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The effect of bilingual education on students' first language written discourse: a contrastive Spanish-English study using systemic functional linguistics

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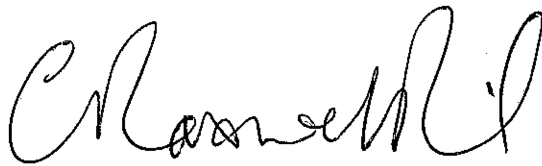
Doctor of Philosophy
The University of Edinburgh
2011

Declaration

I, Corinne Maxwell-Reid, declare that the PhD thesis *The effect of bilingual education on students' first language written discourse: a contrastive Spanish-English study using systemic functional linguistics* is my own work, and has not been previously submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.



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The effect of bilingual education on students' first language written discourse: a contrastive Spanish-English study using systemic functional linguistics

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List of symbols

//	clause boundary
[[ ]]	embedded clause
<< >>	enclosed clause, i.e. a clause which interrupts another clause
^	order: the element to the left of the symbol precedes the element to the right

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Abstract

This thesis investigates whether studying through English has an effect on the written texts secondary school students produce in their first language, Spanish. Research in bilingual education has tended to focus on students' language proficiency and academic achievement as opposed to investigating differences in discourse norms. However, an increased awareness of the role of discourse in language use and the culturally-specific nature of discourse, along with a growing concern over the dominance of the English language in Europe and elsewhere, have widened the range of questions identified as requiring investigation in bilingual education. Popular understanding suggests that English speakers make different choices from Spanish speakers in particular rhetorical situations. Although research into these contrasts can be problematic, there is support for the existence of cultural preference in the selection of options, and specific areas of similarity and difference between Spanish and English discourse have been suggested. This study then looks at one group of secondary three (3º E.S.O.) Spanish students studying through English on a Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) programme in Spain, and compares two sets of argumentative texts written in Spanish by the CLIL students with equivalent texts written by non-CLIL students in the same school. Forty-eight texts are examined in total, and the comparison draws on previous research into discourse differences between Spanish and English texts from contrastive rhetoric, systemic functional linguistics (SFL), and other fields, using tools from SFL for the textual analysis. Areas of analysis include use of clause complexes, multiple Theme and thematic progression, and also genre structure and text organisation strategies for argumentative writing. The main contrasts are found to be in length of t-units, use of simplexes versus complexes, use of multiple Theme, and some issues of text structure. These differences largely correspond to contrasts found in studies comparing written Spanish and written English text, with the CLIL students' texts showing features more commonly associated with English writing. Additional data from analysis of the geography textbooks used by the CLIL and non-CLIL students, questionnaires administered to these students, and interviews with their teachers are also used to explore the possible CLIL effect on the students' written text. The study discusses how discourse conventions associated with English text in contrast with Spanish text may have influenced the Spanish writing of the CLIL students, considering possibilities including the effect of direct and indirect teaching, and the more general impact of the CLIL programme. Also explored is the question of whether this possible influence of English on Spanish language use is a matter for concern or not, with increased work on language and discourse awareness suggested as a potential response. Methodological issues raised through the study relating to aspects of text analysis and of data collection are also addressed.

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Aim of the study

This study investigates the effect of bilingual education on students' first language written discourse. It looks at secondary students in Spain who are studying partially through English on a Content and Language Integrated Curriculum (CLIL) programme, and considers whether the change in the language of schooling affects the students' written discourse in their first language, Spanish.

This introduction to the study will first locate CLIL within bilingual education more broadly, and then consider English language education in the context of the dominant role of English in the world, and the differing views of that role. It will introduce major bodies of work contrasting written discourse across languages, and briefly highlight issues involved in methodological decisions.

1.2 Bilingual education and CLIL

The following brief overview will place CLIL within the history of bilingual education, and introduce the main areas of research in the field to date. Experiencing education through a foreign or second language is not a new or restricted phenomenon, but rather a tradition that is many thousands of years old, and that has occurred in many different forms and parts of the world (Baker 2001; Baetens Beardsmore 2008, 2009; Coyle 2007). The varying forms that bilingual education takes around the world reflect differences in terms of what the educational programme is designed to achieve (purpose), how it is organised (means or design features), and other contextual variations. In these terms European CLIL is designed to add to the number of languages the students speak, and takes place in a context where the target language is not the

language of the wider community; means and design features vary across countries, but a unifying feature is the focus on the integration of language and content or academic discipline (Coyle, Hood and Marsh 2010). Thus CLIL has points in common with other programmes and approaches to bilingual education, but also has distinctive aspects. For example, CLIL differs from bilingual education designed for immigrant students in the United States in that this American example has the language of the wider community (English) as the target language, and focuses, traditionally at least, on developing the target language so that it can be used for schooling exclusively (Baker 2001). French immersion programmes in Canada share some points with European CLIL: like CLIL their aim is to add to the students' languages rather than substitute one language for another, but the integration of language and other school subjects has not been given the same emphasis, and, as in the US situation described above, they have a community language as their target (Barwell 2005; Coyle, Hood and Marsh 2010; Lyster 2007), which is generally not the case for European CLIL (Eurydice network 2008).

Within Europe, differences also exist in the experience of bilingual education in general and CLIL in particular. Earlier examples of bilingual education tended to be restricted to privileged members of society (Baetens Beardsmore 1995, 2009; Carder 1995; Duff 1991). An exception to this pattern was the schooling in multilingual communities, such as Catalunya (Vila 2005) and the Basque Country (Lasagabaster 2000), where the languages involved were those of the community at regional (Catalan or Basque) and at national (Spanish) level. The promotion of CLIL programmes more widely across Europe stems from work within European Union institutions in the 1990s (Baetens Beardsmore 2009; Coyle, Hood and Marsh 2010), and, while this was not the original intention, has tended to favour English as the target language (Eurydice network 2008). CLIL programmes are now found in most European countries, although not to an equal degree (Eurydice network 2008). Thus whereas bilingual education in Spain was largely restricted to multilingual regions or private education, it can now be found within state education across the country through various models and programmes (Fernández Fontecha 2009; Miranda García 2009), if to varying extents and still for a minority of

students. Such differences of implementation also apply in Europe more generally, with variation in the proportion of the population with access to CLIL, the amount of CLIL learning relative to non-CLIL learning, and whether CLIL is implemented at school level or only for some groups of students within the school (Coyle, Hood and Marsh 2010; CLILcompendium 2001; Eurydice network 2008; Lyster 2007). A final, and key, variation is in the approach to language development: while an explicit focus on language within bilingual education has also been discussed for other contexts such as Canadian immersion (Coyle 2007; Genesee 1994; Mohan 1986), the issue is central to CLIL, with its emphasis on the integration of language and content. However, this integration is worked out in a range of ways, with variation in the degree, manner and timing of language work (Coyle Hood and Marsh 2010).

Thus, while non-European contexts and programmes are of interest, European CLIL presents specific combinations of factors which therefore raise specific questions for research. Research into bilingual education has been divided into three stages (Baetens Beardsmore 2009; Gajo and Serra 2002), with early studies focusing on attainment in the three areas of first language, second language and subject knowledge; work on the student's first language has focused on proficiency as opposed to other aspects such as possible divergence from societal norms. In all three areas of attainment, and in a range of contexts, the findings have been generally positive. Indeed, Coyle (2007) reports the demonstrated benefits of CLIL as also including improved L1 literacy, and Baetens Beardsmore (2008) describes the advantages of multilingualism in terms of cognition and creativity. Research into student attainment, particularly of the target language, continues (Ruiz de Zarobe and Jiménez Catalán 2009a), as does work on the interface of language with content subjects (Dalton-Puffer 2007; Lyster 2007). Studies of CLIL do not only consider student achievement however. Barwell (2005) divides research into four themes or dimensions: policy and curriculum, institutional, classroom interaction, and theoretical-methodological dimension. Under this last category Barwell (2005) mentions Mohan's (1986) work on knowledge frameworks, which considers the teaching of subject knowledge to include work on the genres used by that subject. The

work on “structures of knowledge” (Mohan 1986: 28) emphasises variation in language use between school disciplines, but variation between languages in the construction of this discipline knowledge is not addressed, nor is the possibility of the norms of one language affecting students’ use of their other language.

CLIL is still relatively new, and it is widely acknowledged that a range of areas require investigation, in order to add to what Ruiz de Zarobe and Jiménez Catalán (2009b: xii) describe as the current scarcity of “linguistic insight” into European CLIL. Areas that have been identified as requiring such attention include the contrast of CLIL and non-CLIL students (Fernández Fontecha 2009), the possible dominance of English language (Coyle 2007), and a number of aspects loosely grouped under the role of culture (Coyle 2007). One concern that connects these last two points is whether CLIL brings with it a potential for the influence of the target language on the students’ first language/s (Coyle, Hood and Marsh 2010; Marsh 2002) since, as mentioned above, this target language is usually English (Eurydice network 2008). This concern will be further examined in relation to the role of English in the following section.

1.3 Globalisation and English

Concern at the increasingly dominant role of English has been discussed specifically in terms of Europe (Alcón Soler 2007; Dendrinos 2002; Phillipson 2003), and more generally (Maurais 2003; Pennycook 2007; Phillipson 1992; Siguan 2005; Sontag 2003; Swales 1997). The close relationship of English to the phenomenon and the processes of globalisation receives general agreement (Alcón Soler 2007; Bernárdez 2008; Dendrinos 2002; Sontag 2003), although it has been pointed out that the relationship has been simplified and does not present a homogenous worldwide effect (Blommaert 2010; Coupland 2003). Attitudes towards the spread of English are less consistent, and a number of frameworks have been developed to explore the different positions, most notably the contrasting views of *homogenisation* and *hybridisation* (Alcón Soler 2007; Canagarajah

1999, 2002a; Pennycook 2007; Singh and Doherty 2004). Homogenisation sees the increased use of English as a negative development with unfortunate consequences for linguistic and cultural diversity (Bernárdez 2008; Siguan 2005), while hybridisation focuses, to a greater or lesser extent, on the opportunities for creative use of language that globalisation and the spread of English may bring. The World Englishes perspective in particular has discussed these processes of hybridization in terms of *nativisation*, where English is altered in its use for local purposes, and, less frequently, *Englishisation*, where it is the local language which is altered (Bolton 2006; Kachru 1987). The World Englishes work is oriented towards literary use of language (Kachru 1987), and otherwise tends to focus on lexical, and, to a lesser extent lexico-grammatical, issues (Baumgardner 2005), rather than operating at text level. A further limitation of much of the World Englishes and other hybridisation work such as English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) is their tendency to visualise languages as fixed entities, rather than recognising that boundaries between what we know as separate languages are more politically than linguistically determined (Bernárdez 2008; Brumfit 2006; Dendrinos 2002; Joseph 2004; Risager 2006), and that influence does not operate between languages in a uni-directional, orderly manner, but in more complex ways (Dendrinos 2002; Holliday 1999; Pennycook 2007; Zamel 1997).

Connected to this distinction in the view of languages and cross-language influence as, on the one hand, discrete entities acting on each other, and, on the other hand, a more complex flow, are differences in the understandings of the relationship between language/s and culture/s: both issues demonstrate divergence along essentialist-relativist lines. The language-culture relationship is a much disputed area, and cannot be given an in-depth treatment in the context of this thesis. However, understandings of this relationship do require some consideration as they may help to explain the considerable disquiet that many feel at the spread of English, including its use in CLIL programmes. Those working in the application of linguistics to real world language use, issues and problems tend to see language and culture as linked to varying degrees. Thus Coyle (2007: 550) describes language as “culture-bound” and others use Agar’s term “languaculture” (Agar 1994, cited in Lantolf 2006; Risager 2006) to indicate the strength

of the bond, although Risager (2006) restricts the application of the term. The difficulty that some, mainly from more formal or autonomous linguistics, have with this language-culture connection is most easily explained with reference to the work in this area that has attracted the most attention, the so-called Sapir-Whorf hypothesis. Alternatively interpreted as linguistic determinism or linguistic relativity, the work of Benjamin Whorf (Whorf 1956) has been accused of suggesting that understanding between peoples with different languages is not possible, and even of encouraging racism (Cameron 1999; Kramsch 1998). However, as Cameron has pointed out, to some extent these positions stem from the creation of a "straw Whorf" (Cameron 1999: 153); the underlying distaste for even the more mild linguistic relativity probably has more to do with the essentialist orientation of dominant, autonomous linguistics: "Orthodox linguists today are committed to a strong universalist position" (Cameron 1999: 155). The resultant and extended furore over a linguistic determinism that may or may not have been intended over half a century ago has made it difficult until very recently, and in some circles still unacceptable, to discuss the relationship of language, culture and thought (Pennycook 1994a). However, outside of the orthodoxy described by Cameron (1999), the issue of linguistic relativity has been revisited more favourably (Gumperz and Levinson 1996; Thorne 2000), and an essentialist interpretation is disparaged, although often unintentially employed (Joseph 2004; Holliday 1999; Risager 2006). Language, including a language used as a lingua franca, "is always a bearer of culture" and "never neutral in terms of languaculture" (Risager 2006: 134). Hence the unease at the spread of English: as it is used increasingly across Europe for schooling (Eurydice network 2008), higher education (Graddol 2006; Dafouz and Núñez 2009), academic work (Bernárdez 2008; Canagarajah 2002a; Dendrinos 2002; Phillipson 2003), and in EU organisations (Dendrinos 2002; Phillipson 2003), there is growing concern that it may lead to a more monocultural community (Alcón Soler 2007; Bernárdez 2008; Dendrinos 2002; Siguan 2005). The role of schooling in this potential process is seen as particularly important, as in school children simultaneously learn language and learn through language, making it a key site for the development of their languaculture (Christie 2002; Lantolf 2006; Halliday 1978; Halliday and Hasan 1985; Risager 2006).

These concerns over the growth in the use of English therefore need to be investigated. As was mentioned above in the discussion of research into CLIL, issues of culture have not tended to be addressed by studies of bilingual education in Europe (Coyle 2007). Thus, while first language *proficiency* is a common focus of bilingual education research, the effect on students' use of their first language in terms of following or deviating from cultural or societal norms has been neglected. The following section will introduce the perspectives on language required in order to address this currently overlooked area.

1.4 Language, language contact and discourse

The influence of one language on another has tended to be investigated in phonological, lexical or syntactic terms (Cook 2003; Jarvis and Pavlenko 2007). However, these aspects are not considered the "heart" (House 2003: 563) of a language, a role House ascribes instead to discourse. Sherzer (1987: 296) similarly indicates the importance of discourse, describing it as the "nexus" of language and culture. This central role for discourse can be explained by the fact that it is as text, rather than as sentences or words for example, that we use language to achieve our aims (Dalton Puffer 2007; Halliday and Hasan 1985). Thus texts are the most appropriate focus for an investigation into the effect of one language on another. While this aspect of language contact or crosslinguistic influence has been less studied, it is recognised as important or relevant in overviews of the field (Clyne 2003; Jarvis and Pavlenko 2007; Siguan 2001a). The few works that do discuss the possible influence of one language's discourse norms on those of another language frequently use examples from translation, and provide inconsistent findings. Phillipson (2003) describes EU translators transferring the sentence structure and rhetorical structures of the source language (in his example French) to other languages, but House (2003) does not find English influences in the discourse norms of German translation and parallel texts. Also less-studied, but receiving more attention recently, is the effect of the second language on the first, as opposed to the opposite direction of influence (Arcay

Hands and Cossé 2004; Cook 2003; Jarvis and Pavlenko 2003). This "reverse transfer" is highlighted along with discourse issues as two areas of crosslinguistic influence particularly requiring further research (Jarvis and Pavlenko 2003: 233).

1.4.1 Discourse analysis

Discourse analysis is a relatively new branch of linguistics, and one that is interpreted in differing ways, with, for example, greater emphasis placed alternatively on social context and action, or on linguistic issues (Bhatia, Flowerdew and Jones 2008). Some of these differences relate to the purpose of study, as discourse analysis is a tool for many fields of the social sciences as well as within linguistics itself. However, common to most working with discourse is an understanding of it as entailing language beyond the sentence, as described above, and also language used for some purpose (Brown and Yule 1983; Fuentes Rodríguez 1996; Halliday and Hasan 1985; Loureda Lamas 2003; Sherzer 1987). The more linguistically explicit approaches to discourse analysis include Prague School and related work, for example Daneš (1974), linguists originally associated with Birmingham University (Coulthard 1994; Hoey 1983; McCarthy 1991; Sinclair 2004), other functional linguists, particularly those working within systemic functional linguistics (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004; Martin 1992), and corpus linguistics (Biber 2001). One area of discourse analysis that is closely identified with systemic functional linguistics (SFL), and also work in English for Academic Purposes (EAP) such as Swales (1990), is genre analysis. Genre analysis from an SFL perspective looks at the key genres or text types that are used in schooling, discussing them in terms of social purpose, text structure and linguistic features (Martin and Rose 2008; Schleppegrell 2004). Different genres, such as narratives, procedures or expositions, use language in distinct ways to create texts to achieve their purposes (Martin and Rose 2008); these discourse conventions are to a large extent learnt through schooling (Clyne 1994; Halliday 1978; Mohan 1986), and the conventions may vary between cultures and countries. In order to investigate the influence of one language on another through schooling in that language, it is thus first necessary to compare the use of genres in those two languages, that is, to

compare the use of text structures and linguistic features used to achieve a certain social purpose (Martin 2001).

1.4.1.1 Contrastive work in discourse

The comparison of written text across cultures has been most notably associated with contrastive rhetoric (CR), as described by Connor (1996), and originating with an infamous article thirty years earlier (Kaplan 1966). Kaplan's article raised strong reactions as it associated languages with ways of thinking, describing English as linear and Chinese as indirect, for example. Kaplan's article seemed to be based largely on subjective and Anglocentric intuitions; from the 1970s, CR work has used more objective tools from discourse/text analysis, but the criticism that it was projecting a homogenous, over-simplified view of languages and language users continued (Atkinson 2004; Canagarajah 2002b; Kachru 1997; Kubota and Lehner 2004, 2005).

More recently, key proponents have changed the way they refer to their field from *Contrastive Rhetoric* to *Intercultural Rhetoric* (Connor 2004; Connor, Nagehout and Rozceyki 2008). This shift further emphasises the desire to move away from the homogenising, generalising effects of earlier CR, and includes a preference for studies of small cultures (Holliday 1999), and for including methodologies other than text analysis (Connor 2004). (A small cultures approach considers the text-producing community, for example an office or a bowling club, as a culture in itself, rather than as representing the larger, often national, culture that was more typically the focus of earlier CR research. As it does not generalise beyond the specific context analysed, this approach does not run the same risks of overgeneralisation as earlier CR; associated drawbacks to this position will be discussed in Chapter Three.) However, criticisms of the field remain: while proponents of Intercultural Rhetoric (IR) avoid the value-laden and Anglocentric judgements of early CR, English, and particularly the teaching of English, still seems central to their work (Connor, Nagehout and Rozceyki 2008). Thus, while the comparison of text across languages may be most closely associated with CR/IR, the field's earlier Anglocentricism

and essentialism, and its continued underlying aim of improving English language teaching, together with its more recent shift of emphasis away from texts, suggests that insights provided by CR/IR as to Spanish-English discourse norms may be limited in their usefulness, and other sources may be required. Each of these options will now be given an initial consideration.

1.4.1.2 Spanish-English contrastive work

As befits its reputation as a sub-section of English for Academic Purposes (Atkinson 2004), CR has probably produced most Spanish-English contrastive work for academic texts such as research articles (Cuenca 2003; Martín Martín 2003; Moreno 1997; Moreno 2004; Moreno and Suárez. 2008; Mur Dueñas 2007; Simpson 2000). Other fields that have been investigated under CR include medical discourse (Salager-Meyer, Alcaraz Ariza and Zambrano 2003), newspaper editorials (Pak and Acevedo 2008), and undergraduate essays (Neff et al. 2004). The writing of school students has also been studied, but generally using American rather than European data (Montaño-Harmon 1991; Reppen and Grabe 1993). Both of these contextual differences, of field/text type and also of geography, make these works of limited relevance to the current focus of interest, secondary school students in Spain (Moreno 2008). However, contrastive work is also carried out outside of the CR/IR umbrella, and Spanish and English text has been compared using resources from other areas of discourse analysis as described above. Thus, systemic functional linguistics (SFL) has been used to compare history textbooks in the two languages (McCabe 2004a, 2004b; McCabe and Alonso Belmonte 2000), also infants' stories (Albentosa Hernández and Moya Guijarro 2002), scheduling dialogues (Taboada 1995; Taboada 2004), and consumer product instructions (Murcia Bielsa and O'Donnell 2002). This body of work displays advantages over much of the CR/IR listed above as it benefits from an underlying theory of language that allows for more objective data analysis, greater comparability between studies, and also the potential to explain features in terms of their role as resources of language, thus reducing the need for "guesswork" that has been attributed to CR/IR (Li 2008: 25). Thus, rather than needing to

go outside the text to find explanations for linguistic features in what can seem a somewhat random, subjective manner, SFL allows such features to be discussed as the *realisation* (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004) of choices within the system network; the particular features of SFL that enable this process are outlined in Chapter Four. However, while SFL has also been used to investigate the writing of students involved in CLIL programmes in Spain (Llinares and Whittaker 2007; Whittaker and Llinares 2009), to date this research has reported on work in English rather than Spanish or a comparison of the two.

1.4.1.3 Text analysis used in previous studies

Looking at previous Spanish-English contrastive studies as a whole, several areas of analysis are used. One common approach is to compare lengths of grammatical and other units, for example measuring words per clause or sentence (Montaño-Harmon 1991; Neff et al. 2004; Reppen and Grabe 1993). Other studies examine the use of a particular feature, such as markers or metatext of varying types (Cuenca 2003; Moreno 2004; Mur Dueñas 2007), use of theme (Taboada 2004; McCabe and Belmonte 2000), or genre structure (Martín Martín 2003). Difficulties involved in the comparison of studies include great methodological variation and occasional lack of clarity in what is being measured or counted. However, results across a range of studies show some consistency in how they describe Spanish-English differences. For example, longer sentences and greater use of subordination are repeatedly found in Spanish text (Neff et al. 2004; Pak and Acevdo 2008; Reppen and Grabe 1993), although subordination is one area that needs further clarification as it can refer to very different types of clause combinations. Other works describing Spanish in contrast to English may be more difficult to unpack as they use descriptive terms such as *concise* to describe characteristics of texts (García Yebra 1984). For these areas it may be necessary to move beyond the somewhat adhoc tools of text analysis most commonly used in CR. However, despite the variations in study design, the consistency of findings in many areas of investigation suggest that Spanish and English writers may tend to make different discourse choices in certain areas.

1.5 Gaps in research to date: a summary

The use of CLIL in primary and secondary schooling has increased dramatically in recent years (Eurydice network 2008), and it is important that more is known about the potential effects of its implementation (Coyle 2007). Thus, areas connected with what can loosely be called languaculture have been identified as in need of research for the still relatively new field of CLIL (Coyle 2007; Marsh 2002). Of particular concern to the wider community is the possibility of CLIL contributing to the growing dominance of English (Marsh 2002), with the associated fear that this spread of English may lead to greater cultural uniformity (Bernárdez 2008; Siguan 2005). The first language use of students on CLIL programmes therefore need to be investigated, not in terms of their language proficiency, as previously, but rather in terms of the discourse norms the students choose to use in their first language. Spain is perhaps a particularly suitable context for this investigation as bilingual education, at least in the monolingual regions, is a more recent development than in some European countries, and also, again unlike many countries of Europe, the major CLIL programmes start in primary school rather than with older students (Halbach 2009): at the time of the data collection for this study, students on one of these major programmes (described below) had been studying through CLIL for almost thirteen years. In order to carry out such an investigation effectively, consideration also has to be given to the methodological tools used, as under-specifying the features to be studied leads to problems in interpreting the findings or relating them to other studies.

1.6 This study

The present study examines the writing of third year students (14 years old) on a CLIL project set up between the British Council and what was then the Spanish Ministry of Education and Science (M.E.C.). The written Spanish of the CLIL programme students is compared with the written Spanish of their non-CLIL counterparts in the same school,

and differences between the two groups are considered in terms of contrasts previously found between English and Spanish written discourse. The CLIL students were following the same curriculum as the non-CLIL students except for English, Social Sciences, and IT, which amount to roughly a third of the curriculum that is taught in English. The tools for analysis of the student texts come mainly from systemic functional linguistics (SFL); SFL was chosen for its strengths as a relatively complete theory of language, enabling linguistic features to be related to each other and thus more easily explained, and also as it prioritises text to a greater extent than comparable approaches (Butler 2005). However, the features to be compared are not informed solely by work from SFL, but by a range of sources including intuitions of users, contrastive work on Spanish and English text and single language studies on Spanish or English. Specific differences were found between the CLIL and non-CLIL texts that aligned with distinctions identified in previous discussions of English and Spanish: the CLIL texts overall had shorter grammatical units, a reduced use of subordination (a term to be clarified below), and also use greater of specific text structures and frameworks. In other areas the findings were less clearly aligned with understandings of English-Spanish contrasts, in particular use of multiple Themes and thematic progression patterns. These issues, along with further sources of data used to explore differences between the students' texts will be introduced in later chapters. It should also be added that this study works with a small number of students and texts, and so the thesis will be exploratory, suggesting possible avenues for future study.

1.6.1 Relevance of the study

This study aims to contribute to the body of knowledge on CLIL in an area that has until now been neglected: the effect of bilingual education on students' first language written discourse. While this is an underresearched area, it addresses concerns that have been acknowledged within the CLIL community as requiring attention (Colye 2007; Marsh 2002), and also expressed within the wider population (Fouché 2008). This area of concern applies not only to CLIL and English language teaching, but also connects to

the wider issue of the role of English in the world, an issue that has produced conflicting responses (Alcón Soler 2007; Canagarajah 1999, 2002a; Singh and Doherty 2004).

1.7 Structure of the thesis

The following chapter will discuss bilingual education and CLIL in particular in greater detail, and will further explore the connections between language and culture, along with the concerns relating to the global spread of English. Chapter Three will then consider the field of discourse analysis, genre studies and contrastive discourse, discussing contributions from contrastive rhetoric (CR) towards the understanding of assumptions as to the differences between Spanish and English discourse; where these contributions prove limited, alternate sources will be included. Chapter Four discusses methodological issues and decisions, focusing on aspects of text analysis raised in Chapter Three, but also including data other than the students' texts. Chapter Five provides the major findings of the study, with the results of the analysis of the students' written Spanish texts and of the other data gathered. Chapter Six will discuss these findings, considering general trends, their relation to previous studies of Spanish-English differences, and possible reasons for any differences between the CLIL and non-CLIL Spanish texts. This will be followed by a discussion of the possible implications of the findings. Chapter Seven provides a brief conclusion to the thesis.

Chapter 2: Bilingual education and the role of English

2.1 Bilingual education and Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL)

The use of one language at home and another for education is neither new nor unusual. Latin was used as the language of education in medieval Europe and beyond (Dalton-Puffer 2007), and, going back further, children in Ancient Rome were educated through Greek to enable them to take advantage of career opportunities in the Roman Empire's Greek-speaking territory (Coyle, Hood and Marsh 2010). Although studying through Latin or Greek tended to be the privilege of a wealthy minority, the use of a non-L1 language for schooling is not uncommon: a UNESCO position paper (2003; cited in Baetens Beardsmore 2008) stated that most learning around the world is *not* carried out through the student's first language. However, the increasing popularity of CLIL in Europe (Coyle 2009) does indicate a change in a part of the world where it has previously been more usual to be educated in the national language (Baker 2001; Dalton-Puffer 2007), although this is not necessarily the home language. This chapter will first locate European CLIL in relation to other forms of bilingual education around the world, and then discuss key research areas and concerns relevant specifically to bilingual education in Europe. One area of concern to be discussed in particular is the role of English in a globalised world, and how its increasing dominance is perceived in Europe.

An "ambiguous, generic term" (Baker 2007: 131), *bilingual education* includes many different types of schooling, including various forms of immersion, content-based instruction, dual language programmes, English/Language Across the Curriculum, English medium of instruction (EMI) and CLIL among many others. Around the world, children are educated in a language other than that of the home for varying reasons; the

vast range of programmes and terms used to describe them – Dalton-Puffer (2007) refers to a list of 40 terms – reflects the many differences between such programmes. These contrasts can be discussed under the areas of purpose, context, and means or format (Baker 2001; Baetens Beardsmore 2009; Coyle 2007). The main purposes and contexts of bilingual education in general will be introduced briefly here before considering in more detail the particular context and format of European CLIL.

The main distinction in terms of purpose is between *subtractive* and *additive* models of bilingual education (Baker 2001). (The relative focus on language and/or subject content could also be seen as related to purpose, but will be discussed below under format and features of CLIL.) Subtractive models do not aim to add to the number of languages the students speak and learn through, but rather to substitute one language for another; their purpose is to assimilate children into mainstream education, operating in the dominant language, as soon as possible. In such a situation, the programme is considered a form of bilingual education by virtue of the fact that it contains bilingual children, not through encouraging bilingualism, which is not its purpose. It is thus seen as a 'weak' form of bilingual education (Baker 2001). Examples of subtractive programmes are typically associated with immigrant communities in the United States, and include various formats such as submersion, or mainstream with pull-out ESL (Baker 2001). These approaches are less relevant to the European situation, and so will not be further considered here.

Subtractive bilingual education contrasts with additive bilingual education, which adds to the languages the students speak and is thus considered 'strong' bilingual education (Baker 2001). The most prominent example is that of Canadian immersion in French-speaking Quebec, where English speakers study the curriculum through French. The Canadian immersion programmes were set up in the 1960s (Genesee 1994) and have since been influential in promoting bilingual education worldwide and combating its previously negative connotations (Baetens Beardsmore 2002; Baker 2001; Marsh 2002; Ruiz de Zarobe and Jiménez Catalán 2009b). An additive model is more relevant to CLIL and to the Spanish Bilingual Project (BP), which aims for competence in both Spanish and

English. However, the goals of Canadian immersion are not identical to those of European CLIL programmes, with differences for example in the level of target language competence achievable, and in the relative balance between receptive and productive language skills (Baetens Beardsmore 2009; Coyle 2007). The Canadian situation is very different from the European, and the experiences from one cannot necessarily be used to inform the other. Thus bilingual education programmes need to be considered not only in terms of their purpose, but also their contextual factors.

Key contextual differences between programmes include the status of the target language in the community and its level of dominance, and the socio-economic standing of the students involved. In terms of language status, Canadian French immersion and the US models for transitioning to English discussed above share one important contrast with the European situation: for both the North American examples the target language is largely the language of the wider society, whereas in the European CLIL context the target language is a foreign one. Other bilingual education contexts where the target language (often English) is a foreign language are ex-colonial countries in Africa and Asia. However, the identification of a language as foreign is becoming less straightforward, if it ever was, (Phillipson 2003; Risager 2006; Spolsky 1999), and bilingual education in Europe is now commonly described as involving additional languages (Marsh 2002), with some using the term to suggest a goal of working language rather than advanced proficiency (Dendrinos 2002). Also in contrast with the Canadian situation, CLIL may take place in situations where more than two languages are involved (Cenoz and Jessner 2000; Eurydice network 2008; Vila 2005). Thus, in comparison with North America, the African and Asian contexts of English medium of instruction (EMI) may seem more similar to Europe including Spain, but the picture is complicated by particular historical and political issues (Haarman 1999; Pennycook 1998; Tung et al. 1997). A further important aspect of context that separates the European situation from both Canadian immersion and many ex-colonial EMI contexts is that the immersion and EMI examples target a privileged sector of society, whereas CLIL is designed to be implemented across the whole population (Baetens Beardsmore 2009; Pennycook 1998; Wolff 2002).

This is not to say that all examples of bilingual education in Europe share the same characteristics, and indeed CLIL was seen as a development away from earlier forms of European bilingual education, as well as being itself implemented in different ways across the continent. Previous bilingual education in Europe, as with other parts of the world as discussed, was available to a more restricted section of society, or regions with specific linguistic conditions. The European Schools (ES) network, established in 1953 (Swan 1996, cited in Baetens Beardsmore 2009), aims for its students to be multilingual and uses different teaching languages in each country including, but not exclusively, English, (Baetens Beardsmore 1995). The ES schools have limited reach however: they are intended mainly for the children of European Union (EU) employees', and while it is possible for local, non EU-employed families to attend ES schools, they then pay fees. The fee-paying International Schools are also clearly highly privileged (Carder 1995). Other, country-specific, examples of earlier EMI schooling are similarly elite in some way, for example Hungarian EMI schools with a selective entrance (Duff 1991). Early examples of bilingual education for a wider population tended to be associated with multilingual countries or border regions (Baetens Beardsmore 2009, Coyle 2007; Fernández Fontecha 2009; Marsh 2002; Vila 2005). Thus CLIL, conceptualised as appropriate for the general population, and for monolingual as well as multilingual communities, represents a new direction for bilingual education in Europe. These innovative aspects of CLIL need some further explanation, which will involve a brief account of the historical context of CLIL, and also a consideration of the particular characteristics of CLIL, including the format or means.

Here, the key stages in the development of CLIL will be briefly outlined, including the reasons for not adopting a bilingual education term already in use; then key features of CLIL will be discussed before turning to a consideration of relevant research.
The shift in the provision of bilingual education in Europe from targeting only a privileged elite to becoming gradually more widely available is closely associated with developments in the institutions of the European Union (Coyle, Hood and Marsh 2010), particularly Council of Europe language policies and the European Commission's

Action Plan for Language Learning (Baetens Beardsmore 2009; Coyle 2007; Pérez-Vidal 2009). Multilingualism, language policy and language education have been an important element of the European project since the 1950s (Coyle, Hood and Marsh 2010; Marsh 2002), and seen as necessary to the establishment of European identity and integration, as well as to individual and societal economic success (Marsh 2002). Developments in language learning were slow however, until the 1990s. While improving the language skills of European citizens had long been a goal, progress using traditional means of foreign language learning had been limited, with restricted curriculum time and shortage of teachers among the central problems. By the late 1980s realisation was growing that in order to increase time for learning language, it would be necessary to combine that learning with other subjects, and in the 1990s a number of initiatives and documents promoted bilingual education in Europe (Marsh 2002; Muñoz 2002). Since then, such promotion of bilingual education has become one of the "major preoccupations" of the European Commission (Baetens Beardsmore 2009: 208). Notably, the 1995 Commission of the European Communities White Paper *Teaching and Learning: Towards the Learning Society* suggested studying subjects through a foreign language, and referred to the European Schools as an example of suitable practice. The proposed learning target was three languages for all European citizens: the mother tongue and two community languages, expressed as MT + 2 (Coyle 2007; Marsh 2002; Pérez-Vidal 2009). The Eurydice network (2008) reports that CLIL is now operating in most European countries, although it is not widespread within each country.

2.1.1 The adoption of the term CLIL

In earlier documents and initiatives the general term of bilingual education was used, but was felt to be inadequate to the European situation largely because of the more multilingual aspirations and context of the European project (Cenoz and Jessner 2000; Pérez-Vidal 2009), but also in mind of assumptions in the general population as to the meaning of bilingual. Bilingual education has been associated with the situation of minority language speakers in the process of being integrated into majority language

schooling (Marsh 2002), thus the weak models of bilingual education that involve bilingual children as discussed above. Literature on bilingualism also tends to emphasise individuals with developed competence in two languages, frequently referred to as "balanced bilingualism" (Baker 2001: 7). Using the term bilingual education for European programmes could therefore lead to children and their parents assuming that students would become bilingual in this popular sense of equally, and highly, competent in each language, an unrealistic goal for a foreign language. For this and other reasons bilingual education was felt to be an unsuitable term for European programmes (Coyle 2007; Marsh 2002). The other influential term that was rejected for Europe was immersion, but this term was too closely associated with the Candadian experience with its contrasting aims and context as discussed above (Coyle 2007). It was also seen as advantageous to choose a new term as it would be free from existing associations and could be used to encourage new approaches to learning and teaching (Coyle 2007; Marsh 2002), benefiting from the lessons learned from Canada and the US (Pérez-Vidal 2009). During the 1980s and 1990s a variety of terms were tried out, with Marsh (2002) listing 33 different names. The umbrella term CLIL/EMILE was adopted in the mid 1990s (Coyle, Hood, Marsh 2010; Marsh 2002), and gradually became the label of choice, although CLIL/EMILE practice takes varying forms across Europe (Baetens Beardsmore 2002; Coyle 2007). EMILE is the acronym for the French *L'enseignement d'une matière intégré à une langue étrangère*, and versions in other European languages also exist, such as the Spanish AICLE (*Aprendizaje Integrado de Contenidos y Lengua Extranjera*) in Muñoz (2002). Although it has been suggested that EMILE represents a further stage of development from CLIL (Gajo and Serra 2002), the English and French acronyms are often used together, and in this discussion the term CLIL will be used alone to refer to European programmes. CLIL has points in common with other bilingual education contexts and approaches, but also has distinct features and requires its own research agenda (Coyle 2007). One striking difference is made explicit in the name: while it has often been pointed out that language and content are intrinsically inseparable (Barwell 2005; Christie and Unsworth 2005; Dalton-Puffer 2007; Mohan 1986), only CLIL specifically emphasises this integration as opposed to presenting one

element as in the service of the other. The CLIL emphasis is in contrast with, for example, Canadian immersion, where language learning is often presented as being of greater concern than the content subjects involved. Thus Lyster's (2007:1) definition of content-based instruction in Canada is "classrooms where subject matter is used at least some of the time as a means for providing second language learners with enriched opportunities for processing and negotiating the target language through content". In contrast, not only the name but a range of definitions for CLIL highlight the balance between content and language. Barwell's (2005: 143) broad definition emphasizes that the teaching of language and content are combined in CLIL: "Language and content integration concerns the teaching and learning of both language and subject areas (e.g. science, mathematics, etc.) in the same classroom, at the same time." Similarly, for Coyle, Hood and Marsh (2010: 1), CLIL is "a dual-focused educational approach in which an additional language is used for the learning and teaching of both content *and* language" (emphasis in original). The same definition is used in Marsh (2009: vii), and elsewhere with minor changes. However, the divide between Canadian immersion and European CLIL is not always so clear in this regard. For example, Canadian immersion has been described in terms approximating those used above for CLIL: Genesee (1994) talks of "second language instruction that is integrated with instruction in academic or other content matter". Conversely, understandings of CLIL which prioritise either language or, more frequently, content do also exist: Baetens Beardsmore (2009: 209) defines CLIL as "an umbrella term that embraces any type of program where a second language is used to teach non-linguistic content-matter", and the definition from Marsh (2009) above had a different emphasis in an earlier form, where the additional language is described as "a medium for the teaching and learning of non-language content" (Marsh 2002: 15, and elsewhere), although later in the same document the dual-focus is emphasised: "language and the subject have a joint curricular role" (Marsh 2002: 58), and are "equally important" (Marsh 2002: 71), in contrast with immersion. Dalton-Puffer (2007: 1) states that CLIL "refers to educational settings where a language other than the students' mother tongue is used as medium of instruction"; she goes on to add that some CLIL programmes emphasise language while others emphasise content, and

that the relationship between the two, or between their respective teachers, is not always an easy one. Furthermore, the divergence in definitions extends to disagreement over whether a programme should even be considered CLIL, or is instead another type of bilingual education such as immersion (British Council 2010), while understandings of the term bilingual also diverge greatly (Baker 2001; Marsh 2002). Defining characteristics that have been suggested as separating CLIL and immersion include the percentage of the curriculum that is conducted through the foreign language, the age of learners, and the language proficiency of the teachers and students involved (British Council 2010; Seikkula-Leino 2007).

2.1.2 Features of bilingual programmes including CLIL

This section will discuss the means or format of CLIL, the third of the contrasting areas commonly used to compare different programmes (Baker 2001; Baetens Beardsmore 2009; Coyle 2007), which considers practical issues involved in carrying out the teaching and learning. There are many different options such as early/late, partial/full immersion, dual-language programme (Baker 2001; Serrano and Howard 2007), as well as those arrangements associated with weak bilingual education as discussed above. This discussion will not deal in detail with all aspects, but focus on those most central to CLIL. Key issues are amount and type of exposure, and age of entering CLIL (CLILcompendium 2001; Marsh 2002), along with the practicalities of integrating language and content. Exposure is generally seen as “the proportion of CLIL learning experienced by a learner in a school year” (CLILcompendium 2001), with low exposure considered as 5-15% of teaching time, medium exposure at 15-50%, and high exposure being over 50% of teaching time (CLIL compendium 2001). While here exposure is described purely in terms of quantity, other aspects of exposure have been discussed, principally how the exposure time is distributed, including issues such as when within the curriculum the CLIL takes place, and whether it is relatively intensive or extensive (Coyle, Hood and Marsh 2010). Also relevant is whether the entire institution is taking part, or whether it is a “dual-track” school (Lyster 2007: 11), seen as less effective, but

more commonly found. The manner of the integration of language and content is obviously central to CLIL, and here key questions are the relative emphasis on form and meaning, including the place of a focus on language and the use of the target language in the CLIL class, as well as methodological issues more generally.

The necessity for active and explicit language development work has long been discussed in relation to Canadian immersion and other contexts of bilingual education (Coyle 2007; Genesee 1994; Mohan 1986); the issue is also relevant to the CLIL experience, and often expressed in terms of relative emphasis on language and content (Coyle 2007). Possibilities for language focus include students receiving language preparation before the CLIL course, within the CLIL, or alongside the CLIL (Coyle, Hood and Marsh 2010). This range of options, with the target language possibly on the curriculum as a subject in itself as well as being used to teach other subjects, seems to distinguish CLIL from some other forms of bilingual education including immersion (Baetens Beardsmore 2009). Indeed, for Baker (2007: 131), the two approaches to learning a target language seem to be mutually exclusive:

> The term 'bilingual education' does not refer to school contexts where an individual is taught a second language, but where that language is used for content teaching.

A range of alternative roles for the target language in CLIL are discussed in Coyle, Hood and Marsh (2010: 15) under the term 'scale', including extensive or partial instruction through the target language, the latter including "bilingual blended instruction" which involves the use of both the target and the students' first language in the class. More generally known as code-switching, the practice includes a version where each language is associated with particular activities within the course, for example students asking for explanations in L1, or the teacher answering questions in L2. This use of languages is termed "translanguaging", defined by Coyle, Hood and Marsh (2010: 16) as "a systematic shift from one language to another for specific reasons".

A more general methodological point is the association of CLIL with a communicative approach to language learning, with its focus on purposeful and contextualised use of language (Coyle, Hood and Marsh 2010; Dalton-Puffer 2007); indeed CLIL has been described as “essentially the natural development of communicative approaches” (Pérez-Vidal 2009: 6). Conversely, Canadian immersion was, at least in its earlier days, associated with teacher-led pedagogy (Cummins 2000). However, while pedagogical innovation is frequently mentioned as central to CLIL (Dafouz and Guerrini 2009; Marsh 2002; Wolff 2002), the degree of innovation involved in various CLIL classes to date is less clear, and methodology remains an area requiring development (Coyle 2007). As such, it will be discussed below under research and research issues.

2.1.3 Research and research issues for CLIL

Much of the research into various forms of bilingual education around the world is relevant to a consideration of European CLIL, although CLIL also has its more specific needs and research questions (Coyle 2007). Discussions of research into bilingual education use a range of categorisations and have varying focuses, but recurring themes can be found, with many overviews considering at least two out of the three areas of attainment; pedagogy and learning; and administrative or social policy issues (Barwell 2006; Coyle and Beardsmore 2007; Genesee 1994; Genesee 2004; Marsh 2002). The discussion here will start by focusing mainly on the first two of these themes, research into attainment and into pedagogy. It will then highlight areas where research still remains to be done, and briefly consider related social concerns.

2.1.3.1 Attainment

The focus on attainment can be subdivided into research examining the effect on first language proficiency, on second or additional language proficiency, and on so-called ‘content’ subjects (Barwell [2005] points out the disadvantages to this term). Gajo and Serra (2002) express these three areas of attainment as questions or problems which they then connect with the second of the main themes being used here, pedagogy. (They also

use a fourth question on socio-psychological appropriacy, which is included below but will not be addressed here). Their original four questions are as following (Gajo and Serra 2002: 75-76):

a) The L1-problem: will L1 develop normally despite an important amount of instruction time being conducted in L2?
b) The L2-problem: will L2 really develop better if an important amount of instruction time is conducted in it?
c) The subject-problem (school knowledge): does L2 complicate the subject learning and 'brake' progress in the curriculum subject?
d) The socio-psychological problem: is bilingual education appropriate for any student profile? Could socio-psychological difficulties be reinforced through bilingual education?

Gajo and Serra (2002), and others following them such as Baetens Beardsmore (2009), divide the response to these questions into three groups or stages of research, with a very loosely chronological organisation. Early studies addressed the questions directly, and thus aimed to discover if bilingual education brought the benefits to second language learning it was designed for, without causing "any 'collateral' damage" (Gajo and Serra 2002: 76) in terms of effect on first language and the rest of the school curriculum. This early research brought generally positive results: for example, Canadian immersion was found to achieve higher levels of second language proficiency, and was not accompanied by detrimental effect on the first language or other school subjects (Genesee 1994). The interest in the effect of bilingual education on the students' first language attainment or proficiency (question a) above) is presented as a question of whether the student has *normal* development (Gajo and Serra 2002). It should be added here that the evaluation of 'normal' seems to focus on proficiency as opposed to variation or not from cultural norms, an issue that will be returned to below. Although this fully positive view of Canadian immersion is perhaps more associated with initial research, a favourable evaluation of various forms of bilingual education in terms of these three areas continues. Thus, for example, Marsh (2002: 11) states that there is no evidence to suggest CLIL would "threaten" students' first language; Baker's (2007: 144) brief overview of evidence from Canadian immersion and United States dual language

schools is that "children learn another language and literacy at no cost to their overall academic achievement nor to their first language skills".

What Gajo and Serra (2002: 76) refer to as "second stage" research looks at second language proficiency in more detail, and finds more uneven success. Thus the Canadian immersion students were found to perform well on tests of reading and listening in their target language French, but less well with writing and speaking French (Genesee 1994), where the influence, particularly grammatical, of their first language English was noticeable (Genesee 1994; Lyster 2007). From such findings grew the interest in integrating content and language, although this interest is seen as initially focusing on the target language: putting "more linguistic knowledge in the non-linguistic curriculum" (Gajo and Serra 2002: 77). In this vein, Coyle, Hood and Marsh (2010) describe a range of research which grew out of the Canadian experience, mainly but not exclusively from the 1980s. The studies discussed, for example Cummins (1981, cited in Coyle, Hood and Marsh 2010) consider the effect on the development of the target language, finding in favour of explicit language instruction in order to achieve accuracy as well fluency. Coyle, Hood and Marsh (2010: 134) point out that the emphasis of much of this research suggests the non-linguistic element of the curriculum is seen as "a mere vehicle for language enhancement" rather than of equal importance.

Finally, in what Gajo and Serra (2002) describe as the third stage of research, question c) is reformulated to reflect a more truly integrated approach, focusing not just on the language learning benefits of bilingual education, but also its possible advantages for learning more generally, thus:

- Is subject matter better learnt through bilingual education?
- What is the impact of bilingual education on subject teaching and learning? (Gajo and Serra 2002: 76)

Gajo and Serra (2002) point out that their three stages do not have clear chronological boundaries, but rather reflect the perspective of the research. Thus recent research into

CLIL in Spain has continued the focus on attainment, in particular the effect of CLIL programs on students' second/foreign language (British Council 2010; Ruiz de Zarobe and Jiménez Catalán 2009a), and the importance of understanding language and content as integrated was being emphasised in the 1980s (Mohan 1986). However, to some extent the original questions above, in particular that bilingual education is not essentially damaging, seem to present an initial priority to be addressed before proceeding to the details of and the benefits beyond language learning (Genesee 1994).

Whether they are considered stage two or stage three approaches, many writers have focused on the importance of integrating language and learning more fully (Coyle, Hood and Marsh 2002; Cummins 2000; Lyster 2007; Marsh 2002; Mohan and Slater 2005; Wolff 2002), and this focus on integration has become identified with European CLIL in particular (Baetens Beardsmore 2009; Marsh 2002). Once the integration of the content and language elements of the curriculum is made a priority, the manner of that integration also needs to be addressed, thus moving the research focus towards a consideration of pedagogy and learning, the second main theme of this discussion of research into bilingual education. The research theme will be discussed in terms of features of an integrated pedagogy, moving then to the general benefits of this integration.

2.1.3.2 Pedagogy

The methodological process of implementing language and content integration

The study of aspects of the process of bilingual education is not new in itself, and indeed much has been written on the relative benefits of early versus late and partial versus total immersion, for example (Baker 2001). However, the interest in bilingual education pedagogy is perhaps more recent. It was pointed out above that Canadian immersion, may have relied on teacher-centred or "transmission-oriented" pedagogy (Cummins 2000), and that in contrast, European CLIL has been associated with communicative language teaching (CLT) approaches (Pérez-Vidal 2009), although Coyle (2007) has suggested that content delivery through transmission methods with little learner

interaction has also been part of some CLIL programmes. Coyle (2007) considers this debate between CLT and transmission-based teaching as highlighting the bias towards language acquisition theories and related pedagogical approaches. She argues for the necessity of a more rounded approach to CLIL pedagogy, and has thus developed the 4Cs Framework, consisting of culture, communication, content and cognition, placing culture at the centre and emphasising the relationships between the four elements:

> The 4Cs Framework focuses on the interrelationship between content (subject matter), communication (language), cognition (learning and thinking) and culture (social awareness of self and 'otherness'). It takes account of 'integration' on different levels: learning (content and cognition), language learning (communication and cultures) and intercultural experiences.
> (Coyle 2007: 555)

Coyle (2007: 550) points out that despite the "culture-bound" nature of language, the role of culture is an underexplored area of CLIL. Specific areas within this view of CLIL that Coyle mentions as important but does not discuss herself include "mother tongue and target language use", "language choice" and "the dominance of English over other languages in CLIL" (Coyle 2007: 558). In a similar vein, Marsh (2002) includes the "impact on first (home/heritage) language and cultural identity" as a key CLIL issue that needs consideration. He also notes that the strongest criticisms of CLIL include concern over the role of English and its possible effect on first or other foreign languages (Marsh 2002), although his opinion is that the domination of English is not a necessary consequence of CLIL.

The benefits of this integrated pedagogy.

While still highlighting the linguistic advantages to CLIL (Coyle 2007; Pérez-Vidal 2009; Wiesemes 2009; Wolff 2002), a range of other benefits are also emphasised. Marsh (2002: 66) states that

> CLIL/EMILE, in some of its best practice, inevitably goes beyond language teaching and learning. It has become an innovative educational approach, which

> is increasingly taking on a distinctive European character, and which carries *methodology as its hallmark*. (emphasis in original)

The benefits ascribed to CLIL include increased learner skills and independence through pedagogical practices associated with CLIL, and also intercultural learning. Coyle (2007) refers to findings from action research showing CLIL capable of delivering a range of educational benefits including study skills such as risk-taking and problem-solving skills, along with learner independence. The learner skills are seen as the result of the particular "learning environment" (Wolff 2002: 48) associated with CLIL, where strategies and techniques such as use of visuals are more likely to be applied than in more traditional teaching, leading to greater learner independence. Pérez-Vidal (2009) also considers the extra care and effort that both teachers and students need to put into CLIL lessons as relevant. Coyle, Hood and Marsh (2010: 165) describe recent research as "linking CLIL with more general learning gains relating to levels of understanding and cognitive skills using higher-order thinking, problem solving and creativity"

Wolff (2002:47) also emphasises "opportunities for intercultural learning". Learning a subject through another language brings a different perspective to that subject (Wolff 2002), particularly if using textbooks produced in another country. Wolff (2002) suggests the use of contrastive analysis as also leading to intercultural understanding, giving the example of studying European history from both a German and a French point of view with textbooks produced in each country. Cummins (2000) would like to see such contrastive analysis taken further and used to develop students' language awareness. He suggests that "language and discourse should become a focus of study" (Cummins 2000), adding that this development would entail change in the current view of curriculum, where the two languages are generally kept separate. (Gajo and Serra [2002] describe a CLIL context in northern Italy where the two languages, Italian and French, are used together, although not with the focus on language use that Cummins [2000] is advocating.)

2.1.4 Research remaining to be done

As has been pointed out above, CLIL operates in a range of different contexts and shows great variation (Coyle 2007). Some particular contexts have been highlighted as requiring more study. For example, within Spain bilingual education has had a longer tradition than in many parts of Europe (Vila 2005), but until the more recent focus on CLIL has tended to concentrate in communities where two languages are spoken, such as Catalunya and the Basque Country, with consequentially more research also done in these areas. Fernández Fontecha (2009) emphasises the need for research into bilingual education in monolingual communities: a newer development, with correspondingly fewer studies, and also for research into differences between CLIL and non-CLIL students.

Coyle (2007) points out that while the emphasis on integrating form and meaning is accepted widely, there may be very different interpretations of what the form/meaning (or language learning and content learning) relationship involves; she suggests that the theoretical underpinnings to views on these relationships need further study.

Some of these areas are starting to be addressed to some extent. Whittaker and Llinares (2009) analyse CLIL students' spoken and written English using tools from SFL; they mention that their study also looks at the language of non-CLIL students, but do not report here on that aspect. Llinares and Whittaker (2007) also compare students' language with textbooks used. However, these studies only consider English, and do not include the comparison with non-CLIL students, reflecting the different purpose of their overall research project from the current study: to support CLIL teaching in Spanish schools (Whittaker and Llinares 2009).

Bringing together the concerns and areas identified for research by two prominent CLIL researchers and developers, Do Coyle and David Marsh, two related threads emerge as requiring further exploration: the role of culture in and between first and additional languages (Coyle 2007; Cummins 2000; Marsh 2002); and the threat of English

dominance and its possible impact on first languages and cultures (Marsh 2002). The following section will explore these related areas, beginning with the connection between language and culture more generally, and then moving on to the implications of English dominance and its possible impact on other languages.

2.2 Language and culture

2.2.1 The controversy

The connection between language and culture has been highlighted as crucial by Coyle (2007), but historically has been controversial. The "culture-bound" nature of language (Coyle 2007: 550) has been most closely associated with the work of Benjamin Whorf and his teacher Edward Sapir, although language and culture had been linked much earlier (Gumperz and Levinson 1996; Joseph 2004; Siguan 2001). Whorf's work has been strongly rejected (Kramsch 1998), and the disapproval felt to extend to any discussion of language, culture and thought (Pennycook 1994a). However, the rejection of Whorfian ideas is not as wholesale as it once was, and the work of Dell Hymes in particular, for example Hymes (1972), has been credited with increasing the acceptability of interest in culturally-specific language use (Halliday and Hasan 1985; Scollon 1997). Work more recently published indicates the rehabilitation or revisiting of these areas, with titles such as *Rethinking linguistic relativity* (Gumperz and Levinson 1996), and also papers by Thorne (2000) and Lantolf (2006). Nevertheless, this more positive approach to the culturally-specific nature of language is by no means universally accepted (Cameron 1999), and thus the dispute will be briefly outlined here.

The argument against Whorf, as expressed for example by Pinker (1995), was that his view of culture-bound language was linguistic determinism, offering no possibility of speakers' understanding the language and thinking of a very different culture, and thus by extension potentially encouraging racism. Those arguing against this interpretation of

Whorf's work argue that he is not suggesting linguistic determinism, but rather linguistic relativity: a speaker's language does not make some thoughts impossible for them, but rather predisposes them towards certain ways of viewing reality (Lantolf 2006). This distinction has also been discussed in terms of a 'weak' rather than 'strong' version of what has been known as Whorf's hypothesis or even the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, although it should be added that Whorf did not (nor Sapir either), explicitly set out such a hypothesis (Cameron 1999; Joseph 2006), but worked from a *principle* of linguistic relativity; the hypothesis has been inferred from his work, particularly one paragraph from a 1940 article in *Technology Review* (Whorf 1956). However, this deterministic/relativist distinction does not resolve the disagreement as even a relativist view of language is at odds with what has been the dominant positivist thread of linguistics for the last half century, with its close ties to cognitive science and orientation towards the study of "a-historical, decontextualised, and disembodied brains" (Thorne 2000: 220).

