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**CATALAN SCHOOLCHILDREN'S LANGUAGE USE AND
ATTITUDES TOWARDS TRILINGUALISM**

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INTRODUCTION

The term multilingualism is being increasingly used at present. Yet, not all people refer to this term the same way. For a great deal of people multilingualism refers to the use of multiple languages within a same context, for which reason they often only relate this concept to those schools where there is a high percentage of immigrant students. This is a stereotypical view on multilingualism, which could actually be synonym of multiculturalism. For others, nonetheless, multilingualism is not necessary and only connected with schools where there are an important proportion of immigrant students; instead it is related to individuals that speak two or more languages, regardless of their place of origin. In this respect, through this second view, linguistic repertoires are not treated linear and independently, instated they are holistically considered. The view conceived in this project is the second one.

Research on multilingualism, furthermore, has also been approached from different disciplines. This is aligned to what Garcia-Mayo (2012), Aronin and Hufeissen (2009) as well as Cenoz and Hoffmann (2003) point out in that it can embrace diverse branches, which in turn, may also overlap in some aspects. Examples of these fields of research are psycholinguistics (Cenoz, Hufeisen, Jessner, 2003; Sharwood-Smith and Kellerman, 1986, cited in Cenoz, Hufeisen and Jessner, 2003; Dijkstra, 2003), neurolinguistics (Franceschini, Zappatore & Nitsch, 2003; De Groot's, 2011, cited in Cenoz, 2013), sociolinguistics (Cenoz & Gorter, 2011; Aiestaran, 2003; Lasagabaster, 2009), pragmatics (Safont, 2011, 2013), or education (Cenoz, 2009; Cenoz & Gorter, 2015; Garcia and Sylvan, 2011; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; García & Flores, 2012), among others. The present study is embraced within a sociological perspective, since the main focus is on analysing the language use of trilingual speakers and their language attitudes.

In accordance with the lines above, the main aim of this master's thesis is to cover some research gaps identified in the literature, namely Catalan schoolchildren's attitudes towards trilingualism and their linguistic habits in different contexts. To that end, the impact of the number of languages spoken, gender, and type of L1 will be explored. In relation to the latter variables, furthermore, three hypotheses have been proposed. These are: there is significant difference between speakers' attitudes depending on the number of languages they perceive they speak; there is not significant difference between boys and girls' attitudes towards trilingualism, and

there is significant difference between speakers' attitudes depending on their L1 in terms of being this a minority language, a majority language, or both, a minority and a majority language. In order to cover the research gaps mentioned before and verify the hypotheses the project has been arranged in two parts as well as in different sections, which are commented on below.

The first part of the project refers to the theoretical framework and it comprises three thematic areas or sections. During the first one, some foundations of multilingualism are set out. In this respect, attention is given on reviewing the origins of multilingualism and on describing some terminology related to multilingualism (section 1). After, some general background concerning with multilingual education in Europe is presented, focusing later on the case of Catalonia (section 2). The last thematic section discusses the role that language attitudes play on multilingualism. Additionally, some of the most common measurements techniques used to investigate language attitudes as well as some relevant studies on attitudes towards multilingualism are reviewed too (section 3). Last but not least, the theoretical framework concludes with a presentation of the objectives and hypotheses of this project (section 4).

The second part of this dissertation is the empirical study, which is divided into two sections. The first one describes the research design underlying this project and includes a presentation of the research paradigms and methods selected, also the instruments used for collecting data, which in this case is a questionnaire, and the main characteristics of the research participants. Furthermore, this section ends with an explanation of how data was collected and analysed (section 5). Then, the results and main findings obtained after carrying out the study are displayed in the form of tables and discussed (section 6). Finally, this project ends with a conclusions section, in which the focus is on checking the extent to which the objectives and hypotheses have been reached, on reporting some of the limitations found while conducting the study and on providing some suggestions and recommendations for further research (section 7).

PART 1

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

1. FOUNDATIONS OF MULTILINGUALISM

1.1. The emergence of multilingualism

Multilingualism is currently considered as a common widespread phenomenon of modern societies. However, it seems that multilingual practices were already manifested in ancient times (Aronin, 2015; Adams, James & Swain, 2002; Franceschini, 2009, 2011; Schadev and Cartwright, 2016; Stavan & Hoffmann, 2015). In other words, as Franceschini (2009, 2011) interestingly pointed out, multilingualism has existed for centuries and in various degrees, albeit without having generated as much interest as at present. On that account, there is major consensus among sociolinguists that multilingualism is a result of societies seeking contact with others and that in order to establish the roots and foundations of such phenomenon one would need to jump forward in ancient times, hence, when the first societies and imperialisms arose (Wright, 2004; Wiley, 1996; Wee, 2011). In this sense, it is believed that the first prints of multilingualism are found in clay tablets, around 2600 BC (Franceschini, 2013, cited in Lasagabaster, 2015) and with the first urban civilization, that is, the Sumerians, who are thought to have developed the earliest writing system (Deutscher, 2000) and who settled on the southern Mesopotamia (Franceschini, 2009, 2011; Schadev and Cartwright, 2016).

It is almost certain that Sumerian citizens went from being monolingual speakers of the Sumerian language, which is a language isolated (Deutscher, 2000) (i.e. a language that has never been linguistically related to any other language, therefore, which is not included within any language family and branch) (Campbell, 2010); to being bilingual speakers of both, the Sumerian and the Akkadian language. In fact, it is worldwide claimed that such shift was due to Sargon of Akkad's invasion (Deutscher, 2000). This implied that the southern territory of Mesopotamia ceased to be independent and, consequently, became part of the so-called Akkadian Empire. In this respect, since Akkadian was the language used by their conqueror, Sumerians resulted in learning and using both their native or L1 language, which is Sumerian, and Akkadian, that is, the official language of the empire. In spite of using both languages, as it has occurred in most colonies (Antonin, 2015; Ricento, 2000; Mansour, 1993; Wright, 2004; Wiley, 1996; Wee, 2011), it should be clarified that each language was employed for different purposes and in different domains. In this

sense, whereas Sumerian was greatly used in informal contexts, Akkadian was significantly applied in formal, economical and administrative settings (Galter, 1995).

In relation to the preceding paragraph, it also needs to be emphasised the fact that as years went by and the Akkadian dynasty and empire came to gain power and territory, Akkadian resulted in being the lingua franca, thus, in replacing Sumerian on an oral and, ultimately, on a written basis (Galter, 1995). This is aligned with Deutscher's (2000:21) publication in that, although "Sumerian ceased to be spoken, it continued to be used as a literary and scholarly language", since, as he stated, "Sumerian was taught in scribal schools" (i.e. the schools located in Sumerian) and "literary compositions were copied and learnt by Akkadians scribes". One possible explanation for this (i.e. that the Sumerian writing remained present for a longer period than its spoken form) might be that it was the first writing system to be developed and it was used to create the Akkadian writing system. In other words, the Sumerian influenced on the Akkadian' writing system (Hasselbach, 2005).

Quite similarly, during the Roman Empire, which lasted from 330 BC to 70 AC approximately, citizens from the Mediterranean as well as Britain started to use more than one language, although in a greater extent those belonging to elite societies (MacMullen, 1966; Sachdev and Cartwright, 2016). These were Greek, which was widely spoken in the eastern part of the empire; Latin, which was the language of the Roman Emperor, hence, which became a "unifying link" (Rochette, 2011:562) throughout the Roman Empire; and in some cases, some citizens from the western and north Mediterranean also used other languages different to Greek, such as Gaulish, Brittonic, Celtic or Germanic, but to mention a few, in informal settings (Rochette, 2011; Sachdev and Cartwright, 2016). Regarding the recognized and official languages, despite having Latin an official status and being this the language of the Roman Emperor, it is interesting to observe that Greek was also used in formal domains and in administration (Rochette, 2011). Indeed, since Greek already had a powerful position by the time the Roman Empire was created, it continued to be spoken during the Roman period. All this could probably explain the reason for which different official documents that have been found across history have been written and translated into Greek and Latin.

As seen earlier, multilingualism has reflected our societies for more than millennia. Indeed, as Lasagabaster (2015) and Franceschini (2011) noted, it could be safely claimed that, ever since antiquity, multilingual practices have become the norm and an utmost feature of an important number of societies. Yet, from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century, when the Renaissance period took place, common criticism to this multilingual focus was given by a great deal of authorities (Lasagabaster, 2015). In fact, as Lasagabaster (2015) asserted, the multilingual mindset of most governors changed towards a monolingual one due to the misconception that cultural and linguistic diversity could threaten “national cohesion” (Ferguson, 2006; Franceschini, 2009, 2011; Lasagabaster, 2015; Ricento, 2000). To put it differently, since many politicians were concerned with unifying national identities, the multilingual practices were not longer as positive accepted as in the past. This, furthermore, explains the reason for which individuals ceased to be trained in multilingual skills; instead, they were educated in monolingual ideologies.

The wrong assumption of having to homogenize nations through a same culture and a same standardized language seems to have expanded in a greater extent during the following centuries. In fact, in her recent publication, Franceschini (2011:345) interestingly exposed that a great deal of the linguistic theories that have blossomed since then have followed the “unnatural premises” of eluding the use of different languages and cultures. Although this belief has persisted for ages, nevertheless, it should be positively acknowledged that some scholars have lately expressed their unconformity with this ideology claiming that nationalizing states by imposing one culture and language may cause the opposite effects to those expected. In other words, rather than fostering a shared identity, it could possibly generate “separateness” (Blackledge, 2000; Franceschini, 2011:345; Lasagabaster, 2015). Furthermore, it could result in language loss; especially when it comes to those regional languages that do not hold a recognized or legal status, and that are used by minority groups. Finally, it could be doubtless to say that it may endanger the cultural and linguistic diversity of societies (Cenoz, 2009; Cenoz & Gorter, 2015; Jessner, 2008).

During the twentieth century, in addition to the notion that individuals should identify themselves with one nation, different scholars unfortunately also underlined that minority and indigenous languages could impede a state to further develop

(Ricento, 2000) as well as negatively affect individuals' learning achievements (Lasagabaster, 2015), which implied a substantial loss of an important number of minority languages. Despite all attempts of destructing the multilingual landscape of our society in this last century, it is certain that, as some researchers asserted and as previously said, the world has lasted multilingual (Cenoz, 2009; Cenoz & Gorter, 2015; Jessner, 2008; Lasagabaster & Huguet, 2007). In other words, multilingual practices have prevailed alive amongst societies (Lasagabaster, 2015). This is also aligned with Francheschini's (2011:345) ideas in that multilingualism has not disappeared since it has been necessary for "cultural transfer and the development of trade"; also since some communities have maintained their native languages by using them in a private level. Last but not least, it could be stated as well that societies have even turned into more multilingual over the past decades due to people' awareness of preserving minority and immigrant languages and due to globalization, which has encouraged people to learn and speak additional languages (Cenoz & Gorter, 2015).

1.2. Definitions of multilingualism

As discussed in the previous section, even though multilingualism is not a recent phenomenon, it seems that nowadays it has become more common. In fact, this multilingual reality is visible considering that "there are almost 7000 languages in the world, and 200 independent countries" (Cenoz, 2013:3), also that "in most societies there are speakers that speak more than one language" (Aiestaran, 2003:19; European Comission, 2008), and finally that "there are hundreds of millions of people that speak three or four languages in their daily lives". Among these languages, the most common, that is, those that are spoken by a significant part of the current population, are Mandarin, Hindi, Spanish, English, Bengali, Portuguese, Arabic and Russian (Gordon, 2005). Before moving on it would be first necessary to have a clear understanding of what multilingualism consists of. On that account, as Edwards (1994), Cenoz (2009; 2013), Aiestaran (2003) or Kemp (2009) agreed and explained in their publications, multilingualism is a complex term that is constantly undergoing a process of refinement as well as supervision (Kemp, 2009), and that can be described through different perspectives or typologies.

