

The use of French L1 in English L2 secondary school classrooms in Quebec

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Abstract

Teaching English as a Second Language (ESL) in Quebec has its own particularities due to language laws and its geographical position, i.e. that it is a French province surrounded by English-speaking provinces within a federally bilingual country. This study investigates the reasons why ESL teachers use the French (L1) language (which is shared by all the students and teachers in this study) in ESL classrooms in Quebec, although it is prescribed to use English (L2) as the language of instruction. This study investigates the matter from two different standpoints: the linguistic perspective as well as the socio-cultural and political perspectives. For this study, nine secondary school students and two ESL teachers were initially interviewed, then observed in the classroom, and interviewed after observation to get a more in-depth perception of why and when they use French (L1) and English (L2) in the classroom. The interviews and observations were audio-recorded, transcribed and thematically analyzed to identify emerging themes amongst teachers and students. After the themes were analyzed, the results were found to be consistent with previous research, in which teachers used the L1 to explain grammar and complicated concepts, to discipline, for classroom management, and to clarify tasks. The political and socio-cultural perspectives revealed that although Quebecois students said they wanted to speak more English and have stricter rules about speaking French in class, they are still not ready to take on native-like English speech. They also can't help but fall back on French when working in groups, negotiating meaning or during off-task behavior. Some students also have confidence issues when it comes to expressing themselves, especially if they feel less proficient than their bilingual peers.

Résumé

L'enseignement de l'anglais langue seconde (ALS) au Québec est particulier suite aux nombreuses lois sur la langue, ainsi que l'emplacement géographique de la province qui côtoie d'autres provinces anglophones, dans un pays bilingue. La présente étude explore les raisons pour lesquelles les enseignant(e)s d'ALS continuent d'utiliser le Français (qui est une langue commune des enseignant(e)s) dans les cours d'ALS, même si le Ministère de l'Éducation prescrit le contraire. L'étude explore ce sujet selon deux perspectives: une perspective linguistique et une perspective socioculturelle et politique. Pour cette étude, neuf élèves du secondaire et deux enseignants du secondaire en ALS ont été interviewés, ensuite observés dans leurs cours d'ALS et ensuite interviewés pour une deuxième fois. Les observations ont été enregistrées sous format audio, transcrites et compilées avec les grilles d'observation, pour ensuite analyser le tout pour trouver les thèmes émergents. Après l'analyse des thèmes, les résultats correspondaient avec les résultats de recherches antérieurs. Les enseignant(e)s utilisaient le français pour expliquer des notions de grammaire ou des concepts linguistiques complexes, ainsi que faire de la discipline, la gestion de classe et clarifier des notions. Le côté politique et socioculturel a révélé que les jeunes Québécois du secondaire désiraient parler plus d'anglais et avoir plus d'initiative à parler anglais dans le cours d'ALS, mais ils n'étaient pas par contre prêts à renoncer à leurs accents Québécois et adopter une manière de parler plus anglophone. Ils avaient aussi une tendance à retomber dans les habitudes de parler français quand ils travaillaient en groupe ou avaient des discussions hors sujet. Dans d'autres cas, certains élèves n'avaient pas assez de confiance quand venait le temps d'utiliser l'anglais, car ils avaient tendance à se comparer à leurs pairs bilingues dans la classe.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Teaching English as a Second Language (ESL) is a profession, occupation and passion I have had for the past five years. My first and present experiences in teaching were in the province of Quebec, in Canada. While working in Quebec, I have been able to witness the dynamic that happens among Francophone (French-speaking) students, Francophone, Anglophone (English-speaking) and Allophone (mother tongue other than French or English) subject area teachers as well as teachers of ESL. While working overseas, I was able to compare these dynamics to those happening between the English language and mother tongue of South Korean students, which were very different from the relationship between English L2 and French L1 languages in Quebec.

As a pre-service teacher in Quebec, I recall being told numerous times to walk into an ESL classroom and introduce my teaching in English only, as well as to conduct all my interventions and interactions with students solely in English. As the program of the Quebec Ministry of Education, Leisure and Sports (Ministère de l'éducation, du loisir et du sport, referred to hereafter as the Ministry of Education or the Ministère de l'éducation) indicates, second language (L2) classrooms should be places that promote the use of the L2 and the emphasis is always placed on the teacher using the L2 as much as possible (Ministère de l'éducation, 1997). Nonetheless, it is common to find French, the L1 of many or most students¹, in use in ESL classrooms, both by teachers and students. What place does the L1 have in the ESL classroom in Quebec? What linguistic, educational, social and

¹ It is important to note that not all schools are uniform when it comes to the level and L1 of the students in the ESL classroom in Quebec. It varies tremendously by region and school. Students in schools in the Quebec region most likely have French as their L1. Yet French is not actually the L1 of all students in ESL classes; especially in larger cities like Montreal, French is either their L1 or their school-dominant language.

political issues are involved when using the first language (L1) in the ESL classroom in Quebec?

Student teachers in the Bachelor of Education in Teaching English as a Second Language (B.Ed. TESL) program at McGill University are told that ESL students should be exposed to as much English as possible and that such exposure will certainly help them be effective within their own teaching of ESL classes. However, it seems that both new teachers and experienced teachers are not always aware of the implications of interacting with everyone exclusively in English, in other words using an “English only” policy in the classroom. Similar to many other countries or regions, Quebec has a history of controversial language laws that have shaped the province throughout the years. In a place – the province of Quebec – that is surrounded by English speakers in both Canada and the neighboring United States, there is a constant struggle to preserve and value the French language. In a case like this, what exactly is our role, as ESL teachers, among Francophone students? Some articles (e.g., May, 2005; Oakes, 2004) and books (e.g., Oakes, 2007) have explored the topic of language minority rights, language policies and struggles, specifically in Quebec. In the thesis, I expand on the subject and make it more relevant for ESL teachers in Quebec.

In carrying out this study, I was interested in asking secondary school students, as well as ESL teachers, about their opinions, interpretations and perspectives when it comes to using French in the ESL classroom. I chose to investigate this issue with the data I would collect from interviews, discussions and observations with these populations. The adolescent age

group is selected specifically here, as secondary school students are mature enough to know, or at least have a very clear opinion about what they need and how they learn.

It is widely accepted (De La Campa, 2009; Edstrom, 2009; Ghorbani, 2011; Grasso, 2012) that when a person is immersed in a target language, they will acquire it much faster and may be more motivated by the need for authentic communication. In principle, this way of learning is applicable to ESL classrooms in Asia, Europe, South America and Quebec. In practice, however, I have never been able to maintain an “English-only” environment in my ESL classroom in Quebec. When informally observing other ESL teachers or listening to anecdotal accounts from other teachers, I have noticed the use of French for discipline, or grammar explanations, as well as for building relationships with the students. All these teachers I observed while working in schools are proficient in French and they share that language with their students. In contrast, in Quebec, teachers are not necessarily all very proficient in English, as it happens often that French-language subject teachers are hired to teach ESL classes in Quebec. This especially happens in smaller regions that are a lot more Francophone than big cities like Montreal (see further discussion in Winer, 2007 pp. 496-499).

My reflections on this phenomenon led me to ask myself many questions. Why is it so hard to speak exclusively in English in a dominantly French environment? Why do Francophone ESL teachers fall back on French despite their best intentions to only use English? Is the English language seen as a possible threat to the French language, which then makes Francophones nervous? Why do students, after years of ESL education, so often only have

limited if not barely functional skills in English and how is this related to the use of language in the ESL classroom?

As I enquired further into these questions, I felt the need to ask students and teachers about the use of the French language in the ESL classroom. As guides for my inquiry, my research questions are as follows:

- 1) What is the role of the use of French in ESL secondary school classrooms in Quebec from a linguistic point of view?
- 2) What is the role of the use of French in ESL secondary school classrooms in Quebec from a political and socio-cultural point of view?

These two questions are very specific to the environment I teach in, although they can be transferable and relatable to other linguistic contexts where two languages co-exist in the same geographic environment and are perhaps sometimes a source or focus of friction between their speakers.

To prepare my readers for the issues involved in this research, I first provide an overview of language teaching methods dating back to the 18th century, highlighting attitudes towards the use of the second language learners' first language (L1) as well as the target language (TL). I then explore the use of the learners' L1 in second language classrooms based on recent research. Then I situate the reader in the Quebec linguistic context by providing a brief history of language laws, recent educational reform, and the role and place of English language and culture in the province. Last but not least, it is important to mention power relations that may be created in classrooms through and about language, as

well as to examine how students create their identities through language and how students associate themselves and others with language.

I follow this by describing the qualitative methodology used to conduct this research. I provide the reader with interview examples that relate to the research questions. After thorough analysis, I summarize my findings and propose answers to my two research questions and lead the reader to further reflection about the issues of L1 use in an L2 classroom.

I expect my research will shed some light on the issue of using French L1 in an ESL classroom in Quebec. I believe this research and its findings will benefit teachers, instructors and professionals, as well as students. It is possible that it will help ESL teachers reach new levels of awareness of political and identity issues raised by language use in their classrooms. Teachers and pre-service teachers may become more sensitive to these aspects in their students' lives and integrate English language teaching into the lives of their students in a more meaningful way.

2. HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

2.1. Historical Overview of Language Teaching Methods and L1 Use in the Classroom

Understanding second language learning is at the core of the question that I explore in the present text. For centuries, second language teaching and learning methods have emerged, been adopted in classrooms, criticized and rejected. New ones emerged and went through

the same cycle. As Brown (2001) puts it, second language teaching and learning are like “changing winds and shifting sands” (p. 16). Fitzgerald Gersten and Hudelson (2005) note that “examination of theory and research in SLA and bilingualism since the 1960s shows that each approach varies in its treatment of language and learning as cognitive, social, cultural and academic activity” (p. 23). New methods are constantly introduced to achieve the goal of effective language learning within a reasonable timeframe.

In the following section, we will look at second language teaching methods used over the last few centuries and explore their advantages and limitations when it comes to students learning a second or additional language. In focusing on the most important ways that differentiate one teaching method from another, emphasis will be put on how the target language (TL) and students’ first language (L1) are used, as this is most relevant to the current study. With that in mind, the following is a more detailed look into a number of teaching methods, chosen for their popularity and/or thoughtfulness, and how they compare in their use – or lack of use – of the L1.

The **Classical Method** was introduced and used in the 18th and 19th centuries. The primary classroom focus was on knowledge and application of grammar rules, memorization of vocabulary, translation of texts and written exercises. Virtually no attention was given to oral production of language, as it was not a goal of this language learning. Due to the translation aspect of this method, the students’ L1 was used quite often and on a regular basis (Larsen-Freeman, 1986). As Larsen-Freeman (1986) observed in a classroom that used the Classical Method: “Learning is facilitated through attention to similarities between the target language and the native language” (p. 10). There is still evidence of the use of this

method today, even in classrooms where this is not the “official” method. For example, when applicable, ESL teachers in Quebec demonstrate and discuss parallels and differences between English L2 and French L1 to help with vocabulary and grammatical points.

In the 19th century as well, a method very similar to the Classical Method emerged called the **Grammar Translation Method**. As the name indicates, this method focuses on grammar rules and practice in translation. Lessons were based on translating sentences from the L1 to the TL and vice versa (Richards & Rodgers, 2001, p. 6). In this method, the students’ L1 was the medium of instruction, as it was used to explain the TL and make comparisons between the students’ L1 and the new language they were learning through word and sentence translating (Ramirez, 1995, p. 117), “but little or no systematic attention was paid to speaking or listening” (Richards & Rodgers, 2001, p. 6). This method is still used today, wholly or in part, in many language-teaching contexts in many different countries. Classes are taught in the L1, with little or no oral use of the TL. This particular teaching method necessitates that the teacher and the students have a common L1 with each other. They use that language to compare, make parallels and understand texts. Once again, certain aspects of this method are used in the ESL classroom in Quebec today. For example, as the teachers and students share French, it is always possible to translate from English L2 in to French L1 and vice-versa, to save time or for very difficult concepts.

In 1880, François Gouin published a book proposing his **Series Method** (Richards & Rodgers, 2001; Larsen-Freeman, 1986). Gouin came up with a method that taught learners directly (without translating) and inductively (without explicit grammar rules and explanations) a series of connected sentences that are easy to understand and produce. As

he was executing the actions, he was simultaneously narrating what he was doing in the TL. While doing this series of movements – hence, the Series Method – and narrating his actions, Gouin was providing the learners with the words that were associated with the actions without translating. He argued that learning in such a series would not need any translation, because the learner would associate actions and objects with new words, rather than associating one word they already know (in the L1) with a different word (in the TL). This is a valid method when a teacher decides to start the school year in the English L2 exclusively. In an ESL classroom in Quebec, there is room to use a short series of actions with younger learners (such as stand up, sit down, open your books, etc.). It would not benefit older learners as much, as their cognitive capabilities would demand more content and thus perhaps more explanation concerning the construction of the series, which would require the use of the French L. (This condition obtains in any case, not just Quebec.)

During the same period of time, the **Direct Method** similarly developed on the principle that second language learning should be more like first language learning. That is, “meaning is to be connected directly with the target language, without going through the process of translating into the students’ native language” (Larsen-Freeman, 1986, p. 18) and that language could be “taught without translation or the use of the learner’s native language if meaning was conveyed directly through demonstration and action” (Richards & Rodgers, 2001, p. 11). In a classroom setting, the Direct Method emphasizes lots of listening, oral interaction, and spontaneous use of language. The TL is used exclusively and learners have to rely on the situation and the context to understand the vocabulary and associate words in the TL to the actions. The TL is the language of negotiation of meaning

and instruction in the classroom. Notions of grammar are taught inductively and students rely on visual clues to make sense of the situation (Ramirez, 1995, p. 117). Inductive learning happens when a person induces or “figures out” the meaning of words, as well as the use of grammar rules by being exposed to the language, versus having someone explain the words and meanings through the L1 (deductive method). There seems to be no place or need for the L1 in the classroom when using this method.

As Cook (2001) explained in a nutshell,

Most teaching methods since the 1880s have adopted the Direct Method avoidance of the L1 and ... most descriptions of methods portray the ideal classroom as having as little of the L1 as possible, essentially by omitting any reference to it with the exception of the grammar/translation method, which has little or no public support. (p. 404).

In the Quebec ESL classroom today, the Direct Method – or vestiges thereof – is especially evident when students are encouraged to listen very attentively to the English L2 and use visual clues to understand the message being conveyed by the ESL teacher or another student.

Before officially becoming known as the **Audiolingual Method (ALM)**, the next method I will discuss was first used to train U.S. army personnel to communicate more effectively for military purposes during World War II (Larsen-Freeman, 1986, p. 31). This method was tied to the rise of behaviorism, a psychological approach to changing external behavior

through repetition of tasks that are positively reinforced (Richards & Rodgers, 2001, p. 56). When ALM became a widespread method in the United States, the emphasis was on oral competence, with all new material presented in dialogue form in the TL. Students learned “native-like” speech, that is, pronunciation and intonation that sounded as much as possible like a native speaker’s. Students learned by imitation (mimicry) and memorization of sets of phrases and conversation practice that were provided in the TL by the teacher, who was often a native speaker (Ramirez, 1995, p. 117, Richards & Rodgers, 2001, p. 51). These drill-type methods viewed the L1 as an interference with the TL instruction (Fitzgerald Gersten & Hudelson, 2005, p. 24). Larsen-Freeman (1986) points out that in ALM, the TL and the L1 are seen as being completely different and have to “be kept apart so the student’s native language interferes as little as possible with the student’s attempt to acquire the target language” (p. 40). Thus, once again, grammar was taught by induction. This method had a tendency to manipulate language sequencing, and did not put much emphasis on content. The advantage of the ALM method was that learners generally sounded quite proficient in the TL. The downside was that students learned specific content for immediate use, but not language as a whole or for novel situations; that is, they often did not acquire enough lexical items to hold different types of conversations, or become proficient in reading and writing. Although this method was quite popular, it was eventually apparent that a second language was not often best acquired through a process of habit formation and error-free speech. Another objection was that learners found the lock-step structures constricting, and the drill format, often non-meaningful, deadened their enthusiasm. (Today, however, ESL teachers do not focus so much on correct or “native-like” pronunciation. As prescribed by the Ministry of Education of Quebec, as long

as students can express themselves and be understood in the English L2, then the goal of communicating has been achieved.)

When **Cognitive Code Learning (CCL)** started to gain popularity in 1970 (Bateman & Largo, 2011), the main focus on language learning became the learning of rules and codes. Linguist Noam Chomsky argued that children subconsciously acquire a system of rules when learning their L1 and that same idea is transferable when an adult wants to acquire a new language (Richards & Rodgers 2001; Bateman & Largo, 2011). CCL focuses on explicit language rules that students can understand and internalize (in the L1) and then apply in the TL. This way of learning broke away from the focus on production of ALM and the Direct Method. TL use was reduced in the classroom during explanations of language rules and the use of the L1 re-emerged among students and teachers. As an example, the L1 is used to present the grammar rules in class. After giving many examples in the TL the teacher and students discuss the results in the L1 and students further reinforce what they learned with an activity done completely in the TL (Bateman & Largo, 2011).

In ESL classrooms in Quebec today, teachers and students definitely use the French L1 to explain/understand and internalize rules and to reflect on what they learned. A potential problem that could arise with such a method is that teachers and students would start to overuse the French L1 in class and thus hinder the amount of exposure needed and prescribed in the English L2.

The original and quite inventive methods that surfaced during the 1970's are not as well-known as the methods above, but they nonetheless contain elements of second language teaching we still use today. **Community Language Learning (CLL)** (or **Counseling**

Language Learning) emerged during the period of time when there was a lot of concern with the affective nature of language learning for adult learners. As the name suggests, language learning took place in a “community” setting rather than a “classroom” setting. Students were not learning in a “class”, but in a “group” and the teacher was not a “teacher” but a “language counselor” (Larsen-Freeman, 1986, p. 89; Richards & Rodgers, 2001, p. 90). The goal of this method was to lower learner anxiety and have students learn better in a context of enhanced interpersonal relationships. In order for this method to work, all members of the learning group must share a common language. A learner would say an utterance in the common L1 or shared language and the teacher (facilitator, counselor), would translate the sentence into the TL. The student would then repeat the TL utterance to other group members (Ramirez, 1995, p. 120; Richards & Rodgers, 2001, p. 93). At the end of the session, students discussed what they had noticed or learned about the language they were repeating. The students’ L1 was “used to make meaning clear” (Larsen-Freeman, 1986, p. 97). Eventually, students were able to communicate solely in the TL without the facilitator translating for them (Ramirez, 1995, p. 120). Some of the principles of this method – including student autonomy, learning through discovery and student-centered learning –are still valued in the modern-day ESL classroom, including Quebec.

Suggestopedia is a method of teaching and learning based on Soviet psychological research on extrasensory perception. Although it was another innovative, even sensational (Richards & Rodgers 2001, p.142), method that was not supported by language learning researchers who deemed it unscientific (Richards & Rodgers, 2001, p.152), its founder, Georgi Lozanov, claimed that the brain is more capable of retaining information than we give it credit for, as long as it is in a proper state to effectively receive that information

(Larsen-Freeman, 1986, p. 72). While sitting in comfortable chairs with baroque music playing in the background, students would listen to the teacher read passages from books in the TL while modulating her or his voice in harmony with the music (Ramirez, 1995, p. 121). The students followed in their textbooks, where the lesson was translated into their L1. As Larsen-Freeman (1986) noticed during class observation: “One way that meaning is made clear is through mother tongue (L1) translation” (p. 78). This method of learning a second language was greatly criticized. Some pointed out that the learning relied too much on memorization and not enough on understanding concepts and rules of language. Students were more like vessels receiving information, rather than active participants in their learning. However, those who supported Suggestopedia argued that the learner was being “immersed” in the language and that their language skills were being built internally. The idea of being immersed in a language is part of the more effective ways of TL teaching, although this method has no emphasis on communicating in the TL, which is an important goal in the ESL education program in Quebec.