Whatever the original Whorfian argument was, linguistic relativism is now widely accepted among those working with language from a more meaning or functionally-oriented perspective, even if still not more universally (Bernárdez 2008; Byrnes 2006; Firth and Wagner 1997; Lantolf 2006; Thorne 2000; Halliday and Martin 1993). The view of languages as encouraging different orientations may help explain the alarm felt at the spread of English into cultures and arenas where it was not previously used. The following section will further explore this issue by considering aspects of the connection between language and culture.

2.2.2 The Language-culture connection

The term 'culture' has been used in very different ways, with the popular understanding of the word being associated with aesthetic values, a use of the term sometimes referred to as 'Culture' with a capital (Eagleton 2000; Valdes 1986). An alternative popular understanding of 'culture' is that it refers to national or ethnic groupings, such as

‘Japanese culture’ (Holliday 1999). These are not, or not only, the understandings of culture under consideration here. The culture that Coyle (2007) and Lantolf (2006) and others are referring to, is a much broader concept of social knowledge and behaviour, used in both linguistics and anthropology, and referring to a range of different groupings of individuals (Holliday 1999; Kachru 1995; Sherzer 1987). On a very general level, it can be described as the “shared knowledge” (Kachru 1995: 173) we use in order to operate as a member of a community. This knowledge is a complex system, with meaning and value attached to the myriad alternatives in ways of doing and ways of being. Thus, culture is “symbolic behavior” (Sherzer 1987: 295), consisting of a number of interacting systems of meaning which form an “infinitely complex network of meaning potential” (Halliday 1978: 5). Language is just one of these systems of meaning, along with, for example, music, food and clothing, but it has particular importance as it is used in conjunction with many of the others (Halliday and Hasan 1985). Thus, for example, the full meaning of clothing and fashion depends to some extent on extensive use of categories. Other semantic systems rely less on language for explication, and some, such as mathematics and music or art (Halliday 2003), may even seem to defy commentary. The degree to which language and culture are connected does not have general agreement, however. For Lantolf (2006) the connection is so strong that, following Agar (1994 cited in Lantolf 2006) he wishes to use one term, “languaculture”. The term should not be taken to mean that a one-to-one relationship exists between a language such as English and a homogenous culture however (Bernárdez 2008); many different groupings may seem to be using the same language, but their different purposes, contexts and activities will, for example, use different categorisations, as Goodwin (1994) illustrates using the professional activities of archeological field excavation and legal argumentation. Furthermore, Risager (2006) emphasises the limitations to concepts such as Agar’s languaculture, arguing that language, culture and languaculture should be treated as separate concepts: language and culture can be considered separately when discussing specific instances of language use, and the fact that it is possible to discuss, as above, which semantic systems depend to a greater or lesser degree on language illustrates that culture exists beyond language.

A related aspect of the central position of language in the network of meaning that makes up a culture is its role in learning that culture. Thus, a child is simultaneously learning language and learning through language (Halliday 1978; Halliday 2003), and thus also the role of school, to be discussed below, is crucial. As children learn language they also use that language to make sense of the world around them: it "provides the framework of day-to-day existence" (Halliday 2003:16), and as such cannot be seen as merely accompanying the child's experience of the world, but as taking a more active role in constructing, or construing, the child's world: "the construal of reality is inseparable from the construal of the semantic system in which the reality is encoded" (Halliday 1978: 2). Although language has in this role been described as 'transmitting' culture (Halliday 1978; Sherzer 1987), this is not a one-way process of language to culture; language is also a product of the culture. According to Sherzer, the relevant question is not to investigate whether culture creates language or vice versa - as Bernárdez (2008) points out, it is somewhat akin to the question of the chicken and the egg - but rather to focus on discourse, the "nexus, the actual and concrete expression of the language-culture-society relationship" (Sherzer 1987: 296); the particular role of discourse and ways of investigating its use will be discussed in the following chapter. It is also important to note, in partial response to those concerned over linguistic determinism as discussed above, that the language-culture relationship is not fixed and static. Language is itself a complex system, with development possible along a number of dimensions which, in combination as a network, make the possibilities for expansion of meaning almost endless: "a language is a vast, open-ended system of meaning potential, constantly renewing itself in interaction with its ecosocial environment" (Halliday 2003:25). This creative aspect of language is so central that it is seen as a condition for the survival of a language: "If a language no longer creates new meanings, it will not survive." (Halliday 2006: 26). The semantic change in a language over time which allows for "expansion of the culture" is discussed as *phylogenesis* in Martin (1999: 49) and also in Halliday and Martin (1993).

2.2.3 Language and cultural differences

If language is in some senses culture-bound, then different cultures will use language differently. This argument has been criticised as suggesting that some languages are incapable of expressing certain meanings (Kramsch 1998). However, such an interpretation is not what is generally intended by suggesting a culturally-specific view of language. All languages are seen as having the potential to express the range of human meanings required (Halliday 1989; 2003), but since, for example, languages differ in terms of which meanings are instrinsic to the language, and which are expressed optionally, speakers will be encouraged to pay attention to different aspects of the world around them (Halliday 1978). Research that is often cited in this regard, for example by Lantolf (2006), is the work comparing Spanish and English verbs of movement, for example Slobin (1997): Spanish verbs express directionality, with manner expressed outside the verb, whereas English verbs express manner, with direction expressed separately, this difference seemingly resulting in Spanish and English speakers also focusing their attention differently. The related question for CLIL in Spain is thus whether the new role of English in education could affect students' use of language to the extent that their use of Spanish language is changed, and in Chapter Three aspects of written discourse which have been found to differ between English and Spanish will be discussed as potential areas for such influence. However, it is also important to note that language use is not homogenous throughout a society or nation, and that no speaker uses all of the resources of any language (Blommaert 2010); the full potential of languages for expressing meaning is held by the community, with each individual using "personalized subpotentials" (Matthiessen 2006: 39). The differences between languages is in particular not an argument to support the identification of a language with a nation or state, a "historical, ideological construct" (Woolard and Schiefflin 1994: 60), associated with European (and other) nation-building and colonialism (Dendrinos 2002; Joseph 2004; Risager 2006).

2.2.4 Language and culture at school

A special mention also needs to be made of the role of the school in maintaining the language-culture relationship as discussed earlier, but also this specific construct of the language-nation relationship. It has already been said that it is through language that the child learns the norms of their society. This socialising process takes place in interactions with family and members of the community, particularly peers, and also at school (Christie 2002; Halliday 1978; Halliday and Hasan 1985). At school children are learning to use language for varying purposes with, for example, playtime interactions with peers contrasting with classwork and interactions with teachers and written texts. In classwork, children are expected to use a standardised language in specific ways or genres (Joseph 1987; Martin 1989); in this sense school is not only a unifying force in the development of national identity (Joseph 1987; 2004; Siguan 2005) but also a potentially socially divisive experience when different children conform to a greater or lesser extent to these valued discourses (Martin 1989; Martin and Rose 2008). The particular discourses learnt at school will be discussed in the following chapter.

Thus, if language and culture are connected, and this nexus is developed at school, then a change in the language of schooling could have an effect on the 'languaculture' (Lantolf 2006; Risager 2006). This is the second point from Marsh (2002) and Coyle (2007) mentioned above as requiring investigation, and the concern of many to varying degrees. It will be considered in the following section.

2.3 English dominance, globalisation and the effect on other languages

It is perhaps not surprising to find this concern over the role of English applied to the education of non-English speaking countries, given the historical and ideological role of school language in developing national identity and citizenship (Siguan 2005). Marsh (2002) answers this criticism by saying that CLIL does not necessarily involve English as

the target language. However, in practice, English is overwhelmingly the CLIL or foreign language of choice (Alcón Soler 2007; Dendrinos 2002; Eurydice network 2008), and so the argument that English is dominating Europe needs to be further examined.

The criticisms of CLIL relating to English dominance mentioned by Marsh (2002) are part of a more general discussion on the increased role of English which predates many of the CLIL developments outlined above (Phillipson 1992). The growth of English is not seen as a concern only in Europe, and is often addressed together with globalisation (Alcón Soler 2007; Bernárdez 2008; Coupland 2003; Dafouz and Núñez 2009; Dendrinos 2002; Halliday 2006; Maurais 2003; Nunan 2003; Siguan 2005; Singh and Doherty 2004). Blommaert's (2010: 13) definition of 'globalisation' explicitly includes language as discourse and also culture:

> The term *globalization* is most commonly used as shorthand for the intensified flows of capital, goods, people, images and discourses around the globe, driven by technicological innovations […] and resulting in new patterns of global activity, community organization and culture …

English is frequently associated with this process: "Armed with technological, economic, and political clout, English still draws communities towards greater globalization and homogeneity." (Canagarajah 1999: 209). It should be noted that Spanish is also occasionally discussed in terms of its global role (Mar-Molinero 2000; Mar-Molinero and Stewart 2006), but the discussion still tends to position Spanish as a counterpoint to global English (Mar-Molinero 2006; de Valle 2006).

While the link between English and globalisation is commonly made less agreement can be found on the manner and effect of the link, and on the nature of the new patterns described by Blommaert (2010). This section will briefly introduce some of the commonly cited evidence of the spread of English, and discuss the reactions to and understandings of this spread. The focus here will begin with the European situation, and then broaden out to more general concerns.

The dominance of English globally and in Europe is discussed in terms of the numbers using and learning English, and the areas of life where English is increasingly used, particularly as a medium of instruction in higher education, for academic research, and in public institutions. The Eurobarometer (2005) reports on a survey carried out in 2005 into the use of English and other languages in European countries. It finds that English is increasing its dominance as the most widely used foreign language in Europe, with 34% of European citizens reporting a level of English as a foreign language proficiency that is sufficient to hold a conversation. For Spanish citizens, this figure is reduced to 20%. Thus the use of English in Europe is spreading, and any influence that it has in Spain may well be found in other countries of Europe, perhaps even to a greater extent. In education, English is increasingly taught in European schools, through CLIL and other formats. The Eurydice network (2008) data on language teaching in the schools of Europe shows English is the most commonly taught foreign language in "virtually all" European countries (Eurydice 2008: 12), and that the number of students learning English is on the increase, especially in central and eastern countries, plus the countries of southern Europe with a Latinate language. For many countries the percentage of students learning English in secondary is either close to or over 90 percent. Where students also study a second foreign language, the time spent on that language tends to be less (Eurydice network 2008).

English is not only learnt in primary and secondary school, but also in higher institutions, with increasing numbers teaching degree programmes partially or totally in English. An equivalent to the Eurydice network (2008) data does not exist for the use of foreign languages in tertiary education across Europe, but for example in the academic year 2003-2004, 15,000 Masters programmes in Europe were conducted in English (Graddol 2006). Dafouz and Núñez (2009) describe the situation for CLIL in higher education in Spain: more than thirty tertiary institutions (out of a total of 71) offer bilingual undergraduate degrees, with twenty state universities (out of 48) offering degrees through English. Dafouz and Núñez (2009) add that there seems to be some pressure on Spanish

universities to offer bilingual degrees as they attract higher student numbers in a sector which has falling numbers overall.

Use of English in universities is not only increasing in the classroom, but also in the research work of academics, with the main publications of almost all academic fields appearing in English (Canagarajah 2002a). Bernárdez (2008) and Phillipson (2003) talk of English as becoming the language of science, with articles written in English valued more than those in other languages, while Dendrinos (2002: 243) complains that academia is becoming "unilingual". Furthermore, the role of English in the European Union is growing (Phillipson 2003), and often it is the only working language used (Dendrinos 2002). Phillipson (2003) also states that Spain and France have complained about the dominance of English at the United Nations (UN). Several countries, such as Norway (Fouché 2008), France, Portugal, Hungary and Sweden (Phillipson 2003) have taken measures to reduce the spread of English.

It should perhaps be added here that the growth of English, while not denied, is beginning to be qualified somewhat. Other languages, particularly Mandarin Chinese and Spanish, are also strong and are predicted to grow in strength (Graddol 2006), while in some specific areas such as the internet English dominance has already decreased (Maurais 2003). Despite these developments, the general understanding is that English remains a dominant force. Alcón Soler (2007:27) points to the "virtual absence of a debate" among the wider public as to the status of English as a world language; Graddol (2006: 112) describes the "continuing adoption of English", and Maurais (2003: 20) feels that "the hegemony of English, even if it is diminishing, will continue to be felt for a long time to come". This perceived hegemony continues to disquiet (Bernárdez 2008).

However, the attitudes towards the use of English are complex (Siguan 2005). On the one hand, English is undeniably useful, an asset to those who can speak it (Dendrinos 2002; Halliday 2006; Siguan 2001), and the teaching of English supported even by those who are critical of some of its effects (Canagarajah 1999). Not to teach English is to exclude

people from its benefits, an argument that has been made for English literacy in general, and in particular by those working within genre-based pedagogies or related fields (Martin 1989; Halliday 2006; Schleppegrell 2004), which will be discussed in the next chapter. The benefits of CLIL specifically, including CLIL in Spain, have also been expressed in terms of improved English and its importance (Dafouz and Núñez 2009; Miranda and García 2009). On the other hand, the teaching of English is associated with damaging, or potentially damaging, consequences, an increasingly widespread view. The English Language Teaching (ELT), and particularly English for Academic Purposes (EAP), profession traditionally viewed English and the teaching of English as a neutral, pragmatic activity (Canagarajah 2002a; Pennycook 1997; Phillipson 1992; Swales 1997), partly owing to its roots in the teaching of English to colonized peoples (Canagarajah 2002a; Phillipson 1992). However, while many English teachers and learners may still have a largely pragmatic approach to their teaching and learning (Canagarajah 1999; Pennycook 1997; Singh and Doherty 2004), the neutral status of ELT and associated forms of English are increasingly being questioned, including by those in the English language teaching profession itself (Canagarajan 1999; Rajagopalan 2004; Singh and Doherty 2004; Swales 1997); those connected with genre-based teaching also explicitly contest the view of language as neutral (Martin 1989; Martin 2002; Martin and Rose 2008). While these authors do not specifically address the advance of English through CLIL, the points made regarding ELT would also apply to English through CLIL. The principal part of this discussion will therefore focus on how the effect of English is viewed and interpreted. Positions on the effect of English and globalisation are frequently discussed as the two contrasting rhetorics of *homogenisation* and *hyrbridisation* (Canagarah 1999; 2002a; Pennycook 2007), with some also adding a third view, *polarization* or *resistance* (Alcón Soler 2007; Singh and Doherty 2004; Sontag 2003), and Pennycook (2001) referring to six frameworks for understanding the global role of English. The discussion here will largely focus on homogenisation and hybridisation as the central concepts, as these positions are included in all of the works mentioned.

2.3.1 Homogenisation and linguistic imperialism

The homogenisation view sees the spread of English as resulting in a more homogenised or standardised world. This standardisation is discussed in terms of numbers of people speaking English and using English more widely, and also in that more people take on aspects of culture from English-speaking countries, bringing a "progressive cultural uniformity" (Siguan 2005: 60). Sometimes the homogenistation position is discussed in terms of a centre-periphery dichotomy, with Canagarajah (2002a) positing local culture and language against a generalised Western discourse which includes much of mainland Europe as well as English-speaking Britain and the USA. Elsewhere the focus is more specifically on English (Canagarajah 1999; Pennycook 1998, 2007; Phillipson 1992; 2003), with other European languages also affected by English (Phillipson 2003).

The greater numbers learning English, and the widespread use of English in public and academic life as described above for Europe are interpreted in terms of power structures (Phillipson 1992; Siguan 2005). With the dominant economic, technological and scientific power (along with other areas such as media) located in English-speaking countries, particularly the United States of America (USA), and with English the language of these areas more widely, anyone who wants to reach an international audience or market has to be able to operate in English, and, it is suggested, operate on terms understood by English-speaking power centres (Bernárdez 2008; Modiano 2001). Thus the homogenisation is also presented as *Americanisation*, sometimes referred to as *McDonaldization* or *McWorld* (Blommaert 2010; Singh and Doherty 2004). Another frequently used term is *linguistic imperialism*, as the increasing dominance of English is compared with the earlier colonising activities of imperial powers such as Britain (Canagarajah 1999; Modiano 2001; Phillipson 1992), with perhaps this term emphasising the hegemonic aspects of English dominance to a greater degree than homogenisation. Phillipson's (1992:47) definition of *English linguistic imperialism* is:

> the dominance of English is asserted and maintained by the establishment and continuous reconstitution of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages.

In this regard, Phillipson (2003) and Fouché (2008) talk of a fear of European languages other than English losing status to English and of becoming "second-class" (Phillipson 2003: 79) or taking "second place" (Fouché 2008). The concern over the increasing dominance of English in Europe includes various "structural" (Phillipson 1992:47) issues such as a reduction in the role of other languages (especially for EU business), and the increased prominence of English in school foreign language teaching as discussed above (Dendrinos 2002; Eurydice network 2008). The imagery used around this spread of English is aggressive, with English portrayed as tyrannosaurus rex (Swales 1997), as a Trojan horse (Modiano 2001), as a narcotic (Phillipson 2003), and with "totalitarian tendencies" Canagarajah (1999: 209).

With culture linked to language as discussed above, homogeneity is not only perceived in terms of the spread in the use of English, but also in the increasing dominance of associated language or discourse norms and a range of values, Phillipson's (1992: 47) "cultural inequalities". Thus scientific papers not only have to be written in English, but following English-speaking conventions, interests and approaches (Bernárdez 2008; Siguan 2001), leading to a "monoculture" in scientific discourse (Salager-Meyer, Alcaraz Ariza and Zambrano 2003: 242), and possibly limiting the type of work that is carried out (Siguan 2001). In this way, globalisation is "detraditionalising" (Coupland 2003: 470) as it weakens traditional symbolic forms, including ways of using language (although Coupland [2003] adds that communities may have ways of responding to these challenges of globalisation, as will be discussed under hybridity below).

The value systems of English-speaking countries, again particularly the USA, that are presented as benefitting from linguistic imperialism include consumer capitalism, with its associated dominance of transnational corporations (Dendrinos 2002; Pennycook 1997; Pennycook 2007; Phillipson 1992). More generally, the complaint is of the imposition of values more generally. For example, Bernárdez (2008: 31), while recognising the potential benefits of globalisation in breaking down barriers, adds:

> *Desgraciadamente, en muchas ocasiones no es una ruptura de barreras sino la imposición de unos determinados valores culturales y una determinada lengua, una cierta forma de pensar.*
> [Unfortunately, on many occasions it is not a breaking down of barriers but rather the imposition of particular cultural values and a particular language, a certain way of thinking.]

Modiano (2001: 163) expresses a similar idea as "ideological literacy" and talks of language learners being "ontologically colonized by the ideologies which flourish in the acquired tongue" (Modiano 2001: 162), and Pennycook (1997: 258) argues that English is "deeply bound up with … particular forms of culture and knowledge".

2.3.2 Hybridisation

The alternative view of linguistic hybridity sees the arguments of homogenisation or linguistic imperialism as an oversimplification. Aspects of the homogenisation view that are criticised include the related areas of a too rigid view of culture, a failure to consider alternative outcomes to the global-local or other encounters, and the image presented of those involved as passive subjects of the globalisation process.

A key argument of the hybridity position is that the homogeneity model relies upon an idealised view of culture as a stable, fixed entity. However, as is argued by those supporting the hybridity view, culture is embedded in practices and behaviours of individuals interacting with other individuals to form a group, and so better seen as a process than a product, and as pluralistic not discrete and monolithic (Canagarajah 2002a; Dendrinos 2002).

Holliday (1999) in his discussion of the paradigms of 'small' versus 'large' culture also argues against the cultural imperialism view of a monolithic English culture dominating other discrete cultures to achieve global hegemony. In contrast, his small culture view

sees the paths of influence and change as less coherent and fixed, with local interpretations and reverse traffic as influence moves in many directions at once.

The second and perhaps central point of the hybridity position is that the dominance of a unified discourse is not the only possible result of globalisation, and that here also the homogenisation model is too deterministic (Canagarajah 1999). Language is not just learned to reproduce the knowledges of the status quo, but for the, perhaps subversive, purposes of the user (Kramsch 1993; Pennycook 1998). Siguan (2005) provides support for the argument that globalisation does not necessarily lead to homogenisation by relating the type of technological innovations associated with globalisation to hybridity. He argues that technological developments make communication relatively more important and linguistic accuracy relatively less important; this change in the relative priority given to aspects of language use then makes changes to languages and hybridisation more acceptable. The concept of World Englishes (Kachru and Nelson 1996) is closely associated with this language hybridity, and discussed in terms of *nativization* and *Englishization* (Bolton 2006;). Language hybridity is most often discussed in terms of adapting English to local contexts, or *nativization* (Bolton 2006; Kachru 1987); the alternative process is *Englishization* (Baumgardner 2005; Bolton 2006), where English has an effect on the first languages. Bolton (2006: 261) concludes that these two processes of nativization and Englishization have led to "complex patterns of contact linguistics, including lexical transfer, code switching and code mixing, and discoursal and syntactic change and accommodation." However, research has tended to focus on the lexico-grammatical, especially lexical, level (for example Baumgardner 2005), with less work on discourse issues other than those of literary works such as Kachru (1987).

A third main argument against the homogenisation or linguistic imperialism position is that it is patronising, in that it views the non-English speaking world as passively accepting English against their better interests, whereas an individual may be actively choosing to learn English and to take on a new culture or adapt it to their own purposes

(Canagarajah 1999; Joseph 2006; Singh and Doherty 2004). A related form of patronisation may be to “reify” cultures (Geertz 1973: 11), or place them in a “protective reservation” (Featherstone 1995: 97) in an attempt to protect an outsider’s romanticised version of what they see as a pure local culture.

2.3.2.1 Interpretations of hybridity

Thus far those using the linguistic hybridity model are largely in agreement. However, divergence can be found in the conclusions drawn from this understanding of culture, between those who see the plurality and flow of language and culture as reasons to dismiss the fears of the homogenisation or linguistic imperialism position, and those who argue that the fluidity of language and culture still needs to be considered against a backdrop of the type of inequalities of power discussed under linguistic imperialism. These two interpretations of linguistic hyrbridity will be further examined.

Many of those using hybridity rhetoric to argue against the homogenisation position are also arguing in favour of English as an International Language (EIL), or, perhaps now the more common term, English as a *lingua franca* (ELF). ELF/EIL (henceforth ELF) is presented as a neutral language free from the cultural baggage of, for example, British or American English (Alcón Soler 2007; House 2003; Modiana 2001), with Dendrinos (2002) providing a modified version of this position.

A precedent for this use of language is sometimes given as justification, with Latin mentioned as the previous *lingua franca* (Eggington 2004). However, the example of Latin is not such a clear precedent for the current use of English: when used as a *lingua franca* in the middle ages, Latin was no longer the mother tongue of its speakers to the same extent as English is for British and American speakers, for example, today (Siguan 2005). Nor does the argument of ELF as a neutral language seem very different from the presentation of English in more traditional English language teaching as neutral. In each, English and ELF seem to gain their supposed neutrality from being a standard language, and indeed ELF supporters see producing a standard ELF (Modiano 2001) or “linguistic

norm” for ELF speakers (House 2003: 573) as an important part of their work. Standard languages gain anonymity (Woolard 2008) from being widespread, and thus apparently detached from their specific origins, but as was discussed above, no language is a transparent vehicle of meaning, devoid of cultural association, and this point applies equally to a *lingua franca* (Risgard 2006). It has been argued in the ELF community that language use can be separated into language for communication and language for identification (Alcón Soler 2007; House 2003), and that since ELF is not a national language, it is not used for marking identity (House 2003). However, identity is not only national (Hogg and Reid 2006; Joseph 2004; Llamas and Watt 2010), and while language has several functions which can be analysed separately, it is less clear that any language would only have one of those meanings for a speaker; the functions of language are intertwined (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004). Furthermore, the work of producing a standard ELF seems at odds with the flux and pluralism of the hybridity argument more generally. The exception here to some extent is Dendrinos (2002: 250), who suggests the possibility of “English as a working language” as a counterbalance to American and British English, but who also acknowledges the difficulties in making that separation, and is wary of any tendency to view languages as discrete. Indeed, Dendrinos (2002) also criticises the EU project of promoting multilingualism as based on an artificial, nationalistic view of languages as discrete entities that should not mix.

Outside the ELF movement, including Dendrinos (2002), the attitude towards English and its influence is generally less upbeat, although how that influence is portrayed still varies. World Englishes seems to play down hierarchies of power (Pennycook 2007), whereas for Canagarajah (1999; 2002a; 2002b) and Pennycook (2001; 2007), it is essential that they be remembered. Furthermore, World Englishes, in many ways taking an opposite approach from ELF, has been similarly criticised for having a limited interpretation of hybridity; it has increased the number of ‘Englishes’ considered, but still fixes language into monolithic entities such as ‘Indian English’ rather than allowing a more fluid view (Blommaert 2010; Holliday 1999; Pennycook 2007).

Canagarajan (1999) issues a warning against seeing the arguments of hybridity as removing the problems of English and globalisation expressed by the homogenisation position. While favouring a fluid interpretation of hybridity as expressed by Zamel's (1997) "transculturation model" rather than talk of discrete, homogenous discourses (Canagarajah 2002b), in Canagarajah (1999) he also points out that mixed cultures and hybrid languages do not remove the hierarchy which values some forms more than others, and thus also do not cancel out the arguments of linguistic imperialism. Halliday (2006) also combines an awareness of the possible detrimental effects of English with the necessity of using and transforming it. Not to teach English would only harm those then without access to the language; trying to "fight off global English" seems "rather a quixotic venture"; thus using and transforming English, as is already happening in many communities, may be the best way to work against the "exploitative power" and "baleful impact" of English (Halliday 2006: 362-363).

The solution then is not to avoid English, but to develop language awareness, a commonly repeated suggestion that has already been raised above (Bolton 2006; Canagarajah 1999; Cummins 2000; Lantolf 2006). Canagarajah (1999: 211) suggests that teachers and students work on increasing language and particularly discourse awareness, adding that the "ability to question linguistic hegemony is an important educational achievement in its own right". His suggestions for strategies to achieve these ends include increased use of the students' home language, and "creative strategies" or "rhetorical experimentation" in the use of discourse conventions, particularly using the conventions of their first languages in English (Canagarajah 1999: 212); adaptations of such practices for the CLIL students in Spain will be suggested in Chapter Six. Here, again, it should be pointed out that the students who are discussed as mixing discourses (Canagarajah 2002b; Zamel 1997) are operating within an EAP or ESOL context, and their "multivocal texts" (Canagarajan 2002b: 38) are placed in contrast to normative academic English models. The reverse process, where the creative mix of discourses takes place within a language other than English, but with English as part of the mix, is less discussed, although is raised as the "Englishization" of World Englishes introduced above. House (2003: 563),

working from the European ELF perspective, raises this possible effect of English on other European languages as an area requiring more research, particularly at the level of text issues and discourse conventions, as these are "the heart of a language", and that change at this level would be a "serious influence", even "insidious" (House 2003: 574), in contrast with what she sees as the more superficial level of lexical change. House (2003) also remarks that it is surprising that so little work has been done on the influence of English on other languages at the level of discourse. Indeed, much of the work of cross-linguistic influence or transfer (Cook 2003; Jarvis and Pavlenko 2007; Odlin 1989) is at the phonological, lexical or syntactical level, with the brief section on discursive transfer in Jarvis and Pavlenko (2007) referring mainly to rather outdated studies from the field of contrastive rhetoric, which will be discussed in the next chapter. The work of cross-linguistic transfer also addresses first language (L1) influence on second languages (L2) to a greater extent than influence in the opposite direction, although Cook (2003) is an exception and more recent work does even refer to a visible effect of L2 on the L1 of foreign language learners living in their L1 context (Jarvis and Pavlenko 2007).

To return to the point made in House (2003), if English does have an impact on other languages including Spanish, it is at level of discourse that this would make the greatest (cultural) impact. The next chapter will examine what it means to talk of discourse, and how it can be discussed and analysed.

Chapter 3: Approaches to text analysis

There is an extensive body of work on the analysis of text, particularly in English but also increasingly in other languages including Spanish, plus a considerable number of studies comparing texts in Spanish and English. This section will start by focusing on the role of text, through the discussion of work done primarily in English, but also with reference to some Spanish studies. It will then introduce the methodology and findings of studies comparing examples of Spanish and English discourse, and also in places consider works focusing on one of the languages only.

3.1 The importance of text

Until relatively recently, a comparison of Spanish and English, as with other linguistic studies, would have focused on issues at sentence level and below, such as pronoun use (Criado de Val 1972) or auxiliary verbs (Lorenzo 1980). Such sub-sentence studies continue to provide interesting insights (for example Lavid and Arús 2002-2003), but increasingly these smaller units are discussed in the wider context of discourse, or text (the differing interpretations of these two terms will be discussed below).

This shift of attention from sub-sentence to discourse can be described in terms of two key understandings of what language is and how it works: first that language is something we use for social purposes, and second that these purposes are achieved not with individual sentences, but with language use beyond the sentence (Bhatia, Flowerdew and Jones 2008; Brown and Yule 1983; Celce-Murcia and Olshtain 2000; Loureda Lamas 2003; Fuentes Rodríguez 1996; Halliday and Matthiessen 2004; Pennycook 1994b; Sherzer 1987). Simply put, text is language "doing some job in some context, as opposed to isolated words or sentence" (Halliday and Hasan 1985: 10).

Taking texts as a point of departure for study recognises that language is produced and responded to in texts, and that it therefore makes sense to study language in terms of those units (texts). The point has been made by writers from a range of approaches and disciplines: from text linguistics, "texts are vehicles of purposeful interaction" (de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981: 15); from discourse analysis, "people, when using language, communicate through texts" (Georgkopoulou and Goutsos, 2004: 1); from anthropology, the "potentials [of grammar] are actualised in discourse [so] they can only be studied in discourse" (Sherzer 1987: 306); and from the first sentence of *Introduction to Functional Grammar* (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 3): "When people speak or write, they produce text". Some of these disciplines and their approaches to discourse or text will be further examined below.

Text is generally made up of smaller units, such as sentences, although a text may also be operating with a single sentence: *Keep off the grass* (or indeed be shorter than a sentence: *No smoking*). Since text is then not definable in terms of sentences, other factors are required. These factors include formal, linguistic criteria for identifying a text: "principles of connectivity which bind a text together and force co-interpretation" (Brown and Yule 1983: 190). The most influential work in this area, *Cohesion in English* (Halliday and Hasan 1976) describes and categorises the lexicogrammatical cohesive devices, such as reference, substitution and various semantic relations, that are seen as distinguishing text from non-text, and most later commentators base their description of cohesion on this work (Brown and Yule 1983; Cook 1989; Martin 1992; Thornbury 2005).

However, cohesive devices are not sufficient (or even always necessary) to explain text. This point is made in *Cohesion in English* itself: text needs not only cohesion, but "also some degree of coherence in the actual meanings expressed" (Halliday and Hasan 1976:23), and the importance of coherence beyond cohesion is generally recognised (Bernárdez 1995; Bustos Gisbert 1996; Cook 1989; Fuentes Rodríguez 1996; Grabe 2000; Lavandera 1985). Agreement on a definition has been more elusive (Carrell 1982;

Lee 1999; van Dijk 1977). Attempts to define coherence focus on the reader, the writer, the text itself, and most generally a combination of these three. Thus, focusing on the reader, coherence is 'perceived' (Cook 1989), an 'interpretation' (Widddowson 2007), or 'subjective' (Hoey 1991: 12). While, focusing on the text, coherence is "*una propiedad fundamental de los textos*" [a fundamental property of texts] (Bernárdez 1995: 129), "a text is obviously *about* something" (Thornbury 2005: 51, original emphasis); de Beaugrande and Dressler (1981: 7) refer to both cohesion and coherence as "text-centred notions". Bernárdez (1995: 130-131) also points out the importance of the reader and writer in creating coherence: it is "*algo 'obtenible' por el productor y el receptor*" [something 'obtainable' by the producer and the receiver]. Indeed, many commentators emphasise the role of all three aspects in their definition (Celce-Murcia and Olshtain 2000; Fuentes Rodríguez 1996; Grabe 2000):

> Coherence is the quality that makes a text conform to a consistent world view based on one's experience and culture or convention, and it should be viewed as a feature related to all three participants in the interactive process: the writer, the written text, and the reader (Celce-Murcia and Olshtain 2000: 125)

Attempts to explain *how* a writer produces, and a reader perceives, a text as coherent and meaningful include a range of interconnecting elements. One common organisational strategy of works discussing comprehension of (written and/or spoken) text is to talk in terms of two types of information processing: top-down, or schematic processing and bottom-up, or systemic processing (Anderson and Lynch 1988; Sánchez Miguel 1998; Widdowson 1983). Schematic knowledge includes world, background or shared knowledge, and procedural knowledge (Anderson and Lynch 1988; McCarthy 1991; Thornbury 2005), largely rather vague concepts, as Hasan (1994) points out in relation to world knowledge. Systemic knowledge, knowledge of the lexicogrammatical and phonological language systems, is a rather more developed area, and includes the cohesive devices as mentioned above. However the binary approach to information processing is problematic, as understanding is generally seen as a more integrated process not neatly divided into two. Anderson and Lynch (1988:13) address the

integrated nature of comprehension in their diagrammatic representation by including a third area, 'context', between the top-down and bottom-up processing, and by representing all three processing strategies or aspects as porous/permeable and connected to the others. The middle 'context' section includes knowledge of situation and of co-text, and both of these are issues that are much discussed in relation to coherence (de Beaugrand and Dressler 1977; Cook 1989; Cutting 2002; Georgkopoulou and Goutsos 2004; Lee 1998). Further subdivisions of issues contributing to coherence include information load and order of information (de Beaugrande and Dressler 1977; Lee 1998; Thornbury 2005), logical relations such as cause-consequence (de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981; McCarthy 1991; Thornbury 2005), also discussed as clausal relations (Hoey 1983; Winter 1994), and larger patterns text type or text structure (de Beaugrande and Dressler 1977; Lee 1998; McCarthy 1991; Thornbury 2005). In these various investigations of coherence, or the meaning-making process between writer, text and reader, purpose or function of text, and context are generally included as two among many elements, without being particularly foregrounded. However, one or both of these two issues can be seen as more central to the production and understanding of text. The relation of purpose to text structure and lexicogrammatical features along with the role of context will be further considered below under genre.

Before moving from text itself to consider work in text analysis, it is necessary to address the different understandings and uses of the terms *text* and *discourse*. Some authors do not differentiate greatly between the two terms (Stubbs 1983). Early use of the terms, and perhaps also popular understanding, distinguished between *text* as referring to writing, and *discourse* to speaking (Coulthard 1977). More recently, those that make a distinction generally see the difference in terms of process and product, with *discourse*/ *discurso* used for process and *text*/*texto* for product (Fuentes Rodríguez 1996; Loureda Lamas 2003; Widdowson 2004), although this distinction is not followed by all. Thus for van Dijk (1977) *text* is the more abstract term, Lavandera (1986) uses *discurso* to refer to both the text as product and also the text plus its conditions of

production/reception, while Georgakopoulou and Goutsos (2004: 4) soften the process/product dichotomy by seeing text as “the means of discourse”. For some writers, this process-product difference is extended somewhat to see *text* as prioritising formal issues and *discourse* as giving greater emphasis to purposeful meaning (Cook 1989). These distinctions will be returned to below, but in this work *text* will generally be used to mean the physical (spoken or written) manifestation of discourse, a similar use of the term to Brown and Yule’s (1983: 6) “the verbal record of a communicative event”.

3.2 Discourse analysis

In discussing the nature of text above both social and textual issues were included. These various aspects of text are highlighted to greater or lesser extent by discourse analysts depending on their particular focus and purpose. The following discussion of approaches will mainly consider work with written text, as that is the focus of the current study. Even with that limitation, the discussion will not be comprehensive, as the field covers a very wide and continually increasing range of studies.

The first use of the term discourse analysis, by Zellig Harris in 1952 (Harris 1952), was from work within sentence linguistics; it only took on its modern meaning in the 1970s. However, discourse is not a totally modern focus of interest: Aristotelian rhetoric also considered language beyond the sentence used for a communicative purpose with a clear context, generally political. The discussion here will focus on modern understandings of discourse analysis, particularly those from within linguistics. There are many neighbouring fields which have had an important influence on the development of discourse analysis but which, due to considerations of space, will not receive a full treatment. Such influential areas would include sociology (Garfinkel; Goffman); philosophy, particularly speech act theory (Austin; Searle) and pragmatics (Grice; Levinson); narratology (Prince; Propp); French structuralism (Barthes; Foucault); anthropology (Geertz; Malinowski); and sociolinguistics (Hymes).

As suggested above, a key first distinction to make is between discourse analysis in linguistics, where the text and the language of the text are the main focus of attention, often to inform language teaching, and discourse analysis used as a tool in the social sciences in fields such as anthropology, where verbal text might be one of many semiotic systems under study. These two discipline areas, (applied) linguistics and social sciences, have some overlap or issues of shared interest, and may use the same discourse analysis tools. However, there is often a difference in the relative attention paid to formal, textual or linguistic issues versus that paid to the social context of the text, and also in how the relationship between the two are investigated or explained.

Work with a more socially-situated focus has been increasing. Bhatia, Flowerdew and Jones (2008) demonstrates the directions that discourse is taking, including newer areas of discourse work such as ethnographic-based discourses (Smart 2008), multi-modal discourse analysis, which looks at texts alongside other forms of communication such as pictures and music (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006; Norris 2008), and mediated discourse analysis, which focuses on social issues, examining the 'concrete social actions' rather than just the discourse (text) used in carrying out these actions (Bhatia, Flowerdew and Jones 2008: 229); examples of mediated discourse analysis can be found in Scollon (2008) and Jones (2008). Another influential area discussed in Bhatia, Flowerdew and Jones (2008) is Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), the analysis of texts as reflecting and contributing to hierarchies of power. Early CDA work such as Hodge and Kress (1979) used systematic, linguistic techniques to investigate discourse. More recent CDA work (Fairclough 1995) has widened the range of techniques used, positioning the field nearer to the work of the social sciences, and drawing criticism that it has in the process become more subjective (Fowler 1996; Widdowson 2004).

Approaches to the study of discourse which are more linguistically explicit, and therefore perhaps often less open to the charge of subjectivity, are also numerous. Key early work included the Prague School linguists and those later associated with the

group (Daneš 1974), and European text linguistics work (de Beaugrande & Dressler 1981/1972; Werlich 1983). Linguists with functional orientations to language have emphasised the role of text, for example the group historically associated with Birmingham University and centred around the work of John Sinclair (Coulthard 1994, Hoey 1983, McCarthy 1991, Sinclair and Carter 2004), and functional grammarians of various perspectives (van Dijk 1977; Givón 1983; Halliday and Matthiessen 2004). More recently, discourse work has also made use of technical developments with the analysis of large banks of corpora, and multivariational studies (Biber 2001; Parodi 2007). Additional influences and work come from North American writing and composition studies and rhetoric, mostly focused on college writing (Christensen 1965; Hunt 1965; Toulmin, Reike and Janik 1979), and work within English Language Teaching and related areas, particularly English for Specific Purposes (Johns 1997; Swales 1990), genre analysis (Martin 2009; Swales 1990) and contrastive rhetoric (Connor 1996). Some of these areas will be more closely examined below, in particular those which include fuller accounts of explicit linguistic description and consider, or are applicable to, secondary school writing.

3.2.1 Genre and text type

Genre studies in particular have had a considerable influence on understandings of discourse and on pedagogical applications in some parts of the world (Hyland 2002). As was found with discourse in general, the study of genre as it is currently understood is a relatively recent phenomenon, with ‘new’ genre developing in the early 1980s (Askehave and Swales 2001; Hammond and Derewianka 2001). From being a largely typological practice which mainly focused on relatively fixed features of literary texts, it now has a wider reference to include texts which repeatedly occur in everyday life, such as “making a dental appointment, buying vegetables, telling a story, writing an essay” (Martin 2001:155).

While ‘genre’ remains a ‘fuzzy concept’ (Swales 1990: 33), there is general agreement on the main elements. Two works are frequently cited (for example by Cassany 2006; Kay and Dudley-Evans 1998; Nunan 2008; Paltridge 1996) as providing the most influential definitions of genre: Martin 1984, revised and republished as Martin 2001, and Swales 1990; these two definitions share several points: that a genre is a recurring activity or event, that there is a purpose to it, and that it is connected with group membership:

> a genre is a staged, goal-oriented, purposeful activity in which speakers engage as members of our culture (Martin 2001: 155)

and

> A genre comprises a class of communicative events, the member of which share some set of communicative purposes. These purposes are recognised by the expert members of the parent discourse community. (Swales 1990: 58)

However, while similarities in definitions may produce the appearance of an agreed understanding of genre, the reality is less harmonious, with differences in the ways genres are discussed, how the text-context relationship is explored and in pedagogical application. It has been customary to discuss the different genre approaches to discourse in terms of three groups (Coffin 2001; Hammond and Derewianka 2001; Hyland 2002; Hyons 1996), although this division is a simplification of a complex picture. The three groups used are New Rhetoric, English for Specific Purposes (ESP), and systemic functional linguistics (SFL): the following will look briefly at each approach in terms of its understanding of genre, and also its attitude towards the teaching of genre, along with the typical student population concerned.

New Rhetoric approaches to genre are associated with work in composition programmes in the United States. This group defines genre primarily in terms of social action: the “action that [discourse] is needed to accomplish” (Miller 84:151) rather than in terms of the linguistic form of that discourse. Berkenkotter and Huckin (1993) set out five principles for a theoretical framework for genre, including “situatedness”: that knowledge is rooted in “participation in communicative activities”. Research methods

are often ethnographic, focusing on helping students understand the social purpose of genres, rather than on linguistic or form-focused analysis (Hyland 2002). Learning to use genres is seen as a process of acquisition through immersion, and as not benefiting from explicit teaching (Berkenkotter and Huckin 1993). Indeed, those working with genre from a New Rhetoric point of view suggest that it can be harmful to teach genres, as this practice may inhibit students' ability to use their own subconscious knowledge, and at the same time lack of experience of the discourse context may lead to the misapplication of conscious learning (Freedman 1994).

English for Specific Purposes (ESP) is concerned with the teaching of English to groups of students with specific needs, in particular academic (EAP) and professional or occupational (EOP). The main purpose is to help students operate through English in their specific arena, be it academic or professional. Genre is closely associated with the discourse community (Swales 1990) that uses it, but, although ESP as a field does not have a systematic model of language, attention is also paid to formal aspects of text. This is particularly true of early ESP studies in genre analysis, with Swales' (1990) analysis of the structure of the Introduction section of research articles providing the model for much work, such as Dudley-Evans (1994). In later work, Swales (1997) and others (Johns 1997) increased the attention paid to contextual, social and interpersonal aspects, with more ethnographic research added to the linguistic study (Hyland 2002).

Systemic functional linguistics (SFL) approaches to genre have been developed using tools originating in systemic functional grammar (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004). Because of the association with Hallidayan linguists based in Sydney, these approaches are also referred to as 'Australian' or 'Sydney School' (Hyons 1996; Hyland 2002), although their influence now extends much further, including to the UK (Carter 1990; Cope and Kalantzis 1993; Walsh 2006); the reduced reach of genre work in Spain will be discussed below. SFL approaches to genre also emphasise the connections between form, function and context: form is not 'random' or 'arbitrary' (Painter 2001: 170, and see *register* below), but rather genres have developed in such a way as to facilitate social

purpose. Systemists have done much detailed work on linguistic features of genre, at both text structure and lexicogrammatical levels; indeed this attention to lexicogrammatical detail is a noted difference between the approaches (Coffin 2001). In a further contrast to both New Rhetoric and ESP researchers, those working within the SFL framework are often working closely with primary and secondary school systems, and see their main purpose as developing an "interventionist pedagogy" (Rothery 1996: 99), helping students, particularly disadvantaged students, master the (factual) genres needed for effective participation in schooling and beyond (Martin 1989; Rothery 1996). For Martin (2009:11), this teaching approach is a question of "social justice", and since genres are probabilistic, involving choice rather than mechanical application of a template or formula, Martin (2001) further believes that a genre-based pedagogy does not remove the possibility of creativity. The debate over the creative versus formulistic use of genre will be further discussed below, but first I will describe the SF school-based genre work in a little more detail.

The genre work of Martin and his associates stems largely from *The Writing Project*, carried out in the early 1980s with primary school texts, and extended into secondary with the *Write it Right* project (Rothery 1996). Rothery and Martin and others divided school texts into main curriculum genres, based primarily on their social function or purpose, which is seen as constraining text structure and language features. With minor variations in names and number of categories used, the genre groupings typically used are recount, narrative, procedure, report, explanation, account, exposition or argument (Derewianka 1990; Rothery 1996; Shleppegrell 2004; Turbill 2007). A recount, for example, is used in primary schooling to tell "what we did/what took place" (Derewianka 1990: 14), and is typically organised with an orientation, a series of events in chronological order, and a personal comment (Derewianka 1990; Turbill 2007). It differs from a narrative, which has the social purpose of entertaining and stimulating thought, in that a narrative involves complications that need to be resolved in some way (Turbill 2007). Language features associated with recounts include the use of simple past tense, particularly action verbs, with events sequenced by linkers relating to time

(Derwianka 1990). The protytypical school genres also apply to secondary schooling (Schleppegrell 2004), but increasingly researchers are exploring subject-specific text use and subcategories of genres relevant to secondary education. For example, work has been done on different uses of text in History (Coffin 1997; Coffin 2006; McCabe 2004a, 2004b; Schleppegrell, Achugar and Oteíza 2004), Geography (Martin and Rose 2008; van Leeuwen and Humphrey 1996; Wignell, Martin and Eggins 1993), and Science (Halliday and Martin 1993; Schleppegrell 1998). Additional genres to the primary list used for secondary English would include news story and 'response' genres such as review and interpretation (Rothery 1996); Science features biography (Hardy and Klarwein 1990), and across the curriculum can be found sub-categories such as analytical exposition (thesis/argument) and analytical exposition (exploratory); the former with a *thesis-argument-restatement of thesis* structure, the latter organised around a problem, evidence and a solution (Hardy and Klarwein 1990). The link between the social purpose and lexicogrammatical features of these secondary text types has also been investigated in some detail (Martin 2009; Martin & Rose 2008; Schleppegrell 2004) and included in instructional material (Hardy and Klarwein 1990). Thus expository writing uses a range of grammatical resources such as modality to express attitude, and nominalisation and thematic choices to emphasise development of ideas (Er 2001; Shleppegrell 2004), and functions likely to be involved include expressing cause and effect (Hardy and Klarwein 1990). Use of theme will be returned to below, and along with other aspects of exposition and argument texts, will also be further discussed in the Methodology chapter.

To return to an area of greater agreement between the genre approaches, all three groups present genre as fluid and changing. As contextual issues and institutions change over time, so do genres: they are not "fixed and immutable" (Painter 2001: 172), but 'dynamic' (Berkenhotter and Huckin 1993: 479), responding to, and also making, new meanings. The changing nature of genres as connected to their social context is made particularly apparent in diachronic studies such as Atkinson's (2001) analysis of scientific discourse across centuries. This context dependence is also clear from work

outside the three genre approaches and involving Spanish: Bernárdez (1995) points out that there will never be two equal texts because there will never be two equal contexts, and Cassany (2006: 21) emphasises the range of variables involved:

> *Precisamente porque los textos están estrechamente relacionados con sus autores-lectores, con las disciplinas y con las comunidades, la escritura nunca es uniforme. Cada disciplina, cada grupo humano, cada momento histórico y cada situación comunicativa produce sus propios escritos*.
>
> [Precisely because texts are closely related to their writer-readers, disciplines and communities, writing is never uniform. Each discipline, each group of humans, each historical moment and each communicative situation produces its own writings.]

With the recognition of such variation, it perhaps becomes more difficult, or less useful, to use fixed categories, and ways of describing and accounting for differences are needed. One systematic way of discussing the many variations found in texts, is through the concept of register, as developed through SFL.

It should be pointed out here that the SFL genre work as described above stems from Jim Martin rather than Michael Halliday, and indicates a difference in their understandings of context and register, concepts that have been used with specific meanings in SFL for rather longer than has genre. Register analysis works with an understanding of context as a semiotic structure with three dimensions: field, tenor and mode (Halliday 1978), and was developed by Halliday from Malinowski's 'context of situation' via Firth (Hasan 1985, 1995). Following Halliday's understanding, field refers to the topic or subject of text, the "ongoing social activity" (Halliday 1978: 110), including the purpose or goal of that social activity (Hasan 1995). Tenor refers to social roles and relations between people, both temporary and permanent (Halliday 1989), usually discussed in terms of relative status and power, but also depending on issues of solidarity, that is, how much we share values, identify, and have contact with another person (Poynton 1985, cited in Eggins 2004). Mode is the medium or channel of communication, spoken or written, but also includes related issues, for example, whether

it is an email or on paper, whether there is the possibility or not of feedback, and if so, whether it is immediate or delayed. Mode, for Halliday (1989), also refers to the rhetorical channel, that is, what participants expect language to do and what is being achieved; categories of rhetorical mode would include expository and narrative. These three components of field, tenor and mode correspond to the three metafunctions of language, or areas of meaning, that underpin the SF model of language (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004), with field relating to ideational meaning, tenor to interpersonal meaning, and mode to textual meaning (Halliday and Hasan 1985; Hasan 1995). The correspondence operates as a two-way relationship. Thus changes in, for example, social status (tenor) affect interpersonal language choices, and equally, choices made in the interpersonal language systems (for example modality choices such as increased use of tentative forms) can affect tenor, or the social relations between speakers. While less work has been done on register in languages other than English, Gibbons and Lascar (1998; also Gibbons 1999) find the concepts and relationships, if not necessarily the specific realisations of these relationships, apply equally to Spanish.

Martin's key distinction from Halliday is to consider rhetorical mode and purpose of text as outside of the three dimensions of register, and to use the separate, additional layer of genre to account for these aspects (Martin 1992; 2001; Hasan 1995). For Martin, then, difference of purpose is what distinguishes one genre from another, and is considered separately from differences in the three domains of register. Thus two examples of the genre *procedure* would have in common the social purpose of instructing, and so would share an overall structure of goal plus method or steps for achieving that goal, and also some linguistic features such as temporal sequencing and action verbs (Derewianka 1990; Turbill 2007). However, the two procedural texts might differ from each other according to differences in field, tenor and mode. Painter (2001) for example contrasts written instructions for installing a ribbon cartridge with a driving lesson, and discusses differences in field, tenor and mode, such as the real time, face-to-face nature (mode) of the driving lesson leading to a greater use of ellipsis and non-explicit instructions. Martin (2001; 2009) further points out that not only do these aspects of register change

according to the activity taking place and the people involved in it, but also within an activity, or genre, which explains his emphasis on genre as *staged* activity: different stages of a genre may involve different configurations of field, tenor and mode.

It is not possible here to consider all the ramifications of Martin's separation of register from genre, but one important point is that genre is thus outside the system for the analysis of context. This detachment of genre from context may to some extent account for the concerns from others working with genre that Martin's approach does not sufficiently consider context, and encourages determinism and even a transmission style of teaching (Cope and Kalantzis 1993; Hasan 1995). A one-to-one purpose-genre relationship perhaps also encourages a proliferation of genres and of categories of genres, and indeed Martin has also been accused of being overly concerned with classification and categorisation (Cope and Kalantzis 1993). However, whatever the pitfalls of Martin's conceptualisation of genre, it is certainly the most fully developed of the genre approaches and the one that has had the most influential on the teaching of English in schools, throughout Australia and beyond (Carter 1990; Cope and Kalantzis 1993; Hyland 2002; Walsh 2006). Further details of the Sydney School's interpretation and pedagogical use of genre will be discussed under Methodology below.

One further aspect of approaches to genre to consider before turning to contrasts between Spanish and English texts is the use of the term *genre* in comparison with the term *text type*. In general, no clear distinction has been made between the two terms by the SF linguists producing most of the work in this area (Hyland 2002; Rothery 1996), nor do those working outside of the SF model appear to agree on a difference. Paltridge (1996) felt that a distinction between the two terms was necessary, and suggested that *genre* should refer to the activity, such as recipe or advertisement, with *text type* used to group texts sharing linguistic features, for example procedure or description. However, some of Paltridge's (1996) genre categories, such as 'formal letters' embrace many different types of activity. Nunan (2008) takes a slightly different approach to separating the two terms by suggesting text type is a sub-category of genre, and that within one

genre, different combinations of register variables produce different text types. Georgakopoulou and Goutsos (2004: 33-4) reverse the semantic relationship, and see text type, along with discourse type, as being a “much broader term” than genre. Martin and Rose (2008) move beyond genre, and use the term *macrogenre* for longer texts such as geography textbooks which include more than one genre, for example reports, explanations and recounts, within them. While pointing out that SFL theory does not distinguish between the terms genre and text type, Hyland (2002) mentions that ‘text type’ has often been used for teacher education and teaching materials; this is true in some cases (Turbill 2007), but others use the term ‘genre’ to discuss the same categories of text (Derewianka 1990; Hardy and Klarwein 1990). One term can be found defining the other, thus genre is “a term used to refer to particular text or discourse types” (Schelppegrell 2004: 82; similarly Cassany 2006), or the two terms are presented as interchangeable: “text types, or genres, as Martin ultimately called them” (Rothery 1996: 92); “*hay que adecuar la estructura del texto al tipo o género que tengamos*” [we have to adapt the structure of the text to the text type or genre that we have] (Fuentes Rodríguez 1996: 105), also Loureda Lamas (2003). As there seems to be no systematic use of *genre* versus *text type*, nor agreement on a distinction, no specific meaning will be given to one term over the other in this study.

The discussion up to this point has considered understandings of text in general, and has been built primarily, although not exclusively, around work in English. However, while many of the above points are supported by Spanish studies as well as English, it cannot be assumed that the two languages use text in exactly the same way. Indeed, Kaplan and Grabe (2002) in their history of written discourse analysis emphasise strongly (in capitals) that they are referring to English only; similarly Bustos Gisbert (1996) points out that his work is concerned solely with Spanish. It is therefore also important to look more specifically at similarities and differences between Spanish and English written text in order to decide on suitable issues and tools for the comparison of the CLIL and non-CLIL student texts.

3.2.2 Contrastive discourse analysis: Contrastive rhetoric and other investigations into text across language and culture

A comparison of written text across languages and/or cultures as suggested above is most readily identified with contrastive rhetoric (Connor 1996), and this section will look first at some of the concerns of contrastive rhetoric (CR) and its key studies. However, CR is not a method but rather a goal or an approach (Connor 2004), or perhaps not even that (Matsuda and Atkinson 2008). CR will not therefore be expected to provide a framework for the comparison of Spanish and English text, but rather be treated as a platform to introduce issues, which will then be followed by studies not necessarily aligned with CR but which also compare text across languages.