Regardless of the various viewpoints through which multilingualism can be understood, as shall be seen in the following paragraph, some conceptualizations of this target term that have been provided by different scholars and that can be found in

the current literature are reviewed next. The European Commission (2008:6), for instance, defined this term as “the ability of societies, institutions, groups and individuals to engage, on a regular basis, with more than one language in their day-to-day lives”. Another definition is offered by Edwards (1994:25) that, alike the European Commission, described multilingualism as both “a simple description of global linguistic diversity and, at the same time, a representation of the individual and group abilities that have developed because of that very diversity”. Similarly, Cenoz (2009:2) explained that “multilingualism is at the same time an individual and a social phenomenon” and that it can “include different levels of proficiency in the different languages”.

1.3. Types of multilingualism

In order to gain a deeper understanding of what multilingualism is, in the subsequent lines a review of the different models or types of multilingualism will be offered. One of the most controversial distinctions is between bilingualism and multilingualism. Indeed, there is lack of agreement in the number of languages that need to be involved in multilingualism (Cenoz, 2013; Kemp, 2009). For this reason, Cenoz (2013:7) strategically distinguished “bilingualism as the generic term”, “multilingualism as the generic term” and “bilingualism and multilingualism as different terms”. Broadly speaking, as she noted, the first bilingualism has traditionally been employed to study the use of two languages; also it refers to the use of two languages, even though it can include more. “Multilingualism as the generic term” implies the use of two or more languages, for which reason bilingualism or trilingualism are some examples of multilingualism. Finally, as she well asserts, whereas some researchers have adopted the term bilingualism just to study the use of two languages, others have selected the word multilingualism to investigate the use of three or more languages. In this project, the word multilingualism will refer to the latter type of multilingualism (i.e. multilingualism related to three or more languages).

Another frequent distinction is between societal multilingualism and plurilingualism or individual multilingualism. As Aiestaran (2003), Cenoz (2009:2; 2013), the Council of Europe (n.d.) and Cenoz and Genesee (1998) pointed out, multilingualism can refer to the ability of an individual to use or have more than one language in their linguistic repertoire (i.e. plurilingualism or individual

multilingualism) or it can indicate the use of more than one language in a society or in a community of a “specific geographical area” (i.e. societal multilingualism). With regard to the former type of multilingualism, it has been shown that there are more multilingual individuals in those areas where minority or regional languages, such as Basque, Catalan, Gaelic, Breton or Irish, are spoken. In fact, it could be carefully claimed that these individuals frequently use a minority language, a dominant one, such as Spanish or French, as well as another additional language, which in most cases becomes English. With regard to this latter language, it occurs due to the spread of this language as a *lingua franca* (Canagarajah, 2007; Crystal, 1997; Seidlhofer, 2003). In other words, since English is worldwide used for functional purposes, such trade, technology and entertainment (Crystal, 1997), most schools and speakers have been trained in this target language. Finally, in terms of societal multilingualism, the most multilingual continents are Africa and Asia. In fact, according to the Ethnologue, whereas in Africa there are 2,139 living languages, in Asia there are 2,295.

Within the individual dimension, multilingual speakers can also be labeled in different typologies. Some possible classifications are related to the degree of competence or proficiency in the languages involved, to the way languages are added or subtracted in speakers’ linguistic repertoire, to the place in which languages have been learnt or acquired, finally, to the manner in which languages are actively or passively used. Regarding the degree of competence speakers have in their languages, different stances are often provided. Some think that in order to be considered legitimate multilinguals (Block, 2007) speakers need to have a native-like proficiency or a fully developed competence (Herdina & Jessner, 2002) in all the languages involved. Advocates of this assumption are often called maximalists (Aiestaran, 2003; Block, 2007; Cenoz, 2013; Cenoz and Gorter, 2011). On the other hand, other researchers believe that it is not necessary to reach a high command in the different languages in order to be treated as valid multilinguals, rather they think that incipient speakers (Herdina & Jessner, 2002) of different languages already need to be considered as legitimate multilinguals. On the light of these stances, it would be suitable that researchers avoid taking extreme postures. This means that multilingual speakers should be considered as such provided that they have not reached a native-like level. On the other hand, speakers should not be considered as such provided that

they only knew one or two words in that target language. On that account, all multilingual speakers that have developed at least a minimum basis to understand and communicate daily expressions as well as to give personal details or that are within the A1 level from the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages should, therefore, be regarded as legitimate multilinguals.

The previous distinction is parallel to the well known balanced and semilingual or unbalanced multilingualism. When speakers have the same control or proficiency over all the languages involved, then it is said that they are balanced multilinguals (Edwards, 1994; Herdina & Jessner, 2002). On the contrary, semilingual or unbalanced multilinguals are those individuals that are not fluent to the same extent in all the languages (Edwards, 1994; Herdina & Jessner, 2002). This second distinction, however, could be criticized on the grounds that behind the term semi there is the notion that they are not complete speakers, instead they are half or partial speakers. As previously said, regardless of speakers' proficiency in different languages, all multilingual speakers that can effectively communicate in a greater or lesser degree in different languages should be regarded as legitimate multilinguals. This is somehow related to Cenoz's (2013) idea that a balanced multilingualism is not a "requirement" to be considered multilingual speakers, also to the conception that multilingual speakers do not need to be as "two monolinguals" (Grosjean, 1989) or "two solitudes" in one mind (Cummins, 2008). In fact, as Aiestaran (2003) well pointed out, "a bilingual often uses the two languages in different contexts, with different people and for different purposes. As a consequence it is difficult for the bilingual person to have complete fluency in both languages in all domains".

As seen earlier, languages can be added or subtracted from speakers' linguistic repertoire. In other words, learning or acquiring second, third, Ln languages can be done with two objectives. Provided that the goal is to remove speakers' languages, which has often occurred to speakers of minority languages also to speakers of immigrant languages (i.e. students whose home languages are different to those of the school), then the type of multilingualism is *subtractive* (Lambert, 1974; Garcia & Flores, 2012). On the other hand, supposing individuals acquire other languages different to their home languages and with the purpose of adding it to their linguistic repertoire, without subtracting any language, then the type of multilingualism promoted is *additive* (Lambert, 1974; Garcia & Flores, 2012). In addition to these

two types of multilingualism, a third type of multilingualism has been recently included (De Bot, Lowie and Verspoor, 2007; Larsen-Freeman, 2002; Garcia and Sylvan, 2011; Herdina and Jessner, 2002). This is known as dynamic multilingualism and is described in the following terms:

This dynamic conceptualization goes beyond the notion of two autonomous languages, of an L1 and an L2, and of additive or subtractive bilingualism. Instead, dynamic bilingualism suggests that the language practices of all bilinguals are complex and interrelated; they do not emerge in a linear way (Garcia and Sylvan, 2011:388).

In this regard, dynamic multilingualism implies not only the addition of other languages, but also the constant use and reflection upon speakers' linguistic repertoire. Based on this definition, it could be concluded as well that the focus of this dynamic multilingualism is on the relationships between speakers' languages and on the influences they have in each other.

In relation to the context in which languages are learnt or acquired, there are two types of multilingualism: natural or primary and secondary multilingualism. In comparison with the other distinctions made thus far, it seems that in the current literature researchers have not shown as much interest in this distinction as in the other typologies. In fact, the number of publications in which scholars have included this distinction is significantly low. In spite of this, Aiestaran (2003) represented a detailed description of both primary and secondary multilingualism. According to him, children that have received more than one language from their parents and family are considered natural multilinguals. On the other hand, secondary multilingualism occurs when the language has been only acquired through formal instruction. Considering this differentiation, it could also be questionable whether speakers who have learnt or acquired an additional language during adulthood but without being explicitly instructed are natural or secondary multilinguals.

Last but not least, depending on speakers' ability in the four basic skills of reading, listening, speaking and writing, individuals can be classified as receptive or passive multilinguals as well as productive or active multilinguals. When speakers are able to understand and read an additional language, but they cannot write or speak, it means that they are receptive or passive multilinguals (Aronin and Hufessen,

2009; Aiestaran, 2003). Ten Thije and Zeevaert (2007) developed an extensive notion of passive multilingualism. They explained that individuals with this type of multilingualism use their L1 when speaking with each other (e.g. a speaker using Catalan and another using Spanish while interacting), since they can understand each other's messages in their respective languages. Provided that individuals can use all four basic skills, then they are labeled as productive multilinguals (Aiestaran, 2003). Given the fact that when learning additional languages individuals experience a silent period, that is, "a period of time before the acquirer actually starts to speak" (Kraschen, 1985) and in which the receptive skills are first developed (Spöttl & McCarthy, 2003), it could be pointed out that probably there are more receptive multilinguals than productive ones. This statement, however, cannot be strongly affirmed since it would be impossible to describe today's reality in terms of passive or active multilingualism.

2. MULTILINGUALISM AND EDUCATION

2.1. Multilingual education: general overview

2.1.1. Educational language policies in Europe

Education plays a paramount role in the growth of learners' awareness of language diversity, also in the development of positive attitudes towards multilingualism, and definitely, in the promotion of multilingual speakers. In the same vein, Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) and Cenoz (2009) also claimed that the value and status of languages in societies may increase or decrease depending on the amount of time educational settings devote in each language, also on the way languages are presented and used as medium of instruction or as subjects. On that account, that is, considering the function of education in training multilingual speakers, also in increasing or decreasing the prestige of languages, today there are a great number of institutions (e.g. European Union, the Council of Europe or UNESCO) that have conceived a series of educational language policies, which are involved in the promotion of multilingualism.

Since the broader context of this study is Europe, it is necessary to first review some of the European educational language policies. Before doing so, it is worth reporting and acknowledging that, as shall be seen, in all these policies the linguistic diversity of Europe is considered as an opportunity rather than as an obstacle

(Breslin, 2014). In other words, these policies do not contemplate this linguistic diversity as a language problem; instead they consider it as a right and as a valuable resource for the globe as well as for the citizens.

In terms of macro institutions in the European setting, the Council of Europe, which is an organization that is in charge of protecting human rights on different levels, has developed and implemented different common language education policies that are embodied in five dimensions. These are *plurilingualism*, within which they assure speakers the right to “develop a degree of communicative ability in a number of languages”; *linguistic diversity*, within which they are committed to guarantee that all languages from Europe are “equally valuable modes of communication and expressions of identity”; *mutual understanding*, meaning that all speakers need to have a opportunity to develop “intercultural communication” by learning and using languages; *democratic citizenship*, within which speakers are encouraged to “participate in democratic and social processes”; and finally, *social cohesion*, within which it is stated that speakers need to have equally of opportunities for “personal development, education, employment, mobility, access to information and cultural enrichment” (<http://www.coe.int>). As observed in these lines, all these policies positively promote multilingualism on an individual and societal level. However, it is also certain that, as Portolés (2015) interestingly exposes and as one could witness in the documents written by the Council of Europe, although holding such positive posture towards multilingualism, this organization only uses two official languages in their documents. These are French and English, which in turn, are two elite or prestigious languages.

In addition to the Council of Europe, the European Commission of Languages has also devised some regulations to deal with multilingualism. In this respect, their policies are planned with the purpose of pursuing three objectives, which are “to encourage language learning and promoting linguistic diversity in society, to promote a healthy multilingual economy, and to give citizens access to European Union legislation, procedures and information in their own languages.” (<http://ec.europa.eu/languages/policy>). Considering these goals, it could be underlined that this commission gives more importance to multilingualism related to economy and general society than to multilingualism related to individuals’ rights. In other words, whereas the Council of Europe puts emphasis on the speakers and

languages, the European Commission of Languages looks at the benefits multilingualism brings to society. Last but not least, it should also be pointed out another difference between both institutions. Whereas, in the Council of Europe only 2 languages are used in their documents, in the European Commission 24 languages are employed, although not all of them are equally used.