A method that focused more on human cognitive abilities rather than affective ones was the **Silent Way**. As Larsen-Freeman (1986) puts it, “language acquisition must be a procedure whereby people use their own thinking processes, or cognition, to discover the rules of the language they are acquiring”. This way, learners had to be much more engaged in their own learning (Larsen-Freeman, 1986, p. 51). Learners were encouraged to discover rules of the TL by themselves, “silently”. The teacher introduced all new concepts with the help of charts and objects, and linked “words and structures with the meaning in the target language, thereby avoiding translation into their native language” (Richards & Rodgers 2001, p. 86). The absence of correction on the teacher’s part (but supplied by other

students) requires learners to make generalizations, come to their own conclusions, and formulate whatever rules they themselves feel they need (Richards & Rodgers, 2001, p. 85). Some concepts could take students days, even weeks, to understand and refine. It was extremely time-consuming (like many other inductive methods) as a long-term language learning method. Without falling back on the L1, this method makes a point of letting the learners understand through the TL at their own pace and rely on other learners and visual clues to build their own understanding of the language, which is something to consider in the Quebec ESL classroom. This method makes the learner more autonomous and shows that including discovery time in a classroom could be quite beneficial.

Total Physical Response was based on the claim that memory can be enhanced and stimulated if it is accompanied by physical movements. If we transfer this idea to language learning, we can see how it may be positive to learn movements and words that go along with them in the TL. In a classroom situation, the teacher acted as the director of movements. The teacher would give directives in the TL and the students were to act them out (Ramirez, 1995, p. 118). If the teacher said “stand up” then the students would stand up, etc. There is considerable use of the TL in Total Physical Response, especially when it comes to communicating orally in early stages of instruction. The emphasis on oral communication in this method is consistent with the current emphasis of ESL instruction in Quebec, whereby the competency of being able to communicate orally in English is valued over writing and reading skills.

In the early 1980s Stephen Krashen and Tracy Terrell came up with yet another idea for language learning and called it the **Natural Approach**. Like the earlier Gouin Series and

Direct Method, this approach promoted “natural” language learning based on understandings of how we learn our L1. The Natural Approach depends on teachers (or materials) providing “comprehensible input” in the TL, i.e. a supply of language that is at a level that students can understand the essence of, but not necessarily every word. Much like when acquiring a first language, with this method students focus on understanding before producing language (Larsen-Freeman, 1986, p. 109). As Richards and Rodgers (2001) explain, language production can be divided into three stages. In the pre-production stage students are not asked to produce utterances in the TL. In the early production stage, students respond with short phrases or single words in the TL. In the last stage students get involved in role-play and provide personal information and opinions in the TL (Richards & Rodgers, 2001, p. 187). When students finally attempt to produce new language orally, there is minimum corrective feedback from the teacher, whose goal is to promote fluency. The students are also allowed to use their L1 with the TL when responding to the teacher (Larsen-Freeman, 1986, p. 110), although this only works if the student and the teacher share the same L1 (or at least a common language). In this case, the classroom becomes a place that promotes acquisition, without giving importance to consciously analyzing the language being learned. The goal of this approach is similar to the goal that ESL teachers in Quebec have: provide learners with basic communication skills that one would need on a daily basis.

The **Communicative Approach**, based on cognitive learning theory, is founded in the belief that “we use language to accomplish a social function” (Larsen-Freeman, 1986, p. 123). While using the TL, meaning should be negotiated between speakers so their messages get across. When using the Communicative Approach, students are faced with an

authentic (or simulated authentic) need to communicate. Students are thus motivated by a real need to get their message across and the units or subjects covered in a classroom using this approach are meaningful and relate to the students. The role of the TL in a communicative approach classroom includes the giving and receiving of directions and as a vehicle for classroom communication. When negotiating meaning, students should always use the TL. Such interactions will help them experience authentic situations within a classroom, which can otherwise be static (Larsen-Freeman, 1986, pp. 128-130). In regard to the topic of this study, Rolin-Ianziti and Brownlie (2002) noted that “The exclusive use of the target language by teachers in the foreign language classroom is a strong principle advocated by teaching methodologies, notably the communicative approach to language teaching” (p. 403). This seems to be the widespread approach in today’s classrooms. Many teachers in Quebec and elsewhere are convinced that they are using the communicative approach, whether they are or are not really using it. In other words, teachers may not always be aware of the exact method they are or are not using in class. The communicative approach seems to be efficient and teachers try as much as possible to gravitate towards it, although not all of them may be actually successful in doing so.

Another way of teaching second or foreign languages, which is more and more used today, is called **Content-Based Instruction** (Snow, 2001). Content-based instruction is geared towards the actual content or subject being taught, rather than specific predetermined language forms (Snow, 2001, p. 304). As Richards and Rodgers (2001) explain: “classrooms should focus on real communication and the exchange of information[;] an ideal situation for second language learning would be one where the subject matter of language teaching was not grammar or function, but content” (p. 204). This type of instruction draws from

previous methods and tries to maximize language acquisition for second and foreign language learners. The use of the TL is almost exclusive, which means that the L1 is virtually non-existent in the classroom. This method provides students with comprehensible input about a relevant subject and gives students many opportunities within the classroom to negotiate meaning, find solutions and build arguments in the TL. There is a great focus on “integrating language teaching aims with subject matter instruction” (Snow, 2001, p. 303). One specific model of such instruction, which is greatly popular in Quebec, is the immersion model.

French **Immersion** appeared in Quebec in response to a pressing need to teach children of English-speaking parents French in a fast and efficient way. Immersion education is a type of second/foreign language instruction where all or part of the regular school curriculum is taught through the TL (Richards & Rodgers, 2001, p. 206). In an immersion classroom, the teacher and students speak only the TL. Students use their inductive and deductive skills to make sense of the class and what the teacher is saying. Immersion is also a place where content-based learning takes place. Students follow the same curriculum as other schools, but they learn subjects in the TL, e.g., subjects like history and science are taught in French to English-speaking students. Content and language are now intertwined with each other and teachers skillfully integrate aspects of a new language with content in their classroom. In this situation, language is not learned as a subject on its own and content is much more significant to students. The TL is always the language of communication in both immersion and content-based instruction with a few exceptions of L1 use (such as when the teacher provides overt attention to learning French as a TL, explicitly). Another example is that

when learners are not able to find the right word in the TL, they can say the word in their L1 and if teacher and (some) students share the same L1, can get help translating it.

At present, the language teaching methods that are used in countries throughout the world are as varied as the methods described above, and consist of various combinations of methods, both coherently and inconsistently applied. It seems as though most schools in Asia are very focused on correct use of grammar and writing skills (although this is an observation and research to back this claim is needed). Here in Quebec, English-speaking students learning French acquire the language with the help of language learning practices such as immersion and content- or task-based instruction. These methods are exclusive to learning the French (official) language and are not used in the ESL classroom in Quebec (Winer, 2007). As an alternative to English Immersion, INTENSIVE (for 6th grade elementary students) and ENRICHED (for secondary school students) ESL programs are available to some French-speaking Quebec learners, depending on the individual school. Both programs usually select students – largely bilingual learners, learners with a strong basic knowledge of English, or those who would like more of a challenge in a language class. For intensive programs, the regular school program is condensed into a half-year, and the other half is devoted primarily to English language classes, though, unlike an immersion model, *not* the official curriculum subjects. Enriched programs in the upper levels of secondary school involve more reading and writing than core classes, and the general level of the class work is more difficult. Teacher and students communicate (or should communicate) in the TL exclusively.

The regular ESL program in Quebec aims at basic communication skills with the help of the communicative approach. ESL students do not simply need to know vocabulary, morphology or syntax, but must be able to apply their knowledge in spontaneous conversation. “Core ESL students continue to develop fluency and accuracy as they become more competent second language learners. They need to be able to experiment with and expand their language repertoire while carrying out tasks and sharing ideas, interests and viewpoints” (Ministère de l’Éducation, 2013). In the present-day ESL classroom in Quebec, teachers aim for a balance between all the methods previously mentioned to promote fast and efficient acquisition of English as a second language. These days, oral communication plays an important role in the students’ abilities, but there is also emphasis on reading comprehension as well as writing. Teachers are encouraged to use the TL (in this case English) as the language of communication and instruction in the classroom. The idea is to expose the students to a lot of TL, because it is probable that they do not use the TL outside the classroom.

It is important to realize that all the previously mentioned methods have or had, at some point, their appropriate use in particular classroom-learning situations. Each method targets different competencies for the students to develop and some methods even act as counter-methods to previous ones. With some exceptions (e.g., Silent Way, Direct Method or when none of the students and teacher share the same L1), there is some use of L1 along with the use of the TL. The degree and the amount of each language used are as different as the methods, but there is no reason to dismiss any of these methods. For the purpose of this paper, it is important for the reader to be aware of all the possible ways to teach and learn a second or foreign language, as well as be cognizant of the sociocultural contexts. There

are as many ways of teaching as there are teachers and learners and each method focuses generally on particular aspects of language learning and acquisition. As a teacher and a researcher, each enriches me. The methods we choose to incorporate in our teaching are largely based on our students' needs, as well as our own beliefs, comfort levels and convictions about the best ways to develop language knowledge in a student. At the same time, there is an important sociocultural context that cannot be ignored when teaching a language, especially a second, foreign or additional language. For example, in Quebec there is often antipathy or hostility on the part of Francophones to learning English, which is seen as a dominating, oppressive language, a threat to the sustainability of French in Quebec (May, 2010). From secondary school students to provincial political parties, the amount and methods for teaching ESL in Quebec are still highly debated in our society.

2.2. Research on the Role of the L1 in Teaching an L2

In order to support or contradict the various language teaching methods mentioned above, considerable research has been done exploring and focusing on the use of the L1 in the L2 classroom, using both qualitative and quantitative methods. A 1993 study by Auerbach concluded that the use of the L1 reduces anxiety, enhances the affective environment for learning, takes into account sociocultural factors, facilitates incorporation of learners' life experiences, and allows for learner-centered curriculum development (p. 20). Cummins (2007) discussed rethinking the exclusive use of the L2 in the classroom and found that "translation from L1 to L2 and from L2 to L1 can be a powerful tool to develop language and literacy skills and increase metalinguistic awareness" (p. 237). Turnbull and Arnett (2002) support this, stating "strategic translation may contribute to enhanced input,

drawing learners' attention to specific features of the TL and hence promoting vocabulary uptake" (p. 208). Put another way, "The basic proposition [is] that students' L1 is not the enemy in promoting high levels of L2 proficiency; rather, when students' L1 is invoked as a cognitive and linguistic resource through bilingual instructional strategies it can function as a stepping stone to scaffold a more accomplished performance in the L2" (Cummins, 2007, p. 238). Turnbull and Arnett (2002) agree: "Introducing the L1 can enhance the quality of the input" (p. 205).

These positive research findings must be seen against the widespread attitude that using the students' L1 in the language class can only be negative, according to the foundations of the direct, communicative and other approaches. It is important for student teachers as well as in-service teachers to understand that there is room for the L1 in their classroom and that *if* it is well thought-out, planned and used correctly, it can actually be beneficial for the students in their second or foreign language acquisition. On the other hand, some teachers, especially in Quebec, tend to overuse the L1, which can then in turn hinder students' progress in second language learning.

One teacher-researcher (Edstrom, 2006) decided to become more self-aware of her use of the L1 (English) in her L2 (Spanish) classroom in an English-speaking university. She recorded herself teaching, wrote reflective journal entries and asked for her students' perceptions of her use of the L1. Her findings indicated that she used the L1 for "grammar instruction, for classroom management, and to compensate for a lack of comprehension. These functions ... were the most common purposes for which I used the L1" (p. 283). She maintains, "L1 use is, in fact, a subjective issue. The appropriate quantity of L1 use by

teachers cannot be defined universally, as a fixed percentage, because it is inseparably linked to the underlying function or purpose” (p. 289). As much as there are attempts to quantify optimal grammar teaching vs. talking time, as well as the percentage of use of the L1 in the L2 classroom, there are the inevitable variables of the individual classroom – its instructor, the students and their individual needs. Edstrom (2006) is also very frank when she states that she “was humbled to find instances throughout the transcript in which I could explain my use of English by nothing other than my own laziness” (p. 288). This is a very realistic observation, because no instance of teaching is perfect and though we all strive to be the best and most efficient language teachers, time issues and simplicity can sometimes take over and we can all make decisions based on the desire for less effort in certain teaching situations.

Meyer (2008) states “L1 provides scaffolding that should be gradually dismantled as the students progress. Not enough and the affective filters may be raised, too much and progress is slowed. The L2 should be used as much as possible. Maximizing L2 use should be the goal in every classroom” (p. 174). As desirable as this sounds, it is not clear *how* it can be implemented in the classroom. I believe that teachers are aware of the fact that they need to maximize the use of the L2, but at what rate? What is the best way to progressively eliminate the use of the L1 in the classroom? Meyer (2008) gives examples of specific situations where the L1 can be beneficial such as “using the students’ L1 is possibly the best way to make new material relatable to the learners’ structure of knowledge, especially at low levels” and “translation of words or phrases in context can be a useful way of illustrating differences between the L1 and L2” (p. 152). He makes a valid point when it comes to relating content to students’ lives and making it significant to them even if it is

something as ordinary as word cognates or similarities between verb conjugations. He finishes by saying that “The L1 plays a secondary role by helping students to anchor L2 concepts to the L1 through use of loan words, translation activities, and code-switching” (Meyer, 2008, p. 157). While it is generally considered best to maximize the L2 use in the classroom and create an environment that is authentic for the learner (similar to the immersion model, a very effective way to learn a language), it may have some disadvantages compared to some other methods, which may facilitate quicker or more affectively positive learning. I believe there is room for scaffolding the use of L1 in the L2 classroom, as learners move through the steps of language acquisition.

When it comes to code-switching and transferring knowledge or concepts from one language to another, Mitchell and Myles (2004) point out that “it is clear that cross-linguistic influences from the first and other languages are operating in second language acquisition, but it is also clear that such language transfer is selective: some first-language properties transfer and others do not. An important aspect of today’s research agenda is still to understand better the phenomenon of transfer” (p. 50). A study reported in Turnbull and Arnett (2002) that was done by Castellotti (1997) found that second language teachers used code-switches mostly “to help students understand, as a way to check comprehension, to highlight important points or salient vocabulary, to draw students’ attention to what they already know or have studied, and to help students make the transition from unilingualism to plurilingualism” (p. 209).

Nonetheless, “too much” code-switching or language transfer can lower the efficacy of language learning. Both awareness and better understanding are major parts of efficiently

transferring certain language factors from the L1 to the L2 and vice-versa. In practice, are teachers capable and willing to go through the process of analyzing their use of L1 in their language classroom to make it as efficient as possible?

In a mixed-methods study done by Rolin-Ianziti and Brownlie (2002) in Australia on the use of English (L1) in the French (L2) classroom, it was found that there was low usage of the L1 during a listening activity (0%-18%), but a relatively high usage of the L1 during a grammar activity (55%). The L1 was used for translation and contrast, commenting, managing the class, and answering students' requests that were asked in the L1. The teachers also used the L1 to express their state of mind in certain situations. "The teachers use English mainly to explain grammar, to manage the class, 'to index a stance of empathy' or 'solidarity' towards students, to translate unknown vocabulary items, and to help students when they have problems understanding" (Rolin-Ianziti & Brownlie, 2002, p. 403). These findings correspond with previous findings mentioned where the L1 is used for purposes of timesaving and convenience.

Scott and de la Fuente (2008) conducted research that focused on learners' use of the L1 while working collaboratively in pairs on consciousness-raising, form-focused tasks in the L2. They looked at the effects of prohibiting the use of the L1 when learners were working collaboratively in pairs on those specific tasks. As students were audio-recorded, it was found that "The specific strategies they used to process the input included translating portions of the passage and recalling what they knew about grammar that might help in understanding the problem" (Scott & de la Fuente, 2008, p. 109). The findings from this study indicated that learners may use the L1 even when they appear to be operating

exclusively in the L2 (p. 109).

In addition, the findings from Scott and de la Fuente's study suggested that exclusive use of the L2 during consciousness-raising, form-focused tasks may impose cognitive demands on learners that may have a negative impact on the allocation of cognitive resources for the task (p. 109). In a study done by Storch and Wigglesworth (2003), ESL students in Australia were encouraged to use the L1 when they were completing tasks in pairs or working in groups. After the experiment, the students were asked about their use of the L1. It was found that 30% to 50% of language used during the task was their L1. What the study found was that the L1 was used for task management and task clarification. Other uses of the L1 during the task were explaining meaning, vocabulary or negotiating meaning among students. The attitudes toward the use of L1 were mostly positive. In the interviews, students reported that their L1 enabled them to provide each other with definitions of difficult vocabulary and explanations of grammar, particularly when they did not have the required metalanguage (p. 765). The students also found their L1 useful in arguing a point. For example, in a reconstruction task, using the L1 made it easier for them to negotiate and provide justifications for grammatical choices. The participants reported frequent disagreements about these grammatical choices, and the L1 helped them argue their case more quickly and clearly (p. 766). Even the learners who did not use their L1 reported in the interviews that the L1 could be a useful tool, especially in more meaning-focused activities, such as a joint composition task. They noted that the shared L1 could enable them to discuss the prompt and structure of the composition in more depth and thus complete the task more easily (p. 768).

Another study by Swain and Lapkin (2000) looked at two groups of students working on a task together. It was found that students used their L1 to move the task along, to focus attention and for interpersonal interaction (p. 257). “Their use of English (L1) served important cognitive and social functions” (p. 268).

Storch and Wigglesworth (2003) reported: “We had heard repeatedly from French immersion teachers that one of the chief reasons they were unwilling to engage their students in group work was that their students would use a lot of English (L1), and that such use was counterproductive to one of the stated aims of French immersion programmes: progress in the learning of French (L2)” (p. 268). In 2001, Turnbull published an article saying that there *is* a role for the L1 in a second or foreign language class. “I agree with Cook that there is indeed a place for the teacher to use the students’ L1 in L2 teaching. I also highlight the pitfalls of relying too extensively on the L1. Moreover, I call into question what ‘maximize’ really means in terms of optimal or acceptable amount of L2 and L1 use by teacher”. In other words, more research is needed to understand what factors prompt L2 teachers to speak the students’ L1 when guidelines clearly prescribe the opposite, and how and why official guidelines influence teachers’ L2 and L1 use. More quantitative studies are needed to determine the relationship between teachers’ L2 and L1 use and students’ L2 proficiency. From Turnbull’s (2001) own experience: “[The students] told me that they learned so much because I spoke French (L2) most of the time, whether we were analyzing a grammar point, debating a controversial topic, or talking about social activities outside class” (p. 532).

Reflection on previous research

All these findings led me to notice – both in my own classroom and from speaking with other ESL teachers – that students often demand more L2 input and say that they benefit from it, but they also feel that they need their L1 to negotiate meaning and move tasks along in groups. Teachers seem to use a lot more L1 than they wish to use, but can't seem to be more strict with themselves about it. Turnbull (2001) says, “a principle that promotes maximal teacher use of the L2 acknowledges that the L1 and the L2 can exist simultaneously” (p. 535). Yet, teachers in Quebec ESL classrooms and around the world still struggle with that balance and are always questioning whether they are helping the students with L2 acquisition or hindering it with the amount of L1 and L2 being used in the classroom. This especially applies in situations where all the students in the second language classroom share and use the L1 with the teacher and each other.