Contrastive rhetoric has received a mixed reaction in the years since its beginning with Kaplan's 1966 article 'Cultural thought patterns in inter-cultural education'. Kaplan (1966) posited that different languages used different paragraph structures; he related these structures to thought patterns, and represented each one with a diagram. Thus English was seen as linear, and shown as a straight line, Russian was digressive, with a zig-zag line, and Chinese was illustrated by a concentric circle to represent its supposedly indirect approach to a topic. Kaplan's early work has been much criticised for its Anglocentric value judgements; Kaplan looked at six hundred texts, but did not make his analysis explicit. He has revised some of his more contentious points (Kaplan 1987), but much of the very early CR work was based on intuitions (Leki 1991). The 1970s brought tools from text analysis, and a greater rigour in identifying linguistic features to use as a basis for comparison, although the advances in text analysis were not matched by development in the overall approach to contrasting discourse, as through the 1980s and into the 1990s much CR work still tended to see cultural difference as a static product (Connor 2002). Nevertheless, the early achievements of Kaplan and CR were to take the study of language beyond word and sentence level to the paragraph, and show teachers in the Anglo-Saxon world that their students from other cultures were not bad writers, but

writing from another tradition with different understandings of good writing (Canagarajah 2002b; Connor 2002). From the 1990s, studies of contrastive rhetoric became more varied, diversifying from the early linguistic, paragraph-based approaches into psychological, educational and genre-based studies (Connor 1996; 2002). Context was taken into consideration to a greater extent, along with care not to denigrate non Anglo-Saxon traditions. However, these developments in the field did not fully satisfy the critics of the CR work.

3.2.2.1 Criticism of CR and responses from CR/IR

At many stages of the development in contrastive rhetoric studies, including more recently, some commentators have felt that much of the work done under the contrastive rhetoric umbrella is problematic. It has an oversimplified and product-oriented conceptualisation of culture as being in a one-to-one relationship with nation state and ethnic groupings (Atkinson 2004). It stereotypes languages by assigning them characteristics, fixing them into concrete, unchanging entities (Canagarajah 2002b; Kachru 1995), and producing "static binaries" in the comparisons with English (Kubota and Lehner 2004:7). It is English-centric, with a deficit approach (Zamel 1997): the motivation for much contrastive rhetoric work is to pinpoint differences from English in students' first languages so that those alien elements can be erased from their English productions. In this way it places the full burden of making meaning and being understood on the non-native English writer, rather than sharing that responsibility with all those involved in the communication, native and non-native users of English alike (Kachru 1997). Furthermore, the contrastive work does not always consider comparable texts (Kachru 1995, 1997).

At the same time, some of the researchers most readily identifiable with CR, particularly Ulla Connor and her colleagues, have moved on from earlier concerns to narrow the gap between their work and the critical works mentioned above, often showing the same or similar concerns. Connor (2002: 504) and Li (2008) accept that CR previously used an

unsatisfactory and static concept of "received culture", and Connor also writes of the need to focus on small cultures as well as large (Connor 2004, 2008), and to move from what was mainly text-based research to consider context to a greater extent. However, as the researcher currently most closely associated with CR, she is perhaps more defensive than others, feeling that the field has been misunderstood and misrepresented (Connor 2005), and that it has always been multidimensional (Connor 2008). Li (2008: 25) agrees that the text analysis work of CR involved a tenuous text-context link, often little more than "guesswork". Matsuda (1997) argues for a new model of second language (L2) writing to consider the "bidirectionality" of the relationship between the L2 English writer and the L1 English reader and indeed the L1 discourse: it is not only the L2 student's writing that may be changed by the interaction. On a related topic, Connor (2008) talks of intercultural communication as involving accommodation, and stressing connections rather than differences. Moreno (2008), and Connor and Moreno (2005) emphasise the importance of establishing the comparability of texts, with extensive lists of "similarity constraints" (Moreno 2008:35); Connor and Moreno (2005) also promote a more rigorous methodology, with twelve steps to follow, later extended to thirteen so as to include a consideration of the reasons behind any differences found (Moreno 2008, June). In order to further emphasise the new directions that research is taking, Connor and others are now referring to the field as intercultural rhetoric (Connor 2004; Connor, Nagelhout and Rozycki 2008).

These developments in CR/IR may help address some of the criticisms so frequently made against CR. However, and particularly for the purposes of this study, two key drawbacks remain or may have even been exacerbated by the new directions. The first, and perhaps in this context less restrictive, drawback is CR's connection to English language teaching. It may be true that the current CR/IR work is intended in a spirit of embracing difference, or even of focusing on interactions and connections rather than differences. However its underlying purpose is still overridingly pedagogical, and specifically the teaching of English language. Atkinson (2004) refers to CR as a sub-discipline of English for Academic Purposes, Matsuda (1997) discusses it in terms of L2

writing models, and even the book heralding the new IC direction has a large section specifically on the teaching of ESL/EFL writing (Connor, Nagelhout and Rozycki 2008). Placing English writing at the centre of research has the effect, intended or not, of privileging English writing traditions and may even lead to English-oriented research methodologies, thereby obscuring some features and over-emphasising others. This methodological effect becomes more problematic when the text to be contrasted with English data comes from a non-Western rhetorical tradition (Kachru 1995).

The second drawback is more directly methodological. Key practitioners of CR/IR have suggested that IR should depend less on text analysis. Suggestions have included that they add richer descriptions, explore explanations for differences through looking at the context of writing, and, partly to make this richer description possible, focus on more specific contexts (Connor 2008; Matsuda and Atkinson 2008). The reasoning behind this shift in emphasis is to some extent understandable. Since CR has no underlying theory of language that is able to explain differences and similarities between how meaning is made in two texts, or to relate context and text (Kachru 1995), CR text analysis has little explanatory power and so any attempts to explain can tend to result in the type of generalisation that has been so heavily criticised. However, IR does not seem to have developed or adopted any systematic way of examining the context-text relationship or for analysing culture (Atkinson 2004; Li 2008). The shift of attention from text to context (or to text plus context) does not therefore seem to have removed the danger of unsubstantiated explanations for difference, but perhaps merely reduced the range of texts that the claims are being made for, and/or led to the use of more specific contextual factors to explain difference, such as the larger English-language academic community as explanation of the more critical nature of English versus Spanish academic book reviews (Moreno and Suárez 2008a). Contrastive work at text level is not only done under the CR umbrella however. Those involved with descriptive linguistics of various approaches also use their models to compare across languages, often with the advantage of working within a theory of language, such as SFL, which perhaps more easily enables comparative work as it provides a framework for comparison and for explanation of the

differing choices that writers make. The following section will include comparative work from CR, SFL and other approaches, as well as times drawing on non-comparative work from each of the languages. Additionally, specific aspects of the two language systems, English and Spanish, may affect choices likely to be made by writers, and also consequently inform choice of analytical approach; these language-specific features will be discussed in the following Methodology chapter.

3.2.2.2 Comparing Spanish and English text/discourse: Spanish-English contrastive discourse studies

The dangers of generalisation from data and of ignoring contextual differences in the production of the data have been emphasised above, and the variables to consider are many. Studies associated with CR, but also with contrastive discourse or EAP more generally have pointed out some of the issues that can affect text production. One group of variables often discussed in various combinations is that of genre + discipline + language/culture/country. Moreno (1997) reports that the genre involved has more influence than any writing culture specific to English or Spanish. Melander, Swales and Fredickson (1997) look within one genre and argue that the national tendencies are more noticeable in some disciplines than others. Conrad's (2001) multidimensional study investigates text types and disciplines from one language background, and finds some text type variations to be associated only with particular disciplines, and others to be found across disciplines. Regional differences are often discussed, and this variable is perhaps of particular interest when comparing Spanish and English as each of these languages is used in quite different parts of the world. Thus Connor and Lauer (1988) find differences in the argumentative writing of sixteen year olds from the US, Britain and New Zealand; Biber (1999) also finds differences between British and North American writing on a range of issues. Pak and Acevedo (2008) show that examples of the same genre in the same language (Spanish), but from different regions of the world (Mexico, the United States and Spain), can display marked differences in linguistic features. Many CR and other studies have also emphasised the problems with comparing

different types of writers, particularly students with experienced professionals, as this brings in developmental issues (Neff, Dafouz, Díez, Prieto and Chaudron 2004), and also drawbacks to comparing first language (L1) writing with second language (L2) writing or translation (Moreno and Suárez 2008b).

When discussing previous studies that compare Spanish and English written text, it is therefore clearly not possible to assume that findings from one set of data will necessarily apply to other data. However, only to discuss previous studies that were entirely, or even largely, comparable would restrict the discussion severely. The issue of comparability is perhaps also less pressing because of the purpose of the current discussion. The intention is not to use the results of previous studies directly as evidence of Spanish-English discourse differences, but rather as indications of issues that previous investigators have thought worth comparing across the two languages, and of possible methodologies for that comparison.

In illustration of the range of variables involved and as preparation for the discussion to follow I will first briefly introduce some frequently referenced contrastive Spanish-English work, along with more recent publications with particular relevance; further studies will be introduced subsequently. Comparably little work has been done with secondary school students, and most of that seems to be based in the Americas. Montaño-Harmon (1991) is an influential article that looks at secondary student expository texts in L1 Mexican Spanish and L1 American English, and considers a wide range of linguistic features. Reppen and Grabe (1993) is another key text investigating a range of issues and of different Spanish and English L1 text types, including exposition, of Grade 5 Spanish and English speaking students from the United States. More work has been done with academic and professional writing of various types. Valero-Garcés (1996) continues to be used as a reference (Sheldon 2009), although it compares L1 English writers of academic texts with Spanish speakers writing in L2 English. Simpson (2000) also compares English and Spanish academic writing. Ana Moreno has published Spanish-English CR work extensively and is probably the most prominent CR

researcher working with the two languages. Most of her work (for example, Moreno 1997, 2004) investigates aspects of published academic writing, with data from international journals in English and national journals in Spain. Another referenced work is Salager-Meyer, Alcaraz Ariza and Zambrano (2003), which compares changes in hedging practices in Spanish, English and French medical discourse through the last century. More recent work of interest would include Neff et al. (2004), which considers English and Spanish speaking writers in Europe as well as the United States, and also look at a range of linguistic features. The participants are university students and professional writers. Very few studies look at students' textbooks. McCabe (2004a) uses the SF model of language to examine theme and thematic progression (to be discussed below) in history textbooks for secondary and tertiary students in the two languages, and McCabe (2004b) looks at hedges and boosters in Spanish and English history texts. Moving outside academia, Pak and Acevedo (2008) compare Spanish language newspaper editorials from Spain, Mexico and the United States with an English language newspaper from the States. The writers are thus experienced professionals; although British English is not considered, the American example (*The New York Times*) has an international readership. McCabe and Alonso (2000) compare tourist guides in the two languages. Beeby Lonsdale (1996; 2002) is a translation expert and teacher, but also uses contrastive work in her teaching. Her examples from professional writers cover a range of text types.

As can be seen from the above, the data for previous studies come from a range of different contexts, with different writers, readers, content areas and subjects. As is to be expected from a field that grew out of EAP, studies of academic writing prevail. The smaller number of researchers working with secondary school writing seem largely based in the Americas. The studies also vary in terms of approaches and goals of research. Therefore, in order to provide a framework for the discussion of studies of Spanish-English text comparison, I will return to what started the interest in CR: intuitions as to difference. The intention is not to use the intuitions directly as reliable indicators of distinctions in text, but as a springboard to discuss how research has

investigated these presumed areas of contrast; how studies have moved from the intuitions to measurable features associated with them. It may seem problematic to start from the assumption of difference, but even the studies criticising CR agree that cultural context does influence writing, and while criticising how difference is addressed, do not advocate ignoring it (Kachru 1995; Kachru 1997; Leki 1991; Scollon 1997). Furthermore, the study of popular beliefs about language, or *folklinguistics*, defined as referring to "the views and perceptions of those who are not formally trained experts [or] 'non-linguists'" (Garrett 2010: 179) is increasingly valued (Garrett 2010; Steiner 2004-2005).

3.3 Intuitions and research: Spanish-English text differences

As Sánchez Escobar (1996) points out, many Spanish users of English feel intuitively that writing in English involves more than knowing how to write in Spanish plus knowing the English language system. This perception of difference can bring strong reactions, such as that of a Spanish academic who insisted on a literal English translation of his work as part of his fight against Anglo-Saxon cultural imperialism (Beeby Lonsdale 1996). When users of the two languages express their perceptions of how Spanish text is different from English, similar points come up repeatedly: English simplicity, brevity, order and directness are contrasted with Spanish complexity, digression or richness of content, and variety. While the issues are fairly consistent, the perception of which characteristics are positive and which negative varies. St. John (1987: 116) reports on European Spanish researchers writing in English who feel Spanish is "less precise, longer, and more variable in structure", and that translating to English requires shorter sentences and even the shortening of ideas. One Spanish writer felt that British and American scientists write for "*bobos*" [dummies], in "child's language" (St. John 1987: 119), and that points needed to be made more explicitly in English. Translation specialists compare the two languages and give advice consistent

with these views of the Spanish-English contrasts (Edwards 2002). The still influential Vázquez-Ayora (1977: 84-85) talks of the "*orden lógico y racionalista*" [rational and logical order] and the "*economía y concision*" [economy and conciseness] of English in comparison with Spanish. García Yerba (1984: 372) takes a slightly different angle on the same issue, and warns against English interference in translation which can lead to "*concisión excesiva*" [excessive conciseness]. Thatcher (2000: 61) reports conflicting preferences for the translation of a business manual, with the Ecuadorian and the North American writer seeing their partner's versions as, respectively, "barren" and "excessive with no apparent logical connection". Many contrastive studies have worked with these types of comparisons between texts in the two languages. The following section will address the issues separately, although acknowledging the considerable overlap between them.

3.3.1 Complexity of form

The first intuition listed above is the greater complexity of Spanish text in comparison with English, a contrast seen as applying both to form and to content. Complexity of form has most typically been measured in terms of length of grammatical units such as sentences or clauses, and also sentence structure. The most frequently reported finding is of Spanish texts having more words per sentence than equivalent English texts, both for student-produced texts (Montaño-Harmon 1991; Neff et al. 2004; Reppen and Grabe 1993), and also texts written by adults (Pak and Acevedo 2008; Simpson 2000). Neff et al. (2004) and Simpson (2000) additionally found the Spanish texts to have more words per t-unit (an independent clause and any clauses dependent on it) and per clause. Investigations into sentence structure frequently measure use of subordination, and find it more common in Spanish text, although to differing extents (Montaño-Harmon 1991; Neff et al. 2004; Pak and Acevedo 2008; Reppen and Grabe 1993; Simpson 2000). However, subordination includes different types of complexity, an issue which none of the above studies addresses, but which will be further considered in the Methodology chapter below. The intuitions concerning the greater complexity of content in Spanish

text are more difficult to measure directly, but some commentators have linked the issue to text organisation and understandings of digression (Sánchez Escobar 1996).

3.3.2 Text organisation

The issue of text organization links a group of intuitions surrounding order and directness as well as complexity of content, and, while perhaps less directly measurable than the units above, has been investigated in terms of stages and ordering of a text, and also thematic progression. A considerable amount of work has been carried out on the organisation of academic writing, particularly on staging and on metatext to signpost relations between stretches of text and orient the reader. Martín (2003) found that while Spanish and English language abstracts for research articles (RAs) generally used the same structural units and sequencing, following, he felt, English-based norms, Spanish abstracts were more likely to diverge from the norm. Various researchers have found academic English writing to use more explicit reader orientation, with increased use of markers of semantic relations (Moreno 2004; Mur Dueñas 2007), a contrast also found with popularised science (Varela Pérez 2002). Difference is not always found however: Moreno (1997), examining causal metatext in RAs, suggested genre norms had a stronger influence in this area, with little difference between Spanish and English use. Non-academic writing has been less studied in this respect, but Pak and Acevedo (2008) found English newspaper editorials to be more explicit in their evaluations and recommendations. Montaño-Harmon (1991) reported Anglo American students using more ordering strategies such as enumeration than Mexican students, and Reppen and Grabe (1993) concluded that significantly more of the English L1 than the Spanish L1 essays in their study were coherent. Coherence was rated holistically according to whether students wrote "on the assigned task", stayed "on topic" and "the sequence of clauses followed a logical progression" (Reppen and Grabe 1993: 122).

3.3.3 Text structure and thematic progression

The intuitions concerning directness and linearity are also concerned with text structure, and are at the heart of what is seen as the starting point of CR research, Kaplan's (1966)

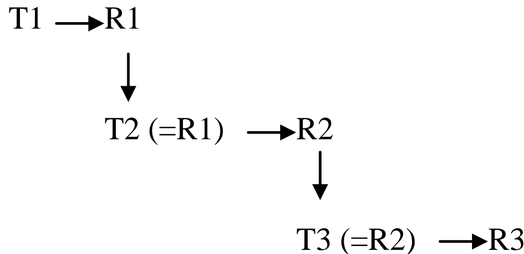
doodle article, which suggested that Spanish, along with other Romance languages, was less direct and less linear than English. Many CR studies of Spanish and English continue to refer back to that article (Moreno 2004; Sánchez Escobar 1996; Simpson 2000), but as CR has broadened its approach (Connor 2008; Leki 1991), the field has emphasised this aspect of rhetorical difference less than it once did. The analytical approach most closely associated with the idea of linearity is probably thematic progression, which considers thematic connections between the sentences of texts, and stems from Prague School work, particularly Daneš (1974). Various interpretations of thematic progression have been used to investigate and support claims that professional Spanish writing is more digressive than its English equivalent (Sánchez Escobar 1996; Simpson 2000).

Daneš categorises thematic links between sentences into three types, based on the relationship between the elements theme and rheme, roughly seen as respectively the beginning and end of the sentence (but to be discussed further below). In type 1, linear progression, also called 'sequential' by some writers (Simpson 2000), material from the rheme, or end, of the first sentence provides the theme, or beginning, of the second sentence. To use an example text from Daneš:

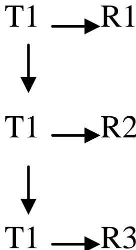
> The first of the antibiotics was discovered by Sir Alexander Fleming
> in 1928. He was busy at the time investigating a certain species of
> germ which is responsible for boils and other troubles. (Daneš 1974: 118)

Thus Sir Alexander Fleming is the rheme of the first sentence and the theme of the second (He). In type 2, constant or parallel (Simpson 2000) progression, the theme from the first sentence is repeated in the second sentence. To continue with the above example, if the text continued 'Fleming ….', it would be a type 2 progression. The third Daneš type has one overarching supratheme, which is then followed by subthemes which are each related to the supratheme rather than to each other, with each subtheme having its own rheme. The diagrams below as (1), (2) and (3) reproduce Daneš' representation of the three types of thematic progression (TP).

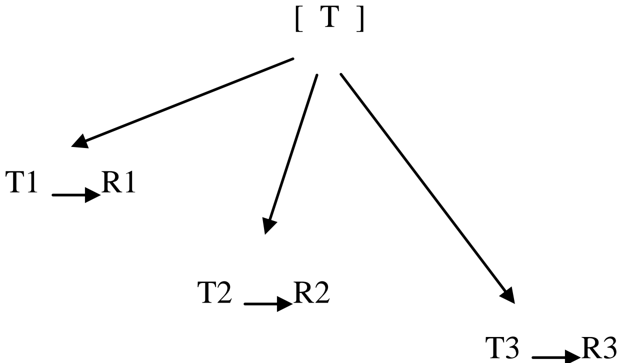
(1) Simple linear TP (or TP with linear thematization of rhemes):



(2) TP with a continuous (constant) theme:



(3) TP with derived T's:



(Daneš 1974: 118 and 119)

As in the above Fleming example, texts are not generally composed completely of one type, but mix them. However, Sánchez Escobar (1996) and Simpson (2000) suggested English text uses linear and constant thematic patterns more than Spanish text, especially linear (Simpson 2000). The interpretation of thematic progression used for these two studies will be further discussed below and in the Methodology chapter, where subdivisions and alternative groupings for thematic progression will also be examined. It should also be noted that thematic progression varies with text type and function (Fries 1983; McCabe 2004a; Moya and Albentosa 2001); Downing and Lavid (1998) find variation to depend on combination of language and culture, discourse purpose and text type A typical distinction made is between narrative texts, which tend to use constant theme, and argumentative texts, which are associated with linear theme (Francis 1989; Fries 1983), although McCabe (2004a) warns against too simple an interpretation of this relationship, as constant or linear progression can be found in narratives of history textbooks, implying, respectively, a (chronological) set of events (historical recount), and the analysis of those events (historical account).

3.3.3.1 Theme

There is much disagreement over key issues surrounding theme such as its definition and its identification, and in particular the relationship of theme with topic and subject. These issues will be discussed in more detail in the Methodology chapter, but the key problems are introduced here to demonstrate the range of interpretations. Gómez-González (2001: 4) points out that studies "have been characterized by terminological profusion and confusion"; however differences are not merely a matter of terminology, but also represent distinct concepts. Gómez-González (2001) divides interpretations for English theme broadly into syntactic, informational and semantic approaches, based, respectively, on initial position, 'givenness' and 'aboutness'. Some CR studies use theme as a principally semantic concept indicating what the sentence is about, essentially conflating theme with topic (Schneider and Connor 1990). For an example comparing Spanish and English text, Simpson (2000) uses 'topical subject', or what the message is about, to track thematic progression: this semantic understanding of theme is

a “vague notion” (Gómez-González 2001: 16) with no associated structural characteristic, and the analysis therefore involves considerable subjectivity. Functional approaches give a greater role to structural considerations, and in this case one main division is whether the informational and the structural are both attributed to theme, or whether they are seen as separate systems. Fries (1983) refers to these two positions as the ‘combining’ and the ‘separating’ approaches. The combiners, for example Mauranen (1993), see theme as both expressing known or given or retrievable information, and also as providing a starting point for the clause. The separators, including SF linguists (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004), use the Given/New distinction (functions are capitalized in SFL) for the former meaning, and reserve the concept of departure point for the significance of Theme. They point out that it is common to start from what is known and that therefore Given and Theme often do coincide, but do not necessarily need to, and that they represent different types of meaning and different systems (McCabe and Alonso 2000). Thematic material, signifying point of departure in the message, is identified by its location in initial position; this realisation of Theme holds for English, and also for Spanish (McCabe and Alonso 2000; Taboada 2004), but not necessarily for other languages (Fries 1983; Fries 1995a; Halliday and Matthiessen 2004). The thematic role of initial position to indicate departing point also concerns other grammatical ranks such as group and sentence, and has been extended to levels beyond the sentence (Fries 1983; Martin 1992; Martin and Rose 2003).

However, even among those who agree on the understanding of Theme as point of departure, realised in English and Spanish by initial position in the clause or other unit of analysis, disagreement abounds. The main difficulty concerns establishing the Theme-Rheme divide, that is, where the ‘initial position’ ends, and so how much of the clause to consider as thematic. This complex issue will be addressed in more detail in the Methodology chapter, particularly in terms of differences between the English and Spanish language systems, but again the main points of contention will be introduced here.

For Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) and Taboada (2004), Theme is the beginning of the clause, and extends up to the first component of the process expressed in the clause, so either the process itself (in traditional terms a verb), a participant directly involved in that process (protypically a noun), or a circumstantial element (prototypically an adverb or preposition). (This first element of the process will be referred to in this study as the experiential Theme as opposed to Halliday and Matthiessen's (2004: 79) "topical Theme" to avoid confusion with Simpson's very different topical theme analysis.) It should also be noted that since for Halliday Theme stops with the first experiential element, it does not necessarily include the grammatical subject. This is the position frequently taken by SF linguists working with English (Eggins 2004; Fries 2002), along with some working with Spanish (Taboada 2004). However, other SF linguists take a different view of how much material should be considered thematic. Some (Berry 1995; Martin and Rose 2003; North 2005) feel that Subject should always be considered part of Theme, and include as Theme everything that comes before the verb of the main clause. Thus in an example from Martin and Rose (2003: 184), *By 1500, they were whaling off Greenland*, the circumstance 'By 1500' is the first experiential element, but 'they' is also counted as thematic material. Taboada (2004) addresses the subject of whether to include Subject in Theme if there is another experiential element before it in terms of differences between the Spanish and English language systems. Spanish often does not have a separate explicit Subject because this information can be recovered from verb endings. Taboada (2004) is therefore against considering Subject as Theme as it would result in a different analysis for English and Spanish, with the English equivalent of a Spanish sentence including the Subject, and the Spanish sentence not, as it had no explicit Subject. This argument works for her example, where Theme with a single experiential element "results in parallel structures":

> **En la cocina** hablaban durante horas.
> '**In the kitchen** they would talk for hours.'
> (Taboada 2004: 64, emphasis added to indicate single experiential Theme).

However, the understanding of Theme as stopping with the first experiential element does not result in a parallel structure for all sentences: without the marked circumstantial Theme 'en la cocina/in the kitchen', the Spanish sentence would start with a verb whereas the English would start with the Subject. The issue of how to analyse such sentences may require further consideration. Furthermore, recent advances in the understanding of Theme in Spanish suggest that following Halliday may be problematic for Spanish in other ways. As Arús (2004) points out in his consideration of pronominal verbs, Halliday quite explicitly states that his version of Theme does not necessarily apply to other languages (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004). Lavid (2004) highlights another difference in Spanish and English Theme: Spanish makes greater use of absolute Themes, that is elements at the front of the clause that are not also included within the clause (see Methodology below for examples and further discussion); Lavid (2004) therefore considers that the non/absolute Theme distinction should be included in the thematic system when discussing Spanish text. These and other differences between Spanish and English Theme suggest a more detailed analysis of Theme is required (Lavid, Arús and Zamorano-Mansilla 2010), and options will be considered in the Methodology chapter below.

The consideration of thematic material has until now been focused on the experiential element. However, SFL also includes as Theme material preceding the experiential component, which, for English, is divided into textual and interpersonal Themes (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004). Both of these areas of meaning have been linked with the perception of English writing as more direct and more explicit than Spanish. Textual Themes, such as 'but', connect the clause to other parts of the text; interpersonal Themes, such as 'to be honest' comment on the message of the clause. Textual and interpersonal meanings are not only located in the Theme, but the choice of initial position is significant (Fries 1983; Halliday and Matthiessen 2004). For textual meaning, Beeby Lonsdale (1996) emphasizes that English requires more visible signposts in argumentative writing, and Varela Pérez (2002) finds sentence connectors to be more common in the English texts than the Spanish texts of his study. Whittaker (1995) also

finds differences according to text type, with argumentative paragraphs using more textual Themes than non-argumentative expository paragraphs. For interpersonal meaning, Varela Pérez (2002) finds more subjective comments in his English texts, and Pak and Acevedo (2008: 132-133) associate a less “direct approach to argumentation” with a more distanced approach to addressing the reader in newspaper editorials in Spanish-speaking countries including Spain, in comparison with the more direct and explicit editorials of New York newspapers. Subjective comments and direct appeals to the reader can be found in interpersonal Themes as modal comment adjuncts (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004; Taboada 2004) expressing meanings such as probability (‘maybe’) or opinion (‘in my opinion’). Modal adjuncts also include first person projecting clauses such as ‘I think’ in ‘I think uniforms are a good idea’, where the personal commitment is made particularly explicit. This type of clause is encouraged, for example, in the Thesis and supporting arguments of a student text under Martin’s genre-based pedagogy as discussed above (Martin 2009); McCabe (2004b) provides examples in both English and Spanish of modal adjuncts and verbs used in projecting clauses.

The choice of analytic tools for contrastive discourse work is thus complex, and needs further consideration in the context of the present study. Comparative studies have suggested a range of possible differences between Spanish and English, and also a variety of ways of analysing those contrasts in lexico-grammatical and discourse terms. Chief among the lexico-grammatical differences is the tendency of Spanish to use longer grammatical units, and more subordination. Differences at text level are more difficult to establish, but suggestions include that Spanish is less concerned with specific text organisation strategies such as staging, metatext and thematic progression patterns. Many of these areas require greater specification in order to be used to compare the CLIL and non-CLIL students’ written Spanish. Areas requiring particular attention include differing understandings of subordination, and a number of points surrounding the issue of Theme, including different categorisations of thematic progression, and, most importantly, the choice of a suitable analytic framework for Theme in Spanish. The

following chapter will discuss these issues and also look in more detail at descriptions of school-based text types, along with other methodological considerations.

Chapter 4: Methodology

This chapter will consider issues related to the specific design of the study into the effect of learning through English on students' writing in Spanish. Methodological decisions to be made concern the collection and analysis of data, thus issues including the type of student text to examine, the tools for analysis of the student texts, and other information to gather from the students and the school. Specific areas to be discussed include the following:

- The use of SFL for analysis: advantages; clause analysis; genre; Theme and understandings of Theme; and thematic progression.
- School textbooks in English and in Spanish
- Student questionnaires
- Teacher interviews
- English proficiency tests

First, however, the research setting will be briefly described in order to give a context for the methodological decisions.

4.1 Research ethics

In accordance with the *Revised ethical guidelines for educational research* of the British Educational Research Association (BERA 2004), written consent to carry out the research was obtained from the Director of the school, and also from the head of the CLIL programme in the school. Consent to use their written work was also obtained from each individual student in writing. (One student preferred not to have their work used in this study, and so their texts were destroyed.) As a further attempt to respect and respond to the time, effort and good will that students and teachers from the Madrid

school contributed, I also gave written feedback on each of the students' English texts (see below), and returned the annotated copies to the school.

4.2 The research setting

The effect of studying through English on students' first language written discourse was investigated with data from a school taking part in the Spanish M.E.C./British Council Bilingual Project, now called the National Bilingual Education Project (Spain), or BEP (British Council 2010). The Project started at the beginning of primary with 43 schools in 1996, and in 2004 the first cohort entered the secondary system. In the secondary schools the BEP students study with the regular Spanish-medium students for subjects taught through Spanish, and have separate classes for subjects taught through English, which amount to about 40% of the curriculum (British Council 2010). The exact subjects taught in English in any school depends to some extent on the school itself and its staffing expertise, but subjects tend to include Social Sciences (Geography and History) and Science or Technology (in this case the CLIL subjects were Social Sciences and IT), as well as English. There are 40 secondary schools in the Bilingual Project; this study works with a school in the suburbs of Madrid, and examines the Spanish writing of secondary three students (3º ESO). The school location is seen as generally middle class, although teachers at the school reported it as being somewhat mixed.

4.3 The study participants

This section introduces the students of the study and aspects of their experience, as differences between the CLIL and non-CLIL students' schooling could help explain any contrasts found in their written Spanish. It also details aspects of the data collection. The section includes material gained through interviews with the teachers (see section 4.5.3,

and Appendix 3 for the interview questions); this material will thus not be repeated in Chapter Five.

4.3.1 The collection of text data from the CLIL and non-CLIL students

As will be discussed below, two writing prompts were used to elicit texts from the CLIL and non-CLIL students. Half the CLIL students wrote on school uniforms, and half wrote an exposition on parental control (see Appendix 1 for the prompts) during their normal Spanish class. Similarly, half the non-CLIL students wrote the school uniform text and half wrote the parental control text during their Spanish class. The reason for not collecting two texts from each student was twofold. First, it reduced the intrusion of the data collection into the students' schooling time. Secondly, it enabled an English text to be collected from the students during their English class: students then wrote on the topic they had not been given for the Spanish text (and see below). In each case, the students were allowed five minutes to discuss the topic, and then another 40 minutes to write the text individually. I was present in the class while the students wrote the texts.

4.3.2 The students' English proficiency

A recent independent study evaluating the overall BEP project found that CLIL students had higher English proficiency than non-CLIL students (British Council 2010). Nevertheless it seems prudent to check that this relative English proficiency of CLIL in comparison with non-CLIL classes holds true for the particular students under study here. Higher English proficiency does not necessarily cause a greater influence of English on Spanish, but some correlation would probably be expected. Therefore, as stated above, each student wrote in English for the prompt they were not given to write on in Spanish. Thus half of CLIL and non-CLIL students wrote on school uniforms in Spanish and parental control in English, and the other half of students wrote on parental control in Spanish and school uniforms in English (see Appendix 1 for the prompts). The texts were analysed for length and number of error-free t-units, as this has been used as a rough measure of language development (Gaies 1980; Larsen Freeman 1978). It should here be pointed out that unfortunately the two groups of students did not enjoy

equal conditions for their writing in English: the CLIL students wrote their English texts in a somewhat disruptive atmosphere, as they had a large number of overseas visitors in the class, possibly affecting their concentration. This disturbance was unforeseen when planning the gathering of data.

4.3.3 The students' exposure to English and Spanish within school

The students' exposure to English and Spanish, and the curricula they follow for the two languages may reveal distinctions in the experience of written text afforded the two groups, and thus provide a source of influence for any differences in their written Spanish. The CLIL and non-CLIL students both study Spanish in school, and follow the same Spanish language and literature curriculum. They both also have English classes, although these are organised quite differently for the two groups of students: the non-CLIL students follow a more typical English as a Foreign Language (EFL) course and use an ELF textbook (Wetz 2006), while the CLIL students use less typically EFL material such as a magazine (Today I love English n.d.). These contrasts will be further discussed below as the different experience of English text could have an influence on the students' writing in Spanish. However, in general, the non-CLIL students were following a grammar-based syllabus, with a writing element which focused on editing skills, language points, and largely non-genre specific writing such as 'a formal letter'. Conversely, the CLIL magazine did not have a syllabus of grammatical items, and its texts were much longer. (Other differences, particularly in terms of the text types read and written by the students, will be further discussed in Chapter Five and Chapter Six.) The school also produces its own magazine, but it is not known to what degree the particular students of this study interacted with the magazine. Of the subjects taught in English, the discussion will focus on social sciences, as IT was in the process of changing the materials used, and was less text based. The textbooks used with the CLIL and non-CLIL groups had many similarities in terms of field of study, but there were some differences in text types and organisation; these differences will be further

discussed below as they also could indicate a contrasting experience of text, and thus influence on the writing of the students.

4.3.4 The students' experience of English outside the classroom

CLIL students. The Bilingual Programme (BP) has a link school in Yorkshire, UK which the Spanish CLIL students visit for one week in October. In the year of this study (2007), the CLIL students were also involved with the United Nations (UN) worldwide educational programme, Global Classroom. The programme holds a UN-style assembly in a different city each year, with this year's city being Madrid. The BP students were involved in mock debates following UN protocol, and four were chosen to compete to attend the UN world assembly in May 2007. The four students each had to submit an essay on what they had gained from the global classroom and what they would gain from attending the world assembly. (The essay was discussed in the Social Sciences class as well as worked on outside class.)

Non-CLIL students. The school works hard to mitigate any feelings of exclusion that the non-CLIL students may have, for example there are study trips abroad that students may join. Teachers felt that one or two of the non-CLIL students might attend language classes such as those at the British Council, and mentioned two students from one family who used to have an English-speaking nanny. However, it was generally felt that the non-CLIL students would not be using English outside school to any great extent.

4.4 Tools for analysis of the student texts: SFL

It was seen in the preceding chapter that while similar overall issues were discussed in the various contrastive studies of Spanish and English, these studies showed variation in the analytic tools used. One such area of divergence was in the use of subordination to measure complexity. However, subordination includes different types of clauses; dividing the category into hypotaxis and embedding (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004)

reveals a significant difference in text construction: expansion versus compression (Eggins 2004). Hypotaxis describes the relationship between an independent and dependent clause (complexity between clauses); an embedded, or non-ranking, clause, on the other hand, is operating as an element inside a clause (complexity within clauses). The distinction is important for textual analysis since embedded clauses do not have direct relationships with other clauses, and so do not directly contribute to discourse structure (Schleppegrell 2004). Thus for a study investigating perceptions of logical order and directness or digression, it is useful to be able to identify hypotactic dependent clauses as distinct from embedded clauses.

The studies which make the distinction between dependent and embedded clauses are using a theory of language under the umbrella of systemic functional linguistics (SFL). Basing the analysis on such a theory has other advantages: some advantages that other theories might to some extent share, and also advantages specific to SFL. The main benefit to be gained from using a theory of language to analyse and compare the student texts is that it reduces one of the drawbacks of much of the contrastive rhetoric (CR) work that operates without a framework (Kachru 1995), that is, the inability of such CR work to explain different language use systematically, and its consequent reliance on speculation (Li 2008). SFL is particularly useful here in that it is a relatively complete theory, operating across many dimensions, and emphasising that language is a system network, made up of interconnected sets of options and interacting with its social environment (Berry 1996; Butler 2005; Martin 2001; Painter 2001). Three central concepts of the theory perhaps deserve special mention as facilitating contrastive work: instantiation, stratification and metafunction (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004). The "cline of instantiation" (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 27) explains the relationship between the system and any text, seen as the two extremes of the cline: the system is the overall potential of which the text forms one example or instance, and the text can then be discussed from various points on the cline, such as in terms of text type. Stratification explains the relationship between the different levels (strata) of the language system, for example between experience/environment and meaning (semantics), or between

meaning and wording (lexicogrammar); each level is realised at the level below, so lexicogrammar realises content/meaning. 'Metafunction' explains three separate strands of meaning that can be realised in a message: the message construes experience (ideational meaning), enacts social relationships (interpersonal meaning), and also facilitates/enables the realisation of these two meanings (textual meaning) (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 29-31). These three aspects interact and, along with other aspects of SFL theory, allow for a more systematic discussion of differences, seeing them as the result of different (not necessarily conscious) choices, with each choice carrying meaning (Christie and Unsworth 2000). SFL is suited to work in comparative discourse for other reasons. Although originally developed for work at clause level, it studies text not decontextualised sentences, and it is more applicable than some other theories of language (Berry 1996; Byrnes 2009). SFL also sees language as "a constantly changing, dynamic, open system" (Butler 2005) rather than as fixed and immutable. It has also been pointed out that a theory which emphasises the relationship between meaning and form, or content and language, is particularly suited to work within a CLIL context (Byrnes 2009; Mohan and Beckett 2003; Mohan and Slater 2005). One potential drawback to SFL for contrastive use across languages, is that it has been more extensively worked out for English than for other languages. Work on languages other than English is gradually increasing (Caffarel, Martin and Matthiessen 2004; Rose 2001), but the generalisability of some aspects of the system remain to be clarified (Byrnes 2009), as will be seen below.

Furthermore, while SFL may provide a suitable theory for contrastive discourse work such as the current study, within SFL there are still varying interpretations and applications of the theoretical model, plus the effect of differences in the two languages, Spanish and English also needs consideration. The next section will therefore examine some of these areas of choice of data and analysis in terms of suitability for the present study.

4.4.1 Analysis: grammatical complexity

As was discussed in the previous chapter, complexity has most commonly been investigated by counting words per unit such as words per sentence or words per clause (Neff et al. 2004; Reppen and Grabe 1993), and also clausal complexity, usually through counting clauses per sentence and also by comparing use of subordination (Arcay Hands and Cossé 2004; Montaño-Harmon 1991; Reppen and Grabe 1993). In addition to the methods of these previous studies, the division of subordination into complexity within the clause (embedded clauses) and complexity between clauses (hypotaxis) seems a useful distinction to maintain, as was discussed above. Since subordination is often discussed as an indicator of Spanish text's greater complexity (Reppen and Grabe 1993), the two types of complexity can be further investigated. Sentences can be analysed in terms of simplexes, that is, sentences of only one ranking (non-embedded) clause, and complexes, with two or more such clauses; complexes can be further divided into two-clause complexes, three-clause complexes and so on (Eggins 2004). Embedded clauses per sentence or per ranking clause can also be counted to investigate complexity within these units.

There is not space to go through all the different types of logico-semantic relationships that may connect clauses within a clause complex, although examples of some semantic relations will be discussed under Findings below. The basic division is between *expansion*, where one clause expands or develops the meaning of another by elaborating, extending or enhancing it, and *projection*, where one clause is the quoted or reported words or thoughts, the source of those words or thoughts (who said or thought them) appearing in the projecting clause (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 377). Projection perhaps merits a little more discussion here as it demonstrates a less-commonly considered type of meaning and relation between clauses, and the projected clause can be otherwise confused with an embedded clause. Clauses with mental or verbal processes, such as 'I think' or 'She said' can project what is thought or said in a separate clause, for example 'I think/uniforms are good for students.' Here, the clause 'uniforms are good for students' is seen as a different, higher level of experience, and so

is not considered part of the ‘I think’ clause (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004). The contrast with a non-projected embedded clause can be illustrated with the seemingly similar mental processes expressed in a clause starting ‘I recognise …’ or ‘I regret’ or ‘I admit’. In all of these situations, what follows is a pre-existing fact; it is not brought into being by the Senser/Sayer. Thus Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 476) contrast a two clause clause complex of a projecting and projected clause:

Mark Antony thought//that Caesar was ambitious.

with the following simplex of one ranking clause and one embedded clause:

Mark Antony regretted [[(the fact) that Caesar was dead]].

One further note on the units to be analysed is the difference between the terms sentence and clause complexes. A sentence is an orthographic rather than a grammatical unit, while a clause complex is a unit with clauses which are connected in terms of grammar and meaning: “clause complexes involve the *logical* chaining together of *experientially related* meanings” (Eggins 2004: 258; her emphasis). The two terms may be used to refer to the same stretch of language, but they have a different emphasis. Even when analysing written as opposed to spoken text, the orthographic sentence is not always the most useful unit, and in the current study it may be problematic for two reasons. First, it has been found that students, especially when writing without the opportunity for reflection and revision, do not necessarily use the orthographic sentence in a consistent or conventional manner (Hunt 1965; Larsen-Freeman 1978). Secondly, studies suggest that the orthographic sentence may be used differently in Spanish from English (Montaño-Harmon 1991; Pak and Acevedo 2008; Reppen & Grabe 1993; and findings below). The current study will investigate whether the CLIL students’ Spanish writing has been influenced by their increased contact with English; relying on sentences alone as a unit of analysis if they are used differently in the two languages could either hide or exaggerate other differences. Hunt (1965) was concerned with the first of the two issues mentioned here, developmental differences in students’ use of sentences, and his

alternative unit of analysis, the t-unit, has been widely used (Fries 1983; Fries 1995b; Neff et al. 2004). Following Hunt (1965), each t-unit consists of an independent clause and any clauses dependent on it; a similar unit of analysis is called an independent conjoinable clause-complex (ICCC) by Fries (2002), and a clause unit by McCabe (2004a). It is still of interest to compare the use of sentences in CLIL and non-CLIL texts, as this indicates the clauses students chose to bond more closely, and is an area found to be different between English and Spanish text. However, the t-unit makes it possible to consider whether there are other differences of complexity regardless of use of sentences.

Thus, to summarise this section of the methodology, in order to investigate grammatical complexity, the CLIL and non-CLIL student texts were analysed for:

- Basic units as number of words:
    - Words per text, sentence, t-unit, and ranking clause
- Combinations of units:
    - Sentences per text
    - Ranking clauses per sentence and per text
    - Embedded clauses per ranking clause, sentence and text
- Clause complexing:
    - clause simplexes
    - clause complexes; clause complexes further analysed into:
        - 2-clause, 3-clause, 4-clause and >4-clause complexes

(The units listed above are described as 'grammatical units' for convenience in this thesis, with the understanding that they are not in fact all grammatical, as explained above.)

4.4.2 Complexity and text structure: text types

The relationship of text structure to features examined in previous studies, such as complexity, digression and emphasis on form, will depend upon the type of text chosen

for study. This study is focused on the effect of one schooling choice, CLIL, on students' first language writing. It is therefore important to examine a text type which is more likely to be influenced by schooling. School is seen as the strongest influence on children's writing generally (Leki 1991), and particularly so for factual rather than non-factual writing. Of the many different factual genres, expository writing is probably the most closely associated with schooling as it has traditionally been the means by which students demonstrate the knowledge and skills they have acquired (Schleppegrell 2004), particularly for the arts and humanities subjects. For example Unsworth (2000: 247) calls explanation and argument the "privileged" genres for the assessment of school history, in contrast with the less-valued narrative. Evaluative or argumentative writing is also seen as more likely to be culturally specific (Hatim and Mason 1990): that is, an evaluative, argumentative text is more likely to be produced differently in two languages/cultures than would an explanatory or descriptive text. It would therefore seem appropriate to base the study of non-CLIL and CLIL student writing on expository/argumentative texts produced by the two groups of students. The students had not yet explicitly studied argumentative writing in either Spanish or English classes, which also made these text types a suitable choice, as the intention of the study was to investigate the general effect of CLIL, and not just the effect of direct teaching in one text type (although this point will be revisited in the Discussion chapter below). The terms 'expository' and 'argumentative' have been used to refer to a range of text types, however, and further consideration is needed before specifying the exact texts to be studied.

Most works discussing factual student writing talk of a two-way division between explanatory and argumentative texts, but do not always coincide in their choice of terms for each of these categories. Argumentative texts are variously called *argument* (Alonso Belmonte 1997; Álvarez 1994; Berrill 1990; Calleja 2003; Crowhurst 1996; Loureda Lamas 2003; Tirkonnen-Condit 1984), *persuasion* (Martin and Peters 1985), and *exposition* (Schleppegrell 2004), or a combination of those (Lee 2008), while explanatory texts are most commonly called *explanation* (Coffin, Donohue and North

2009; Loureda Lamas 2003; Schleppegrell 2004) or *exposition* (Alonso Belmonte 1997; Álvarez 1994; Berrill 1990; Calleja 2003). There can therefore be some confusion over the term exposition, as it has been used to apply to both explanation and argument. Indeed, some (Grabe 1987; Martin and Peters 1985; Sánchez Miguel 1998) use exposition as an umbrella term which includes both argument/persuasion and explanation. (To avoid confusion, I will generally refer to the two groupings as explanation and argument, but also indicate where authors use the term exposition.)

These two general groups of text types are used in works discussing Spanish as well as English texts, with general agreement on the purpose of the two groups of texts. Thus the function of exposition/explanation is to explain (Álvarez 1994; Bustos Gisbert 1996; Calleja 2003; Schleppegrell 2004), more specifically "to explore how things work or how something came to be", for example, soil erosion (Turbill 2007). It is also seen as serving to inform (Calleja 2003; Sánchez Miguel 1998) and interpret (Bustos Gisbert 1996; Calleja 2003; Schleppegrell 2004). (The discussion of geography texts below gives further subdivisions in explanatory texts.) The function of argument, on the other hand, is to "argue (or persuade) a case for or against a particular view or position" (Turbill 2007), with similar points made in Álvarez (1994); Bustos Gisbert (1996), Calleja (2003), Loureda Lamas (2003) and Schleppegrell (2004) among others. This general argumentative purpose can be further divided into *analytical* exposition/argument, which is designed to persuade the reader that something (a view, position, thesis) is correct or appropriate, and *hortatory* exposition/argument, designed to persuade the reader to do (or not do) something (Martin 1989). The analytical/hortatory distinction will be readdressed in connection with the geography texts below. Incidentally, most of the commentators discussed here so far make no explicit distinction between argument and persuasion, and in line with this work, I will also make no distinction. Other studies do distinguish, for example Connor and Lauer (1988) associate argument with the mind and persuasion with 'will', and analyse persuasive appeals separately from logical arguments; similarly Reyzábal (2002) contrasts persuasive discourse using emotions and subjectivity with 'convincente'

discourse which is based on argumentation, presented as more objective and evidence-based; both, however, are seen by Reyzábal as intending to influence.

While Spanish and English-language researchers seem to share an overall understanding of the purpose of these text types, there is less similarity on the details of how the purpose of each text type is carried out in terms of text organisation and linguistic features. Or rather, it seems more customary to discuss such details for English than for Spanish (Parodi 2010). Exceptions exist, such as Bustos Gisbert's (1996) *La construcción de textos en español*, which discusses examples of expository (explanation and argument) texts and analyes them in terms of schematic organisation. Álvarez (1994) also discusses features of expository writing and analyses examples, although focusing more on strategies and resources for effective realisation of argument, such as use of examples and of repetition. Perhaps more typical are works on text types and/or production of texts in Spanish such as Fuentes Rodríguez (1996), Loureda Lamas (2003), Núñez Ladevéze (1993) and Sánchez Miguel (1998). While these studies sometimes refer briefly to exposition and argument, they generally focus attention, not on the realisation of specific genres, but, for example, on typological classification (Loureda Lamas 2003), general issues of coherence and cohesion (Fuentes Rodríguez 1996; Núñez Ladevéze 1993), or difficulties encountered in the reading and writing process (Sánchez Miguel 1998). On occasion, the authors make their reasons for choice of emphasis explicit: in *Aproximación a la esctructura del texto*, Fuentes Rodríguez (1996) refers to text types discussed by van Dijk (1983) and Adams (1990) and briefly describes the purpose and characteristics of the text types and acknowledges that the different parts of a text are affected by the text type they feature in. However, she then goes on to say that a study of such text types or genres is beyond the scope of her book. Similarly, in his chapter on textual order and organisation in *Teoría y práctica de la construcción del texto*, Núñez Ladevéze (1993) explains that normative rules of text organisation cannot be produced since textual organisation depends upon text type, and so he will limit himself to commenting on issues related to global coherence. Further, Núñez Ladevéze (1993) goes on to say that to be preoccupied with textual organisation

is a mistake of priorities, and that the more important focus of concern for a writer should be their lack of expressive skill ("falta de habilidad expresiva" p304).

In contrast, much work has been done in English on the characteristics of genres, including textual organisation. As was discussed in the preceding chapter, the most fully-developed pedagogical use of genre approaches is that associated with SFL in Australia, which has had some influence on curriculum development in Britain (Carter 1990; Walsh 2006). This body of work may therefore suggest forms of textual organisation that could be used to examine the CLIL and non-CLIL argumentative student texts (work on explanatory texts will be discussed under geography texts below). Differences can be found in the categories used by various authors to describe argumentative writing, but the three-way division of exposition, discussion and challenge used to describe expository history writing (Martin 2000; Martin and Rose 2008) covers commonly-used types. Each of the argumentative genres is seen as having a different purpose, and thus a different organisation; the importance of text organisation is emphasised. The first of the three is the one-sided argument, *exposition*, which promotes one viewpoint (Martin 2000; Martin 2009; Martin and Rose 2008), and is also referred to as Thesis/argument (Hardy and Klarwein 1990). In this, the simplest of the argument text structures described, the purpose is to support a thesis, and this is achieved by presenting arguments in favour of the thesis. The suggested organisation includes an introduction which features the thesis and also the main arguments to be used, followed by a separate paragraph to develop each argument, and finally a conclusion which restates the thesis (Martin 1993; Martin 2000; Martin 2009; Schleppegrell 2006). Added details are given for text organisation of an exposition: topic sentences are needed "as a bridge to the Thesis in each paragraph (Martin 2009: 14). The second argumentative structure used is the two-sided argument, or *discussion* (Martin 2000; Martin and Rose 2008), which considers alternative positions relating to an issue, with the purpose of indicating the preferred response. The two-sided argument can also be realised as a *for/against* structure (Derewianka 1990). Coffin, Donohue and North (2009) give the generic stages of a discussion as *issue*, *arguments for*, *arguments*

against, and what they see as optional, (*position*); Martin (2000) expresses the staging as Issues^Sides^Resolution. Thirdly, a *challenge* is an argumentative text that takes as its starting point an opposing position, moving on to demonstrate why that position is faulty or requires modification using rebuttals and counter-arguments, and finishing with the 'Anti-thesis' presenting the preferred viewpoint (Coffin 1997; Martin 2000; Martin and Rose 2008).

Since various factors connected with the topic choice and the wording of the prompt may influence how students respond to a prompt, it has seemed preferable in my own research to use more than one topic with the CLIL and non-CLIL students. A further decision was whether to base the writing on materials the students had studied in other classes, such as Social Sciences, or whether to use non-curriculum topics. I chose non-curriculum topics so as to reduce the chance of the texts students wrote being influenced by specific curriculum materials, such as a text book. Finally two non-discipline specific prompts were chosen, one on school uniform, which lent itself to a two-sided discussion, and another on parental control, which seemed to allow various possible approaches (see Appendix 1 for the two prompts). However, the variety in responses to the parental control prompt was found to be even greater than expected, revealing an ambiguity in the prompt, as will be discussed in Chapter Five below.

Thus, to summarise the methodology used to investigate text structure, the CLIL and non-CLIL student texts were analysed for use of frameworks for text organisation, in particular, but not exclusively, for:

- two-sided exposition (for example for/against; advantages/disadvantages)
- one-sided exposition (thesis, argument/s, thesis)
- explicit or implicit opinion, and whether it was found in the introduction, the conclusion, or both
- explicit organizational signposting (for example There are two advantages, first … second …)

4.4.3 Theme

Complexity and text structure are also considered in terms of Theme and thematic progression. As was said in the chapter above, for those working with a broadly functional orientation, the overall understanding of the role and identification of Theme in Spanish and in English is the same: it indicates the point of departure of a clause, and occupies initial position (Bernárdez 1995, cited in Taboada 2004; Jiménez Juliá 2000; McCabe and Alonso 2000; Taboada 2004). However, sites of disagreement for those working either with Spanish alone or with both English and Spanish include how broadly to interpret point of departure, and thus the location of the dividing line between Theme and Rheme, a crucial issue to decide upon for the present study and one which has repercussions on other aspects of the analysis. Other issues connected with Theme analysis concern interpersonal Theme and its realisation through grammatical metaphor. Thematic progression and options for its analysis will be considered separately below, but will also be brought into the discussion of Theme where relevant to interpretations of the Theme/Rheme divide.

The extent of Theme, and thus the boundary between Theme and Rheme, has been a much disputed issue in SFL discussions of Theme in English. Berry (1996) outlined ten possible interpretations of Theme as initial position. The most prominent interpretation (Thompson 2007) is Halliday's view of English Theme as extending up to the first experiential element:

> The guiding principle of thematic structure is this: the Theme contains one, and only one, of these experiential elements. This means that the Theme of a clause ends with the first constituent that is either participant, circumstance or process. (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:79)

Another influential interpretation includes the Subject in Theme automatically, even when it is preceded by another experiential element (Berry 1996; Cummings 2005; Martin and Rose 2007). The discussion has not yet been so extensive for Theme in Spanish, but it is still an area of analysis that is recognised to be problematic (Taboada 2004). Theme also needs further consideration here with particular reference to the

resources of the two languages, as Spanish and English have different options for the arrangement of clause elements, and thus for thematic structure, and these differences may affect analysis decisions. Relevant issues include sequencing of elements in the clause, the use or not of an explicit Subject, and interpersonal markings, particularly verbal affixes and clitics.

As was said in the preceding chapter, a key difference between the way Spanish and English languages work is the greater use of an explicit Subject in English than in Spanish (Alarcos Llorach 1999; Gili Gaya 1983; Posner 1996). Without an explicit Subject, Spanish clauses frequently start with the process (and indeed in some cases clauses with an explicit Subject may still have the process first [López Meirama 2006]). The candidates for experiential Theme are then the verb stem alone (Taboada 2004), or the verb stem and also participant as encoded in the suffixes (Lavid, Arús and Zamorano 2010), or the elliptical Subject, used for analysis of Portuguese (Barbara and Gouveia 2004, cited in Arús 2010) and in the work of doctoral students associated with Jim Martin in Sydney, for example Moyano (2010).

Each of these interpretations brings further problems and questions. The most problematic is perhaps to use verb stem, as it results in an analysis which highlights the process and obscures the participants for Spanish in relation to otherwise comparable English text; this analysis makes thematic progression patterns difficult to compare across the two languages. Taboada (2004), in a book length study of coherence in Spanish and English spoken dialogues (but using tools originally designed for written text), provides a fuller discussion of the issue than most commentators, and the findings for her study also illustrate the dilemma. Taboada (2004) counts Finite as ideational Theme, but only considers the verb stem, not the participant suffixes. She acknowledges that the Finite verb includes person and number information, and so is linked to previous text referring to that person, but since the link is not made explicit by exact repetition she does not count that information for purposes of tracking thematic progression. This decision means, for example, that a text in Spanish with constant participant (marked by

the suffix), but changing process (the verb stem) is analysed as having a high number of new Themes, that is, Themes not mentioned before. An equivalent English text has the constant participant explicitly marked with repetition of the subject pronoun, which is analysed as constant Theme. Her findings thus show many more new Themes (Themes not picking up material from previous clauses) for Spanish than for English, and she concludes that this result is problematic, causing her "to question the adequacy of the interpretation of English-based thematic progression for Spanish" (Taboada 2004: 209), and to suggest that the status of Spanish processes needs reconsideration. (The issue of how to trace thematic progression and what to consider as repetition of previous material in a Theme will be dealt with below.) Other, shorter, Spanish studies do not go into the detail of Taboada (2004), but illustrate the alternative interpretations of experiential Theme. For example, McCabe (2004a) also considers process as Theme, but counts person markings as forming patterns of thematic progression with previous text, not as new Themes. However, considering verb stem and also participant information from suffixes is also problematic for understandings of Theme as reaching up to the first experiential element, since it results in two experiential elements, process and participant. Lastly, to identify as Theme the non-explicit or elliptical Subject also raises further questions, for example as to exactly where the elliptical Subject would be placed if it were made explicit.