2.1.2. Linguistic models in multilingual education

Before analysing the different typologies of bilingual or multilingual education, one first needs to comprehend what multilingual education consists of. In this sense, the current literature offers a wide array of definitions, among which those proposed by Garcia (2009) and Cenoz (2009) need to be highlighted. Garcia (2009), for instance, considered bilingual or multilingual education when two or more languages are used as medium of instruction rather than as mere subjects. Furthermore, in their views, speakers' home languages are not rejected; instead they are also used as a medium of acquiring knowledge. Aligned to this notion of multilingualism, Cenoz (2009) underscored that in order to understand what is meant by multilingual one needs to look at the aims of the schools, therefore, at "whether the school aims at bilingualism or multilingualism or whether the school is called bilingual or multilingual because students speak different home languages" (Cenoz; 2009:26). According to her interpretations, multilingual education needs to refer to those schools that aim at bilingualism or multilingualism, since most students whose home languages are different to the ones used in the school rarely get the chance to develop literacy skills in their home languages. Although both notions are quite similarly, in this paper multilingual education will be used to refer to Cenoz's conceptualization of multilingualism (i.e. schools aiming at bilingualism and multilingualism).

Within bilingual education, furthermore, as Cenoz (2009:25) pointed out, it would be unfeasible and almost impossible to analyse all the typologies for different reasons. As she stated, it would be unpractical due to the fact that there are at least 250 typologies of bilingual education programs; also because the analysis of such schools can be carried out using different focuses –as seen previously-, or because "the sociolinguistic context in which each bilingual school is located also has specific characteristics". However, when it comes to schools where three or more languages are taught and where the foremost goal is promoting multilingualism and multiliteracy, as she explains, it seems that very few scholars, such as Darquennes

(2013), Baetens Beardsmore (1993), or Ytsma (2001) have tried to establish a typology of trilingual and multilingual education. Finally, as an alternative to a typology based on dichotomies or trichotomies, in 2009 Cenoz suggested the *Continua of Multilingual Education*. In the subsequent lines, some insights into the typologies of multilingual education that aim at multilingualism and multiliteracy of three or more languages will be given.

Darquennes (2013), for instance, proposed four models of multilingual education in Europe. These are multilingual education aimed primarily at the majority population, multilingual education aimed primarily at the indigenous-minority language population, multilingual education aimed primarily at the immigrant population within a state, and multilingual education aimed at an affluent international or elite audience. In terms of multilingual education addressed to the majority population, he explains that one of the most common trends across Europe is to teach a foreign language through content, also known as content and language integrated to language (CLIL). When it comes to the second type, emphasis is put on the fact that in some settings the minority language is compulsory used as the only medium of instruction (e.g. Catalan in Catalonia), in others both languages the minority and the majority serve as medium of instruction (e.g. Basque and Spanish in the Basque Country), and finally, in numerous locations the minority languages are taught as subject.

As far as multilingual education aimed at the immigrant population is concerned, it embraces all complementary schools, which are voluntary schools where children attend in out-of-school hours and where they are trained in their home languages (Creese & Blackledge, 2010). Finally, in the last group of schools, also known as European schools, “most pupils at the level of primary education have their first language as a language of instruction. A first foreign language (English, German, or French) is introduced in the first year of primary education and used as a language of instruction toward the end of primary and increasingly so in secondary education. And in some cases, a third or even a fourth language of instruction comes into play in secondary education, depending on the optional subjects that are chosen” (Darquennes, 2013:5). Since in Catalonia speakers’ are not segregated according to their languages, in this project multilingual education will be categorized within the one aimed at the majority of population.

Instead of labeling all multilingual educational programmes, Baetens Beardsmore (1993) proposed nine variables to categorize five typologies of multilingual education, which are Canadian immersion, Luxemburg, European schools, Foyer project, and Catalan/Basque bilingual education. In this respect, the variables that need to be considered when analysing a multilingual educational program are: nature of program, whether it aims at an additive or subtractive multilingualism; languages involved, such as home languages or other ones; outcome, meaning whether it aims at full multilingualism or not; population, whether it is a specific group or not; target language in environment; target language used by peers; final exams in more than one language; target language as a subject; and native-speakers teachers. Despite proposing five models of multilingual education, it is worth pointing out that, as said earlier, since not all contexts are the same, that is, since it can happen that not all educational systems may be enclosed within these five typologies, it would be more suitable to focus on the variables. Provided that attention is given to these variables, more typologies of multilingual education could probably arise.

Another way of classifying multilingual education is offered by Ytsma (2001), who suggested three criteria to describe trilingual education models. These criteria are the linguistic context in which the school is located, the linguistic distance between the three languages concerned, and the program or organizational design of the teaching and learning of the three languages. According to Ytsma (2001), the linguistic context refers to whether all the three languages in the trilingual (i.e. where the three languages are spoken), bilingual (i.e. where two of the languages are spoken) or monolingual area (i.e. where just one language is spoken) are regularly used. The linguistic distance between the three languages implies whether they are typological close or not. Finally, the way languages are learnt, which means whether all the three languages are studied at the same time (i.e. simultaneous program) or whether the third language is learnt once the speaker has obtained certain fluency in the other two languages (i.e. consecutive program), refers to the program design. As occurred with Baetens Beardsmore's (1993) proposal, and as Cenoz (2009) suggested, Ytsma's criteria is practical provided that one wishes to compare different models. Nonetheless, these criteria could receive criticism since it only embraces three variables. In this sense, other criteria should also be included.

Last but not least, in an attempt to propose an alternative to the existing taxonomies of multilingual education, Cenoz (2009:33) developed the *continua of multilingual education* (see Figure 1). As she stated, this continua is “more appropriate to represent the different variables than polar opposites also in the case of characterizing different types of multilingual education”. In other words, through these continua a wide array of different models and typologies can arise without having to be identical. It includes three variables, which are educational, linguistic and sociolinguistic, both at a macro and micro level. Within the educational, furthermore, four continua, which means that they can be less or more multilingual, are included. These are as follows: subject, in which emphasis is given on the languages taught as subjects, the integration of the different languages within the syllabus, as well as the intensity of instruction and the age of introduction. Language of instruction, which refers to the number and type of languages used as instruction and to the integration and coordination between teachers as well as syllabus of different languages. Teachers, in which teachers’ education in terms of language proficiency in different languages and specific training in multilingual education are considered. The last educational continuum is school context and it refers to the use of languages within the school setting, also to the linguistic landscape.

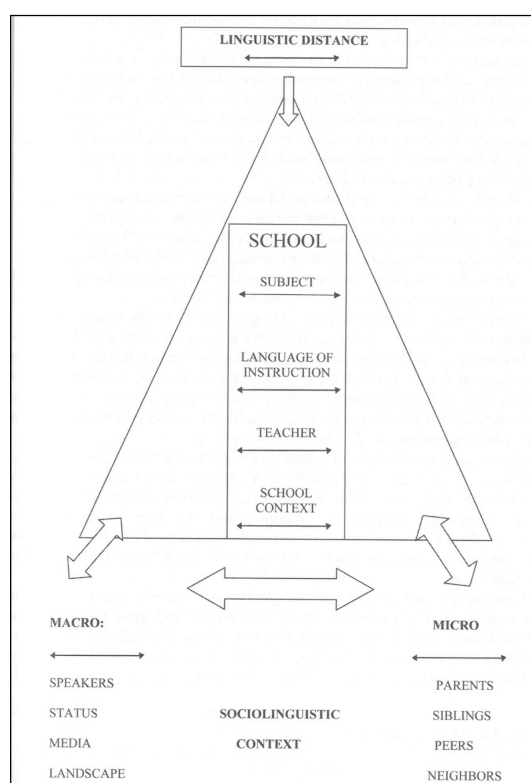


Figure 1 Continua of multilingual education
Source: Cenoz (2009)

In terms of linguistic variables, it involves the typological distance between languages. In this sense, the closer they are, the more relationships one will probably establish. However, it is also certain that languages can also share some linguistic features (e.g. in terms of phonology or lexicon), even if not being typologically or historically closed. Finally, the last variable included in this continua model is the sociolinguistic one. As Cenoz (2009:37) well reported, schools are part of society, for which reason the sociolinguistic features need to be included too in both in a macro and micro level. On that account, the aspects that need to be taken into consideration in a micro level are the “vitality of languages, number of speakers of the different languages, their status on a national and international level, and their use in the media or in the linguistic landscape”. When accounting for the sociolinguistic features in a micro dimension, attention is given to the students and the languages used in their social networks (e.g. family, peers, community).

2.2. Multilingual education: the case of Catalonia

2.2.1. Educational language policies in Catalonia

As Huguet (2007) stated, Catalonia is one of the three autonomous communities of Spain, alongside the Valencian Community and the Balearic Islands, where two Romance languages (i.e. the majority of which is Spanish and the minority is Catalan) hold an official and co-official status respectively (Article 6 - Parlament de Catalunya, 2016). In addition to these autonomous communities, it is worth highlighting that, albeit not being officially recognized, Catalan is also spoken by few inhabitants of other regions and countries, such as the narrow strip in Aragon (i.e. the Franja de Ponent), Andorra, the southeast of France (i.e. North Catalonia) or in the city of Alguer, which is located in the Italian island of Sardinia (See Figure 2).



Figure 2 Spread of Catalan

Source: http://www.llull.cat/espanyol/cultura/llengua_catala.cfm

In terms of educational language policies, after the end of the second Spanish dictatorship, that is, after 1975 and since the return of democracy, Catalonia has undergone a series of changes. Indeed, during the two dictatorships (i.e. Primo de Rivera –from 1923 to 1930- and Franco –from 1939 to 1975-), the use of Catalan and other minority languages from the country was forbidden because it was believed that the use of other languages and cultures different to the Spanish one would endanger the national cohesion. In other words, the well-known motto “one nation, one language” (Blackledge, 2000) was applied across the Spanish peninsula, for which reason the Catalan language and culture was harshly repressed. However, in 1983, that is, years later after the death of the second dictator Franco, the use and status of Catalan appeared to be strengthened with the earlier linguistic normalization law, also known as *Llei de Normalització Lingüística*, which was also supervised and modified in 1998 (Rodà-Bencells, 2009). In this respect, one of the measures implemented in order to restore the use of Catalan was the integration of that language in the public domain. This implied that Catalan was used as the vernacular language during students’ compulsory education (i.e. Primary and Secondary Education).

Although these measures were implemented, it seems that Spanish remained being little used within some non-obligatory education settings (i.e. Pre-Infant and Infant Education). According to the article 21.2, children until the age of 7 had the possibility to be instructed in one of their usual languages, which were Catalan or Spanish. In spite of that, as Rodà-Bencells (2009) reported, the option of enrolling Infant students in Spanish-based schools did not succeed as thought, as in most cases families brought their children in Catalan speaking schools. Regardless of the language selected, it is important to note as well that this law assured students to obtain a balanced bilingualism in both Spanish and Catalan by the end of their compulsory education. Finally, it is worth highlighting, as Huguet (2007:20) reported, that an “important part of the Spanish-speaking population has hold positive attitudes towards this education system” and has considered it as a “successful model”.

Two significant phenomena that have catheterized the 21st century, thus, that the Catalan educational language policies have faced is the international immigration and the promotion of teaching and learning foreign languages (Rodà-Bencells, 2009). As

for the international immigration, the sociolinguistic situation of Catalonia has become more linguistically diverse due to the flux of immigrations that started to arrive during the beginning of this century. In order to face such challenge, in 2004 the Catalan government developed a language and social cohesion plan, which was named as *Pla per a la Llengua i la Cohesió Social*. Broadly speaking, this plan was aimed at giving foreign students personalized assistance during their first years of schooling and at mediating all students in terms of intercultural communication and social cohesion. Indeed, a linguistic coordinator or mediator role was generated with the purpose of tackling such issues. Another measure that was included within this plan is the so-called *Plans Individualitzats*. These are curricular adaptations that are addressed to all the students, regardless of their linguistic background, that are attentive to the their individual needs, and that are later removed depending on these students' adaptations in their target schools. Last but not least, in 2008 both the Spanish and Catalan government initiated a movement through which to reinforce the teaching and learning of English as a foreign or additional language. In spite of all the educational language policies devised to promote multilingualism, it would be worth to further investigate whether Catalan schools really aim at multilingualism in terms of giving international students the chance to develop literacy skills in their home languages.

