skill from people who know only words and a few fixed phrases by their ability to manipulate words and form sentences. They can be distinguished at the upper levels of skill from the youngest of the fully fluent speakers by the presence of deviations in their dialect which are generally recognized by the rest of the community as “mistakes”. (The younger fluent speakers also deviate fairly sharply from conservative norms, but in more subtle ways and/or to a lesser degree; almost none of their deviations are noticed by the community at large.

At the beginning of the paragraph Dorian expresses her view on these speakers as *imperfect speakers* and she does refer as well to the Scottish dialects as *dying language*. However, these terms have evolved since they were first used by linguists. In today's world we can refer to them as heritage language speakers (HLS) and heritage languages (HL).

Initially, the topic and research of HL was very ill-defined and under-researched. Also, the terminology used to refer to minority language speakers and HL was rather negative. Authors like Baker and Jones (1998) defined HL speakers as dominant, unbalanced or pseudo-bilinguals.

Moving on in time, other terms have been used to describe heritage language speakers and their linguistic ability of the home language such as *incomplete acquisition* (Montrul, 2002:21) or *incomplete acquirers* (Schmitt, 2008). Incomplete acquisition occurs in child bilingualism when there is a lack of equal proficiency in the home language and the majority language. The development of the heritage language in in these children does not correspond to age-matched monolingual speakers of the same language:

Incomplete acquisition is a mature linguistic state, the outcome of language acquisition that is no complete or attrition in childhood. Incomplete L1 acquisition occurs in childhood when, for different reasons, some specific properties of the language do not have a chance to reach age-appropriate levels of proficiency after intense exposure to L2 begins (Montrul 2002:21).

Kim et al. (2006) use the term *early bilinguals* to refer to Korean heritage language speakers. In this case, the term is not used negatively as in the previous ones. The term is just a definition of the language transfer phenomenon that happens from English (L1) and the Korean (L2) language. Other authors take the linguistic abilities and competencies of minority language speakers to define their profile as HL speakers. This can be appreciated in the case of Russian minority speakers defined as *receptive bilinguals* (who can understand but cannot speak Russian) or *recessive bilinguals*, those who lose their minority language competence because of the contact with a majority language such as English, see Sherkina-Lieber et al. (2011).

There are other alternative terms coined to refer to minority languages: *community language* (Baker & Jones, 1998; Corson, 1999; Wiley, 2001, 2005) and *home language* (Yeung, Marsh, & Suliman, 2000). These terms together with heritage language seem to be more neutral and enriching since they highlight positively inherited and cultural traits. Terminologically, the term considered as more appropriate to refer to minority languages in majority contexts is that of HL. The label given advocates for the study and the maintenance of a minority language (Wiley, 2001).

Wiley (2001) explains how difficult it is not to use HL as a synonym of migrant languages, indigenous languages, and colonial languages. This tends to give a false impression about HL which are automatically associated with ancestral and primitive languages. With the development of the HL research field, there has been a more open and positive perspective of heritage languages and a certain urge to eliminate the problematic and negative connotations that arise with the use of this term (Cummins, 2000, 2005).

Taking into consideration these facts, in this paper HL are presented as a resource for the student's linguistic and cultural development in the home language, the majority language and the school language. Therefore, there is no consideration of education impediments to implement HL in the bilingual education programmes. Moreover, these programmes have an important potential to facilitate the inclusion of heritage languages, (for a review, see Cashion and Eagan, 1990; Cook, 2003; Valdés, 2005 in Cummins, 2005).

In the following section of this paper, there will be a current account and definition of HL and HLS, which at the same time will be the viewpoints taken to conduct this research.

2.2 Re-defining heritage languages in contemporary research.

As can be appreciated in the terminology and definition of minority languages on the previous section, at the beginning it was rather a very ill-treated topic which focused more on the negative aspects of home languages. They are viewed as “dying languages” and the speakers are targeted as “semi-speakers or incomplete acquirers”, such terms lead to highlight the impediments and deficits of bringing a home language into a majority language context. These initial approaches are seemed to diminish the importance of home languages and their position is still very conservative compared to the advances in research made in the last decades.

The initial linguistic points of view regarding home languages eliminate their presence in majority language schools due to their alleged impediments to a successful academic development in a majority context. In contrast, all these negative and ill-defined theories were unified under the term of **heritage languages** and they are currently seen as an important and necessary educational resource within bilingual education. Since the definitions are numerous and the perspective of this paper is founded on the positive factors of heritage languages, there are 3 definitions chosen as a base for this paper, 2 for heritage languages and 1 for heritage language students.

Valdés (2000) introduces the definition of HLS: as for the term heritage language student, educators use it to refer to a language student who is raised in a home where non-English language is spoken, who speaks or at least understand the language, and who is to some degree bilingual in that language and in English. Valdés (2000:411) suggests that a HLS are members of a linguistic minority who are concerned about the study, maintenance, and revitalization of their home language. Within this minorities there are migrant populations who migrate to regions other than their areas of origin such as Turks in Germany or Moroccans in Spain.

Accordingly, Fishman and Cummins (2006, 2015) define the term HL: heritage languages refer to languages other than the national dominant one, historically associated with the ethnocultural heritage of particular minority populations. (Fishman, 2006) or as Cummins

suggests: *heritage language* refers to the same set of languages as the term *foreign language* (i.e., all languages other than English). However, when we speak of teaching a heritage language, the target group refers primarily to students who have either learned the language as their home language (L1) or who have some form of family or “heritage” connection to the language (e.g., second and third generation immigrants), Cummins (2015: 586).

Taking into considerations these definitions, they can be implemented in the Spanish bilingual education context. As a preliminary explanation, Valdés (2000) is referring to Spanish heritage speakers in the U.S, this definition if applied to Moroccan children, they can also be considered as heritage language speakers in the Spanish context. Moroccan HLS are exposed to Moroccan language during their childhood as their home language, which in many cases is the language used to communicate with close family members, and there are to a certain degree bilingual in that language since they are exposed to it, they practice it, and it is somehow linked to their origins.

As for Fishman’s (2006) definition, which is also meant to be applied to Spanish HLS in the US, it can be said that in the case of Moroccan it is a minority language belonging a migrant population within a majority language context which is Spanish. The particular aspect that can be added is that once children reach school age, they begin to use Spanish language with classmates and friends outside of the home, but at the same time they are immersed in a CLIL programme where English is the language of instruction, these children are considered as heritage language students within the CLIL Spanish programmes, this topic will be approached more in depth in this study.

The next section of this research will be review of three heritage language projects implemented in bilingual contexts in three different countries in Europe. This international projection of the HL field will be an enriching form of viewing how professional deal with this linguistic diversity in the classroom and a model for the Spanish CLIL setting.

2.2.1 Heritage language maintenance: implementation and measures in today’s bilingual education

Even if the notion of heritage language and bilingual education may sound like a novelty in the linguistic field, it is a subject that has been started to be researched on decades ago.

The objective of the implementation of HL in schools has globally been a proposal intended for minority groups as a solution for preserving their heritage and culture. Each country tackles this task from different perspectives and each one of them has specific linguistic needs depending on which minority language is more numerous in their context.

Historically, researchers, educators and families have always managed diversity in different manners, but the main goal has always been the heritage language maintenance (HLM). This maintenance is considered as an important factor for community national development and unity (Cummins, 2005). Unfortunately, due to inadequate language policies this task has not always been easy, and this translates many cases in home language loss in children.

Many countries with different schooling characteristics attempt to find balance between the students' home language and school language by the implementation of HL courses with the participation of families and institutions. As inspirational models, this section is intended as a review of three contemporary approaches of HL implementation in majority language contexts and bilingual education through Swiss heritage language courses (HLC), UK supplementary schools and a CLIL project in Italy.

In these models HLS are urged to take part in activities where they are given the chance to use their home language in the schooling context as a resource for transferring knowledge and learning, CLIL is presented as a useful approach that helps the integration of students and their academic achievement (Berthele and Lambelet, 2017).

- **Portuguese heritage language speakers in Switzerland.**

The first HL implementation example worth mentioning belongs to the HELASCOT project “Heritage language and school language: are literacy skills transferable” (Lambelet et al. 2017:40). This project takes place in Switzerland as a majority language context with Portuguese HLS.

In Switzerland there are Heritage Language and Culture (HLC) courses which are organised by the countries of emigration and supported at the same time by the regional or cantonal Ministry of Education. This support given by the national administration can be considered as an initiative of HL implementation and maintenance. However, the accessibility to HLC courses depends highly on the presence of migrant populations in a

particular region as well as the support received from the canton Ministry. The aid provided can be presented in several forms:

- In schools, the classrooms are offered to take these courses, but the lessons always take place *outside school* hours. The information regarding the lessons such as marks or teacher feedback is not given to the parents.
- A *course plan is presented to parents* and they informed about the hours, the curriculum and encouraged to make their children participants of the courses.
- HLC lessons are known for their *integration on the schooling curriculum* taking place on the school hours.

HLC courses were initially intended for the reintegration of migrant children (Baker and Jones, 1998) into their home country in case they were to return once their parents work plans came to an end. Nowadays, it seems that the migrant profile has changed, and it is more settled and permanent, which makes these courses be more oriented to HL maintenance, the construction of the child's identity and a resource for learning the local and foreign languages. With the HELASCOT project, researchers provide empirical data with readings and written texts by the students enrolled in HLC courses to see if their competences in Portuguese and the majority language were transferred and equally developed.

- **Greek heritage language speakers in the UK**

In the UK the project of implementation of HL was developed for Greek HLS in a supplementary school (Charalampidi et al, 2015). Supplementary schools are normally community initiatives to support the student's mainstream learning. The courses take place outside of the schooling hours and the subjects taught are culture, language or religion of an ethnic minority.

This is a CLIL project which takes place outside the school's curricula and Greek is the HL of the students. The project aimed to reinforce student's linguistic and cognitive links between their home language Greek and the school language (i.e., English).

Learners/participants in this experiment were students aged 11-17 who took part in a science-language activity in the British Science Museum. The activity was designed as a continuum of the content learnt in the classroom and it included the integration of Greek language both linguistically and academically. Instructors provided content instructions

in Greek and a bilingual glossary Greek-English. This helped students as they had to give the answers in Greek based on the academic content which they had previously acquired in English science classroom. Instructors wanted to challenge the ability of students of reproducing the content knowledge acquired in school in their heritage language.