Since Spanish clauses starting with the verb are frequent, and the alternatives for analysis differ considerably, the details of thematic analysis for Spanish need further consideration before establishing the methodology for this study. The issue has not been discussed extensively within work on Spanish, but work on other languages and on language typology can contribute. Two categories of relevant studies may help: those which discuss the extent of Theme and the value of including the participant in Theme; and those which discuss strategies different languages have for resolving sequencing issues.

4.4.3.1 Extent of Theme and participant's role in Theme

Several key commentators emphasise that Theme-Rheme should be considered as a continuum rather than a discrete set of binary relationship. Matthiessen (1992) describes the continuum using the metaphor of a wave, with thematic prominence moving from peak to trough, and quotes a similar description from an earlier paper from Halliday (1982). The peaks and troughs in this wave produce a movement more like a "swell" or "pulse" than a continuous flow (Matthiessen 1992: 42-43; Thompson 2007), with thematic prominence gradually decreasing (Matthiessen 1992; Thompson 2007). The wave metaphor is a popular one (Cummings 2005; Martin 1995; Thompson 2007); Theme has also been described as a "zone" (Gómez-González 2001: 185), a "region" (Thompson 2007: 673), and a "graduated phenomenon" (Cummings 2005: 131). All these representations of Theme illustrate the inherent difficulty in establishing a Theme-Rheme boundary: boundaries suggest discrete constituents rather than a continuum. Berry (1996) also points out that the understanding of Theme as a continuum is a way of reconciling different interpretations: if Theme is a diminishing continuum, the Theme/Rheme cut-off is less absolute, and may depend, for example, on the purpose of analysis (Thompson 2007).

Turning then to why that cut-off might be extended beyond the first experiential element, both discourse and language resource arguments provide support for reconsidering Theme. It is frequently argued that participant Theme has a special importance (Downing 1991; Rose 2001), and that the inclusion of participant identity in Theme is necessary for discourse reasons, to track method of development (Downing and Locke 2006; Matthiessen 1992; Rose 2001). For example, Matthiessen (1992) discusses Theme and method of development in an English text where the Subject after the circumstantial Theme is selected as Theme in subsequent clauses, and concludes that this suggests that "the [post-circumstantial] Subject still falls within the diminuendo of the thematic wave" (Matthiessen 1992: 52). *The Systemic Functional Grammar of Spanish* (Lavid et al. 2010) uses an understanding of Theme which allows for more than one element in experiential Theme, and for the tracking of different types of

development or "continuity chains" (Lavid et al. 2010: 315). While the authors do not explicitly discuss the range of viewpoints on the boundary for experiential Theme, their definition of *Thematic Head*, as they call the main element in the experiential Theme, indicates the importance of being able to track participants through Theme.

> We define the *Thematic Head* as the first element with a function in the experiential configuration of the clause which is more central to the unfolding of the text by allowing the tracking of the discourse participants. (Lavid et al. 2010: 299).

For example:

> *El catorce de Enero de 1922, Emma Zunz, al volver de la fábrica de tejidos Tarbuch y Loewenthal, halló en el fondo del zaguán una carta …*
> [On the fourteenth of January 1922, Emma Zunz when she returned home from the Tarbuch and Loewenthal textile mills, Emma Zunz discovered in the rear of the entrance hall a letter …]
> (extract from 'Emma Zunz' by Jorge Luis Borges 1966, cited in Lavid et al. (2010: 358); original underlining to show Theme).

The Thematic Head, the Participant 'Emma Zunz', is preceded by the temporal Circumstance 'El catorce de Enero de 1922', termed the *Pre-Head* in the thematic analysis of Lavid et al. (2010).

A further consideration for the present study is that a more complex experiential Theme may also be characteristic of certain texts, with a difference between field accompanying and field constituting texts (Rose 2001). Thus, to use examples from Martin (1992), a field constituting text such as an interview about showing a dog may use more complex experiential Themes than a field accompanying text such as the dog show itself. Written argument, such as the texts the CLIL and non-CLIL students write for this study, are field constituting, and so may be likely to use complex experiential Themes. There may therefore be particular discourse reasons to extend the boundary of Theme beyond the first experiential element for this study.

As well as discourse reasons to support reconsideration of the extent of Theme for both English and Spanish, language-specific strategies to resolve the "competition for thematic status" (Rose 2001:112), may be different for Spanish and English, and thus the view of Theme developed for English may be unsuited to analysis of Spanish text. Rose (2001) considers the issue with reference to a wide range of languages, including Japanese, the Australian language Pitjantjatjara, Scottish Gaelic and French (plus a mention of other 'Mediterranean' languages including Spanish). Even though Rose does not include Spanish examples in his discussion, the thematic strategies he considers have some relevance for Spanish, in particular conflation and use of clitics. Conflation describes how, rather than each function being represented by a different element, two functions are located within one element. Thus, as discussed above for Spanish, process and participant identity can both be found in the Finite, as stem verb and suffixes. Lavid et al. (2010) are able to acknowledge this dual nature of the Finite through their two-part analysis of experiential Theme: *Pre-Head* (in this case verb stem) and *Head* (participant identity through suffix). For example:

Experiential Theme		Rheme
Pre-Head	**Head**	
Recogió		*el papel*
(pick up)	3s past	the paper

[She picked up the paper]

(extract from 'Emma Zunz' by Jorge Luis Borges 1966, cited in Lavid et al. (2010: 316; original underlining p 314 to show Theme).

The Sydney group working with Jim Martin would dispute this analysis, and instead see it as an elliptical Subject Theme, so that [She], or Emma Zunz, but not the Process would be experiential Theme. However, Arús (2010) points out that it cannot always be reliably assumed that the elliptical Subject would, if expressed explicitly, be placed in preverbal position, since the Subject position in Spanish, unlike English, is not grammaticalised. Indeed, Arús (2010: 31) gives examples from his Spanish data (plus translation into English) of clauses where the Subject is found after the Process:

Por la noche	*entraron*	*en la Iglesia*	*doce ladrones …*
At night	enter PAST-3pl	in the church	twelve thieves

Se adelantó	*el más valiente de los bandidos*
Step forward PAST 3sg	the bravest bandit …

Another language strategy discussed by Rose (in regard to Pitjantjatjara and to French) is the use of clitics, or weak pronouns, also found in Spanish, and again a disputed area of analysis. Spanish clitics are bound to the verb, acting almost as affixes; although orthographically separate when placed before the verb, they cannot act independently from the verb (Alarcos Llorach 1999) and are seen by some as in the process of becoming fully attached to the verb (Lavid et al. 2010; Whitley 2002). Rose (2001), working with transcripts of Pitjantjatjara, also uses phonological evidence for clitics being considered as part of Theme; he shows the clitic, indicating participant identity, within the same foot as the experiential Theme, for example process or place, and so considers the clause to have two experiential Themes. “The thematic potential of the message is not entirely exhausted by the salient topical [i.e. experiential] Theme, allowing the clitic elements to be included.” (Rose 2001: 120). The role of clitics in Spanish raises questions for Theme analysis, principally in terms of their non-independent nature and what that entails for analysis: whether they should be considered as Theme independently of another element, or not.

Taboada’s (2004: 70) position is that clitics are “not independent forms; they attach to the verb” and so cannot be Theme on their own; the clitic plus the verb is thus considered Theme. Moyano (2010) agrees that clitics cannot independently be Theme, but considers the elliptical Subject rather than the Process to be Theme. Arús (2004; 2010) and Lavid et al. (2010), however, differ from both Taboada (2004) and Moyano (2010) in analysing some clitics as Theme, independent of the verb and without elliptical Subject. There are two overarching issues to be considered here: whether in principle clitics could be analysed as independently Theme, and secondly, whether that is a preferable view to considering either clitic plus verb or alternatively elliptical

Subject as Theme. The first point will be considered with one use of clitics as illustration, but then the discussion of the analysis of clitics will consider differing uses of clitics separately, as the analysis may depend on the specific use.

In arguing that clitics are not automatically unable to be Theme on their own, Arús (2004) considers cases of clitics in pronominal reduplication of a participant, for example:

Benjamín	*le*	*dio*	*un abrazo*	*a la enfermera Jones*
Benjamin	to her	gave	a hug	to nurse Jones

Benjamin gave Nurse Jones a hug
(Arús 2004: 173-4)

Here the clitic pronoun '*le*' and the nominal '*a la enfermera*' refer to the same participant, and indeed the sentence would not be possible in Spanish without 'le'. Arús (2004) agrees that the participant in this case therefore consists of two elements, but argues that it is not unprecedented for a two-part element to have one part as Theme and one as Rheme, comparing the reduplicated participant in the Spanish example above with the division of the Finite/Predicator in English, for example Did/sleep, in the following example from Halliday (2004: 76):

Did you	sleep okay?
Theme	Rheme

The alternative, for Arús (2004), would be to consider both parts of the Participant as Theme, an option he rejects as the two parts are not necessarily adjacent in the clause. Making both the nominal group and the clitic pronoun Theme would therefore result in much else being thematic too: in the above example the entire sentence would be thematic. Neither Taboada (2004) nor Moyano (2010) in fact suggest that Theme should extend to the nominal group, and there are also uses of clitics other than pronominal reduplication. Thus in addition to the question of whether non-independent elements can be considered Theme, the alternative views of Theme as clitic plus verb (Taboada 2004) or as elliptical Subject instead of clitic (Moyano 2010) need to be examined in relation

to the different uses of clitics. In some cases, the analysis of Lavid et al. (2010) and Arús (2004) coincides with that of Taboada (2004), and in some cases it does not, depending on the role of the clitics, particularly whether they are acting as a Participant or not. The following section will consider a number of cases: direct and indirect object, reflexives, pseudo-reflexives, plus impersonal *se* and *se* passive.

The most straightforward case is of clitics functioning as direct or indirect object (SFGS uses these terms from traditional grammar). For example 'La' in an extract from the same Borges story in Lavid et al. (2010) as used above:

La *engañaron,* *a primera vista,* *el sello y el sobre*
Her deceived, at first sight, the stamp and the envelope
The stamp and the envelope deceived her at first (Lavid et al. 2010: 300).

Here the clitic is representing a nominal group (Emma Zunz, who was named in the previous sentence), is clearly a Participant, and is analysed by SFGS as Head Theme (experiential) on its own:

La	*engañaron, a primera vista, el sello y el sobre*
Direct Object	
Unmarked Thematic Head	Rhematic field

(Lavid et al. 2010: 327)

However, Moyano (2010), in an example also starting with a direct object clitic (this time masculine), does not analyse it as Theme. In some examples, the result is similar, as the elliptical object expresses the same Participant as the clitic:

"***A Tupac Amaru*** *le* *cortó* *la lengua* *el verdugo*,
[To Tupac Amaru him cut the tongue the executioner
(Tupac Amaru's had his tongue cut out by the executioner)]
[**a Tupac Amaru**] le ataron enseguida las manos y los pies con cuatro lazos …"
[[to Tupac Amaru] him they tied immediately his hands and feet with four ropes (they immediately tied his hands and feet with four ropes)]
(Moyano 2010: 35 her boldface showing Theme; my translation).

But in another example the use of elliptical Subject as Theme rather than the object pronoun clitic results in a different Theme:

> "***Un cacique de la provincia de Tinta*** *…. convidó a su casa al corregidor de la provincia, don Antonio Arriaga,*
> [A local chief of the province of Tinta … invited to his house the judge/mayor of the province, don Antonio Arriaga,]
> *[**un cacique**] lo apresó por sorpresa …"*
> [a local chief] him captured by surprise …] (Moyano 2010: 33, bold showing Theme, my translation)

Here, the use of the direct object pronoun 'lo' as Theme would have resulted in the victim-judge rather than the aggressor-chief being thematic. Arús (2010), although speaking of different examples, argues that such cases of elliptical Subject are not in fact cases of "Theme-drop", but rather of "Given-drop", and that this point in fact illustrates the (much disputed) difference between Theme and Given: "the former has to be expressed so the text can develop, whereas the latter, by virtue of its very essence, is perfectly dispensable" (Arús 2010:32). (The use of the term '-drop' is perhaps unfortunate in that it suggests the presence of these elements is the norm.)

The clitics acting as object as described above are participants in the clause. In true reflexives the clitic is also a Participant: "*Me vi en el espejo [a mí mismo]*" ('I saw myself in the mirror') (Lorenzo 1997: 550, my translation). In such cases, the clitic is analysed as Head experiential Theme in Lavid et al., for example "<u>*Se*</u> *lavó*", ('S/he washed him/herself') (Lavid et al. 2010: 327; underlining to show Theme in original). The complications in analysis arise with the many instances which are formally similar to reflexive verbs as above, but which use the clitics for different purposes, called pseudo-reflexive (Lavid et al. 2010; Lozano 1997; Taboada 1995) or pronominal verbs (Butt and Benjamin 2004), although in most cases it is the use rather than the verb itself which is relevant. With this large group of verbs, Lavid et al. (2010) agree with Taboada (2004) that the clitic cannot operate as Theme independently from the verb. Thus, for example:

"y se fue a su cuarto"
['and went to her room']
(Lavid et al. 2010: 314; underlining to indicate Theme in original).

The reason for this seeming different analysis for the clitic is its role in these cases: the clitic does not have a grammatical function, but operates as a marker to indicate the meaning of the verb, which is different from its meaning without the clitic marker. Two main groups of meaning are usually discussed for pseudo-reflexives (Lozano 1997): directional movement as in the example above, and mental/emotional process/change. Directional movement verbs have a version with and without the pronominal, for example *ir/irse* or *subir/subirse*, and the meaning added with the use of the pronominal is difficult to explain, for example the difference between ir and irse has been compared with 'to go' versus 'to go away' (Butt and Benjamin 2004: 378). It has been described as showing personal involvement: "deep personal interest", or "gaining something for myself" (Lozano 1997: 550), with "I shot myself a deer" suggested as the nearest equivalent to this type of meaning in English (Lozano 1997:550). The pseudo-reflexives of mental change, for example *despertarse* ('to wake up'), concern non-deliberate processes. Although the pronominal marker indicates this meaning, for some verbs such as *quejarse* ('to complain') the base form without the pronominal is barely used.

To come back to the analysis of clitics for Theme, it can be seen from the above that in pseudo-reflexive constructions the role of the clitic is as marker of verb meaning rather than to indicate the Participant. Here, then, it seems less disputable that the clitic cannot be Theme on its own; Lavid et al. (2010) place the clitic as Pre-Head along with the verb stem, with the verbal suffix indicating the Participant as Head.

Two further constructions need to be considered for analysis of the participle *se*: impersonal *se* and *se* passive, and here again the issue is whether *se* represents the Participant and so would be considered thematic independent of the verb. Again, Taboada (2004) considers *se* to be bound to the verb, and so unable to be thematic without the verb. However, impersonal *se* is referred to as an impersonal subject

(Taboada 1995), or perhaps more accurately as an indefinite subject (RAE 1986, cited in Lavid et al. 2010); it can be translated as 'one' or 'someone', and has been compared with the dummy *it* of English (McCabe 1995, cited in Taboada 2004). The particle can thus be considered as Particpant, and indeed, SFGS place impersonal *se* as thematic Head in, for example "*Se vive al día*" (People live hand to mouth) (Lavid et al. 2010: 327). The *se* passive, also called the *passive refleja* (Alarcos Llorach 1999) has been described as being half way between passive and impersonal *se* (Taboada 1995), with translation possibilities including passive voice and 'Somebody …,' again suggesting a participant role for *se*. Using the examples from García (1975, cited in Taboada 1995):

> *Se quemó el dulce.*
> "se' burnt the jam
> 'Somebody burnt the jam.'/'The jam was burnt.'
>
> *Se cumplieron las promesas*.
> "se' fulfilled the promises
> 'Somebody fulfilled the promises'/'The promises were fulfilled.'

Thus for Lavid et al. (2010) the thematic analysis of clitics including participle *se* depends on the role the clitic plays in the clause. In pseudo-reflexive verbs the clitic is to a greater extent part of the verb, and so is analysed as such. For other uses of clitics - as direct and indirect objects, true reflexives, impersonal se and se passive constructions - the clitic operates as Participant, and thus can be analysed as Theme Head independently of the verb.

The approach to Theme of Lavid et al. (2010) clarifies the role of clitics and person markings on verbs, and also allows for both circumstance and participant in Theme through the analysis into Pre-Head and Head. One potential criticism of this approach is its interpretation of where the thematic wave reaches greatest prominence. The division of experiential Theme into Pre-Head and Head places the prominence later rather than earlier in the clause, and so contrasts with Matthiessen's (1992) view of thematic prominences as gradually diminishing. These terms can perhaps be avoided in English by the use of Circumstantial and Participant as terms to describe two different

experiential Themes (Rose 2001), but in Spanish, Pre-Head, although most typically realised by circumstantial elements, also includes other elements such as the *se* marker in pseudo-reflexive constructions and the negative 'no' marker (Lavid et al. 2010) (this last example will be discussed under *Multiple Theme* below). As was said above, the various understandings of Spanish Theme thus each have their difficulties and problematic areas. Lavid et al. (2010) is at least the currently most fully worked out version, and also is the work of researchers working in the same city as the school where data was collected, and so will be used for this study.

The understanding of Theme as demonstrated in the examples from Lavid et al. (2010) above frequently results in a more complex thematic structure which may need to be reflected in the analysis; Lavid et al. also provide a detailed set of sub-divisions within the thematic field which may be useful for the current study. Some of these sub-divisions have already been introduced above, specifically the division of experiential Theme into Pre-Head and Head. To recap, in Lavid et al. the experiential Theme is considered the *Inner Thematic field*, and can have two components: the central element, or *Head*, as defined above (connected to participant), and the 'non-nuclear' (Lavid et al. 2010: 301) *Pre-Head*, which can include circumstantial elements without exhausting the thematic potential. (Other elements in the Pre-Head deal with the previously discussed issue of analysis of conflated elements: verb stem, with inflections in Head.) Since Lavid et al. (2010) provides the fullest thematic analysis, the other elements of their understanding of Theme will be introduced here before moving on to a summary of the thematic analysis to be used for this study of CLIL and non-CLIL student texts.

Lavid et al. (2010) also introduces additional elements before the *Inner Thematic Field*; the *Outer Thematic Field* is made up of textual, interpersonal and absolute Theme. Absolute Theme is not prominent in English models for Theme, but features in Caffarel's (2004, 2006) thematic analysis of French as well as in Lavid et al. Absolute theme provides a framework for the following clause, but outside the transitivity of the clause; it is not a constituent of the clause. Interestingly, writing on English grammar,

Downing and Locke (2006: 232) choose an example from Spanish to illustrate absolute Theme, and refer to it as a “Chinese-style topic”:

> *Los Beatles, sin Sgt. Pepper no tendríamos ni la mitad de la música pop de ahora.*
> (The Beatles) (without Sgt. Pepper) (we wouldn’t have) (even half the pop music [we have] now)

Here, absolute Theme is outside the transitivity system of the clause, and this is perhaps the classic understanding of absolute. However, Lavid et al. (2010) also include under absolute Theme examples where the absolute material is then picked up inside the clause, for example:

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="2">El resto del disco</td><td rowspan="2">la verdad</td><td>no sé</td><td></td><td rowspan="2">cómo definirlo</td></tr>
<tr><td>not know</td><td>1s Pr</td></tr>
<tr><td>Absolute Theme</td><td>Interpersonal Theme</td><td>Pre-Head</td><td>Head</td><td rowspan="2">Rhematic field</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Outer Thematic Field</td><td colspan="2">Inner Thematic field</td></tr>
</table>

The rest of the disk, the truth no know-1s how to define it
The rest of the disk, honestly, I don’t know how to define it (Lavid et al. 2010: 304).

Matthiessen (1995) refers to a similar example as absolute Theme, but both examples would be termed dislocation in, for example, Downing and Locke (2006). Lavid (2004) provides a system network for Spanish Theme, and shows the choice between absolute and non-absolute as the first distinction within marked themes (the choice marked or unmarked is the first in the system), unlike previous systems for English Theme, which have not shown the non/absolute distinction. Primarily found in spoken text (Downing and Locke 2006) it is not used in so many situations for English, which uses other resources for foregrounding elements such as Theme predication and Theme substitution, the latter not found in Spanish (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004; Lavid 2004). As illustrated in the above example, Lavid et al. (2010) place absolute Theme in the Outer Thematic field. However, one practical difficulty for carrying out and reporting thematic analysis is that absolute Theme does not have a fixed position in the

thematic structure, but can be found either before or after interpersonal Theme (Arús personal communication, email 7 October 2010; Lavid et al. 2010: 304; 310). This difficulty should impact less upon the analysis of written discourse, as absolute Theme is less commonly found in written text.

4.4.3.2 Multiple Theme

While experiential Theme has proved the most difficult of thematic elements to agree on, other thematic elements, particularly interpersonal Theme, also include disputed areas. One such issue is the range of items considered as interpersonal Theme, as some systemicists extend the use of grammatical metaphor further than others. Grammatical metaphor describes the use of a less congruent word class in place of the more congruent or typical choice of word class for that area of meaning (in contrast with lexical metaphor where one word rather than word class stands in for another). The more congruent choices are thus a verb for a process and a noun for a thing, for example. When a process such as ‘refracting’ is “packaged” as the noun ‘refraction’, this reconstrual is seen as grammatical metaphor (Halliday and Martin 1993: 15). Grammatical metaphor can then be divided into ideational and interpersonal metaphor (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004), and it is the latter which is of particular interest here.

As was discussed in Chapter 3 above, Interpersonal Theme includes modal comment adjuncts, for example “in my opinion” and “personally” Halliday and Matthiessen (2004:82), with similar expressions existing in Spanish (McCabe 2004b). Metaphorically, these meanings can be realised as first person and second person mental clauses expressing the speaker’s opinion (or seeking the addressee’s) and so also seen as interpersonal Theme, for example *I think*, *I believe*. Similarly, they can be expressed as relational processes, for example *I’m sure* (Martin, Matthiessen and Painter 2010). As Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 626) emphasise, such “Interpersonal projection always involves the speaker or addressee as ‘projector’”, and thus would not include examples such as “It is true that demand for cocoa had been rising”, considered as a possible interpersonal clause in Thompson (2007: 675-676), or “It is, moreover, clear that …”,

analysed as interpersonal Theme in Whittaker (1995: 110). As Thompson (2007) points out, uncertainty at how far to extend the interpretation of interpersonal grammatical metaphorical is understandable, given the nature of metaphor, and various analytical options are possible. This study will therefore use a conservative interpretation of grammatical metaphor, and only include examples with a speaker. On a final note for interpersonal Theme, the negative marker is traditionally within SFL analysed as interpersonal Theme, expressing polarity, and Taboada (2004) follows this analysis for Spanish. Lavid et al. (2010) in contrast analyse negative particle 'no' before the verb as experiential, with their example as follows:

> "*No me gusta llevar malas noticias a ninguna parte*"
> [I don't like taking bad news anywhere']
> (Lavid et al. 2010: 328).

Their position is that, unlike in English, the Spanish negative does not contain the Finite 'do', an interpersonal element, and that the negative is simply another form of the verb (Arús personal communication, email 7 October 2010). Indeed others working on Spanish Theme from a different perspective also consider negative 'no' to be part of the process and so experiential (Quiroz personal communication, email 20 October 2010). In any case, the categorisation or not of 'no' as interpersonal Theme is less problematic for this study: the position of 'no' is not a matter of choice, and so carries less meaning.

Summary: methodology for thematic analysis

- The CLIL and non-CLIL student texts were analysed following the SFGS (Lavid et al. 2010) model of thematic structure, with Pre-Head and Head in experiential Theme:
    - The category of *Thematic Head*, tracking/signals the discourse participant, may be a Nominal Group or clause, or it may be found in the verbal affix for person and number, or a clitic (Lavid et al. 2010).

    - *Pre-Head* thus includes circumstantial elements, also the *se* pronominal marker, and the verb stem in cases where there is no explicit Subject (Lavid et al. 2010).
- Texts were analysed for textual and interpersonal Themes, and interpersonal Themes were further analysed for first person projecting clauses.

4.4.4. Thematic progression

Thematic progression (TP) was discussed in chapter three above, introducing the main patterns used in TP analysis, and differences found between TP use in Spanish and English text. Specific decisions to be made for methodology are which and how many TP patterns to use for analysis, and which semantic relations to use to track the patterns. Links between clauses are most clearly seen through forms of "reiteration" (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 278), ranging from direct repetition of a word, through synonyms and near synonyms, superordinates and general words such as *child* or *place* (Fries 1995b; Halliday and Hasan 1976; McCabe 2004a). However, the range of semantic relations accepted as indirect repetition and so forming a thematic pattern differs; for example Schneider and Connor (1990), working outside SFL, consider part-whole relationships not to form a repetition pattern, whereas Fries (1995b), considers the *bed of the river* to be linked to *the river* and also *the water*. Many sub-divisions and adaptations of the thematic progression of Daneš (1974) can also be found, largely to indicate distance between clauses in a pattern or to some extent clarify semantic relations used to establish pattern. Thus several studies have added the categories of 'gapped' constant or linear to distinguish clauses that use material, from a Theme or Rheme respectively, in the Theme of a non-adjacent clause (Dubois 1987; Taboada 2004), and McCabe (2004a) raises the issue of how big a gap would still constitute a thematic pattern. Additionally, some studies (Taboada 2004) distinguish thematic relationships that are not one-to-one, using the term 'multiple Themes' and further dividing them into cases of integration or "convergente" Themes (Bustos Gisbert 1996: 86), using material from more than one source, Theme and/or Rheme, and separation, linking to two or more later Themes; this latter type has also been called split Rheme or Theme (McCabe 2004a). However, while

the constant and linear categories have in these ways been expanded, the third pattern from Daneš (1974), 'derived' or 'hypertheme' is frequently omitted, as it is felt that this category of derived Theme is less clearly distinguished from constant and linear Theme (Taboada 2004). A hypertheme is a general or umbrella Theme leading to subsequent Themes in a relationship of hyponymy/hyperonymy, but as McCabe (2004a) points out, this relationship is not clearly distinct from the range of semantic relationships that are seen as constructing constant or linear patterns; McCabe (2004a) therefore does not use the category. Even without using derived Theme, some studies have as many as fourteen different groupings of thematic patterns (Taboada 2004). The profusion of categories may be useful for the identification of subtle differences, but with a small number of texts such as in the present study, the two broader categories of constant and linear seem sufficient. Using a basic two-way division also facilitates comparability with previous studies, such as Sánchez Escobar (1996) and Simpson (2000). The category of hypertheme will be omitted for similar reasons of clarity and comparability.

Method of development was mentioned in the discussion above on the extent of Theme, and it is an important contribution to the understanding of how different text types are structured (Cummings 2005; Fries 1995b). However, I have chosen not to use it for this study, because of the particular aims of the study. Method of development, although familiar to those working within SFL, including contrastively across languages (Alonso 1997; McCabe and Alonso 2000) is not a common tool of those working with contrastive rhetoric (CR), and has not been much used in CR work comparing Spanish and English such as the studies discussed in the previous chapter. Since the main aim of the study is not to establish or corroborate differences between Spanish and English text or between text types, but rather to compare previous understandings of Spanish-English differences with any differences between the non-CLIL and CLIL texts, it seems preferable to use analyses and concepts that have contributed to those previous understandings.

Summary: methodology for thematic progression

- The t-unit was used as the unit of analysis.
- With a two-way division of constant (CP) and linear (LP) Theme, the texts were analysed for:
  - The main strategy for each text, identified as the strategy or strategies used for more than half the t-units of that text, and divided into:
    - CP
    - LP
    - a combination of CP and LP
    - other (that is, not using CP and/or LP for more than half of the t-units).
  - Total number of SL and CP patterns used in the CLIL and non-CLIL texts, for each topic (*Uniforme* and *Padres*).

4.5 Data beyond the student texts

The main focus of this study is the comparison of the CLIL with the non-CLIL student texts in relation to differences previously found between English and Spanish text, and thus the student texts constitute the main data. However, other sources of data may usefully provide more information about the students and their (educational) context. If results suggest that the CLIL students are writing Spanish differently from their non-CLIL counterparts, then it will be necessary to consider which aspects of the CLIL experience might be more or less influential in fostering that difference. While it is beyond the scope of this study to examine all aspects of the students' educational and social context, candidates for an initial investigation include textbooks students are exposed to in school, and their own reading habits outside school. The impact of particular teachers and teaching approach would also be influential, although more difficult to investigate. (Other considerations of influence and possible explanation of difference are included in the discussion chapter below).

4.5.1 The students' experience of written text: school textbooks in English and in Spanish

The texts that students read might provide part of the influence upon their writing. Secondary schooling, particularly geography, is often mediated through textbooks (van Leeuwen and Humphrey 1996), which may contain text types different from those students are exposed to outside school (Unsworth 2000). However, by the time the students of this study have reached the third year of secondary, they will have been exposed to many books, and it is certainly not practicable to examine all the textbooks that have formed their experience of written text in school. Therefore any discussion of texts the students read can only be seen as representative at most. Furthermore, the reasons for comparing a textbook used by the CLIL students with a textbook used by the non-CLIL students need to be clarified, and the aims to be kept limited. It may be easier to begin with what is *not* intended by this comparison. First, the intention is not to compare the student texts with the textbook texts. Clearly these are different text types, with a very different purpose, and reader-writer relationship, among other things (Gibbons 1999; Mohan 1986). Student writing is mainly for performance and evaluation, to demonstrate and/or construct learning, and the reader (typically the teacher) has more authority than writer (the student). Textbooks, depending on the view of schooling and curriculum (Posner 1992), are intended to provide or transmit knowledge and explanations, and/or provide a guide for the students' own construction of knowledge; the reader-writer relationship is the opposite as the textbook writer has more authority than the student reader. These are just a few of the differences between student writing and textbooks which make it inappropriate to compare the two directly. Secondly, as suggested above, my intention is not to discover one cause which will explain all and any differences that may be found between the CLIL and non-CLIL student texts: as pointed out above, any texts examined can only be a small proportion of the overall texts influencing the students. An approach which may be more reasonable is to compare the differences, if any, between the Spanish and English textbooks with the differences, if any, between the non-CLIL and CLIL student texts. This comparison of

differences may serve several purposes. First, the comparison may serve as an indication of possible differences in the experience of text of the CLIL and non-CLIL students - very far from a definitive account, but possibly suggesting areas for further investigation. Secondly, it could provide a point of comparison with the previous findings of contrastive Spanish-English work. As emphasised in Chapter Three above, the variables to be considered in each study are such that findings from one study cannot easily be extrapolated to another setting. It would be useful to know which, if any, of the assumptions and findings discussed in chapter three apply to texts the students are reading, and whether the CLIL students do in fact have a different experience of written text from their non-CLIL counterparts which tallies with previous understandings of the differences between Spanish and English written discourse. However, it may be that such contextual differences also make comparison between the students' textbooks and the texts of previous studies difficult. The reasons for this difficulty will be discussed below.

The CLIL students of this study were learning social sciences and IT through English. The geography textbooks were chosen for comparison as both the CLIL and non-CLIL students were using an established textbook for this subject; other subjects were in the process of changing the textbook, or used a collection of materials from different sources. The CLIL students were using a UK produced textbook for geography, *New Key Geography for GCSE* (Waugh and Bushell 2002), whereas the non-CLIL students used a Spanish textbook, *Limes 3* (Benejam Arguimbau et al. 2006). In order to investigate the geography texts in terms of findings from previous Spanish-English CR research such as use of thematic progression or clause complexes, comparable pairs of texts in terms of field, length, and text type were needed from *New Key* and *Limes 3*. Differences in text types in particular are connected to other contrasts between texts, such as ratio of non-embedded clauses per t-unit (Fries 1995b), thematisation strategies (Fries 1983; McCabe and Alonso 2000; Martin 1989) and use of thematic progression (Bustos Gisbert 1996; Alonso Belmonte 1997; Fries 1983), although these relationships are far from straightforward, particularly as one text may include stages that reflect

various purposes (Fries 1995b; Martin and Rose 2008; Thompson 2007). Indeed, a range of text types can be found within the field of geography. Geography is less clearly defined as a discipline than some other school subjects, and uses genres associated both with the sciences, such as reports and explanations, and also the humanities, such as accounts and exposition (Martin and Rose 2008; Veel 1997); it also mixes genres within one text (Martin 2002; Martin and Rose 2008; Veel 1998). For these reasons and others, it was difficult to find many closely matching pairs of texts from the two books. Finally five pairs were chosen, but even within these there were varying degrees of comparability. The lack of total comparability should therefore be born in mind when comparing the texts or considering their effect on the students' writing. Another approach to comparing the two textbooks can also be taken, addressing directly the issue of differing use of text types. The range of text types used in comparable units in each book may indicate differing experiences for the two groups of students in terms of their exposure to those text types. The units then only need to be comparable in term of field, and so pairings are easier to establish, although some differences do remain. The main text types to be expected in the paired units are as listed above: reports, explanations, accounts and expositions. Reports are non-time structured texts used to describe physical phenomena in geography, often as classifying reports for members of a class (for example for different organisms in one ecosystem) or compositional reports for whole-part relationships (for example different sections of a particular ecosystem) (Martin and Rose 2008). Explanations are also non-time structured, operating with cause and effect, and including sequences of different types of explanation: sequential, factorial, consequential and conditional (Martin and Rose 2008); Veel (1997), discussing scientific discourse more generally, considers causal explanations as well. Sequential explanations show a sequence of events leading to what is generally a physically observable phenomenon (Maratin and Rose 2008; Veel 1997). Factorial explanations are used when there is more than one cause, and similarly consequential explanations operate with phenomena that display more than one effect (Martin and Rose 2008). Conditional explanations show varying outcomes depending on the fulfillment of certain conditions (Martin and Rose 2008), and finally Veel's (1997)

causal explanation is used where the relationship between cause and effect is more abstract. Accounts, on the other hand, are time-structured, and frequently associated with the narrating of history (Martin and Rose 2008). Expositions, including exposition/argument, discussion and challenge, are as described above.

4.5.1.1 Text type revisited

It could be argued that if the students were asked to write a geography text, for example a report based on a graph, some of the above problems of comparability between the student texts and the texts they read could be avoided. However, as discussed above, expository text seems a more interesting area to investigate as more likely to show cultural differences (Hatim and Mason 1990); a report text based on given visuals might produce more homogenous work. Furthermore, it would still be difficult to compare the student texts with the textbook texts, for the reasons discussed above such as contrasting reader-writer relationships.

Summary: methodology for the analysis of the geography texts

- Pairs of chapters on a similar area of geography were analysed for range and frequency of text type
- Five pairs of texts were more closely examined using the same analysis as for the student texts:
  - Word counts per sentence, clause and t-unit
  - Sentences per text
  - Ranking clauses per sentence and per text
  - Embedded clauses per ranking clause, sentence and text
  - Clause simplexes and complexes
  - Theme (textual and interpersonal)
  - Thematic progression

4.5.2 Students' reading experiences

Textbooks such as the geography texts discussed above are an important part of the students' experience of written discourse in school. To gather a more general idea of students' reading habits and experience, both in and out of school, a questionnaire was administered to the CLIL and non-CLIL students after they had written their Spanish texts. Issues to explore include the language they read in (English or Spanish), the text types and media they read (for example comics or magazines, online or paper), and what their attitudes are to these different reading experiences (see Appendix 2 for the full questionnaire used).

4.5.3 Background information from teachers

Teachers are also an important factor in students' learning, and also can provide background information about the students, the CLIL programme and the school. Interviews (semi-structured; see the Appendix 3 for an English version of the questions) were carried out with teachers teaching CLIL and non-CLIL students, for English, Spanish, and Social Sciences. One issue to consider with interviewing techniques is the relationship between the interviewer and interviewees and how that might affect information gathered. I made visits to the school in two periods, separated by a year during which there was email contact. All data (student texts, student questionnaires, teacher interviews) were gathered in the second period, in which I spent a week in the school. During this week, when not in classes gathering students' writing and questionnaires, I sat in the staffroom and talked to teachers. The interviews were carried out towards the end of the week, and the teachers' answers were recorded through note-taking.

4.6 Limitations

The study faces limitations in terms of both data collection and analysis used. The most serious limitations are the quantity of student texts gathered, and the number of schools

included in the study. With only one CLIL class from one school investigated, any findings can only be indicative of further study to be done, rather than conclusive in themselves. Other, non-textual data could also have been considered. Having analysed the texts and discovered different writing strategies, it would possibly have been informative to interview students as to their reasons for making particular textual choices, although the difficulty in achieving consistent viewpoints from teenage writers needs to be born in mind (Leki 1991). Observing teaching over time may also have added insights.

The study also has limitations in the range of analysis used. While it does consider the texts from a number of angles, other possibilities include method of development (Fries 1995b), macrotheme, hypertheme and theme (Martin and Rose 2003); and also comparison of complexity in terms of content and grammatical lexis.

4.7 Overall summary of methodology

The CLIL and non-CLIL student texts (*Uniforme* and *Padres*) were analysed for:

Clause analysis

- Basic units as number of words:
    - Words per text, sentence, t-unit, and ranking clause
- Combinations of units:
    - Sentences per text
    - Ranking clauses per sentence and per text
    - Embedded clauses per ranking clause, sentence and text
- Clause complexing:
    - clause simplexes
    - clause complexes; clause complexes further analysed into:
        - 2-clause, 3-clause, 4-clause and >4-clause complexes

Textual organisation

Texts were analysed for text structure, in particular:

- two-sided exposition (for example for/against; advantages/disadvantages)
- one-sided exposition (thesis, argument/s, thesis)
- explicit or implicit opinion, and whether it was found in the introduction, the conclusion, or both
- explicit organizational signposting (for example There are two advantages, first … second …)
- enumeration (first …., secondly ….)

Thematic analysis

- The CLIL and non-CLIL student texts were analysed following the SFGS model of thematic structure, with Pre-Head and Head in experiential Theme:
    - The category of *Thematic Head*, tracking/signals the discourse participant, may be a Nominal Group or clause, or it may be found in the verbal affix for person and number, or a clitic (Lavid et al. 2010).
    - *Pre-Head* thus includes circumstantial elements, also the *se* pronominal marker, and the verb stem in cases where there is no explicit Subject (Lavid et al. 2010).
- Texts were analysed for textual and interpersonal Themes, and interpersonal Themes were further analysed for first person projecting clauses.

Thematic progression

- The t-unit was used as the unit of analysis.
- With a two-way division of constant (CP) and linear (LP) Theme, the texts were analysed for:
    - The main strategy for each text, identified as the strategy or strategies used for more than half the t-units of that text, and divided into:
        - CP

        - LP
        - a combination of CP and LP
        - other (that is, not using CP and/or LP for more than half of the t-units).
    - Total number of SL and CP patterns used in the CLIL and non-CLIL texts, for each topic (*Uniforme* and *Padres*).

Other textual data:

The geography texts

- five pairs of texts were analysed as for the student texts above
- pairs of chapters were examined for text type.

Non-textual elicited data:

- Student questionnaires
- Teacher interviews

The following chapter contains the Findings from this research.

Chapter 5: Findings

This chapter presents the findings from the research described in Chapter Four above. It will begin with the main textual data: the analyses of the students' written texts, followed by information from the geography texts. It will then move onto the data from non-textual sources: the student questionnaires, and the interviews with the teachers of CLIL and non-CLIL classes. Finally, it will also briefly report on the students' English texts in terms of the relative English proficiency they suggest. Statistical analysis of the data is not presented as this is an exploratory study involving small numbers of students and of texts; such "hypothesis building" research with small groups is less suitable for the use of statistical analysis (Newman, Trenchs-Parera and Pujol 2003: 50), which can be misleading.

5.1 Students' texts: responses to the *Uniforme* and *Padres* prompts

The student writing analysed consists of two sets of texts: those written in response to the prompt on school uniform, and those written on parental control (see Appendix 1 for the two prompts). As described in the previous chapter, each set was analysed in terms of basic grammatical units, clause complexing, text structure, Theme and thematic progression. The findings for the student texts will be organised primarily under these five areas of analysis with summaries of the results for each prompt. Typical examples from the analysis will be used to illustrate, and examples more difficult to categorise will be discussed, along with the reasoning behind decisions. Examples from either the *Uniforme* or the *Padres* texts will be used to discuss issues common to both sets of data. The analysis results for each text can be found in the Appendices 4 to 11, with full text examples of the analysis in Appendices 12 to 15. Examples of specific points are also

included with the findings; CLIL and non-CLIL text numbers refer to the numbers also used in Appendices 4 to 11.

5.1.1 Grammatical units and clause analysis

The overall count of basic units and combinations of these units for the *Uniforme* and the *Padres* texts will be presented first, followed by a summary of the clause analysis for each set of texts. Each of these sets of results will be accompanied by a brief comment, and then the data will be discussed together in terms of particular issues that arose during analysis. The data for each *Uniforme* text is available in Appendix 4, and for each *Padres* text in Appendix 5.

Table 1: Number and length of grammatical units, *Uniforme* texts

	CLIL texts		non-CLIL texts	
	totals	average per text	totals	average per text
no. words in texts	1548	129	2201	183
no. sentences in texts	68	5.7	78	6.5
no. of t-units	99	8.3	132	11
no. ranking clauses	187	15.6	242	20.2
no. of embedded clauses	71	5.9	106	8.8

As can be seen in Table 1, the non-CLIL students wrote more for the *Uniforme* texts, with their word total more than a third over that of the CLIL students. There was some variation between individual texts, particularly for the non-CLIL group. Thus, with an average of 129 words per text, the CLIL texts ranged from 94 to 186, whereas, with an average of 183, the non-CLIL group had text lengths ranging from 100 to 292 (see Appendix 4). Differences in the number of clauses, both ranking and embedded, are

more marked than for sentences and t-units, and the non-CLIL students' sentences and clauses are longer, with more embedded clauses and ranking clauses per sentence (Table 2).

Table 2: Length and combinations of units, *Uniforme* texts

	CLIL texts	non-CLIL texts
average words per sentence	23	28
average words per t-unit	16	17
average words per ranking clause	8.3	9
ranking clauses per sentence	2.7	3.1
embedded clauses per sentence	1.0	1.4
embedded clauses per ranking clause	0.4	0.4

There was also variation in the length of units, but here the overall range was more similar between the two groups, with, for example, average words per sentence for each text ranging from 12 to 48 for the CLIL texts, and 18 to 42 for the non-CLIL texts (Appendix 4). Nevertheless, the distribution across this range differed, with four of the CLIL texts showing an average of over 25 words per sentence, compared with eight of the non-CLIL texts. However, as Table 2 shows, there is little difference in words per t-unit or embedded clauses per ranking clause for each group, with a similar ratio of embedded to ranking clauses (1:2.7 for CLIL and 1:2.5 for non-CLIL texts).

Overall, the differences between CLIL and non-CLIL *Padres* texts are not as great as for the *Uniforme* texts, and in some areas are non-existent or even reversed. Thus, unlike the *Uniforme* texts, the two groups of *Padres* texts have same number of sentences (Table 3), and the same average words per ranking clause (Table 4). Results for the *Padres* texts which are the reverse of those for the *Uniforme* text are that the *Padres* CLIL texts are longer, and have more t-units and ranking clauses than the non-CLIL texts (Table 3);

they also have longer sentences and slightly more ranking clauses per sentence (Table 4).

Table 3: Number and length of grammatical units, *Padres* texts

	CLIL texts		non-CLIL texts	
	totals	average per text	totals	average per text
no. words in texts	1900	158	2045	170
no. sentences in texts	73	6.1	73	6.1
no. of t-units	140	11.7	121	10.1
no. ranking clauses	264	22	253	21.1
no. of embedded clauses	88	73	93	7.8

Table 4: Length and combinations of units, *Padres* texts

	CLIL texts	non-CLIL texts
average words per sentence	29	28
average words per t-unit	15	17
average words per ranking clause	8.1	8.1
ranking clauses per sentence	3.6	3.5
embedded clauses per sentence	1.2	1.3
embedded clauses per rankingclause	0.3	0.4

Results that follow a more similar pattern to the *Uniforme* texts are the longer t-units of the non-CLIL texts (Table 4). Reduced differences between the CLIL and non-CLIL *Padres* texts are also displayed in the range of results they show in comparison with the

range between the two groups of *Uniforme* texts. An exception to this pattern is average words per sentence: the range in the CLIL group is from 18 to 48; the lowest average for the non-CLIL group is also 18, but the highest is 65 (Appendix 5).

Table 5: Clause analysis, totals and percentages CLIL and non-CLIL student texts *Uniforme*

	CLIL student texts			non-CLIL student texts	
	as total number	as % of sentences		as total number	as % of sentences
clause simplexes	22	32		7	9
clause complexes	46	68		71	91
2-clause clause complexes	15	22		23	29
3-clause clause complexes	10	15		24	31
4-clause complexes	14	21		14	18
>4-clause complexes	7	10		10	13

As can be seen in Table 5, the CLIL students used a much higher proportion of clause simplexes than the non-CLIL students in the *Uniforme* texts. Looking at the individual texts (Appendix 4), only three CLIL texts had no simplexes, and one had five, with most using two or three. The highest number of simplexes found in a single non-CLIL text was two, and seven texts had no simplexes. The main difference in use of clause complexes is with the shorter clause complexes, those of two and, particularly, three clauses; the numbers of longer clause complexes used by the two groups of students are

more similar. Interestingly, the CLIL texts do not seem to show correspondingly more complexity within the clause through embedding (see Table 1).

For illustration of some of the above points, the following example (1) from CLIL Text 3 shows a simplex followed by a two-clause complex. An embedded clause, marked by double square brackets, is inside the second clause of the complex.

(1) *Sin embargo también tiene sus contras.*
- *El uniforme debe llevarse con zapatos, // por lo que en los recreos resulte incomodo* [[*para practicar algún deporte*]].

[Nevertheless, it also has its drawbacks.
- The uniform has to be worn with (formal) shoes, so in breaktimes it is awkward for doing sport.]

Table 6: Clause analysis, totals and percentages CLIL and non-CLIL student texts

Padres

	CLIL student texts			non-CLIL student texts	
	as total number	as % of sentences		as total number	as % of sentences
clause simplexes	20	27		12	16
clause complexes	53	73		61	84
2-clause clause complexes	10	14		12	16
3-clause clause complexes	10	14		16	22
4-clause complexes	13	18		18	25
>4-clause complexes	20	27		15	21

The *Padres* texts (Table 6) also show more simplexes in the CLIL than the non-CLIL texts, although again to a lesser degree than with the *Uniforme* texts. The non-CLIL *Padres* texts use slightly more simplexes than the non-CLIL *Uniforme* texts, while the CLIL *Padres* texts have a somewhat lower proportion of simplexes in comparison with the non-CLIL *Padres* texts. (As with the *Uniforme* texts, the CLIL *Padres* texts do not show a correspondingly greater use of embedding.) The individual texts show a largely similar distribution to the *Uniforme* texts: again the top count was a CLIL text with five simplexes, and only two CLIL texts had no simplexes, with most using one or two; five non-CLIL texts had no simplexes, and the top count was one text with three (Appendix 5). The non-CLIL texts' greater use of complexes is particularly notable in the three and to a lesser extent the four clause complexes. In fact, overall, students used longer multi-clause clause complexes for the *Padres* texts than for the *Uniforme* texts.

5.1.1.1 Issues and areas of difficulty for analysis: basic units and clause analysis

The main concern during the analysis of units including clauses was to ensure a reasonable degree of consistency in the analysis of the CLIL and non-CLIL texts for each prompt and in each category. The following will illustrate the type of decisions that were made during analysis, and the basis for such decisions. It will briefly consider identification of units, but mostly concentrate on issues of clause analysis, as that frequently proved more problematic.

Some units presented greater difficulties than others for analysis. Sentences were generally straightforward to identify, as the students used the standard orthographical markers of capitals and full stops. In one or two cases one of these sentence markers was missing, but the presence of either the full stop of the previous sentence or the capital of the next was taken as sufficient to consider the intervening a sentence. The main issue with sentence division was the use of colons. Some students seemed to follow the British convention and some the American in terms of whether a clause after a colon

began with lower case or capital letter respectively. In some instances the separation at the colon was further emphasised by the use of a new line for the clause after the colon. In order to standardise analysis and reduce the effect of minor punctuation differences, instances of clause followed by colon and then another clause were treated as two sentences or clause complexes. Where a word or phrase rather than a clause preceded the colon, the word or phrase was treated as a heading and as such a minor clause (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004). For example, CLIL *Uniforme* Text 1 "Ventajas: Ya sabes que te vas a poner el día siguiente," ['Advantages: You already know what you are going to wear the next day.'].

Analysing texts into ranking and non-ranking or embedded clauses and also t-units was in places less straightforward, and since this area of analysis impacts upon much of the findings, it will be discussed in greater detail. Issues to be considered relate to some extent to the inherent complexities of clause analysis, but also to possible irregularities in student writing. To start with difficulties involved in the analysis into ranking clauses, areas that posed questions for these particular texts included the management of multi-clause clause complexes, possible confusion between group complexes and clause complexes or embedded clauses, sometimes because of ellipsis of clause elements, and the separation of projecting and non-projecting processes. Further difficulties were added because of ambiguities of meaning or non-standard use of Spanish.

The discussion of difficulties will start with examples of areas where the number of clauses involved is not immediately obvious, and then move onto more specific causes of confusion in clause analysis that have been discussed in the SFL literature. An example where more than one division of a clause complex might be possible is in the CLIL text *Padres* 5. Talking of different styles of parents, the student writes as part of a longer complex:

(2) *"Otros son controladores cuando es preciso y liberales también cuando es preciso,"*

[Others are controllers when it is necessary and also liberals when it is necessary,]

The above section could be viewed as one clause, with "*controladores cuando es preciso y liberales también cuando es preciso*," a complex nominal group describing "*Otros*" [Others], or alternatively, as four clauses:

(2a) "*Otros son controladores // cuando es preciso // y liberales también // cuando es preciso*,"

This second analysis seems preferable as '*cuando es preciso*' [when it is necessary] refers to the entire processes of "*Otros son controladores*" and " *y [son] liberales también*" respectively, and not just the participant, '*Otros*'; analysis as four clauses makes that relation clearer. In this case the preferred analysis includes ellipsis of the verb, as is also the case for several other instances where more than one analysis might be possible. For example, CLIL *Padres* Text 10 starts with:

(3) "*Depende en los padres, // pero también* [depende] *de los hijos*."
[It depends on the parents, but also on the children.]

This has been analysed as two clauses, again with a verb omitted in the second clause. It could alternatively be seen as one clause with a complex nominal group, an option that would have been more convincing without the comma or the second preposition (*de*). (The use of 'en' after 'depende' is seen as nonstandard, with "*depender* DE *algo*" given as the accepted collocation (Diccionario Clave 2006; RAE 2001).

In another case involving ellipsis, CLIL *Padres* Text 4 has:

(4) "*no es mi caso, // pero si el de algún amigo*"
[directly 'it is not my case, but yes that of some friend', or 'it's not my situation, but [it is] that of some friends'].

Without the "si" ('yes', the student has omitted the accent: sí), "no es mi caso, pero el de algún amigo", it could be analysed as one clause with a group complex, but the presence

of ‘si’ makes it two clauses, with the verb of the second clause omitted: “*no es mi caso, pero si [es] el de algún amigo*”.

Two more specific areas of possible confusion in clause analysis are associated with semantic relations in the areas of verbal groups and of projection. The establishment of boundaries between clauses (both ranking and embedded) is associated with a number of semantic relations between verbal groups within a verbal group complex. The relations include phase, conation, modulation and causative meanings (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004), but the point will be illustrated here with just two examples. CLIL *Padres* Text 12 has:

(5) “*Este tipo de jóvenes suelen ser más sensatos y prudentes*”
[This type of youth tends to be more sensible and careful].

Here the first verbal group, *suelen* (tend) does not express a separate process from the second, *ser* (to be), but instead a circumstantial element in that process, telling us that this type of youth is more sensible *in general* rather than for example *in all cases*. It is therefore an example of a verbal group complex where the process has been enhanced by the semantic relation of “modulation” (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 503).

In another example, non-CLIL *Padres* Text 2 has:

(6) “*no les dejan que se diviertan con sus amigos*”
[they [the parents] don’t let them [the children] have fun with their friends]

where the only one Process is that of having fun (“*se diviertan*”) which is in a verbal group complex of expansion with causative let (“*les dejan*”).

Expansion is one of two general types of logico-semantic relationships between clauses, the alternate, projection, also raised questions for the clause analysis of the student texts. Although certain verbs such as *think* or *believe*, *say* or *tell* are associated with mental and verbal projection respectively, the identification of projection could not always be

directed by the choice of verb alone, as some verbs can be used to express more than one meaning. For example, ‘pienso’ [I think] from ‘pensar’ [to think] is a mental process capable of projection. However, in the students’ texts some examples of ‘pensar’ are not mental but behavioural proceses, *think about* as opposed to *think*, and as such do not project. For example, non-CLIL *Uniforme* Text 10 has:

(7) “*no tienes que estar malgastando tiempo en pensar que te vas a poner*”
[you don’t need to waste time thinking about what you are going to wear].

Using the test of the usual or unmarked form which would be chosen to express present time (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004; Martin, Matthiessen and Painter 1996), this behavioural example would be present progressive, *I am thinking about what to wear …* in contrast to an example of the mental process *pienso* [I think] from CLIL *Uniforme* Text 4, which would be present simple, *I think*:

(8) *Personalmente, pienso // que el uniforme en colegios públicos está bien*
[Personally, I think that the uniform in state schools is good]

Conversely, verbs normally associated with perceptive processes that would not project can be used to express a mental process capable of projection. An example that operates similarly in English and in Spanish is *ver* (to see), which has as its core meaning the process of visual perception (the sense of sight), but which in both languages can also be used to express mental understanding, as in ‘I see what you mean.’ Thus non-CLIL *Padres* Text 4 has:

(9) “*y si ven // que el niño se porta bien,…*”
[and if they see that the child behaves well, …].

A further consideration for projection is the use of impersonal constructions such as ‘It is known’, similar in meaning to ‘They know’ (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 451) and ‘It is said’ as similar to ‘They say’. Here we still have projection, but the projection is presented as not being from the speaker (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004). The Spanish equivalents are perhaps even more clearly cases of projection, in that “se sabe” (loosely,

‘one knows’) is less an impersonal construction, and rather an indefinite subject, as was discussed in Chapter Four above (RAE 1986, cited in Lavid et al. 2010). For example non-CLIL *Padres* Text 7 has:

(10) “*Todas estas cosas influyen en los pensamientos de los padres,// pero se sabe // que ellos lo hacen por el bien de sus hijos, …*”

[All of these things influence the thoughts of the parents, but we know (‘it is known’) that they do it for the good of their children, …]

However, as discussed in the Methodology chapter above, other impersonal constructions do not project. Thus, in CLIL *Uniforme* Text 7:

(11) “*Es preferible* [[*que la cosa siga como esta*]],”
[It’s preferable that things continue as they are]

Here there is no Senser or Sayer to project, either explicitly as in “pienso” [I think] or implicitly as in “se sabe” [it is known], the process is relational rather than mental or verbal, and what follows is an embedded clause. The extent of projection is also related to the issue of grammatical metaphor for interpersonal meaning, which will be further discussed below with examples from the Theme analysis for the two sets of data.