2.2.2. Linguistic models in multilingual education in Catalonia

Although different linguistic models in multilingual education have been proposed by few scholars, it is difficult to categorize Catalan schools within a typology of multilingual education since in each one there are different contextual variables. In this respect, since schools cannot be labeled within one typology, in this section an overview of the different ways schools from Catalonia deal with languages will be provided.

Even though during the linguistic normalization law students were allowed to receive their Infant Education in their home language, today it seems that most children follow education programmes that are immersed in the Catalan language. With the purpose of giving a detail perspective of the current linguistic situation, two sources will be considered. These are Huguet's (2007) work, in which he analysed all the linguistic models present in Catalonia, and the last curricular decree issued, which

is the DECRET 119/2015. In this sense, in terms of Nursery or Infant and Primary education, Huguet (2007) stated that:

[...] 73% of schools carry out all teaching in Catalan (58 % of private schools), 25% are in the process of implementing new courses totally in Catalan (29% of private schools) and the remaining 2% can be considered as a standstill, as a number of subjects are regularly taught in Catalan (13% of private schools) (Huguet, 2007:21).

As for Secondary Education, he reported that “30% of schools carry out all teaching in Catalan (66% of private schools), and 70% in both languages, with different levels of presence of each language in them (34% among private schools)” (Huguet 2007:21).

Last but not least, considering the DECRET 119/2015, during Primary Education, students need to do at least 1.050 hours of Catalan and Spanish as subjects, as well as 420 hours of a first foreign language, which in most cases is English. When it comes to Secondary Education, teachers need to give 315 hours of Catalan as a subject, 315 hours of Spanish as a subject too and 350 hours of a foreign language.

3. LANGUAGE ATTITUDES AND MULTILINGUALISM

3.1. Language attitudes: general overview

One area of research within the sociolinguistic paradigm that has widely drawn scholars' attention is concerned with attitudes to language. In fact, Adelina (2014) suggested that attitudes are important since they are reflected in all situations. For instance, they influence people's decisions and actions when choosing the goods to buy, also when selecting the political candidates to vote, when applying for jobs, when selecting the schools for the children, or when interacting with others. In the same vein, when it comes to the specific domain of language, Portolés (2015) accounted that such research in language attitudes is necessary as it can indicate the growth or decline of languages in contact within multilingual societies, also speakers' language choice and use. Finally, similarly, Cenoz (2009) also stated that language attitudes within multilingual education can be useful as well, as through them one can indirectly observe the way speakers' perceive the status of different languages (e.g. minority, majority and foreign languages; prestigious vs. non prestigious languages), also because one can understand the dynamics of society. In other words, how

individuals relate to each other within societies. Considering the crucial role of attitudes, in the next subsection some definitions provided by different authors will be offered.

3.1.1. Defining language attitudes

Given the crucial role attitudes play in multilingualism, it may be helpful to first look at the way different well-known scholars have conceptualized the term attitudes, and then, to focus on the commonalities that exist across all the definitions. In this respect, since definitions can vary in a lesser or greater extent between them, some of the most influential authors, such as Allport (1954), Sarnoff (1970), Oppenheim (1982), Gardner (1985), Baker (1992) or Garrett (2010), will be offered. If comparing all definitions, as shall be seen, it is worth pointing out that cognitive, evaluative and behavioural elements (Wenden, 1991) are almost always present. On that account, Allport (1954), who has been one of the pioneers in defining attitudes, described such term as “a learned disposition to think, feel and behave towards a person (or object) in a particular way”. Furthermore, interestingly, he also explained that such attitudes cannot be directly observed, for which reason they need to be inferred through human’s behaviour and actions. In this definition, therefore, the terms think and behave implies cognitive and behavioural elements respectively.

Sarnoff (1970) extended Allport’s definition by stating that attitudes are “dispositions to react favorably or unfavorably to a class of objects”. In his definition, two important aspects need to be highlighted. Firstly, Sarnoff acknowledged that attitudes are expressed through behavioral elements (i.e. by reacting). Secondly, he introduced the evaluative nature of attitudes by claiming that individuals can react favorably or positively as well as unfavorably or negatively. Oppenheim (1982, cited in Garrett, 2010) also gave another definition that is similar to the one provided by Allport in that attitudes cannot be directly seen or caught and in that they are cognitively related, but it differ in that Oppenheim’s definition was more elaborated. In this regard, this latter author saw attitudes as:

A construct, an abstraction which cannot be directly apprehended. It is an inner component of mental life which express itself, directly or indirectly, through much more obvious process as stereotypes, beliefs, verbal statements or reactions, ideas and opinions, selective recall, anger or

satisfaction or some other emotion and in various other aspects of behavior (Oppenheim, 1982, cited in Garrett, 2010:19).

Following Sarnoff's definition, Gardner (1985:9) also emphasized the behavioral and evaluative dimension of attitudes and the fact that they need to be deduced through different individual manifestations, such as beliefs or opinions. In this sense, he claimed that attitudes are "an evaluative reaction to some referent or attitude object, inferred on the basis of the individual's belief or opinions about the referent". Complementary to Gardner's conceptualization, Baker (1992:10) included the cognitive nature of attitudes and continued emphasizing the role of behavior in manifesting such attitudes. In this sense, he defined them as "an hypothetical construct used to explain the direction and persistence of human behavior". In addition to this definition, the author also characterized attitudes as not being inherited, as being learnt, as having the tendency of persisting over time, although they may also be modified according to individuals' experiences, finally, as varying in a continuum from more favorable to less unfavorable.

Finally, Garrett (2010:20) underscored that attitudes are "an evaluative orientation to a social object of some sort, whether it is a language, or a new government policy, etc.". Taking into account this last definition, it could be claimed that attitudes do not merely need to be seen or related to a cognitive perspective (i.e. something that occurs in individuals' mind), but also to a social dimension. Last but not least, considering all the definitions given thus far, also in an attempt to offer a definition that embraces all them, it could be safely stated that attitudes are cognitive constructs that are expressed in the form of evaluative feelings, opinions or behaviours (e.g. liking something or not) towards different social objects, such as languages, or situations that are created according to individuals' experiences and in relation to the environment.

In the previous paragraphs, an effort to describe the nature and main features of attitudes has been made. Now, however, the term will be narrowed down and the focus will be on attitudes related to languages. In this sense, since the term language is too broad, Baker (1992) distinguished different types of attitudes, which are towards languages (e.g. Spanish, Cantonese or French), language varieties or dialects (e.g. English spoken in Wales, Scotland, Spain, or Italy), speakers of a specific language or variety (e.g. people from Wales speaking English, people from Spain

speaking English, or people from Italy speaking English), language learning (e.g. the process of learning English), the learning situation (e.g. the hours spent learning English, the teacher of English), and the language related behaviour (e.g. language use or language maintenance). The attitudes that will be analysed within this study could be classified within the first typologies of attitudes, which are towards languages. In spite of that, it needs to be highlighted that the attitudes towards the languages will not be analysed separately, instead it will be approached holistically. In other words, rather than focusing on each of the languages (i.e. Catalan as the minority language, Spanish as the majority language, and English as the foreign or additional language), in this study the focus will be on all the languages together; that is, on multilingualism.

Among the studies published, two main approaches, one of which has extensively been used, have been generally employed to analyse such speakers' attitudes. Regarding the first approach, known as traditional, languages have been examined as separated units and later compared. That is, researchers have analysed students' attitudes "towards each of the languages one by one" (Cenoz, 2009: 182) and later they have compared them. Huguet (2007), Lasagabaster (2005), Huguet, Lapresa and Madariaga (2008), for instance, are some scholars that have used this discrete approach to analyse speakers' attitudes towards a majority, a minority, and a foreign language. On the contrary, few authors have decided to examine attitudes towards multilingualism holistically, whereby languages are combined instead of being separated. Among the scarce research, that is, among those studies in which this latter perspective has been adopted, one can find Aiestaran, (2003), Lasagabaster (2009) or Portolés (2015). In this respect, as most authors agree, the results obtained through the traditional approach, in which languages are treated separately, significantly differed from those results obtained through a holistic approach. As most authors report in their studies, through this holistic perspective individuals are more capable to understand that different languages can coexist within a same space, for which reason their attitudes towards multilingualism are usually more positive.

3.1.2. Measurement techniques

As Garrett (2010) reports, language attitudes can be examined using direct or indirect measures. When it comes to direct measures, questions related to languages are straightly asked to the participants. In this sense, as he explained, "they are

invited to articulate explicitly what their various attitudes are to various language phenomena” (Garrett, 2010:29). Within this measure, furthermore, the most common techniques employed are questionnaires, such as the Thurstone’s scaling (1931), the Likert’s scaling (1932), or self-reports. In terms of indirect methods, as Garrett (2010) described, the study of language attitudes takes place using more subtle, even deceptive techniques, instead of asking directly questions. Some of the techniques employed are the matched guise technique, in which students hear an audio and respond according to this stimulus, or simply observations. Since providing a detailed analysis of each of the techniques used is not within the scope of this project, during chapter 2 some insights into the measures and techniques actually employed for this investigation will be given.

3.1.3. Studies on attitudes towards multilingualism

Over the past years, attitudes towards languages in bilingual and multilingual communities, where a majority, a minority, and sometimes, a foreign language coexist, have been a central topic in the field of multilingualism (Lasagabaster, 2009; Sharp et al. 1973; Lasagabaster, 2003; Lasagabster, 2005; Huguet, 2006; Huguet, Lapresa and Madariaga, 2008; Dewaele, 2005; Aiestaran, 2003; Bilaniuk, 2002). In most cases, furthermore, the way different variables (e.g. gender, age, students’ L1 or the sociolinguistic context of the participants) influence on shaping speakers’ attitudes has been analysed. In this regard, some studies concerned with examining the impact of gender and students’ L1 on their attitudes towards multilingualism will be provided below and following a chronological order. Last but not least, before doing so, it also needs to be noted that all the studies introduced below have followed a discrete approach; hence, all the languages have not been considered holistically.

In accordance with the lines above, Sharp et al. (1973) examined students’ attitudes towards the majority language English and the minority language Welsh, as well as the influence of different variables (i.e. linguistic background, age, length of residence and gender) on shaping speakers’ attitudes towards each of the language. In this sense, 12000 participants that were living in Wales and ranging from 10 to 14 years old were asked to fill a Thurstone scale. Through the results, they found out that the attitudes towards English influenced their attitudes towards Welsh. Furthermore, it seems that the age impacted on their attitudes in that the older the students were the less positive attitudes towards the minority language and vice

versa, that is, the more negative attitudes towards English. In terms of gender, girls usually expressed more favorable attitudes than boys when it comes to the minority language, but not when it comes to the majority language. As for the linguistic background, students that attended bilingual schools where the two languages were used had more positive attitudes towards Welsh.

Bilaniuk (2002) based his investigation in Ukraine and used a matched-guise technique to analyse participants' attitudes towards two foreign languages, which are English and Russian, as well as the language of the country, that is, Ukrainian. The findings demonstrated that women generally rated more positive attitudes towards the foreign languages. On the other hand, it seems that men expressed more favourable attitudes towards Ukrainian.

In 2003, Lasagabaster distributed a questionnaire based on Baker's questionnaire to university trainees with the objective of analysing whether students' L1 impacted on their attitudes. These speakers had Spanish, Basque or both languages as their L1. The findings obtained showed that speakers whose L1 was the majority language (i.e. Spanish) expressed more positive attitudes towards this language than towards the minority one (i.e. Basque). On the other hand, those students whose L1 was Basque showed more favorable attitudes towards this minority language than towards Spanish.

Dewaele (2005) examined 100 Flemish high-school students' attitudes towards French and English, both of which were foreign languages, and linked these attitudes to different variables, such as students' degree of introversion and extroversion, level of anxiety and self-perceived competence in each of the languages, social class, gender, frequency of using each of the languages, and policultural identity. When it comes to gender, it seems that it significantly influenced because girls' attitudes towards French were more positive than boys' attitudes. Nonetheless, as for the foreign language English, gender did not influence at all.