Students had the chance to share with their parents what they learnt at school and they got to know people coming from the same background who shared the same needs. When sharing similar academic needs, learners get to have the feeling of belonging to a group which increases their motivation and integration. Some students who participated in these activities described them an opportunity and space where they could meet people from their country, communicate better about issues of that country and get closer to people (Charalampidi, Hammond, Hadjipavlou, Lophitis: 2017:8).

The results of these CLIL based activities showed that it was helpful for students in language learning, their improvement in Greek and acquisition of new vocabulary was more evident in the assignments and in the oral articulation of complex ideas. Language acquisition was possible mainly because of the etymological relations that students made between English words and Greek words which exemplifies the linguistic transfer from the L1 to the L2.

Apart from the success in linguistic acquisition noted in this activity, students showed themselves more confident in using their language when they noticed that it was useful in their schooling activities.

This project was a challenge for heritage language learners from the cognitive point of view but transfer of knowledge from one language to another made the task easier. Students were able to create a link between their heritage language and the school language from a CLIL approach which helps them cognitively in acquiring new language competencies and content understanding.

- **Heritage language speakers in Italy**

In Italy Abate (2017) in her project *Shelter CLIL in multilingual classes* chooses the term NAI (newly arrived in Italy) to refer to migrant or exchange students who are enrolled in Italian education and who speak a different language at home. This case was chosen in order to interpret these students as HLS. The approaches that this instructor used are CLIL strategies to help students with different language background and proficiency to succeed

academically. The method used focuses on reading strategies and cooperative learning that encourages students to work together and create a team-based learning. Taking this approach CLIL is defined as “shelter” that allows students to participate actively and be integrated into the group.

The tools used are normally those of CLIL: cooperative learning among pupils and teacher, language exposure through written texts and visual educational activities. Both local and “newly arrived in Italy” share the same materials and texts, the content is not simplified for heritage language speakers. The intentions behind this decision is to make students feel that they are part of the same group when sharing the same content for language and cognitive acquisition. In the first stage they are required to form hypothesis based on a topic provided by the instructor, this allows them to showcase their knowledge which will allow to make connections with the reading materials and discussions in the classroom. Once students have made their hypothesis the instructor brings some explanatory texts that need to be read and understood. The last stage consists of the oral and written production in which students complete their hypothesis with the work done in class and they get to share with their classmates and professor the new ideas and vocabulary acquired.

This approach allows the instructor to make an evaluation of HL speakers’ linguistic development at the same time as they learn content and interact with local colleagues. This approach shows the possibilities that CLIL offers in multilingual environments useful for academic learning and integration, cultural diversity becomes a part of the group and learning process.

The similarity that this approach shares with UK supplementary schools is that students in the first stage are provided with visual and written items that need to be connected to their prior knowledge. This helps understanding the subject better and make grammatical and cognitive links between their home language and the language of instruction. In both cases the oral production and group work seems to be a facilitating method for cognitive and linguistic development.

The objectives of these HL projects are the encouragement of HL speakers to view their languages as a valued component of their identities and their academic proficiency and challenge CLIL researchers to focus on heritage language use in the classroom as a means of integration, motivation, academic achievement and knowledge transfer. Taking into

consideration these approaches it we be considered the possibility of their implementation on the Spanish CLIL context, but it is important to give an overview of the Spanish bilingual education field and its sociolinguistic and cultural characteristics in the next chapters.

2.2.2. Identifying the Moroccan Heritage Language Setting

The general idea about HL studies is that they are connected to a series of factors which determine their correct analysis: **their speakers** and **the sociolinguistic environment** in which the research takes place. Carreira and Kagan (2018) take a step further by connecting the HL study field with migration, education, globalisation and politics. As seen on the previous sections, this theory can be applied to the cases reviewed in which HL and their speakers have always a connection with a migrant language in a majority language context such as Greek in the UK or Portuguese in Switzerland. In this section there will be a discussion of different sociolinguistic factors to determine whether one of the objectives of this research is confirmed. This is a discussion to determine if Moroccan Arabic can be considered a HL (according to migration data) within the Spanish context, this will help for its implementation in the CLIL school programmes.

- **Migration in Spain: linguistic and demographic overview**

The number of migrants in Spain may not be significant in comparison with other European countries or with the U.S where the HL field has its origins (Valdés, 1970). Migration is one of the social changes which contributes to the presence of HL or home languages that are brought by older generations and transmitted to the younger generations. This phenomenon makes it possible for heritage languages to remain on the linguistic and social panorama of the majority language context.

Spain has been suffering many changes the last decades culturally and linguistically (Pérez-Milans and Martín Rojo, 2007:203) due to the increase in the number of migrants which started with a 2,5% of the total of Spanish population in 1995. This date is considered as the year in which Spain was included in the list of European countries

receiving migrants, the total number of migrants increased in 2017 with a 12,7% from the total of the Spanish population:

Table 1³: Demographic evolution of immigration in Spain

Year	Men	Women	Total	%
1995	499.144	520.953	1.020.067	2,56%
2000	838.058	819.229	1.657.285	4,08%
2005	2.140.680	1.966.546	4.107.226	9,33%
2010	3.238.238	3.238.238	6.280.065	13,46%
2015	2.884.000	3.007.208	5.891.208	12,69%
2017	2.892.146	3.054.960	5.947.106	12,75%

According to the INE (Instituto Nacional de Estadística) the most numerous groups of migrants in Spain has its origins in Moroccan nationality with a total of 749.670 inhabitants in 2018 representing 15% of the total immigration, followed by Romanians and Ecuadorians. In the schooling environment, in the Madrid region the number of migrant students represents the 14% of the total number of students (Pastor et al. 2011). When it comes to the Madrid region, a study conducted by Broeder and Mijares in (2003), which included a questionnaire, reveals that Spain is certainly a multilingual society and schools are the representation of this theoretical fact. This statement is justified by the presence of migrant languages such as Chinese, Polish, Tagalog, Romanian as well as other European languages: French, English and German.

³ See <https://datosmacro.expansion.com/> in collaboration with the Spanish Statistic Office (Instituto Nacional de Estadística). Last access: 9/04/2019

In Madrid, the most numerous groups of migrant students in CLIL settings according to data of the academic year 2018-2019 are in the first place Rumanian represented by 27.211 students (21,9%), followed by Moroccans with 19.517 students (15,5%) and finally Chinese with 9.119 students (7,2 %)⁴.

There is no such thing as a linguistic census in Madrid, so based on this demographic information, in the following chapter the objective is to give an approach of what a Moroccan HLS is and how it can be identified.

- **Identifying the Moroccan Heritage Language Student**

There are two types of Moroccan HLS which should be mentioned to make this research clearer. The first group of Moroccan migrant students are those who come to Spain as children and have no proficiency at all in English nor Spanish, which means that at the point of entering school their language skills are very limited. These students end up acquiring Spanish and English (to a certain degree) by the time they start high school and university and who at the same time keep their linguistic abilities in the HL. The second group of Moroccan HLS are those who are born in Spain, they immediately have contact with the dominant language due to preschool programmes or normal school programmes in which the main language is Spanish.

As mentioned by Polynski (2014), when a research intends to study a heritage language the first and crucial step is to identify a “baseline” language to serve as an example to which compare the heritage language. This baseline has to correspond to the exact language variety the student has had been exposed to during childhood. In many cases the student has only been in contact with this variety through oral interaction in his family circle or close relatives.

This research covers the case of Moroccan HL speakers living in Spain who at the same time attend bilingual schools in which English is the medium of instruction. The baseline shown in the next section is created to understand better the subject of this research:

⁴ Source: *Dirección General de Becas y Ayudas al Estudio*. See <http://www.madrid.org/bvirtual/BVCM016369.pdf>. Last access: 18/06/19.

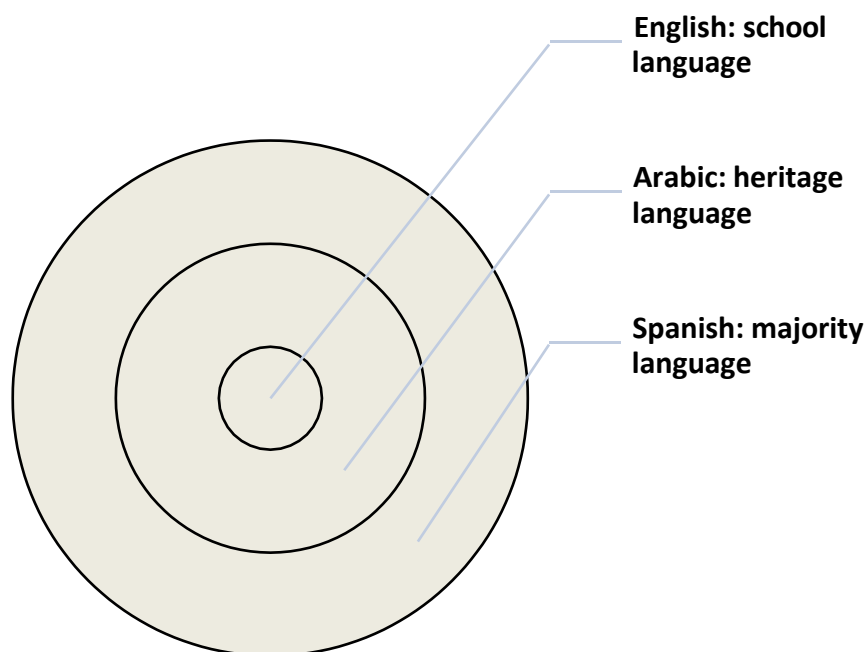


Figure 1: linguistic conceptual frame (based on Kachru, 1992)

Figure 1 shows visually the conceptual language frame of the linguistic environment of a Moroccan HLS and it is adapted from Kachru's (1992) concentric circles to represent English pluri-centricity and varieties.

However, in this study, Figure 1 represents the multilingual situation of a HLS in Spain. Hence, Spanish is represented as the dominant language or majority language, followed by the heritage or home language Arabic and, finally, the representation of English language exposure as the school language.