A further source of difficulty for clause analysis of these texts is that they include ambiguous meaning, and/or non-standard use of language. (The texts were written at one sitting, so reducing the possibility for reflection upon clarity of expression; the students did have time to reread and revise their work to some extent, but some of them took greater advantage of the time than others. Also to be considered here is the students’ age: with young teenage writers one would not yet expect total clarity and full control of written discourse.) It would have been useful to ask the students about their intended meanings, or sometimes to read their texts aloud as tone grouping could help clarify. As that was not possible, a Spanish speaking linguist was consulted for ambiguous or unclear cases.

5.1.2 Text structure

The text structure results illustrate to what extent the CLIL and non-CLIL students have organised their texts differently. The contrasts will be highlighted here, and then related to previous understandings of English versus Spanish text organisation in Chapter Six. As with the grammatical units and clause analysis discussed above, the overall findings for the text structure analysis for CLIL and non-CLIL texts will be presented separately for each prompt, and these results will be followed by a commentary. However, as text structure varies according to text type/genre and may be different for the two prompts, overall points and issues are less profitably discussed together for the two topics, and thus the separate commentaries for the *Padres* and the *Uniforme* texts will be longer, with illustrations and examples specific to the prompt being discussed. The full analysis for each text is available in Appendix 6 for the *Uniforme* texts, and Appendix 7 for the *Padres* texts.

Table 7: Text structure totals, CLIL and non-CLIL student texts *Uniforme*

	Totals CLIL	Totals non-CLIL
considers both sides of issue (for/against uniforms)	12	11
uses 2-sided discussion as organisation	7	2
signals 2-sided organisation	6	1
uses counter-argument & rebuttal	0	2
partially organized by issue	0	3
includes introduction to issue	1	1
includes conclusion	5	6

opinion for/against uniform found at:	beginning	4	3
	end	2	1
	both	2	5

The lack of introductions across both groups of *Uniforme* texts shown in Table7 may be partly an effect of the wording of the writing prompt, which set the issue and then asked a question (see Appendix 1). Indeed, some students saw themselves as in dialogue with the prompt, and started with a direct 'Yes' or 'No' answer to the question. More texts have a concluding section, but these are generally short. In some instances the opinions expressed at the beginning and at the end of the text were not consistent, in which case they have not been included in the numbers for opinions in Table 7.

The most common organizational strategy was to divide the text into two main sections, one considering the advantages to school uniform, the other discussing the disadvantages of school uniform, so using the two-sided discussion as discussed in Chapter Four. Some texts include an introduction and/or concluding section, and the organization into two sides of the argument was used to a greater or lesser extent by different writers, but was used by more of the CLIL students than the non-CLIL group. The CLIL texts also more often explicitly signal the shift from advantages to disadvantages or vice versa. The signposts often take the form of clauses, for example, from CLIL Text 2:

(12) *sus ventajas son las siguientes:*
.....
Los inconvenientes son los siguientes
[its advantages are the following
…..
The drawbacks are the following]

Another example, from CLIL Text 4, is:

(13) *Personalmente, pienso que el uniforme en colegios públicos está bien, porque ....*

Otras ventajas: ....
Pero el llevar uniforme tambien tiene sus desventajas: ....
[Personally, I think that it's good to have uniforms in public schools because … Other advantages: ………. But wearing uniform also has its disadvantages: …]

Some texts use simple one-word headings as well or instead, for example CLIL Text 1:

(14) *Este, tiene una serie de ventajas y desventajas*
Ventajas:
.....
Desventajas:
……
[This has a series of advantages and disadvantages.
Advantages: ……..
Disadvantages: ……..]

The one non-CLIL text (Text 12) which clearly uses the two-part framework has similar signaling to the CLIL examples above:

(15) *Llevar uniforme tiene sus ventajas y sus inconvenientes, pero puede que sean mas las ventajas. Para empezar ...*
Pero el uniforme, aunque casi sin importancia, también tiene sus inconvenientes. ...
[Wearing a uniform has its advantages and its drawbacks, but perhaps there are more advantages. To begin with …
But a uniform, although almost without importance, also has its drawbacks …]

However, most non-CLIL texts are not organized by dis/advantages. It is less straightforward to say how these non-CLIL texts are structured, and there seems to be a range of strategies; correspondingly the signposting is not so clearly categorizable. Several texts switch back and forth between the advantages and the disadvantages of school uniform. Three texts mainly focus on their own viewpoint with a brief consideration of the opposing view, and are thus closer to exposition. Two or three show signs of the counterargument and rebuttal strategy of the challenge; non-CLIL Text 3 has perhaps the most sophisticated example of this approach:

(16) *Por otro lado esta bien ya que así no tendríamos envidia de lo que llevan otros y no se notaria tanto la diferencia de dinero que hay de unos personas a otras y alomejor así se evitaría discriminar a algunas personas dentro del colegio ….* `

Igualmente, aunque se llevara uniforme habría todavía gente que se lo comprara con polos o zapatos de marca y todavía habría un poco de discriminación hacia algunas personas.

[On the other hand it's good since in this way we won't be envious of what other people are wearing and we won't notice so much the difference in money that there is between people and hopefully this can avoid discriminating against some people at school …
Equally, although they wear uniform there will still be people who buy it with poloshirts or brand name shoes and there will still be some discrimination towards some people.]

One more option for text structure is issue-based organization: a more complex approach which discusses the two sides to an argument in relation to different issues. For example the question of school uniform could be discussed under cost, convenience, and appearance, and then under each issue the positive and negative aspects of uniform considered. No text followed this strategy totally, but three non-CLIL texts did to some extent. One text (Text 4) discussed school uniform in terms of convenience (for students and parents) and economics, although only economics is clearly signaled as a topic:

(17) *En cuanto al tema económico podemos observar como en Septiembre, en el comienzo del curso escolar, muchos familias se quejan de lo caro de estos uniformes pero hay que reconocer que a la larga el uso de estos nos ahorraría un gasto en ropa pues usándolo solo tendríamos que comprar ropa para el fin de semana.*
[As for the economic issue we can observe how in September, at the start of the school year, many families complain about the high cost of these uniforms but it has to be recognized that in the long run the use of uniforms would save us money on clothes since using uniforms we would only have to buy clothes for the weekend.]

Another non-CLIL text (Text 5) frames the discussion in terms of the issue of freedom ('*libertad*'), and discusses this in relation to mothers' opinions (some for and some against uniforms) and age of students (acceptable for the under twelves but not older students), returning to the general issue of freedom again at the end. This description of

the text perhaps over-emphasizes the issue-based organization, which is not made explicit.

Table 8: Text structure totals, CLIL and non-CLIL student texts *Padres*

		Totals CLIL	Totals non-CLIL
organised as classification		3	0
organised as exposition (one-sided argument, promotes)		2	3
organised as discussion (multi-sided argument)		7	8
organised as challenge (one-sided argument, rebuts)		0	1
organisational framework signposted		4 (+ 4 partial)	2 (+ 4 partial)
includes introduction to issue		1	1
includes conclusion		7	6
thesis found at:	beginning	5	3
	end	5	5
	both	1	3

As with the *Uniforme* texts, very few *Padres* texts used explicit introductions to set the issue and more texts used a conclusion, as can be seen in Table 8. Again in common with the *Uniforme* prompt, most *Padres* texts started directly with an opinion on the question, very often introduced by phrases such as "*Yo creo/pienso*" [I believe/think] or "*En mi opinion*" [In my opinion].

In both groups multi-sided discussion was the most frequently-used organisational framework for the *Padres* texts, and each group also included texts with one-sided

arguments (exposition). The non-CLIL group had one challenge; the CLIL group included three texts organised largely as classifying reports.

Most of the texts, particularly non-CLIL texts, did not explicitly signpost these text frameworks, although about half of the non-CLIL texts and slightly more of the CLIL texts did include some structural signposting. Of the four CLIL texts that did signpost the text structure, three used classification as an organising framework and so were signalling the different categories. For example, CLIL *Padres* Text 8:

(18) ***Algunos padres*** *son muy estrictos y están siempre encima de sus hijos, preguntandoles que es lo que es lo que hacen cuando salen con quienes se relaciona… Este tipo de padres yo creo son un poco estrictos porque se preocupan mucho por sus hijos y tal vez sus hijos se sienten agoviados.*

Otros padres *son muy poco estrictos y dejan hacer lo que quieran sus hijos, se preocupan por las cosas que le pasan a sus hijos pero no están tan encima como los que son estrictos. Este tipo de padres yo creo que son los mejores, que se preocupan pero no mucho y que les ayudan es lo que necesitan sus hijos y por lo demás le dejan hacer lo que el crea conveniente.*

Y el otro tipo de padres *es el que les da igual sus hijos, que les da igual que vaya mal en el colegio, y que les da igual con quien se relacione. Este tipo de padres no me gusta porque yo creo que los padres se deben preocupar por sus hijos y mas en como vaya su hijos en el colegio.*

De todos estos padres yo prefiero los que se preocupan pero ni tanto ni tan poco, es decir, que te pregunten todos los días, que tal en el colegio, y que de vez en cuando te ayuden a estudiar o hacer un trabajo.

(**boldface** indicates signposting of classification framework and underlining indicates the introduction of explicit comment on the categories of parent)

[Some parents are very strict and always on top of their children, asking them what they do when they go out who they mix with … I think this type of parent is a bit strict because they worry a lot about their children and perhaps their children feel smothered.
Other parents are not very strict and let their children do what they want, they worry about what happens to their children but they are not on top of them like the strict ones. I think this type of parent is the best, for them to worry but not a lot and for them to help is what their children need and for everything else let them do what they think advisable.

And the other type of parent does not care about their children, does not care if they do badly at school, and does not care who they mix with. I don't like this type of parent because I believe that parents should worry about their children and especially about how their children do at school.
Of all these parents I prefer those who worry, but neither too much nor too little, that is to say, that every day they ask you how school was, and now and then they help you to study or do a paper.]

One CLIL text (Text 6) signalled the two sides of the discussion:

(19) ***Mi opinión sobre este tema es muy variada. Por un lado tenemos a los padres****, que ejercen demasiado control hacia sus hijos, por el mero hecho de que son adultos y tienen poder sobre ellos.*

Por otro lado tenemos a la juventud *cada vez más loca y descontrolada que se creen los amos del mundo y que pueden hacer lo que quieran, ya sea beber, fumar, como salir hasta altas horas de la noche.*

Así que mi conclusión sobre este tema es *que los adultos deberían dejar más libertad y confianza a sus hijos y éstos no descontrolarse y demostrar que no necesitan a nadie que esté todo el rato encima de ellos.*

(boldface indicating the signposting of the discussion: Multiple-sided nature of issue^Side 1^Side2^Thesis)
[My opinion on this topic is very mixed. On one hand we have the parents, who exert too much control over their children, because of the simple fact that they are adults and have power over them.
On the other hand we have the youth, increasingly crazy and out of control, that believe they rule the world and can do what they want, be it drink, smoke, or stay out until late at night.
So my conclusion on this topic is that the adults should give their children more freedom and more trust, and the children should not get out of control and show that they do not need anyone to be on top of them all the time.]

None of the non-CLIL texts used a classificatory framework to the same extent as the CLIL texts, although two did use categories of parents, children or situations to some extent. The non-CLIL text that used classification the most is non-CLIL *Padres* Text 10:

(20) ***Yo pienso que los padres en casi todas las ocasiones****, controlan demasiado a sus hijos. A mí no me parece bien, porque muchos de esos hijos tienen suficiente conciencia para controlarse ellos solos.* ***Pero en otros casos*** *si me parece bien,*

porque a los hijos les da todo igual y hay que controlarles para que se den cuenta de la realidad.

También hay padres *que dejan demasiado libertad a sus hijos, y anque hay pocos casos, aquellos niños no crían bien ya que no tienen limites y hacen lo que ellos quieren.* <u>*En ese caso si*</u> *que tendrían que controlarles.*

[I think that parents on almost all occasions control their children too much. I don't think this is good, because a lot of these children have enough awareness to control themselves on their own. But in other cases I do think it's good, because the children do not care at all and they have to be controlled so that they become aware of reality.
There are also parents who allow their children too much freedom, and although there are not many cases, these children do not grow up well since they don't have limits and do what they want. In this case they do have to control them.]

This text has much similarity with CLIL Text 8 above, but rather than using the classification as the ordering principle and then following each (albeit evaluative) description with an evaluation of the merits of that parenting style, non-CLIL Text 10 starts with the overall judgement, that parents almost always overcontrol their children, and then introduces limitations to that judgement using two categories of situation. The difference is in which is the overarching purpose as expressed in the organisation: the classification (CLIL Text 8) or the argument (non-CLIL Text 10).

In CLIL *Padres* Text 6 the two sides of the issue are presented as the negatively-evaluated behavior of both the parents and the children. Other Discussion texts saw the two-sided issue in terms of different parenting styles or the benefits and demerits of strict parenting. For example, CLIL *Padres* Text 1 discusses the pros and cons of a strict parenting style:

(21) *Yo opino que si, que nuestros padres nos controlan demasiado y nos dicen que no podemos tomar decisiones por nosotros mismos por que somos muy jovenes y al final nos siguen tratando como si todavía fuesemos unos niños pequeños, pero nosotros opinamos que ya somos bastante mayores como para que todavian nos digan todo lo que tenemos que hacer y tambien lo que no debemos hacer por eso muchas veces nos enfadarnos con ellos por eso y mucha veces discutimos por eso pero en el fondo ellos tienen el propósito de ayudar, pero lo que hacen muchas veces en vez de ayudar, fastidian pero ellos no se dan cuenta cuando nos*

perjudican. Por eso muchas cosas que hacemos no se las contamos, bien por que nos regañan y nos castigan, o bien por que nos vigilaran mas. Muchos de los padres dicen que nos dejaran empaz una vez que les demostremos a ellos que ya somos mayores para tomarlas, pero si no nos dejan hacer casi nada, nunca se lo podremos demostrar. A si que yo por lo menos pienso que los mejores o ideales padres, son aquellos que nos dejen hacer lo que queramos y si ven que no nos pueden dejar tomar nuestras decisiones, que no lo hagan, pero que por lo menos lo intenten. Y por eso yo creo que estamos demasiados controlados por nuestros padres y que deberíamos ir nosotros mas libres y a nuestra bola.

[I think that yes, that our parents control us too much and tell us that we can't make our own decisions because we are very young and in the end they continue treating us as if we were small children, but we think that we are already quite old for them still to tell us everything we have to do and also what we shouldn't do so we often get angry with them because of this and we often argue because of this but deep down they mean to help, but what they often do instead of helping is annoy but they don't realise when they do us harm. Because of this a lot of things that we do we don't tell them about, either because they will scold us and punish us, or because they will monitor us more. A lot of parents say that they will leave us alone once we demonstrate to them that we are old enough to make them [decisions], but if they hardly let us do anything, we'll never be able to demonstrate it. So I at least think that the best or ideal parents are those that let us do what we want and if they see that we can't make our own decisions, that they don't let us, but at least they try it. And so I believe that we are too controlled by our parents and we should be freer to do our own thing.]

A few texts, both CLIL and non-CLIL, include counter-argument and rebuttal of points in their multi-sided arguments (for example CLIL Text 1 above), but only one, a non-CLIL text, used the challenge framework of Position^Rebuttal. This challenge text, non-CLIL *Padres* Text 6, starts with the view of some parents, and then gives reasons and alternative practices to convince the reader of the weakness of these parents' views:

(22) *Yo creo que depende de cada padre como quiere ser su hijo. <u>Algunos piensan que obligandonos a estar todo el día estudiando, encerrados en la habitación sin salir es la mejor forma de que saquemos buenas notas.</u> Pero algunos dejan más libertad para que estudiemos cuando creemos que es necesario, con este metodo mis padres creen que siendo yo bastante mayor para saber lo que quiero me dejan salir cuando quiero con tal de no llegar tarde y estudiar cada día por lo menos 1 hora.*

Cuando se nos da más libertad nos sentimos mejor y creo que al final estudiamos lo suficiente como para sacar mejores notas que los que se pasan el día encerrados en la habitación probablemente sin hacer nada.

(underlining to show viewpoint that is then argued against)

[I believe that it depends on what each parent wants their child to be like. Some think that forcing us to spend the whole day studying, shut up in our room without going out, is the best way of our getting good marks. But others give us more freedom for us to study when we think it is necessary, with this method my parents believe that since I am quite old to know what I want they let me go out when I want as long as I don't come home late and study at least an hour each day.

When we are given more freedom we feel better and I believe that in the end we study enough to get better marks than those who spend the whole day shut up in their room probably without doing anything.]

5.1.2.1 Text structure: Issues for analysis of the **Padres** *texts*

On reading the student texts it became clear that the prompt for the *Padres* text could be interpreted in two ways. Thus some students considered the main question to be whether or not parents *did* control children too much, and their writing purpose was to persuade the reader to believe their interpretation of the situation (generally that the degree of control depended upon certain factors), for example non-CLIL Text 9:

(23) *Si normalmente los padres siempre estan pendientes de nosotros por lo que hagamos, pero eso es según la familia porque hay familias que o pasan de los hijos o estan todo el rato encima como con los niños de 2 años, también depende del hijo que tengan, si el hijo desde un principio ha controlado a los padres los padres ya no pueden hacer nada y parece normal lo que hagan, pero eso de que los padres controlen o no demasiado a sus hijos es relativo. No se puede decir en general, cada uno tiene sus familia y es comos es, cada padre tiene su manera de educar a los hijos, no hay un poco ni un demasiado también puede ser según el día o los planes que tengan.*

[Yes normally parents are always keeping an eye on us for what we do, but this depends on the family because there are families that either ignore the children or are on top of them all the time like with two-year old children, it also depends on the child they have, if the child has controlled the parents from the start the parents can't do anything now and it seems normal what they do, but this issue of whether parents control their children too much or not is relative. You can't

say in general, each one has their family and it is as it is, each parent has their way of bringing up their children, there isn't a little or a too much it can also be according to the day or the plans they have.]

However, other students saw the central question as whether or not parents *should* control their children so much, and here the main purpose of writing seemed to be to persuade the reader to believe their opinion on what would be the preferable situation (for example CLIL Text 6, example (19) above). Most texts addressed both sides of the question to some extent, for example illustrating in what way parents were overcontrolling, and then giving their opinion on what parents should do; emphasis on either of these aspects produced analytical expositions/arguments, but the second (*should* they control) also resulted in some hortatory writing, with some texts suggesting how to fellow students how they might manage parents. For example, CLIL *Padres* Text11:

(24) *Lo que tienes que hacer es darles confianza, que sepan que pueden confiar en ti y te dejaran hacer muchas cosas.*

[What you have to do is give them confidence, so that they know they can trust you and they will let you do a lot.]

Similarly, non-CLIL Text 1 argues in favour of good organisation and gives advice on how to come to agreement with parents on leisure activities, adding:

(25) *Si ponemos un poco de nuestra parte y ellos de la suya podemos llegar. A acuerdos y incluso haciendo todo correctamente podemos aumentar hacia ellos un nivel de responsabilidad mayor, y que así nos dejen opinar, y actuar con mas libertad.*

[If we make a bit of effort on our side and they on theirs we can get there. With agreement and also doing everything politely we can become more responsible with them, so that they let us express our opinions, and act more freely.]

One reason for the varied interpretations of the *Padres* prompt is perhaps the lack of contextualisation for the writing, particularly in terms of the intended readership and purpose of the text. Texts such as the three above are clearly directed at fellow students,

whereas other texts could have a more general readership. The prompts asked students to write for the school magazine (which does exist), but a more rounded context would also have provided information on the purpose of the text and what it should be trying to achieve.

Another issue for analysis is that the identification of a text as using discussion (multiple-sided argument) as opposed to another text structure such as challenge, exposition (one-sided argument) or a classificatory report is not always clear cut, with borderline texts showing elements of more than one text structure. For example, the difference between a challenge which sets up an opposing position in order to demolish it can be very similar to a seemingly multi-sided discussion which presents one side of the argument much more briefly and weakly than the other. As Martin and Rose (2008) have pointed out, viewing text types as placed along a cline might be a more helpful representation. However, categorisation is needed for comparison between the two sets of texts and thus, as suggested above, the issue is to decide which text structure is the overall or overarching framework for the text.

5.1.3 Theme analysis

The Theme analysis looked at interpersonal Theme, particularly the use of first person projecting clauses, and textual Theme. The findings are presented separately for each prompt, followed by a brief commentary on each set of results. Issues for analysis are then discussed for the two prompts together. The full Theme analysis for each text can be found in Appendix 8 for the *Uniforme* texts, and Appendix 9 for the *Padres* texts.

Interpersonal Theme. As can be seen in Table 9, the CLIL *Uniforme* texts used more interpersonal Themes overall, and in particular more first person projecting clauses, with eighteen examples per 100 t-units as opposed to nine for the non-CLIL texts. (As shown in Appendix 8, both CLIL and non-CLIL groups included two texts with no interpersonal Theme.) An example is shown below.

Table 9: Theme analysis totals, CLIL and non-CLIL student texts *Uniforme*

Categories	CLIL			non-CLIL	
	total	% t-units		total	% t-units
Interpersonal Themes	31	32		29	22
1st pers. projecting clauses in interpersonal Theme	18	18		12	9
Textual Themes (total)	32	33		84	64
No. of t-units with textual Theme	29	30		72	55
Textual Themes without '*y*'	23	23		64	48
Total no. of t-units	98			132	

(26) Example from a CLIL student text (Text 12) with textual and interpersonal Theme: the first person projecting clause "*creo*" ['I believe'].

Theme: textual	Theme: interpersonal	Theme: experiential	Rheme
	Yo creo	*que cada alumno*	*tiene que ir vestido como quiera,*
pero a la vez		*con el uniforme evitaríamos*	*problemas de discriminación.*

[I believe that each student should dress as they like,
but at the same time with a uniform we would avoid problems of discrimination.]

Instances of interpersonal Themes other than first person projecting clauses include "*normalmente*" ['normally'] and "*personalmente*" ['speaking personally']. Examples can be seen in *Uniforme* CLIL Text 4, example (8), reproduced here for convenience:

(27) *Personalmente, pienso // que el uniforme en colegios públicos está bien*
[Personally, I think that the uniform in state schools is good]

Textual Theme. Since the greater use of textual Theme by the non-CLIL students seems at odds with previous studies discussing Spanish-English textual differences, it is worth examining the data on textual Theme in Table 9 more closely. It has been suggested (Beeby Lonsdale 1996) that Spanish writers (or at least Spanish student writers: Neff et al. [2004] see it as an issue of developing writing ability) are more likely to use "*y*" ['and']: separating out this conjunction does show its greater use in the non-CLIL texts (20 versus 9 instances), but this difference does not totally explain the overall difference in textual Themes, and nor is it the case that a few unusual clauses have affected the overall total. A more likely explanation can be found through revisiting the differences in textual structure as discussed above: fewer of the non-CLIL texts use a two-block organisation, and many of them move back and forth between the viewpoints. Very often they signal this movement from advantages to disadvantages of uniforms or vice versa with a textual Theme, such as 'pero' [but] as found in the example above, and with more movements between viewpoints they have correspondingly more textual Themes.

In contrast to findings for the *Uniforme* texts, the use of interpersonal Themes in the two sets of *Padres* texts (Table 10) is quite similar, and indeed the non-CLIL texts use slightly more interpersonal Themes and also more first person projecting clauses as interpersonal Theme. (For the Padres texts, only one CLIL text used no interpersonal Themes, as shown in Appendix 9.) As with the *Uniforme* texts, the non-CLIL *Padres* texts also showed more use of textual Themes, but the difference is not as great as for the *Uniforme* texts, and one Padres non-CLIL text had no textual Themes (Appendix 9); the two groups of *Padres* texts used 'y' [and] to the same extent.

Table 10 Theme analysis totals, CLIL and non-CLIL student texts *Padres*

	CLIL			non-CLIL	
	total	% /t-units		total	%/ t-units
Interpersonal Themes	35	25		34	28
1st pers. projecting clauses	17	12		20	17
Textual Themes (total)	69	49		75	62
No. of t-units with textual Theme	66	47		66	55
Textual Themes without 'y'	42	30		52	43
Total no. t-units	140			121	

The difference in use of textual Themes for the *Padres* texts is not so easily related to text structure, as will be discussed in the next chapter, along with possible explanations for the difference in use of interpersonal Theme.

5.1.3.1 Issue and difficulties for Theme analysis

Some of the issues mentioned as difficulties for clause analysis above are also relevant to Theme analysis, in particular the question of how far to extend the concept of grammatical metaphor in interpersonal Theme. Under clause analysis, this question affected division into clauses, as expressions considered to be interpersonal metaphors, such as *I think* could then be projecting, and the material projected could be a separate ranking clause. For Theme analysis, the division into separate clauses is also no longer at issue since the unit of analysis for this part of the study is the t-unit, thus the distinction between embedded and dependent ranking clauses is not significant in the same way. The issue of how much to consider as interpersonal Theme still remains

however. The following extract, from CLIL *Padres* Text 7 demonstrates some of these and other issues for thematic analysis:

(28)

Thematic field				Rhematic field
Outer Thematic field		Inner Thematic field		
Textual	Interpersonal	Experiential		
		Pre-Head	Head	
Sin embargo,	*creo que a veces*	*es*	3s Pr Ind	*mejor que algunos padres sean estrictos con sus hijos, porque …*

[Nevertheless, I believe that sometimes it is better for some parents to be strict with their children, because …]

In the first line, "*creo*" (I believe) is a projecting metaphorical interpersonal Theme of opinion, and "*a veces*" (sometimes) is an Adjunct expressing usuality and thus also interpersonal Theme (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004; Lavid et al. 2010). It could be thought that "*es mejor que*" (it is better that) is also expressing interpersonal meaning, in that it introduces an opinion. However, "*es mejor que*" *is* the message, rather than being the writer's comment on the message, and so is ideational rather than interpersonal. The distinction between these two types of meaning is another "fuzzy area" of analysis (Whittaker 1995: 112), which is another reason for using the comparatively conservative understanding of metaphorical interpersonal Theme as requiring a Senser/Sayer (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004). As a note of further clarification, the Senser/Sayer is not necessarily human, as will be illustrated with the geography texts below. Non-human Sensers and Sayers are either inanimate objects such as pets or cars that are presented as having consciousness, or they are the "product of human consciousness" such as a film (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 203).

5.1.4 Thematic progression

Thematic progression is closely connected with early contrastive studies, and was used to demonstrate the digressive nature of Spanish text. From the presentation of results here, and the further discussion in Chapter Six, it can be seen that thematic progression is not so easily used as a measure of coherence. Thematic progression was analysed in two ways: the total number of CP patterns (constant progression, with links from Theme to Theme) and LP patterns (linear progression, with links from Rheme to Theme) used in the texts; and also the main strategy (considered as the strategy of more than half the t-units) used for each text. The findings for each of these analyses will be presented and then commented on for the *Uniforme* and the *Padres* texts separately. The discussion of issues for the analysis of thematic progression will then consider the two prompts together, but also highlight issues that are more relevant to just one of the prompts. Thematic progression information for each text can be found in Appendix 10 for the *Uniforme* texts, and Appendix 11 for the *Padres* texts.

Table 11 Thematic progression totals, CLIL and non-CLIL student texts *Uniforme*

	CLIL student texts		**Non-CLIL student texts**	
	Total	%	Total	%
CP	25	28	38	31
LP	21	24	37	31

Table 12 Main strategy for thematic progression in each text: *Uniforme*

	CLIL texts	non-CLIL texts
LP	2	1
CP	2	0
LP/CP combination	4	7
Total: LP, CP & combination	8	8
other	4	4

From Table 12 it can be seen that both CLIL and non-CLIL *Uniforme* texts most frequently used a combination of LP and CP as the main strategy for thematic progression. This is particularly true of non-CLIL texts, with only one text using LP as the main strategy, and none predominantly using CP. For both CLIL and non-CLIL students, a third of the texts used LP, CP or a combination of the two for less than half of the t-units (Table 11). Looking at the total number for LP or CP in Table 11, non-CLIL texts show an even distribution of the two patterns, while the CLIL texts have a similar proportion of CP to the non-CLIL texts, but somewhat fewer instances of LP.

Table 13 Thematic progression totals, CLIL and non-CLIL student texts *Padres*

	CLIL student texts		**Non-CLIL student texts**	
	Total	%	Total	%
CP	54	42	18	17
LP	49	39	58	53

Tables 13 and 14 show that overall for the *Padres* texts, the non-CLIL group uses LP more than the CLIL group, and uses LP more than CP. Most of the non-CLIL *Padres* texts used LP as the main strategy for thematic progression, with just two texts using LP/CP and two using the patterns for fewer than half of the t-units (Table 14). The CLIL texts did not show such a clear tendency, and were more divided between LP, CP and LP/CP as main strategy. CP was used as the main strategy less often than other patterns/combinations, but was not used at all as a main strategy for non-CLIL texts (Table 14). Thus, considered alongside the greater use of LP/CP combination by the CLIL texts, CP plays a larger role in CLIL than non-CLIL texts, and this difference continues when the total use of thematic progression patterns is considered (Table 13 above). Here text organisation may be relevant to some degree, as the greater use of CP is consistent with the use of classification as a textual framework. However, the CLIL texts with greater CP patterns only partially correlate with those using the classification

framework as discussed above. Thus of the three classificatory CLIL texts, two have a high use of CP, and of the nine non-classificatory texts, three have high use of CP.

Table 14 Main strategy for thematic progression in each text: *Padres*

	CLIL texts	non-CLIL texts
LP	4	8
CP	3	0
LP/CP combination	5	2
Total: LP, CP & combination	12	10
other	0	2

5.1.4.1 Issue and difficulties for analysis of thematic progression

Difficulties during analysis of thematic progression centred around two main areas: the identification of links between a Theme and previous text, and the division of patterns of thematic progression into just two categories, constant (CP) and linear (LP), as discussed in the Methodology chapter above. Related to this second point are issues arising from the use of Lavid et al.'s (2010) understanding of Theme.

The connection between a Theme and material in a previous Theme or Rheme is made by resources along the lexicogrammatical spectrum (Halliday and Hasan 1976). At the grammatical end of the spectrum, a major split between analysts has been the consideration or not of participant information in verb suffixes (McCabe 2004a; Taboada 2004). This issue has already been discussed in the Methodology chapter above, and person markings were included as indicators of thematic progression. More difficulty was found with lexical connections between clauses, for both direct and indirect repetition: the exact repetition of a lexical item did not necessarily mean continuity of referent, and indirect repetition can be seen as a cline; it was not always clear where to draw the dividing line between a link with a previous element and a new Theme. Cases of lexical items repeated but with different referents were found with general nouns, which have been seen as having much in common with grammatical

items (Halliday and Hasan 1976). Here, identifying reiteration depends on context, for example in the following extract from CLIL *Uniforme* Text 2, '*personas*' (people) in line three are not necessarily the same people as the '*personas*' of line six:

(29)

	Theme	Rheme
3	*Todo el colegio*	*vestirá igual por lo que no habría ningún tipo de discriminación en cuanto al tema de la vestimenta, ya que a muchas personas se les discrimina por culpa de la vestimenta;*
4	*otra ventaja*	*es que gracias al uniforme es más difícil que te clasifiquen socialmente, es decir, por el poder adquisitivo de tu familia.*
5	*Los inconvenientes*	*son los siguientes:*
6	*Las personas*	*no pueden mostrar su personalidad, ya que, tu vestimenta refleja bastante tu personalidad, ...*

	Theme	Rheme
3	The whole school	will be dressed the same so there won't be any kind of discrimination over clothing, since a lot of people are discriminated against because of clothing;
4	another advantage	is that thanks to the uniform it is more difficult for you to be classified socially, that is to say through the purchasing power of your family
5	The inconveniences	are the following:
6	People	can't show their personality, since your clothing reflects your personality quite a lot

It was occasionally more difficult to decide with cases of indirect repetition, involving semantic relations such as synonymy, antonymy, hyponymy and collocation. Indirect repetition does not need to involve the same referent in order to form a thematic pattern, for example in the extract above "otra ventaja" (another advantage) and "Los

inconvenientes" (the inconveniences) are antonyms referring to opposing elements, but links are not always so clear. Thus "las madres" (mothers) and "los jóvenes" (the young), are not necessarily antonyms, and, of relatively high frequency, they do not collocate strongly either (Halliday and Hasan 1976). The link becomes clearer, however, when the words' immediate surroundings are included: "para las madres" (for the mothers), followed by their opinion on uniforms, then "para los jóvenes" (for the young) with their opinions (non-CLIL *Uniforme* Text 4). The parallel structures emphasise the relation of antonymy, and the thematic progression (CP).

Progression from hypernym to hyponym, or more specific to more general word, can be easier to track than the reverse order of subclass to class (Martin 1992). Thus in non-CLIL *Padres* Text 3, the general noun and demonstrative "esa actitud" [this attitude] clearly links back to the more specific processes of the previous Rheme:

(30)

Theme	Rheme
A veces [los padres	*controlan demasiado a los hijos] porque piensan que no somos lo suficientemente responsables para asumir o hacer algunas cosas o por querer protegernos,*
pero en algunos casos esa actitud	*puede producir que el adolescente quiera…*

[Sometimes [parents overcontrol their children] because they think that we are not sufficiently responsible to take on or do some things or because they want to protect us,
but in some cases this attitude can make the adolescent want …]

Conversely, the relationship between a more general term followed by a more specific term is not always so clear. For example, non-CLIL *Uniforme* Text 1 starts with the assertion:

(31) "*en las escuelas públicas deben llevar uniforme hasta un cierto curso …*"
[in the state schools they should wear uniform up to a certain grade …].

The third t-unit starts with a specific grade:

(32) “*Ahora que estamos en 3 E.S.O. me parece bien que el uso del uniforme llegue a los colegios tanto privados, concertados ... como públicas*”
[Now that we are in 3rd ESO I think it is good if uniforms extend as to much to private, or charter … as state schools.]

The doubt here is that the mention of grade in the first t-unit is in the context of which age students should wear a uniform, whereas the grade in the third t-unit seems to situate or give legitimacy to the opinion rather than express an age limitation on the wearing of the uniform. However, later t-units also start from specific age students, and thus student age or grade does seem to be an ordering device, albeit one that might benefit from a second draft to clarify the relationship. The first and third t-units were therefore analysed as forming a pattern of thematic progression (LP) from “*cierto curso*” to “*3 E.S.O*.”. As the examples discussed here demonstrate, the identification of thematic patterns requires a consideration of context and cotext; working with the more explicit understanding of reiteration provided by SFL (Halliday and Hasan 1976) does not therefore completely remove the subjectivity of the analysis found in CR work and discussed in Chapter Four above.

The combination of two methodological decisions - to use only the categories of CP and LP, as opposed to the many subdivisions found in other works, and to use Lavid et al.’s (2010) analysis of Theme - led to cases that were difficult to categorise for a number of reasons. These cases were generally connected with the use of two experiential categories (Pre-Head and Head), the role of verb suffixes as experiential Head, and, to a lesser extent, the category of absolute Theme. For example, in some cases a thematic element of one t-unit could be seen as connected to more than one item from a previous t-unit. The most straightforward of such cases was when an explicit Subject preceded the verb, and the following line continued with the same participant as thematic, either implicitly or explicitly. For example, CLIL *Padres* Text 8:

(33)

	Theme				Rheme
	Textual	Interpersonal	Experiential		
			Pre-Head	Head	
5				*Otros padres*	*son muy poco estrictos*
6	*y*		*dejan*	3pl	*hacer lo que quieran sus hijos,*

[Other parents are very little strict
and let do that which they want the children,]
(Other parents are not very strict and let their children do what they want,)

Here, '*dejan*' ([they] let) of line six has the same referent as '*son*' ([they] are) and as '*Otros padres*' (Other parents) of line five, and so could be seen as part of either a constant or a linear pattern of thematic progression. Such cases were analysed as CP, having a constant participant as starting point. Such examples would not be restricted to an analysis following Lavid et al. (2010), but using their understanding of Theme does frequently result in more thematic material per clause, making such multiple links more likely (although in fact not many were found in this data). In a few places the Pre-Head, Head, and occasionally Absolute, elements did form separate links with previous material, for example the Pre-Head relating to earlier rhematic elements and the Head relating to a previous Theme. In such cases it is less clear whether the pattern should be considered as LP or CP. An example from CLIL *Padres* Text 10 illustrates the point:

(34)

	Theme				Rheme
	Textual	Interpersonal	Experiential		
			Pre-Head	Head	
3				*Un padre*	*tiene un minimo para controlar a su hijo,*
4	*pero*		*si el hijo el* [sic] *problemático*	*el padre*	*se esforzará mas y confiará menos en su hijo,*

3				A parent	has a minimum to control their child
4	but		if the child is problematic	the parent	will make more effort and trust their child less

Here the thematic '*el hijo*' (the child) in line four links to the rhematic '*su hijo*' (his/their child) in line three, but in the same lines the thematic '*el padre*' (the father/parent) relates to the thematic '*Un padre*' (a father/parent). Other views of Theme would analyse '*el padre*' of line four as rhematic, leaving the thematic pattern as clearly LP. The two lines following this extract also concern the child, and method of development has previously been used for deciding upon Theme (Matthiessen 1992), although in this case line four has '*hijo*' in both Theme and Rheme. Another aspect of Theme that is frequently expressed, is its diminishing strength (Matthiessen 1992), which would also argue in favour of seeing the above example as LP more than CP. Some of the problems here could have been solved by using more categories of thematic progression as discussed in Chapter Four, as the CLIL *Padres* Text 8 example (33) above would be analysed as a multiple Theme of integration (Taboada 2004) or "convergente" (Bustos Gisbert 1996: 86), and the CLIL *Padres* Text 10 example (34) could be an example of more complex integration. However, as discussed in the previous chapter, the small number of texts of the present study made it preferable to use fewer categories. This example was thus analysed as LP.

5.2 Geography texts

The analysis of the geography texts provides more information into the experiences of text of the two groups of students, experiences which may influence their Spanish writing. This section will start with an overview of the two geography books, and the main difficulties encountered when attempting to compare texts from the two books will be outlined before presenting the data from the paired texts. This change in

presentational order highlights the caution to be exercised when contrasting texts, and also serves to explain why the paired texts have not been compared using all five areas of analysis used on the student texts. The findings from the paired texts will then follow the order and forms of analysis used for the students' texts above, with the exception of text structure, which will be dealt with separately for the reasons laid out below. The full analysis results for each text can also be found in Appendices 16 to 18.

5.2.1. Overview of the two books.

The two books share the same overall purpose, to be used as textbooks for school geography, and thus also share register features (Halliday 1978), in particular the overall field (geography), the tenor or relationship between the reader and writer (student and expert respectively), and the mode (geography text book). The English book, *New Key Geography for GCSE* (henceforth NK) includes a greater emphasis on physical geography, with eight of its twenty chapters focusing on physical geography issues, compared with three out of fifteen chapters for the Spanish book *Limes 3* (henceforth L3). However, the physical-social divide is not absolute (for example, a NK unit on flooding includes the effect on communities) and the two books include many similar topics such as climate, population, cities/urbanisation, farming, and tourism. Nevertheless, as indicated in the Methodology chapter above, it was difficult to find exact pairings of texts to analyse. Differences included the scope of the field (for example wind energy versus alternative energy sources in general), the purpose or genre (for example argument supporting a viewpoint versus explanation of a process) and the length of texts. Five pairs of texts that showed some similarity will be used here, but before turning to the full analysis as was used on the students' texts, the paired texts will be compared in terms of length, genre, and issues of structure, as these factors illustrate the degree of comparability for the pairs. From this initial comparison it will be seen that the pairs of texts are not totally comparable, but that similarities do exist between them.

5.2.2 The geography texts: differences between the paired texts

The five pairs of texts are taken from the units concerned with climate and ecosystems, the environment, population, tourism, and agriculture/psciculture.

Ecosystems

NK: What are the characteristics of coniferous forests? p 114-115

L3: Los paisajes de alta montaña [High mountain landscapes] p44

Table 15: Ecosystem texts NK and L3

	NK: coniferous forests	*L3: alta montaña*
Genre	Report (description, composition); explanation	Report (description, composition); exposition
Length (words with/without titles and subheadings)	465/458	487/476
Divided into subsections with headings (and number)	No	3
Use of bullet points	No	No

Table 15 shows that these two texts have greater similarities than some of the other pairs in terms of topic, length and genre. However the text type has even less in common with the student texts than the other pairs. The ecosystems they are each concerned with have some overlap as coniferous forests are associated with mountain areas. There are still some differences in that the L3 focus on the mountains includes a consideration of what is found at the foot of the mountain, and here the landscape is quite different from that of the coniferous forests. The genre structure is also similar: each text is a report and starts by spatially locating what is to be described, and then going on to describe the different parts that make up the ecosystem. For L3 this means moving gradually up in altitude from the foot to the top of the mountain, for NK the description moves down through a cross-section, including above and below the surface. However, each text also includes short sections that show slightly different purposes: NK includes a short

sequential explanation on the process of producing timber, and L3 has a brief expository section on the (positive) condition of the mountains despite their intensive use. Overall this pair of texts is the least expository/argumentative of the pairings.

Environmental damage

What is acid rain? pp 116-7

Los impactos ambientales: el aire y la vegetación [Environmental impact: air and vegetation] p60

Table 16: Environmental damage texts NK and L3

	NK: What is acid rain?	*L3: Los impactos ambientales: el aire y la vegetación*
Genre	Explanation; exposition/ argument (hortatory/ procedural ->analytical)	Exposition
Length (words with/without titles and subheadings)	406/402	238/217
Divided into subsections with headings (and number)	No	Whole text is one subsection with one subheading
Use of bullet points	1 set of 6	No

The pair of texts described in Table 16 demonstrates the difficulties in finding similar texts to compare. At first they may seem comparable as they both consider air pollution. However, the two texts show major differences in both range of topic and genre, as well as length. In terms of topic, NK has a full two-page spread dealing with acid rain, while L3 treats air pollution, including acid rain, as one section of a two-page treatment of the environmental impact on air and forestation. The differences in genre also suggest a different purpose for each text. NK starts with an explanation expressed in terms of physical causes. It then turns to a largely analytical exposition/argument interspersed with a more hortatory set of bullet points outlining the very difficult procedure for

reducing emissions of gases that cause acid rain. The overall thesis here is that despite the best efforts of countries it is difficult to reduce acid rain, which is seen as a natural process. L3, on the other hand, uses exposition/argument from the outset and focuses on social as well as physical causes. The overall thesis is the dangerous level of environmental pollution is caused by the current (and thus not inevitable) economic model and use of energy.

Population

What are the present and predicted trends in population growth? p130

El futuro de la población mundial [The future of the global population] p78

Table 17: Population texts NK and L3

	What are the present and predicted trends in population growth?	*El futuro de la población mundial*
Genre		
Length (words with/without titles and subheadings)	528/512	711/642
Divided into subsections with headings (and number)	2 sections and subheadings	2 sections, one with four subsections; one subsection and one section with two further subsubsections; overall nine headings and subheadings
Use of bullet points	3 sets of 2, 3, and 4 points respectively	2 sets of 2 points each

From the titles, the issue under consideration seems very similar in these two texts shown in Table 17, but once again they illustrate the difficulty in finding comparable texts, as the two texts actually have very different purposes and structures. The two main sections of NK are respectively a historical recount and an explanation, although each includes other elements. The historical report outlines population growth from 1700 to 2100, and includes a brief expository section on the UN claims for population, followed

by a report on the uneven distribution of population globally. The explanation includes terms and their definitions, a conditional explantation, and a brief classifying report on exceptions to the norm of population growth. The L3 population text, on the other hand, is an exposition/argument, with a basic two-way divide into 'questions' (*Algunas interrogantes*) and 'answers' (*Algunas respuestas*), both of which sections largely stay within the expository genre. The analytical 'questions' section provides arguments for viewing the issue of population in terms of three more specific areas of the old, the young, and resources, and discusses pro and anti-Malthusian views. The 'answers' section is more hortatory, and outlines what needs to be done in the face of an increasing global population. These two population texts, complete with visuals, can be found as illustration in Appendices 19 and 20.

Tourism

Ecotourism in Kenya p242

El Turism ¿Una ayuda al desarrollo? [Tourism: helping development?] p195

Table 18: Tourism texts NK and L3

	NK: Ecotourism in Kenya	*El Turismo ¿Una ayuda al desarrollo?*
Genre	account (SPRE)	discussion (two-sided argument)
Length (words with/without titles and subheadings)	290/287	233/227
Divided into subsections with headings (and number)	No (inset box text)	No (inset box text)
Use of bullet points	No	No

Neither of the two texts on tourism described in Table 18 constitutes the main text of the page; each is presented on a coloured background within or beside the main black-on-white text. The NK text is given as an example of ecotourism on a page entitled "What is ecotourism?", and the L3 text sits beside a main text on the effects of tourism (*Los efectos de turismo*). The NK text consists of four paragraphs each contributing one stage

to a Situation-Problem-Resolution-Evaluation (SPRE) pattern (Hoey 1983), and the whole text is chronologically ordered as a historical account of a specific case. The L3 text is organised by advantages and then disadvantages to tourism in general; it has no explicit conclusion section (nor an introduction of the two-sided issue), but the placing of the disadvantages second gives weight to that side of the discussion. Thus once again the two texts show considerable difference in content and structure.

Farming/fishing problems

How has farming affected the environment? p206-7

Los problemas de la pesca [The problems of the fishing industry] p156

Table 19: Farming/Fishing texts NK and L3

	How has farming affected the environment?	*Los problemas de la pesca*
Genre	explanation	exposition/argument
Length (words with/without titles and subheadings)	523/506	438/413
Divided into subsections with headings (and number)	3 sections; 2 subheadings	2 main sections, 1 with 2 subsections; in total 4 sub/headings
Use of bullet points	1 set of 3	No

The NK text of Table 19 explains the effects of farming on the environment under the two topics of removal of hedges and the use of fertiliser. The L3 text uses its first section to argue in support of the thesis detailing the main problems of the fishing sector, and in the second section argues (more tentatively) in support of possible solutions; the main points of the argument are also used as headings and subheadings. Explanation and exposition/argument can seem similar, but in this case the first sentence of each text illustrates the difference between them:

(35) *Developments in farming, as in other economic activities, lead to changes in the environment.* (NK p206)

(36) *Los dos problemas más urgentes planteados actualmente en el sector pesquero son la* ***sobrepesca*** *y la* ***falta de caladeros***. (L3 p156)
[The two most urgent problems currently facing the fishing sector are: overfishing and the lack of fishing grounds.]

The initial sentence of the NK text (35) emphasises the cause-effect relationship while the L3 text (36) starts with a position statement to be defended.

Thus none of the pairs involves texts with the same generic structure, and the pairing that comes closest, the (compositional) reports, is the furthest from the texts that the students wrote. As discussed in earlier chapters, different genres or text types would be expected to use language resources differently, with, for example, differing use of Theme and thematic progression, and differing strategies for combining clauses (Bustos Gisbert 1996; Fries 1983; Fries 1995b). Comparing across genres/text types is therefore not comparing like with like. This is most obviously the case with text organisation, which will therefore not be included here, but also affects other results. However, the pairs do also share some similarities in terms of register, for example, reader-writer relationship, and therefore the comparison can be used to investigate the CLIL and non-CLIL students' experience of text.

5.2.3. Findings from the five paired texts

Findings from the analysis of the five paired texts introduced above will be presented under the same headings as used for the student texts (with the exception of text structure): basic grammatical units, clause analysis, Theme analysis and thematic progression. In many cases the issues and difficulties for analysis were similar to those encountered in the analysis of the student texts, and these points will not repeated here. However, where issues more specifically relating to the geography texts arise, they will be discussed briefly. As was pointed out above, text structure cannot profitably be investigated using the five paired texts as the pairings are not sufficiently comparable. Instead, representative chapters on similar topics will be compared for use of text type/genre. Full analysis for each text can be found in Appendices 16 to 18.

5.2.3.1 Grammatical units and clause analysis

Table 20: Grammatical units, five paired texts NK and L3

	New Key	Limes 3
total no. words in texts (minus headings)	2167	1968
total no. sentences in texts	122	85
total no. of t-units	130	99
total no. ranking clauses	204	156
total no. of embedded clauses	37	48
no. headings/words in headings	4/15	18/95
average words per sentence	18	23
average words per clause	11	13
average words per t-unit	17	20
ranking clauses per sentence	1.7	1.8
embedded clauses: ranking clause	1:5	1:3

As can be seen in Table 20, the New Key texts chosen here are longer overall but this is not necessarily a feature of texts throughout the books. The most noticeable contrast, consistent through all except one of the pairs of texts and possibly transcending text type difference, is that the sentences of L3 are longer than those of NK. The average sentence length per text for NK ranged between 15 and 20 words per sentence, and for L3 between 17 and 28 words per sentence. See Appendix 16 for results for each text.

Unlike the student texts, the two geography books use a very similar proportion of simplexes and complexes, and interestingly they both use more simplexes than the students (Table 21).

Table 21: Clause analysis, five paired texts NK and L3

	New Key			Limes 3	
	as total number	as % of sentences		as total number	as % of sentences
clause simplexes	58	48		41	48
clause complexes	64	52		44	52
2-clause clause complexes	51	41		27	28
3-clause clause complexes	11	9		11	16
4-clause complexes	0	0		3	3.5
>4-clause complexes	2	1.6		3	3.5

The greatest area of difference here is in L3s greater use of slightly longer clause complexes, with two-clause complexes accounting for almost five out of six clause complexes in NK, but less than two thirds of clause complexes in L3. As previously pointed out however, any contrast needs to take differences in text type into consideration. See Appendix 16 for results for each text.

Issues for analysis: units and clause analysis

The major issue for analysis has already been discussed: the difficulty in finding comparable pairs of texts. Further issues for analysis include some points already raised,

particularly the use of bullet points, plus the less anticipated problem of ambiguous punctuation.

Bullet points are used more extensively in the NK texts than the L3 texts although they do appear in both books; in some texts the lists of points are made up of clauses, and in others they are groups and phrases. These two types of bullet point list will be considered separately, starting with lists consisting of clauses. The NK text ‘What is acid rain?’ has the clause “This can be achieved in a variety of ways:” followed by five bullet points to list the ways, each of which is a clause or clause complex. To keep consistent with the analysis used on the student texts, the clause pre-colon is taken as a sentence (clause complex) and the clause complexes following the colon also as independent sentences/complexes. In the acid rain text this approach results in the sentence number increasing from 21 to 27. This analysis perhaps does not fully represent the text structuring as it hides the use of bullet points, but is preferable in its representation of use of simplexes and complexes. One further variant of the list of clauses is where the list is not introduced by a full clause. For example, the NK population text also has “Graph A also shows:” and similarly the L3 population text has “*Los más destacados son*:” [The most significant are:], each followed by bullet points made up of clauses. In these cases the introductory section before the colon is analysed as a clause with an ellipsed element, for example “Graph A also shows [the following]”.

On other occasions the bullet points are made up of groups and phrases, for example the end of the NK population text has “Exceptions have occurred:” followed by a list of phrases such as “as a result of wars”. In this case, the whole list is analysed as one clause complex.

A perhaps more surprising difficuly for analysis was caused by use of punctuation in the NK texts. In particular, the distinction between defining and non-defining relative clauses was not always clear: in several instances in NK, clauses which seemed to be adding information rather than defining were not introduced with a comma. For example

‘How has farming affected the environment?’ discusses the removal of hedgerows and explains:

(37) Modern farming, especially in arable areas, uses large machines which are easier to work in large fields.

It seems more likely that all large machines are easier to use in large fields, rather than arable farming requiring the subset of large machines which suit large fields. The dilemma of whether to follow actual punctuation or the understood sense of the text was resolved in favour of sense with the student texts, as it was not expected that student drafts would use standard punctuation consistently. For the professionally-written and published NK texts, punctuation was followed where both defining and non-defining interpretations could be possible, but where the punctuation did not seem to be expressing the intended meaning it was overridden.

5.2.3.2 Theme analysis

Table 22 Theme analysis five paired texts NK and L3

Categories	total *New Key*	% t-units		total *Limes 3*	% t-units
Total interpersonal Themes	4	3		1	1
1st person projecting clauses in interpersonal Theme	0	0		0	0
No. of textual Themes (total)	13	10		28	28
No. of t-units with a textual Theme	13	10		25	25
‘*y*’ [and] as textual Theme	7	5		9	9
Total no. of t-units	130			99	

The most noticeable difference in Table 22 is in the use of textual Theme, with the *Limes 3* texts using roughly three times as many textual Themes as the *New Key* texts. Very few interpersonal Themes of any kind, and none in the form of first person projecting clauses, are used in either set of texts, which is unsurprising given the register. A small number of the interpersonal Themes that are found in NK are projecting clauses, but these are not first person, and indeed nor do they involve human participants. As discussed briefly above for the student texts, a "product of human consciousness" (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 203) is also able to project, and in the NK geography texts such products are the visuals that accompany the written texts, such as graphs and diagrams. For example the first sentence of the NK population text is "Graph A shows/ that the world's population increased slowly but steadily until the early nineteenth century." Such examples are not found in the L3 texts. (See Appendix 17 for Theme analysis for each text.)

5.2.3.3 Thematic progression

Based on this small selection of five texts for each book, *NK* and *L3* show a similar distribution in terms of the main strategy used for thematic progression in each text, with a combination of LP and CP for over half of a text's t-units being the most frequently used strategy (Table 23), and all ten texts using one of the three strategies.

Table 23: Main thematic progression strategy per text

Main strategy for thematic progression in each text	*New Key* texts	*Limes 3* texts
LP	1	1
CP	0	1
LP/CP combination	4	3
Total: LP, CP & combination	5	5
other	0	0

The empty category ‘other’ has been retained here for consistency with the thematic progression analysis of the student texts.

Table 24: Overall use of patterns

	***New Key* texts**		***Limes 3* texts**	
	Total	% of t-units	Total	% of t-units
CP	48	38	36	38
LP	55	44	31	33

Table 24 shows the two sets of texts use the same proportion of CP patterns, but the NK texts appear to use a higher proportion than the L3 texts of LP patterns; the NK texts seem to use slightly more LP than CP patterns, while the opposite is the case for the L3 texts. Any differences would need to be related back to the text types of individual texts, as pointed out above. (Numbers do not total 100 percent as some t-units did not use either LP or CP.) The analysis for each text can be found in Appendix 18.

Issues for analysis: thematic progression

Issues involve points previously raised with the student texts, but also points specific to the geography texts, particularly two aspects: in this part of the study Spanish text is being compared with English text, rather than Spanish with Spanish, and secondly these are multimodal texts, although their multimodality is not being considered for this study.

Comparison between English and Spanish requires an analysis that makes sense for each language but is still comparable across the two languages. The SFGS understanding of Spanish (Lavid et al. 2010) has been used for the student texts, and it is preferable for the analysis of the geography texts to be consistent with that of the student texts where possible. While most of the analysis for the student texts is compatible with analysis of

English text, Lavid et al. (2010) also includes categories that are not usually distinguished in analysis of English texts, particularly Absolute Theme, which includes absolutes and participial clauses. Absolutes themselves are less of a problem as they are not widely used in the types of texts found in the geography books, and indeed are more common in spoken discourse. Some participial clauses are found in the geography texts however. Using the subdivisions of Pre-Head and Head in Experiential Theme plus the category of Absolute Theme results in material that would have been considered rhematic moving into Theme. A further effect of the shift from Rheme to Theme is an increase in LP thematic progression patterns at the expense of CP patterns. Thus, in the following example from the coniferous forests text, the 'logs' of t-unit 29 are in a CP pattern with the 'timber products' of 27. However, with an understanding of Theme as extending only up to the first experiential element, 'exports of timber products' would be rhematic, and the pattern with 'logs' would be LP.