During this same year, Lasagabaster (2005) also conducted a study in the Basque Country and analysed the attitudes of 1087 undergraduate students towards Basque, Spanish and English. He used an adaptation of Baker's (1992) instrument and took into account different variables, among which there was students' L1. Interestingly, his findings demonstrated that, when it comes to minority languages, participants' L1

did not influence on their attitudes. Indeed, out of 14 variables, the L1 was not among the first four variables that affected participants' favorable attitudes towards this minority language. Instead, degree of competence in this target language, sociolinguistic context, age and gender were the factors that affected students' positive attitudes towards this minority language. Regarding the majority language, participants' sociolinguistic context and L1 were the independent variables that most influenced their positive attitudes towards Spanish. Finally, in terms of English, students' language proficiency in that target language was the element that most shaped their attitudes.

Similarly to the previous research conducted by Lasagabaster, in a study carried out in Asturias and Aragon and with secondary school students, Huguet (2006) also found that those speakers that had Asturian and Catalan as their home languages held more favorable attitudes towards these languages than towards Spanish. In the same vein, speakers whose L1 was Spanish showed more positive attitudes towards this majority language than towards the other minority languages (i.e. Asturian and Catalan). Finally, they also compared students' attitudes in terms of attending Catalan or Asturian lessons. On that account, students that had been trained or that had had one of these languages as a subject had more positive attitudes towards these minority languages than those who had not been taught in these target language subjects.

A year later, Huguet (2007) presented similar results. That time, however, Huguet based his study on Catalonia and examined tertiary education students' attitudes towards Catalan, Spanish and English as well as the variables that could influence speakers' attitudes towards each language. In this respect, students had to complete a questionnaire that was based on Baker (1992) and modified by Huguet and Lasagabaster (2007). Regarding the section of the questionnaire dealing with attitudes, participants had to complete a five-point Likert-scale for each language. The results demonstrated that the minority language, that is Catalan, was the most favorable language and that the majority language Spanish as well as the foreign language English had more neutral attitudes. Furthermore, the author pointed out that the independent variable that most influenced participants' decision regarding the majority and minority language was their L1. This means that speakers whose L1 was Catalan demonstrated more positive attitudes towards this language than bilingual

speakers of Spanish and Catalan as well as than monolinguals speakers of Spanish. In the same vein, bilingual speakers' attitudes to Catalan were more favorable oriented than those of speakers whose L1 was Spanish. On the contrary, speakers whose L1 was Spanish showed more favorable attitudes towards this international language than monolinguals of Catalan as well as than bilingual speakers. With regard to English, the factor that seemed to higher influence speakers' attitudes is the fact of having visited an English speaking country. Finally, he also demonstrated that other variables, such as gender or professional status, did not significantly influenced speakers' attitudes.

In 2007, in Friesland, Ytsma examined university trainees' attitudes towards Frisian, Dutch and English, also the way different variables (i.e. gender, L1, socioprofessional status, age at which began to learnt English, and ever visited an English-speaking country) impacted on participants' attitudes. When it comes to gender, Ytsma reported that it did not significantly influence students' attitudes towards Frisian and English. Nevertheless, as she interestingly explained, male students showed more positive oriented attitudes towards Dutch than females did. As for participants' L1, it substantially impacted on speakers' attitudes. Specifically, monolingual speakers of Frisian had more favorable attitudes towards this language than bilingual speakers of Dutch and Frisian and monolingual speakers of Dutch. At the same time, these bilingual speakers demonstrated more positive attitudes towards Frisian than Dutch participants did. Something similar occurred with Dutch. Speakers' whose L1 was Dutch or both, Dutch and Frisian, hold more favorable attitudes than speakers with Frisian as their L1. Last but not least, in terms of English, the attitudes of those speakers' whose L1 was Dutch were more positive oriented than the attitudes of speakers' whose L1 was Frisian.

In 2008, Huguet, Lapresa and Madariaga carried out a study in the autonomous community of Aragon and examined participants' attitudes towards the minority languages Aragonese and Catalan, also towards the majority one (i.e. Spanish), and towards the foreign languages French and English. They used a questionnaire created by the Teaching Department of Catalan of the Generalitat de Catalunya, which was delivered to secondary school students from all areas of Aragon. The findings showed that the minority language Catalan obtained the most unfavourable results from all the languages. On the other hand, students demonstrated more positive

attitudes towards Spanish, Aragonese, English and French. In terms of independent variables, students that lived in a Spanish Catalan bilingual area and whose home language was Catalan expressed more favorable attitudes towards this minority language. Likewise, students that lived in a Spanish monolingual area demonstrated more positive attitudes towards this language. In this sense, it could be claimed that learners' home languages influenced their positive attitudes towards the Spanish and Catalan. However, when it comes to Aragonese, English and French, as the authors reported, participants' home language did not seem to influence their attitudes.

Considering all these studies, it could be concluded that in terms of gender, in most of them women seemed to have more positive attitudes towards the minority or foreign languages (Sharp. et al, 1973; Bilaniuk, 2002; Lasagabaster, 2005). On the other hand, men's attitudes were more favorable oriented to the majorities or national languages (Bilaniuk, 2002; Ytsma, 2007). Finally, it also seems that only in one of the studies, which was conducted by Huguet (2007), gender did not influence on speakers' attitudes towards minorities, majorities or foreign languages. As far as the variable L1 is concerned, it could be stated that speakers' home languages significantly impacted on their attitudes. In this respect, there seems to be a strong consensus in that speakers whose L1 was a majority language demonstrated more favorable attitudes towards this majority language than speakers' whose home language was a minority language or both, a majority and a minority language, and vice versa (Lasagabaster, 2003; Lasagabaster, 2005; Huguet, 2006; Huguet, 2007; Ytsma, 2007; Huguet, Lapresa and Madariaga, 2008).

3.1.3.1. Studies using a holistic approach

In addition to these studies, few scholars have attempted to examine attitudes towards bilingualism and multilingualism, although from a holistic perspective in which languages are treated as a whole rather than as separate units. Among these scarce studies, the ones conducted by Aiestaran (2003) and Lasagabaster (2009) need to be emphasized because, besides using an integrated focus, they also employed a questionnaire with the same items used in this project. For this reason, the results obtained in these studies will be used to compare and contrast the ones elicited in this project. Aiestaran (2003) conducted a study in the province of Araba, which is located in the Basque Country, and used the Baker's questionnaire to analyse attitudes towards bilingualism (i.e. Spanish and Basque). The target subjects were

secondary students who, by the time the study was conducted, were attending different models of bilingual education. The models were A, in which Spanish is used as language for instruction and Basque is introduced as a second language subject; B, in which students receive 50% of the instruction in Spanish and the other 50% in Basque; and D, in which all the instruction is carried out in Basque. In this respect, students attending model A expressed less favorable attitudes towards bilingualism, specifically, when it comes to the linguistic landscape (e.g. road signs should be in Spanish and Basque, the public advertising should be bilingual, among others). Finally, as one could expect, students attending model D held the most positive attitudes towards bilingualism. In terms of gender, there were not significant differences.

Lasagabaster (2009) also investigated within the Basque Country the attitudes of speakers that were enrolled in model D. Additionally, he also compared the attitudes of those students who were being taught through CLIL as well as of those students who were being instructed through the traditional approach, that is, in which English is taught as a foreign language (i.e. EFL). The findings obtained showed that, in general, CLIL students had more positive oriented attitudes towards trilingualism than students that were attending EFL lessons. In spite of this, it seems that, as he reported, EFL and CLIL students held the same type of favorable attitudes when it comes to item 5, which was related to the fact that “*Knowing Spanish, Basque and English helps to get a job*”. On the other hand, in the following items “*People who speak Basque, Spanish and English can have more friends* and *I feel pity for those who cannot speak Basque, Spanish and English*” students of both groups expressed their lower degree of agreement.

PART 2
EMPIRICAL STUDY

4. OBJECTIVES AND HYPOTHESES

Extensive research illustrates that multilingual education cannot be denied, since multilingualism has been part of our societies for more than millennia. In this respect, it has been demonstrated that multilingual education plays a paramount role in forming multilingual speakers as well as in shaping their attitudes towards different languages in contact. Such attitudes, indeed, may have a straight impact on the use of different languages, hence, on the decay or flourish of minority, majority and foreign or additional languages (Portolés, 2015; Cenoz, 2009). This is as such because the more favorable attitudes towards multilingualism, the greater the likelihood to maintain multiple languages alive. Considering the influence of multilingual education on developing attitudes towards multilingualism, there has been growing concern with examining the variables that may impact on a continuum of more favorable to less favorable attitudes. However, few studies have aimed at analysing these variables from a holistic perspective, in which languages are considered holistically rather than as separate units (Cenoz, 2009).

For this reason, based on current research, the objectives of this present study are:

- (i) To explore the language use of Catalan schoolchildren in different contexts.
- (ii) To examine Catalan schoolchildren's language attitudes towards trilingualism.
- (iii) To examine the impact of three different variables on Catalan schoolchildren's attitudes towards trilingualism

Finally, the hypotheses taken into account for the third objective are:

HYP1 There is significant difference between speakers' attitudes towards trilingualism depending on the number of languages they perceive they speak.

HYP2 There is not significant difference between speakers' attitudes towards trilingualism depending on their gender.

HYP3 There is significant difference between speakers' attitudes towards trilingualism depending on their L1, in terms of being a minority language, a majority language, or both, a minority and a majority language.

5. RESEARCH DESIGN

5.1. Paradigm

Setting the paradigm of an investigation is one of the preliminary steps one needs to take when conducting research, as it determines both, the way researchers understand research and the way investigation is carried out. In fact, in order to further understand the reasons for which research paradigms are important when conducting investigations, some definitions of this term are next reviewed. Swan and Pratt, (2005:207), for example, defined it as a “set of assumptions which a group of scientists or other theorists share, and which forms a basis for their investigations”. Similarly, Husén (1988) explained that a paradigm “determines the criteria according to which one selects and defines problems of enquiry and how one approaches them theoretically and methodologically”. Bogdan and Bilken (1998:22) also described such concept as "a loose collection of logically related assumptions, concepts, or propositions that orient thinking and research". Finally, Sabariego (2009:65) depicted paradigms as “*aproximaciones o modos de acercamiento en el estudio de la realidad*”. On that account, it could be then concluded that depending on the perspectives through which researchers study the world and particular phenomena, also depending on the objectives one hopes to reach when conducting an investigation research paradigms may vary. For this reason, a same researcher could select different paradigms in each of their investigations. In other words, a same researcher may not use the same paradigm for all of their studies. This is aligned with Tribe’s (2001) words in that there may be distinct paradigms and in that, regardless of the paradigm, all of them offer different ways of doing things.

In light of the current literature, three typologies of research paradigms have been settled. These are: logical empiricism or positive, interpretative and critic (Sabariego, 2009). Since it is not within the scope of this project to review each paradigm, the only paradigm followed to conduct this study will be analysed and explained. In this regard, the positive one, which is not frequently employed within the social science, has been applied. This is as such because the ultimate goal of this project is to explain and control phenomena (i.e. objectives one and two) as well as predict and generalize laws, rules and hypothesis (i.e. the third objective and the hypotheses related to this latter goal). Also, given the fact that the researcher has taken an independent or neutral role, and has not been influenced by value judgments; that is, since the

researcher has not had to interpret data in terms of contributing subjectively, the study has been positive in nature. In addition to all this, it could also be certainly asserted that a positivist paradigm has been shadowed because, as Sabariego (2009) pointed out, the instruments used within this paradigm are tests, questionnaires, and systematic observations. In this occasion, the instruments employed are questionnaires. This, however, will be later explained in section 5.3.

5.2. Method

Within each study, furthermore, different methods can be followed. In this respect, methods refer to the specific manner through which the study will be conducted in order to reach the goals proposed (i.e. depending on the objectives one wishes to achieve). In this sense, methods can vary in different degrees. When it comes to methods related to the quantitative methodology, in general, the most common ones are descriptive studies, development studies, comparative-causal studies, and correlational studies (Mateo, 2009). On that account, the methods employed for this project are descriptive and correlational. Indeed, it is descriptive in terms of the first objective, and correlational in terms of the second and third objective. As for the descriptive method, it is as such because the goal is to describe participants' language use and choice. As far as the correlational study is concerned, it is as such because the goal of the second and third objective is to find out whether there is a relationship between different independent variables (i.e. perception of number of languages spoken, gender, and L1) and the dependent variable (i.e. their attitudes towards trilingualism). A more detailed explanation of the variables involved is given below.