On the one hand, Spanish is used daily in society, with friends, siblings, and for communicating outside their homes on a general note. On the other hand, English can also be considered a baseline to which Moroccan is a HL since it is a language with which the child has no contact at home as part of his heritage. English is used inside the classroom for content instruction, but it does neither belong to Moroccan nor Spanish students as a majority language. It can be considered that both Spanish and Moroccan students are heritage language speakers when they attend classes. According to the definitions given for HL on this paper, Moroccan students can be considered as HLS since they have learned their home language through family contact or inherited through generations.

It is important to note that most of these students may not be fluent and far from perfect heritage language speakers of Moroccan, however, this does not prevent them from being considered as having a certain degree of language ability (Au and Romo 1977). The objective in these cases is not to have someone fully fluent in their heritage language to be considered as HLS. Linguistic exposure may differ from one Moroccan household to another, what is important is that to a certain degree these students can articulate some words to be understood within their family environment (monolingual family members) as well as develop an understanding ability of the language.

What is intended in bilingual education with the inclusion of HL is to motivate the student to develop better his/her HL with linkage of ideas and knowledge transfer (Cummins, 1991; Bethel and Lambel, 2017:12). This model can help the student feel secure when articulating their HL, help language acquisition and share cultural knowledge with classmates. While there is no such thing as HL in Spanish CLIL (see section 3 below), the diversity programmes held in schools (SAI, SETI, Teaching of Romanian Language and Culture, reveals that the integration of Moroccan as HL in the schooling curriculum is indeed a feasible project.

3. Heritage Languages and Bilingual Education/CLIL in Spain. A field open for research

In the Spanish context diversity and migration management in schools before CLIL was predominantly monolingual and monocultural (Pastor et al. 2011) considering the learning of Spanish language as the main tool for integration and academic achievement. The diverse linguistic and cultural background of students is a novelty presented for educators and researchers in the last decades and the measures adopted gravitate towards a more Spanish-based learning and assimilation. Researchers conclude that these problems are presented mainly due to the lack of teacher training and awareness regarding the needs of HLS students and the lack of a common curriculum for the for their immersion in the mainstream classrooms (Grañeras, Vázquez, Parra, Rodríguez, Madrigal, & Vale, 2007; Hernández-García & Villalba-Martínez, 2008). Until this moment this has translated in that there is no appreciation of HL and there is no opportunities nor rights for HLS to use them at school. With CLIL what is worth highlighting is that there is a new conceptualisation of language learning and contemplation of cultural diversity, this helps not only the acquisition of English

language, but it gives a chance to HL to be developed within the schooling environment as a useful tool for integration and academic achievement as it will be explained in the next chapter.

3.1. Bilingual Education/CLIL as a support for Heritage Language development

This study is based on the bond between bilingual education/CLIL and HL, in which bilingual education is seen as a shelter that allows students to participate actively in the classroom and be more integrated into the group. Historically this bond has always existed, and bilingual education has always been viewed as perfect environment for multilingual development both in the school language and the home language.

Bilingual education provides for students the possibility of developing knowledge and linguistic proficiency in two languages. García (2011) states “traditional second or foreign language programmes teach the language as a subject whereas bilingual education programmes use the language as a medium of instruction”. For Baker (2011), bilingual education is the one which uses and promotes 2 languages or relatively monolingual education in a second language typically for language minority children. Baker seeks to distinguish these types of education based on the previous statements made by Mackey (1971) and Fishman (1976) in which they presented the possibility of incorporating HL of minority students into the classic school curriculum. The most significant types and definitions of these programmes are the following:

Transitional programmes: aims to shift the child from the home minority language, to the dominant majority language. Social and cultural assimilation into the language majority is the aim.

Maintenance bilingual education attempts to foster the minority language in the child and the associated culture and identity.

Enrichment bilingual education aims to maintain language skills at the level of the child entering school, but it also seeks to develop the students home language skills to full proficiency and full biliteracy. Enrichment bilingual education attempts to prevent home language loss but not to increase skills in that first language. It also aims to extend the individual and group use of minority language leading to cultural pluralism and linguistic diversity.

If we take these definitions of bilingual education, it might be possible to apply them to students who share the same sociolinguistic background. However, these definitions cannot be applied when we are dealing with migrant, indigenous people or refugee students who have a different home language than the majority language and the language of instruction used in the classroom. These students' home language is the one referred to as heritage language, which means that they have an additional language that should be taken into consideration in the bilingual education context or incorporated into the school curriculum.

CLIL/bilingual education described by Euridice (2016) as *a generic term to describe all the types of provisions in which a second language is used to teach certain subjects on the curriculum other than language lessons themselves*, constitutes an empowering environment for all students. It provides students with a greater interactional space allowing them to produce more personally involved talk resulting in more negotiation of meaning and collaborative forms of talk (Nikula et al. 2013). Students in CLIL are more self-assured and have lower anxiety to use the target language, even if they have difficulties expressing themselves. Their language is not under the same oppressive scrutiny as in the traditional foreign language classroom and, for migrant minority students in other majority language classrooms. CLIL is a classroom where all the students are learning an additional language and that cancels out the most important source of inequity between minority and majority students' knowledge of the language of instruction (Taylor 1992, Vila 2009).

These beneficial targets given to CLIL facilitate three academic areas: language acquisition, integration and cultural competence acquisition. There have laboratory studies that show the benefits of using heritage languages as a means of language acquisition support in the classroom⁵ for minority language speakers (Bowles, 2011; Bowles et al., 2014; Henshaw, 2016; Valentín Rivera, 2016). These studies focus on the shared abilities of majority language students and HLS to create shared learning opportunities.

Crystal (2000) claims that language diversity is beneficial for the adaptation and inclusion in a group, languages denote the expression of identity. A student is more reassured and secure when he is recognised as someone with identity within a group. When students are

⁵Also called reciprocal learning in mixed classes, see Carreira and Kagan (2018:157)

involved in a bilingual classroom, they can benefit from language diversity which is necessary to develop cultural and linguistic awareness in a multilingual environment (Bertele, 2017:220; and Berthele and Vanhole, 2017:118). The positive aspect about bilingual programmes is that the heritage language of students can be placed in the classroom as an instrument of language acquisition and cultural competence. A HL can provide a link between the student's cultural environment with the classroom lessons, this is what makes it differ from any other foreign language learning.

Language ideologies in the classroom (Leeman, 2012) and the register used by students whose parents come from a different background makes them shy to express their ideas on their home languages. The key for the reinforcement and maintenance of language diversity in the classroom is the academic result of minority students but it is also a contribution to the learning of the whole classroom. Shared knowledge between individuals leads to the understanding of different cultural and linguistic peculiarities of each group.

3.1.1. CLIL and diversity management-*Programas de Atención a la Diversidad*

Before getting into the discussion about the absence of heritage language in bilingual Spanish education, it is important to give a brief account of the implementation and development of CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning) programmes in public Spanish schools, specifically those located in the community of Madrid as it is the area in which this research is based. There will be also an account of diversity management in public CLIL schools. These two following sections will help to answer the **RQ1** about the policy considerations about HLS in Spanish bilingual education.

In 2004 the Department of Education in Madrid launched the implementation of bilingual schools under the motto "Madrid Comunidad Bilingüe"⁶. The methodology of this programme is the teaching of content through a second language, which in this context it happens to be English and to a lesser degree French and German. The academic content is normally taught through English except from mathematics and Spanish language and

⁶ See <https://comunidadbilingue.educa2.madrid.org/>. Last access: 10/03/2019

literature. When CLIL was first launched in 2004 it began with 26 public bilingual schools. Currently, the latest data⁷ from 2018 confirms that there are 369 public bilingual schools, 204 charter bilingual schools and 152 secondary bilingual schools:

Table 2: Evolution of Bilingual Public schools per year

<i>Year</i>	2004	2008	2014	2018
<i>Primary schools</i>	26	147	336	369

Through the informative documents published by the Department of Education in Madrid, the main objectives drawn for CLIL are the acquisition of communicative competences in various languages, establish English as the teaching language and school language, and provide equal opportunities of quality English learning for children. Even if there is no mention of minority nor heritage languages, these objectives are helpful for a possible heritage language implementation.

There is however within public schools some programmes⁸ that enhance cultural diversity in the schooling environment, these programmes or diversity initiatives are called *Programas de Atención a la Diversidad*. These programmes are implemented in public schools as a response to diversity in and their main goal is to help the integration of minority groups who have specific needs whether it be related to their social or cultural backgrounds. This aid is available throughout the schooling years and it can be permanent or temporary depending on the evolution of the students' needs. Since this approach deals with diversity in public schools, there are several subgroups and each one of them deals with a specific student need:

- 1) *Educación compensatoria*. This programme called “compensatory education” is designed to help student who may have curricular disadvantages and cannot progress in their promotion and completion of education.
- 2) *Aula de Enlace*. Called also *liaison classrooms* in Pastor (2011). The aim behind this programme is the creation of welcoming classrooms for migrants and

⁷ See <http://www.madrid.org/bvirtual/BVCM016411.pdf>. Last access: 10/03/2019

⁸ See http://www.madrid.org/dat_este/supe/atencion-diversidad/educacion_compensatoria.html. Last access: 12/03/2019

newcomers until they acquire a certain level of Spanish language level to make their social and academic integration easier in the schooling environment and the mainstream classrooms.

- 3) *Servicio de traductores e intérpretes (SETI)*. The aim SETI is to help the communication between migrant families and schools. The services offered by SETI are the translation of documents or interpretation of family and teacher meetings in the minority language, there are the 23 languages available in each school, including Arabic and a dialect. This programme is not very well known since it is not directly offered to families, it has to be requested to the institution in order to receive its services.
- 4) *Aulas de compensatoria educativa (ACE)*. These are additional courses offered to students with academic difficulties to obtain their degree to access the job market with the completion and acquisition of the capacities required in every academic year.
- 5) *Servicio de apoyo al inmigrante (SAI)*. This programme is offered to migrant children who have been previously in the welcoming classrooms (*aulas de enlace*) as a follow up of their progress and language acquisition.
- 6) *Enseñanza de la lengua y la cultura rumana*. Lastly, we can find the teaching of Romanian language and culture programme created as a cultural and educational agreement between Spain and Romania. In Madrid, it is adopted as a culturally enriching programme for students in primary and secondary education. This programme is established in schools considering the number of Rumanian students or other students interested in the enrolment on this programme. Once the number of people interested is established, the school's administration sends a request to the Department of Education in Madrid and there is a discussion on the implementation of the programme. The groups formed do not exceed 15 students, and the classes take place out of school hours.