(38)

	textual Theme		Experiential Theme		Rheme
27			In Canada and Scandinavia,	exports of timber products	are high
28	and			forests	are largely managed on a sustainable basis (pages 120-121).
29			Once […] felled and the main branches cut off,	some of the logs	are floated downriver to sawmills.

To decide whether each of these understandings is a reasonable representation of the text would require looking at method of development, which is outside the scope of this study, for reasons already discussed.

The second main area of concern for the analysis of the geography texts that was not an issue for the student texts includes a range of issues connected with the presentation of

geography, which can be considered under text layout and the multimodal aspects (see Appendices 19 and 20 for examples). As is typical with geography textbooks, the texts are divided into sections and sub-sections, and use lists and bullet points as discussed above; they are also accompanied by a range of visual representations such as pictures, diagrams and charts (Martin and Rose 2008). These features make the thematic progression analysis questionable as it stands. For example, texts with more divisions and subheadings are perhaps less likely to have thematic patterns between the sections, and links between written text and visuals or between visuals are not represented.

5.2.3.4 Text organisation

Since the pairs of texts do not match up in terms of text type, there is little to be gained from comparing their text structures. Instead, it was decided to take a topic addressed in both books, and examine its treatment in terms of genre/text type across the whole chapter. However, although many topics do feature in both books, finding comparable chapters was again problematic. The topic with the most similar treatment across a chapter in the two books was population. Other topics that featured in the two books were generally divided up across chapters differently, for example NK had a whole chapter of seven double pages on tourism, but in L3 tourism was addressed together with social services and other aspects of the tertiary sector, and only allocated two double pages within the chapter. After population, the most comparable topic was the interconnected or globalised world, “Interdependence” for NK, and “La globalización” for L3, although this topic was also treated different in the two books. The following tables present the main text types/genres found in the two pairs of chapters. The totals for the genres do not match the number of pages as more than one text was often found on one page, particularly for NK, and frequently the right-hand page was devoted to visuals, particularly in L3. For details of the subtopics dealt with and their use of genres, see Appendices 21 and 22.

Table 25: Text types for NK and L3 population chapters

	NK	L3
account	6	2
report	5	3
explanation	6	2
exposition	1	4
total pages	22	18

As can be seen in Table 25, the topic of population was address by a selection of genres in each book, with L3 using more exposition/argument, and NK using more accounts, reports and explanations.

Table 26: Text types for NK and L3 interdependence/globalisation chapters

	NK	L3
account	0	2
report	2	0
explanation	4	3
exposition	2	3
total pages	8	16

Again a range of genres are used to address the topic of interdependence or globalisation in each book (Table 26). L3 used explanation, exposition/argument, and accounts fairly evenly, while NK used more explanations than other genres, but also used reports and exposition/argument.

Combining the findings from the two pairs of chapters, NK perhaps uses more reports and explanations, while L3 uses more exposition/argument. However, these two chapters make up a very small sample from the books, and so firm conclusions cannot be drawn.

5. 3 Student questionnaires

This section will present the main information gathered from the students using the questionnaire in Appendix 2. Numbers that do not add up to 24 students for a group (CLIL or non-CLIL) are due to one or more students not replying to that question.

Table 27: Attitudes to reading in Spanish and English generally

	CLIL students			non-CLIL students	
	Yes	No		Yes	No
Like reading in Spanish	22	2		20	3
Like reading in English	14	8		18	6

Table 27 shows that similar numbers of students in each group reported that they liked reading in Spanish, but more non-CLIL students than CLIL students liked reading in English. However, when the question was made comparative (Table 28), both groups expressed preference for reading in Spanish, with higher numbers of the non-CLIL group reporting this preference.

Table 28: Overall preference for reading in Spanish or English

	CLIL students	non-CLIL students
Prefers reading in Spanish	12	16
Prefers reading in English	0	0
Likes both	8	8
Likes neither	2	1

When asked to estimate the amount of time spend on these various reading activities, both groups reported the internet as their main source of Spanish and English reading outside class, as can be seen in Table 29. Both groups also reported Spanish magazines

as a key source of reading, particularly the CLIL group. The CLIL group, in contrast with the non-CLIL students, reported reading English magazines in class, and indeed the CLIL English teachers were working with a magazine for English learners instead of a textbook, as discussed previously. Out of class CLIL students reported reading English magazines a little more than non-CLIL students (question 4 in Appendix 2; not represented in the tables here).

Table 29: Type of reading particularly liked in Spanish and English

	Reading in Spanish		Reading in English	
	CLIL students	non-CLIL students	CLIL students	non-CLIL students
Books: fiction	12	12	9	7
Books: non-fiction	4	7	1	7
Newspapers	4	2	1	0
Magazines	18	20	7	8
Internet	14	10	16	6
Comics	5	2	3	4

Interestingly, although many more non-CLIL than CLIL students expressed an interest in reading non-fiction English books (Table 29), when asked to estimate how much time they spent on such reading, the numbers of students reporting reading, and the length of time reported were similar for the two groups. Some students added the overall comment that they would like to read more in English, but found it difficult.

Table 30: Total weekly reading in Spanish and in English

	In Spanish		In English	
	CLIL students	non-CLIL students	CLIL students	non-CLIL students
Zero	0	0	1	1
< 1 hour	4	4	10	15
1- 2 hours	1	5	8	5
>2 hours	19	15	5	3

Some cases of inconsistency within students' answers were also found, for example the hours they reported spending on particular text types producing a higher total than the number of hours they reported spending on reading in general (Table 30). The phrase "libros de texto" (textbooks) may also not have been clear, as students reported that they did not read them in class, whereas teachers interviewed said they did use the textbook in class. Indeed, students' estimations of what and how much they read in class varied quite widely. The variation could be due to students actually spending their classtime in different ways, their perception of the class activity, or again some lack of clarity in the questionnaire.

5.4 Interviews with teachers

Semi-structured interviews (the English version of the questions can be found in Appendix 3) were carried out to gather information from the CLIL and non-CLIL teachers of Spanish, English and Social Sciences as well as two American teaching assistants (TAs). Notes were taken on each of the questions, but points from several questions will be grouped together here under the subject groupings of English, Spanish, and Social Sciences, followed by the views of the teaching assistants. The points of interest extracted from the interviews with the English and Spanish teachers include materials used, work carried out on reading and writing, the views of the teachers on difficulties students face, and also comments on the English language proficiency of the CLIL students. (Additional information on the materials is added in square brackets to the teachers' accounts below.) Some, but not all, teachers also gave opinions on rhetorical differences between Spanish and English. From the interviews with the two Social Science teachers the main issues were the type of reading and writing work students experienced in their classes. A separate section will be used to detail the exposure to English outside school that a number of the teachers mentioned in the interviews. The interview questions were not used to structure the discussion with the

two teaching assistants: many of the questions were less relevant as the TAs did not attend all classes, and furthermore the TAs were comfortable speaking about the nature of language learning in the Spanish school in comparison with their own experience in the USA and did not need much prompting.

5.4.1 Teachers of English, non-CLIL and CLIL

The CLIL and non-CLIL students learn English in quite distinct ways, and these differences may be influential in shaping the written Spanish of the CLIL students. This section will provide information about the learning of English in English lessons; learning through other subjects has been addressed with the geography texts above, and will be briefly returned to below. Non-CLIL English classes used a typical EFL (English as a Foreign Language) coursebook, *English Alive* (Wetz 2006), supplemented by other materials from, for example, magazines. [*English Alive* has one or two half-page texts per unit; other pages may include mini texts, but are largely sentence-based.] The students read during class in roughly one out of three lessons, and are not set any reading for homework; they do not use readers. Writing is set for homework and has included a self-portrait, *My life picture*, and, more recently, *My favourite band/group*. [The relevant texts in English Alive for this second topic are two quarter-page passages, ostensibly written by an Oasis fan and a Star Wars fan. Each text is based around an event and as such is a personal recount, although it is not completely clear exactly what type of texts they are, as, for example, students both read and listen to them.] The teacher does not work on writing in class; students write at home. According to the teacher, the students' main difficulty is that they want to express themselves as they do in Spanish; they do not have the language to do this in English but they are not content just to use the simpler English that they do have.

The non-CLIL English teacher felt that Spanish operates differently from English. She said that in Spanish they took a long time to say what they wanted ("*en decir la idea*"), whereas in English it came straight away ("*la idea viene enseguida*"). Structurally, she

felt that Spanish uses a lot of subordination, with long sentences and relative clauses; she saw English, in general, as more practical and condensed, with shorter sentences.

The CLIL English classes do not use a book, but base lessons around a magazine, *Today I love English* (n.d.), developed in Spain for high proficiency English language learners. [Although written for language learning, the magazine has the appearance of the type of magazine which might accompany a Sunday newspaper, and has texts of differing lengths, including some which extend over several pages.] The students had recently been reading two feature articles on Seattle and Las Vegas respectively, each of which was half a page long. [The texts are descriptive reports, framed within a personal recount of the writer's visit to each city.] In addition to the magazine, students read graded readers for homework along with other material such as biographies of famous authors. The students' most recent writing assignment was to answer the question, 'Which would you prefer to visit, Seattle or Las Vegas?' using ideas from the magazine articles. Teachers described the writing tasks of 3º ESO (the third year of secondary) as descriptions of place, summaries and giving opinions. The previous year, 2º ESO, focused on narratives and descriptions. The teachers discussed preparation for writing in terms of structures and accuracy, and students are seen as having largely sentence-level problems in writing, with teachers mentioning difficulties in using tense, voice and sentence structure, and a general lack of accuracy. Work on writing is largely done at home.

The teachers emphasised the similarities between learning English and Spanish rather than the differences, saying that students needed to improve accuracy and to use a wider range of words, one of them adding that the problems the students had were developmental rather than translation.

5.4.2 Teachers of Spanish, CLIL and non-CLIL groups

The CLIL and non-CLIL students follow the same syllabus and use the same textbook, *3º ESO Lengua Castellana y literatura* from Ediciones Akal (Martinez Jiménez, Munoz Marquina and Sarrion Mora 2007), but study separately with different teachers. In addition to a brief description of 3º ESO Spanish in general which corresponds to both CLIL and non-CLIL groups, specific comments from the teacher of the CLIL or non-CLIL students will be added where they suggest some possible difference between the two groups.

The Spanish writing syllabus for this year focuses on description, narration, and exposition/explanation; argumentative writing is the focus of 4º ESO. The non-CLIL teacher gave news items and summaries of a topic given as examples of exposition/explanation; the CLIL teacher did not give examples of writing, but included 'giving reasons' as part of the work done. The two teachers described how often students wrote, their reading homework, and how much of the lesson was devoted to reading in largely similar terms. Both the CLIL and non-CLIL teachers identified organisation of writing as the students' greatest difficulty and emphasised the importance of beginning-middle/development-end in writing; the non-CLIL teacher also focused on the use of separate paragraphs for each point and the use of introductions and conclusions, while the CLIL teacher mentioned problems with tenses and connectors, and an overuse of informal register. The non-CLIL teacher felt that English and Spanish writing were organised in the same way; the CLIL teacher did not comment on this area.

5.4.3 Teachers of Social Sciences: CLIL and non-CLIL

Both the CLIL and the non-CLIL teachers described students' reading and writing work as being based around reading the textbook and writing summaries of the textbook texts. The non-CLIL teacher added that students wrote only summaries except for during exams when they wrote compositions ("*redacciones*"), and that they found the exam writing difficult. The CLIL teacher emphasised the importance of consequences in geography: the writing was often a paragraph explaining the effect of something, and

class work included group discussions focusing on why something happened and giving opinions.

5.4.4 Experience and views of the American teaching assistants

The two Americans working as teaching assistants (TA) on the bilingual programme joined each CLIL class twice a week each for their Science/IT or Social Science lessons, thus each group of CLIL students had an American TA in four of their lessons each week. One of the TAs had English teaching experience from the USA, the other was a Fullbright scholar with a science background. The TAs felt that schools in Spain had differing emphases from schools in the USA, describing schoolwork in Spain as focusing on reading and summarising with less analysis than was usual in the USA. They also felt that writing was less of a priority in the Spanish school, and the students they worked with in the school had not had experience of writing beyond the paragraph level before their involvement with the UN Global Classrooms (as described above). One of the TAs explained she had introduced the BP students to writing a five paragraph persuasive essay with an introduction, conclusion, thesis and topic sentences.

5.4.5 Comments on the students' English language proficiency

This was not a specific question for the interview, but the teachers who were able to comment on the students' English proficiency emphasised receptive over productive skills. They all said that the CLIL students understood much more English than the non-CLIL students; one of the English teachers for the CLIL group said he felt they understood 95% of the English they encountered, but had more trouble with speaking and writing, sometimes through shyness. One teacher commented that the CLIL students were able to express themselves orally in English; another comment was that the students in the first year of secondary (1º ESO) were more enthusiastic than the older students.

5.5 The students' English texts

Tables 31 and 33 below show basic information about the texts the CLIL and non-CLIL students wrote in English to the same prompts as used for the Spanish texts above. (The students who had written in response to the *Uniforme* prompt in Spanish wrote on Parents in English, and vice versa.) Tables 32 and 34 show the analysis of the error-free t-units for the Uniform and Parents texts respectively. The full results for each text can be found in Appendices 23 and 24.

Table 31: Uniform texts (English): background information

	CLIL texts (11)†	non-CLIL texts (12)
no. wds in text	1071	1196
no. sentences in text	50	81
t-units	81	110
wds/t-unit	13.2	10.9

† (One student from the CLIL group was absent on the day the English texts were written.)

Table 32: Error-free t-units, Uniform texts (English)

	CLIL texts	non-CLIL texts
error-free t-units	18 (23%)	16 (15%)
words in error-free t-units	221 (12.3 mean)	108 (6.75 mean)

Table 33: Parents texts (English): background information

	CLIL texts (12)	non-CLIL texts (12)
no. wds in text	1197	1009
no. sentences in text	56	66
t-units	113	97
wds/t-unit	10.6	10.4

Table 34: Error-free t-units, Parents texts (English)

	CLIL texts	non-CLIL texts
error-free t-units	23 (24%)	9 (9%)
words in error-free t-units	222 (9.7 mean)	71 (7.9 mean)

The results in Tables 31 to 34 at first seem to show less of a difference in the English of the two groups than might be expected. The CLIL students did not in fact write much more than the non-CLIL students; their t-units are a little longer for the Uniform texts (Table 31), but hardly so for the Parents texts (Table 33). Once accuracy is taken into consideration however, the CLIL texts do show stronger results, with more, and longer error-free t-units, as shown in Tables 32 and 34. For both Uniform and Parents texts, the CLIL texts have a much higher proportion of error-free t-units than the non-CLIL texts. Interestingly that proportion is similar for the CLIL texts in each prompt (23% and 24% for the Uniform and Parents texts respectively), whereas the non-CLIL texts have a particularly low proportion of error-free t-units for the Parents texts (9%, compared to 15% for the Uniform texts). The error-free t-units are also longer in the CLIL texts than in the non-CLIL texts, although for this measure the difference is greater with the Uniform texts, (Table 32) than the Parents texts (Table 34), where it is much closer. It might have been expected that the CLIL students' English texts would show higher proficiency more convincingly, and in terms of quantity written as well as accuracy achieved and length of units. Several explanations are possible for why the differences between the CLIL and non-CLIL results are not greater. First, as mentioned in the Methodology chapter above, the conditions for the CLIL groups' English writing were not ideal: the visitors to the class made it difficult for the students to settle to the writing task. Second, it has previously been noted that writing is often the weakest skill for students on bilingual programmes (Coyle 2007; Grabe and Stoller 1997), and the teachers of these students also mentioned their receptive skills as being more advanced. Finally, counting words per t-unit and error-free t-unit is a very rough method for assessing writing proficiency (Bardovi-Harlig 1992; Gaies 1980), and perhaps in this

case it is too rough, although the length of error-free t-unit, which is seen as the more accurate of the t-unit measures (Gaies 1980), did produce greater differences here. This point will be further discussed in the following chapter, but it should also be added here that the general feeling of teachers was that the CLIL students did have much better English, an assessment I would agree with.

Chapter 6: Discussion

This chapter will review the findings described in the previous chapter and consider possible causes and implications for these findings. The review of the findings will first identify key points of difference between the CLIL and non-CLIL student texts, then discuss these differences in terms of previous studies comparing Spanish and English written discourse. Possible causes for the differences found in the student texts will be explored, as will their implications in terms of the role and impact of English, and also for teaching on CLIL programmes. Finally methodological issues raised by the study and areas for future research will be considered.

6.1 The CLIL and non-CLIL student texts: areas of contrast

The main differences between the CLIL and non-CLIL texts are in the length of some units, the use of simplexes, some aspects of text structure, and multiple Theme, with contrasts generally more marked for the *Uniforme* texts than for the *Padres* texts. These areas will be considered one-by-one here, starting with the length and make-up of units.

6.1.1 Grammatical units

Here the differences between the CLIL and non-CLIL texts were clearer for the *Uniforme* than the *Padres* prompt. Areas of difference that were consistent between the two prompts were the shorter t-units and fewer embedded clauses per sentence of CLIL texts. For the *Uniforme* texts, this lower complexity for CLIL texts was maintained for all units measured in terms of word count, with CLIL students using shorter texts, sentences and ranking clauses in addition to shorter t-units. In the other complexity measures, the *Uniforme* prompt again produced more consistent results, with CLIL *Uniforme* texts using fewer ranking and embedded clauses per sentence. The CLIL Padres texts showed this tendency of lowered complexity in only one additional area to

those found in both prompts, with slightly fewer embedded clauses per ranking clause. However, in other areas the CLIL *Padres* showed a reverse tendency: texts used more words per sentence, particularly when the elevated average of Text 9 is taken into consideration (Appendix 5), and slightly more ranking clauses per sentence as well. Furthermore, differences between the CLIL and non-CLIL texts were generally smaller than corresponding differences in the *Uniforme* texts.

6.1.2. Clause complexing

The analysis of clause complexes or sentences into simplexes and complexes, showed marked differences between the CLIL and non-CLIL texts for both prompts, although again this was particularly true for the *Uniforme* texts. For both prompts, the complex use between the two groups of students contrasted most for three-clause complexes. The longer clause complexes did not contribute so greatly to the contrast in use of simplexes versus complexes for the two groups, and in places the CLIL students were using more of the longer clause complexes than the non-CLIL students. Overall the CLIL texts can be characterised as using a high proportion of simplexes along with longer clause complexes in the *Padres* texts, and fewer three-clause complexes, whereas in general the non-CLIL texts use a high proportion of three-clause complexes, with fewer simplexes.

It should also be emphasised that overall the two prompts used complexes differently, with CLIL and non-CLIL texts using longer clause-complexes in the *Padres* texts than in the *Uniforme* texts, thus underlining the importance of a strict interpretation of comparability and text type: the two prompts are both expository/argumentative, but still show quite large differences. In places these differences between the prompts are as large as the differences between the CLIL and non-CLIL texts. For example, the CLIL texts averaged 10 percent of clause complexes with more than four clauses for the *Uniforme* prompt, while for the *Padres* prompt this average was 27 percent. The use of 2-clause complexes was correspondingly lower for the *Padres* prompt in comparison with the *Uniforme* prompt. These differences between prompts were less marked for the non-CLIL texts, but again the proportion of 2-clause complexes was much higher for the

Uniforme prompt than for the *Padres* prompt, while the longer clause complexes were more strongly represented in the *Padres* texts.

6.1.3 Text structure

Here it is more difficult to discuss the *Uniforme* and the *Padres* texts together, as the two prompts resulted in different text structures. The review of the findings will therefore for the most part consider each prompt separately, and then consider whether any common points can be drawn from the two sets of texts. It must also be remembered that when discussing the structure each text as a whole uses, the numbers involved are very small, and so even more caution is required in interpreting findings.

For the *Uniforme* texts, it is noticeable that the CLIL students used a two-sided discussion framework much more than the non-CLIL students did, with seven of the twelve CLIL texts using this framework, versus just one of the non-CLIL texts. In contrast, three non-CLIL texts were organised around issues to some extent, while none of the CLIL texts used this strategy. Signalling of organisation structure was also used by the CLIL texts more than the non-CLIL texts (six versus three texts). A detail that may seem somewhat at odds with these organisational findings is the slightly greater tendency of non-CLIL texts to express the opinion at both the beginning and the end of the text, with five non-CLIL versus two CLIL students taking this option. This contrast was less noticeable for the *Padres* texts, where fewer students from either CLIL or non-CLIL groups expressed the opinion at both the beginning and end of the text (three non-CLIL versus one CLIL), but will be revisited below in the context of the teachers' interviews. Again the differences between the two groups of students were less clear with the *Padres* texts, and most texts in both groups were organised as discussions considering more than one side to the argument. The main areas of divergence for the *Padres* texts were the use of classification and to what degree the organisational framework was signposted. A quarter of the CLIL texts used classification as the organisational strategy, whereas none of the non-CLIL texts used this strategy. (However, again it should be noted that a quarter of the texts is only three texts.) For

signposting of the organisational framework, four CLIL texts versus two non-CLIL texts signposted the framework fully, and this greater use of signposting coincided with the use of classification, as three of these four texts were those using the classificatory framework.

As the numbers involved here are very small, and there are several contrasts to consider, overall points of interest from the two prompts will be indicated, but with great caution as to stating any definite CLIL/non-CLIL difference or similarity. One possible tendency is the greater use of clear organisational frameworks and the signalling of those frameworks by the CLIL students. Another, related, possibility is the greater tendency towards categorisation of the CLIL students: as well as the three CLIL texts using classification for the *Padres* texts, the CLIL *Uniforme* texts organised around a two-sided discussion used advantages/disadvantages as the framework, which is also categorisation. The issues-based organisation more noticeable in the non-CLIL texts did not have this sense of categorisation as a dominant organisational principle. Finally, the non-CLIL students may tend to express opinions in the both introduction and the conclusion of their texts more than the CLIL students.

6.1.4 Theme

Here the issues to consider are the use of interpersonal Theme, particularly first person projecting clauses, and the use of textual Theme, and once again differences between the two prompts exist. In particular, the findings for interpersonal Theme are not consistent for the *Uniforme* and Padres texts. In the *Uniforme* texts interpersonal Theme and first person projecting clauses are used much more in the CLIL than the non-CLIL group. However for the *Padres* texts the picture is very different: the results for CLIL and non-CLIL texts are much more similar, and the difference that does exist works in the opposite direction, with non-CLIL texts using interpersonal Themes and first person projecting clauses more than CLIL texts.

Once again findings can to some extent be related to prompt and text type or genre. The lower use of first interpersonal Theme for the CLIL as opposed to non-CLIL *Padres* texts is partly related to the CLIL group's greater use of classification: the average count for interpersonal Theme in the CLIL *Padres* texts was three, but, while one of the classificatory texts did have three interpersonal Themes, the other two only had one. Similarly, while most of the CLIL *Padres* texts had one or two first person projecting clauses and a couple had more, of the four texts which had no first person projecting clauses two were using the classificatory framework, and signalling that organisation. For these texts thematic position was used to indicate the classification. Here the effect of choice of Theme should also be noted: starting from classification rather than from an interpersonal element means the proposition of the clause is presented as not being dependent on the writer and, as such, less open to contestation. The one CLIL *Padres* text that used classification and also used both interpersonal Theme and first person projecting clauses to a similar extent to non-classifying texts achieved this thematic organisation in an evaluative t-unit placed after each category of parent has been introduced and described in terms of their approach to managing their children. Here Absolute Theme was used to refer back to the category of parents, thereby allowing the inclusion of a first person projecting clause as interpersonal Theme while still keeping the classificatory framework, and resulting in more material overall in Theme (see Table 1 below, extracted from example (18) Chapter Five).

Table 1 Absolute and interpersonal Theme

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="4"></td><td colspan="5">Thematic field</td><td rowspan="4">Rhematic field</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Outer Thematic field</td><td colspan="2">Inner Thematic field</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Textual</td><td rowspan="2">Absolute</td><td rowspan="2">Interpersonal</td><td colspan="2">Experiential</td></tr>
<tr><td>Pre-Head</td><td>Head</td></tr>
<tr><td>1</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>Algunos padres</td><td>son muy estrictos</td></tr>
<tr><td>2</td><td>y</td><td></td><td></td><td>están</td><td>3s</td><td>siempre encima de sus hijos, preguntandoles que es lo que es lo que hacen cuando salen con quienes se relaciona…</td></tr>
</table>

3		*Este tipo de padres*	*yo creo*	*son*	*3s*	*un poco estrictos porque se preocupan mucho por sus hijos*

[Some parents are very strict and always on top of their children, asking them what they do when they go out who they mix with … I think this type of parent is a bit strict because they worry a lot about their children]

If another thematic analysis that did not use the category Absolute Theme were used, for example Halliday and Matthiessen (2004), the classificatory element would still be thematic, but not the first person projecting clause, which would be considered rhematic. In such a case there would be fewer interpersonal Themes, and thus choice of analysis affects the results. Absolute Theme was less used in the *Uniforme* texts with no examples found in the CLIL group, and the divergence between the use of interpersonal Theme in the CLIL and non-CLIL groups in not easily explained with reference to text type either. Another aspect to consider here is the expression of interpersonal meaning other than through interpersonal Theme. For example, many of the non-CLIL texts that do not use interpersonal Theme express judgement through relational processes, such as *Está bien que ...* (It is good that …), *seria buen idea ...* (it would be a good idea …), and also through modal verbs: *puede llegar a ser sexista ...* (it might even be sexist …) or *puede que sean mas las ventanas* (perhaps there are more advantages). This is not to say that the CLIL *Uniforme* texts only use interpersonal Theme to comment upon the message of the clause, but it might be revealing to analyse the interpersonal meanings further.

The use of textual Theme is a little more similar across the two prompts. For both *Uniforme* and *Padres* texts, the non-CLIL students used more textual Themes, in overall numbers and also in percentage of t-units with textual Themes. The difference is again greater for the *Uniforme* texts: the non-CLIL groups have textual Themes in 55 percent of t-units for both *Uniforme* and *Padres* prompts, whereas the CLIL groups have textual Themes for 47 percent of t-units in the *Padres* texts, and for 30 percent in the *Uniforme* texts. As discussed in Chapter Five above, the contrast in use of textual Theme between

the CLIL and non-CLIL *Uniforme* text can be at least partially attributed to text structure, in that the non-CLIL students used the two-sided discussion framework less, and were instead moving between issues and positions more frequently within the text, using textual Theme to signal those moves. The CLIL texts, with often just one block for advantages and one for disadvantages, consequently had less movement between positions, and used fewer textual Themes. The greater use of textual Theme by non-CLIL students is less marked in the *Padres* texts, and also less easily explained by differences in text structure: it will be revisited below in connection with previous studies.

6.1.5 Thematic progression.

Thematic progression patterns were analysed for main strategy per text, and for total use of each pattern. The findings for main strategy per text suffer the same disadvantage as the text structure analysis, in that the small number of texts makes it more difficult to identify clear tendencies. This is particularly true of the *Uniforme* texts, which seem to show fairly similar use of overall strategy per text for the CLIL and non-CLIL groups; this similarity was also found in the total count of CP (constant progression) and LP (linear progression) patterns. For the *Padres* texts, more difference was visible for both main strategy and total pattern use: the CLIL texts seem to use CP as a main strategy more than the non-CLIL texts, and the count of total pattern use shows the CLIL *Padres* texts using CP for 42 percent of t-units compared with the non-CLIL 17 percent CP. As was pointed out in Chapter Five above, this tendency would be consistent with the greater use of the classification framework, and some of the classificatory texts do also have a high number of CP patterns. However, the use of CP and the classification framework do not match consistently throughout the group, and so the difference in text structure does not seem to fully explain the difference in use of thematic progression. Combining the totals for CP and LP use to show the proportion of repeated versus new Themes for the two groups of students also produces different results for the two prompts: for the *Uniforme* texts the non-CLIL students used slightly more repeated

Themes (61% versus 53%), while for the *Padres* texts it is the CLIL students who use more repeated Themes (81% versus 70%).

Thus there are some differences between the CLIL and non-CLIL texts: the CLIL texts have shorter t-units (and also sentences and clauses for the *Uniforme* texts), use a higher proportion of simplexes, and possibly show a higher tendency to use text frameworks, especially those involving categorisation, and also to signal that framework. Tendencies in the use of Theme and thematic progression are more difficult to identify, but the CLIL texts to use fewer textual Themes, and possibly have a tendency towards greater use of interpersonal Theme for non-classificatory text types; they may use constant patterns of thematic progression more in some text types. The next question to consider is whether these possible differences correspond to distinctions between English and Spanish discourse as identified by previous studies. It should also be repeated here that many of the previous studies referred to were working with somewhat different data, with either the writers, the text type or other aspects of the context differing in some way from the current study. These differences, as was discussed in earlier chapters, make comparison more difficult. However, in the absence of a large bank of studies working in the same context as the current study, comparison will be made with the studies working in areas of some similarity to this study; the issue of comparability will also be returned to below.

6.2 The findings in relation to previous studies

The first difference between the two groups of students discussed above was the shorter length of grammatical units in the CLIL texts, particularly in the case of the *Uniforme* texts. This general area of unit length has frequently been studied before, as discussed in Chapter Three, and has also been commented on more generally as a distinctive feature of English discourse in contrast with Spanish (Beeby Lonsdale 1996; Bernárdez 2008; St. John 1987). The findings reported here correspond to differences found between

English and Spanish text, with studies showing English to have shorter sentences (Montaño-Harmon 1991; Neff et al. 2004; Pak and Acevedo 2008; Reppen and Grabe 1993; Simpson 2000), and also shorter t-units (Neff et al. 2004; Simpson 2000). However, while length of sentences and t-units, have frequently been studied, the other units analysed in this study such as words per ranking clause are not so easily found in previous contrastive Spanish-English studies. This is partly because, as pointed out in Chapter Three, most contrastive rhetoric studies do not distinguish between dependent and embedded clauses. Thus previous studies also cannot directly provide comparison for the finding in this study that the CLIL texts used embedded clauses less than the non-CLIL texts. However, the more general term of subordination, which combines the two strategies of embedding and dependency, has been studied in previous work, and found in Spanish writing to a greater extent than in English (Montaño-Harmon 1991; Neff et al. 2004; Pak and Acevedo 2008; Reppen and Grabe 1993; Simpson 2000), which again may suggest the CLIL texts align with the more English tendency. (Alternatively, of course, the greater subordination of Spanish texts in previous studies may be due to a use of dependent clauses; as the studies frequently do not distinguish it is impossible to tell.) Similarly, studies do not tend to analyse for use of complexes, and thus the findings of this study, that the CLIL students use a higher proportion of simplexes, cannot be fully related to previous English-Spanish studies, although they are at least compatible with the findings of more subordination as noted above.

For issues of multiple Theme, previous studies comparing Spanish and English text have not tended to focus explicitly on textual and interpersonal Theme as in this study. As was explained above, the CLIL and non-CLIL texts use of interpersonal Theme differed between the two prompts, with the smaller variations between the CLIL and non-CLIL *Padres* prompt largely explicable in terms of text type and structure, but reasons for the greater divergence between the two sets of *Uniforme* texts less clear. The greater use of interpersonal Theme in English was linked to previous studies in the Chapter Three literature review (Pak and Acevedo 2008; Varela Pérez 2002). However, neither study works with students' texts, and neither analyses interpersonal Theme: Varela Pérez

(2002) found more subjective comments in the English popular science of his study (including, but not limited to, those that would be analysed as interpersonal Theme in this study); Pak and Acevedo (2008) found English editorials more likely to address the reader directly. Thus, in themselves, these two studies do not present a strong case for supporting the greater use of interpersonal Theme in English than Spanish. Other studies have variously found more "author's involvement" in Spanish than in English (Salager-Meyer et al. 2003: 236), or alternatively, Spanish to be "less personalized" than English (Valero-Garcés 1996: 288), which may at first sight seem to be contradictory findings. These difficulties in relating the current work to previous CR studies will be further discussed below under methodological issues, but suggest great caution is required in interpreting the use of interpersonal Theme in the CLIL and non-CLIL texts.

The findings for textual Theme described in the previous chapter also pose problems for interpretation, and do not seem to align the CLIL texts with English characteristics as discussed in related previous studies. The non-CLIL texts were found to use more textual Themes, while Varela Pérez (2002) found sentence connectors to be more common in English than Spanish texts, and Beeby Lonsdale (1996) states that conjunctions, especially in initial position, are more common in English than Spanish. Text type and text structure are also relevant to use of textual Theme, and have already been used to explain the lower use of textual Theme among the CLIL versus non-CLIL *Uniforme* texts: the use of a clear organisational framework with fewer switches between points of view, as found in the CLIL texts, reduces the need for some types of textual Theme. Whittaker (1995), studying academic articles in English, finds variation in use of textual Theme depending upon genre, with argumentative paragraphs using more textual Themes than non-argumentative expository paragraphs. It could be thought that the greater use of classificatory rather than argumentative frameworks among the CLIL *Padres* texts might then explain the slightly lower use of textual Themes. However, the classification texts all have a textual Theme count that is above the average for the group, and thus text type does not in this case explain the difference. Mur Dueñas (2007) found that relative Spanish-English use of inter-sentential logical

markers depended on the semantic relationship expressed, with English using more contrastive markers while Spanish used more additive and consecutive markers; Montaño-Harmon's (1991) findings also distinguished between the logical relationships of the connectives used in her two sets of texts, Spanish and English. It may therefore be necessary to analyse the textual Themes in greater detail to discover any patterns in their use. Overall, Theme analysis is the area of this study that links most weakly to previous studies, and possibly, along with thematic progression (to be discussed next), the area that most needs reconsideration for future research.

The thematic progression analysis suggests that, for the *Padres* texts at least, CLIL students may use a higher proportion of CP patterns than non-CLIL students, although to some extent this can be explained by the text structure differences between the two groups of students. The previous studies in this area suggest that English texts use both CP and LP more than Spanish text (Sánchez Escobar 1996; Simpson 2000), with Simpson (2000) finding English to use LP in particular, and so in this respect CLIL texts do not align with what is considered to be the more English tendency. However, as was noted in Chapter Three, Simpson (2000) is somewhat problematic in its purely semantic understanding of Theme as what the message is about, making for a rather subjective thematic analysis. Furthermore, despite the association of thematic progression and ideas of digression with early contrastive rhetoric as mentioned above, few works have explicitly addressed this area in contrastive Spanish-English studies. Previous studies of English based on a more structural understanding of Theme note that text type influences thematic structure and progression (Francis 1989; Fries 1983; Moya and Albentosa 2001); Bustos Gisbert (1996), using a similar although not identical understanding of thematic progression to describe Spanish texts, specifically associates linear progression (LP) with argumentative writing, suggesting the work of Sánchez Escobar (1996) and Simpson (2000) may need further consideration. An additional complication is that thematic progression patterns vary within a text according to the differing purposes of stages (Bustos Gisbert 1996; Downing and Lavid 1998; McCabe 2004a), and sociocultural factors have also been found to be relevant (Downing and

Lavid 1998); thus the role of thematic progression is probably rather more complex than some contrastive studies have suggested. (This observation no doubt applies to some extent to all of the comparisons examined here, although some contrasts such as length of sentences seem more consistently reported across previous studies and also less dependent upon other factors, and thus less problematic.) While thematic progression was chosen as a form of analysis strongly associated with contrastive discourse work because of its seeming potential for investigating the original CR concepts of linearity and digression (Kaplan 1966; Sánchez Escobar 1996), it has in some ways proved a less satisfactory element of the analysis, and will be further discussed below under methodological issues.

The findings for text structure discussed above are also more difficult to relate directly to previous research. Signalling of text structure may at first seem to relate to the work on reader orientation and use of explicit markers, which finds English tending to use more explicit markers in a range of genres as discussed above for textual Theme (Beeby Lonsdale 1996; Moreno 2004; Mur Dueñas 2007;Varela Pérez 2002). It might be expected that use of textual Theme would coincide with signalling of text structure. However, the study of CLIL and non-CLIL texts found an inverse relationship between use of textual Theme and such signposting. Thus texts without a clear overall text structure may still employ linking devices for local relations between adjacent clause complexes, which would add to the textual Theme count but not necessarily contribute to signalling of text structure. Similarly, text structure can be signalled in the experiential Theme as well as through textual Theme, as seems to have frequently happened here. For example, CLIL *Uniforme* Text 2 has '*sus ventajas son las siguientes*:' (its advantages are the following) followed by '*otra ventaja ...*' (another advantage) and then '*Los inconvenientes son los siguientes*' (The drawbacks are the following), and CLIL *Padres* Text 8 has *Algunos padres son ... Otros padres son …. Y el otro tipo de padres es ...* (Some parents are ….., Other parents are ….. And the other type of parent is ….). Indeed, the Spanish-English studies listed above, while addressing reader orientation, are generally not examining text framework but more local

organisation (Moreno 2004; Mur Dueñas 2007; Varela Pérez 2002). A further point from the findings of this study is that the use of signalling in the CLIL and non-CLIL texts are related to genre, with two-sided discussions and classifications using the most signalling. Previous studies have also found genre to be influential, and in more standardised genres such as research articles to be a stronger influence on use of metatext than language (Moreno 1997). Whittaker (1995), while also finding high use of textual Themes to correlate with argument over exposition/explanation as mentioned above, further points out that textual information is not only expressed in textual Theme. Thus signalling of text structure needs to be considered as genre-related as well as possibly differing across languages in its conventions, and as not limited to textual Theme.

Comparisons of text structure in Spanish and English are not frequent, and those that exist tend to be working within a different context, and making more generalised comments rather than investigating use of specific genres or text types. Valero-Garcés (1996: 291) finds Spanish-speaking writers are less concerned with "the formal structure" of their writing than are English-speaking writers, but she is examining published academic articles, and also compares English as a first language with English as a second language, which affects comparability (Moreno and Suárez 2008b). Montaño-Harmon (1991) finds that the Mexican students of her study use more flexible paragraph structure in their Spanish writing than the Anglo-Americans in English and have a broader interpretation of what is relevant material. Sánchez Escobar (1996) and Valero-Garcés (1996), both working with published texts, claim that topic sentences are not used in Spanish as much as in English. The use of specific text frameworks such as the two-sided discussion and the classification framework of the current study are not areas that have been specifically studied in previous Spanish-English contrastive work; this possible distinction will thus be discussed below in terms of more general considerations of Spanish-English writing, as well as in terms of the materials the CLIL and non-CLIL students had been using in school.

Thus the areas identified as showing possible divergence between CLIL and non-CLIL texts compare in some cases to distinctions found in studies of English and Spanish text, but in other areas are not so easily related to previous contrastive studies. The contrast that most clearly connects to previous studies is that of length of t-unit, a commonly-studied area. Other areas such as clause complexing have findings similar to Spanish-English studies, although these tend to be less specific in their analysis. The area of text structure as discussed here has not been much studied, and in one area, that of textual Theme, the findings reported in this study seem to show the CLIL/non-CLIL distinctions in an inverse relationship to other features, according to previous Spanish-English studies. Many of these areas thus need further consideration, and will be discussed first in relation to previous work other than contrastive studies.

6.2.1 Writing education

One issue to consider is that the use of specific text structures may be traditionally more valued in English language contexts than in Spanish. Indeed, Sánchez Escobar (1996) states that Spanish writing does not have established norms. This point was raised in Chapter Four above, where it was noted that much more work on structural issues of text organisation had been carried out within educational linguistics in English-speaking countries than in Spain. The genre-based work in Australia (Martin 2009), which, although by no means universally accepted, has influenced school curricula in the UK (Carter 1990; Walsh 2006), and the college composition work in the US (Witte and Faigley 1981) are less commonly found in Spain. The difference is also reflected in the issues addressed in writing guides, which in Spain have not traditionally focused on text organisation (Sánchez Escobar 1996). To pick two examples, possibly extreme but which illustrate the contrasting emphases, the popular *Manual de estilo: Guía práctica para escribir mejor* [‘Style manual: A practical guide to better writing’] (Ramoneda 1998), reprinted eleven times between 1998 and 2005, is organised into the three sections of *orthography*, *morphology-syntax* and *appendices* (this last covering largely lexical matters). In contrast, the *Oxford guide to effective speaking and writing* (Seely

2005) is divided into *communicating in everyday life* (text types such as job applications), *getting the message across* (subsections include *audience*), *the English language* (for example grammar), and *the process of writing* (such as drafting). Guides for journalistic writing, for example Santamaría (1990) are also used as style guides in Spain, particularly the El País newspaper's style guide (Grijelmo 2002) which has a similarly subsentence approach to Ramoneda (1998). Exceptions to this sentence-level focus come particularly from the field of translation studies, which has encouraged a greater attention to text. Thus Bustos Gisbert (1996: 13) promotes the move from the traditional study of phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax, lexis and semantics, to the 'thorny ground' (*terreno ... espinoso*) of text linguistics; Beeby Lonsdale (1996) similarly points to lack of text knowledge in translation students. Books addressing more specific text types and the writing process in Spanish do exist, but tend to focus on issues other than text structure with, for example, guidelines for taking notes and for approaching a textual commentary (Calleja 2003), to be discussed below. Sánchez Miguel's (1998) *Comprensión y redacción de textos* [Comprehension and composition of texts], written for teachers of primary and secondary, addresses comprehension issues for eight of the nine chapters; the ninth chapter focuses mainly on evaluation of student compositions and, while one of the criteria is completeness, does not specify this in terms of staging. Some Spanish books on text construction consider the staging of text structure to be beyond the remit of their work (Fuentes Rodríguez 1996; Núñez Ladevéze 1993), and may even suggest textual organisation should not be the focus for a writer trying to improve their work (Núñez Ladevéze 1993).

This different emphasis in books addressing writing is also reflected in discussions of learning styles. It has been pointed out elsewhere that different types of learning and academic literacy may be favoured in the US and in Spain (McCabe 2004b; Newman, Trenchs-Parera and Pujol 2003; Valero-Garcés 1996), with differences also found between the learning of mother tongue literacy between Spain and Britain (Cassany 2006). Valero-Garcés (1996) contrasts approaches to writing in America and Spain, and explains the lack of American-style university writing courses in Spain as due to the emphasis on content over from in Spanish writing. (It should be pointed out here that

neither are the freshman writing programmes of the US usual in Britain, but that, as mentioned above, writing forms part of the school curriculum.) Newman, Trenchs-Parera and Pujol (2003) explore this distinction between two writing cultures in their comparison of Catalan and American students (studying at universities in Catalunya and the US respectively), finding that some academic literacy values are culturally-specific. (Although it cannot be assumed that Catalan students are representative of students from all regions of Spain, the points made here seem consistent with work discussing Spain more generally). Thus the Catalan students were very negative about writing workshops, and thought them a waste of time since they did not view writing as something that could be taught. In this they were "like a curious mirror image of their US counterparts" (Newman, Trenchs-Parera and Pujol 2003: 62), as all of the American students (native and immigrant) valued the writing instruction. The authors do not discuss whether the Catalan and American writing instruction was comparable, but they do point out that the very fact the Catalan university students had writing classes was unusual in Spain. Indeed, it has been suggested that students in Spain feel writing is something that could not, even should not, be taught, as a "unique personal style of self-expression" is valued (Newman, Trenchs-Parera and Pujol 2003: 61-62). In suggesting a reason for the Catalan students' more sophisticated reading skills, Newman et al. may also provide further understanding for the different attitude towards writing instruction. In contrast with the American students, the Catalans had experienced a school system which emphasised '*comentaris de text*', glossed by Newman et al. (2003) as "written exegeses of literary readings", elsewhere translated as "textual commentary" (Cassany 2006: 51), but perhaps also including some aspects of what used to be called 'literary appreciation' in the UK and elsewhere. Cassany (2006), writing on schooling across Spain, suggests that with the development of a more communicative approach to language teaching the *comentario de texto* is less dominant than it used to be, but the practice is still widely used, and emphasised on websites supporting secondary Spanish language teaching (Juan 2010; Larequi García 2010). Larequi García (2010) highlights a list of five popular links which includes *Comentarios de texto*, along with *Exámenes y ejercicios* ('Exams and exercises'), *Unidades didácticas* ('Teaching units', organised

thematically), *Grámatica y sintaxis* ('Grammar and syntax') and *Programaciones* (Planning, including curricular). Cassany's (2006) discussion of the role of *comentario de texto* will be considered here as it may provide some support for the theory that the teaching of genres and use of specific text structures has not traditionally been seen as a priority in Spain, and that the encouragement and use of such text structures may be a difference between English and Spanish writing education. Such a difference in writing education might help explain contrasts between Spanish and English written discourse, and even the motivation of the TA in teaching the CLIL students essay organisation.

The *comentario de texto* is very important in a Spanish student's life as it is required for the university entrance exam (*selectividad*), and also features in the civil service exam for secondary school teachers (*las oposiciones*). (The university entrance exam has recently changed in some aspects, but still includes textual commentary.) It is thus a high stakes activity, and its increasing importance in the second half of the last century led to a considerable number of 'how to' manuals, with one book (Lázaro Carreter y Correa Calderón 1967, cited Cassany 2006) reprinted thirty-three times between 1967 and 1998. As Cassany (2006) points out, this number of reprintings over such a long time suggests not only the popularity of the text, but also some fossilisation in teaching and learning practices. In discussing possible areas for change in the use of the *comentario de texto*, Cassany (2006) also throws some light on the lack of interest in text structure for writing education. A *comentario de texto* typically involves a fragment from a literary classic and has a micro rather than macro focus, working at a line by line level rather than with the overall text. These extracts from literature are also considered as models for writing, as literature and language are seen as interrelated or even almost indivisible in Spanish language education (Cassany 2006). A language education tradition of using a micro focus on literary extracts would perhaps not encourage consideration of overall text structure in written text. Although it should also be pointed out that the written *comentario de texto* itself developed a very clear text structure, based on the elements laid as necessary out in the manuals (Cassany 2006). This recommended staging of the *comentario de texto* is so widespread that it has perhaps become invisible

as a structure. Cassany (2006) suggests taking a more genre-based approach to work with texts, including a consideration of textual organisation, and this attention to text has also been reported as absent from secondary schooling by Álvarez Angulo (2001), who reports Spanish language education as focusing on sentence and sub-sentence level issues. Beeby Lonsdale (1996: 102), discussing university translator training courses, similarly states that students arrive from secondary school with "little idea of structuring a text", and that the school curriculum is so dense in terms of content that it is difficult for teachers to find time to help students with the production of different genres, or indeed for learning to write more generally. The consideration of the writing experience in Spain's secondary schools will be further discussed below with information from the teachers of the CLIL and non-CLIL students of this study.

Thus, by combining findings from previous contrastive Spanish-English and other studies with a consideration of differences in the writing education of Spain from English-speaking countries, a list of possible contrasts to be found in comparable Spanish versus English writing would include longer clause, sentence and t-unit length, greater use of subordination (used in previous studies to refer to embedded clauses and/or dependent ranking clauses), and less concern for specific text structures and frameworks. Use of multiple Themes and thematic progression patterns are more difficult to generalise, and indeed, all of these suggestions are in need of further examination.

In many, but not all, of these areas, the CLIL texts differ from the non-CLIL texts in ways that could be said to correspond to some degree to distinctions found in studies comparing English and Spanish texts. The areas that align the CLIL texts with what seems to be the more English tendency are shorter length of grammatical units, particularly t-units, less 'subordination' in terms of a lower use of embedded clauses and also more simplexes, and a tendency to use text frameworks and signpost those frameworks. The areas that seem to run counter to this alignment are the lower use of textual Theme and of linear progression (both areas which are less clear in previous

research and/or are affected by text type/genre). Mixed results are obtained for interpersonal Theme, 'subordination' in terms of ranking clauses per sentence, and length of sentences and clauses: in these areas the results for the *Padres* texts contrasted with the results for the *Uniforme* texts. Some of these differences are explained by choice of text type, which often seems to be a central issue determining other choices. Thus, the results do not show features associated with English for the CLIL texts of each prompt in every respect, but they do show frequently consistent differences between CLIL and non-CLIL texts, and the differences between the two groups of texts largely correspond to Spanish-English differences. Overall, where two options exist, one more typical of English text and one more typical of Spanish text, the CLIL texts display more of the characteristics associated with English than do the non-CLIL texts.

6.3 Possible causes for the differences between CLIL and non-CLIL texts

6.3.1 Direct teaching

The extent of some of the differences between the two sets of texts is perhaps surprising, and several possible explanations suggest themselves for why the CLIL students should be writing texts seemingly with more English characteristics. The first issue to consider is direct teaching. It would seem that some of the features discussed here are more likely to be explicitly addressed in an English-language context than a Spanish one. This contrast in pedagogical focus between the two languages seems to apply particularly to text structure and organisation, but may also affect other issues related to the writing of argumentative texts. However, the information gathered from the teacher interviews suggests that neither the CLIL nor the non-CLIL group had been explicitly taught to write these argument texts in either English or in Spanish. It cannot be stated unequivocally that none of the classes had studied the writing of argumentative texts, as the picture of what students had or had not studied was not gathered in equal detail from each teacher, and it is possible that some work had been done on this text type in some classes and not others. For example, while the Spanish teachers of both the CLIL and

non-CLIL groups were using the same textbook (Martinez Jiménez, Munoz Marquira and Sarrion Mora 2007) and following a syllabus that listed description, narration, and exposition/explanation as text types to be focused on, with argument to be addressed the following year, only the teacher of the non-CLIL students explicitly said she was *not* teaching argumentative writing in 3º ESO, while the Spanish teacher of the CLIL students did also mention giving reasons as part of the 3º ESO work on exposition; such a focus could be included within exposition/explanation, but it does also relate to exposition/argument. It is therefore possible that the Spanish classes of the CLIL students had done more work connected to argumentative texts than the Spanish classes of the non-CLIL students. This possibility would not, however, explain why the CLIL students were writing Spanish seemingly with more English characteristics, such as shorter sentences and more simplexes, than the non-CLIL students; there seems no reason to believe that the CLIL students' Spanish teacher would have been instrumental in producing this difference, although as a possibility it requires further investigation.

Similarly, the information gained about the respective English classes was not sufficient to say categorically that students had not studied argumentative writing. Neither the CLIL nor the non-CLIL groups seemed to be working on argument with 3º ESO English, but the English teachers of the CLIL students described the learning areas in terms that were perhaps closer to argument. Comparison between the CLIL and non-CLIL groups, as well as between English and Spanish classes, was complicated by teachers describing the work in different terms, partly through the influence of course material. Thus the CLIL English teachers described the work from the previous year, 2º ESO, in terms of genres and functions, saying that the students had been working mainly on narrative with some description, while the 3º ESO work was described more functionally, with summarising, giving opinions, comparing, expressing preferences, describing places given as the main areas. Several of these areas could be used within argumentative writing. The English teacher for the non-CLIL students used the textbook *English Alive! 3* (Wetz 2006) every day, and her description of the syllabus is understandably related to if not shaped by the book. Fairly typically for many EFL

materials, *English Alive! 3* (Wetz 2006:3) is organised around discrete grammar items rather than genres and indeed has few recognizable text types in its contents page; the reading and listening element of the syllabus is listed in terms of the theme of the texts, for example 'super volcano' or 'face of the future', and the writing element is a combination of skills ('error correction'), language points ('so and because') and largely non-genre specific writing tasks ('a formal letter'; 'a composition'). Thus the teacher described writing work done by the students in similar terms, focusing on the themes, such as 'My life picture' or 'My favourite band' rather than the genres or functions as did the CLIL students' English teachers, who were not basing their classes around a traditional textbook but a magazine. Again, the non-CLIL writing topic, 'My favourite band' could conceivably be argumentative/persuasive, but there is nothing in the teacher's description of the work or in the relevant unit of *English Alive! 3* (Wetz 2006) to suggest argumentation of any kind.

Ideally, interpretation and assumption should not be so necessary in using the information elicited from the teachers. While it was useful to gather teachers' general comments on, for example, the nature of difficulties the students had with their subject, it would in hindsight have been preferable to gather syllabus information in a more standardised fashion, for example through a form with options to choose from. However, overall, it would seem fair to say that the CLIL and non-CLIL Spanish teachers considered the syllabus in terms of genres and functions, and that argumentative writing was not the focus of the 3º ESO syllabus, whereas the CLIL and particularly the non-CLIL English teachers used the genre perspective less, and could possibly have included argumentative writing in the work of that year, although they did not expressly mention it in the interviews, and it is not likely that they focused on the text structure of argument. Perhaps most importantly in terms of whether the students had been explicitly taught to write argumentative texts, various students from the CLIL group commented during the writing of the texts that they found it an unfamiliar task in either language.

If it seems highly unlikely that either of the student groups were explicitly taught how to stage an expository/argumentative text in English or in Spanish, another possibility to consider is that work done in school, although not explicitly addressing argumentative text, has influenced such text production more indirectly. Thus, the work of the CLIL group's English classes might have contributed to the type of argumentative writing done for this study more than the Spanish classes or the non-CLIL English classes. To consider this possibility, it is necessary to return to the information gathered from the teachers of the Spanish, English and Social Science classes for each group, along with further consideration of the materials they used.

6.3.2 Indirect teaching

For Spanish classes the CLIL and non-CLIL groups used the same textbook (Martinez Jiménez, Munoz Marquira and Sarrion Mora 2007); they had different teachers, but the two teachers described the syllabus for the third year of secondary in largely similar terms as mentioned above. Both Spanish teachers had noticed that the students found text organization difficult, and were emphasizing beginning-middle-end organization in their teaching which, while useful for any writing, does not link so closely to the main contrastive findings in this study. (It could however link to the use of introductions and conclusions and/or whether students positioned their opinion at the beginning and/or end of their text.) The teacher of the CLIL class further described the book as divided into the three components of grammar, literature and also communication, which she worked on separately one by one. The communication section of the book is where the work on text types is located: these are listed in the contents page and mainly focus on '*la descripción*' (description) and various aspects of '*la narración*' (narrative), such as '*Personajes, tiempo y espacio*' (Characters, time and space). The texts used to illustrate these text types and elements of text are often literary extracts, for example an extract from the classic Ramón J. Sender novel, *Réquiem por un campesino español* (Requiem for a Spanish peasant), published in 1953, is used as an example of description (Martinez Jiménez, Munoz Marquira and Sarrion Mora 2007: 138-139).

Asked to describe recent work on texts, the CLIL students' teacher mentioned a text from the literature section: a modernised version of a fourteenth century poem (Martinez Jiménez, Munoz Marquira and Sarrion Mora 2007: 250) which she read to the class and reworded. The non-CLIL teacher also described work on texts as involving reading aloud and commenting on the text; she felt the book needed a lot of teacher explanation for the students to understand it. Other work described was grammatical manipulations and dictations (the CLIL group's teacher), and the more general using exercises from the book (the non-CLIL teacher). Writing work was described by the CLIL teacher as done in class more than at home, with individual writing followed by either reading their writing in groups or teacher correction. The non-CLIL teacher described writing work by focusing more on what was said before the writing: she told students the topic and gave them points to remember such as the number of words required and organizational issues such as to use paragraphs; she gave news articles and summaries of topics as examples of expository writing being done; the CLIL teacher did not give an example. There is nothing from these descriptions to suggest that the CLIL group were being prepared, directly or indirectly, to write an argumentative text and, if anything, the non-CLIL teacher may have focused more on text structure, with extra emphasis on the introductions and conclusions of written work, and also paragraph use. However, it should also be remembered that these descriptions of their classwork and any differences between them could just have been the result of what was uppermost in their mind at the time of the interview, and not necessarily representative of the work done over the course of the year, and, as was pointed out above, the information gathered from each teacher is not entirely equivalent.