5.2.1. Variables

In this study there are different variables involved in the second and third objective. In terms of dependent variables, which are *attitudes towards trilingualism*, they are operationalized as favorable or positive, neutral, and unfavorable or negative. When it comes to independent variables, which are *perception of number of languages spoken, gender, and type of L1*, they are operationalized next.

1. *Perception of number of languages spoken*: Perception of being a speaker of one language (monolingual), a speaker of two languages (bilingual), a speaker of three languages (trilingual), or a speaker of more than three languages (others).
2. *Gender*: Female or Male.
3. *Type of L1*: Majority language, minority language, or both majority and minority language.

Finally, the control variable for *perception of number of languages spoken*, which is constant and unchanging throughout the study, is the curriculum. In fact, the curriculum establishes that children that have attended Catalan schools must have developed a high degree of proficiency in Catalan and Spanish as well as an elementary proficiency in English by the end of their Primary Education. To put it differently, the curriculum guarantees that by the end of Primary Education students will have developed some abilities to communicate in three different languages. On that account, since among the participants there may probably be students that have been attending Catalan schools for less than 4 years, hence, as it cannot be taken for granted that students will have gained some elementary competence (i.e. a competence which allows them to communicate effectively) in all the three languages, they have been discarded.

5.3. Instruments

As seen earlier, one of the most common instruments or techniques used within the positivist paradigm and the correlational methods is the questionnaire. In this regard, a direct questionnaire (Tejada, 1997) (i.e. a questionnaire that was handed in to students) was employed for this project. This tool was selected because through questionnaires information can be elicited in a methodological way and can “attenuate and prevent differences in the way questions are asked” to the participants (Aiestaran, 2014:160). Also, it has been chosen because it is highly recommended if wishing to treat data statistically and to compare answers between groups (Dörnyei, 2003). On that account, the type of questionnaires that are frequently used within this methodology and paradigm are closed and structured (Bisquerra, 2009), for which reason in all the questions participants need to respond without introducing text. In other words, subjects need to choose from different answers that have already been given. In this study, however, a semi-open and structured questionnaire was

employed. Indeed, in the first part of the questionnaire open structured questions, in which subjects had to introduce a word, were included in order not to influence students' responses (e.g. in question 1 *Quines llengües parles*). That is, the languages were not included since it could guide students' response, therefore, on the number of languages included. On the other hand, in the second part of it there were closed structured questions.

In the present study, an adaptation of two questionnaires designed by Lasagabaster (2009) as well as Lasagabaster and Huguet (2007), which in turn both of them were based on Baker's (1992) questionnaire, was employed. In fact, this specific questionnaire was selected because it embraces a holistic approach, whereby all languages are combined, and because it has validity. In this respect, the questionnaire was divided into two sections (see appendix 1). In the first part, in which open-ended questions were included, the items focused on eliciting data related to students' profile, for example, personal information and use of languages. In the second section all the items were concerned with obtaining students' attitudes toward trilingualism. With regard to the latter part, a Likert-scale type was employed. It contained 24 items all of which made reference to the majority, minority and foreign language of the target multilingual setting to which the questionnaire was addressed (i.e. Spanish, Catalan and English respectively). In this regard, students had to indicate the extent to which they agreed (1), neither agreed or disagreed (2), or disagreed (3) on a scale of three.

In relation to the scale, it needs to be highlighted that it was divided in "factors or dimensions" (Lasagabaster, 2009: 32). As Lasagabaster notes, the first dimension was related to "attitudes towards trilingualism regarding knowledge, job possibilities, and the age to start learning the 3 languages"; the second one was related to the "social presence of trilingualism"; the third one involved "cognitive and economical benefits of trilingualism"; the fourth dimension included "attitudes towards the learning of the three languages"; finally, the fifth one referred to "attitudes towards the social benefits of trilingualism" (Lasagabaster, 2009:32). Last but not least, it needs to be pointed out that some modifications were carried out in comparison to the original questionnaire. For instance, the former questions and statements, which were written in English, were translated into Catalan. Also, when it comes to the Likert-scale, instead of using a five point Likert-scale, in this occasion a three point Likert-

scale was employed. Indeed, it was as such due to the target participants' age (i.e. due to their young age). Provided that students had had more options among which to choose, they could have struggled in terms of deciding and selecting their responses.

Before delivering the questionnaire to the participants, a pilot trial was conducted. Tejada (1997), Sagabaster (2009) and Bisquerra (2009) agreed in that a pilot questionnaire is necessary since through this trial researchers can detect possible errors or explore whether they have influenced in some of the responses, among others. In this respect, a pilot trial was done with a group of 37 students. Since the questionnaire was adopted from another that had already been validated, only one error could be detected. Two statements were included twice, for which reason they required to be modified. With this readjustment, the questionnaire was correct; hence, it could be delivered to a wider sample of population

5.4. Participants

The participants selected for this study comprised 137 schoolchildren that were enrolled in their last year of Primary Education (11 and 12 years old) at three different schools (i.e. one private and two public schools) in the province of Barcelona. Among the participants, however, 5 students were discarded. This decision was taken because these target students had been attending a Catalan school for less than 4 years or because they did not write the numbers of years of their schooling within a Catalan school. In this respect, they were excluded due to the fact that it could not be guaranteed that they had some type of ability in Catalan, Spanish and English (see Table 1).

The reason for choosing participants that were attending their last course of Primary Education and aged 11 and 12 is that during this age children start to move from their childhood to their adulthood, for which reason they can start to critically reflect on abstract (Piaget, 1964) statements and topics, such as the ones related to languages in contact. Furthermore, it could also be stated that this period of age becomes interesting to analyse due to the fact that their attitudes may be "purer" in terms of not being influenced to the same extent as the ones belonging to older speakers. In other words, given the fact that speakers of 11 and 12 years old have had fewer experiences with the environment than older speakers, their attitudes may result in being "cleaner".

Table 1 Years of schooling in a Primary Education School from Catalonia

		Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage
Valid	4	2	1.5	1.5
	5	3	2.3	2.3
	7	1	.8	.8
	8	9	6.8	6.8
	9	117	88.6	88.6
	Total	132	100.0	100.0

5.5. Procedure

In order to conduct the study different steps were taken. Firstly, by the second half of May, I initially contacted, through e-mail as well as telephone calls, with the head master or the head of studies of eight schools. Within each of these communications I introduced myself and explained the reason for which I was carrying out the study, hence, for which I required their permission to distribute a questionnaire to their sixth grade students. With the purpose of understanding what the questionnaire consisted of, I sent them a sample of it to each of the schools and told them the estimated length of it (15 minutes approximately). Since I received very few responses, during the first week of June, I then decided to contact face-to-face with five more schools. Three out of these five schools confirmed their permission to deliver the questionnaires.

Due to incompatibilities with my job schedule, I could only be present in one of the schools when the pupils were completing the questionnaires. Despite of this, the teachers that delivered the questionnaires were explicitly instructed, in terms of not influencing students' responses. Furthermore, provided that students requested questions, they were asked to say, for instance, "*has de posar el que tu creguis, ja que tot estarà bé; si estàs indecís pensa en la opció que més t'agradi o en la que més hi creguis*". Also, some information about what the study was about was given to the teachers and students, without giving too much detail. In this sense, they were told that the objective of the questionnaire was to obtain information with topics related to languages. Emphasis was also put on the fact that it was not an exam, therefore, that I was only interested in their personal opinion, for which reason all their responses would not be either correct or incorrect. It was highlighted and guaranteed as well

that all the responses would be treated confidentially and anonymously. Finally, by the mid of June, that is, before starting the school holidays, all the questionnaires were collected.

5.6. Data analysis

Data was statistically analysed with the software package SPSS version 22. Before doing so, however, the first part of the questionnaire was examined separately. In this sense, students' answers were grouped in terms of combinations of languages. Then, *frequencies* tables were used to describe the participants' profile as well as to reach the first and second objectives. For the third objective *crosstabs* were preferred. In fact, as Rodríguez, Pozo and Gutiérrez (2007) explained, crosstabs are predominantly used to verify the relationships between two or more variables. In this occasion, they were used to verify whether there was a relationship between gender and speakers' attitudes towards trilingualism, also between the perception of number of languages spoken and speakers' attitudes, finally, between the type of L1 and students' attitudes. In this sense, participants' attitudes were analysed and compared in subgroups (e.g. boys and girls; bilinguals, and trilinguals and speakers of more than three languages; and speakers whose L1 is a minority language, majority language or both majority and minority languages).

Finally, to find out whether there was significant differences between subgroups, also whether these differences were random or not, the Fisher's Exact Test was employed. Indeed, initially the Chi-square was used, but because of the small size of the sample (remember it was 132), that is, since in some cells the expected frequencies were less than 5, this Pearson's test became notoriously unreliable. For these reasons, this test was replaced by the Fisher's Exact Test, which did give the exact P value. In this sense, provided that the P value was bigger than 0.05 no significant differences were attributed. On the contrary, if the P value was smaller than 0.05, then significant differences were attributed.

6. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

6.1. Speakers' profile

6.1.1. Frequencies of the independent variables

The characteristics of the participants in terms of gender, perception of the languages spoken, and their L1 (i.e. minority, majority or both, minority and majority languages) are presented here. As for gender, considering the final sample, it could be stated that it is proportionally equilibrated in terms of gender, since 51.5 % of them are boys and 48.5% are girls. Table 2 shows this distribution, alongside the absolute number of students.

Table 2 Participants distribution by gender

		Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage
Valid	Girl	68	51.5	51.5
	Boy	64	48.5	48.5
	Total	132	100.0	100.0

When it comes to the perception of the number and type of languages spoken (see Table 3 and 4), interestingly more than half of all the speakers regard themselves as trilingual speakers. Within this percentage, moreover, it is visible that the vast majority of speakers consider themselves as speakers of Catalan, Spanish and English (92.9%). In addition, it is interesting to note that among these speakers, as it will be seen in Table 4, very few participants have English as their L1. This means that for almost all participants English is learnt as an additional language and is part of their linguistic repertoire. The other percentage of trilingual speakers (7.1%), on the other hand, does not embrace English within their linguistic repertoire. Nevertheless, given the fact that their L1 are other than Catalan and Spanish, they do claim that are trilingual speakers of Spanish, Catalan and another language different to English (e.g. German, Romanian, Portuguese, Arabic, French or Thai). On that account, this subgroup could be similar to the one integrated by bilingual speakers (i.e. speakers of Catalan and Spanish) in that they do not embrace English as one of their languages.

In relation to the bilingual speakers, although having abilities in communicating at least in three languages (Catalan, Spanish and English), since all the target students have been learning these languages at school for more than four years, 25.8% of the participants sees themselves as bilingual speakers of Catalan and Spanish. This means that they may see English as a foreign language, instead of an additional one that is included in their linguistic repertoire. Hence, as a language that they are not related to. Another possible explanation is that in order to be regarded as speakers of English they may think that they need to have the same proficiency or mastery level as in their other two languages (i.e. Catalan and Spanish). In other words, to be considered trilingual speakers they could believe that they need to be balanced trilinguals in all the languages. In spite of this, it should be acknowledged the fact that it is only a tinny proportion of participants that are in this position.

If looking at Table 3 and 4, one could realize that the next sizable proportion of speakers is labeled as speakers of more than three languages (16.7%). This is significant since, as stated in the theoretical framework, it reflects the way in which society is becoming even more multilingual due to globalization. In this sense, this group is composed of students that have immigrated with their families to Catalonia or students whose parents speak different languages (i.e. parents whose L1 are different from each other). For this reason, they include the two official languages of the autonomous community where they live, the languages they are actually learning at school (i.e. English and, sometimes, French too), and other languages through which they speak with their families and relatives. Examples of combinations of languages used by speakers of more than three languages are: Catalan, Spanish, English and Urdu; Catalan, Spanish, English, Tagalog and Arabic; and Catalan, Spanish, English and Chinese. It could be therefore claimed that this latter group perceive themselves as the more multilingual one.