2.3. History of Language Legislation and the Quebec Educational Reform

The dynamics of English and French in the province of Quebec are by no means simple. English is the dominant language in Canada, but French is the dominant language of Quebec. May (2010) points out that in the past “Francophones have clearly been the minority partner in Canadian institutional life. They have been subject to the political, cultural and economic dominance of English speakers (Anglophones)” (p. 247).

Notably during the 1960s, politicians in Quebec realized that French language in Canada would eventually disappear if no concrete measures were implemented to prevent such a loss. With the Official Language Act of 1974 (known as Law 22), French became the sole official language of Quebec and continues to be the sole official language of Quebec today. That year was the first large-scale attempt of Quebec, as a province, to make the French

language more widespread in the province and to decrease access to Anglophone schools for new immigrant or Allophone populations. This law, for example, required public signs to be solely or predominantly in French, e.g. having larger French lettering and smaller English lettering. French also became the sole language in the Assemblée Nationale du Québec, the site of the Quebec provincial government. This was an effort to preserve and value French language in the province of Quebec, while still leaving English-speaking residents as an official minority with freedom to conduct their daily activities in English and have education in English. The English language was given official minority status in Quebec.

To prevent the possibility of losing progress made in language rights in Quebec, the Charter of the French Language was adopted in 1977 and became commonly known as Bill 101. As Ricento and Burnaby (1998) explain: “The only way to alter this logic (of adhering to the majority and the language of power in Quebec at the time [i.e. English]), was to make French the indisputable language of power in the province, a social transformation” (p. 55). Since then and up until the present day, this law has provoked a lot of discussion and controversy. The essence of Bill 101 is similar to Law 22, but it has the purpose of making Quebec institutionally and linguistically French, as well as to diminish the status and curb the growth of the English-speaking community in Quebec. The educational domain was affected by this law. At first, French was made the language of instruction for students both of whose parents were Francophones, as well as any student who immigrated to Quebec (including English-speakers from Canada). English public schools have historically existed in Quebec and exist to this day, but by virtue of Bill 101, access to them was restricted to those who had at least one parent educated in English (in Quebec) or those who received a

“certificate of eligibility”. Today, certificates of eligibility are provided for students who have at least one parent who attended a majority of his/her elementary education in an English school in Canada (a revision of the previous version of the law). Such certificates give such students access to English elementary and secondary schools. Today as well, the law states that Francophone and Allophone students must receive all their primary and secondary education in French (with the exception of ESL classes in French schools). A student who attends elementary and secondary school in French is free to choose whether to attend an English or a French junior college (Collège d'enseignement général et professionnel, CEGEP) or university. Although Bill 101 has gone through some changes and adjustments, it is still key in maintaining a dominantly French-speaking province and culture through obligatory French education, as well as a direction that daily life and business be conducted in French.

Quebec's controversial language laws may seem to some as anti-liberal and restricting, but readers need to understand the history of Quebec and its position regarding language in the rest of Canada as well as North America. Although today (and since 2001), Francophones are the political power group in Quebec (May, 2010), it has not always been so. There was a time when Francophones in Quebec and the rest of Canada were the subordinate group, the group that was not in power, economically, politically or linguistically (May, 2010). What this meant is that most job opportunities were available to the English speaking population in Quebec as well as Canada. As Ricento and Burnaby (1998) explain, logically, if people are “free” to choose their language, Allophone immigrants in Quebec, as well as some Francophones who see the advantage of being proficient in English, will choose English as the language to educate their children and

themselves to gain status and power in a society that is surrounded by English speakers (p. 55). Without any intervention, the French language in Quebec would have slowly given way to the English (dominant) language and disappeared along with the French culture. In the case of Quebec, “language and the use of language policy come to symbolize a larger conflict between ethnolinguistic groups over their relative power positions within the political community (Ricento & Burnaby, 1998, p. 39).

In the 1970s, Pitts (1978) conducted a study of self-esteem in Quebec Francophones. In the study, she distributed surveys to find out the effects of adult male Quebecers being educated solely in French. (Unfortunately there was no comparative study done with surveys for Francophones who had at least part of their schooling in English.) Pitts found that when it came to language and identity, as well as attitudes towards language, “Schooling exclusively in French leads to high self-esteem because the French Canadian learns to value his ethnic group” (Pitts, 1978, p. 378). This study was relevant at the time, and it coincides with the Quebec situation mentioned previously, because the adult participants in the 1978 study had had the liberty of deciding whether to attend a French school or an English school. This study also concluded “Giving positive value to an ethnic group is more possible if one’s schooling has been exclusively in French.” (Pitts, 1978, p.379). Clearly, learning in French helps the preservation and understanding of a person’s culture. The people in the study who were schooled in French learned to value the language and definitely felt an attachment to it and a reason to maintain their status as Francophones living in Quebec.

In a study by Oakes (2010), over three quarters of 463 Francophone university students believed that legislation was necessary to protect French from English (p. 281). As a mode of preservation of French, those who immigrate to Quebec “are encouraged to express their culture and heritage but to do so through the medium of French” (Conrick & Donovan, 2010, p. 341). When living in Quebec, it is crucial for an immigrant to know French (Conrick & Donovan, 2010, p. 337).

In addition to language laws affecting education in Quebec, the provincial government decided to implement a new educational reform, updating the education programs in the province in order to modernize and stay competitive on the job market and economically with the rest of the world. In 1998, the Commission des programmes d'études (The Quebec Program Advisory Commission for the Ministry of Education) released a document outlining future changes to the Quebec education program. According to the document, the progressive implementation of the educational reform would begin in 1999 for elementary school and 2000 for secondary schools, cumulatively adding one grade each year.

In addition, the major change in second language education started in 2006 (Fallon & Rublik, 2011). Quebec Francophone elementary school students were starting the ESL program in the first year of elementary school, as opposed to the third year of elementary school as in previous years. Elementary students in grades 1 and 2 are now to receive between 30 minutes and 1 hour of ESL class per week. In grades 3 to 6, ESL takes up more time in the students' schedules of about two hours per week. Secondary schools also faced a change when the number of hours of ESL was increased. With the Quebec educational reform, the time allotted for ESL became 100 hours a year, which means about 3 hours per

week. (Each individual school board has the freedom to manage this time, which can be anywhere between 2.5 hours to 4 hours a week). Students in French schools may also have the possibility of attending enriched or intensive classes, as described above.

With this change, ESL became one of the three basic subjects that are necessary to pass in order to graduate from secondary school, the two others being French mother tongue and mathematics. Although it seems contradictory to augment ESL hours after talking about preserving French, the reform is meant to better prepare the students for a competitive job market and not to eliminate English language altogether. As stiff as the language laws in Quebec may seem, lawmakers are aware of the importance that English holds in Canada and the rest of the world.

2.4. The Place of English Culture and Language in the Province of Quebec

A year before Bill 101 was put in place, Gagnon (1976) did a study exploring the attitudes and motivations of French Quebec adolescents towards learning English. It must be kept in mind that at this point all students were able to choose to either attend an English school or a French school. In his study, Gagnon wanted to look beyond English language learning methods and shed some light on the learners themselves. He insisted that no two learners learn language the same way and he aimed to explore other factors that may influence successful language learning among students in Quebec. What Gagnon found out was that students needed real-life relatable situations to augment their desire to learn English. Students were much more motivated to learn English if they had an authentic need to communicate. They also responded better to Quebecois teachers who had a good mastery of the English language, than to an outside teacher (from England for example) or indeed

any L1 English speaker. Students seemed to accept the fact that bilingualism was important. Gagnon also found that older students were much more politically aware than younger ones. The older secondary school students were also opposed to obligatory English classes imposed on them by the Government but 75% of the students in the study said “they would have chosen English as a second language anyways if they had the choice.” (Gagnon, 1976, p. 281).

In 2010, Oakes conducted a study in which he asked Quebec Francophones about their attitudes towards English and the place that English had in their lives at that moment. He argues in his study that Francophones in Quebec have a new, “softer” outlook on English language and learning English. He also mentions “the inconsistency between the purported attachment to French amongst young Francophones in Quebec, and their readiness in practice to resort to using English in an increasing number of domains” (Oakes, 2010, p. 266). It may not be the majority of the population that is inclined to think that way, as Oakes (2010) says, “whether or not instrumental motivation to learn English will similarly lead to an affinity with Anglophone culture(s) remains to be seen” (p. 270). As a general definition presented in Dornyei (1994), instrumental motivation is related to the motivation of getting a better job or a higher salary (p. 274). Integrative motivation is associated with a positive disposition towards the L2 group and the desire to interact with them and assimilative motivation refers to the drive to become an indistinguishable member of the community (in this case the Anglophone community) (Dornyei, 1990, 1994). In this case, Oakes (2010) defines instrumental motivation as “motivation for learning the language because it is the lingua franca of globalization and massively present on the North American continent” (p. 271). In practice it means that students may be more

inclined to have positive attitudes towards English in ESL class, but it does not necessarily mean that they are ready to adapt English culture or even a more “native-like” English accent (see discussion below in section 5.2).

There is no denying that young Quebec Francophones are becoming more and more open-minded towards English language and English culture today. The influence of technology, pop-culture, the Internet and the globalization of information cannot be missed in today's classrooms and the lives of our students. Students today are presented with the struggle of wanting to be part of a larger population of English speakers, while still being able to maintain their mother tongue (French) and their Quebecois identity. As Winer (2007) points out, the arrival of enriched and intensive ESL classes in Francophone secondary schools is an indication that the population feels secure enough to add English to their repertoire without feeling that their French identity and culture (language) are threatened. Yet, in his study, Oakes (2010) found that students tended to disagree on most points about the English language in Quebec. Half say it is too present in Quebec society; half say it is not present enough. There is a division about English as a threat to the survival of French in Quebec, but the majority agreed that English did threaten the predominance of French (Oakes, 2010, p. 277). Although the majority of the people in the study did not like to be served in English in public service domains, when it came to education, Oakes (2010) found that the majority of respondents in his study agreed to have intensive ESL classes in French schools. Yet, the majority did not think immersion classrooms were the best way to teach English to Francophones (Oakes, 2010, p. 277). A lot of participants said that English gives more opportunities for work and can aid a Francophone in a successful career. All these findings may seem contradictory, but the participants in these studies seem to differentiate

the use of English on a daily basis and the studying of the language. Whereas they seem to be open to learning the language faster and more efficiently, they are perhaps not ready to hear it and use it on a daily basis, in public domains.

As Oakes (2010) tries to explain, it is possible that French could become the minority language in its own province. It could once again become the language that no longer has economic and political power. As ESL teachers in this particular context, we must be aware of how we present the English language and how much importance we give it while teaching. There is room for us, as educators, to value French language and culture and to show that English is not there to take over.

The studies in this section are relevant to the subject I want to explore, because it clearly shows some of the factors (political, relational, nationalistic) that I think influence English language teaching in the province of Quebec back in 1976 and today. It also supports my decision to explore these factors among secondary school students and not elementary school students. Secondary school students seem to be more aware than younger students of politics and identity issues, and are able to express their opinions and ideas about political and social aspects of English-French language relations in the province.

2.5. Power relations within the classroom

“EFL [English as a Foreign Language] and ESL classrooms represent unique spaces where different linguistic and cultural worlds come into contact” (McKinney & Norton, 2008, p. 192). As Fitzgerald Gersten and Hudelson (2005) note, “language use is grounded in

sociocultural purposes and social practices” (p. 23). With these two ideas in mind I would like to explore the power dynamics related to language in the ESL classroom in Quebec.

As teachers, we have power within the classroom and we also have power over the students in the class. Within that small space, we are the authority and we need to keep that in mind when we teach, especially when we teach a second or foreign language. As previously mentioned, language has a big role in social power dynamics. Historically and presently English language is the main language of business in Canada, North America and many other countries. Teachers of ESL (in this case, the language of power) in Quebec need to constantly be aware of how they transmit this language to Francophone students. “Difference and power relation must always be considered together in pedagogy.” (McKinney & Norton, 2008, p. 193).

It is not unusual to encounter French Quebecois students who have a negative opinion or a negative outlook towards English as a language and a culture (Breton, 2000). It is our responsibility as ESL teachers to motivate those students to learn the language and accept (or at least learn about) the culture without being insensitive to their beliefs and past experiences. Whether the students perceive English language and culture negatively based on historical events, their families’ or peers’ opinions or personal experiences, we can always try to influence our students positively. As pointed out by Fitzgerald Gersten and Hudelson (2005), previous behaviorist methods of teaching language “failed to accommodate notions about social, functional, and cultural aspects of language acquisition or account for the role of the L1” (p. 24). Educators and students need to realize that language is not only vocabulary and sentence structure, but that it is always intertwined

with society, culture and history of both the L1 and the L2 in the classroom. We cannot ignore or downplay the resistance or defiance some students have towards English language. McKinney and Norton (2008) remind us that the individuals learning a new language in the class are “diverse, contradictory, dynamic and changing over historical time and social space” (p. 195).

In the context of the ESL classroom in Quebec, I think it's possible to teach in a way so as to “validate students' literacies, experiences, and cultures, which can be highly effective in supporting English language learning in the classroom” (McKinney & Norton, 2008, p. 199). Although this quote originally applied to minority language speakers learning English, where English is the dominant language, I think that the idea of letting the students know the value of French in Quebec society can be beneficial in the ESL classroom in Quebec. Perhaps students forget – or think that their teacher has forgotten – that their own Quebecois culture is an important one and that they can be successful and valued in society by speaking French and connecting with their French culture. As educators and ESL teachers in Quebec, we must try to achieve an ideal way of teaching and “responding sensitively to (cultural) difference while at the same time addressing issues of social inequality, attempting to give learners access to dominant or privileged ways of knowing and doing while at the same time validating learner's own knowledge and lived experience” (McKinney & Norton, 2008, p. 201).

“What happens inside and outside the classroom whether or not we support the use of learners' L1s is not just a pedagogical matter: it is a political one, and the way that we address it in ESL instruction is both a mirror of and a rehearsal for relations of power in the

broader society.” (Auerbach, 1993, p. 10) In this quote, Auerbach asks us, as educators, not to dull our interventions when it comes to language use. If we are adamant that students use only English in ESL class, what is our ultimate purpose of insisting on one language over another? Is it a pedagogical reason or is it a demonstration of power to prefer English over French? When students talk to each other in French in the ESL classroom, do we intervene and insist on the use of English? What message does that send? Do we send a message of French being the “bad” language in class and English language being the “good” language, because students can use it freely? What about our interactions with students in the hallways? Should we insist on them speaking English to us? Is it a simple concept of students associating their ESL teacher with speaking English, or does it send a deeper message of English being more and more dominant in the students’ environment?

No matter how we feel about the subject and how our students react to us as English speakers, there is no denying that schools (especially in the context of Quebec) are a political place and educators need to be aware of that.

2.6. Identity through Language: What does it mean to be Quebecois?

In the introduction to their book of narratives about language, culture and identity, Nunan and Choi (2010) define identity as “the acceptance and internalization of the artifacts and ways of doing by a member of a cultural group” (p. 5). They also say, “whether we are monolinguals or multilinguals, we all come across and struggle with issues of how language and culture affect or influence our identity” (Nunan & Choi, 2010, p. 2).

Linguistic identity is an inevitable aspect of this research. Not only do the subjects interviewed live in a bilingual country (Canada), they are also exposed to a bilingual culture and two languages (English and French) on a daily basis. Being Quebecois is not exclusively about heritage or geography (although it could be argued that Quebecers living in regions away from large cities are significantly influenced by geography). As Caldas and Caron-Caldas (1999) explain, “to many in the province of Quebec, language is inextricably bound with what it means to be Quebecois” (p. 42). Even the charter of the French Language states that “WHEREAS the French language, the distinctive language of a people that is in the majority French-speaking, is the instrument by which that people has articulated its identity...” In the Quebec situation, the fact that people’s identities are closely tied to their language can be complicated to analyze. As Oakes (2010) concluded in his study: “the findings attest to the new and complex relationships that young francophone Quebecers entertain with English in the 21st century” (p. 285).

Even before talking about curriculum reforms, the report on curriculum change in Quebec addresses the preservation of national identity (Ministère de l’éducation, 1997). The authors say it is done through the knowledge of history and through the questioning of what it really means to be Canadian, French Canadian and Quebecer. Knowing and understanding Quebec history is one way of learning, preserving that history and valuing identity. For an individual born in Quebec it is important to accept the past, as difficult as it may be. For an individual born outside of Quebec, is it important to know and understand the cultural past and history of Quebec as a province. That very history can even become part of the history of the immigrant if the individual develops a sincere feeling of belonging to the Quebec culture.

Quebec history is important when ESL teachers communicate with French-speaking, Quebecois students. For example, students who are raised with French as the dominant language in the home are more likely to identify with an independent nation of Quebec (Caldas & Caron-Caldas, 1999, p. 43). Not only are ESL teachers coming in to introduce and integrate the English language into the classroom, but they also face a clash with Quebecois nationalist students who have a certain resistance to English language and English culture. Ricento (1998) explains this phenomenon by saying that among Quebecois nationalists, the overwhelming “English Fact” in North America, generated by the proximity and sheer size of the United States in combination with Anglophone Canada, has lent particular urgency to concerns for the survival and prosperity of their ethnolinguistic “island” (p. 38). What is very interesting in the Oakes (2010) study is that there is a positive correlation between English language competence, English language use, and feeling more “Canadian”. Similarly, the lower the English language competence and English language use, the more the participant felt “Québécois”. Where English was seen with a positive attitude, it was correlated negatively with the strength of Québécois identity (p. 284). His study shows that “the link between language and identity is far from absent; they may also account for the divided opinions observed amongst the respondents on a great number of points concerning English” (p. 284). In such cases, ESL classes may be perceived as “taking over” the French language (thus French-speaking people), that is, by replacing French and even assimilating the French-speaking population altogether.

On the other hand, Oakes (2010) found that the respondents in his study did not think that a Francophone who speaks English is being assimilated to the English culture and losing his identity, but opinion among respondents was divided on whether francophone Quebecers

who speak English among themselves should be perceived as rejecting their identity (Oakes, 2010, p. 280). In another study, Hamers (1984) found that authentic contact between Anglophones and Francophones in Quebec created more positive attitudes towards the opposite language and culture, and that those authentic contacts helped promote L2 learning for both Anglophone and Francophone students (p. 285). Hamers (1984) also pointed out that there is an important ethnic perception of the Quebec population. In a survey given out to elementary and secondary school students in the province of Quebec, students placed themselves at opposite poles when they identified themselves as being Francophone or Anglophone. Students who identified as bilingual Francophones or bilingual Anglophones placed themselves closer to each other on the scale (p. 296).

It is no surprise that Quebec has produced a large number of language policies and laws surrounding language, independent of the political party in power. As Ricento (1998) explains, “Language policies appear when language is perceived as centrally important to the survival, enhancement, or both of the identity and power position of one or more of the ethnic groups in the polity”(p. 39).

Closely tied to history is the language factor, another strong aspect of building identity and preserving culture. French schools place a great emphasis on acquiring French language, because it is the pivot of Québécois identity and the survival of the francophone community in North America depends on it. Immigrant children study in this language as well, and as a result they adopt this language as a way to belong to Quebec culture. As an immigrant in Quebec, I have my own take on the situation. English schools should provide more hours to

learn French language, the official language of the province and thus promote bilingualism. If the language of instruction is English, the second language must be French; if the language of instruction is French, the second language must be English. In other words, in today's province of Quebec, there should no longer be a debate of which language is dominant, but an emphasis on bilingualism. Through bilingualism, the richness of two languages over one will bring the Quebec population, whether they are Francophone, Anglophone or Allophone, to become a more affluent and more globally oriented population ready for the future.