The discussion will now turn to the English classes and then the Social Science classes of the two groups of students, to consider whether they may have had an indirect effect on the argumentative writing in Spanish of the students of this study. The CLIL English classes had been reading non-argumentative magazine feature articles describing American cities (recounts), but it is possible that the written response task brought them closer to the writing task for this study than their work in Spanish did, as they wrote on

which city they would prefer to visit, Las Vegas or Seattle. Although the two teachers did not present this as argumentative or persuasive writing during the interviews, and the students had not been reading such text types for the task, the writing task did require students to express their opinion. It is not clear exactly how much input or feedback the students would have had on features of text, but both CLIL English teachers emphasized grammatical accuracy as the area students needed most help with, suggesting that feedback would have focused on this aspect of writing rather than text structure. Grammatical accuracy could include sentence structure, for example 'run-on sentences' are a possible focus which would link to one of the differences found between the two groups. However, neither teacher mentioned this as a focus of teaching. Areas mentioned included confusion between tenses, overuse of active voice, and use of fragments rather than whole sentences. The teacher who mentioned the fragments also reported that students tried to express themselves in too summarised a form. This observation is consistent with the findings of this study, that CLIL students wrote less and used more simplexes, for example, but does not suggest that the English teacher was encouraging them to write in this way.

The non-CLIL English classes used linguistically less demanding coursebook material with much shorter texts, again non-argumentative recounts, as reading. Although their most recent writing task, 'My favourite band/group', was also somewhat similar to the CLIL group's as it involved the expression of preference, it is probably less likely to have produced an argumentative text from the students, and did not involve the comparative angle of the CLIL assignment. The teacher felt that the students' greatest difficulty was in their wanting to express complex ideas with limited language resources. This teacher was also the only one of those discussed here to describe English and Spanish writing as structurally different, and to express these differences in terms comparable to the studies described above, although it seems unlikely that the awareness of the non-CLIL English teacher could explain the differences between the CLIL and non-CLIL Spanish texts.

The discussion of the possible impact of the Social Science classes will consider information gathered from the two teachers together with conclusions drawn from the, albeit selective, analysis of the two geography textbooks. Both the CLIL and the non-CLIL teacher reported that written work consisted of producing summaries of texts from the geography coursebook (in English and Spanish respectively); the CLIL teacher adding that the process of writing the summaries included discussion work and students' own opinions, with an emphasis on consequences. From the analysis of the two corresponding chapters in each book, it would seem that while both books used exposition/explanations, the Spanish *Limes 3* (L3) used more exposition/argument than the English *New Key Geography for GCSE* (NK), which used more exposition/explanations, as well as more reports. However, these four chapters may not be representative of the books overall. In fact in my initial analysis of the books as a whole I felt the reverse to be true: that NK might use more argumentative texts than L3, although this view may have been at least partly due to the categorisation system I had earlier been using (Goodwin 1994). To some extent, in the context of this study, the overall use of genre is less important, as the students were not using the entire NK book, at least not in 3º ESO. The CLIL Social Science teacher reported that she had worked on the topics of economic development, employment, migration and population from the English book NK. Unfortunately, of these topics, only population was easily matched by a unit from the Spanish book L3. The topic of population is treated through accounts, explanations and reports in English, with only one argumentative text; conversely, the Spanish geography book's treatment of population has argumentative texts as the marginally most frequent, followed by reports. For another pair of units, less well matched but both loosely related to economic development on a global scale (NK *Interdependence* and L3 *La globalización: hacia un sistema mundial* [Globalisation: towards a worldwide system]), the text types used by the two books are much more similar, with both of them using explanations (NK four to L3 three) and exposition/argument (NK two to L2 three), with NK also using two reports and L3 two accounts. Possibly here again L3 has marginally more argumentative texts, but the differences are much smaller. If the CLIL students were consistently exposed to a

different set of genres from the non-CLIL students, this experience could influence their written text, including in Spanish.

In addition to this source of reading, the CLIL teacher mentioned that students were assigned internet research for homework. It should also be pointed out here that there are many differences between the texts the students read (from the geography books and online), and the argumentative texts the students wrote for this study, with for example the relationship and difference in authority between reader and writer affecting writing (Halliday and Hasan 1985). Ascribing a causal connection between texts students read and the writing they produce is thus not straightforward.

6.3.3 Additional possibilities to consider

Differences thus seem to exist between the experience of written text in the CLIL and non-CLIL classes, but the connection between these experiences and the students' writing is not yet clear. It is possible that the work CLIL students (but not the non-CLIL students) were doing in English had some similarity with the written task for this study and, since the students had not worked on this area in Spanish, the English work informed their Spanish texts. This explanation would also be consistent with the fact that the *Uniforme* prompt resulted in texts with more English characteristics than the *Padres* prompt, as a text expressing preference for visiting either Las Vegas or Seattle would probably have more in common with the two-way discussion of the *Uniforme* prompt than the more complex *Padres* prompt. Further investigation is required for a number of the areas discussed above in order to obtain a clearer picture of the students' learning context, particularly in terms of clarifying the details of the class work of the CLIL and non-CLIL students. The study of CLIL and non-CLIL teaching and learning in other schools is also necessary to discover if the contrasts found between the CLIL and non-CLIL texts are widespread or not. Nevertheless, additional explanations for the findings also need to be explored, and possibilities to consider include developmental differences between the two groups of students, the greater exposure to English through CLIL, and

the more general influence of the globalised role of English and the effect of the project itself.

6.3.3.1 Developmental issues

It could be argued that some of the textual differences are developmental issues, demonstrating more mature or less mature writing in general rather than Spanish writing with a higher or lower use of features associated with English writing. However, there are reasons for not seeing the contrast between the two groups in terms of one or the other group's more advanced development in writing ability. First, the supposedly more developed option for each issue does not consistently align with one group rather than the other. Thus, for example, the non-CLIL students are writing more, with more embedding, while the CLIL students are signalling text structure to a greater extent. However, even here there may be differences between the two languages: Neff et al. (2004) compare first year and fourth year university students and professional writers in the US and Spain, and find increasing use of subordination and longer t-units with the more mature Spanish writers, as well as greater use of subordination for Spanish than for English professional writing. In contrast, Myhill's (2008) comparison of students of differing abilities at the beginning and at the end of secondary schooling in the UK finds that older and more able writers use less subordination and more simple sentences. Again, in discussing subordination Myhill (2008) does not distinguish between ranking and embedded clauses, although she does also associate a higher use of adverbs, non-finite clauses and expanded noun phrases with good writing. Furthermore, it should be pointed out that these two studies are working with somewhat dissimilar populations and using different methods of comparison, and thus have limited comparability. Nevertheless, the two studies indicate the complexities involved in identifying features associated with the development of writing ability in English and/or Spanish.

Writing maturity has also been described in terms of the use of analytical versus hortatory style (Martin 1989). To some extent, the CLIL texts could be seen as corresponding to a more analytical style using explicit organisation and simple

sentences, while the non-CLIL texts match the more evolving hortatory style with more clause combinations; the analytical style is valued more highly for schoolwork, and its development is seen as a key part of school literacy work (Martin 1989; Schleppegrell 2004). However, the two groups of texts do not so clearly correspond to the two styles either: analytical style is also seen as more impersonal, with a higher proportion of embedded clauses, not features that have been found for the CLIL texts. Furthermore, since the lower use of clause combining does not overall correspond with increased use of longer clauses or more embedding, at times the shorter, particularly *Uniforme*, CLIL texts seem not to investigate issues as deeply as the non-CLIL texts. Another developmental consideration could be that the different experiences of the two groups lead to them following contrasting pathways in their writing development. Berrill (1990) for example describes seemingly non-linear development in teenagers' argumentative writing. It would therefore be interesting to look again at the writing of the students on the CLIL project and their counterparts nearer the end of their schooling. However, from the current data, it could not be said that the difference between the two groups is primarily an issue of their being at different stages in their development of writing ability.

6.3.3.2 Exposure, proficiency and related effects.

Turning to the second explanation for the CLIL/non-CLIL areas of divergence, the possible influence of English on the CLIL students' Spanish texts could be seen as the specific result of greater exposure to English at school from CLIL, or more generally, through increased proficiency and related effects. The former has been discussed above in relation particularly to the texts being read and/or written for CLIL English and geography classes, with some contrasts found, but without being able to attribute a clear cause for the differences between the CLIL and non-CLIL Spanish texts. The more general influence of English on the CLIL students could be acting through a cycle of increased proficiency and increased use of English outside school as well as within. The consideration of this possibility will discuss the questionnaire briefly, but first the issue of the students' English proficiency needs to be addressed.

The results described in Chapter Five suggest that the CLIL students have higher English proficiency than the non-CLIL students with their texts showing more and longer error-free t-units. It could be argued that the results do not overwhelmingly demonstrate the better English proficiency of the CLIL students, and that greater difference might have been expected.

However, the perhaps smaller than expected difference is probably less a reflection on the CLIL students' English ability, and more an issue of the data collection and methodology used for analysis, and also perhaps of the relative proficiency of the CLIL students across the language skills. To consider issues of methodology first, as was mentioned in Chapter Four above, the CLIL students did not have an environment conducive to producing their best work when they wrote the English texts, as visitors to the class caused excitement and distraction. Secondly, t-unit error analysis was chosen as a relatively easy and objective measure, but was perhaps in this case not the most suitable choice: Gaies (1980) points out that it has low discriminating power, and this is particularly true for texts with few error-free t-units, as was the case here. Once the limitations of the t-unit error analysis were discovered, it would have been preferable to analyse the texts in a more reliable way, such as holistic rating by trained markers familiar with the Spanish students' context. However, this was not possible for logistic reasons, and also may not have produced very different results given the other issues discussed here. If the entire project was to be repeated, an objective test that still measures overall English proficiency, such as a selected deletion cloze test (Hughes 2003) might be more appropriate. The last issue to consider in this context is whether the CLIL students actually did have written language proficiency that was not greatly different from that of the non-CLIL students. It has been pointed out that writing is often the weakest of bilingual education students' language skills, particularly with reference to the Canadian experience (Coyle 2007; Grabe and Stoller 1997), but also for Europe: Wiesemes (2009), listing the linguistic benefits of CLIL, includes comprehension skills and speaking skills, but not writing skills. Furthermore, Dalton-Puffer (2007) notes that

writing may be the neglected skill in European CLIL. Teachers in the school also commented on the CLIL students' greater receptive than productive skills. However, when considering the possible influence of English on students' written Spanish, the students' written English is not the only consideration, and the conclusion of all commentators is that CLIL students do have higher English proficiency than non-CLIL students. This point was made by teachers in the school, and I certainly noticed it when interacting with the different groups. It is also found more widely for the linguistic development of CLIL students (Marsh 2002; Pérez-Vidal 2009; Wiesemes 2009; Wolff 2002). (The official British Council [2010] report into the Bilingual Project of which this school is part, while finding good English proficiency, did not make comparisons with non-project students.) Thus, with many reasons why a test might not show higher proficiency for CLIL students, the higher results found for them here, particularly in terms of error-free t-units for the Uniform text, should probably be seen as indicating the CLIL students do have more English than their non-CLIL peers, and the discussion will continue on that basis. At the same time it would be useful to revisit the issue with further and more varied tests.

The possibility expressed above, that the CLIL students increased proficiency led to increased contact with English and vice versa, was partially investigated with questionnaires on reading habits and preferences. Inconsistencies between answers to related questions reduce the reliability of any conclusions drawn, or at least make them more difficult to interpret. For example, the number of students reporting particular texts that they enjoyed reading in English was higher than the number of students who reported enjoying reading in English. It could be that some students do not like reading English in general, but do like reading English magazines, for example. However, some students marked several types of reading materials that they enjoyed, but still reported they did not enjoy reading, which seemed to make less sense; here the binary nature of this general question, allowing students only to say they did or did not enjoy reading, is at fault. Questionnaires are notoriously difficult to write, complete, interpret and use productively (Nunan 1992), and for these reasons I am reluctant to assign too much

meaning to any results obtained here. Overall, however, it could be said that the CLIL group seem to read more English than the non-CLIL group, but do not show greater interest in reading English. The exception here was English on the internet, which more CLIL than non-CLIL students said they enjoyed reading.

6.3.3.3 The group effect.

Whether or not the questionnaires represent a true picture of their reading habits and preferences, the influence of English on the CLIL students may be reinforced by the effect of being part of the CLIL project and identifying with it. There could be two issues at work here: the positive nature of the group identity, and the effect of the group itself. Wiesemes (2009: 47) describes a benefit of CLIL as that it "makes learners feel 'special' in a positive sense", and the CLIL students of this study are to some extent seen as an elite group; indeed this word was used by one of their teachers to describe them. Overall the teachers consider the CLIL students in their school to be responsive and enjoyable to teach, with other descriptions including *active*, *independent*, *hard-working*, *interested*, and *more secure in themselves*. This aspect should not be over-emphasised, as group membership and the emotional worth attached to it do not depend upon the group being objectively assessed as of value (Tajfel 1978, cited in Joseph 2004). Nor can it be assumed that being part of the CLIL project is a strong part of the students' identity. However, the students have been on the project since the beginning of primary school and, while a class group in school generally becomes a firm unit, the CLIL group may be a particularly strong unit as they are distinguished from other class groups in the school, and because many of them have been together for a long time. (Although it should also be pointed out that the students do not study all their subjects with the same group of students, unlike the arrangement in some schools.) Another, related, possibility to consider is the effect of the group identity itself: identification with a group can lead to the development of group norms which are then reinforced through a process of "polarization" through which differences from those outside the group are accentuated (Hogg and Reid 2006: 18). Hogg and Reid (2006) do not discuss the

possibility of this polarization affecting the norms of written discourse, but it could also be a consideration for future research.

6.4 The implications of a CLIL effect on students' first language written discourse

Thus more research is needed to confirm or disconfirm the findings discussed here of potential differences between the CLIL and non-CLIL students' written Spanish, and also to investigate the possible causes of a difference if one is confirmed. Meanwhile, the questions underlying this research remain: whether or not such a difference between the two groups of students would be important, and what would be the significance of such an impact of CLIL on students' first languages. Here the discussion returns to the concepts of homogeneity and hybridity (Canagarajah 1999; 2002a; Pennycook 2007; Singh and Doherty 2004) discussed in Chapter Two. The view from the homogeneity position would be concern at a further example of the dominance of English leading to a more unified, anglocentric discourse (Phillipson 2003), in this case through the influence of English on the CLIL students' written Spanish discourse. However, on its own, the homogeneity position has limited usefulness: it suggests the importance of supporting languages other than English, and particularly more minority languages, but, by working with a view of languages as discrete entities, does not contribute to the explanation of processes of change within languages (which perhaps also results in the emphasis on top down intervention to save languages).

A hybridity position, on the other hand, has these processes of change as central, but divergence in how they are viewed leads to two alternative responses. Hybridisation has primarily been used to argue, not that differences such as have been investigated in this study are a matter for concern, but rather that they are evidence of the creativity of language users (Kachru 1987), although this more sanguine position is associated to a greater extent with those working with English, particularly English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) than with other languages (Alcón Soler 2007; Modiano 2001). Indeed, part of the

argument in support of ELF is that it is not likely to influence the discourse of other languages (House 2003). A more sophisticated position, developed principally by Canagarajah (1999; 2002b) but also for example Pennycook (2007) and Zamel (1997), combines the political awareness of the homogeneity arguments with the understanding of the multiple, fluid nature of language within the hybridity rhetoric. They agree that languages are not fixed, discrete entities to be preserved unchanged, but are also aware that a hierarchy exists in this cultural flow, and that certain forms of English, along with the speakers of these Englishes, have valuable cultural or linguistic capital (Bourdieu 1991; Canagarajah 1999), possibly to the disadvantage of others. Issues to consider for the CLIL project from this position would include its scale of implementation and also the possibility of greater support for cultural awareness. Scale of implementation addresses issues beyond the range of this study, and so will not be discussed in depth. In brief, the point to consider here is that if CLIL enables students to develop a second language while still achieving in other academic areas, as it seems to do (Marsh 2002; British Council 2010; Genesee 1994), then, now that an initial pilot period has passed and a successful evaluation carried out (British Council 2010), the most equitable approach would be to extend this advantage to the entire population of Spain. It has often been considered that learning through a foreign language is only suitable for higher achievers and/or those who have previously achieved a high level of proficiency in the foreign language (Tung, Lam and Tsang 1997). However, the work of Fred Genessee (2004) and also the Marsh report (2002) suggests that low-performing students can also achieve the benefits of increased L2 proficiency through CLIL without negative effects on other areas. However, as was said above, this is not the area of focus of the present study and so will not be discussed further here.

The other issue to consider from the more nuanced version of the hybridity position, is whether the learning of the (dominant) foreign language can be accompanied with the development of skills to enable students to make more conscious choices in their use of language/s. Language awareness or consciousness-raising work could be carried out in both language and content classes with CLIL students, and include consideration of

published texts as well as working with students' own texts. For example comparing the texts on population changes in the English and the Spanish textbooks may help students see that language use involves choices. This kind of language or discourse awareness focus can also be incorporated into a genre-based approach to language, with students looking at purpose and structure of texts and related options for the writer. Working with students' texts could involve using the students' own texts as the focus for investigation, for example working out the average sentence length for the class for a particular written assignment. Other possibilities include manipulations such as dividing up a text altered to have no punctuation, or rewriting a text as a different genre, for example changing a letter of complaint to a retail organisation into an email to a friend complaining about the retail experience, or vice versa. These are not new ideas for language teaching, and indeed language manipulations and commenting on text are activities that have been discussed above in the context of the teacher interviews and of traditional learning methods. The point here would be to put these recognised activities and skills to a slightly different purpose: raising students' awareness that different options exist, for combining information into clauses, for organising texts and so on; and also, if this turns out to be the case, that certain of these options are more likely to be associated with Spanish writing and others with English writing. Equipped with this greater awareness, students can themselves decide to a greater extent (not all choices are likely to be equally available on a conscious level) the type of Spanish/es and of English/es they want to write on various occasions and in various contexts.

6.5 Methodological issues

A number of methodological issues/points have been raised in the above discussion, and this section will now focus on these issues specifically, considering first issues connected with the overall study, and then specific methodological choices and the tools for analysis. At the level of the overall study, two related points will be discussed:

problems with the general practice of contrastive studies, and implications of the hybridity view for contrastive studies.

6.5.1 Contrastive studies

The discussion will start with difficulties with contrastive studies in general, and in particular their relationship with the intuitions of difference between Spanish and English which to some extent suggested areas of investigation for this study. The assumptions of Spanish and English language users, including writers, teachers, translators and linguists of various types, show remarkable consistency in some areas of contrast, such as the more easily observed length of sentence, but also less concrete terms such as complexity and directness/explicitness. However, two problems can be found in the application of such characteristics to specific language areas of Spanish or English which make studies investigating these language areas often problematic. First, the assumptions can be overgeneralised and used to refer to a wide range of language features. For example, as discussed above, complexity can encompass both complexity between clauses (taxis) and complexity within clauses (embedding); they are not necessarily both features of Spanish rather than English, but they have rarely been analysed separately in contrastive studies. The second, related problem is that studies may overextrapolate from a feature of one language to a generalised assumption of difference, a tendency particularly of older studies. In this way Criado de Val (1972) identifies seven elements, including subjunctive inflections, that for him illustrate the greater "*afectividad*" (affectivity or sensibility) of Spanish over English. Here it needs to be remembered that all languages are able to express all meanings needed by their community, but that each language may use different language resources to express those same meanings (Halliday 2003; Rose 2001). Thus, for example, English uses a range of modal auxiliary verbs to express meanings conveyed in Spanish through subjunctive or conditional verb suffixes (McCabe 2004b). The assertion that one language is, say, more personal or subjective than the other may be the result of focusing on one element without considering alternative resources for achieving the same meaning, or of overgeneralising from a study of a particular element. To examine in greater detail the two examples raised above in connection with

interpersonal Theme, Salager-Meyer et al.'s (2003: 236) depiction of the stronger 'author's involvement' in Spanish than in English may appear to conflict with Valero-Garcés' (1996: 288) description of Spanish as 'less personalised' than English. However, when the basis for these comments is examined, it can be seen that the two studies are looking at quite different issues. Thus Salager-Meyer et al., examining research articles for expressions of disagreement with previous studies, found that Spanish writers used fewer hedges than writers of English. Valero-Garcés, on the other hand, focused on linguistic features of citations in research articles, and found that Anglo-American writers were more likely to integrate the authors of works cited into the grammar of sentences, for example as subject, while Spanish-speaking writers typically positioned these names in brackets outside the grammar of the sentence. It was thereby concluded that the English style was more personal, as it brought named writers into the sentence. There is thus no great contradiction between the two studies, but rather the example highlights the danger in using specific features to illustrate a more general tendency. This is not to say that contrastive work cannot be done, but that great care is needed both to specify what is being compared, and also to avoid overgeneralisation. This point was made much earlier in the thesis, but difficulties encountered in the study emphasise its importance.

The dangers of CR are also related to the the hybridity view of languages as in flux rather than as fixed entities as discussed above and in the second chapter. A contrastive study such as this one is at risk of viewing languages as discrete, fixed entities by comparing 'Spanish' with 'English', that is, of turning to a view of language as a discrete, monolithic entity. It is an issue that has been addressed with recent developments in CR and its renaissance as Intercultural Rhetoric (IR) as discussed in Chapter Three above: IR and related scholars advocate the study of small cultures and warn against generalising too far from data (Atkinson 2004; Connor 2008; Moreno 2008), and certainly that is a distinct possibility in using previous CR for comparison; it was surprising to some extent how difficult it was to find comparable studies. But the argument against the fixed view of language can be taken further, and forms part of the essentialist versus relativist argument as discussed above in reference to Whorf's work.

Problems exist with each of these positions. Essentialism perpetuates the "ideological constructs" that are discrete languages such as 'Spanish' and 'English' (Brumfit 2006: 42). On the other hand, the move from CR to IR illustrates some of the drawbacks to the relativist position. IR, with its emphasis on small cultures and the process of communication or "encounters" between cultures (Connor 2008: 309), may be only able to comment on specific cases of intercultural communication, without any possibility of generalising beyond them. However, in a sense CR/IR had little choice but to retreat from generalisations, as they had no underlying theory or system to generalise from or to, and thus were frequently reduced to speculation or stereotypes (Li 2008; Leki 1991). To some extent, using SFL for contrastive work helps address these difficulties, as the multidimensional view of language as a network of systems allows for both greater specification and also a degree of generalisation. In particular, the "cline of instantiation" positions a text as a particular instance, and also as part of the overall potential of the system (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:27), thus enabling the dual perspective of the specific case, and also its relation to a more general system.

6.5.2 Methodological design

Moving on to more specific issues with methodological design, the lack of previous studies using comparable texts made it more difficult to establish English and Spanish tendencies for such texts. A further difficulty for comparability was the variations in analysis used by the few studies working on texts that were to some degree comparable with the current study; as was discussed in Chapter Four, this was particularly the case with the generally under-specified category subordination, but also affected other areas such as thematic progression. All of which argues for the use of a well worked-out and relatively comprehensive theory of language for text analysis. However, this is not to say that no problems remained for analysis once SFL had been chosen as the main tool. Systemic research to develop understanding of how language and languages make their meanings is ongoing (Matthiessen 2007), and this is particularly true for languages other than English (Caffarel, Martin and Matthiessen 2004). Areas of more major disagreement or uncertainty were discussed in the Methodology, with Theme analysis,

particularly the extent of experiential Theme, being among the most disputed. Difficulties in deciding upon a suitable form of Theme analysis are exacerbated by crosslanguage comparison, as different languages may suggest different approaches. Thus, analysing the verb including the person marker suffix as Theme produces greater comparability between Spanish and English, with its more frequent preverbal subject. The resultant longer Themes, especially once circumstantial and Absolute Themes are added following Lavid et al. (2010) then have a knock-on effect on the consideration of thematic progression, producing a greater number of complex patterns such as split and convergent Themes (Bustos Gisbert 1996). Other solutions, such as the marking of preverbal subject as elliptical (Moyano 2010), also bring problems, as discussed in previous chapters, and further work is needed on this area.

Thematic progression is problematic not only in terms of decisions for analysis as described above: it has also been mentioned that thematic progression was not particularly helpful in this study for identifying or explaining difference. This was partly the result of the decision to use a two-way division of constant and linear progression, rather than subdivisions to indicate gaps between links, or to indicate more complex links, for example one rheme leading to two themes, or vice versa. However, the low explanatory power of thematic progression may not have been due solely to this decision to restrict the categories. For example, Fries, (1995a) in his overview of work on Theme, suggested that support for a correlation between thematic progression and genre was weaker than support for a correlation between experiential Theme and method of development. However, Compton (2004) suggests that neither thematic progression nor method of development correlate with argumentative text, but more so for narrative, and indeed Fries (1995a) pointed out that more research was needed in all of the areas of Theme considered.

In any case, the choice of thematic progression over method of development was driven largely by a concern to stay close to previous forms of analysis; comparability between studies seemed already insufficient as it was. However, the analysis of this study may

have been more successful, or more revealing, when it did depart from previous CR, for example in the clause analysis into simplexes and complexes of varying clause number, and in the more structural approach to text organisation. It may be that attempting to, if not replicate, at least relate to previous CR studies may not be fruitful, and instead it may be preferable to establish the methods of analysis that are more reliable and explanatory, and work with these.

6.5.3 Methodological limitations beyond the analysis of the students' texts

Limitations in other areas of the research for this study cannot be ascribed to the disadvantages of following previous studies. Weakness in the questionnaire design and inconsistencies in the information gathered from teachers through interviews have already been mentioned. To these should be added issues relating to the analysis of the geography books, and also areas that could be included in the data collection methodology. The difficulty in finding equivalent texts and units to compare from the geography books has already been discussed. A further point to consider for the geography texts is the appropriacy of the purely text-based analysis for multimodal texts. As was also pointed out in Chapter Five above, the geography books make their meaning via visuals in combination with text (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006) and, since each book and each unit may be using different combination, to focus on only part of the information is probably misleading. To reach a full understanding of how the textbooks communicate their meaning would require a consideration of that multimodality. However, in the context of the current study on the students' texts, and possible influences on those texts, the full representation of the multimodality of the geography texts has less relevance. The specific focus of the study led to the limited analysis on this occasion, but the differences found between the two books, for example in presentation of information in lists with bullet points or in paragraph form, suggest that further and fuller exploration of the geography texts would be of interest more generally.

Another area that could be further developed is the data collection from the teachers and the students. It has already been suggested that a more standardised form in addition to the semi-structured interview might improve the comparison between the teachers.

Ideally this would be accompanied by classroom observations, and also interviews with selected students to clarify their writing intentions after an initial analysis of their texts.

6.6 Endnote

The discussion thus highlights the challenges involved in investigating the influence of English on CLIL students' written Spanish. Such an influence has not previously been studied, but the initial findings reported and discussed here suggest possible hypotheses and areas for future research. Key points will now be presented in the Conclusion.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

This thesis set out to investigate one aspect of CLIL, and asks whether English as the target CLIL language has an influence on students' first language written discourse. The study is small in scale, and thus cannot provide definitive answers, but the findings suggest differences may exist between the CLIL and non-CLIL students' Spanish texts. These differences also seem in many, although not all, cases to correspond to contrasts between English and Spanish writing, with CLIL texts showing more features associated with English text than the non-CLIL texts. In particular, the CLIL texts were found to have shorter t-units, fewer embedded clauses and more simplexes; they may also use text frameworks more, particularly those involving categorisation, and to signal these organisational frameworks with marker phrases and clauses to a greater extent. The cause of these differences between the CLIL and non-CLIL texts has not been fully established; from information from the textbooks, the teachers and the students it seems unlikely that the CLIL students have been directly taught in their Spanish classes to write in this way, and to write differently from the non-CLIL students. From information gained it also seems unlikely that the CLIL students have been explicitly taught to write these text types using these characteristics in their regular English classes. However, a stronger possibility is that the CLIL English programme, including the influence of the American TAs and also work done for social science, has indirectly influenced the students' written Spanish. Thus, the writing CLIL students had been working on for their English class prior to the time of the data collection had some similarity to the texts written for this study, and, not having yet considered how to write such texts in Spanish, the CLIL students may have consequently used more English characteristics in writing the Spanish text. In this case, it would be interesting to look at the CLIL students' Spanish written discourse again once they had started writing argumentative texts for their Spanish class, work which was scheduled for the following year, 4º E.S.O. This further research would also address another potential cause for difference, discussed in

Chapter Six but perhaps less persuasive as the main cause of differences, and that is that the two groups were experiencing contrasting pathways in the non-linear development of their writing (Berrill 1990). The full range of potential influences on the CLIL students and their Spanish writing also require further consideration, with more to be discovered about, for example, the amount and type of English they are exposed to, and the processes of both their Spanish and their English language education. Another research area to develop could be the related issues of students' attitudes towards the two languages and towards the CLIL programme, and the role of the programme in developing a strong group identity, along with the possible effects of such a group identity (Garrett 2010; Hogg and Reid 2006; Wiesemes 2009).

Thus the areas of research suggested by this thesis include further testing of student writing to confirm or otherwise the differences found between the CLIL and non-CLIL students, and also work to investigate possible causes of such differences, if they continue to be found. However, from the issues raised in the previous chapter and above, it can also be seen that merely to replicate the analysis from this study is probably not sufficient. Issues beyond text analysis have been mentioned above, but the text analysis tools also need reconsideration. This study approached the issue of contrasts between Spanish and English text from three angles: assumptions or intuitions from users of the languages, work that could loosely be described as belonging to contrastive rhetoric (CR), and work from systemic functional linguistics (SFL). The intention was to use insights from these different sources of understanding, but at times the three areas were found not to be entirely compatible. The problem seems to be particularly with the attempt to accommodate previous CR work that investigated the assumptions of difference. In some areas the work from CR and from SFL are to some extent compatible, with the SFL approach generally improving on the CR. Thus, for example, CR work uses thematic progression to investigate notions of linearity and digression in Spanish and English text (Sánchez Escobar 1996; Simpson 2000), and SFL also analyses thematic progression, if for slightly different purposes (McCabe 2004a; Taboada 2004). In this case it is possible to take advantage of the more comprehensive SFL body of

knowledge, while still making comparisons with previous Spanish-English contrastive work from outside SFL. A similar, but perhaps clearer, case of SFL improving on typical CR analysis concerns the intuition of Spanish text as having greater complexity than English text, which has typically been investigated through analysis for subordinated clauses. As has been pointed out in this thesis, the category of subordinated clauses subsumes two very different types of complexity, embedding and hypotaxis (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004), and thus the use of these SFL concepts can again add greater precision to CR work.

However, this process of establishing the tools that have been used in CR generally, and then using the more precise SFL equivalent has a substantial drawback in that it is essentially the methods of CR that drive the selection of analytical tools, and CR has been found to be neither methodologically rigorous nor comprehensive. The result is that tools from SFL that might be useful in the exploration of the assumed differences between Spanish and English text have not been used purely because they have no equivalent version, albeit a much weaker one, within CR work. If the need to consider previous work contrasting Spanish and English is removed, it may be that more effective analytical tools may be available, either within studies of just one of the languages of this study, or even in work comparing other languages. For example, Steiner (2004-2005) investigates issues similar to those of this thesis in his comparison of English and German, aiming to “bridge the gap between macro-level prejudices [and] micro level grammatical textual organization” (Steiner 2004-2005: 55). The prejudices or intuitions that Steiner works with are similar to those found in this study, with English viewed as concise, explicit and direct, and he investigates these qualities through various measures of information distribution. One of the measures he discusses has been used to some extent in this thesis, that of the theme-rheme distinction. However, other of his measures, not used here, could be of use in exploring the differences between the CLIL and non-CLIL student texts. In particular, measures of information density such as the use of grammatical metaphor (Halliday and Martin 1993; Halliday and Matthiessen 2004; Steiner 2004-2005) would complement the clause analysis and give greater insight

into the construction of text by the two groups of students. The concept of grammatical metaphor describes the process whereby meanings associated primarily with one type of linguistic resource are expressed in another, for example a verbal process is realized by a nominalization of the verb, thereby enabling, among other things, greater lexical density (Halliday 1993). Grammatical metaphor (GM) is not a term found outside of SFL work; neither GM nor the more widely understood concept of lexical density have been used to investigate the intuitions of English text as being more concise than Spanish text, although GM is involved in English-Spanish comparative work in other areas, and, for example, is included in the consideration of modality in McCabe (2004b).

Thus, by attempting to relate methodological tools to previous studies comparing Spanish and English, tools that may have been more useful were made unavailable. In future studies, a wider range of tools could be considered, and selection based on appropriateness for the questions being asked, rather than prioritising comparability with previous studies. The argument against basing future work on previous Spanish-English CR studies is also strengthened by the many problems that were encountered with the work from CR in terms of comparability, underspecification or lack of clarity in analytical methods, and explanatory power, as has already been discussed in previous chapters. Indeed, the form of analysis that seems to have had most explanatory power, the genre and text structure analysis, is not represented in Spanish-English CR work, but is taken from SFL work mainly in English (Martin 2001, 2009; Martin and Rose 2008). Thus, of the three sources of information for methodological design, popular assumptions, previous CR work and SFL work, it may be better to consider CR work in the same terms as the popular assumptions. That is, CR indicates areas that are considered significant, but does not provide the tools for investigation. The other two components seem a more suitable basis for methodological design. The assumptions of difference are informative, despite their lack of scientific basis: one of the reasons for investigating the possible effect of CLIL on students' first language is the concern in the wider population as to the role and the influence of English; thus *folklinguistics* (Garrett 2010) and in particular "folkloristic prejudices" as to cultural and/or language-based

differences in writing are relevant to the study (Steiner 2004-2005: 53). Tools from SFL, while also raising problems still to be addressed, particularly in terms of understandings of Theme, have also proved useful: they allow for much greater transparency and rigour than found in much non-SLF CR, and, as part of a complex network of systems, have much greater explanatory power.

The next step is then to replicate the study, with the modifications as suggested, across schools of the M.E.C/British Council bilingual project, and more widely. If this particular CLIL programme is found to have influenced the students' Spanish written discourse, the effect may be programme-specific or apply more generally to other CLIL-type programmes in Spain, such as the CAM Bilingual Project (Miranda and García 2009) and beyond. Looking beyond Spain, the findings may have relevance for other CLIL programmes in Europe, and even in other forms of bilingual education more widely, such as the English medium of instruction (EMI) schools of Hong Kong (Lai and Byram 2003; Nunan 2003). Each situation would have its own variables and so it could not be assumed that the same effect would be found in each.

To what extent we should be concerned if it is found that bilingual education through English influences students' first language discourse depends on the view taken towards the current role of English in the world and likely developments to that role. These views vary along three intersecting dimensions: the first dimension considers the role of English and globalisation as leading to, variously, greater uniformity or greater creativity; the second dimension considers the process as politically charged to a lesser or greater degree; and the third dimension works with views of languages as, at the one end of the continuum, clear, discrete entities, and at the other, a seamless flow that is artificially segmented (Alcón Soler 2007; Brumfit 2006; Canagarajah 1999; Pennycook 2007; Risager 2006; Siguan 2005; Singh and Doherty 2004). Some positions across these dimensions seem less convincing than others, with the suggestion that a neutral, homogenous form of English can be adopted as a lingua franca with no associated effects on culture or language, for example as suggested in Alcón Soler (2007), perhaps

the least plausible (Canagarjah 1999; Risager 2006). However, regardless of whether the spread of English is seen as linguistic imperialism leading to homogenisation and uniformity, or alternatively as creating potential sites of hybridity, it would seem useful to encourage an increased awareness of how languages make their meanings (Canagarajah 1999). Through the types of genre-based activities suggested in the previous chapter, students can be helped to increase their sensitivity towards differences in text and become more aware of the significance of the various choices that language resources provide. However, it should also be recognised that how students then choose to use that knowledge depends on a range of factors, and, as has been pointed out by those questioning a too sanguine interpretation of hybridisation (Canagarajah 2002b; Pennycook 2007; Siguan 2005), some linguistic choices are supported by stronger power structures than others. These pressures on multilingual writers have often been discussed in the context of English for Academic Purposes (EAP), considering in particular those studying in English-speaking countries (Canagarajah 2002b; Zamel 1997). It would now seem they may also need further consideration in the context of European CLIL.

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Appendix

A1 The writing prompts

Redacción (uniforme)

Hoy en día, el usar uniforme es señal de estudiar en un colegio privado, pero algunos políticos también quieren implementar los uniformes en las escuelas públicas. ¿Opinas que los alumnos de las escuelas públicas deben llevar uniforme?
Escribe un texto de una página para la revista de tu colegio explicando tu opinión sobre el tema. Incluye también ejemplos que ilustren tu explicación.

Writing: uniforms

At the moment, only students at private schools wear a uniform. However, some politicians also want public schools to have a uniform for their students. Do you think it is a good idea for public schools to have school uniform?
Write a page for your school magazine on this question, explaining your opinion on the topic. Include examples to help make your explanations clear.

Redacción (los padres)

Muchos jóvenes se quejan de que sus padres los controlan demasiado. Los padres a menudo dicen saber lo que es mejor para sus hijos y que éstos son demasiado jóvenes para tomar sus propias decisiones. ¿Opinas que los padres controlan a sus hijos adolescentes demasiado?
Escribe un texto de una página para la revista de tu colegio explicando tu opinión sobre el tema. Incluye también ejemplos que ilustren tu explicación.

Writing: parents

Teenagers often complain that their parents are always telling them what to do. Parents say that they know what is best for their children, and that teenagers are too young to make their own decisions. Do you think parents control their teenage children too much?
Write a page for your school magazine on this question, explaining your opinion on the topic. Include examples to help make your explanations clear.

A2 Cuestionario para alumnos: lectura en español e inglés

El cuestionario es anónimo (tu nombre no será mencionado en mis informes), por lo que te agradecería contestarlo con la mayor sinceridad posible: no hay respuestas correctas ni incorrectas.

Gracias por tu ayuda.
Corinne Maxwell-Reid
Universidad de Edimburgo

Nombre ________________________________ ESO3 A/B/C/D (elige una respuesta)

A. Español

1. ¿Te gusta leer en español? (marca una respuesta) Si _____ No _____

2. ¿Qué te gusta más leer? (puedes marcar más de una opción)

Libros de ficción _____
Libros no de ficción _____
Los periódicos _____
Las revistas _____
El internet _____
Los cómics _____
Otro (mencionar) ________________________________

3. ¿Normalmente, en una semana qué lees en clase (en español), y cuanto tiempo pasas haciéndolo? (marca una casilla para cada tipo de lectura)

Tiempo por semana

	No leo	1 – 30 minutos	30 minutos – 1 hora	1 hora – 2 horas	Más de 2 horas
Los periódicos					
Las revistas					
El libro de texto de español					
Los libros de lectura					
Las novelas					

Los libros de texto (aparte de lo de español)					
Las páginas web					
Otro (anotar)					

Tipo de lectura (español)

4. ¿Normalmente, en una semana, qué lees fuera del colegio (en español), y cuanto tiempo pasas haciéndolo? (marca una casilla para cada tipo de lectura)

Tiempo por semana

	No leo	1 – 30 minutos	30 minutos – 1 hora	1 hora – 2 horas	Más de 2 horas
Los periódicos					
Las revistas					
Los cómics					
Las novelas					
Los libros (no ficción)					
El internet					
Otro (mencionar)					

Tipo de lectura (español)

5. ¿Cuánto tiempo en total pasas leyendo en español normalmente en una semana?

0 – 30 minutos ______
30 minutos – 1 hora ______
1 hora – 2 horas ______
2 horas – 5 horas ______
Más de 5 horas ______
No leo en español ______

B. Inglés

1. ¿Te gusta leer en inglés? (marcar una respuesta) Si _____ No _____

2. ¿Qué te gusta más leer?

Libros de ficción _____
Libros no de ficción _____
Los periódicos _____
Las revistas _____
El internet _____
Los cómics _____
Otro (anotar) ____

3. ¿En una semana normal, qué lees en clase (en inglés), y cuanto tiempo pasas haciéndolo? (marca una casilla para cada tipo de lectura)

Tiempo por semana

	No leo	1 - 30 minutos	30 minutos – 1 hora	1 hora – 2 horas	Más de 2 horas
Los periódicos					
Las revistas					
El libro de texto de inglés					
Los libros de lectura					
Las novelas					
Los libros de texto (aparte de lo de inglés)					
Las páginas web					
Otro (anotar)					

Tipo de lectura (inglés)

4. ¿En una semana normal, qué lees fuera del colegio (en inglés), y cuanto tiempo pasas haciéndolo? (marca una casilla para cada tipo de lectura)

Tiempo por semana

	No leo	1 – 30 minutos	30 minutos – 1 hora	1 hora – 2 horas	Más de 2 horas
Los periódicos					
Las revistas					
Los cómics					
Las novelas					
Los libros (no ficción)					
El internet					
Otro (anotar)					

Tipo de lectura (inglés)

5. ¿Cuánto tiempo pasas en total leyendo en inglés en una semana normal?

0 – 30 minutos ______
30 minutos – 1 hora ______
1 hora – 2 horas ______
2 horas – 5 horas ______
No leo en inglés ______

C. ¿Te gusta más leer en español o leer en inglés?

Prefiero leer en español _________
Prefiero leer en inglés _________
Me gustan los dos _________
No me gusta leer ni
en español ni en inglés _________

Eso es todo.
Muchas gracias

A3 Questions for the Teacher interviews

1. Which grades/subjects are you teaching?
2. Which book/s are you using?
3. For how much of the lessons do you use the book/s?
4. Is there anything in the book that you don't use?
5. What do students like more/less in the books?
6. What do you like more/less?
7. Do you use any other materials?
8. How much time do students spend reading in the class?
9. How much time do students spend reading for homework?
10. What proportion of time would you say was spent on each of the different skills (R/W/S/L)?
11. Which text types are ESO3 students writing? What did they write in ESO 1 & 2?
12. What would the students/you do in a typical writing class?
13. What difficulties do the students have with writing?
14. What would you say were the main differences between writing in Spanish and writing in English? (How do you deal with those differences?) (E)
15. What would the students/you do in a typical reading class?
16. How often do students do writing for homework?
17. How much English do students use in class? (E)
18. How much English do students use outside class? (E)
19. Do you notice any difference between the Bi and reg students? (S)
20. How would you compare students at this school with those at other Institutos?

A4a Grammatical units and clause analysis: *Uniforme* texts (CLIL texts)

Numbers of words, sentences, t-units, ranking clauses and embedded clauses: individual texts, totals and mean per text

Text no.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	total	/txt
words	186	136	94	154	106	142	143	96	105	125	148	113	1548	129
sentences	11	5	8	7	5	5	3	6	5	5	5	3	68	5.7
t-units	15	7	9	8	7	5	12	6	6	6	10	8	99	8.3
ranking clauses	27	13	11	16	15	10	20	16	13	15	17	14	187	15.6
embedded clauses	5	5	5	5	7	5	8	4	6	8	10	3	71	5.9

Length in words and ratios per sentence and ranking clause

Text no.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
wds/sentence	17	27	12	22	21	28	48	16	21	25	30	38
wds/t-unit	12	19	10	22	15	28	12	16	18	21	15	14
wds/ ranking clause	7	10	9	10	7	14	7	6	8	8	9	8
ranking clause/sent.	2.5	2.6	1.4	2.3	3	2	6.7	2.7	2.6	3	3.4	4.7
embedded cl.s/sent.	0.5	1	0.6	0.7	1.4	1	2.7	0.7	1.2	1.6	2	1
embedded cl.s/r. cl.	0.2	0.4	0.5	0.3	0.5	2	0.4	0.3	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.2

Clause analysis

Text no.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	total	%
clause simplexes	3	2	5	2	2	3	0	2	2	1	0	0	22	32
clause complexes	8	3	3	5	3	2	3	4	3	4	5	3	46	68
2 clse clause cplex.s	3	1	3	3	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	15	22
3 clse clause cplex.s	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	2	1	1	10	15
4 clse clause cplex.s	2	1	0	2	1	0	1	1	2	2	2	0	14	21
>4 clse clause cpx.s	0	1	0	0	1	1	1 (14)	1	0	0	1	1 (9)	7	10

(n) Indicates the number of clauses in particularly long clause complexes.

A4b Grammatical units and clause analysis: *Uniforme* texts (non-CLIL texts)

Numbers of words, sentences, t-units, ranking clauses and embedded clauses: individual texts, totals and per text

Text no.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	total	/txt
words	144	107	185	234	222	235	232	118	292	100	100	232	2201	183
sentences	5	6	7	6	7	9	8	5	7	5	4	9	78	6.5
t-units	7	10	12	10	10	15	16	7	19	5	5	16	132	11
ranking clauses	19	13	21	26	29	25	22	12	26	13	12	24	242	20.2
embeded clauses	7	6	11	11	9	10	8	8	18	5	3	10	106	8.8

Length in words and ratios per sentence and ranking clause

Text no.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
wds/sentence	29	18	26	39	32	26	29	24	42	20	25	26
wds/t-unit	21	11	15	23	22	16	15	17	15	20	20	15
wds/ ranking clause	8	8	9	9	8	9	11	9	11	8	8	10
ranking clause/sent.	3.8	2.2	3	4.3	4.1	2.8	2.8	2.4	3.7	2.6	3	2.7
embedded cl.s/sent.	1.4	1	1.6	1.8	1.3	1.1	1	1.6	2.6	1	0.8	1.1
embedded cl.s/r. cl.	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.7	0.7	0.4	0.3	0.4

Clause analysis

Text no.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	total	%
clause simplexes	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	1	0	2	7	9
clause complexes	5	5	7	6	7	7	8	5	6	4	4	7	71	91
2 clse clause cplxes	1	3	1	1	1	1	4	3	2	1	2	3	23	29
3 clse clause cplxes	2	2	5	1	2	3	2	2	0	2	1	2	24	31
4 clse clause cplxes	1	0	1	2	2	3	2	0	2	1	0	0	14	18
>4 clse clse cplxes	1	0	0	2	2 (7)	0	0	0	2 (7)	0	1	2	10	13

(n) Indicates the number of clauses in particularly long clause complexes.

A5a Grammatical units and clause analysis: *Padres* texts (CLIL texts)

Numbers of words, sentences, t-units, ranking clauses and embedded clauses: individual texts, totals and mean per text

Text no.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	total	/txt
words	240	123	278	169	190	113	225	230	102	172	160	138	2140	178
sentences	5	5	7	7	6	4	7	7	4	5	9	7	73	6.1
t-units	15	6	14	8	17	4	13	14	7	16	18	8	140	11.7
ranking clauses	31	20	23	23	26	7	29	22	17	25	31	10	264	22
embedded clauses	10	3	16	8	5	7	12	12	2	5	4	4	88	7.3

Length in words and ratios per sentence and ranking clause

Text no.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
wds/sentence	48	25	40	24	32	28	32	33	26	35	18	20
wds/t-unit	16	21	20	21	11	28	17	16	15	11	9	17
wds/ ranking clause	8	6	12	7	7	16	8	10	6	7	5	14
ranking clause/sent.	6.2	4	3.3	3.3	4.3	1.8	4.1	3.1	4.3	5	3.4	1.4
embedded cl.s/sent.	2	0.6	2.3	1.1	0.8	1.8	1.7	1.7	0.5	1	0.4	0.6
embedded cl.s/r. cl.	0.3	0.2	0.7	0.3	0.2	1	0.4	0.5	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.4

Clause analysis

Text no.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	total	%
no. clause simplexes	0	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	0	3	5	20	27
no. clse complexes	5	3	6	5	5	2	6	5	3	5	6	2	53	73
no. 2 clse clse cxes	0	0	2	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	2	1	10	14
no. 3 clse clse cp.x	2	0	1	2	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	10	14
no. 4 clse complex	0	1	2	0	1	0	3	3	0	2	1	0	13	18
no. >4 clause cxes	3 (14)	2 (9)	1(7)	2 (8)	1 (13)	0	2 (8)	1	3(6)	2 (8)	3 (7)	0	20	27

(n) Indicates the number of clauses in particularly long clause complexes.

A5b Grammatical units and clause analysis: *Padres* texts (non-CLIL texts)

Numbers of words, sentences, t-units, ranking clauses and embedded clauses: individual texts, totals and mean per text

Text no.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	total	/txt
words	191	158	164	210	145	123	175	182	129	100	251	217	2045	170
sentences	7	4	5	6	7	4	5	8	2	5	8	12	73	6.1
t-units	8	6	10	12	12	6	8	10	12	6	16	15	121	10.1
ranking clauses	19	13	19	30	21	18	14	23	14	14	36	32	253	21.1
embedded clauses	7	5	10	3	4	9	9	12	8	3	14	9	93	7.8

Length in words and ratios per sentence and ranking clause

Text no.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
wds/sentence	27	40	33	35	21	31	35	23	65	20	31	18
wds/t-unit	24	26	16	18	12	21	22	18	11	17	16	14
wds/ ranking clause	10	12	9	7	7	7	13	8	9	7	7	7
ranking clause/sent.	2.7	3.3	3.8	5	3	4.5	2.8	2.9	7	2.8	4.5	2.7
embedded cl.s/sent.	1	1.3	2	0.5	0.6	2.3	1.8	1.5	4	0.6	1.8	0.8
embedded cl.s/r. cl.	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.1	0.2	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.6	0.2	0.4	0.3

Clause analysis

Text no.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	total	%
clause simplexes	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	2	0	1	2	3	12	16
clause complexes	6	4	5	6	6	4	3	6	2	4	6	9	61	84
2 clse clse cplxes	1	1	1	0	1	2	0	1	0	2	1	2	12	16
3 clse clse cplxes	4	1	1	1	3	0	0	2	0	0	0	4	16	22
4 clse clse cplxes	1	2	1	2	1	1	3	2	0	1	2	2	18	25
>4 clse clse cplx.s	0	0	2	3 (9)	1	1 (10)	0	1	2 (6,8)	1	3 (12)	1	15	21

(n) Indicates the number of clauses in particularly long clause complexes.