Through this brief account of CLIL and public education it can be pointed out that even if there is no such thing as HL included in the policy documents nor in the school curriculum. However, there is an appreciation of diversity, culture and language learning although many of these programmes discussed above may seem as segregating. In CLIL English is the language chosen for teaching and it is intended to be used as the school

language and a tool for the creation of equal opportunities for academic learning in school. This aim itself shows us that CLIL and bilingual education in general create an academic atmosphere where children are indirectly immersed in a sociolinguistic environment where they are encouraged for a diverse learning and acceptance. As a matter of fact, the programmes described previously resemble much like the heritage language programmes implemented in other contexts and they can be the base for the creation of HL courses in CLIL.

As part of the research data, in this part of the paper there have been a general view of CLIL and possible HL inclusion. The documents published by the Department of Education in Madrid for CLIL do not use the term “heritage language” but it does use this term indirectly under the inclusion of diversity. This shows us that HL can be easily implemented in CLIL schools with the development of a theoretical proposal.

In order to reinforce this idea, in the following part of this research there will be an analysis of 3 school curricular guidelines belonging to CLIL schools in Madrid. This will give a more precise idea of how each school manages diversity and under which terms they do it.

3.1.2. Heritage Languages in CLIL schools: evidence from two school educational projects

CLIL paved the way to HL inclusion on the schooling curriculum, however, it is necessary to see how schools deal with cultural and linguistic diversity in a bilingual education programme. To do so, in this section there will be an analysis of 2 school education projects or *Proyecto Educativo de Centro* (PEC) of CLIL schools in Madrid as an empirical evidence for this research paper which will be later completed with parental and child questionnaire evidence.

The PEC of a school expresses its autonomy and it is used to explain a school’s objectives and activities, and it creates meaning for students to achieve the basic skills of their education. The 3 educational projects chosen where published on 2017, they are available on the school’s websites and they are publicly accessible. To refer to these schools and their project S1, S2, (school 1-2) is used as detailed in the table below.

Table 3: PEC of Madrid region CLIL schools

School Name	PEC year of publication	Total pages
S1: CEIP Alhambra ⁹ (Madrid, Fuencarral)	2017	110
S2: CEIP La Villa ¹⁰ (Guadarrama)	2017	95

The objective of this analysis is related to this paper's RQ1 about the theoretical and cultural considerations about the HLS in Spanish bilingual education. The points of interest taken from the PEC of each school are divided in 3 parts: (a) description of each school's bilingual programme, (b) cultural management and (c) parental/family involvement. The areas chosen are part of the main ideas of the heritage language field: education, bilingualism/multilingualism, cultural inclusion and family involvement. The analysis is carried out manually concentrating in each of the areas mentioned, after the complete analysis of the 4 sections an answer to RQ1 will be given. Before the analysis of each PEC, it is important to mention some sociocultural aspects of the areas in which the both schools are located which may be important for the linkage with the HL in the study of the sociocultural environment the students.

- **Sociocultural aspects.**

- **S1.** According to the PEC, the total migration rate attending school is 12% from the 232.889 total population of the region, the schools claims that the majority are well integrated in the school. The cultural references of the population point out that there is a low level of illiteracy on adults (165 people), and 1.682 people with no studies. The occupation of the majority of the population is listed in three main groups: public positions, employees and manual workers.
- **S2.** In this school there is a total of 7% registered Moroccan born students. On the sociocultural aspects, the area in which this school is located the 70% of the population works on the industry followed by manual workers and freelancers.

⁹ See <https://www.educa2.madrid.org/web/colegio.cp.alhambra.madrid/proyecto>. Last access: 15/05/2019

¹⁰ See <http://villadeguadarrama.com/wp-content/uploads/PEC-2017.pdf>. Last access: 15/05/2019

(a) PEC description of S1-S2 bilingual programmes

- **S1** offers a CLIL programme for families and students starting from primary education, when the student is about 6 years old. The subjects meant to be taught in English are social and natural science, arts and crafts, English as a second language, music and physical education. The rest of subjects which are Spanish language and literature, maths and ethical education are taught in Spanish. The programme accentuates the importance of accepting language diversity and the training for a good communication in English and Spanish:

La formación en el respeto a la pluralidad lingüística y cultural de España. (pp.26)

La capacitación para la comunicación en la lengua castellana y lengua inglesa. (pp.26)

La educación y la convivencia se desarrollarán en un marco de tolerancia y respeto a la libertad, la personalidad y las convicciones éticas, religiosas y políticas de todos los miembros de la Comunidad Educativa, que no podrán ser perturbadas por ningún tipo de coacción ni por la obligación de asumir ideologías o creencias determinadas. (pp.26)

- **S2** offers a CLIL programme in which at least 30% of the curriculum is taught in English and it is available from kindergarten and primary education. This PEC gives us theoretical information and justifies its choice for a CLIL English programme:

Partiendo de la base que el conocimiento de lenguas extranjeras es un instrumento esencial en la formación, particularmente, el conocimiento de la lengua inglesa ofrece nuevas oportunidades en una sociedad abierta y globalizada que utiliza este idioma universal, casi obligatorio en cualquier campo y ámbito tanto personal, profesional, tecnológico, dentro del mundo globalizado en que vivimos es la herramienta que permite la comunicación con personas de todos los países. (pp. 43)

English language is described as a universal tool for personal development in today's world. The goal of S2 programme is the acquisition of basic communicative skills in the

L2 (English), as well as academic success in all the areas and subjects. As for the cultural side, one of the goals of S2 is the comprehension and respect of personal and cultural differences so everyone can have equal opportunities.

(b) Cultural and diversity considerations

- **S1.** The cultural considerations mentioned in the school's PEC are those in which education and cohabitation in school is developed with the ideals of tolerance, respect of personal thoughts on freedom, ethics and religious beliefs are presented among the objectives of the school:

La formación en el respeto y reconocimiento de la pluralidad lingüística y cultural de España y de la interculturalidad como un elemento enriquecedor de la sociedad. (pp.13)

La equidad, que garantice la igualdad de oportunidades para el pleno desarrollo de la personalidad a través de la educación, la inclusión educativa, la igualdad de derechos y oportunidades que ayuden a superar cualquier discriminación y la accesibilidad universal a la educación, y que actúe como elemento compensador de las desigualdades personales, culturales, económicas y sociales, con especial atención a las que se deriven de cualquier tipo de discapacidad. (pp.13)

- **S2.** It defines itself as an integrating school where all the ideologies cultures and values are accepted. The learning motto of this school is based on the integration of culture and diversity of all the students. In addition to this, this school has a project for cross-cultural living and conflict management where students have the chance to express their differences and discuss them with colleagues and school board.

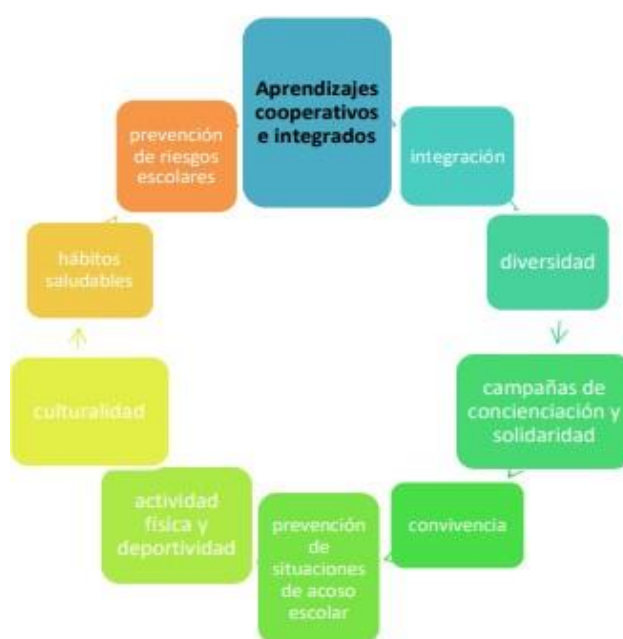


Figure 2: Education model presented in S2¹¹

Figure 2 shows how **S2** aims for an integrating school in which the participation of teachers, parents and society is highlighted. In school, the CLIL programme (as stated in this study) is presented as an integrating programme which promotes diversity and cultural acceptance between pupils within the schooling environment.

¹¹ See <http://villadegadarrama.com/wp-content/uploads/PEC-2017.pdf>. (pp. 26)

(c) Family involvement

- **S1.** The school emphasizes the participation of families with the school board through individual and group meetings with teachers, organising extracurricular activities and events. These are some of the rights parents have according to the **S1 PEC**:

Estar informados sobre el progreso del aprendizaje e integración socioeducativa de sus hijos. (pp.42)

Participar en el proceso de enseñanza aprendizaje de sus hijos. (pp.42)

Participar en la organización, funcionamiento, gobierno y evaluación del Centro Educativo, en los términos establecidos en las leyes. (pp.42)

- **S2.** Families are also encouraged to participate in the school as seen on the. however, in this case parents can participate on the cross-cultural living project where they can help their children and other students on the resolution of conflicts that may occur due to cultural or ideological differences as well on the design of the syllabus on the mother tongue:

*Colaboración desde las familias: en cuanto a la revisión de los bloques de contenido de estas áreas **a través de cualquiera de los idiomas que tengan consideración de lengua materna**, ya que se garantiza un refuerzo necesario para seguir con éxito el programa bilingüe. Esfuerzo, trabajo y revisión son dinámicas diarias en el trabajo que debe realizar el alumnado en casa ya que el aprendizaje en dos idiomas conlleva una ampliación del proceso educativo en la etapa de primaria, (programa de ampliación de los conocimientos y capacidades). (pp.45)*

This analysis shows that the HL field is still absent in bilingual Spanish schools and there is no mention of the minority language of migrant students even though the social and cultural environment count with a high presence of minority language members. However, these are some traits that can make possible future considerations about HL inclusion, such as family involvement and the integration principles and diversity acceptance that each one of them defends. Heritage languages must become a matter of pedagogical reflexion where CLIL schools are the “shelter” to raise awareness towards

diversity and linguistic maintenance inside the classrooms, “intercultural education is the new framework in which diversity is viewed in schools. This new way of understanding education is based on recognising, accepting and valuing different cultural realities in the school by including in the curriculum previous learning experiences by minority children.” (see García-Lopez and Mijares, 2001).