In the end, it is undeniable that language, culture, power and identity are all closely intertwined. When teaching language, we do not teach it in isolation from other factors. The present study attempts to understand the dynamics between the first language and second language in a classroom setting and how these dynamics affect students' identities and culture, and how the use of each language affects motivation and learning. In the next section, I address the method of my study by presenting the setting, the participants, the procedure and the results. I also provide discussion points based on my findings, as well as a conclusion to further open discussion about the L1 in an L2 classroom.

3. METHODOLOGY

Setting and Participants

This qualitative research study was conducted at the secondary school that the student-participants attend and where the teacher-participants work (Appendix I). This is a school

I also teach at, which helped in recruiting the participants. None of the student-participants were students that I taught the year they were interviewed and observed. Student participants were secondary school students aged 14-16 years living in the Montreal area. They were recruited on a voluntary basis after reading the consent form (Appendix A, Appendix B) that was distributed to them during a parent-teacher night. They all shared the same L1, French, and all of them were enrolled in 4 hours of ESL per week at the school. The student-participants were of different ESL levels, varying from secondary 3 to secondary 5. Some of the participants came from the same ESL classroom and some did not; none of the student-participants had the teacher-participants as ESL teachers. The study had a total of nine student-participants and two teacher-participants.

The student participants were separated into three focus groups. The first group was composed of four secondary 4 students (S1, S2, S3, S4). The second group was composed of three students: S5 was in secondary 5, and S6 and S7 were in secondary 4. The third interview group was composed of two students: S8 was in secondary 3 and S9 was in secondary 5. Most students reported in the initial interview with me that their level of English was average, except S5 and S7, who said they were above average, and S8, who said she was below average in her class.

Two teacher participants were also recruited on a voluntary basis when I presented the research to all the ESL teachers of the school at a meeting (Appendix C). Both teachers worked at the same school. Both teachers have a Bachelor of Education degree in teaching ESL and both of them are under 30 years old. Teacher A has been teaching ESL for three years and is teaching secondary 2, 3 and 5 ESL this year. All her students share French as

their L1. Teacher B was new and had been teaching ESL for only one year. He was teaching secondary 1 ESL this year. Teacher A speaks French, as well as Italian and Spanish. She describes her level of French as fair; she says she has difficulty with masculine and feminine, but she accepts students correcting her: "I can correct you so you have the authority to correct me and it lightens up the mood in the class" she said. Teacher B speaks French as well as Italian. He describes his level of French as "native-like". All of his students in this year also shared French as their L1. One of the teachers had one of the student-participants as a student, but the other eight students had different ESL teachers from those in this study.

Procedure

For this study, I used several different instruments and techniques. I started off with six initial interviews (Appendix G, H) that were audio-recorded. I followed up with one-time classroom observations of the teachers and the students, compiled on an observation sheet (Appendix J, K). I concluded with 11 post-observation individual interviews (Appendix L) for both student and teacher participants. All the interviews and observations were conducted in the school, during school hours when it was most convenient for the teachers and student-participants.

For the initial interview, the teacher-participants were interviewed individually and the student-participants were interviewed in small focus groups of between two and four students at a time. I believe a group discussion or a focus group approach was most beneficial for this age group. I did not want to be the one doing most of the talking, so I asked open-ended questions and tried to have the students talking together, rather than

conversing with me. The initial interviews with students and teachers lasted between 10 and 20 minutes. All the interviews were audio-recorded for verification and then transcribed (by me) to help with analysis. Students and teachers were asked about their use of French (L1) in the classrooms and their own personal interpretations of this use. I asked them their personal opinions about the use of French L1 in their ESL classrooms and how they felt about using or not using French in the class. I conducted the interviews with students in French, which is their first language. The audio from the students' interviews has been translated in the results section from French (language of the interview) to English. The interviews with teachers were conducted in English, because I assumed that ESL teachers are comfortable using English in an interview.

The initial interviews were followed up with classroom observations of both student-participants and teacher-participants. This was to find out about their use of the L1 in the ESL classroom; it was also important to see if what they had said in the interviews was actually what was happening in the classroom. I filled out a chart (Appendix J, K) with the language that was used for each particular occasion or event for each of the participants during classroom observation. While I was observing, the teacher-participants did not share the same classroom as the student-participants. When I observed a teacher-participant, I never simultaneously observed a student-participant.

Immediately afterwards, each participant was asked to take part in an individual post-observation interview (Appendix L) by signing a second consent form (Appendix D, E, F). I wanted the students to reflect on their language use in the ESL classroom. This method is based on the Stimulated Recall method as presented by Gass and Mackey (2000). They

state that Stimulated Recall can be “used to prompt participants to recall thoughts they had while performing a task or participating in an event” (p. 17). This is applicable to my study, because I wanted the participants to reflect on their L1 and L2 use in the classroom I had just observed. I wanted to use this method to compare my observations (and possible interpretations) with their own interpretations of their language use. For Stimulated Recall to be effective, it must be done immediately after observation, which was my approach. Each participant was interviewed within 10 to 60 minutes after observation. Another important aspect of Stimulated Recall is that it “is often employed in conjunction with other methodologies, as a means of triangulation or further exploration” (Gass & Mackey, 2000, p. 19). This was also true for my study, as the post-observation interviews work in combination with the initial interviews and classroom observations. All the data (from both interviews and observations) were then compiled and analyzed by emerging themes.

4. RESULTS

The results here are presented by theme. All the themes emerged from data in the transcripts and the observation grids. Some themes (such as grammar translation, classroom management) were predictable from previous research and from my own experience, but none were *pre-defined*. In the two sections I will present, the first section contains all the results for teachers A and B (initial interview, classroom observation and post-observation interview) and the second section contains all the results for the student-participants (initial focus group interview, classroom observation and post-observation

interview). Each section is sub-divided by themes that all emerged from the data collected throughout this research.

4.1. Teacher Results

4.1.1. How the teachers perceive the level of students in their ESL classroom

Teacher A found that the ESL students in her class were relatively good in English for their grade level. During the initial interview, Teacher B stated that his students' oral communication skills in the target language (TL) were weaker than their reading or writing skills. The writing skills of the secondary 1 students he teaches were split: half the class was at an appropriate level of ESL writing, and half of the students were below their target level.

4.1.2. How the teachers perceive their own language use in the ESL classroom

In the initial interview, Teacher A said that she used French 50-60% of the time with her secondary 2 students and 80% with the secondary 3 students, although she was in the middle of transitioning (as she does each year) to using exclusively English with the secondary 3 students. As for the older secondary 5 students, she said that the use of French was "becoming more and more rare". When she does use French, she says it is for comparisons between English and French. When the details get a little more complex, she switches to French, even though she has already said the more complex utterance in English.

The language that Teacher B used most in his secondary 1 class is (as quoted from the initial interview): “sadly, probably French”.

4.1.3. Language used during classroom management

In the initial interview, Teacher A said she managed the class in English, but also used gestures, for instance “open your book” or “go over there”. This was consistent with the classroom observation I did. If she needed to manage the classroom, she did so in English, e.g., “Can I erase the board?” although in some instances of classroom management she used half English and half French, e.g., “Go to page 2. Il y a encore du monde qui écrivent?” She also repeated the initial English instruction in French when it was an instruction that had to be understood by everyone. For example, when she specifically wanted the students to use a pencil, she said it in English and then recast in French: “Everyone take a pencil. Crayons à la mine.”

When students were off-task or misbehaving, teacher A told them in English to stop doing whatever they were doing.

Teacher B said he uses French to manage the class. He explained that the students are young (secondary 1) and quite disorganized at their age and thus a lot of classroom management has to be done in French.

Initially, he said he uses English when doing basic classroom management, such as asking students to open a book to a certain page. As he explained: “‘Open a window’ or ‘sit down’ that’s ok but when it’s like ‘sit down because you are hitting your pal on the head’, that’s different, it’s a disciplining thing. Everything discipline I do it in French, because I want it to

be clear – ‘stop it right now’ ” (this command would be said in French in the classroom).
 “The more off-task behavior, the more French,” said Teacher B in his second interview.

When I observed Teacher B in reference to classroom management, he used English for simple commands such as “Open your binder” and he would then mime the action, e.g. of opening a binder. Sometime later, he told a student to place his paper “dans le cartable.” In the post-observation interview Teacher B explained that he used English in cases when he knew that the students would respond positively and their affective filters were low.

From my overall observation Teacher B used a lot more French than English, especially when he had to manage students individually. For example, when he told one student to adjust his uniform, he spoke in French without hesitation. In the post-observation interview, we talked about this intervention; Teacher B said that this particular student hardly reacted when he had told him to adjust his uniform in French earlier that day. He imagined that the message would never get across if that intervention were done in English.

4.1.4. Language used during task explanation

In the initial interview, Teacher A said that when giving out assignments or directions, she first said them in English and then translated them into French, just to be sure that everyone understood what the assignment was. During my observation, when correcting a task or homework, Teacher A spoke in English, but the last sentence was always translated into French. I do not know if she did this intentionally and only wanted to translate the last sentence, or it happened randomly. When I asked her, she said she translated to make sure

everyone understood, but she did not seem to be aware that she only translated the last sentence of her English utterance. Perhaps she thought the last sentence to be the most important, or she simply translated the last thing she remembered saying.

In her secondary 3 class, I observed that Teacher A used English as the overall language. This is also what she had predicted in the initial interview. In this particular class she had to explain a task that was a research project about a specific era. Students had to use the Internet to find their sources and information and then write a text and present it in poster form. Teacher A explained the task in English.

When explaining assignments, Teacher B says he usually uses French. In the initial interview, Teacher B gave some examples: “to expel students from class, when I give instructions... like, I do ‘read the directions’ in English, I do ‘read the directions from the book’ – let’s say then I say it again, rebroadcasting, I recast it in different words, but I see the blank stares, and I see that they are not starting so then I say it in French”. In the post-observation interview, Teacher B said that he uses French in these cases to save time.

Teacher B says he uses about 60% French in the classroom. I was able to observe him with his secondary 1 class. The class for that day consisted of students finishing up a writing assignment they had already started and learning about sentence structure with a follow-up activity. During my observation, when the teacher explained tasks or assignments, he used both English and French equally. He explained the task in English and then translated what he said into French.

During this observation, the sentence-writing task was more complicated than “take out your book and write”. Teacher B first used French to explain that they had to write sentences using specific verbs he provided. He wanted to move the task along and make sure students started on the right track and for that reason he explained part of the task in French. In his post-observation interview reflection, Teacher B thought that yes, he could have explained the task without French, but he “would have lost half of the students... I would have been able to say it in English, but then I would have had to clarify. I wouldn’t have been able to use English only.”

4.1.5. Language used during clarification of tasks

Teacher A stated that she aims to use English as much as possible, but she uses French for clarification. During the explanation of a task I observed in class, Teacher A code-switched, meaning that she used both French and English in her discourse. Code-switching on a discrete level is very possible between English and French, because both languages have a similar sentence structure; thus certain words within a French sentence can be replaced with English words. For example, Teacher A would say something like: “Tous les *question words*...” This is also consistent with what she reported as doing during the initial interview.

In emphasizing to the students the planned transition to more English in class mentioned above, Teacher A reminded the students that there would be a lot more English from then on, compared to the beginning of the year and they had no choice but to listen to it and to pay more attention to what she was saying in class. “When I say, ‘Do you guys understand?’, ça veut dire: Est-ce que vous comprenez? And when you hear, ‘Do you guys understand’ et

vous n'avez rien compris c'est là à réagir". She later noted an example of proper response – a student who raised his hand after the cue of "Do you understand" and said: "Non, j'ai pas compris". In the post-observation interview, Teacher A was quite happy with this outcome. Even though the student did not understand all her English, he understood the cue she taught them. Her goal for the year is to reduce the use of French to 30%, but not eliminate it completely.

Teacher A code-switched when checking for comprehension when explaining the assignment, e.g., "Donc, *what was* la technologie?" or "Qu'est-ce que ça veut dire *English sentence*?" When she asked if everyone understood, she asked it in French: "Est-ce que tout le monde a compris?" She also sometimes recast one word or only one piece of information in French within a number of English sentences or amount of information. When observing Teacher B, anything he provided as clarification he said in English and then translated it into French right away.

4.1.6. Language used during grammar explanations

In the particular class I observed, Teacher A was explaining a new grammar task, as well as reviewing previous grammar points that the students were already familiar with. In the class observed with Teacher B, he introduced the concept of sentence structure in French. He also mentioned that "les règles sont pareils." In general, both teachers used French for the grammar rules, the meta-thinking and explaining, as well as reflections about grammar. If Teacher A wanted a student to think about grammar, she would say: "Student A, troisième personne du singulier? Ça décrit quoi?" Teacher B gave the examples of English

sentences in English. When Teacher B asked for examples of sentences or words, he asked for them in English. Students provided the words and sentences in English.

When she asked specific questions about grammar, Teacher A code-switched to use mostly French, e.g., “*I ça parle de qui?*” Code-switching also occurred when Teacher A compared grammar points between English and French. Teacher B also code-switched in the middle of his sentences throughout his explanation of sentence structure.

In the interview, Teacher A stated that she still intends to use French for more difficult or more intricate grammar points. Turnbull and Arnett (2002) would support this reasoning because they believe that “Teachers should resort to using the L1 if it is apparent that using the TL would be inefficient and/or problematic for the learner” (p. 207). She gave an example where previously she had to compare verb tenses so the students could see the similarities and she code-switched to get the message across more easily. Teacher B also stated in the initial interview that he uses French so students can transfer their knowledge of sentence structure from French to English. For this reason he believes it is pertinent to use French.

4.1.7. Speaking with students

Addressing the classroom

During observation, when asking questions to the whole group of secondary 2 students, Teacher A used French and English, because she translated the questions. She asked the initial question in English and translated it into French. She especially relied on French when the students didn’t answer right away.

In her secondary 3 class, teacher A used English when addressing the students as a group.

When he talked to the students as a group, Teacher B translated everything he said or read in English into French. When students asked him a question in French in a group setting, the teacher did not make them repeat their question in English, but answered in English.

Addressing students individually

In the initial interview, Teacher A said that when the students ask her a question in French, they have to repeat the question in English before she answers in English. For some students, in some cases, Teacher A reported that she insisted that a student repeat in English, if she knew that the student was capable of doing so. She also mentioned in the initial interview that for some students, she accepted the fact that they addressed her solely in French even if they understood her when she spoke English. This indicated that she understood that it was perhaps not necessary to use English all the time in the class.

I observed that when speaking with students one-on-one in the secondary 3 class, Teacher A explained in French, but read off the computer screen or paper in English, because it was written in English. When initiating a conversation with a secondary 3 student, Teacher A used English. I also observed that she started by explaining or clarifying in English, but as soon as the student showed confusion or incomprehension, she switched to French and recast what she had just said in English.

From my observation, when Teacher B addressed a student individually, because they were not ready to start the class or were missing something on their desk, he addressed them in French.

4.1.8. When do students use French? (according to the teachers)

During group work:

Teacher A said in the initial interview that in the ESL classroom, when the students use French, they use it a lot during group work. During an assignment they will read the question in English and then say: “Ok, qu’est-ce que ça veut dire?” She says that they try to figure it out among themselves and go back to the text and they will look for the answer and say in French “Je pense que j’ai trouvé la reponse, je pense que c’est ‘Do you think’....”. Teacher A further pointed out that although most of the students still used French among themselves, some tried to challenge others to use English even during group work when the teacher was not necessarily present.

Teacher B said in the initial interview that when working together the students’ dialogue resembles “Faut que tu fasses ça là, non là, faut que tu le mettes au passé.” This resembles what Teacher A’s students say when they negotiate for meaning when working together in groups. This is consistent with what Teacher B said about them having weaker skills when it came to communicating orally in English.

With the teacher:

Teacher A said in the initial interview that students still use French with her, although she sometimes says things like, “Oh I am sorry, I do not speak French” as a way of insisting that the students use English. She said she especially uses this tactic with students she knows are capable of producing English easily. With the weaker students she stated that she lets them address her in French, but then translates what they said into English and answers in

English. Even when she addresses the students in English, she says they almost always reply in French. The students are at a level where they understand a lot more English language than they produce.

As for Teacher B, if a student addresses Teacher B in French in the ESL classroom, Teacher B answers in French. This led Teacher B to say during the initial interview: "So it's French class!", meaning that he could now see that he uses a significant amount of French in the class and almost no English.

When they are off-task:

Teacher B reported in the initial interview that in the ESL classroom, students use French mostly when they are off-task, when they are talking to one another in a more social way.

Teachers' reflections:

In the post-observation interview, Teacher B stated about his students: "I think their output is French. Whether they understand or don't understand. I am not gonna every time someone talks to me be like, 'Say it in English, please, say it in English, we are wasting time'". From my own observation, students in Teacher B's classroom speak mostly French among themselves and with him too.

In the post-observation interview, Teacher A showed that she is aware that students used a lot of French in both grades for various reasons. She does not think that this is an abnormal phenomenon.

4.1.9. When do students use English? (according to the teachers)

In the initial interview, Teacher A said that she insists on the use of English in the class and wants the students to use it, but she also said that it is not reinforced or monitored that much, especially when students are doing group work.

Teacher B stated that students consistently use English only when there is an evaluation, or when students can provide one-word answers.

4.1.10. Language used outside the classroom

In the initial interview, Teacher A said that uses English outside of the classroom with the students. When I asked her if the students responded well to that approach, she replied with a laugh, “Most of them do. They provide short answers, but they respond nonetheless”. She sometimes uses French outside the classroom with the students. It happens often that the students address her in French outside the classroom. Teacher A answers in English, but said that she may switch to French, depending on the context. If it is a personal question, she does not require the student to repeat or clarify in English.

In the initial interview, without hesitation, Teacher B reported using only French outside the classroom with the students.

4.1.11. Using L1 and L2 depending on the level of students

Lower-level students

In the post-observation interview, Teacher A said that the reason she recast so much English into French was because of the lower level of the students. She did not want simply

to say something in French and leave it at that. Her reasoning is that when she says it in English, the students still get to hear the language; they get some comprehension and support to go along with the exposure to the target language.

Teacher A also sometimes recast her answer in French, depending on the student(s) she was addressing. Teacher A explained in the post-observation interview that she strategically chooses to use English or French with specific students: if with a weaker student, she uses French, and if a stronger student, she will use English.

In the post-observation interview, Teacher B pointed out that the students in his class are not all on the same level and he feels that he targets the lower-level students more than the higher-level ones when he speaks. He thinks it would be easier to use more English if the class were more uniform. He also uses French to get the students' attention. In the class I observed, Teacher B used a lot of French. He stated in the post-observation interview that he had to get the task done quickly and complete it before the end of class, so he used French just to move the students along: "It was for my own organizational purposes".

Higher-level students

In the initial interview, Teacher A said that she reacts differently if the student addressing her is in secondary 2, 3 or 5. If she knows that the student is capable of expressing her/himself in English, she will insist that that student use English in the situation. If it is for simple requests such as "May I go to the washroom?" no student can go unless they ask the question in English.

When the students are judged to be stronger by Teacher A, she said she starts in English, but still recasts more than 50% of her English utterances in French. During my observation, she spoke solely in English to the higher-level students; to students whose English was at a lower level, she explained the task in French.

For the secondary 3 students, Teacher A judges that their maturity level and ability to use inferences when she speaks allow her to use a lot more English in the class. When she used French, she did it because she felt there was no other choice. In the post-observation interview, she made it clear that her use of French was not arbitrary; French was used as a last resort. She hopes that her secondary 3 class can move to 100% spoken English on both her part and the students'.