A6a Text structure *Uniforme* texts (CLIL)

CLIL Text no.		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Totals
single-sided argument (exposition)														0
incs. 2 sides of issue (for/against uniforms)		√	√	√	√	√	√	√ *	√	√	√	√	√	12
Uses 2-sides as organisation		√	√	√	√	√			√	√				7
Signals two-sided organisation†		√	√	√	√				√	√			(√?)	6
Uses counter-argument & rebuttal (challenge)														0
organised by issue														0
includes introduction							√							1
includes conclusion		√	√	√				√		(?)			√	5
Thesis/ opinion at:	beg	√			√		‡				√	√		4
	end		√							√				2
	both							√					√	2

Key
√* = very one-sided
†signals 2-sided organisation = signals the 2 sided issue +/or signals each side, pro- and anti-uniform;
(√?) = signals the organisation, but then does not use it (e.g. moves back and forth between the two sides)
(?) = very brief or weakly linked/ not clearly addressing issue of text
‡ = thesis found in the middle of the text

A6b Text structure *Uniforme* texts (non-CLIL)

non-CLIL Text no.		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Totals
single sided argument (exposition)			√											1
incs 2 sides of issue (for/against uniforms)		√*		√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	11
Uses 2-sides as organisation				(3-way org)				√					√	2
signals two-sided organisation†					(√?)			(√?)				(√?)	√	1
Uses counter-argument & rebuttal (challenge)				√			√							2
organised by issue					(√)	((√))	(√)			(√)				(3-4 partially)
includes introduction									√					1
includes conclusion					√	√	√	√	(?)	√			√	6
Thesis/ opinion at:	beg	√	√	√										3
	end								(?)	(?)		√		1
	both				√	√	√	√					√	5

Key
√* = very one-sided
†signals 2-sided organisation = signals the 2 sided issue +/or signals each side, pro- and anti-uniform;
(√?) = signals the organisation, but then does not use it (e.g. moves back and forth between the two sides)
(√) = partially
(?) = very brief or weakly linked/ not clearly addressing issue of text

A7 Text structure *Padres* texts

CLIL texts

CLIL Text no.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	totals
organised as:													
classifying report					√		(√)	√			√		3
exposition			√							√			2
discussion	√	√		√	(√)	√	√		√			√	7
challenge	(√)								(√)				0
details of structure:													
framework signposted		(some)		(some)	√	√	(some)	√	(some)		√		4 (+4)
includes introduction					√								1
includes conclusion	√	√		√		√	√	√				√	7
thesis found at: beginning		√	√						√	√	√		5
thesis found at: end				√		√	√	√				√	5
thesis found at: both	√												1

(√) = includes an element of this genre, but does not use it as the organising framework

Non-CLIL texts

Non-CLIL Text no.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	total
organised as:													
classifying report								(√)		(√)			0
exposition	√				√				√				3
discussion		√	√	√			√	√		√	√	√	8
challenge						√							1
details of structure:													
framework signposted			(some)			(some)	√	(some)		(some)		√	2 (+ 4)
includes introduction				?									1?
includes conclusion	√		√	√	√	√?						√	6
thesis found at: beginning		√						√	√				3
thesis found at: end	√			√		√	√					√	5
thesis found at: both			√		√						√		3

(√) = includes an element of this genre, but does not use it as the organising framework

A8 Theme analysis *Uniforme* texts

CLIL *Uniforme* texts Theme analysis: numbers and percentages of t-units

Text no.	1		2		3		4		5		6		7		8		9		10		11		12	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Interpersonal Themes	6	40	0	0	3	33	2	25	2	28.5	0	0	4	33	2	33	3	50	3	50	2	20	4	50
1st p projecting clause interp'l	3	20	0	0	1	11	1	12.5	1	14	0	0	2	17	2	33	1	17	2	33	2	20	3	37.5
Textual Themes	5	33	1	14	3	33	1	12.5	4	57	1	20	4	33	1	17	2	33	2	33	4	40	4	50
T-units with Textual Th.s	5	33	1	14	2	22	1	12.5	4	57	1	20	4	33	1	17	1	17	2	33	4	40	3	37.5
Textual Th.s without 'y'	5	33	1	14	2	11	1	12.5	3	43	1	20	1	8	1	17	1	17	2	33	1	10	4	50
Total no. t-units	15		7		9		8		7		5		12		6		6		6		10		8	

= number ofThemes; % = number as percentage of that text's t-units

Non-CLIL *Uniforme* texts Theme analysis: numbers and percentages of t-units

Text no.	1		2		3		4		5		6		7		8		9		10		11		12	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Interpersonal Themes	3	43	3	30	2	17	4	40	2	20	4	27	3	19	1	14	1	5	2	40	0	0	0	0
1st p projecting clause interp'l	2	28.5	2	20	0	0	3	30	2	20	1	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	40	0	0	0	0
Textual Themes	3	43	4	40	14	117	6	60	7	70	11	73	7	44	4	57	10	53	3	60	5	100	12	75
T-units with textual Th.s	3	43	4	40	10	83	6	60	6	60	9	60	7	44	2	28.5	9	47	2	40	3	60	11	69
Textual Th.s without 'y'	3	43	4	40	9	75	5	50	5	50	8	53	4	25	4	57	8	42	3	60	4	80	9	56
Total no. t-units	7		10		12		10		10		15		16		7		19		5		5		16	

= number ofThemes; % = number as percentage of that text's t-units

A9 Theme analysis *Padres* texts

CLIL texts Theme analysis: numbers and percentages of t-units

Text no.	**1**		**2**		**3**		**4**		**5**		**6**		**7**		**8**		**9**		**10**		**11**		**12**	
	#	**%**	**#**	**%**	**#**	**%**	**#**	**%**	**#**	**%**	**#**	**%**	**#**	**%**	**#**	**%**	**#**	**%**	**#**	**%**	**#**	**%**	**#**	**%**
Interpersonal Themes	7	47	1	17	4	28.5	3		1	6	0	0	8	61.5	3	21	1	14	4	25	1	5.5	2	25
1st p projecting clause interp'l	4	27	1	17	2	14	2	25	0	0	0	0	4	31	2	14	1	14	0	0	0	0	1	12.5
Textual Themes	15	100	2	33	5	36	2	25	8	47	3	75	6	46	6	43	3	43	8	50	9	50	2	25
T-units with Textual Theme	13	87	2	33	5	36	2	25	8	47	3	75	6	46	6	43	3	43	7	44	9	50	2	25
Textual Th.s without 'y'	10	67	1	17	4	28.5	2	25	3	18	3	75	5	38.5	1	7	2	28.5	7	44	3	19	1	12.5
Total no. t-units	15		6		14		8		17		4		13		14		7		16		18		8	

= number ofThemes; % = number as percentage of that text's t-units

Non-CLIL texts Theme analysis: numbers and percentages of t-units

Text no.	**1**		**2**		**3**		**4**		**5**		**6**		**7**		**8**		**9**		**10**		**11**		**12**	
	#	**%**	**#**	**%**	**#**	**%**	**#**	**%**	**#**	**%**	**#**	**%**	**#**	**%**	**#**	**%**	**#**	**%**	**#**	**%**	**#**	**%**	**#**	**%**
Interpersonal Themes	2	25	1	17	4	40	1	8	1	8	2	33	2	25	3	30	3	25	1	17	5	31	9	60
1st p projecting clause interp'l	2	25	1	17	2	20	1	8	1	8	2	33	0	0	2	20	0	0	1	17	4	25	4	27
Textual Themes	0	0	2	33	5	50	11	92	**7**	58	2	33	7	87.5	10	100	6	50	3	50	11	69	11	73
T-units with Textual Theme	0	0	2	33	4	40	8	67	**7**	58	2	33	5	62.5	9	90	6	50	3	50	10	62.5	10	67
Textual Th.s without 'y'	0	0	1	17	4	40	6	50	4	33	2	33	6	75	9	90	4	33	2	33	6	37.5	8	53
Total no. t-units	8		6		10		12		12		6		8		10		12		6		16		15	

= number ofThemes; % = number as percentage of that text's t-units

A10 Thematic progression *Uniforme* texts

CLIL texts

Text no.	1		2		3		4		5		6		7		8		9		10		11		12	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
LP	5	36	2	33	0	0	0	0	1	17	3	75	2	18	2	40	0	0	3	60	2	22	1	14
CP	2	14	2	33	6	75	2	28.5	0	0	0	0	4	36	0	0	3	60	0	0	3	33	3	43
main method	other		LP/CP		CP		other		other		LP		LP/CP		other		CP		LP		LP/CP		LP/CP	
t-units (-1)	14 (15)		6 (7)		8 (9)		7 (8)		6 (7)		4 (5)		11 (12)		5 (6)		5 (6)		5 (6)		9 (10)		7 (8)	

= number of LP or CP thematic progression patterns; % = number as percentage of that text's t-units

Non-CLIL texts

Text no.	1		2		3		4		5		6		7		8		9		10		11		12	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
LP	4	67	2	22	4	36	1	11	3	33	3	21	3	20	3	50	6	33	0	0	1	25	7	47
CP	1	17	1	11	2	18	2	22	1	11	6	43	6	40	3	50	8	44	2	50	2	50	4	27
main method	LP		other		LP/CP		other		other		LP/CP		LP/CP		LP/CP		LP/CP		other		LP/CP		LP/CP	
t-units (-1)	6 (7)		9 (10)		11 (12)		9 (10)		9 (10)		14 (15)		15 (16)		6 (7)		18 (19)		4 (5)		4 (5)		15 (16)	

= number of LP or CP thematic progression patterns; % = number as percentage of that text's t-units

A11 Thematic progression *Padres* texts

CLIL texts

Text	1		2		3		4		5		6		7		8		9		10		11		12		totals
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	
LP	9	64	3	60	4	31	3	43	9	56	0	0	3	25	3	23	3	50	5	33	5	29	2	28.5	49 [39%]
CP	5	36	1	20	6	46	2	28.5	5	31	2	67	4	33	10	77	1	17	5	33	8	47	5	71.5	54 [42%]
main method	LP		LP		CP/LP		LP/CP		LP		CP		LP/CP		CP		LP		CP/LP		CP/LP		CP		LP: 4 CP: 3 CP/LP:5 other: 0
t-units (-1)	14 (15)		5 (6)		13 (14)		7 (8)		16 (17)		3 (4)		12 (13)		13 (14)		6 (7)		15 (16)		17 (18)		7 (8)		128

= number of LP or CP thematic progression patterns; % = number as percentage of that text's t-units

Non-CLIL texts

Text	1		2		3		4		5		6		7		8		9		10		11		12		totals
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	
LP	0	0	3	60	6	67	6	54.5	6	54.5	4	80	6	86	4	44	4	36	3	60	7	47	9	64	58 [53%]
CP	2	28.5	0	0	1	11	4	36	3	27	1	20	0	0	0	0	2	18	0	0	4	27	1	7	18 [17%]
main method	other		LP		LP		CP/LP		LP		LP		LP		other		LP/CP		LP		LP		LP		LP: 8 CP: 0 CP/LP: 2 other: 2
t-units (-1)	7 (8)		5 (6)		9 (10)		11 (12)		11 (12)		5 (6)		7 (8)		9 (10)		11 (12)		5 (6)		15 (16)		14 (15)		109

= number of LP or CP thematic progression patterns; % = number as percentage of that text's t-units

A12 Sample texts and analysis *Uniforme* CLIL group (Text 2 and Text 10)

A12a CLIL Text 2: 1. Text structure and clause analysis

Key:
Numbers indicate sentences
Letters indicate clauses within a sentence
Pro-uniform sections are in *italics*, anti-uniform sections in **bold**, and explicit signaling of argument (advantages; disadvantages; opinion/thesis) is underlined

1a Mi opinión es [[que [[llevar uniforme]] tiene sus ventajas y sus inconvenientes]],
1b *sus ventajas son las siguientes:*
2a *Todo el colegio vestirá igual*
2b *por lo que no habría ningún tipo de discriminación en cuanto al tema de la vestimenta,*
2c *ya que a muchas personas se les discrimina por culpa de la vestimenta;*
2d *otra ventaja es* [[*que gracias al uniforme es más difícil* [[*que te clasifiquen socialmente, es decir, por el poder adquisitivo de tu familia*]]]].
3 **Los inconvenientes son los siguientes:**
4a **Las personas no pueden mostrar su personalidad,**
4b **ya que, tu vestimenta refleja bastante tu personalidad,**
4c **y al llevar el uniforme**
4d **todo el mundo va igual**
4e **por lo que no la puedes mostrar**.
5 *En defenitiva mi opinión es* [[*que los colegios, ya sean públicos o privados, deberían incorporar el uniforme y así evitar muchos conflictos entre los estudiantes*]].

[My opinion is that wearing a uniform has advantages and inconveniences,
its advantages are the following:
All the school will dress the same
so there won't be any type of discrimination as regards the subject of clothing,
since many people are discriminated against because of clothing;
another advantage is that thanks to the uniform it is more difficult that they classify you socially, that is to say, by the buying power of your family.
The inconveniences are the following:

People can’t show their personality,
since, your clothing reflects quite a lot your personality,
and wearing the uniform
everyone looks the same
so you can’t show it.
All in all my opinion is that schools, be they public or private, should use a uniform,
and in this way avoid a lot of conflicts among the students.]

CLIL Text 2: 2. Theme analysis and thematic progression

Key:
Shading shows LP pattern and *italics* shows CP pattern; underlining indicates the material taken up in the later Theme.

LP: 2 CP:2 t-units 7-1=6 potential patterns Main strategy: LP/CP

	Thematic field					Rhematic field
	Outer Thematic field			Inner Thematic field		
	Textual 1	Interpersonal 0	Absolute 0	Experiential		
				Pre-Head	Head	
1					Mi opinión	es que llevar uniforme tiene sus ventajas y sus inconvenientes,
2					sus ventajas	son las siguientes:
3					Todo el colegio	vestirá igual por lo que no habría ningún tipo de discriminación en cuanto al tema de la vestimenta, ya que a muchas personas se les discrimina por culpa de la vestimenta;
4					otra ventaja	es que gracias al uniforme es más difícil que te clasifiquen socialmente, es decir, por el poder adquisitivo de tu familia.
5					Los inconvenientes	son los siguientes:
6					Las personas	no pueden mostrar su personalidad, ya que, tu vestimenta refleja bastante tu personalidad, y al llevar el uniforme todo el mundo va igual por lo que no la puedes mostrar.
7	En defenitiva				mi opinión	es que los colegios, ya sean públicos o privados, deberían incorporar el uniforme y así evitar muchos conflictos entre los estudiantes.

A12b CLIL Text 10: 1. Text structure and clause analysis

1a A mi no me importaría [[llevar uniforme]],
1b **pero <u>no creo</u>**
1c **que sea una buena idea**
1d **ya que hay muchas personas [[que prefieran no llevarlo]].**
2a <u>Por mi parte pienso</u>
2b que depende de [[que uniforme fuesemos a llevar]],
2c y de cuanta gente estaría dispuesta a [[llevar uniforme]].
3 <u>Por esa razón, esta cuestión debería</u> elegirse por votaciones.
4a **<u>Lo malo es</u> [[que al no ser un colegio privado, no se debería obligar a la gente a llevar uniforme]],**
4b **ya que algunos no estan dispuestas, para nada, a [[llevarlo]],**
4c **y querrán ponerse [[lo que les apetece]].**
5a <u>*[[Llevar uniforme]] tiene sus ventajas*</u>
5b si no es muy caro
5c *porque no tendríamos que gastamos tanto dinero en ropa de diario*
5d *ya que solo las necesitaríamos para los días festivos y fines de semana.*

[I wouldn't mind wearing uniform,
but I don't think
it would be a good idea
since there are a lot of people who prefer not to wear it.
I personally think
that it depends on which uniform we were going to wear
and on how many people would be willing to wear it.
For this reason, this question should be decided by voting,
The trouble is that not being a private school, they shouldn't force people to wear uniform,
since some people are not at all willing to wear it,
and want to wear what they feel like.
Wearing a uniform has its advantages
if it is not very expensive
because we wouldn't have to spend so much money on everyday clothes
since we would only need them for holidays and weekends.]

***Uniforme* CLIL Text 10: 2. Theme analysis and thematic progression**

Key:
Shading shows LP pattern and *italics* shows CP pattern; underlining indicates the material taken up in the later Theme.

LP: 3 CP: 0 t-units 6-1=5 Main strategy: LP

	Thematic field					Rhematic field
	Outer Thematic field			Inner Thematic field		
	Textual 2	Interpersonal 3 (2 1st p projecting)	Absolute 0	Experiential		
				Pre-Head	Head	
1					A mi	no me importaría llevar uniforme,
2	pero	no creo		que sea	-3s	una buena idea ya que hay muchas personas que prefieran no llevarlo.
3		Por mi parte pienso		que depende	-3s	de que uniforme fuesemos a llevar, y de cuanta gente estaría dispuesta a llevar uniforme.
4	Por esa razón,				esta cuestión	debería elegirse por votaciones.
5					Lo malo	es que al no ser un colegio privado, no se debería obligar a la gente a llevar uniforme, ya que algunos no estan dispuestas, para nada, a llevarlo, y querrán ponerse lo que les apetece.
6					Llevar uniforme	tiene sus ventajas si no es muy caro porque no tendríamos que gastamos tanto dinero en ropa de diario ya que solo las necesitaríamos para los días festivos y fines de semana.

A13 Sample texts and analysis *Uniforme* non-CLIL group

A13a Text 5: 1. Text structure and clause analysis

Key:
Numbers indicate sentences
Letters indicate clauses within a sentence
Pro-uniform sections are in *italics*, anti-uniform sections in **bold**, and explicit signaling of argument (advantages; disadvantages; opinion/thesis) is <u>underlined</u>

1a **<u>Yo creo</u>**

1b **<u>que la mejor es</u> no poner uniforme obligatorio en las escuelas públicas**

1c **porque se supone**

1d **que en una escuela publica se tiene más libertad que en una privada.**

2a *<u>En muchas ocasiones es bueno</u> el uniforme*

2b *porque así no tienes que elegir la ropa el día anterior*

2c *y perder tiempo.*

3a <u>Pero estaría bien que</u> el uniforme fuera optativo

3b **porque muchas madres prefieren**

3c **que sus hijos lleven ropa de calle**

3d **porque les gusta más**

3e *y otras madres prefieren*

3f *que sí lo lleven*

3g *porque así se ahorran tiempo y dinero.*

4a *Pero para los niños menos de 12 años está bien,*

4b **para los que superan los 12 años no**

4c **porque a los 12 años es cuando empiezas a cambiar y a ver el mundo de otra forma**

4d **y le gusta vestirte con ropa que te guste. y no siempre con el uniforme.**

5a *<u>Pero por otra parte está bien que la gente lleve uniforme</u>*

5b *<u>porque</u>, suponiendo que cada uniforme de cada colegio sea distinto, así seria todo mas ordenado.*

5c *<<suponiendo que cada uniforme de cada colegio sea distinto>>*

6a **<u>Pero a mi, sinceramente</u>, no me gusta el uniforme**

6b **y prefiero llevar mi ropa; la ropa que me gusta.**

7a **Si llevas uniforme**

7b **te sientes obligado y menos libre que si no**

lo llevases
7c **y yo pienso,**
7d **que ya que es obligatorio ir a la escuela,**
7e **que nos dejen elegir**
7f **y un poco de libertad estaría bien.**
[I believe
that the best thing is not to make uniform obligatory in the public schools
because it is thought
that in a public school one has more freedom than in a private.
On many occasions the uniform is good
because in this way you don't have to choose the clothes the day before
and waste time.
But it would be good for the uniform to be optional
because a lot of mothers prefer
their children to wear street clothes
because they like them more
and other mothers do prefer
them to wear it
because that way they save time and money.
But for children under 12 years old it's good,
for those over 12 no
because at 12 years old is when you start to change and to see the world in another way
and you like to wear clothes you like and not always the uniform.
But on the other hand it is good that people wear uniform
because, if each uniform of each school is different, in this way is everything more ordered.
But for me, to be honest, I don't like uniforms
and prefer to wear my clothes, the clothes I like.
If you wear uniform
you feel forced and less free than if you don't wear it
and I think
that since it is obligatory to go to school,
that they should let us choose
and a bit of freedom would be good.]

***Uniforme* non-CLIL Text 5: 2. Theme analysis and thematic progression**

Key: Shading shows LP pattern and *italics* shows CP pattern; underlining indicates the material taken up in the later Theme.
LP: 3 CP: 1 t-units 10-1=9 Main strategy: other

	Thematic field					Rhematic field
	Outer Thematic field			Inner Thematic field		
	textual 7 (6 t-units)	interpersonal 2 (projecting)	Absolute	Experiential		
				Pre-Head	Head	
1		Yo creo			que lo mejor	es no poner uniforme obligatorio en las escuelas públicas porque se supone que en una escuela publica se tiene más libertad que en una privada.
2				En muchas ocasiones es	-3s	bueno el uniforme porque así no tienes que elegir la ropa el día anterior y perder tiempo.
3	Pero			estaría	-3s	bien que el uniforme fuera optativo porque muchas madres prefieren que sus hijos lleven ropa de calle porque les gusta más y otras madres prefieren que sí lo lleven porque así se ahorran tiempo y dinero.
4	Pero			para los niños menos de 12 años está	-3s	bien,
5				*para los que superan los 12 años no*	[ ]	porque a los 12 años es cuando empiezas a cambiar y a ver el mundo de otra forma y le gusta vestirte con ropa que te guste. y no [] siempre con el uniforme.
6	Pero por otra parte			está	-3s	bien que la gente lleve uniforme porque, suponiendo que cada uniforme de cada colegio sea distinto, así seria todo mas ordenado.
7	Pero				a mi,	sinceramente, no me gusta el uniforme
8	y			prefiero	1s	llevar mi ropa; la ropa que me gusta.
9				Si llevas uniforme te sientes	-2s	obligado y menos libre que si no lo llevases
10	y	yo pienso,		que ya que es obligatorio ir a la escuela,	que nos	dejen elegir y un poco de libertad estaría bien.

A13b Sample text *Uniforme* non-CLIL Text 3: 1. Text structure and clause analysis

Pro-uniform sections are in *italics*, anti-uniform sections in **bold**, and explicit signaling of argument (advantages; disadvantages; opinion/thesis) is underlined

1a	**<u>En mi opinión</u> no** […]
1b	**porque para nosotros es mucho más cómodo [[ir con ropa [[que nos guste y nos sintamos bien con ella]]]].**
2a	**Además también es más gasto**
2b	**porque tienes que ir, por obligación, con el uniforme**
2c	**y son más gastos para los padres.**
3a	**Mientras que si vas a uno público**
3b	**no es obligatorio [[que te compren ropa]]**
3b	**y tus padres pueden restringir este gasto.**
4a	*<u>Por otro lado</u> esta bien*
4b	*ya que así no tendríamos envidia de [[lo que llevan otros]]*
4c	*y no se notaria tanto la diferencia de dinero [[que hay de unos personas a otras]]*
4d	*y alomejor así se evitaría discriminar a algunas personas dentro del colegio solo [[porque no nos gusta [[como vistan]]]].*
5a	**<u>Pero también</u> seria muy incomodo para nosotros, y sobre todo para las chicas,**
5b	**que llevando falda**
5c	**pasamos más frió en invierno.**
6a	**Igualmente aunque se llevara uniforme**
6b	**habría todavía gente [[que se lo comprara con polos o zapatos de marca]]**
6c	**y todavía habría un poco de discriminación hacia algunas personas.**
7a	**Además vistiendonos [[como queramos]]**
7b	**nos mostramos [[tal y como somos]]**
7c	**y también es una forma [[de expresarnos con los demás]].**

[In my opinion no […]
because for us it's much more comfortable to wear clothes that we like and that we feel good in.
Besides, it's also more expensive
because you, by requirement, have to wear the uniform
and that's more expenses for the parents.
While if you go to a state one

you don’t have to buy clothes
and your parents can save this expense.
On the other hand it is good
since in this way we won’t be envious of what other people are wearing
and we won’t notice so much the difference in money that there is between people
and hopefully this can avoid discriminating against some people at school just because we don’t like how they dress.
But also it would be inconvenient for us, and above all for the girls,
that wearing skirts
we feel colder in winter.
Equally, although they wear uniform
there will still be some people who buy it with poloshirts or brand name shoes
and there will still be some discrimination towards some people.
Besides, dressing as we want to
we show ourselves as we are
and it is also a way of expressing ourselves with others.]

Uniforme non-CLIL Text 3: 2. Theme analysis and thematic progression

Key:
Shading shows LP pattern and *italics* shows CP pattern; underlining indicates the material taken up in the later Theme.
LP: 4 CP: 2 t-units 12-1=11 Main strategy: LP/CP

	Thematic field					Rhematic field
	Inner Thematic field			Outer Thematic field		
	textual 12 (10 t-units)	interpersonal 2	Absolute 0	Experiential		
				Pre-Head	Head	
1		En mi opinión		no	[..	…] porque para nosotros es mucho más cómodo ir con ropa que nos guste y nos sintamos bien con ella.
2	Además también			es	-3s	más gasto porque tienes que ir, por obligación, con el uniforme y son más gastos para los padres.

3	Mientras			que si vas a uno público no es	-3s	obligatorio que te compren ropa
4	y				tus padres	pueden restringir este gasto.
5	Por otro lado			esta	-3s	bien ya que así no tendríamos envidia de lo que llevan otros
6	y			no	se	notaria tanto la diferencia de dinero que hay de unos personas a otras
7	y	alomejor		así	se	evitaría discriminar a algunas personas dentro del colegio solo porque no nos gusta como vistan.
8	Pero también			seria	-3s	muy incomodo para nosotros, y sobre todo para las chicas, que llevando falda pasamos más frió en invierno.
9	Igualmen te			aunque se llevara uniforme habría	3s	todavía gente que se lo comprara con polos o zapatos de marca
10	y			todavía habría	3s	un poco de discriminación hacia algunas personas.
11	Además			*vistiendonos como queramos* nos mostramos	-1pl	tal y como somos
12	y también			*es*	*-3s*	una forma de expresarnos con los demás.

A14 Sample texts and analysis *Padres* CLIL group

A14a Text 4: 1. Text structure and clause analysis

Key:
Numbers indicate sentences
Letters indicate clauses within a sentence
Sections on parental overcontrol are in *italics*, sections on parental undercontrol in **bold**, and the plain text shows the explanation of parental control; explicit signaling of argument and framework is underlined; shading indicates the main point/thesis.

1	*En mi opinión, hay veces [[que se preocupan demasiado]].*
2a	*En cuanto llegas 15 minutos tarde*
2b	*ya están llamando a tu teléfono móvil, al vecino, al primo, a tu amigo…*
3a	*No me gusta [[cuando ocurre esto]],*
3b	*(no es mi caso,*
3c	*pero si el de algún amigo)*
3d	*pienso*
3e	*que hay que dejar un poco más de libertad,*
3f	*porque por llegar 15 min tarde*
3g	*no creo*
3h	*que se deban de preocupar tanto.*
4a	**Tampoco me gustan los padres [[que no se preocupan nada de sus hijos]],**
4b	**ya que, aunque le quieran**,
4c	**le tienen que llamar**
4d	**para ver**
4e	**si esta bien**.
5a	Yo veo muy, muy normal
5b	que los padres se preocupen por sus hijos,
5c	ya que son las personas más importantes para ellos, además del marido o la mujer claro.
6	En definitiva, que te controlen tiene cosas buenas y cosas malas.
7a	Que te controlen significa [[que se preocupan por ti]],
7b	[…] una forma un poco "rarita" [[de mostrar [[que te quieren]]]],

7c a pesa de que no te dejen llegar a la 1:00am a tu casa.

[In my opinion there are times when they worry too much.
As soon as you are 15 minutes late
they are already calling your mobile phone, the neighbor, the cousin, your friend …
I don’t like it when that happens,
(it’s not my case,
but it is that of a friend)
I think you have to give a bit more freedom,
because for being 15 minutes late
I don’t believe
that they should worry so much.
Neither do I like the parents that don’t worry at all about their children,
since, although they love them,
they have to call
to see
if they are okay.
I see it as very, very normal
that parents worry about their children,
since they are the most important people for them, as well as the husband or the wife of course.
In short, that they control you has good points and bad points.
That they control you means that they worry about you,
[…] a slightly “odd” way of showing that they love you,
despite not letting you come home at 1:00 am.]

Padres CLIL Text 4: 2. Theme analysis and thematic progression

Key:
Shading shows LP pattern and *italics* shows CP pattern; underlining indicates the material taken up in the later Theme.
LP: 3 CP: 2 t-units 8-1=7 Main strategy: LP/CP combination

	Thematic field					Rhematic field
	Outer Thematic field			Inner Thematic field		
	Textual 2/2	Interpersonal 3/2	Absolute	Experiential		
				Pre-Head	Head	
1		En mi opinión,		hay	-hay	veces que se preocupan demasiado.
2				En cuanto llegas 15 minutos tarde ya están	-3pl	llamando a tu teléfono móvil, al vecino, al primo, a tu amigo…
3				No	me	gusta cuando ocurre esto, (no es mi caso, pero si el de algún amigo)
4		pienso			que hay	que dejar un poco más de libertad, porque por llegar 15 min tarde no creo que se deban de preocupar tanto.
5	Tampoco				*me*	gustan los padres que no se preocupan nada de sus hijos, ya que, aunque le quieran, le tienen que llamar para ver si esta bien.
6		Yo veo muy, muy normal			que los padres	se preocupen por sus hijos, ya que son las personas más importantes para ellos, además del marido o la mujer claro.
7	En definitiva,				que te controlen	tiene cosas buenas y cosas malas.
8					*Que te controlen*	significa que se preocupan por ti, una forma un poco "rarita" de mostrar que te quieren, a pesa de que no te dejen llegar a la 1:00am a tu casa.

A14b Text 11: 1. Text structure and clause analysis

Key:
Sections on parental overcontrol are in *italics*, sections on parental undercontrol in **bold**, and the plain text shows the sections on the parents in the middle; explicit signaling of argument and framework is underlined; shading indicates the main point.

1 Hay muchos tipos de padres.
2a *Algunos son muy estrictos*
2b *y quieren tenerte todo el día vigilado.*
3a *Tampoco le deja quedar,*
3b *ni ablar casi por teléfono*
3c *y por una pequeña discusión, ya te deja sin quedar*
3d *al final acabas odiandoles,*
3e *no quieres verlos*
3f *y es peor para ellos,*
3g *como es el caso de una amiga mía.*
4a **Otros, son demasiado liberales,**
4b **y los hijos acaban haciendo [[lo que quieren]],**
4c **no estudian**
4d **y sacan malas notas en el colegio,**
4e **ya que sus padres no se preocupan por ellos**
4f **y nunca están en casa.**
5 **No tienen ningún control, ni limites.**
6a Sin embargo, hay otros [[que son intermedios]]
6b que te dejan quedar,
6c pero que te llaman
6d para ver
6e donde estas
6f y se preocupan,
6g pero que tampoco están agobiandote todo el tiempo.
7a Siempre están hay
7b cuando los necesitas.
8a [[Lo que tienes que hacer]] es [[darles confianza]],
8b que sepan

8c	que pueden confiar en ti
8d	y te dejaran hacer muchas cosas.
9	Este es el caso de mis padres.

[There are many types of parents.
Some are very strict
and want to keep an eye on you all day.
Neither do they let you go out,
nor talk on the phone almost
and for a little argument, they make you stay
finally you end up hating them,
you don't want to see them,
and it is worse for them,
as is the case of a friend of mine,
Others, they are too liberal,
and they children end up doing what they want,
they don't study
and get bad grades in school,
since their parents don't care about them
and they are never at home.
They don't have any control, nor limits,
Nevertheless, there are others which are in the middle
they let you go out,
but they call you
to see
where you are
and they care,
but neither are they suffocating you all the time.
They are always there
when you need them.
What you have to do is give them confidence,
so that they know
that they can trust you
and they will let you do a lot of things.
This is the case with my parents.]

A14b Text 11: 2. Theme analysis and thematic progression

Key: Shading shows LP pattern and *italics* shows CP pattern; underlining indicates the material taken up in the later Theme.

LP: 5 CP: 8 t-units 18-1=17 Main strategy: LP/CP

	Thematic field					Rhematic field
	Outer Thematic field			Inner Thematic field		
	Textual 9/9	Interpersonal 1/0	Absolute 1	Experiential		
				Pre-Head	Head	
1				Hay	-3	muchos tipos de padres.
2					Algunos	son muy estrictos
3	y			quieren	*-3pl*	tenerte todo el día vigilado.
4	Tampoco				te	deja quedar, ni ablar casi por teléfono
5	y			por una pequeña discusión, ya	*te*	deja sin quedar
6	al final			acabas	*-2s*	odiandoles,
7				no quieres	*-2s*	verlos
8	y			Es	-3s	peor para ellos, como es el caso de una amiga mía.
9			*Otros,*	*Son*		demasiado liberales,
10	y				los hijos	acaban haciendo lo que quieren,
11				no estudian	*-3pl*	
12	y			sacan	*-3pl*	malas notas en el colegio, ya que sus padres no se preocupan por ellos y nunca están en casa.
13				No tienen	*-3pl*	ningún control, ni limites.
14	Sin embargo,			hay	-3	otros que son intermedios que te dejan quedar, pero que te llaman para ver donde estas y se preocupan, pero que tampoco están agobiandote todo el tiempo.
15		Siempre		están	- 3pl	hay cuando los necesitas.
16					Lo que tienes que hacer	es darles confianza, que sepan que pueden confiar en ti
17	y				te	dejaran hacer muchas cosas.
18					Este	es el caso de mis padres.

A15 Sample texts and analysis *Padres* non-CLIL group

A15a Text 3: 1. Text structure and clause analysis

Key: Numbers indicate sentences
Letters indicate clauses within a sentence

Sections on parental overcontrol are in *italics*, sections on parental undercontrol in **bold**, and the plain text shows the explanation of parental control (ll2a-2c) and also the reasons why more freedom is advantageous (ll 2d-2e and ll 4a-5e); explicit signaling of argument and framework is underlined; shading indicates the main point/thesis.

1a	Creo
1b	*que en muchas ocasiones los padres si que controlan demasiado a los hijos*.
2a	A veces porque piensan
2b	que no somos lo suficientemente responsables [[para asumir o hacer algunas cosas]]
2c	o por querer protegernos,
2d	pero en algunos casos esa actitud puede producir [[que el adolescente quiera hacer con mas ganas aquello [[que le prohíben]]]]
2e	para demostrar [[que si es capaz y responsable [[para hacerlo]].
3a	**Algunos padres, por el contrario, les da igual [[lo que los hijos hagan]],**
3b	**no les ponen ningún tipo de límites,**
3c	**y eso tampoco es bueno**.
4a	[[El tener más libertad [[para hacer cosas]] y el sentirnos mas libres]] nos deja que por nosotros mismos nos demos cuenta y veamos [[lo que hay a nuestro alrededor]],
4b	así como a valernos por nosotros mismos
4c	y a ser mas independientes,
4d	aunque en cierto modo, [[lo de ser independiente]] depende también mucho de cada persona.
5a	Entiendo
5b	que los quieran controlarnos
5c	para protegernos,
5d	pero también tendrían que saber
5e	que eso no es lo mejor par nosotros.

[I believe
that on many occasions parents do control their children too much.
Sometimes because they think
that we are not responsible enough to take on or do some things
or because they want to protect us,
but in some cases this attitude can make the adolescent want to do what they have forbidden even more
in order to demonstrate that they are capable and responsible enough to do it.
Some parents, on the other hand, don't care what their children do,
they don't put any kind of restrictions on them
and this isn't good either.
Having more freedom to do things and feeling freer makes us realise and see for ourselves what is around us
and also to value ourselves
and to be more independent,
although to a certain extent being independent also depends a lot on each person.
I understand
that they want to control us
in order to protect us,
but they also have to know
that this is not the best for us.]

***Padres* non-CLIL Text 3: 2. Theme analysis and thematic progression**

Key:
Shading shows LP pattern and *italics* shows CP pattern; underlining indicates the material taken up in the later Theme.

LP: 6 CP: 1 t-unit: 10-1=9 Main strategy: LP

	Thematic field					Rhematic field
	Outer Thematic field			Inner Thematic field		
				Experiential		
	Textual 5 (4)	Interpersonal 5 (4) [2]	Absolute 0	Pre-Head	Head	
1		Creo		que en muchas ocasiones	los padres	si que controlan demasiado a los hijos.
2		A veces			[]	porque piensan que no somos lo suficientemente responsables para asumir o hacer algunas cosas o por querer protegernos,
3	pero			en algunos casos	esa actitud	puede producir que el adolescente quiera hacer con mas ganas aquello que le prohíben para demostrar que si es capaz y responsable para hacerlo.
4					*Algunos padres,*	por el contrario, les da igual lo que los hijos hagan,
5				No	les	ponen ningún tipo de límites,
6	y				eso	tampoco es bueno.
7					El tener más libertad para hacer cosas y el sentirnos mas libres	nos deja que por nosotros mismos nos demos cuenta y veamos lo que hay a nuestro alrededor, así como a valernos por nosotros mismos y a ser mas independientes,
8	aunque	en cierto modo,			lo de ser independiente	depende también mucho de cada persona.
9		Entiendo que			los	quieran controlarnos para protegernos,
10	pero también			tendrían	-3pl	que saber que eso no es lo mejor par nosotros.

A15b *Padres* non-CLIL Text 5: 1. Text structure and clause analysis

Sections on parental overcontrol are in *italics*, sections on parental undercontrol in **bold**, and the plain text shows examples and explanations; explicit signaling of argument and framework is underlined; shading indicates the main point/thesis.

1a Esto depende de los padres,
1b *algunos no hacen más [[que perseguir a sus hijos]]*,
1c **pero otros "pasan de ellos"**.
2a También depende de los hijos,
2c ya que se controlara más a un hijo más o menos "rebelde" que a un hijo más o menos "bueno",
2d aunque repito,
2e según mi punto de vista también depende de los padres.
3a A mí, por ejemplo, no me dicen hora,
3b me dicen:
3c ven pronto.
4a Y yo vengo pronto,
4b porque sino me siento culpable
4c y soy consciente de [[lo que tienen que hacer mis padres]].
5a Pero a mi hermano, en cambio, lo controlan mas –
5b no se
5c si es por el hecho [[de que tenga 16 anos]]
5d o por que haya suspendido casi todos –
5e y la dicen hora.
6a yo pienso
6b que el problema depende de los padres y también de los hijos.
7 Y esto es un acuerdo al que tienen que llegar ellos.

[This depends on the parents,
some don't do anything but pester their children,
but others "don't care about them".
It also depends on the children,
since you control a more or less "rebellious" child more than a more or less "good" child,
although I repeat,
from my point of view it also depends on the parents.
Me, for example, they don't tell me a time,,
they tell me:

come back soon.
And I come soon,
Because if not I feel guilty
and I'm aware of what my parents have to do.
But my brother on the other hand, they control more –
I don't know
if it's because he's 16 years old
or because he's failed almost everything
- and they tell him a time.
I think
that the problem depends on the parents and also on the children,
And this is an agreement that they have to reach.]

Padres Non-CLIL Text 5: 2. Theme analysis and thematic progression

Key: Shading shows LP pattern and *italics* shows CP pattern; underlining indicates the material taken up in the later Theme.

LP: 6 CP: 3 t-units: 12-1=11 Main strategy: LP

	Thematic field					Rhematic field
	Outer Thematic field			Inner Thematic field		
	Textual	Interpersonal	Absolute	Experiential		
	7 (7)	1	0	Pre-Head	Head	
1					Esto	depende de los padres,
2					algunos	no hacen más que perseguir a sus hijos,
3	pero				*otros*	"pasan de ellos".
4	También			depende	-3s	de los hijos, ya que se controlara más a un hijo más o menos "rebelde" que a un hijo más o menos "bueno",
5	aunque			repito,	-1s	según mi punto de vista también depende de los padres.
6					A mí,	por ejemplo, no me dicen hora,
7					me	dicen: ven pronto.
8	Y				*yo*	vengo pronto, porque sino me siento culpable y soy consciente de lo que tienen que hacer mis padres.

9	Pero				a mi hermano,	en cambio, lo controlan mas – no se si es por el hecho de que tenga 16 anos o por que haya suspendido casi todos
10	- y				la	dicen hora.
11		yo pienso			que el problema	depende de los padres y también de los hijos.
12	Y				*esto*	es un acuerdo al que tienen que llegar ellos.

A16 Geography texts: text and clause analysis

A16a English New Key (NK)

	coniferous forests	acid rain	population growth	eco-tourism	farming	totals
words (minus headings)	458	402	514	287	506	2167
sentences	28	27	27	15	25	122
t-units	31	28	27	19	25	130
ranking clauses	45	42	37	28	52	204
embedded clauses	6	13	6	5	7	37
minor clauses (headings)/ words	0/0	0/0	2/4	0/0	2/11	4/15

English NK clause analysis

	coniferous forests	acid rain	population growth	eco-tourism	farming	totals
clause simplexes	14	14	18	3	9	58
clause complexes	14	13	9	12	16	64
2 clause complexes	11	11	8	9	12	51
3 clause complexes	3	2	1	3	2	11
4 clause complexes	0	0	0	0	0	0
>4 clause complexes	0	0	0	0	2 (9)	2

A16b Spanish Limes 3 (L3)

	alta montaña	impactos ambientales	población mundial	turismo	pesca	totals
words (minus headings)	462	217	649	227	413	1968
sentences	22	10	25	13	15	85
t-units	25	10	31	13	20	99
ranking clauses	36	15	49	20	36	156
embedded clauses	7	6	20	1	14	48
sub/headings/wds	3/17	1/12	10/46	0/0	4/20	18/95

Spanish L3 clause analysis

	alta montaña	impactos ambientales	población mundial	turismo	pesca	totals
clause simplexes	11	6	11	9	4	41
clause complexes	11	4	14	4	11	44
2 clause complexes	8	3	7	3	6	27
3 clause complexes	3	1	5	0	2	11
4 clause complexes	0	0	1	0	2	3
>4 clause complexes	0	0	1	1 (5)	1 (6)	3

A17 Geography texts: Theme analysis

English NK

	coniferous forests	acid rain	population growth	Eco-tourism	Farming	totals	% t-units
Interpersonal Themes	0	2	1	0	1	4	3
(1st person) proj. clauses in interpersonal Theme	0	1	1	0	2	4	3
Total textual Themes	3	1	4	5	0	13	10
No. of t-units with textual Theme	3	1	4	5	0	13	10
'and' as textual Th	3	0	1	3	0	7	5
Total no. of t-units	31	28	27	19	25	130	

Spanish L3

	alta montaña	impactos ambientales	población mundial	turismo	pesca	totals	% t-units
Interpersonal Themes	0	0	0	1	0	1	1
(1st person) proj. clauses in interpersonal Theme	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total textual Themes	3	3	9	5	8	28	28
No. of t-units with textual Theme	3	3	7	5	7	25	25
'y' [and] as textual Th	3	0	3	0	3	9	9
Total no. of t-units	25	10	31	13	20	99	

A18 Geography texts: Thematic progression

English NK

	coniferous forests	acid rain	population growth	eco-tourism	farming	totals	% t-units
Constant progression (CP)	10	10	11	6	11	48	38
Linear progression (LP)	17	10	11	7	10	55	44
Main method for text (CP, LP, combination, other)	LP	LP/CP	LP/CP	LP/CP	CP/LP	LP: 1 CP:0 LP/CP: 4 other: 0	
t-units -1 (total t-units)	30 (31)	27 (28)	26 (27)	18 (19)	24 (25)	125	

Spanish L3

	alta montaña	impactos ambientales	población mundial	turismo	pesca	totals	% t-units
Constant progression (CP)	10	1	10	8	7	36	38
Linear progression (LP)	12	5	9	1	4	31	33
Main method for text (CP, LP, combination, other)	LP/CP	LP	LP/CP	CP	LP/CP	LP: 1 CP: 1 LP/CP: 3 other: 0	
t-units -1 (total t-units)	24 (25)	9 (10)	30 (31)	12 (13)	19 (20)	94	

A19 Geography texts examples: *New Key* population

What are the present and predicted trends in population growth?

Population growth

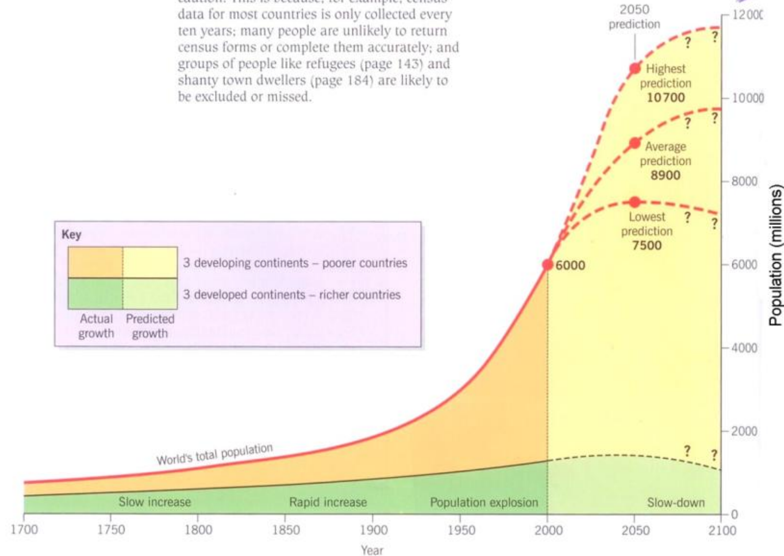
Graph **A** shows that the world's population increased slowly but steadily until the early nineteenth century. After that time it increased at a much faster rate, a process referred to as a **population explosion**. However, during the last two decades of the twentieth century there were signs that the rapid rate of increase was beginning to slow down. Even so, in 2001 the United Nations (UN) estimated that the world's population was still growing by 140 persons per minute. This means that there an extra 78 million people on Earth each year – more than the present populations of the UK and Canada added together.

In October 1999, the UN claimed that the world's population had reached 6000 million (that is, 6.0 billion). However, the accuracy of this claim needs to be treated with some caution. This is because, for example, census data for most countries is only collected every ten years; many people are unlikely to return census forms or complete them accurately; and groups of people like refugees (page 143) and shanty town dwellers (page 184) are likely to be excluded or missed.

According to the present rate of growth, the UN are now suggesting that the world's population will reach 8.9 billion by 2050. This figure is much lower than the 11.0 billion that the UN were predicting in the mid-1970s (graph **A**).

Population growth has not been even throughout the world. Graph **A** also shows:

- The fastest growth has been in the world's poorer, less economically developed countries. At present 86 per cent of the world's population now live in Asia, Africa and South America (two out of every five global citizens live in China and India).
- There is a very slow growth rate in the world's richer, more economically developed countries. Some countries in north-west Europe even have a zero growth rate, indicating that they no longer have an increase in population.



Population change

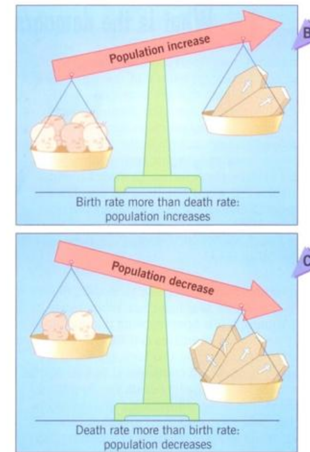
Population change, whether it is in a country or the whole world, depends mainly upon the balance between the birth rate and the death rate. It can also be affected by migration (page 142).

- The **birth rate** is the average number of live births in a year for every 1000 people in the total population.
- The **death rate** is the average number of deaths in a year for every 1000 people in the total population.
- The **natural increase** (or **decrease**) is the difference between the birth rate and the death rate.

If the birth rate is higher than the death rate then the total population will increase (diagram **B**). If the death rate is higher than the birth rate then the total population will decrease (diagram **C**).

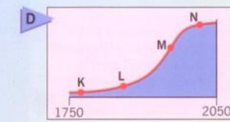
Throughout history, birth rates have usually exceeded death rates. Exceptions have occurred:

- during major outbreaks of disease (bubonic plague in the Middle Ages, Aids in present-day southern Africa)
- as a result of wars (the former Yugoslavia, Afghanistan)
- at present in several Western European countries (due to improvements in family planning and female education)
- due to the one-child policy in China (page 138).

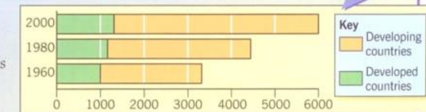


Activities

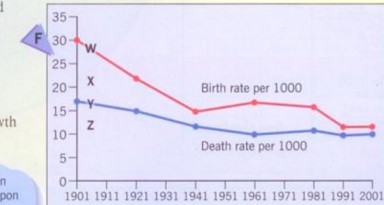
1 Refer to diagrams **A** and **D**.
  a) What was the world's population in:
    i) 1700 ii) 2000?
  b) Describe the rate of population growth at K, L, M and N.



2 Look at graph **E**.
  a) i) name the three developed continents
    ii) name the three developing continents.
  b) Why is the population of developing continents growing more quickly than the population of developed continents?



3 Graph **F** shows birth rates and death rates in England and Wales since 1900.
  a) What is meant by the terms:
    • *birth rate* • *death rate* • *natural increase*?
  b) Which of the letters W, X, Y and Z refers to the natural increase?
  c) According to the graph:
    i) which year had the most rapid population growth
    ii) what was the natural increase in 2000?



Summary Population growth, which is more rapid in developing continents, depends mainly upon changes in birth rates and death rates.

A20 Geography texts examples: *Limes 3* population

4 El futuro de la población mundial

4.1. Algunos interrogantes sobre el futuro de la población mundial

La superpoblación

Durante décadas se ha planteado el peligro de la superpoblación mundial, teniendo en cuenta la gran cantidad de población joven en edad de tener hijos.

Las estimaciones de crecimiento al alza han supuesto para el año 2050 una población en el planeta superior a los 10.000 millones de habitantes.

Frente a estas previsiones de aumento imparable, datos recientes procedentes de Naciones Unidas señalan que la población mundial, que ya ha sobrepasado el umbral de los 6.000 millones de habitantes, se estabilizará en torno a 2050, en 9.000 millones de personas o, incluso, menos. Parece, por tanto, que no llegará a producirse el temido problema de la superpoblación.

Actualmente, las cuestiones que parecen centrar los interrogantes sobre el futuro de la población del planeta son el volumen de **población joven** en los países poco desarrollados y el **envejecimiento de la población** en los más desarrollados. También preocupa la **disponibilidad de recursos**.

Un elevado volumen de población joven

Las elevadas tasas de natalidad de las dos últimas décadas en los países con un bajo desarrollo, han supuesto un importante volumen de población joven (población entre 15 y 25 años).

Educar y formar profesionalmente a estos grupos de población constituye un reto al que deben enfrentarse estos países, ya que la población joven puede convertirse en el motor de su desarrollo económico.

El envejecimiento de la población

La esperanza de vida en los países desarrollados se ha alargado considerablemente como consecuencia del elevado nivel de bienestar de la sociedad y los numerosos avances médico-sanitarios.

La posibilidad de alargar los años de vida de las personas representa un gran progreso pero, a la vez, plantea diversas cuestiones por resolver, como es la existencia de los servicios necesarios para atender a las personas ancianas (hospitales, residencias, centros de atención y ayuda) y asegurar que los jubilados recibirán pensiones que les permitan vivir de forma digna.

Actualmente, se calcula que en la Unión Europea hay una media de 4 jubilados por cada 10 trabajadores activos. En el año 2040, se estima que serán 7 los jubilados por cada 10 personas activas.

La disponibilidad de recursos en el planeta

Una cuestión, sin duda polémica, es saber si los recursos de que dispone la Tierra van a ser suficientes en el futuro para alimentar y asegurar una cierta calidad de vida a sus habitantes.

Intelectuales y científicos han formulado diversas teorías y han realizado estudios sobre este tema, pero no hay unanimidad. Los más destacados son:

- **Planteamientos antinatalistas**. Se remontan al siglo XVIII y su defensor más conocido es **Malthus**, quien consideraba que la población crecía mucho más deprisa que la disponibilidad de alimentos y, por tanto, era necesario reducir la natalidad.

  A mediados del siglo XX, cuando en el mundo menos desarrollado se estaba produciendo un elevado crecimiento de la población, resurgieron estas ideas (**neomalthusianismo**), que plantean de nuevo la necesidad de restringir la natalidad para evitar que el agotamiento de los alimentos y de las materias primas empobrezca el planeta.

  A nivel global no se han cumplido estas predicciones pues la producción mundial de alimentos es superior al crecimiento de la población. El problema está en la desigual distribución de esa producción.

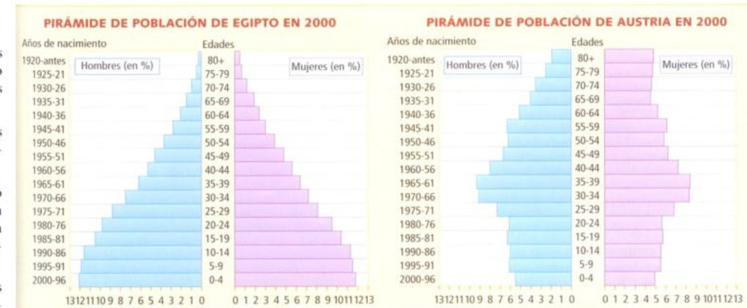
- **Planteamientos pronatalistas**. Consideran que el crecimiento de la población no es un freno para el desarrollo. La solución al problema no es la restricción de la natalidad, sino el **progreso científico-tecnológico** y el **fin de la injusta distribución de los recursos**.

4.2. Algunas respuestas sobre el futuro de la población mundial

Aunque el crecimiento de la población mundial parece reducirse, la población sigue aumentando y ese incremento se produce mayoritariamente en el ámbito de los países con menor desarrollo.

La reducción de la natalidad es una medida que se debe contemplar para intentar solucionar los problemas derivados de este crecimiento pero, además, hay que tratar de buscar otras alternativas:

- **Políticas de desarrollo sociocultural**. Deben encaminarse, especialmente, al ámbito de la mujer, promoviendo su acceso a la educación y a la cultura y, a través de ellas, fomentando su capacidad de decidir.
- **Políticas de desarrollo científico-técnico**. Deben permitir la consecución de alimentos y energías alternativos o sustitutivos de los tradicionales, ante su posible escasez o agotamiento.



POSIBILIDADES ALIMENTARIAS DE LA POBLACIÓN MUNDIAL

Algunos científicos consideran que la ciencia y la técnica serán capaces de sustituir aquellos recursos que lleguen a faltar. Veamos, en los siguientes ejemplos, lo que ya se ha conseguido.

- La producción mundial de maíz se ha multiplicado gracias a las especies híbridas; los nuevos abonos han permitido cuadruplicar el rendimiento de muchos cereales, y los polémicos cultivos transgénicos prometen multiplicar las cosechas y acabar con el hambre.
- La clorela, alga pequeña de agua dulce, transforma en materia vegetal casi toda la energía solar que recibe. En doce horas esta planta llega a cuadruplicar su peso y tiene un rendimiento de cuatro toneladas por hectárea, o sea, diez veces más que el trigo. Una superficie de 8 km^2, puede producir alimento para dar una ración adecuada de proteínas a 80 millones de personas.
- En Extremo Oriente se fabrica una pasta de zooplancton que dado como alimento a la ballena, permite obtener de este animal una media de 15 toneladas de aceite, tanta grasa como 500 cerdos y tanta carne como 72 bueyes.

- Comenta con tus compañeros este texto. ¿Qué ha hecho posible aumentar el rendimiento de los cereales? ¿Qué posibilidades alimentarias tiene la clorela?
- Dialogad en clase sobre la idea del crecimiento de la población y la escasez de recursos.

Ya sabes que la pirámide de población o pirámide de edades es una representación gráfica que nos permite estudiar la estructura de la población por edades y sexos, y también prever problemas y necesidades, para planificar políticas sociales.

1. La pirámide de Egipto presenta un crecimiento de la población fuerte, con una base muy amplia en relación con las edades adulta y anciana. ¿A qué tipo de país corresponde? ¿Qué situaciones se plantean en este tipo de países con mucha población joven?
2. En la pirámide de Austria se observa una notable disminución de la natalidad y un aumento de la esperanza de vida. ¿Cuáles son las características de los países que tienen una pirámide parecida? ¿Qué problemas plantea una población envejecida?

A21 Geography genres: population units

A21a English NK population unit

Text/s	Title/s	Main genre/s
1 pp128-129	Why is the world's population unevenly distributed?	(compositional report) -> factorial explanation
2 pp130-131	What are the present and predicted trends in population growth?	historical account -> (conditional) explanation
3 pp132-133	What is the demographic transition model?	historical account -> exposition/argument (Thesis-Arguments)
4a & 4b pp134-135	a. How do population changes differ between countries? b. Why are some places overpopulated?	a. (descriptive) report b. factorial explanation
5 pp136-137	How do population structures differ?	descriptive report
6 pp138-139	How has China tried to control population growth?	historical account
7 pp140-141	What are the problems of an ageing population?	(consequential) explanation
8 pp142-143	What is migration?	(classifying) report (+ some factorial explanation)
9 pp144-145	What is rural-urban migration?	historical account -> factorial explanation
10 pp146-147	How does migration affect different countries?	historical account -> descriptive report
11 pp148-149	Israel - an example of international migration	historical account (-> bullet point consequences +)

A21b Spanish L3 population unit

Text/s	Title/s	Main genre/s
Intro pp70-71	*La población del mundo*	descriptive report -> exposition
1 pp72-73	*La distribución de los habitantes en el planeta*	factorial explanation
2 pp74-75	*La evolución de la población mundial*	historical account
3 pp76-77	*La situación actual de la población mundial*	factorial explanation -> exposition (analytical one-sided -> hortatory/procedural)
4 pp78-79	*El futoro de la población mundial*	exposition/argument (one-sided) -> discussion (2-sided) -> hortatory/procedural
5 pp80-81	*Las migraciones en la actualidad*	classifying report (inc. historical account & explanation)
6 pp82-83	*Estructura ocupacional de la población mundial*	classifying report (inc. explanation)
Activities pp84-85	*Para recorder* *Actividades*	historical account
Activities pp86-87	*Actividades* (3 texts)	interview (exposition); discussion?; recount? (extracts: difficult to identify genre)

A22 Geography genres: Interdependence/Globalisation units

English NK interdependence unit

Text/s	Title/s	Main genre/s
1 pp258-259	What are the main features of international trade?	descriptive report -> explanation (factorial -> consequential)
2 pp260-262	Why is fair trade important?	explanation -> exposition (one-sided argument; Thesis-Argts) -> historical account
3 pp262-263	How interdependent are Kenya and Japan?	report/explanation
4 pp264-265	Why is aid needed?	classifying report/factorial explanation -> exposition (two-sided discussion – or juxtaposition of viewpoints?)

Spanish L3 globalización unit

Text/s	Title/s	Main genre/s
Intro p220-221	*La globalización: hacia un sistema mundial*	historical account
1 pp222-223	*Un sistema mundial*	explanation (factorial-consequential)
2 pp224-225	*El desarrollo social y económico*	exposition (Thesis-Arguments)
3 pp226-227	*Un mundo desigual: países pobres, países ricos*	factorial explanation (exposition within)
4 pp228-229	*Tecnología, comunicación y globalización*	(consequential) explanation
5 pp230-231	*Globalización y perspectivas de futuro*	historical account (exposition)
Activities pp232-233	*Para recordar* *Actividades*	exposition/argument
Activities pp234-235	*Actividades*	exposition (two sides, but each in a separate text)

A23 The student English texts: Uniform texts

CLIL students

Text no.	1	2	3*	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	totals
no. of words	111	105		101	108	83	140	69	80	87	132	55	1071
no. of sentences	4	6		7	4	6	4	3	2	4	7	3	50
no. of t-units	6	8		8	8	8	9	3	6	8	10	4	78
no. error-free t-units	0	4		3	1	0	3	0	3	0	3	1	18 (23%)
words per error-free t-units	0	11,18, 12,7		11,18, 13	6	0	10,14, 20	0	15,6, 5	0	17,20, 14	4	221 (12.3 av)
% error-free t-units	0	50		38	13	0	33	0	50	0	30	25	

* absent on the day of writing

Non-CLIL students

Text no.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	totals
no. of words	91	36	80	193	101	106	93	125	82	52	171	66	1196
no. of sentences	5	4	7	12	7	5	8	12	4	5	7	5	81
no. of t-units	8	3	7	17	16	7	8	16	7	5	11	5	110
no. error-free t-units	0	1	2	3	3	0	0	3	1	1	2	0	16 (15%)
words per error-free t-units	0	8	8,7	8,5,4	5,2,8	0	0	4,4,5	9	6	10,15	0	108 (6.75 av)
% error-free t-units	0	33	29	18	19	0	0	19	14	20	18	0	

A24 The student English texts: Parents texts

CLIL students

Text no.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	totals
no. of words	89	72	107	126	116	98	121	109	64	130	103	62	1197
no. of sentences	5	2	4	6	7	6	2	7	3	6	6	2	56
no. of t-units	6	6	3	11	9	13	7	10	4	11	10	5	95
no. error-free t-units	2	1	1	1	7	3	1	3	0	3	1	0	23 (24%)
wds per error-free t-units	6,3	8	19	8	*	3,9,7	15	10,14, 14	0	6,7, 12	4	0	222 (9.7 av)
% error-free t-units	33	17	33	9	78	23	14	30	0	27	10	0	

* 13,14,9,21,4,5,11

Non-CLIL students

Text no.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	totals
no. of words	82	48	115	119	158	170	83	65	85	24	25	35	1009
no. of sentences	4	6	10	7	7	8	4	3	8	3	2	4	66
no. of t-units	4	7	15	10	11	15	8	3	10	4	3	6	96
no. error-free t-units	0	3	2	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	1	9 (9%)
wds per error-free t-units	0	6,5,8	10,5	0	0	8,19	6	0	0	0	0	4	71 (7.9 av)
% error-free t-units	0	43	13	0	0	13	13	0	0	0	0	17	