4. Methodology: study design and instruments of analysis

The aim of this section is to describe the instruments and the procedure employed in this study. This section illustrates the use of Arabic HL by parents and their children as well as parental attitudes towards bilingual education and HL maintenance. Hence, this section is composed by one macro-section, *participants and materials used* which at the same time is divided in two micro-sections: parental and child questionnaires and parental interviews.

4.1 Participants and instruments used

It is worth mentioning that this study is based on a mix-method research approach in which both qualitative and quantitative data are collected and discussed. Defined by Shorten and Smith (2017:74), “mixed methods research requires a purposeful mixing of methods in data collection, data analysis and interpretation of the evidence. The key word is ‘mixed’, as an essential step in the mixed methods approach is data linkage, or integration at an appropriate stage in the research process”. As for the type of mixed research, this study can be defined as *explanatory sequential* research where quantitative data is selected and analysed first, then qualitative data are collected to be analysed as a support of the quantitative data. The quantitative data is compiled through a parental and student questionnaire and the qualitative data is presented through four parental interviews.

- Parental and Student questionnaires

The questionnaire used is based on an adapted version of the *language background scale*¹² questionnaires (Baker, 2011:33) to measure the language background or functional

¹² See appendix for original and adapted version of the questionnaire.

bilingualism of the participants. These questionnaires close-ended and self-rating which do not measure the language proficiency in each language, but the preference of use of one language or another in different contexts and with different people. Students and parents had to answer according to the language use of Spanish and Arabic in various situations.

On the one hand, the parental questionnaire is composed of two parts, the first part as mentioned previously, is the **self-rating language background scale** in which parents had to measure their language choice in the following situations: TV/technology use, religion, newspaper, listening to music, radio, shopping, sports, on the phone, reading books, work and free time. The responses to these items were placed along a 6 Likert scale ranging from: (a) always in Arabic, (b) more in Arabic than Spanish, (c) in Spanish and Arabic equally, (d) more in Spanish than in Arabic, (e) always in Spanish or (f) other languages (for which they had to indicate which specific language). Likert scale is a common response rating that is used in questionnaires and surveys in which respondents are supposed to rank their opinion on a scale of 1 to 5, the original Likert scale (1932) used a series of questions with five response alternatives: strongly approve (1), approve (2), undecided (3), disapprove (4), and strongly disapprove (5). This scale is still used in research for combined the responses from the series of questions to create an attitudinal measurement scale, as stated by Allen and Seaman (2007:64) “Likert scales were developed in 1932 as the familiar five-point bipolar response that most people are familiar with today.”

The questionnaires were distributed among parents with a HL background, and whose children are enrolled in CLIL programmes. Participants were selected randomly from schools of western and southern Madrid area, 17 samples of the questionnaires were distributed and collected at a meeting point at the schools 3 days after. The age range of the participants goes from 25 to 44 years old, with 8 men participants and 9 women. This preference of age and sex is not researched is a choice to meet the criteria of the research paper: the preference to know the language use of younger Moroccan migrant generations and a mixed opinion from both sexes.

The student questionnaire is very similar to the parental questionnaire in that it also belongs to the **self-rating language background scale** (Baker, 2011:33). Students had to choose which language they use (Spanish- Arabic) when communicating with other members of the community such as: parents, siblings, classmates, with classmates in the

playground, teachers, neighbours, grandparents, other family members and with friends outside school. The responses to these items were placed along a 6 Likert scale ranging from: (a) always in Arabic, (b) more in Arabic than Spanish, (c) in Spanish and Arabic equally, (d) more in Spanish than in Arabic, (e) always in Spanish or (f) other languages (for which they had to indicate which specific language).

The questionnaires designed for students were distributed together with the parental questionnaire. Each parent was responsible for collection and delivery of their child's questionnaire at the meeting point. The students chosen for this study are those who have a HL background and they are enrolled in a CLIL programme. The age range selected for this research goes from 7 to 11 years old (primary school years), so the questionnaires were easily understood by the students which allowed them self-rate themselves. The total number of student participants is also 17 as in the parent section, a total of 8 girls and 9 boys. As mentioned on the previous section, sex is not a determinant element for the research, but a choice for having diverse data which can be applied for both sexes. The instruction for the questionnaire were explained verbally to each student and a supplementary understanding of the activity.

The objective of this questionnaire is to contribute to a better understanding of language tendency use and variation of both groups (parents and students). On the one hand, what is intended is to approach to language preferences and use by respondents within the same group, on the other hand, there will be an account of the differences of that language use between both groups (parents and students).

- Parental interviews

Secondly, individual interviews were conducted only for parents in order to obtain supplementary information to the responses given in the questionnaires. The interview consisting in 6 open-ended questions, was elaborated on the basis of parental attitudes towards bilingual education/CLIL and HL maintenance, so as to observe participants' opinions in more detail and elicit further explanations. Qualitative questions are defined as "open-ended, evolving, and nondirectional" (Creswell, 1998: 99). These questions tend to describe experiences and explore opinions to obtain insights particular educational, familial, social processes and experiences that exist within a specific location and context (Connolly, 1998) addressing "what" and "how" questions in which a descriptive aspect is selected to be later explained.

The interview questionnaire is composed of six open-ended questions where the three first questions focus on parental attitudes on bilingual education/CLIL. *Attitudinal questions* are used to determine people’s opinions, beliefs, interests and values (see Dörnyei and Taguchi, 2009), the three last questions focus on parental thoughts on HL maintenance. As described by Dörnyei and Taguchi (2009), “factual questions (also called “classification” questions or “subject descriptors”) are used to find out about who the respondents are. They typically cover demographic characteristics (e.g., age, gender, and race), residential location, marital and socioeconomic status, level of education, religion, occupation, as well as any other background information that may be relevant to interpreting the findings of the survey. Such additional data in L2 studies often include facts about the learners’ language learning history, amount of time spent in an L2 environment, level of parents’ L2 proficiency, or the L2 coursebook used.”

Table 4: Parental questionnaire

1) What is your opinion regarding bilingual education?
2) Do you agree with the idea of child attending a bilingual school?
3) Do you think that attending a bilingual school affects in any way the maintenance of the heritage language?
4) Does your child attend Arabic classes? If so, how frequently? What are the activities developed during those hours?
5) What would be your thoughts if Arabic courses were implemented within the school curriculum?
6) Do you consider maintaining the heritage language as important?

Before the interviews were conducted, there has been a previous and informal explanation to the participants of the research objectives, an explanation of linguistic terms such as “heritage language” to which none of them was familiar to. The answers given to these questions were recorded with the participant’s consent (see consent model in the appendix) and agreement for research purposes only. The participants in these interviews were four respondents of the parents who participated on the language background scale questionnaire, two women and two men, who are identified as Parent 1 (P1) , Parent 2

(P2), Parent 3 (P3) and Parent 4 (P4) in the analysis. The recordings took place at the participants homes in 2 cases and the other 2 were recorded in public reserved library space, the interviews were conducted during the month of May 2019.

5. Results and Discussion

This section intends to analyse the results obtained from the data collected in the questionnaires and parental interview. This section is divided in three subsections, parental questionnaire results, student questionnaire results and interview analysis. The first two subsections are focused on the tendencies of language use in both groups, deviations or unexpected uses and a final conclusion on the variations of Arabic and Spanish uses of students and parents. The third subsection provides an overview of the responses obtained in the open-ended parental questions.

5.1. Parental questionnaire results

Table 5: Parental questionnaire results

Context	Arabic	More Arabic than Spanish	In Arabic and Spanish equally	More in Spanish than in Arabic	Spanish	Other languages
TV/Tablet	0	3	7	6	1	
Religion	17	0	0	0	0	
Newspaper	0	0	6	6	5	
Music	8	3	5	1	0	
Radio	3	3	2	5	4	
Shopping	0	0	7	7	3	
Sports	0	3	8	3	3	
Phone	0	5	10	2	0	
Books	4	0	7	0	6	
Work	1	0	1	5	10	
Free time	6	6	4	0	1	

Before embarking on the analysis, the basis of the data interpretation will be presented on the results obtained on the 6 self-rate scale and the tendencies of language choice of parents in different contexts. As a reminder, there were 17 respondents which means that the numbers on the table below represent the number of respondents who marked the each one of the options given in the various contexts. The percentages that will be presented are calculated in the base of the answers obtained of the total of 17 respondents. The majority of parent participants were born in Morocco, only three people were born in Spain, this is important when considering language use and maintenance through migrant generations.

According to the results shown in Table 5, Arabic only choice is marked for all respondents in the context of religion, this finding suggests the cultural traits embedded in Arabic language, which might be maintained within Moroccan HL community due to its religious importance. Music is also one of contexts in which parents use Arabic only the most (45%). More significant results are those obtained in the equal use of Spanish and Arabic on the phone (60%) and the same amount of responses was given to Spanish only use for work and shopping. As for the rest of context presented to parents it is shown that there is a balance between the equal use of both languages in the majority the situations presented to them in the questionnaire. We distinguish two macro sections, one is free time and personal activities (music, radio, reading) where Arabic seems to be option chosen and Spanish is reserved for out of the personal space such as work, shopping, and phone use. None of the participants uses other languages besides Spanish and Arabic on their daily language use which allows us to determine the linguistic environment of their children. To complete this analysis and have deeper insight about parental opinions and language use related to their children the study will be completed in the section 5.3 with the parental interviews.