When I asked Teacher A if she thought it was possible to eliminate French completely from the classroom, she said "For secondary 5 it is possible, for the younger students it is not". She said she would really like to eliminate the use of French in the classroom, but she said it was more of a dream than a reality. At the same time, she does not think that it is inappropriate to use French to clarify certain things in the classroom sometimes. "I would prefer to repeat a task in French rather than give the students the task and then [it comes] back to me and it's totally wrong".

Teacher B thinks that for higher-level and older students, French can be eliminated from the classroom. A month prior to the interview, he had experienced teaching older, secondary 3 students, in a class where he spoke no French and it worked smoothly. "I explained the assignment, I gave the vocabulary quiz, I corrected it with them, I gave directions to ...uh, they had to prepare an oral interaction and you know take out the

laptops, you have to choose a topic, there was a whole introduction I had to read with them. Honestly it was like day and night. I came in, I did everything in English and at one point one of them didn't understand and came to see me and another student said: "Non, va pas lui demander, il ne parle pas français". He noted that out of 17 of the students, 15 understood what the task was and were able to execute it correctly.

Teacher B then went on to compare his previous experiences when teaching ESL. As a student-teacher he experienced very low-level groups in secondary school who would only do vocabulary and grammar translations to get a "good base of the language, because they had none at all." Some classes he taught were at a much higher level but even then he said there were instances when he translated words for students when they did not know how to say them in English, for the sake of keeping the conversation going.

4.1.12. Advantages of Using English Only

In the initial interview, both teachers were able to reflect on the use of "English only" in the classroom. Teacher A believes that the major benefit of using English only in the classroom is that it will stimulate the students to speak more English and the teacher will act as a support to help them with sentence structure, pronunciation and expressing their opinions in English. She believes that students' oral comprehension could benefit from hearing the teacher speak exclusively in English from September to June.

Teacher B also finds some benefits to using English only in the classroom: "Well, I think that initially it could be seen as some kind of maybe very harsh punishment for them, eventually I think that it would be something like another rule that they would have to get

used to, so I think that that's the advantage, they will just naturally sort of develop this sort of motivation, or something, to speak English to be understood." At the same time, Teacher B has difficulty applying this idea to the reality of his classroom.

4.1.13. Disadvantages of Using English Only

The initial interview was also an opportunity for both teachers to reflect on the disadvantages of "English only" in the classroom. Teacher A believes that using French is helpful in the classroom. She uses the example of teaching more difficult concepts to the older secondary 5 students. "For example when I need to explain to them what a thesis statement is, I cannot only use English to explain that. The student will automatically say: 'Euh, c'est quoi ça un *Thesis statement*?' Try to explain that to students, especially the weaker ones in the class. It doesn't even translate, it isn't even a cognate, and it doesn't even look the same as in French." In the end, Teacher A says that it's really a dream to be able to solely function in English in the ESL classroom in Quebec. In this view she said: "I don't see anything wrong with a bit of clarification".

In the initial interview, Teacher A mentioned another disadvantage to "English only". Her biggest issue with this rule is that important information transmitted in class will not be clear enough and that a lot of students will end up feeling lost or not maximizing their learning due to information that has not been completely understood. She said she tried it once, where she conducted the entire class in English (including task explanation) and when the students' work was returned it was not properly completed. They had to redo it and the students got upset. She felt like "the finger was pointed at her" as students said that her explanation was not clear and they felt it was unfair to have to re-do the

assignment. There were definitely miscommunications that led to frustration and Teacher A does not want a repeat of that event. Another time she walked in and said, “Ok, today I do not speak French” and students became very nervous and some gave up asking clarification questions and said things like “Laissez-faire”. Interestingly enough, in the post-observation interview, Teacher A said that she would continue to increase her use of English and sometimes even show up to class announcing “English day today, I do not speak French”. She planned on even giving rewards to those who use English only. She seemed enthusiastic about this, even though in the initial interview she clearly saw the disadvantage of taking that approach.

Teacher B thinks that if he insists on English so much, there could be some students who would give up and do no work at all, because understanding the directives and trying to convey a message in English to a teacher who says “English only” would be too difficult a task. In this case, insisting on English only could actually hinder some students’ learning and they could lose their motivation for learning English altogether. Teacher B noticed that some students are already overwhelmed by a task written in a different language; he felt that his refusal to meet the students at least halfway would just reinforce that the English teacher is just trying to bring the students down by not allowing them to ask questions in French. That could send the message “What you want to know, I don’t want to hear about it, unless it’s in English”. Teacher B still believes that eventually the student would get used to “English only” in the classroom, but he is concerned about how they would perceive that initiative and how they actually internalize the message of “English only”. “When I say ‘In English! In English!’ do they feel that I am rejecting them as a learner? Or are they gonna be like, ‘oh, I can’t ask him questions. Il est tellement borné qu’il ne veut pas me répondre,

donc laissez faire.’ I’m afraid of the feedback they are going to get: ‘I am not answering your question because it’s not in English’, so I am afraid they will just close their books and they won’t work.”

4.1.14. Final teacher reflections on L1 and L2 use in the classroom

Teacher A believes that students must be exposed to the language and she also tries to prepare the secondary 2 students for the following year, where even more spoken English language should be present in the classroom. She stated in the post-observation interview, that by the end of the lesson I observed, students had made progress and learned things they hadn’t known before, even if the production of their spoken language perhaps stayed at the same level. She did not think she could have used any more English in the secondary 2 class. “I used what they needed to hear,” she said in the post-observation interview. She intends to use the same amount of English and French in the next class (50% each), because the tasks will be new. She does not want to regress in the use of French (i.e., using more of it), but she could already see that some students were confused in the class I observed and she is sticking with half time for each language in the class for now.

At the end of the initial interview, Teacher A was curious to know what I thought about the issue. I answered that I was still very conflicted and I still did not know if I was helping the students by using French, or preventing them from advancing in their language learning. I did acknowledge that I used French in specific situations and I varied my demands of spoken English with each student. Like Teacher A, I expected more English from stronger students and I judged that I could tell how much effort was put into producing English.

Basically, I tried as much as possible to differentiate my approach with each student, because it is very rare that a whole group of students is at the same level.

In the post-observation interview, Teacher A stated that since the beginning of her participation in this study, she had become more aware of her own use of French and English in the classroom and she has come to the realization that she probably should use more English. She said that the initial interview changed her perception and made her more aware of using one language or the other. These reflections coincide with Edstorm's (2009) remarks: "There is no set formula that prescribes exactly how much L2 use is necessary or ideal" and that "language teachers who wish to address this issue should become more aware of their own pedagogical practices and language use in the classroom." (pp. 12-13)

In the post-observation interview, Teacher B said that he was more aware of the quantity of French that he used in the class I observed, because I was there. He also pointed out that it was easier for him to use English-only when giving out more straightforward tasks. "When we do in a fill-in-the-gap activity and say 'Take out *Jump In*, page blah blah blah, uh, use the verb 'to be' to fill in the gaps, conjugate the verb, uh, [in] the right person'. That they'll understand, no problem". When Teacher B walked around the class and helped students individually with the assignment, he did so exclusively in French. At the end of the second class, the last thing he said – "Give me your notebooks, please" – was in English. At the end of my observation, I could not really pinpoint what specific functions French and English had in this classroom. At times it seemed very arbitrary, especially when he used English first for a routine activity and then used French for the same purpose later on in the

class. This was perhaps due to the fact that Teacher B was being observed and it may be that his use of English and French did not have a specific pattern. Teacher B agreed with this observation and also felt that some things could have been said in English, but he said them in French and vice-versa.

He then mentioned that he does not insist on the use of English in the classroom. He does say that he would love for the whole class to be in English, but “I unfortunately can’t manage it. I would like them to speak English, but forget it. When they do speak English though, I reward them.” Although Teacher B did not elaborate on his reward system, during my observation, I only noticed him providing verbal positive reinforcement to the students that gave their answers in English.

Teacher B said that he would like to eliminate French in the ESL classroom, although he said that he would like to eliminate it for everything except discipline. “Because I think that for them there is less meaning. For that, it’s like I am upset in French and I’m upset in English, I don’t know if they will understand the difference.” He would also love for the students to ask and answer in English, as well as converse in English among themselves in the classroom.

Like myself, Teacher B had experience teaching in Asia. In that case, the students and the ESL teacher do not share the same L1, so he had to communicate exclusively in English and so did the students. Teacher B made a point of saying that even in that situation there was still an ESL teacher who shared the students’ L1 in the classroom present at all times to translate or to manage the classroom when necessary. He believes that there is room for the L1 in the classroom and not only in the Quebec ESL context; he thinks the L1 could be a

great tool in the language classroom and that we have to keep our goals and expectations realistic. In other words, teachers need to readjust when there is inefficient use of the L2 in the classroom and be flexible with learners. In the last interview, Teacher B ended by saying that he could have definitely used more English, but he could not have used only English in the class that I observed.

4.2. Student Results

The results here are also presented by theme (as mentioned in the previous section). All the themes emerged from data in the transcripts and the observation grids. This section contains all the results for the student-participants (initial focus group interview, classroom observation and post-observation interview). Each section is sub-divided by themes that all emerged from the data collected from the students.

4.2.1. Students' preferences in ESL class

Along with S3, who said that he “quite liked ESL class”, most of the student participants had positive attitudes towards their ESL class. However, S6 said: “I really, truly dislike ESL class”, S8 dislikes speaking English, and S9 really dislikes grammar.

S3 finds ESL class easy compared to other subjects. S1 and S3 enjoy communicating orally in English the most: “I really like it when we have oral presentations, I like the debates we have and the subjects we talk about” said S1, and S3 added, “I like to debate and argue with

people.” Other students had different preferences for activities in ESL class but most of them enjoyed communicating orally in English.

4.2.2. Students’ Use of French in ESL class

When I asked students what language they spoke with their friends in class they unanimously replied “French!” S1 added, “Well, except for when we are being evaluated”. During class observation, S9 used mostly French as the language of communication in the ESL class. She used French with her friends, as she pointed out in the initial interview. In the post-observation interview she explained that the reason she used French with friends is because their conversations had nothing to do with English class and it was easier to understand each other.

When I observed the first 4 students in class, I clearly saw that they mostly interacted in French, whether it was with their friends, addressing the teacher one-on-one or in front of the whole class. For example, S8 used French for asking and answering questions, while interacting with the teacher, in a group, and with her friends.

S5 said she mostly uses French in the class “because the other students are not that good and they use French. If someone speaks to me in English, I will speak in English, but if they speak French, then I speak French too”. During the classroom observations I did, S5 used mostly French, which was consistent with what she had said in the initial interview. Overall the students I observed use French mostly to ask the teacher or another student for clarification or questions about something they didn’t understand.

When I asked about the spoken language students usually use in ESL class, without hesitation S4 answered “French.” S2 said that he tries to speak in English, but sometimes a word that he is not familiar with comes out in French and the conversation ends up being in French for the rest of the time.

S5, S6, and S7 use French with all the other students, as well as if the teacher uses French with them. “If everyone speaks French, then you speak French too,” said S7.

S9 said that she could have used English in all the instances she used French during the classroom observation that I conducted. In the post-observation interview she said that she used French because it “is easier, I am more used to that language, and it’s just less complicated.”

4.2.3. Language used during group work

When I asked the student-participants about general group work, they said that they used French. “I tried to speak English with my partner and then I got tired of trying, so I switched to French,” said one of the students. S5 said that when working in groups, the talking goes off-task, so they tend to switch to French. The students gave very specific reasons as to why they used French when working in teams: “It is faster”, “It is easier”, “You don’t really have to think about it, and it just comes out”. S3 also said: “We understand each other better. For example we would start to talk English and then after a while we would finally say: ‘Oh, just say it in French. Ok, that’s better’.”

When working in groups with stronger students, S5 and S7 say that they communicate in English, but when there are weaker students, they tend to switch to French, so that all

students are included in the conversation. S7 speaks at a slower pace for the weaker students when she can. From my observation, when another student addressed S6 in English, he answered in English.

S9 uses “Franglais” during group work. “Franglais” is a term used by the students in her grade level to describe speech that uses both English and French and relies a lot on code-switching mid-sentence. She said that when they are on-task in her team they speak English, but if they are off-task they speak French. S8 thinks she may one day speak English during group work when “I have more confidence in me and when I will be better in English.”

During observation, S4 sometimes used some English during group work. He read the questions out loud, because they were written in English, but there was no spontaneous English language production. All clarification questions were in French, e.g., “C’est quoi le mot?” and “Qu’est-ce que je dois écrire ici?”

4.2.4. Language used with friends

All of the participants in the three student groups said they spoke French in ESL class with their friends. S8 said she uses French “almost the whole time” in her ESL class and S9 reported that she uses French especially with friends and sometimes with the teacher. In the post-observation interview S8 said that the reason she uses French with her friends in the ESL class is because they start using French first. “Some of them are not necessarily good in English,” she explains. “So together we are on the same level.”

When he talked to his friends in class, S6 used French exclusively. S6 said he doesn't have the impulse to use English when he uses French in class. He said he could have used English, with some French for words he did not know in English.

4.2.5. Language used with the teacher

Students all used French when addressing the ESL teacher in class. I wanted to know why this was happening and S2 replied, "because it is easier for us" and S1 added, "that's our mother tongue." Another student said, "that's what we are comfortable using" and S4 said, "It is easier to be understood when we use French."

The students said that their ESL teacher used both English and French. The teacher says what he needs in English and then repeats it right away in French "so we understand better" explains S4. S4 and S2 said that they listen to the English part of the teacher's speech because they "understand English." S1 says: "It is much easier for me to understand than to produce English language."

S2 also said, "Well, it depends, when the teacher asks us to speak in English and he's in close proximity, we do speak English. If he is far away, we will speak French and when he does not ask us, we will speak French". S4 also says that when he works in groups he uses English when the teacher is in close proximity, but "especially when he asks us to use English", said S2. Some students switch to English when the teacher is in close proximity, in case they are being evaluated. During observation, I noticed that students also tend to use French if the teacher starts or continues the conversation in French, or replies to something in French.

S8 speaks French to the teacher, whereas S9 described her spoken language with the teacher as “Franglais, which is one sentence in English, one sentence in French”.

Both of the teachers during observation used half English half French for translating, as the previous participants have described. S8 says that her teacher also uses both languages while speaking. S5 explained: “This is so that other students understand better if their English is not as good”.

Another student said that she uses French with the teacher “because it is easier to get my message across”. S8 said that she could have used English in some of the instances she used French, but “for certain words, that I don’t know, I must say them in French. But, yes, I could have used more English, I would have been able to”.

Even when the teacher addressed the students in English, 7 out of 9 students I observed always replied in French in ESL class.

S5 used French to ask clarification questions which were addressed to the teacher. Only in one instance did she ask a question in English, which was “Music?” – one word with an upward intonation.

When S9 spoke with the teacher one-on-one, during observation, she used English, for example: “How am I supposed to say...” In this occurrence she wanted to know how to translate a French expression into English. The rest of her spontaneous language was French, which is what she reported in the initial interview.

With the teacher, S5 speaks English, but sometimes French, when she does not know how to express herself in English or she does not know some words in English. From classroom observation, she does not switch back to English in the same utterance. S6 says he speaks English mostly in class, but “when I get tired of it and I can’t find the word anymore, I switch to French”. S7 speaks in English exclusively to the teacher, but when he is in a group setting, he uses a lot of French.

S5 uses English only during oral interactions with the teacher and she also uses English when asking the teacher a question.

S6 said that he spoke both languages equally in class, but from my observations, he used more English. There was no group work during my observation, which is perhaps why he used more English, since he was mainly interacting with the teacher. His answers were in English, but were either one-word or short answers.

S7 said that he is bilingual and he spoke about half English and half French in class, because it depended on whom he spoke to. During my observation, he mostly used English, because most of his interactions were with the teacher.

There was an instance during observation when S8 had to say a sentence in English at her teacher’s (Teacher A) request. S8 reacted negatively at first, but ended up producing a strained English sentence. S8 also sometimes gives simple one-word responses in English, because she feels confident about her knowledge of those words and her pronunciation. In the post-observation interview, S8 also mentions saying, “Yes” and “Thank you” to the teacher. She said she used those words because she knew them and was sure of their

meaning. “They have been memorized”, she said. She also said that she is more confident when using French and she is “not afraid of making mistakes” in French. She says she is afraid of speaking English and being judged by her classmates.

In the post-observation interview, S2 said he only answered the teacher in English if the answer was simple and short: “If I have to think about it or search for words, I will just say it in French”. During my observation, the teacher did not make them repeat their questions or answers in English. In the post-observation interview, S1 said that he would have a positive reaction if the teacher refused to answer a question in French and made him repeat it in English. Such an incident did not occur during my observation.

In the end, most of the student participants use English only when the teacher imposes it or is in close proximity.

4.2.6. Language used during oral interaction and evaluation situations

All the student-participants speak English during evaluation activities and sometimes while preparing speaking evaluations in groups and debates.

S1 and S2 said French is the most spoken language in class, and S4 said “Well, it depends; we do speak English during oral evaluations”. The other students in the interview group agreed right away: they all used French in class consistently, unless they were being evaluated. S6 only speaks English for evaluation purposes as well.

All the student participants I observed used English when preparing for an oral evaluation. Even when working in groups they announced what they were going to say in English and

repeated it in English. There was some use of French from S4, especially when he was negotiating meaning or sentence structure with his teammates: “Tu devrais dire *I think that*, pas l’autre”.

S8 could only give one example of her spoken English: reading English sentences in class. “I read the sentences in English and then translate them into French”. S9 uses English when she has speaking evaluations and she also says that her internal monologue during ESL assignments is in English.

4.2.7. Using English in ESL class

All the student participants reported that they felt they could speak more in English in class than they do now.

In the post-observation individual interview, S1, S3 and S4 said that they could have spoken English during all the instances that they used French. S2 said that he could have sometimes used English instead of French, but he thinks it would have been strange to ask a friend in the class a question in English, because they always interact in French. S2, S3 and S4 all said that if speaking English was enforced in the class, they would use it more.

Those same students also said that if everyone spoke English in the class, they would feel more comfortable speaking English as well. S3 also said she was shy about saying everything in English and she thinks that most students feel this way too.

S7 thinks that the teacher should always speak in English and if a student really does not understand, he could use French. S1 pointed out that even if the teacher spoke more

English, it would not influence his own use of English, because when there is group work, the teacher is not there anymore, so they would switch back to French again. S4 also did not think that exclusive use of English on the teachers' part would change his own use of English. However, S2 thought that if the teacher used more English, he would be tempted to use more English.

In the post-observation interview, S3 also said that it would be a good idea if the teacher demanded English-only in class, although he would have to always make sure they are speaking English and constantly repeat "say that in English!" S4 thought that that approach would make him speak a lot less in class.

S6 and S7 also said that if everyone in class used English, they would use more English as well. The reverse would also apply: "If no one speaks English, then I would not speak English either". S7 also felt pressure to use a lot of French, because all the other students use French: "Why would I use English if everyone else uses French?" Although he is not enthusiastic about his ESL class, S6 said if he had no choice but to use English, he would, because, after all, "it is an English class".

In the post-observation interview, S9 gave an example of a situation from the previous school she attended. When students used French in class, they would get extra homework. "This forced me to speak English," she said. At the moment, in her ESL classroom either language goes, so she chooses the easier one, French.

S2 finished by saying that a lot of Francophone students don't necessarily speak English outside of their ESL classes, but they write exclusively in English on social media websites,

as much to Anglophones as to each other. S1 and S3 truly believe that being forced to speak English in their ESL class would really help them improve their English, because they go to a francophone school and all their interactions are always in French.