Finally, in the other extreme, only 3.8 % of the participants identifies themselves as monolingual speakers. Within this monolingual group, moreover, it is interesting to stress that in most cases they consider themselves as speakers of the majority language Spanish rather than the minority one, that is, Catalan. This proportion of participants therefore has only contemplated their home language or their L1 as the only language they speak. This could be related to the monolingual ideology seen earlier in that individuals' native language is considered as the only one they speak.

Table 3 Participants distribution by perception of number of languages spoken

		Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage
Valid	Missing	1	0.8	0.8
	1 language	5	3.8	3.8
	2 languages	34	25.8	25.8
	3 languages	70	53.0	53.0
	More than three languages	22	16.7	16.7
	Total	132	100,0	100,0

Table 4 Participants distribution by perception of number and types of languages spoken (combination)

			Type of languages spoken					Total	
			Missing	Catalan	Spanish	Catalan/Spanish	Catalan/Spanish/ English		Others
Number of languages spoken	Missing	Count	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
		% Within number of languages spoken	100,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%
1 language		Count	0	1	4	0	0	0	5
		% Within number of languages spoken	0,0%	20,0%	80,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%
2 languages		Count	0	0	0	34	0	0	34
		% Within number of languages spoken	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%
3 languages		Count	0	0	0	0	65	5	70
		% Within number of languages spoken	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	92,9%	7,1%	100,0%
More than 3 languages		Count	0	0	0	0	0	22	22
		% Within number of languages spoken	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%	100,0%
Total		Count	1	1	4	34	65	27	132
		% Within number of languages spoken	0,8%	0,8%	3,0%	25,8%	49,2%	20,5%	100,0%

As far as speakers' L1 is considered in terms of being this minority, majority, or both, minorities and majorities, languages, in most cases (40.9%) students have Spanish as their L1. Then, almost 27.3% of the speakers recognize that they have two home languages, one of which is a majority (i.e. Spanish) and the other one that is a minority language (i.e. Catalan). With regard to the latter, only 21.2% of the students affirms to have this minority language as their L1. In this sense, it could be claimed that there are more children that are being raised up in Spanish-speaking families, than in Catalan-speaking families. Also, that there are more Spanish-speaking than bilingual Catalan-Spanish-speaking families. On the other hand, there is one student who has English as their L1. This represents a majority language, which in turn is worldwide used as a lingua franca. When it comes to those speakers that report to have Catalan, Spanish and English as their L1, only 1.5% of the participants claims to have these three languages as their home ones. In this regard, their L1 have different status in terms of being a majority language (Spanish), a minority language (Catalan), and a lingua franca (English).

Within the other groups, there are participants who assert to hold three languages, none of which is English, as their L1 (e.g. Italian, Catalan and Spanish; Catalan, Spanish and Romanian, Catalan, Spanish and French). Among these new languages (i.e. Italian, Romanian and French), in general and apparently, all of them could be regarded as majority languages since none of them are listed within the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (2015). In spite of that, in order to find out whether they have a minority language status it would have been suitable to know the origin of the students and families. In this sense, whereas French could be regarded as a majority language in France, in Switzerland it could be considered as a minority language. Another subgroup located in this category includes speakers of two languages (e.g. Tagalog and Spanish; Arabic and Spanish; and Thai and Catalan). As just explained, more information regarding students' background would be needed in order to determine whether Tagalog, Arabic and Thai are minority or majority languages. Finally, there are 4 students who affirm to have only one language as their home one (e.g. Portuguese, Chinese, Arabic, Urdu). All of these seem to be majority languages, but again more information would be needed to confirm whether they are majority languages. Among these students, one wrote a language that does not seem to exist, or at least, it is not recognized. This language was coded as "Lati", and

should not be confused with the classical language Latin, as that student explicitly made this distinction. Table 5 shows all the information regarding students' L1.

Table 5 Speakers' L1

		Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage
Valid	Catalan (Minority)	28	21.2	21.2
	Spanish (Majority)	54	40.9	40.9
	Catalan/Spanish (Both)	36	27.3	27.3
	English	1	.8	.8
	Catalan/Spanish/English	2	1.5	1.5
	Others	11	8.3	8.3
	Total	132	100.0	100.0

6.2. Speakers' language use

The first objective of this study seeks to explore the language use of Catalan schoolchildren in their different domains. For this reason, in the first part of the questionnaire speakers were required to write down the languages they use with their closest relations (question 3), for the media and ICT (question 4), and for reading (question 5). Below a descriptive analysis of the frequencies of each of these domains is provided.

6.2.1. Frequency of language use within their closest relations

In terms of closest relations, they were specifically asked about their family, classmates or friends from the school, as well as their coaches or friends outside the school. Indeed, these areas were included since at that age students' common circle of contacts and relations embrace the ones stated above. In this sense, Table 6, 7 and 8 reflect the languages employed to communicate with their everyday contacts. When it comes to classmates (see Table 6), Spanish (42.4%) and both, Catalan and Spanish (40.2%), are frequently employed. In this sense, only 20% approximately of the participants asserted to use only Catalan. Considering this data, even though there are more students that only use Spanish with their partners, it could be concluded that within the school setting active bilingualism is present.

Table 6 Languages used with your classmates at school

		Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage
Valid	Catalan	23	17.4	17.4
	Spanish	56	42.4	42.4
	Catalan/Spanish	53	40.2	40.2
	Total	132	100.0	100.0

On the other hand, this active bilingualism seems to be reduced when comparing the language use with speakers' friends from outside the school. As visible in Table 7, almost 70% of the participants only uses one language to communicate with their friends from outside the school (e.g. Catalan, Spanish, Chinese, or English). Among these speakers, furthermore, more than 55% selects the Spanish language as the main mean of communication, for which reason Catalan is used by a minority part of the participants (10.6%). If analysing speakers who use two or three languages, most of them communicate in Catalan and Spanish; that is, with the official languages of the target autonomous community.

Table 7 Languages used with your friends from outside school

		Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage
Valid	Missing	1	.8	.8
	Catalan	14	10.6	10.6
	Spanish	74	56.1	56.1
	Catalan/Spanish	37	28.0	28.0
	Spanish/English	1	.8	.8
	Catalan/Spanish/English	3	2.3	2.3
	Others	2	1.5	1.5
	Total	132	100,0	100.0

Interestingly, the last table within the closest relations (see Table 8) indicates that Catalan is the most common language used with speakers' coaches and teachers outside the school (39.4%). This implies that when students communicate with adults, therefore, when the relationship is not between equals, the language employed is the minority one. This could be related to the fact that they may transfer the language they use to communicate with their teachers in formal educational settings to other

informal settings. In other words, they may employ the same language when communicating with adults within their school as well as with adults from outside their school. However, it is also certain that 22% of students also claim to use Spanish. In this sense, this transfer may not occur with this type of speakers. Another important data to highlight is that 29.5% of students use interchangeably both languages, Spanish and Catalan. Finally, we should not lose sight to the fact that some speakers claim to use the English language as well. One could guess that within these speakers some of them may use this language in after class activities or lessons in which English is explicitly taught.

Table 8 Languages used with your coaches (e.g. sport, music...) and teachers from outside school

		Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage
Valid	Missing	1	.8	.8
	Catalan	52	39.4	39.4
	Spanish	29	22.0	22.0
	Catalan/Spanish	39	29.5	29.5
	Catalan/Spanish/English	5	3.8	3.8
	Others	6	4.5	4.5
	Total	134	100.0	100.0

6.2.2. Frequency of language use for the media and ICT

In addition to the closest relationship, subjects were required to note the languages they frequently use for the media and ICT. The items regarding this theme were watching TV, listening to music, listening to the radio, and surfing the Internet. With regard to watching TV (see Table 9), more than 50% of the speakers report to watch the TV in Spanish. In fact, this could be assumed because most TV channels broadcast in Spanish. However, it is also significant to point out that 20.5% also claim to use the two official languages, this is, Spanish and Catalan, when watching this target device. This is as such because in Catalonia there are quite a few channels, some of them being public and other private, that broadcast their programmes only in Catalan. This means that population has free access to both Spanish speaking and Catalan speaking televisions. Finally, it needs to be stressed that there are some speakers that also state to only watch the TV in English, or to watch it using this lingua franca, alongside Spanish or Spanish and Catalan. Among the speakers who

state to use only English, and comparing their home languages, only one of them claims to have that target language as their L1. With respect the other two cases that affirm to only watch the TV in English, it seems strange that they do so, since their home languages are not English. Finally, regarding students who decide to watch the TV in different languages (i.e. Spanish and English, or Catalan, Spanish and English), and besides not having English as their L1, it could be definitely concluded that either themselves or their families show a great interest and motivation in being in contact with this lingua franca.

Table 9 Language used for watching TV

		Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage
Valid	Missing	2	1.5	1.5
	Catalan	8	6.1	6.1
	Spanish	87	65.0	65.0
	Catalan/Spanish	27	20.5	20.5
	English	3	2.3	2.3
	Spanish/English	2	1.5	1.5
	Catalan/Spanish/English	2	1.5	1.5
	Others	1	.8	.8
	Total	132	100.0	100.0

As for listening to music, in general, it could be stated that participants use different combinations of languages. In spite of this, as seen in Table 10, there is fairly homogeneity among the use of English to listen to music. In this regard, 22% assert to listen to only English speaking music; 31.1% suggest that they use this lingua franca alongside Spanish; finally, 23.5% report to listen to English, Spanish and Catalan speaking music. Considering this data it could be interpreted that since most music is written in international languages, such as English or Spanish, a great percentage of participants choose to use both languages. Similarly, since in the past few years, Catalonia has also witnessed a resurgence of artists that sing in Catalan, a great deal of students claims to listen to music in Catalan too. In addition, today significant numbers of Catalan-speaking songs are played in a wide array of radios broadcasting in Catalonia, for which reason there is also a high probability that participants hear some of this Catalan music at some point of their lives.

Table 10 Language used for listening to music

		Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage
Valid	Missing	4	3.0	3.0
	Spanish	18	13.6	13.6
	English	29	22.0	22.0
	Catalan/English	2	1.5	1.5
	Spanish/English	41	31.1	31.1
	Catalan/Spanish/English	31	23.5	23.5
	Others	7	5.3	5.3
	Total	132	100.0	100.0

The third item to be analysed within the media and ICT was the use of languages to listen to the radio. In Table 11 one could observe that a great proportion of speakers (13.6%) declare not to listen to this device. In fact, it may be due to the fact that the subjects are still young speakers, for which reason they may not have developed interest in this medium of communication. Had the students been older, their answers could have significantly changed. In spite of this, taking into account the current responses, in general most participants claim to listen to the radio just in one language (62.1%). These languages are Spanish (36.4%) and Catalan (13.6%). Finally, only 18.9% of the subjects use both languages (i.e. Spanish and Catalan) to listen to the radio.

Table 11 Languages used for listening to the radio

		Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage
Valid	Missing	18	13.6	13.6
	Catalan	33	25.0	25.0
	Spanish	48	36.4	36.4
	Catalan/Spanish	25	18.9	18.9
	English	1	.9	.9
	Catalan/English	1	.8	.8
	Spanish/English	2	1.5	1.5
	Catalan/Spanish/English	2	1.5	1.5
	Others	2	1.5	1.5
	Total	132	100.0	100.0

When it comes to the last item, that is, surfing the Internet (see Table 12), Spanish seems to be the most widely used language (43.9%). In fact, this could be explained by several factors, including that there may probably be more number of websites in Spanish than in Catalan. This is aligned with Pimienta, Prado and Blanco' (2008) publication within the UNESCO. These authors measured the linguistic diversity on Internet and offered, among others, a chart developed by Google about the estimation of web pages per language. According to this chart, Spanish was the third language used in the websites of that time. In fact, 50.82% of websites were in English, 4.9% of them were in German, and 4.33% were in Spanish. Furthermore, it is worth noting that Catalan was not included within this chart, for which reason it could be safely concluded that the number of websites written in Spanish outnumber those that are in Catalan. Last but not least, it is also important that almost 32% of the subjects also report to use both languages, Catalan and Spanish.