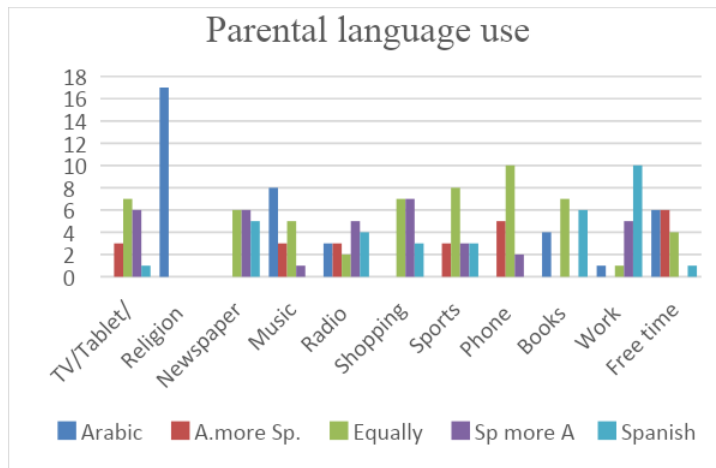


Figure 3: Parental language use

In Figure 4 the axis represents the number of respondents on a scale from 0-20, as observed in it, within the parent group of respondents the choices of language use between Spanish and Arabic varies widely. Despite this, it is clearly shown that Spanish is mostly used in majority language context when communicating in society is required such as work and shopping. The HL is significantly present in personal sphere for religious purposes and free time activities. The choices made by parents affect their children's language use, these family language policies shape the way languages are used in daily interactions and this affects child language proficiency and maintenance of the heritage language (Peyton et al. 2001; Polinsky and Kagan, 2007).

5.2. Student questionnaire results

Table 6: Student questionnaire results

Context	Arabic	More in Arabic than Spanish	In Arabic and Spanish equally	More in Spanish than Arabic	Spanish	Other languages
Parents	5	4	8	0	0	
Siblings	1	2	4	7	3	
Classmates	0	0	0	7	10	
Playground	0	0	0	3	14	
Teachers	0	0	0	1	16	English=8
Neighbours	0	0	5	5	7	
Grandparents	13	4	0	0	0	
Other relatives	3	5	6	3	0	
Friends	0	0	9	2	6	

Students who took part in the questionnaire had to answer accordingly the 6 self-rate scale and the tendencies of language choice when communicating with different people. It is worth mentioning that all the children who participated in this questionnaire have born in Spain. The results obtained from the 17 student participants are discussed and analysed in two areas, firstly, the contact that children have with each language (school language, majority language and heritage language), this will help us determine the children's language environment. The percentages that will be presented are calculated in the base of the answers obtained out of the total of 17 respondents .There will be also a comparative analysis of the children's questionnaire results and the parental questionnaire results in order to establish the tendency of language use in each group.

The results show a variation in language use and choice in children, and a clear division of space and language. Spanish is used noticeably more in school context with classmates (58%), most children marked the Spanish only space to rate their language used with classmates and in the playground, 80% of the respondents marked the Spanish only option. Moving forward in Spanish only use, 90% of children using Spanish to

communicate with teachers in school. Moreover, 8 of the respondents claim that they also use English in school with teachers. Outside of school, Spanish is used with neighbours and in a lesser degree with friends (30%).

Within the students' group of respondents, there is a predominance of Arabic use in family life especially with grandparents (75%). This choice can be explained by the adjustment of children to their grandparent's knowledge of Spanish. In the majority of cases, grandparents of the current HLS are the first vague of migration coming to Spain as workers and then returned to their country of origin, hence the contact with Spanish is very limited. In other cases, grandparents have arrived during the last decades to join their families¹³, in both cases the length of stay has an impact on the learning of the majority language (Spanish). However, the language use with parents varies between Arabic (30%), more Arabic than Spanish (20%) and equally Spanish and Arabic (50%). None of the children uses Spanish only when communicating with parents.

When looking at the student questionnaire result, it is noticeable that children (despite being very young) have established their language preferences and linguistic use with the people they are surrounded by. Thus, Spanish is reserved for school and outside school with majority language members such as neighbours and friend. English is beginning to make an appearance on the children's linguistic repertoire as a school language used with teachers. Lastly, Arabic is can be viewed in this analysis as accomplishing the characteristics of a HL because it is used within the family circle and relatives, especially grandparents.

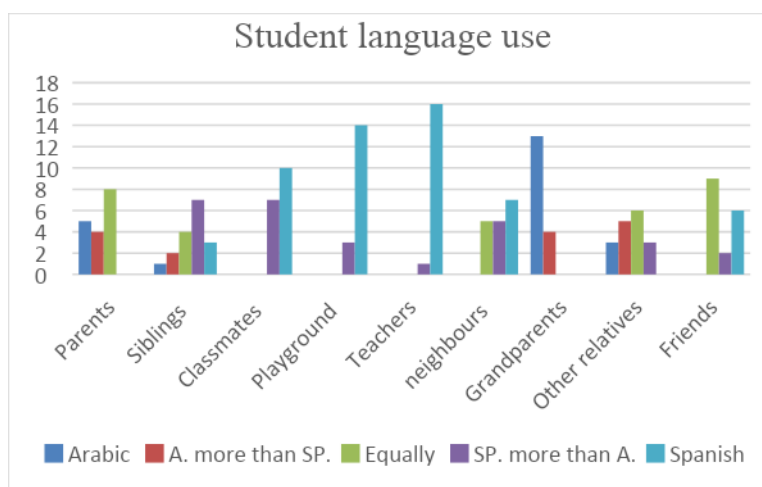


Figure 4: Student language use

¹³ See (Lambelet: 2017) for a comparison with Portuguese migration waves in Switzerland.

In Figure 4 where the axis represents the number of respondents in a scale from 0-20, it can be observed that HL children use Spanish is more frequently due to language exposure in school and the importance majority language and school language gain during the early schooling ages, however thanks to family support of the HL use, these children still maintain their home languages.

5.3 Parental interview

In this last section of the analysis there will an analysis of the responses obtained from the parental interviews. The analysis is divided in two sets, the first set corresponds to the first part of the questionnaire (three first questions) which focuses on parental thoughts about CLIL, and the second set (three last questions) analyses the parents responses based on their attitudes towards HLM. De Houwer (1999) draws on a model from developmental psychology to illustrate the relationship between beliefs, practices of parental language use and child language outcomes and language development:

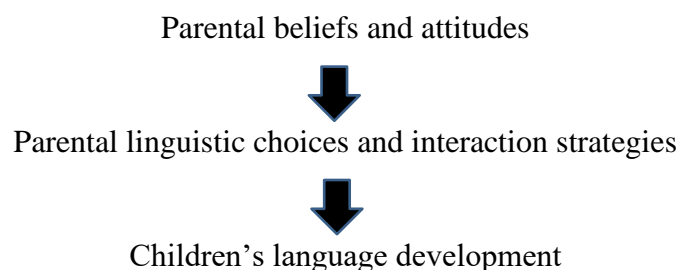


Figure 5: Relationship between parental beliefs/attitudes and children's language development¹⁴

- 1) *What is your opinion regarding bilingual education?*
- 2) *Do you agree with the idea of child attending a bilingual school?*
- 3) *Do you think that attending a bilingual school affects in any way the maintenance of the heritage language?*

¹⁴ Seen in King and Fogle (2008:907-922)

The first set of questions designed for parents is concerned on having an opinion from parents on bilingual education. These questions are important to have an approach to HL parental opinions since no available data has been found regarding this subject. All respondents gave positive thoughts on bilingual education, they all stressed the importance of multilingualism and the importance of English language for their professional future. Even if in all cases CLIL schools were not a choice, none of the respondents disagreed on the fact of their children's enrolment in CLIL programmes, in fact, they see it as a positive aspect on the language learning and heritage language maintenance. Parents admit that at the beginning they were reluctant about the idea of having their kids enrolled in bilingual/CLIL schools, especially because they have no English knowledge to help their children with homework which means that children would have to attend supplementary English courses. However, none of the respondents has had difficulties with their children's English acquisition, due to this, according to the four responses, they would not go back to a monolingual/ Spanish only programme. Parents think that CLIL supports the capacities of their children on learning and maintaining their home language and other foreign languages. According to the four parental responses, their children seem to have a sense of language use and division, meaning that at home they mostly speak with their parents in Arabic and Spanish, whereas English is reserved to school activities or homework. A very important aspect pointed out by parents is that their children seem to have acquired a good English comprehension level which helps them understand each other (in the case of siblings) when uttering English words. This finding is very significant for this study as it demonstrates the positive effects of CLIL and its compatibility with the development of Arabic and Spanish in HLS.

4) Does your child attend Arabic classes? If so, how frequently? What are the activities developed during those hours?

5) What would be your thoughts if Arabic courses were implemented within the school curriculum?

6) Do you consider maintaining the heritage language as important?

The data collected from the second set of questions, shows that all parents share positive attitudes towards their children's HLM. They all agree on the fact that maintaining the HL is first and foremost an important trait of their identity and for communication with

family members and friends sharing the same heritage language background. Participants pointed out other relevant aspects for HLM such as cultural knowledge (religion) through the learning of the HL. To achieve this maintenance, 90% of the parents have access to Arabic classes as an external resource for their children's language learning and maintenance apart from the in-home language use and reinforcement. The interviewees shared the details about the courses, in the analysis parents are identified as Parent 1 (P1), Parent 2 (P2), Parent 3 (P3) and Parent 4 (P4).

- P1 Her children attend Arabic and culture classes three times a week in their school, but outside schooling hours. The academic learning children receive from these courses are reading, writing and comprehension skills. However, there are only three levels in which children of different ages and levels are placed together which makes the learning very difficult. The marks obtained in this course are delivered to parents at the end of every school term.
- P2 The children attend Arabic and religious courses daily during one hour on a day. These courses are concentrating on the teaching of religion and culture as well as language reinforcement in Arabic, so children can acquire the basic competences.
- P3 The third participant's children attend Arabic classes on weekend mornings and once a week during weekdays. These classes, as in the previous case, focalize on the teaching of language use.
- P4 His children are not enrolled in Arabic lessons because there are no schools nor programmes offering these courses around the area in which the family is located.

All the interviewees agree on the implementation of heritage language courses as part of the schooling curriculum. The general thoughts about this idea is that children would have a more stable Arabic learning in which they would see the results and gradually improve their proficiency.

Children would have more free time to dedicate to other activities and not feel overwhelmed attending two different schools. Having separate spaces for school and Arabic classes may affect negatively the child's perception of the home language as less relevant or unimportant for his education. If the courses are implemented in school, there will be a positive attitude from the child towards the HL, and if it is assessed from the school

as part of the curriculum, students will be encouraged not only to maintain their HL, but also to excel academically in that home language. Parents also view this as an important addition to the education for their children in which Arabic together with English and Spanish can be an important resource for their professional future.