4.2.8. The English-only rule in class

When I asked students about their reaction to a possible English-only rule in the class, S2, S3, S5, S6 and S7 said that that would be ok with them. S4 said, “I wouldn’t mind, that’s what the class is for,” and that they should have no choice but to use English. S1 said that that would help them learn and they could use resources to help them find the right words. He realized that at first it would be very difficult and frustrating to only use English, when they have always used French, especially during group work. S2 thinks that if that rule was to be applied, most students would react negatively, but if this were introduced to them from the first day of ESL class, they would agree to it, because they would not have known anything else.

S8 said that she would force herself to follow that rule. “Of course there will be words that I will not know how to say, so I will have to rely on miming what I need. Or I may just say it in French and wait for the teacher to translate it for me into English so that I could reformulate my sentence”. S9 had already been in a situation where there was an English-only rule in the classroom. She said it was difficult and she mostly spoke half English and half French. But both of them agreed that they would work hard and try to stick to English as much as possible if such a rule was introduced in their ESL classroom.

In the post-observation interview, S5 said that she could have used English in all the instances she used French in the class. “But why should I force myself if everyone else in the class is using French?” she said. For her, if it is not demanded or imposed, she will not use English in the class. She believes that she would use more English in the class if she “really, really had to, that it was a rule in the class”. She concludes that she is not going to change her ways and speak English if everyone else in class is still using French regularly. S8 also said that she would use more English if everyone else used English in the classroom. S9 adds: “When we have to speak English only, maybe it’s much more difficult and takes more time, but we learn English faster”.

S7 thinks more English should be used in ESL classes to encourage other students to speak it. He thinks students should be at a higher level of English in secondary school. S5 says that they should be using more English in ESL class. She thinks that all students in secondary 5 should have good communicative skills, because it is their last year of secondary school.

S5 and S7 say they feel ostracized when they only speak English and other kids say things like: “Why are you *only* speaking English?” and “Why are you *so* good at it?”

S9’s final reflection was that it would take a lot of effort for the students to function in an ESL classroom where everything is done in English. She predicted that the students would spend a lot of energy trying to focus on what was going on in the ESL class and have no energy for other classes. S9 also thinks the classes would seem longer and students would lose motivation because a lot of them would not understand anything.

S6 thinks that English is a bit annoying and that they shouldn't speak that much English in ESL class. He would not like the English-only rule, but he would still do it, because he would *have to*.

4.2.9. Final reflections on L1 and L2 use in the ESL classroom

In the end, students did not seem to be opposed to the idea of using more spoken English in the ESL classroom. Language policy issues and political issues did not come up specifically, although I did not initiate discussion on these subjects during either of the interviews. A lot of the students' reasons for using so much French in the ESL classroom had to do with peer pressure and the fact that the teachers let them. The students I interviewed seemed open to the idea of an English-only rule and seemed to understand the importance of learning English.

5. DISCUSSION

1- Role of the L1 from a linguistic point of view

General findings

To start, it is important to note once more that all the participants in the study share the same L1 (French), which may not make it possible to transfer and apply the results to all other classrooms.

A lot of the data collected shows some similarities between the student-participants and the teacher-participants in the ways they use French and English in the ESL classroom in

Quebec. Right away, it is important to note that students and teachers in this study use a significant amount of French in the classroom and that neither teacher is a native speaker of English. This amount of L1 is probably a greater amount than what is prescribed by the Quebec Ministry of Education. What stands out first is how teachers use the L1 to save time and as a translating tool, to make sure that all students understand the task. Both teacher participants and teachers in other classrooms (as reported by the students) consistently translate from English to French and vice-versa.

The **translation** phenomenon has been noted in previous research. For example, in their 2009 study of the amount, purpose and reasons for using the L1 in L2 classrooms, de la Campa and Nassaji also found that translation and giving instructions were the most frequent uses of the L1 by both instructors in their study. In my study, both teachers and students seem to agree on using French to explain tasks, and complicated grammar rules and to help out students who are weaker in English. Teachers A and B also use French when tasks get a little more complicated or for announcements that must be understood by every student in the classroom.

Richards and Rodgers (2001) indicated that presentation of an activity can be done in the L1 if all the students share the L1, but that the rest of the dialogue and negotiation of meaning among the students should be done in the TL (p. 170). In a lot of classrooms I have observed, however, the practice seemed to be the opposite. In the present study, both Teachers A and B explained in the TL English (with perhaps some translation to clarify), but the negotiation of meaning among students in their classrooms, as well as the execution of the task, was usually, if not always, done in the French L1. These results are more

similar to those of Macaro's 1997 study (as cited in Turnbull & Arnett, 2002, p.206) where classroom observation showed that "teachers resorted to the L1 most often to give and clarify instructions for classroom activities, to give feedback to students, for translating, and for checking comprehension"(p. 209). Teacher-participants (Teachers A and B) in the current study and other ESL teachers (as reported by students) definitely used the L1 to **clarify**.

Both teachers (A and B) in the current study also often spoke to **students one-on-one** in the L1. This occurrence, though perhaps not surprising, has not been reported by other studies, which makes it a new finding. Students also used their L1 to ask for clarification questions when addressing the teacher or other students. As Teacher A said, she would prefer to explain the task in the L1 than insist on using the TL and have the students do the task wrong and have to redo it. At the same time, Teacher B had a positive experience with explaining a task to a secondary 3 class entirely in English. This difference may be explained by the fact that students expected Teacher A to use French to explain the task and when she didn't they were upset. "In the L2 classroom, teachers are susceptible to using a lot of L1, because their students expect the L1 to be used" (Taylor, 2002, p. 627). Perhaps Teacher B had more success explaining the task in the TL because the students expected him to say it in the TL, since he was a new teacher they didn't know very well. This indicates that students expect the ESL teacher to speak in English and that teachers who do not are seen as "deviating" from the norm.

Code-switching is a phenomenon that was also present in my observations and classroom reports. Teachers A and B and their students tended to code-switch not only because they

do so naturally (unconsciously), but because some words and expressions must be left in their original form for comprehension reasons or for comprehension checks. Instances like “Donc, *what was* la technologie?” is a way to check for comprehension where the question is in the TL, because students learned the question form in the TL and are familiar with it, but the focal term is in the L1, although in this instance “technologie” and “technology” are very close. This is Teacher A’s way of using the targeted question form in the English TL, but using the French L1 for the term she wants the students to focus on. There were many instances of code-switching in my data, which leads me to believe that both teachers in my study pinpoint specific words or terms that would be easier for students to understand in the L1 than in the TL, although I cannot state that each instance of code-switching is thought out consciously; this is normal in code-switching. The classroom is a fast-paced and hectic place; teachers may not have the opportunity to reflect on each sentence that they produce. A 2010 study concluded that 92% of teachers and 89% of students found code-switching beneficial to foreign language learning (Jingxia, 2010, p.17-18). This is an indication that students and teachers can or even should continue to use both languages (TL and L1) in the classroom, but they should ensure that the switching has a purpose and a goal. From a linguistic perspective, code-switching shows the ability to manipulate two languages as well as flexibility in going from one language to another and keeping the appropriate sentence structure (Jingxia, 2010, p.10). Perhaps, in these instances, using the L1 does not impede or limit the TL output, but shows the students that going from one language to the other is a sign of understanding both languages, not necessarily lacking in one language or the other. (It would be interesting to follow up students’ perceptions of this concept.)

Teachers in this study use the L1 a lot when they **explain grammar** or elaborate specific grammar points. As I observed, any kind of meta-thinking about grammar was done in French on the teachers' and students' parts. As stated in the QEP (Quebec Education Plan): "students draw upon their knowledge of the French language (e.g. grammar and vocabulary) to develop their linguistic competence in English" (Ministère de l'Éducation, Loisir et Sport, 2013). Both teachers in my study found it to be most pertinent to use L1 French during grammar explanations. They thought it was very useful when making comparisons between English and French (because both languages are similar in sentence structure and other grammatical aspects). Both teachers also thought they could not explain grammar without at least sometimes using French. They also code-switched during the explanations to facilitate comprehension as shown in the example "*I ça parle de qui?*" Jingxia (2010) found similar results. In Jingxia's study, teachers of EFL in China code-switch at a significant frequency, mostly to translate words and explain grammar. I believe that the reason for this kind of code-switching is for the teacher to maintain the grammar notions in the TL but have the students reflect about grammar in their L1. During the interviews with Teachers A and B, we all agreed that it is beneficial to use the L1 for the purpose of explaining grammar and we don't really see a way around it, especially since so many notions between English and French are comparable and transferable.

The L1 also comes up as a **classroom management** tool for one of the two teachers in my study. Certainly, due to repetition, most students, if not all, understand sentence chunks like "Do you understand?" and "Pack your things, class is over". Teacher B, who commonly uses French for classroom management, says that it is mostly because of the students being younger and less proficient in English. His classroom management goes beyond "open your

books” and “take out a highlighter”. Since he has to do a lot of disciplining, he uses French, the L1, because he believes that the message will get across better and probably quicker.

From my observations, I can see a distinction between older, more mature students (secondary 3 and higher) and the younger ones (secondary 1 and 2). Students from Teacher A’s secondary 3 class are able to respond to classroom management speech in English. Because of my very small sample of one ESL teacher in a classroom of older and higher-level students, I cannot be sure of this result, but this is consistent with the observations I recorded and my own personal experience. Teacher B said that the only function he would like to keep the L1 for is disciplining the students in the classroom. He thinks it sends a stronger message when the students hear discipline in their L1. This observation brings me to my next point, of differentiating language use between low-level and high-level students.

Lower-level vs. Higher-level students

Undeniably, the two teachers that I observed used the L1 differently depending on the English TL level of their students. A 2012 study by DiCamilla and Anton showed that both higher-level and lower-level students use the L1 in the classroom for social and cognitive functions. For the lower-level students it was found that the “L1 was the primary mediational device for performing the task” (DiCamilla & Anton, 2012, p. 184). In other words, the task was to have an end result in the L2, and the students used the L1 to arrive at that result. The higher-level students in that study used the L2 as the means to arrive at a result in the L2. In the end, both teams completed the task, but they did not use the same language to obtain the same results.

From my classroom observations, I noticed that lower-level students used the L1 with the teacher, during the task, with other students – basically most of the time in ESL class, except when they were being evaluated. The higher-level students tended to interact with the teacher in the TL, but they used the L1 when in groups with lower-level students. During group work, students most often used French to move the task along or to negotiate meaning with other group members. Students in my study definitely used French (L1) to complete a task in groups and to help each other better understand the task. Although some students reportedly challenge others to speak English during task execution, this happens very rarely and never for a very long time.

As Teacher A said, she uses the L1 more with lower-level students, to make sure they at least understand the task. This was similar to an observation from de la Campa and Nassaji (2009), who reported that both of the instructors in their study also believed that the students' low level of TL language skills was a major factor in why they chose to use their L1 in class (p. 753). Clearly, students' English (TL) level is an important factor that influences the teachers' and the students' use of the L1. As reported in my results, a lot of bilingual students and higher-level students used French when working in groups with lower-level students so that the latter were included in the conversation and understood what was happening. In order to maximize the positive aspects of this situation, these same bilingual students can be paired with lower-level students for cross-ability pairing. This can help the classroom teacher, builds confidence in the lower-level students, and gives value to the higher-level students.

Teacher A also insisted that some students address her in English only, if she thought that they were capable of doing so. She did not make the weaker students address her in English, because she is aware of their capabilities. (She based her decisions on observing the students in class and having one-on-one interactions with them.) Teacher A observed that usually the stronger or bilingual students understood and complied with the teacher's demand to speak English when addressing her and she reported that according to her, these students did not think it was "unfair" for them to have to speak English to her.

For Teacher B, his classroom interactions with the students are in French. Although he would like to be able to communicate with the students in English, he does not think it is realistic for his grade-level (Sec.1).

As mentioned above, I did observe instances when the teachers used the L1 almost in a seemingly arbitrary manner, in situations where they used the L1 (French) and then used the TL (English) for the same purpose some time later. My explanation for these happenings is that teachers are not necessarily aware in a classroom of the language that they use every time for every situation. They also sometimes translate only the last sentence of their train of speech. It is difficult to say if they do so on purpose or they do so spontaneously. Do they all reflect on their words before speaking? Is the last part of their sentence the most important part or is it the only part they can remember?

Because a classroom is such a hectic environment, I doubt that ESL teachers are always able to question how effective or ineffective their use of L1 is. Of course "If the teacher overuses the L1 to convey meaningful information, the students have no immediate need to further their understanding in the TL" (Turbull & Arnett, 2002, p.206). This is something

all teachers have to be careful with, but the reality of the situation is very difficult to judge. What is one's "under-use" of the L1, "over-use" of the L1 or "perfect" use of the L1, if there even is such a thing as a perfect use of the L1? Bruhlmann (2012) also noted that "the L1 is often used inconsistently or in unprincipled ways. If the L1 is not used with a good reason, then its use cannot be justified in terms of pedagogy or second language acquisition, as all it is doing is taking away opportunities for the students to use the L2" (p. 65). Based on my observations, it seems that Teacher A sometimes translates too quickly and does not wait long enough between her English and French utterances. It is understandable that in a situation when one addresses the whole class and the class stays silent, the silence may be unsettling. In the post-observation interview, S8 mentioned that she listened to her teacher's utterance in English, but I don't believe that all students do that, which means that Teacher A may be overusing French L1 in certain situations.

Final reflection

The findings of this study lead me to realize that maximizing the use of the L2 in the classroom remains an issue. From what the students mentioned in the study, they wanted to speak more English in the classroom and they would not be opposed to an English-only rule, especially if it was instituted from the first day of classes. Many studies strongly indicate the necessity of using mostly target language with the students. "Students felt that they had learned more by the end of the year because of the teacher's insistence on maximizing his own use of [the TL] in the classroom." (Turbull & Arnett, 2002, p.206). Similarly, Bruhlmann (2012) reports a 1999 study by Turnbull that concluded that on test scores, students who were exposed to the largest TL in their class performed better than

those who were not. In Turnbull 2001a study (as cited in Turbull & Arnett, 2002), it was found that most students felt that it is desirable for a teacher to use the TL, many referring to a belief that immersing oneself in the TL is the most effective way to learn a language. It is safe to say that the students in my study also felt this way and at least theoretically wished for the teacher to maximize his/her TL output in the classroom and impose it on the students. Obviously, students will not regulate their own English output; the teacher has to be vigilant on their part. This demands more energy and dedication from the teacher to act as a monitor of student TL output.

2- Role of the L1 from a political and socio-cultural point of view

Teaching and learning a language is not only about grammar rules, sentence structure, and translating. Along with those aspects come social, cultural and historical factors that we must be aware of as educators in a language classroom. The use of the L1 in class is both pedagogical and social, and is intended by language teachers not only to facilitate L2 learning by helping learners understand the instructions better, but also to create a supportive and enjoyable environment for learning to take place (de la Campa & Nassaji, 2009, p. 755). I think that it is important to talk about environment and the kind of environment that we create as teachers and educators in the ESL classroom. We want our students to have low affective filters and we want them to have an open mind to learning English in Quebec. After conducting this study, I believe that the L1 plays a strong role in building such an environment in our ESL classrooms in Quebec. An ESL teacher in Quebec sometimes only needs to let the students know that he/she speaks the L1 and the students'

affective filters will lower. As teachers, we want our students to enjoy their language class and stay positive when learning and sometimes that requires using the L1 in class. Using the L1 with the students outside the classroom also creates stronger bonds that benefit the student-teacher relationship in the ESL classroom.

In a study focusing on group/pair work for a communicative activity, teachers and students used the L1, as expected, for different purposes. The teacher used the L1 to provide individualized scaffolding assistance to some groups. These findings correspond with those of other studies, e.g.: “L1 was also used in the student and the teacher talks to react on the message of the preceding utterance” (Ghorbani, 2011, p. 1658). “Students used the L1 to create humor and boost the atmosphere of the group” and “not all uses of the L1 need a remedy since they were used in real classroom discourse” (Ghorbani, 2011, p. 1658). What this means is that there is definitely a place for the L1 in the classroom, especially from a social point of view. The L1 does not have to be oppressed in the classroom or always immediately translated into the L2.

In another study, it was found that higher-level students “used L1 remarkably less than beginning-level students” (DiCamilla & Anton, 2012, p. 170). Yet, from my observations in class, even the higher-level and bilingual students still chose to use the L1 almost as much as the lower-level students. I will attempt to explain this phenomenon with references to identity and social factors that are present in the classroom. Students from my study reported using French in order to include weaker students in the conversation. If one student addresses another one in English they said they answer in English, but when the conversation is initiated in French, students continue in that language. As S5, a bilingual

student, explained: "I will not speak English if everyone else in my group speaks French". Lower-level students in my study said that they need to be more confident with the English language before they use it during group work with their peers and even with the teacher. Students face anxieties when using English, because they don't think they are good enough. They also don't think it's natural for them to use English with their friends and peers in the class, which is an indication that students are not being taught enough explicit group work language in English. From my classroom observations, none of the teachers intervened when students used the L1 during group work and none of the students found it unusual to negotiate meaning and move the task along in the L1.

Bruhlmann (2012) says: "it is the L1 that taps into the cognitive processes of the students and helps students to more effectively complete the L2 task, while at the same time validating their social identities" (p. 60). I agree with this quote. From my observations and interviews with the students it is really evident that they use their L1 throughout their ESL class for different purposes, not only to move the task along and complete it, but also because it is their natural medium of communicating with each other.

Students obviously find it easier, faster and more efficient to speak French in communicating with the teacher and other students. In the interviews, students said that they tried to make the effort to speak English in ESL class, but they quickly switched to French. Students seem to fall back on French easily and use it as soon as they don't have the appropriate vocabulary or it becomes difficult to express a more complicated idea. Socially, the students in my study said that if everyone speaks French, the students speak French but if English was enforced and everyone had to speak it, then they would speak English.

Some students made real efforts to use the L2 (English) with each other, but still relied on the L1 (French) when they needed to say a word or an expression they didn't know how to say in English. For example, when I observed S9 in class, she initiated a conversation (about the task) in English with her peers in a group. She seemed to struggle with some words and, with the approval of her peers, I saw her quickly switch to French.

As the students explained, if their use of English is not evaluated or closely monitored or reinforced by the teacher, they don't have a spontaneous reaction of using English with each other. When it comes to students using the L1 in the class, some of the reasons they gave were expected: using French is easier and more natural with French-speaking peers; it saves the students' time; it is the language used during off-task behavior; and it is the language they use to socialize.

The students do not often use English with the teacher either. Some said it is because they don't feel comfortable, some said it is because they don't have to. The teachers, on their part, do not always enforce the use of English when a student is addressing them. For example, sometimes Teacher A would not respond to a question in French, or would insist on English until the students produced an English utterance, but she was not consistent with such insistence, only applying this perhaps when she remembered to or felt she should. On the other hand, insisting on using English-only in the classroom (let alone outside the classroom) could hinder the motivation some students have for learning a new language. Teacher B also thinks that insisting that students address him in English all the time and not responding to them if they use French sends the wrong message. He says that he would be "bringing the students down". He is afraid that the students would feel rejected as learners because they don't use the language that the teacher insists on using.

Their internal motivation may decrease fast, while the teacher tries to motivate them externally to produce more English in the classroom. By insisting on English the teacher may think that he/she is creating an authentic need for communication, but the students may possibly interpret this as devaluing French as a language and since English is considered too difficult anyway, they may give up on learning English altogether.

An interesting theme emerged from students' reasons for using the L1 in the class. They felt that they stood out among their peers when they spontaneously used English in the class. For a lot of the students in my study using English in class greatly depended on their peers and teacher using English. If they realized that they did not have to, or others did not have to, then they felt no obligation to use English in the class. The bilingual students also felt judged by the other students when they spoke English, which made them want to manifest themselves less. With an enforced English-only rule, those bilingual students may be even more resented by other students because of their ease of expressing their needs and ideas, while the rest struggle. That is, students who are better at speaking English and who speak with an Anglophone accent, (versus a Quebecois French accent) may be judged negatively – from a “social” point of view – for their proficiency in English. From my classroom observations throughout my years of teaching ESL in Quebec, I have noticed that other students make comments such as “Why are YOU so good at it? What are you – some kind of Anglophone?” Even if the bilingual students are just as proficient in French as they are in English, they tend to be ostracized by other students because of their accents and ease of expressing themselves in English.

Those particular bilingual or near-bilingual students are able to express themselves easily in English with appropriate vocabulary, intonation and pronunciation and often sound

almost native-like. This is mostly observable when I have one-on-one interactions with the students. As a result of those particular students being resented for their English proficiency by their peers, when the time comes to answer in class or have a discussion as a group or a small group, those same students take on a more Quebecois accent and hesitate a lot more when speaking English. This behavior leads me to think that some students downplay their English-speaking abilities to fit in or not “betray” their Quebecois identity in front of their peers. Perhaps they – or other students – feel that taking on a more Anglophone accent when speaking indicates rejection of their Quebecois identities. It’s as though English writing and reading skills have their place, but when it comes to speaking, a very evident Quebecois accent has to be present. Students seemed to associate a native-like English speech with the attitudes and beliefs of the entire (imagined, monolithic) Anglophone population of Quebec.

These observations lead me to believe that although students say that they are open to speaking English and would like an English-only rule in the class, they are perhaps not completely ready to be asked to have native-like English speech, which makes them feel less like themselves, especially when interacting with their peers and friends. It is still interesting to acknowledge that students are capable and perhaps speak with their full potential to other native-speakers of English (including their teacher), but they have reservations about taking on that persona in a school setting among their friends and classmates.

As a teacher, I always promote bilingualism in the classroom, where I explain the value of both languages. I use the bilingual students and myself in the classroom as examples of the importance of mastering two languages versus only being competent in French OR in

English. I feel as though this approach does not devalue one language over another and it gives worth to the students who cannot or do not want to fake their accents or capabilities in English just to fit in with the rest of the Quebecois students in the classroom. Perhaps the formality of the school setting influences their speech. Would they renounce their Quebecois accents if they were in an English immersion setting (where everyone else had native-like English speech), such as the United States of America or England? Is there so much pressure for the students to fit in with their secondary school peers that they prefer to seem less proficient in English, just to be like the majority of the class?

6. CONCLUSION

The conclusions that can be drawn from my study are particular ones, mostly applicable to the Quebec context when it comes to teaching ESL. Due to language laws in Quebec, the vast majority of students are obliged to attend a French-speaking school, thus making French language the common language in most classrooms. In the present study, all the students' L1 was French. The results might have been different if the participating students were Allophones, who have a different L1 in addition to learned proficiency in French. These results cannot be generalized to all L2 classrooms, because often students and teachers do not all share the same L1 and the TL becomes the language of instruction in the ESL or EFL classroom. Nonetheless, the results can be applicable to a French Second Language class in other Canadian provinces, or any other place where students are learning a second language (not a foreign language) and they all share the L1. As an upside, using French as a common denominator creates a unity in the classroom, helps students

understand tasks better, and accelerates the explanations of complicated concepts. As a downside, even after years of ESL classes, many Francophone students in Quebec have a very low proficiency in English; a contributing factor is surely the extensive use of French in classrooms for all the reasons previously mentioned in the discussion section. It would be very interesting to study the progression of English language learning in Quebec as prescribed by the Quebec Education Plan and the actual outcomes in reading, writing and especially speaking skills that Francophone students have at the end of secondary school (Gordon, 2010).

The results of the present study provide some insight into ESL classrooms in Quebec and the reasons for the amounts of L1 used in these classrooms. The results of the first part of the study (linguistic point of view) are consistent with previous studies where teachers use the L1 primarily to explain grammar, for discipline, sometimes for classroom management, and to clarify tasks. Students use the L1 to ask for explanations, move the task along and negotiate meaning, especially when working in teams. All this is easily done in the L1, because the participants in my study all share the same L1 (French).

For the second part of the study (political and socio-cultural point of view), I found that, as in previous studies (Solhi, 2011; Taskin, 2011), students use the L1 to communicate with each other, and talk about subjects when they are off-task; they use the L1 because it is their natural, go-to language with each other and often with the teacher. But based on my results, the use of the L1 goes beyond this. Students sometimes seem to refuse to speak English even when they have the capabilities of doing so. Some refuse due to their anxiety or lack of confidence when they search for words or try to express ideas. Some feel that they need more exposure time before being able to produce the TL. Another important

theme, that of fear of being ostracized by peers and wanting to fit in, came from a number of students I interviewed.

Although almost all students said they were all ready and had positive attitudes towards having an English-only policy, they did not seem to be completely ready to accept the native-like English accent of their more proficient peers (or themselves) as a goal. According to the Quebec Education Plan (2013), students need to become more fluent, but not necessarily more accurate, or to have a native-like accent, when speaking English. Students should speak English in all classroom situations, with some guidance, but focus on the fluency of their message. In other words, as long as others can understand their speech (even with a heavy accent or hesitations), then they fulfill the criterion of “communicating orally in English”. In accordance with this view, there was no evidence in my study (or any of my experiences) of a teacher being adamant about accurate pronunciation of words or correcting students’ intonations. The only likely situation for this would be when a student’s message is unclear due to a mispronunciation. I believe that ESL teachers in Quebec are sensitive to this issue and would never insist that students adopt native-like English speech as a main or even secondary goal. As ESL teachers in Quebec, we must try to augment the students’ proficiency (vocabulary, word order, verb tenses) in spoken English without imposing a native-like English accent on them and while still valuing the students’ Quebecois identities.

Perhaps my study resulted in more questions and concerns than answers. Hopefully it will make teachers and readers more aware of the fragile and particular situation in Quebec. Perhaps we need deeper and more detailed insights into the question of why students in Quebec come out with such a low level of English even after studying it all throughout

elementary school and secondary school. A bigger sample of students is needed to reinforce, modify, or contradict the findings in the present study. In summary, a significant amount of L1 is present in the Quebec ESL classroom and although the Quebec Education Plan, the ESL teachers (as well as student-teachers), and the students express very sincere desire and need to speak more English in the classroom, they do not seem to be moving towards a drastic change of using mostly English in the classrooms just yet.

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Appendix A

Informed consent form

Dear Parent/Legal Tutor and Student,

November 22, 2012

I am conducting a study to help English Second Language (ESL) teachers better understand how students perceive the use of French language in their ESL classroom. This study is being conducted as part of my thesis research I am presently developing at McGill University, Canada.

I hope to work with your son/daughter as part of this study. For the purposes of the research I would like to ask for your permission to work with your child to collect data. This research will involve a group discussion of about 20-30 minutes. The group will be composed of 3-4 students. I need your permission to audiotape the interview for accuracy. The group discussions will then be transcribed, which means that the audio will be used for transcription only. Only the McGill supervisor and I will listen to the recording. There is a potential dissemination of results, such as in a thesis, related publications or conferences, but the audio will never be publicly presented. In any publication, the name of the school will not be mentioned.

The study will take place at your child's school during class time. The identity of your child will not be mentioned in the final study and the reports of the study. Due to group discussion format, there are limitations in confidentiality, but all student-participants will be instructed to maintain confidentiality of other participants. Interview tapes will be erased after careful transcription and your child's identity will not be associated with the interview transcripts. Any identifiable information will be stored in a safe place separate from the interview data and only I, the principal researcher will have access to this information.

Your child's participation in this study is completely voluntary. They can stop participating at any time. Once I have completed the transcription, your child may no longer withdraw from the study. The data in the transcription will no longer be identifiable and it will not be possible to remove the data of one particular person. I do not see any potential risks or discomfort to your child as a result of participating in this study. The identity of your child will always be kept anonymous in reports resulting in this study. Your child does not have to answer any question if he/she doesn't want to and his/her participation will have no effect on his/her grades.

Thank you for considering this request. I would greatly appreciate your cooperation and support in this study. If you have any questions, please don't hesitate to contact me via e-mail at sophia.moiseeva@mail.mcgill.ca

If you have any questions or concerns regarding your child's rights or welfare as a participant in this research study, please contact the McGill Ethics Officer at 514-396-6831 or lynda.mcneil@mcgill.ca

Thank you for your time

Sophia Moiseeva
M.A. student
Department of Integrated studies in Education
McGill University
3700 McTavish Street
Montreal, QC Canada H3A 1Y2

Dr. Lise Winer
Student Research Supervisor
Department of Integrated studies in Education
(514) 398-5946
lise.winer@mcgill.ca

Please sign and return to me or the homeroom teacher in the provided sealed envelope.

Parent/Legal Tutor

I have read the description of the research project and hereby agree to let my child participate. I am aware that the results will be used for research purposes only, that my child's identity will remain confidential, and that he/she can withdraw any time before the transcripts if he/she wishes.

Name: _____ Signature: _____

Student Assent

I have read the description of the research project and hereby agree to participate. I am aware that the results will be used for research purposes only and that my identity will remain confidential, and that I can withdraw any time before the transcripts if I wish.

Name: _____ Signature: _____

Appendix B

Formulaire de consentement

Chers parent/tuteur et étudiant,

22 Novembre 2012

Je mène actuellement une étude qui cible une exploration plus profonde de l'utilisation du français dans les cours d'anglais langue seconde au secondaire, au Québec. Cette étude fait partie de la recherche sur laquelle je travaille en ce moment dans le cadre de ma maîtrise à l'Université McGill à Montréal.

J'espère travailler avec votre enfant pour réaliser cette recherche. Dans l'optique de cette recherche, je vous demande la permission de travailler avec votre fils/fille pour la collecte des données nécessaires. La présente recherche implique une discussion de groupe de 20-30 minutes. Le groupe sera composé de 3 à 4 élèves. Je poserais des questions sur l'utilisation du français et de l'anglais dans le cours d'anglais langue seconde. Je vous demande la permission d'enregistrer en format audio cette discussion dans le but de la transcrire et avoir le plus de précisions possibles durant l'analyse des résultats. Seules la superviseure et moi-même ferons l'écoute de l'enregistrement audio. Cet enregistrement sera utilisé à des fins de transcription seulement et ne sera jamais présenté publiquement. Les résultats peuvent être présentés publiquement, sous forme de thèse, publication ou congrès, durant lesquels le nom de l'école ne sera jamais mentionné.

L'enregistrement tiendra place à l'école Vanguard, durant un cours de votre enfant. L'identité de votre enfant ne sera jamais mentionnée durant l'étude l'analyse de l'étude ou le rapport associé à l'étude. Étant donné le format d'entrevue de groupe, je ne peux pas garantir la confidentialité. Je demanderai à chaque élève de garder l'information des entrevues confidentielle. Les entrevues enregistrées seront effacées à la suite des transcriptions et le nom de votre enfant ne sera pas associé avec ces transcriptions. Je serai la seule personne qui aura accès aux enregistrements et ils seront placés dans un endroit non accessible publiquement.

La participation de votre enfant est sur une base volontaire. Ils peuvent se retirer du projet en tout temps. Par contre, après la transcription des données les participant(e)s ne sont plus identifiables, il ne sera donc plus possible de se retirer du projet. Je ne prévois rien qui puisse causer un risque ou un inconfort à votre enfant s'il/elle participe à cette étude. L'identité de votre enfant sera toujours anonyme durant la rédaction du rapport final. Votre enfant peut choisir de ne pas répondre à une question s'il/elle le désire et ses résultats scolaires ne seront pas affectés par sa participation au projet.

Merci de prendre en considération ma demande. J'apprécie énormément votre coopération dans cette étude si possible. Si vous avez des questions, n'hésitez pas de m'envoyer toute demande par courriel sophia.moiseeva@mail.mcgill.ca. Si vous avez des questions ou des soucis concernant les droits et le bien-être de votre enfant en tant que participant dans cette étude, s'il vous plaît contactez la directrice du bureau d'éthique de l'Université McGill au 514-396-6831 ou lynda.mcneil@mcgill.ca

Merci de votre temps,

Sophia Moiseeva
Étudiante en maîtrise
Department of Integrated studies in Education
McGill University
3700 McTavish Street
Montreal, QC Canada H3A 1Y2

Dr. Lise Winer
Superviseure de la recherche
Department of Integrated studies in Education
(514) 398-5946
lise.winer@mcgill.ca

S'il vous plaît, signez et retournez à moi ou au titulaire.

Parent/Tuteur

Étudiant

J'ai lu les descriptions du projet de recherche ci présentes et je donne mon accord à mon enfant de participer dans cette étude. Je suis conscient(e) que les résultats de cette étude sont utilisés à des fins de recherche seulement et que l'identité de mon enfant restera confidentielle. Mon enfant peut se retirer à n'importe quel moment avant la transcription s'il/elle le désire.

J'ai lu les descriptions du projet de recherche ci présentes et je donne mon accord pour participer à cette étude. Je suis conscient(e) que les résultats de cette étude sont utilisés à des fins de recherche seulement et que mon identité restera confidentielle. Je peux me retirer de l'étude à n'importe quel moment avant la transcription si je le désire.

Nom: _____ Signature: _____

Nom: _____ Signature: _____

Appendix C

Informed consent form for teacher

Dear Participant,

November 22nd, 2012

I am conducting a study to help English Second Language (ESL) teachers better understand how students perceive the use of French language in their ESL classroom. This study is being conducted as part of my thesis research I am presently developing at McGill University, Canada.

I hope to work with you as part of this study; I would like to ask for your permission to collect data from you in the form of a one-on-one interview with me, the researcher. I hope to get a teacher perspective on using French language in an ESL classroom in Quebec. The interview should not last longer than 30 minutes and will be conducted at a time that is most suitable for you, most likely during your working hours in the week. I also need your permission to audio-tape the interview. The interview will then be transcribed, which means that the audio will be used for transcription only. Only the McGill supervisor and I will listen to the audio recording. There is a potential dissemination of results, such as a thesis, related publications or conferences, but the audio will never be publicly presented.

Every effort will be made to ensure that your confidentiality and privacy is protected. Your name and personal information will be kept confidential. The audio taped interview and the transcript will not have any mention of your name or any other details that can identify you. Your real name will not be disclosed in reports resulting in this study. Interview tapes will be erased after careful transcription.

I do not see any potential risks or discomfort to you as a result of participating in this study. Your participation is entirely voluntary. If you feel uncomfortable with any questions during the interview, you do not have to answer those questions. You will always have the right to withdraw at any time without any penalty or prejudice.

Thank you for considering this request. I would greatly appreciate your cooperation and support in this study. If you have any questions, please don't hesitate to contact me via e-mail at sophia.moiseeva@mail.mcgill.ca

If you have any questions or concerns regarding your rights or welfare as a participant in this research study, please contact the McGill Ethics Officer at 514-396-6831 or lynda.mcneil@mcgill.ca

Thank you for your time

Sophia Moiseeva
M.A. student
Department of Integrated studies in Education
McGill University
3700 McTavish Street
Montreal, QC Canada H3A 1Y2

Dr. Lise Winer
Student Research Supervisor
Department of Integrated studies in Education
(514) 398-5946
lise.winer@mcgill.ca

Consent form

I have read the description of the research project and hereby agree to participate. I am aware that the results will be used for research purposes only, that my identity will remain confidential, and that I can withdraw at any time, if I wish.

Participant's Name: _____ Participant's signature: _____

Appendix D

Informed consent form

Dear Parent/Legal Tutor and Student,

January 8th, 2013

I am conducting a study to help English Second Language (ESL) teachers better understand how students perceive the use of French language in their ESL classroom. This study is being conducted as part of my thesis research I am presently developing at McGill University, Canada.

I hope to work with your son/daughter as part of this study. For the purposes of the research I would like to ask for your permission to work with your child to collect data. This research will involve a class observation followed by a group discussion of about 10-20 minutes. The group will be composed of 3-4 students. I need your permission to observe the student and take notes as well as audiotape the interview for accuracy. The group discussions will then be transcribed, which means that the audio will be used for transcription only. Only the McGill supervisor and I will listen to the recording. There is a potential dissemination of results, such as in a thesis, related publications or conferences, but the audio will never be publicly presented. In any publication, the name of the school will not be mentioned.

The study will take place at your child's school during class time. The identity of your child will not be mentioned in the final study and the reports of the study. Due to group discussion format, there are limitations in confidentiality, but all student-participants will be instructed to maintain confidentiality of other participants. Interview tapes will be erased after careful transcription and your child's identity will not be associated with the interview transcripts. Any identifiable information will be stored in a safe place separate from the interview data and only I, the principal researcher will have access to this information.

Your child's participation in this study is completely voluntary. They can stop participating at any time. Once I have completed the transcription, your child may no longer withdraw from the study. The data in the transcription will no longer be identifiable and it will not be possible to remove the data of one particular person. I do not see any potential risks or discomfort to your child as a result of participating in this study. The identity of your child will always be kept anonymous in reports resulting in this study. Your child does not have to answer any question if he/she doesn't want to and his/her participation will have no effect on his/her grades.

Thank you for considering this request. I would greatly appreciate your cooperation and support in this study. If you have any questions, please don't hesitate to contact me via e-mail at sophia.moiseeva@mail.mcgill.ca

If you have any questions or concerns regarding your child's rights or welfare as a participant in this research study, please contact the McGill Ethics Officer at 514-396-6831 or lynda.mcneil@mcgill.ca

Thank you for your time,

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Dr. Lise Winer
Student Research Supervisor
Department of Integrated studies in Education
(514) 398-5946
lise.winer@mcgill.ca

Please sign and return to me or the homeroom teacher in the provided sealed envelope.

Parent/Legal Tutor

Student Assent

I have read the description of the research project and hereby agree to let my child participate. I am aware that the results will be used for research purposes only, that my child's identity will remain confidential, and that he/she can withdraw any time before the transcripts if he/she wishes.

I have read the description of the research project and hereby agree to participate. I am aware that the results will be used for research purposes only and that my identity will remain confidential, and that I can withdraw any time before the transcripts if I wish.

Name: _____ Signature: _____

Name: _____ Signature: _____

Appendix E

Formulaire de consentement

Chers parent/tuteur et étudiant,

8 Janvier 2013

Je mène actuellement une étude qui cible une exploration plus profonde de l'utilisation du français dans les cours d'anglais langue seconde au secondaire, au Québec. Cette étude fait partie de la recherche sur laquelle je travaille en ce moment dans le cadre de ma maîtrise à l'Université McGill à Montréal.

J'espère travailler avec votre enfant pour réaliser cette recherche. Dans l'optique de cette recherche, je vous demande la permission de travailler avec votre fils/fille pour la collecte des données nécessaires. La présente recherche implique une observation de classe suivie par une discussion de groupe de 10-20 minutes. Le groupe sera composé de 3 à 4 élèves. J'observerais les élèves en classe et ensuite je poserais des questions sur l'utilisation du français et de l'anglais dans le cours d'anglais langue seconde. Je vous demande la permission d'observer l'élève en classe et d'enregistrer en format audio la discussion dans le but de la transcrire et avoir le plus de précisions possibles durant l'analyse des résultats. Seules la superviseure et moi-même ferons l'écoute de l'enregistrement audio. Cet enregistrement sera utilisé à des fins de transcription seulement et ne sera jamais présenté publiquement. Les résultats peuvent être présentés publiquement, sous forme de thèse, publication ou congrès, durant lesquels le nom de l'école ne sera jamais mentionné.