These responses given by parents are important when considering the relevance heritage language communities give to the maintenance of the home language (Carreira and Kagan, 2011). The answers provided help us determine the sociolinguistic background of HLS since parents express their desire of wanting to maintain the “inherited” language and develop it through academic reinforcement. This opinion or desire is not often accepted by the host country (Desgrippes and Lambelet, 2017), this is particularly evident by the responses given in the questionnaire and the policy documents. Linguistic prestige (Tse, 2001) leans towards the learning of languages other than the HL such as Arabic even if, as shown by the questionnaire results, it is socially used by migrant communities.

There is an urge to learn languages such as English in CLIL and a need to master the majority language (Spanish), but there is little to no attention to the HL. The teaching of HL will constitute a perfect education model from the perspective of a multilingual and multicultural Spain helping individuals to reach language expertise for the interaction with other nations. Preserving Arabic as a HL in Spain is a national resource (see Fishman, 2001) that will be useful in numerous domains with individuals who have linguistic and cultural skills in various languages.

6. Conclusions

The present study problematizes the absence of heritage language research in Spain, particularly in CLIL programmes in the Madrid region and focuses its attention in Moroccan Arabic as a HL. An international overview of the HL field has been provided as an introductory linguistic theory in this field, subsequently, the linguistic theories have been reviewed as model for the Spanish CLIL programmes. Policy documents and opinions from parents and children with a HL background were collected and analysed qualitatively. The main purpose of this analysis was to raise awareness of HL in Spanish CLIL with a focus on Moroccan Arabic. The idea is to ultimately propose a programme for the integration of heritage language courses in the school curriculum. Such idea is supported by viewing bilingual environments as enriching and empowering for cultural

acceptance as well its advantages to help both foreign or minority students and majority language students to succeed academically and culturally (García-López and Mijares, 2001; Abate, 2017).

The results obtained confirm that the field of HL is still not well defined in the Spanish bilingual context. However, the policy presented in official education documents together with the presence of minority language communities and the use of heritage languages can be a resource for action and HL implementation. The results show that there is a significant use of Moroccan HL in family circles. Additionally, Spanish is used as a majority language and English is starting to make its appearance and utilized as school language within the Moroccan HL community.

It is also important to mention the limitations of this study in which the lack of teacher comments and opinions from the school board on this proposal are not reflected nor evidence from other migrant or HL present in Spain. Hence, this research field is still very open for future proposals and research contributions specially classroom-based research and educator experiences.

6.1. Heritage Languages and CLIL programmes: two small-scale proposals

The teaching of HL on the mainstream classroom seems to be an added difficulty for educators (Lee & Oxelson, 2006), for the school administration, and for other factors such as time management and the variation in language knowledge of students. However, there are many other methods that can help the introduction of heritage languages in the pupil's education without having to make drastic changes on the school curriculum. Although the integration of the HL on the school curriculum is very complex, especially when dealing with three languages which are different in many aspects (typology, origins) such as Moroccan-Spanish-English. There are many solutions in which to a certain extent the HL can be, either part of the classroom or integrated in the mainstream education context.

HL teaching is normally offered to those students who have a different L1 at home or some sort of cultural or heritage connection to a certain language (see Cummins, 2005:586). This aspect makes it easier for the school administration and heritage community in the means of HL introduction into the child's education which can ultimately be done through out-of-school programmes, foreign language classes, extracurricular activities or dual language programmes.

➤ **Proposal 1- In school Arabic Heritage Language classes**

The first proposal that can be designed for HLS in CLIL settings could be developed during the schooling hours and in the school classrooms. There is normally a set of subjects in public schools in which parents can choose for their children between religion, ethics or citizenship. As this are optional, it would be a good proposal to include in this set Arabic language and culture as part of the heritage language programme of the school and parents can choose it in the moment the inscription is made for the school. This programme can go from the early years of kindergarten until the end of primary school or grade 6th when the student is around 11 years old. This programme is meant for Moroccan heritage students, but it can available for every family regardless the relation that they have with Moroccan or Arabic heritage. Since the courses can be started from kindergarten the academic and linguistic development will be equally accessible for all the students.

- **Syllabus and assessment**

The syllabus followed in these HL courses may be the same as the one taught in CLIL through English. This will allow the student to fully develop basic academic competencies (reading, writing and text comprehension) in English, Arabic and Spanish accordingly to their age and educational level. Here are some instances that can be applied as part of this “common” syllabus for students in different times of the schooling years.

1a) **Basic Learning.** Age group (6-7-year-old students). For this age group the most frequent learning activities are becoming familiar with numbers, colours and shapes. For them there could be a continuum between the regular classes and the HL classes. If educators in HL class choose the same material as the one taught in the mainstream classroom (see table 3), students will be more likely to connect knowledge and transfer from one language to another:

Table 7: Trilingual number activity for a HL class

1	2	3	4	5
Uno	Dos	Tres	Cuatro	Cinco
One	Two	Three	Four	Five
واحد wahad	اثنان iznaan	ثلاثة thalath	أربعة arbaa	خمسة hamsa

1b) **Writing and cultural appreciation.** Age group (8-9-year-old students). This age group is academically more developed since reading, comprehension and writing skills are acquired. For this group the proposal would be the focalisation on culture and writing skills. Educators can choose a cultural event as a working topic, it can be either Spanish, English or Moroccan.

At this point, students need to collect some information and bring into the classroom a small composition in Arabic (5-10 lines), this piece of writing can be used later to discussion in the classroom. This method is helpful for students in that they get to know and understand other cultures while practicing the HL and making families part of the projects as they can seek help from their parents.

1c) **Science/Art Project.** Age group (10-11-year-old students). Lastly, for the final years of primary school, students can focus on something more complex such as science or art projects on the HL. An interesting activity would be the elaboration of a questionnaire from the teacher in which students have to give answers in the HL to a lesson already taught in English in the mainstream classroom. These are two topics that could be used as object of study:

- Photosynthesis: if this topic has already been discussed in science class, the HL teacher can elaborate a questionnaire about the chemical steps a plant follows to produce oxygen for students to answer on the heritage language. Students can use glossaries or dictionaries to give the correct answers.
- Analysis of a Van Dijk painting: for this art activity the procedure is similar to the science project. Students will have to note down simple characteristics of the painting with the help of a glossary of art terms in Arabic and share in their impressions with their classmates and teacher.

If these programmes are to be included in CLIL schools, there will have to be assessment for the Arabic heritage language course and feedback between school and parents. As this proposal is meant to be part of the schooling curriculum, the most method is formal assessment in which students would have to pass tests and class activities to finally have marks that will part of the final school grades.

➤ **Proposal 2. Extracurricular Heritage Language classes**

As a second alternative to proposal 1, extracurricular HL classes (similar to UK supplementary schools), can also be an effective programme for heritage maintenance, language acquisition and cultural appreciation. For this approach the HL Arabic classes would be extracurricular, but still indirectly involved with the mainstream schooling education. In schools the classrooms would be the areas in which the courses are taken, but the lessons would take place outside school hours. These courses can be developed as second language courses with a total of 3 HL hours per week and different level corresponding to the students age and knowledge.

In contrast with proposal (1) in which students have the chance to learn academic content through the heritage language courses, this proposal focuses more on the acquisition of language abilities both receptive (listening and reading) and productive skills (speaking and writing). As mentioned before, it is important to include assessment in these courses to make them part of the students' school experience. For this proposal informal assessment would be a good ideal together with teacher-parent feedback. Students can be assessed through in-class activities, a portfolio with their written texts, participation and academic progress. The results and marks of the activities should be communicated to parents in a final report which will also be a tool for measuring the students' progress to complete all the courses.

➤ **Proposal discussion and future projects**

These proposals are presented as a feasible way to introduce heritage language awareness and instruction in the CLIL setting. These proposals show that a heritage language course differs from a an L2 course in that students share a connection with

Arabic whether by their migration history or social language practice within their homes and communities. The objective of these proposals will be the maintenance of HLS identity through language, the recognition of that identity within the schooling environment at the same time as they share knowledge with their peers and acquire some linguistic and cultural competence.

CLIL is presented as an empowering environment for heritage language and maintenance as well as cultural tolerance (Fishman, 1991, 2001; Wong Fillmore, 2000). These proposals will help students in bilingual education to be more self-assured since they are already immersed in bilingual courses in which none of them has fully developed proficiency in the language of instruction which helps them be more active even if they have difficulties expressing themselves, as their language is not under the same oppressive scrutiny as in the traditional foreign language classroom.

These courses can be implemented in every CLIL primary school in Madrid if there is a social agreement between heritage Moroccan speaker communities, the schools and families and administrations. The HL field has always been a responsibility for these entities and their maintenance will prevail if the commitment between them is real.

As this study was being written, there has been a positive response from an Arabic- school located in Getafe¹⁵, in the southern area of Madrid. The headmaster in the school has accepted to collaborate with the author of this study in the creation of a course where HLS will have the chance to learn Arabic and English following the curricula taught in their schools. A special proposal will have to be designed for this case and the results are hoped to have an impact on the implementation of HL learning and maintenance.

¹⁵ Escuela Al-Imám Al-Shatiby.

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Appendix I. Original and adapted questionnaires.

- 1) The language Background scale, original student questionnaire:

Here are some questions about the language in which you talk to different people, and the language in which certain people speak to you. Please answer as honestly as possible. There are no right or wrong answers. Leave an empty space if a question does not fit your position.					
In which language do YOU speak to the following people? Choose one of these answers					
	Always in Spanish	In Spanish more often than English	In Spanish and English equally	In English more often than Spanish	Always in English
Father					
Mother					
Brothers/Sisters					
Friends in the Classroom					
Friends on the Playground					
Teachers					
Neighbors					
Grandparents					
Other relatives					
Friends outside School					

- 2) The language Background scale, original parent questionnaire.