L'enregistrement tiendra place à l'école Vanguard, durant un cours de votre enfant. L'identité de votre enfant ne sera jamais mentionnée durant l'étude l'analyse de l'étude ou le rapport associé à l'étude. Étant donné le format d'entrevue de groupe, je ne peux pas garantir la confidentialité. Je demanderai à chaque élève de garder l'information des entrevues confidentielle. Les entrevues enregistrées seront effacées à la suite des transcriptions et le nom de votre enfant ne sera pas associé avec ces transcriptions. Je serai la seule personne qui aura accès aux enregistrements et ils seront placés dans un endroit non accessible publiquement.

La participation de votre enfant est sur une base volontaire. Ils peuvent se retirer du projet en tout temps. Par contre, après la transcription des données les participant(e)s ne sont plus identifiables, il ne sera donc plus possible de se retirer du projet. Je ne prévois rien qui puisse causer un risque ou un inconfort à votre enfant s'il/elle participe à cette étude. L'identité de votre enfant sera toujours anonyme durant la rédaction du rapport final. Votre enfant peut choisir de ne pas répondre à une question s'il/elle le désire et ses résultats scolaires ne seront pas affectés par sa participation au projet.

Merci de prendre en considération ma demande. J'apprécie énormément votre coopération dans cette étude si possible. Si vous avez des questions, n'hésitez pas de m'envoyer toute demande par courriel sophia.moiseeva@mail.mcgill.ca Si vous avez des questions ou des soucis concernant les droits et le bien-être de votre enfant en tant que participant dans cette étude, s'il vous plaît contactez la directrice du bureau d'éthique de l'Université McGill au 514-396-6831 ou lynda.mcneil@mcgill.ca

Merci de votre temps,

Sophia Moiseeva
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Dr. Lise Winer
Superviseure de la recherche
Department of Integrated studies in Education
(514) 398-5946
lise.winer@mcgill.ca

S'il vous plaît, signez et retournez à moi ou au titulaire.

Parent/Tuteur

J'ai lu les descriptions du projet de recherche ci présentes et je donne mon accord à mon enfant de participer dans cette étude. Je suis conscient(e) que les résultats de cette étude sont utilisés à des fins de recherche seulement et que l'identité de mon enfant restera confidentielle. Mon enfant peut se retirer à n'importe quel moment avant la transcription s'il/elle le désire.

Nom: _____ Signature: _____

Étudiant

J'ai lu les descriptions du projet de recherche ci présentes et je donne mon accord pour participer à cette étude. Je suis conscient(e) que les résultats de cette étude sont utilisés à des fins de recherche seulement et que mon identité restera confidentielle. Je peux me retirer de l'étude à n'importe quel moment avant la transcription si je le désire.

Nom: _____ Signature: _____

Appendix F

Informed consent form for teacher

Dear Participant,

January 8th, 2013

I am conducting a study to help English Second Language (ESL) teachers better understand how students perceive the use of French language in their ESL classroom. This study is being conducted as part of my thesis research I am presently developing at McGill University, Canada.

I hope to work with you as part of this study; I would like to ask for your permission to collect data from you in the form of a one-time classroom observation and a post-observation interview with me, the researcher. I hope to get a teacher perspective on using French language in an ESL classroom in Quebec. The class observation should only last 1 period and interview should not last longer than 20 minutes and will be conducted at a time that is most suitable for you, most likely during your working hours in the week. I also need your permission to audio-tape the interview. The interview will then be transcribed, which means that the audio will be used for transcription only. Only the McGill supervisor and I will listen to the audio recording. There is a potential dissemination of results, such as a thesis, related publications or conferences, but the audio will never be publicly presented.

Every effort will be made to ensure that your confidentiality and privacy is protected. Your name and personal information will be kept confidential. The audio taped interview and the transcript will not have any mention of your name or any other details that can identify you. Your real name will not be disclosed in reports resulting in this study. Interview tapes will be erased after careful transcription.

I do not see any potential risks or discomfort to you as a result of participating in this study. Your participation is entirely voluntary. If you feel uncomfortable with any questions during the interview, you do not have to answer those questions. You will always have the right to withdraw at any time without any penalty or prejudice.

Thank you for considering this request. I would greatly appreciate your cooperation and support in this study. If you have any questions, please don't hesitate to contact me via e-mail at sophia.moiseeva@mail.mcgill.ca

If you have any questions or concerns regarding your rights or welfare as a participant in this research study, please contact the McGill Ethics Officer at 514-396-6831 or lynda.mcneil@mcgill.ca

Thank you for your time

Sophia Moiseeva
M.A. student
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Dr. Lise Winer
Student Research Supervisor
Department of Integrated studies in Education
(514) 398-5946
lise.winer@mcgill.ca

Consent form

I have read the description of the research project and hereby agree to participate. I am aware that the results will be used for research purposes only, that my identity will remain confidential, and that I can withdraw at any time, if I wish.

Participant's Name: _____ Participant's signature: _____

Appendix G

Interview questions for **teacher participants**

Warm-up:

1. How long have you been teaching ESL?
2. What level of ESL do you teach this year?
3. Do you teach any other subjects this year?
4. How would you describe the general level of English of your students?

English class:

1. What spoken language do you *mostly* use in your ESL class?
2. What spoken language do you use to manage the class in?
3. What spoken language do you use to give out directions and assignments?
4. What is the spoken language that students use in the class among each other?
5. What is the spoken language that students use in the class with you?
6. Do you insist on using English language in the class?
7. Do you insist that all students use English language in the class?

French and other language:

1. Are all your students francophone (have French as a first language)?
2. How would you describe your level of French?
3. Do you speak any other languages?
4. Do your students speak languages you don't speak?

French and English:

- 1- How often do you use French in ESL class?
- 2- Can you give some examples of situations when you use French in the class?
- 3- Can you give some examples of situations when you use French outside the class?
- 4- When do students use French in the ESL classroom?
- 5- If a student addresses you in French in ESL class, how do you answer?
- 6- If a student addresses you in French outside the ESL class, how do you answer?
- 7- Do you think it is possible to eliminate the use of French in the classroom?
- 8- Would you like to eliminate the use of French in the classroom?
- 9- What are the benefits and downfalls of insisting on an "English only" rule in an ESL classroom in your opinion?

Concluding questions:

- 1- Do you have anything else you would like to say?
- 2- Is there anything I haven't asked about that you think I should know?
- 3- Do you have any questions for me?

Appendix H

Leading questions for group discussion with **student participants**

Warm-up

- 1- In what grade are you?
- 2- How many years of ESL have you had at school?
- 3- How would you describe your English skills: poor, average or better than average?

ESL class

- 1- How many hours of English do you have per week?
- 2- Do you view your ESL class positively, negatively or are you neutral?
- 3- What do you like about your ESL class?
- 4- What do you dislike about your ESL class?

Language in ESL class

- 1- What language do you usually speak in ESL class?
- 2- What language do you speak to your friends?
- 3- What language do you speak to your teacher?
- 4- What language does the teacher speak in ESL class?
- 5- Do you have speaking evaluations in class?
- 6- What language do you speak in when you work in teams?
- 7- Why do you use that language?
- 8- If you had to talk English only in the ESL class, how would you react?
- 9- If you had to talk in French only in the ESL class, how would you react?
- 10- When do you speak English in ESL class?
- 11- When do you speak French in ESL class?

Concluding questions

- 1- Do you have anything else you would like to say?
- 2- Is there anything I haven't asked about that you think I should know?
- 3- Do you have any questions for me?

Appendix I



Research Ethics Board Office
James Administration Bldg.
845 Sherbrooke Street West, Rm 429
Montreal, QC H3A 0G4

Tel: (514) 398-6831
Fax: (514) 398-4644
Website: www.mcgill.ca/research/researchers/compliance/human/

Research Ethics Board III
Certificate of Ethical Acceptability of Research Involving Humans

REB File #: 153-1012

Project Title: The role of the L1 (French) in an ESL high school classroom in Quebec from linguistic and socio-cultural perspectives

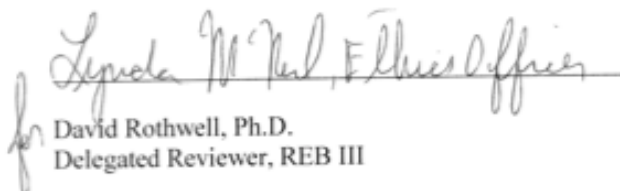
Principal Investigator: Sophia Moiseeva

Department: Integrated Studies in Education

Status: Master's student

Supervisor: Prof. Lise Winer

This project was reviewed by Delegated Review.


David Rothwell, Ph.D.
Delegated Reviewer, REB III

Approval Period: November 16, 2012- November 15, 2013

This project was reviewed and approved in accordance with the requirements of the McGill University Policy on the Ethical Conduct of Research Involving Human Subjects and with the Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct For Research Involving Humans.

-
- * All research involving human participants requires review on an annual basis. A Request for Renewal form should be submitted 2-3 weeks before the above expiry date.
 - * When a project has been completed or terminated a Study Closure form must be submitted.
 - * Should any modification or other unanticipated development occur before the next required review, the REB must be informed and any modification can't be initiated until approval is received.

Appendix J

Jan 22nd, 2013 Jan 22nd, 2013

Sec. 4 Sec. 4 Sec. 4

Observation grid for student-participant

	Student 1	Student 2	Student 3	Student 4
English level	high		average (good for his level of sec. 4)	
Attitude in class	positive		neutral / wig	
Most used spoken language in class	today: Eng. in general:		today: Eng. in general:	
Language used with friends in class			French	
Language used with the teacher in class	English		Eng. Fr. when the teach. addresses him in Fr.	
Language used when speaking with the teacher one on one	Eng		English	
Language used during group work		*no group work	in this class *	
Language used when asking/answering questions (addressing the teacher)	"yep" English. [Teach. seems to rely on him to know the answer.]		English - answer. (reality TV "no professional answer" answer)	"elimination" accent is really accurate but answers are word answers.
Language used when the teacher is close in proximity				
Language used when preparing for an oral evaluation	Fr. pour le released + bas.	/	Fr. /	/
Language used during oral evaluation	Eng. /	/	Eng. /	/

Observation grid for student-participant

Sec. 4 #8

Sec. 4 #9

	Student 1	Student 2	Student 3	Student 4
English level	average +	+	average ↓	(reading)
Attitude in class	neutral / positive		neutral / +	
Most used spoken language in class	Fr		Fr	
Language used with friends in class	Fr.		Fr.	
Language used with the teacher in class	Fr.		Fr.	
Language used when speaking with the teacher one on one	Fr.		Fr.	
Language used during group work	Fr.		Fr.	
Language used when asking / answering questions (addressing the teacher)	Fr. because the teacher asks in Fr. (?)		Fr.	
Language used when the teacher is close in proximity	Fr.		Fr.	
Language used when preparing for an oral evaluation	Eng.		Eng.	
Language used during oral evaluation	Eng.		Eng.	

la plupart des élèves s'adressent en Fr.

Observation grid for student-participant

	Student 1	Student 2	Student 3	Student 4
English level	average ++		average +	
Attitude in class	positive		neutral	
Most used spoken language in class	Fr.		Fr?	
Language used with friends in class	Fr		Fr	
Language used with the teacher in class	Fr.		Fr.	
Language used when speaking with the teacher one on one	Fr.		Fr.	
Language used during group work	Fr.		Fr + Eng. lire la quest. en Ang.	
Language used when asking questions (addressing the teacher)	Fr. "c'est quoi le mot?" "qu'est-ce qu'il faut que je fasse?"		Fr.	
Language used when the teacher is close in proximity	Fr		Fr	
Language used when preparing for an oral evaluation	Engl.		Eng (and a little Fr.)	
Language used during oral evaluation	Engl		Eng	

Jan 15th, 2013
 Observation grid for student-participant

	Sec. 3 Student 1	Sec. 4 Student 2	Sec. 5 Student 3	Sec. 5 Student 4
English level	below average		advanced, maybe	more + +
Attitude in class	neutral		positive	neutral
Most used spoken language in class	French, but doesn't ask for clarification when doesn't understand		French	French
Language used with friends in class	French	les amis de in niveau.	French	French
Language used with the teacher in class	Fr. but is forced to speak in En. answers: Yes	Ça va plus vite mots mémorisés		French "Comment qu'on écrit 16?"
Language used when speaking with the teacher one on one	Fr. but is forced to speak in En. French so-so. Makes a forced En. sentence		French des fois Ang avec un mot Fr. Hav you	French "music?" question of one word opposed to say
Language used during group work	French		French? ask to clarify	French? ask her to clarify
Language used when asking questions (addressing the teacher)	French French		French	French (gives ex. in English) ("ça veut dire quoi?")
Language used when the teacher is close in proximity	French, unless the teacher makes her speak English.		French	French
Language used when preparing for an oral evaluation	n/a was working on a research project		n/a written prod.	n/a Written prod.
Language used during oral evaluation	n/a		n/a	n/a

When you write, do you think in French?

Appendix K

S: ~~when~~ I think it is really the teacher's perception of what level the students are. The younger they are, the less credit they are given.

The use of F. and E. seems to be spontaneous and arbitrary. Some easy sentences are still said in F. Some in E.

Explaining Sentence structure

when managing all class: En.

when managing ind. student: Fr.

intro: in French. Starts to show a Fr.

Sentence. "les règles sont pareils"

when students say a vocab in Fr., recasts in En.

Commence l'explication in Fr., then asks for ex. in En. But most of the meta expl. is done in Fr.

when giving out sheets, uses Fr. to tell students where to place the sheet. "dans le cartable"

when a student is disorganized, asks him Qs in Fr.

Codeswitches a lot in the middle of the sentence,

when st. start working in teams, intervenes in Fr. only to explain or help with the task.

Reads the assignment directives in En. then explains in Fr.

last Cl. Man. was "Give me your notebooks plz" in En. Maybe to make the last impression in En.?

K when students address her in French, answers in English individually explains in English when students are asking Qs. then recasts in French.

Fr: "On met le 'e', on enlève le 'e'"

For students whose level is low, explains in French almost exclusively. If speaks in E. right away translates in F.

When students are a bit stronger, starts in E. but recasts in F. a lot.

Grammar expl.

Codeswitches a lot in the middle of the sentence. "I se parle de Qui?"

Asks Cl. Man. Qs in En. "Can I erase?"

Asks Qs about Grammar in En. to the whole class.

Does a lot of comparisons between Fr. and En. grammar parts like pronouns. So used $\frac{1}{2}$ Fr. and $\frac{1}{2}$ En.

When explaining how to do the task, uses Fr. Meta "Jeey 3^e personne du singulier?" is

in French. "Ça décrit quoi?" All reflections about grammar are done in Fr.

All explanation for new task is done in Fr. "Je veux une phrase non-spécifique".

When compares to Fr. all meta is in Fr.

Fr. and En. use seems arbitrary too. Sometimes says "Qui peut me donner une phrase?" and then "Who can give me a sentence?" "I want a sentence w/ a verb".

If asks a Qs, repeats in Fr. as well.

Observation grid for teacher-participant

	Sec.1 Teacher B	Sec.2 Teacher A
Overall language used in class	F.	En, 50% - 45%
Language used during explanation	Half French Translates what he Half English says in French to E.	Start les "question words" Half and half
Language used during clarification	English	French.
Language used during classroom management	French. especially for managing students. "Take out your..." and shows the object.	"Go to 2nd page" in English "Il ya aussi du monde qui écrit?"
Language used when asking students questions as a group		French but translates it in English. French when students don't answer right away.
Language used when asking students questions individually	French, but things like "Do you have a pencil?" "Qu'est-ce que tu veux dire ici?"	The ex. are in English, but the actual question is in French. Starts in English, translates when students don't understand.
Language used when answering students' questions in a group setting	English even if the student asks in French gives ex. in En, but explains in Fr. if it has been a long time that the task started.	English for specific Qs French for general or new Qs
Language used when answering students' questions one on one	French "Dépêche toi à commencer"	English. Re-casts in English also re-casts in French.
Language during task or homework correction		French, unless reading from a sheet in English.
Language during grammar explanation	French	Translates what she says in Eng. into French. More Eng. than the last thing is translated in F.

- intro in English. Telling a student to adjust his uniform = French
 → setting students up for to finish a task they already know.
 → if reading from something written in Eng., reads in E. then re-explains in F.

- reads what's on the paper in English
- She was explaining a grammar task (new task)
- Explains "il y a un 'en' à la fin du mot".
- the grammar rules, the meta piece is taught in French.
- when it's important, switches to French so that everyone understands "craquez à la mine".

1st interview T.A.

h23) extr. strong + weak students
uses 80% for sec 3
uses 90-95% for sec 5

Most used lang. Aims for English
Fr for clarifications

manage: both languages, but uses gestures when uses Fr.

give directions, assignments: Says it in En. but then repeats in French.

lang of students in group work: Fr. Some challenge others to use English
but mostly with the older ones.

lang of students w/you: strong = En weak = Fr.

↳ bilingual and those
who try.

English language use in the classroom is strongly suggested,
but is not forced and not followed up upon, so students
still use Fr.

tries as much as possible
to insist on using Eng in
classroom. "English Sp.
day". Forces the students she
knows have the level of Eng
↳ addresses her in English
doesn't force them but repeats
in Eng.

Overall language: En.

Teacher **A K**

→ if student asks in Fr., she answers in En.

→ management in En.

→ gives out new task in En.
explains in En.

→ student ans. in Fr. Teacher accepts the answer.

→ telling students to stop doing 'inter' in En.

→ re-casts 1 piece of info in Fr.

→ Code-switches when reading examples. "Done, what was la technologie?"

→ "Qu'est-ce que ça veut dire" Eng. sent.

→ explains examples on poster in Fr.

→ "est-ce que tout le monde a compris?" asks clarification Qs in Fr.

Low I w/ student: explains in French.
Reads website in English

Low I meta grammar was done in French

Sometimes makes the students say what they need in English sometimes in Fr.

Appendix L

Interview questions for student - participants.

- 1- Why do you think you used French in this particular situation?
- 2- Why do you think you used English in this particular situation?
- 3- Do you think you would have been able to use English when you used French?
- 4- What would make you use more English in class in this particular situation?
- 5- What would make you use more French in class in this particular situation?
- 6- Overall do you think you used more French or English during your ESL class?
- 7- Overall do you think the teacher used more French or English during your ESL class?
- 8- Do you think you made progress in your learning today?
- 9- Do you think you could have used more English today?
- 10- Do you think you could have used more French today?
- 11- What language do you think will you use in the next classes?
- 12- Did this study change the way you use English and French in your ESL class?
- 13- Is there anything else I should know?
- 14- Do you have any questions for me?
- 15- *Quand tu écris, est-ce que tu ~~écrits~~ ^{peux} en Français?*

Interview questions for the teacher - participants.

- 1- Why do you think you used French in this particular situation?
- 2- Why do you think you used English in this particular situation?
- 3- Do you think you would have been able to use English when you used French?
- 4- What would make you use more English in class in this particular situation?
- 5- What would make you use more French in class in this particular situation?
- 6- Overall do you think you used more French or English during your ESL class?
- 7- Overall do you think the students used more French or English during your ESL class?
- 8- Do you think you helped the students ~~made~~ progress in their learning today?
- 9- Do you think you could have used more English today?
- 10- Do you think you could have used more French today?
- 11- What language do you think you will use in the next classes?
- 12- Did this study make you change your outlook on when and how you use French and English in your ESL class?
- 13- Is there anything else I should know?
- 14- Do you have any questions for me?