Which language do YOU use with the following?					
	Always in Spanish	In Spanish more often than English	In Spanish and English equally	In English more often than Spanish	Always in English
Watching TV/Videos/DVDs					
Religion					
Newspapers/Comics					
Records/Cassettes/CDs					
Listening to Radio					
Shopping					
Playing Sport					
On the Telephone					
Reading Books					
Earning Money					
Clubs/Societies					
Other Leisure Activities					

3) The language Background scale, adapted student questionnaire

	Siempre en árabe	Más en árabe que en español	En igual medida en español y árabe	Más en español que en árabe	Siempre en español	En otro idioma (indique cual)
Padres						
Hermanos						
Compañeros del colegio						
Compañeros en el recreo						
Profesores						
Vecinos						
Abuelos						
Otros familiares						
Amigos fuera del colegio						

4) The language Background scale, adapted parent questionnaire

	Siempre en árabe	Más en árabe que en español	En igual medida en español y árabe	Más en español que en árabe	Siempre en español	Otros idiomas (indique cuales)
Televisión/smartphone/Tablet/videojuegos						
Religión						
Periódico						
Escuchar música						
Radio						
Compras						
Hacer deporte						
Hablar por teléfono						
Leer libros						
Trabajo						
Ocio y tiempo libre						

Appendix II

- **Signed consent of interviewees**
- **Parental and student questionnaire responses**

Después de haber comprendido las características y los objetivos del estudio **“Problematising the Absence of Heritage Languages in CLIL schools: The case of Moroccan Arabic in Spain”**, doy mi consentimiento para que se me entreviste y se me grabe y se utilicen los datos obtenidos para fines académicos y de investigación en dicho estudio.

Fdo.:

En Madrid, a __15__ de _____ Junio _____ de 20_19__

En Madrid, a __15__ de _____ Junio _____ de 20_19__

En Madrid, a __15__ de _____ Junio _____ de 20_19__

En Madrid, a __15__ de _____ Junio _____ de 20_19__

The language background scale.

Baker, Colin. *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism*. Vol. 79. Multilingual matters, 2011 (pp. 33).

	Siempre en árabe	Más en árabe que en español	En igual medida en español y árabe	Más en español que en árabe	Siempre en español	En otro idioma (indique cual)
Padres		X				
Hermanos				X		
Compañeros del colegio					X	inglés
Compañeros en el recreo					X	
Profesores						X inglés francés
Vecinos					X	
Abuelos	X					
Otros familiares				X		
Amigos fuera del colegio					X	

Edad: 9

S: F

The language background scale.

Baker, Colin. *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism*. Vol. 79. Multilingual matters, 2011 (pp. 33).

	Siempre en árabe	Más en árabe que en español	En igual medida en español y árabe	Más en español que en árabe	Siempre en español	En otro idioma (indique cual)
Padres	X					
Hermanos				X		
Compañeros del colegio					X	Español Arabe
Compañeros en el recreo					X	
Profesores					X	ingles
Vecinos			X			
Abuelos	X					
Otros familiares		X				
Amigos fuera del colegio					X	

Edad: 10

S: F

The language background scale.

Baker, Colin. *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism*. Vol. 79. Multilingual matters, 2011 (pp. 33).

	Siempre en árabe	Más en árabe que en español	En igual medida en español y árabe	Más en español que en árabe	Siempre en español	En otro idioma (indique cual)
Padres		X				
Hermanos					X	
Compañeros del colegio					X	
Compañeros en el recreo					X	
Profesores					X	X inglés
Vecinos					X	
Abuelos	X					
Otros familiares				X		
Amigos fuera del colegio					X	

Edad: 7

S: F

The language background scale.

Baker, Colin. *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism*. Vol. 79. Multilingual matters, 2011 (pp. 33).

	Siempre en árabe	Más en árabe que en español	En igual medida en español y árabe	Más en español que en árabe	Siempre en español	En otro idioma (indique cual)
Padres	✓					
Hermanos				✓		
Compañeros del colegio					✓	
Compañeros en el recreo					✓	
Profesores					✓	✓ingles
Vecinos			✓			
Abuelos		✓				
Otros familiares			✓			
Amigos fuera del colegio					✓	

Edad: 9

S:

The language background scale.

Baker, Colin. *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism*. Vol. 79. Multilingual matters, 2011 (pp. 33).

	Siempre en árabe	Más en árabe que en español	En igual medida en español y árabe	Más en español que en árabe	Siempre en español	En otro idioma (indique cual)
Padres		X				
Hermanos			X			
Compañeros del colegio					X	
Compañeros en el recreo					X	
Profesores					X	
Vecinos			X			
Abuelos	X					
Otros familiares	X					
Amigos fuera del colegio			X			

Edad: 8 años

S:

The language background scale.

Baker, Colin. *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism*. Vol. 79. Multilingual matters, 2011 (pp. 33).

	Siempre en árabe	Más en árabe que en español	En igual medida en español y árabe	Más en español que en árabe	Siempre en español	En otro idioma (indique cual)
Padres	X					
Hermanos			X			
Compañeros del colegio					X	
Compañeros en el recreo					X	
Profesores					X	
Vecinos			X			
Abuelos	X					
Otros familiares	X					
Amigos fuera del colegio			X			

Edad: 7

S: M

The language background scale.

Baker, Colin. *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism*. Vol. 79. Multilingual matters, 2011 (pp. 33).

	Siempre en árabe	Más en árabe que en español	En igual medida en español y árabe	Más en español que en árabe	Siempre en español	En otro idioma (indique cual)
Padres		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>			
Hermanos					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	
Compañeros del colegio					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	
Compañeros en el recreo					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	
Profesores					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	
Vecinos					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	
Abuelos	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>					
Otros familiares	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>					
Amigos fuera del colegio			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>			

EDAD: 8
S: [F] [X]

The language background scale.

Baker, Colin. *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism*. Vol. 79. Multilingual matters, 2011 (pp. 33).

	Siempre en árabe	Más en árabe que en español	En igual medida en español y árabe	Más en español que en árabe	Siempre en español	En otro idioma (indique cual)
Padres	X					
Hermanos		X				
Compañeros del colegio				X		
Compañeros en el recreo				X		
Profesores				X		
Vecinos				X		
Abuelos	X					
Otros familiares		X				
Amigos fuera del colegio			X			

Edad : 8

S:

The language background scale.

Baker, Colin. *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism*. Vol. 79. Multilingual matters, 2011 (pp. 33).

	Siempre en árabe	Más en árabe que en español	En igual medida en español y árabe	Más en español que en árabe	Siempre en español	En otro idioma (indique cual)
Padres	X					
Hermanos	X					
Compañeros del colegio				X		
Compañeros en el recreo					X	
Profesores					X	
Vecinos			X			
Abuelos		X				
Otros familiares		X				
Amigos fuera del colegio				X		

Edad: 10

S: F

The language background scale.

Baker, Colin. *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism*. Vol. 79. Multilingual matters, 2011 (pp. 33).

	Siempre en árabe	Más en árabe que en español	En igual medida en español y árabe	Más en español que en árabe	Siempre en español	En otro idioma (indique cual)
Padres			X			
Hermanos			X			
Compañeros del colegio				X		
Compañeros en el recreo				X		
Profesores					X	
Vecinos				X		
Abuelos		X				
Otros familiares		X				
Amigos fuera del colegio			X			

Edad: 10

S: F

The language background scale.

Baker, Colin. *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism*. Vol. 79. Multilingual matters, 2011 (pp. 33).

	Siempre en árabe	Más en árabe que en español	En igual medida en español y árabe	Más en español que en árabe	Siempre en español	En otro idioma (indique cual)
Padres		X				
Hermanos			X			
Compañeros del colegio				X		
Compañeros en el recreo				X		
Profesores					X	
Vecinos				X		
Abuelos			X			
Otros familiares			X			
Amigos fuera del colegio			X			

Edad: 8

S:

The language background scale.

Baker, Colin. *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism*. Vol. 79. Multilingual matters, 2011 (pp. 33).

	Siempre en árabe	Más en árabe que en español	En igual medida en español y árabe	Más en español que en árabe	Siempre en español	En otro idioma (indique cual)
Padres					X	
Hermanos					X	
Compañeros del colegio					X	
Compañeros en el recreo					X	
Profesores					X	inglés.
Vecinos				X		
Abuelos	X					
Otros familiares				X		
Amigos fuera del colegio					X	

Edad: 10 años

S: (F) M

The language background scale.

Baker, Colin. *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism*. Vol. 79. Multilingual matters, 2011 (pp. 33).

	Siempre en árabe	Más en árabe que en español	En igual medida en español y árabe	Más en español que en árabe	Siempre en español	En otro idioma (indique cual)
Padres			X			
Hermanos		X				
Compañeros del colegio					X	
Compañeros en el recreo					X	
Profesores					X	
Vecinos					X	
Abuelos	X					
Otros familiares		X				
Amigos fuera del colegio		X				

Edad: 11 ans

S:

The language background scale.

Baker, Colin. *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism*. Vol. 79. Multilingual matters, 2011 (pp. 33).

	Siempre en árabe	Más en árabe que en español	En igual medida en español y árabe	Más en español que en árabe	Siempre en español	En otro idioma (indique cual)
Padres			X			
Hermanos				X		
Compañeros del colegio				X		
Compañeros en el recreo					X	
Profesores					X	Inglés
Vecinos					X	
Abuelos	X					
Otros familiares			X			
Amigos fuera del colegio			X			

Edad: 5

S: [F] [X]

The language background scale.

Baker, Colin. *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism*. Vol. 79. Multilingual matters, 2011 (pp. 33).

	Siempre en árabe	Más en árabe que en español	En igual medida en español y árabe	Más en español que en árabe	Siempre en español	En otro idioma (indique cual)
Padres			X			
Hermanos				X		
Compañeros del colegio				X		
Compañeros en el recreo					X	
Profesores					X	Ingles
Vecinos					X	
Abuelos	X					
Otros familiares			X			
Amigos fuera del colegio			X			

Edad : 10

S: F

The language background scale.

Baker, Colin. *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism*. Vol. 79. Multilingual matters, 2011 (pp. 33).

	Siempre en árabe	Más en árabe que en español	En igual medida en español y árabe	Más en español que en árabe	Siempre en español	En otro idioma (indique cual)
Padres			X			
Hermanos				X		
Compañeros del colegio				X		
Compañeros en el recreo					X	
Profesores					X	Ingles
Vecinos					X	
Abuelos	X					
Otros familiares			X			
Amigos fuera del colegio			X			

EDAD: 5

S: F