Table 12 Languages used for surfing the Internet

		Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage
Valid	Missing	2	1.5	1.5
	Catalan	19	14.4	14.4
	Spanish	58	43.9	43.9
	Catalan/Spanish	42	31.8	31.8
	English	1	.8	.8
	Catalan/ English	1	.7	.8
	Spanish/ English	1	.7	.8
	Catalan/ Spanish /English	7	5.3	5.3
	Others	1	.8	.8
	Total	132	100.0	100.0

6.2.3. Frequency of language use for reading

In addition to the language used with speakers' closest contacts as well as for the media and the ICT, students were also asked to write the language they employ to read. Specifically, when it comes to reading books, magazines and newspapers. Regarding reading books (see Table 13), more than 50% of the subjects declare a balanced bilingualism since they use both Catalan and Spanish. However, it would have been interesting to find out whether the books they read are mandatory (i.e.

books that have to be read because the school has asked to do so) or not (i.e. books that have been freely selected by the students). Consequently, one could observe whether the speakers themselves promote this balanced bilingualism or if it is done throughout the school. Another important data to emphasize is that 20.5% of the speakers only read in Catalan. Finally, 4.5% of the participants report to use three languages, Catalan, Spanish and English. As stated earlier, it would have been suitable to analyse whether teachers make students read books in English or whether it is speakers' own decision.

Table 13 Languages used for reading books

	Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage
Valid Missing	1	.8	.8
Catalan	27	20.5	20.5
Spanish	15	11.4	11.4
Catalan/Spanish	80	60.6	60.6
English	1	.8	.8
Catalan/Spanish/English	6	4.5	4.5
Others	2	1.5	1.5
Total	134	100.0	100.0

Next table (see Table 14) shows that almost 10% of the speakers do not read magazines. This is similar to the table focusing on listening to the radio in that participants are young speakers, for which reason they may not yet be interested in these type of publications. However, if looking at the current data, it could be observed that frequently speakers only use one language when reading magazines. Among the languages, Spanish is recurrently the language employed (64.4%). On the other hand, almost 16% of the students explain that they use two languages, which are Catalan and Spanish.

Table 14 Languages used for reading magazines

		Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage
Valid	Missing	12	9.1	9.1
	Catalan	11	8.3	8.3
	Spanish	85	64.4	64.4
	Catalan/Spanish	21	15.9	15.9
	English	1	.8	.8
	Catalan/Spanish/English	2	1.5	1.5
	Total	132	100.0	100.0

In the last table (see Table 15), an important number of missing responses are imputed (24.2%). In this respect, this item may not have been as appropriate as the rest of them due to the target participants' age. In this sense, it could be stated that, since at that age students do not choose which newspaper to read, these answers may be directly related to their parents or families' choices. In other words, the data elected in this table may be given according to the responses of the target participants' families. In spite of this, the data obtained in Table 15 demonstrates that 37.1% of the participants or their families only read newspapers in one language. On the contrary, 14.4% employ two languages. Considering this, it could be stated that this table needs to be carefully interpreted. To put it differently, these responses may not be students' own language use, but their parents' language use.

Table 15 Languages used for reading newspapers

		Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage
Valid	Missing	32	24.2	24.2
	Catalan	32	24.2	24.6
	Spanish	49	37.1	37.1
	Catalan/Spanish	19	14.4	14.4
	Total	132	100.0	100.0

6.2.4. Summary of language use

Considering all the tables, quite a lot of similarities can be found in the number of languages as well as the combination of them in different domains (see Table 16). On that account, within the closest relations and with those that are equal (i.e. from child to child) speakers usually use, in that specific order, Spanish, Catalan and Spanish, as well as Catalan. On the contrary, this order is inverted when the relations are not equal, hence, when they are adult-child or vice versa. In this respect, students use, in the order that follows, Catalan, Catalan and Spanish, and Spanish.

As for the media and ICT, some resemblances with the previous paragraph are spotted. In this respect, when it comes to exploring the Internet and watching TV, students still use Spanish, Catalan and Spanish, and Catalan. This is due to the fact that most TV channels and websites are Spanish-speaking. However, in terms of radio, most speakers use Spanish, Catalan, as well as Catalan and Spanish. Interestingly, participants report to use even three different languages for listening to music. Indeed, Spanish, English and Catalan are altogether used by 23.5%, after Spanish and English.

In terms of reading, Spanish is commonly the language preferred to read magazines and newspapers. With regard to the latter, it needs to be emphasized that, since at the age of the target students, speakers do not usually select the language in which to read the newspapers, students' responses may be under the influence of their parents or families. After the Spanish language, Catalan and Spanish as well as Catalan are the most concurrent languages employed to read magazines and newspapers respectively. On the other hand, in terms of books, children usually prefer to read in Catalan and Spanish, then in Catalan, and finally in Spanish.

Last but not least, taking into account the languages used in these three domains (i.e. closest relations, media and ICT, and reading), it could be stated that schoolchildren use more languages in the media and ICT, and more specifically, when listening to music. Concretely, as seen earlier, the languages used are first Spanish, and then English and Catalan. On the contrary, speakers are more monolingual when listening to the radio due to the fact that they usually employ Spanish, Catalan, as well as Catalan and Spanish.

Table 16 Summary of language use by domains

Domains	Three concurrent languages
<i>Closest relations</i>	
Classmates	Spanish Catalan/Spanish Catalan
Friends from outside school	Spanish Catalan/Spanish Catalan
Coaches	Catalan Catalan/Spanish Spanish
<i>Media and ICT</i>	
Watching TV	Spanish Catalan/Spanish Catalan
Listening to music	Spanish/English Spanish/English/Catalan English
Listening to the radio	Spanish Catalan Catalan/Spanish
Surfing the Internet	Spanish Catalan Catalan/Spanish
<i>Reading</i>	
Books	Catalan/Spanish Catalan Spanish
Magazines	Spanish Catalan/Spanish Missing
Newspapers	Missing Spanish Catalan

6.3. Speakers' attitudes towards trilingualism

The second objective of this project is to examine the language attitudes of schoolchildren towards trilingualism. In this respect, under a holistic view in which all the languages have been combined instead of being separated, table 17 summarizes participants' attitudes in percentages. This table results from students responding the extent to which they agree, neither agree or disagree, or disagree with a series of statements, which in turn have been grouped in five factors, each of one is concerned with different aspects of trilingualism.

Table 17 Attitudes towards trilingualism in %

Items	Missing	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree
<i>Factor 1 - Knowledge, job possibilities and age to start learning English</i>				
1. It's important to be able to speak Catalan, Spanish and English	0.0	87.1	11.4	1.5
5. Knowing Catalan, Spanish and English helps to get a better job	0.0	91.7	7.6	0.8
6. It is important to know how to write in Catalan, Spanish and English	0.0	78.8	18.9	2.3
7. All schools in Catalonia should teach pupils to speak in Catalan, Spanish and English	0.0	82.6	14.4	3.0
12. All children in Catalonia should learn how to read in Catalan, Spanish and English	0.0	71.2	23.5	5.3
15. Speaking Spanish, Catalan and English is more for older than younger people (reverse coded)	0.0	4.5	14.4	81.1
16. Those who speak Catalan, Spanish and English can get a better job	0.0	75.0	16.7	8.3
22. If I have children, I would want them to speak Spanish, Catalan and English	0.0	78.8	16.7	4.5
<i>Factor 2 – Social presence of trilingualism</i>				
2. To speak one language in Catalonia is all that is needed (reverse coded)	0.0	12.1	31.1	56.8
8. All street signs should be written in Catalan, Spanish and English	0.0	21.2	50.8	28.0
18. The three languages should be important in Catalonia	0.8	63.6	27.3	8.3
20. When I become an adult, I would like to be regarded as a speaker of the three languages	0.0	60.6	25.0	14.4
21. All people in Catalonia should speak Catalan, Spanish and English	0.8	32.6	43.2	23.5
23. Catalan, Spanish and English languages can live together in the Catalonia	0.8	74.2	18.9	6.1
24. People should speak only one language (reverse coded)	0.0	2.3	7.6	90.2
<i>Factor 3 – Cognitive and economical benefits of trilingualism</i>				
3. Those who have studied Catalan, Spanish and English have become more intelligent	0.0	18.2	49.2	32.6
13. Knowing Catalan, Spanish and English makes people wiser	0.8	30.3	44.7	24.2
19. Those who speak the three languages can earn more money	0.8	29.5	37.9	31.8

Factor 4 – The learning of the three languages				
4. Children get confused when learning Spanish, Catalan and English (reverse coded)	0.0	47.9	36.4	16.7
9. Speaking three languages is difficult (reverse coded)	0.8	17.4	53.8	28.0
10. Knowing Catalan, Spanish and English gives people problems (reverse coded).	0.0	6.1	7.6	86.4
17. Young children learn to speak Catalan, Spanish and English at the same time with ease	0.0	22.7	37.9	39.4
Factor 5 – Social benefits of trilingualism				
11. I feel pity for those who cannot speak Catalan, Spanish and English	0.8	34.8	41.7	22.7
14. People who speak Catalan, Spanish and English can have more friends	0.0	36.4	30.3	33.3

According to the results elicited in Table 17, it could be stated that the sample is quite consistent and that schoolchildren usually harbour favorable attitudes towards trilingualism. On that account, the table suggests that the most positive attitudes (91.7%) are regarding the first factor, and within this, in relation to the fifth item (i.e. *Knowing Catalan, Spanish and English helps to get a better job*). This means that students are highly concerned with the importance of being able to speak three languages in order to have more chances to find a competitive job and salary. In the same vein, students also support the idea that in general it is important to speak the three languages (87.1%), and that all schools in Catalonia should teach pupils Catalan, Spanish and English (82.6%). These results are similar to the ones obtained by Aiestaran (2003) since in his study the statements that received the most positive attitudes were *It is important to speak Basque and Spanish* (88.8%), *knowing Basque and Spanish helps to get a better job* (84%). Likewise, Lasagabaster (2009) also reported that the statements *It is important to speak Basque, Spanish and English* (mean 4.39) as well as *Knowing Spanish, Basque and English helps to get a job* (mean 4.42) were the ones through which students had the most positive attitudes.

After the first factor, it seems that the second factor is the one that obtains the highest scores. In this sense, participants disapprove in that *people should only need to speak one language* (90.2%). Similarly, although a slightly lower proportion, students support the statement that in Catalonia, Catalan, Spanish and English can coexist (74.2) as well as that the three languages should be important in this autonomous community (63.6%). Again, these results are aligned with Lasagabaster (2009) and Aiestaran (2009). The scores obtained regarding the first statement about the need to speak only one language by each scholar were: in terms of mean 3.06, and

in terms of percentage 67.6% respectively. On the other hand, it is interesting to observe that a significant part of the students selects the option “neither agree or disagree” when asked about the social presence of bilingualism. Concretely, this happens with items 8 (i.e. *All street signs should be written in Catalan, Spanish and English*) and 21 (i.e. *All people in Catalonia should speak Catalan, Spanish and English*). Respecting item 8 (50.8%), it could be stated that, as Lasagabaster (2009) pointed out, these results may be due to students’ awareness that minority languages should be more protected than majority ones. In relation to item 21 (43.2%), students appear to contradict themselves since previously in other statements they show favorable attitudes in that it is important to speak the three languages and that schools should teach their pupils the three languages.

As for the cognitive and economical benefits of trilingualism, in all items students express uncertainty. Indeed, in all of them they select the “Neither Agree nor Disagree” tile. In this regard, they may wonder whether knowing three languages actually make people become more intelligent and wiser. This means that knowing languages may not be a paramount aspect for someone to be regarded as smart. In other words, probably there could be other elements that determine the extent to which speakers are smart. Additionally, some participants may not have the same degree of intersubjectivity when conceptualizing intelligence. In other words, as Gardner (2006) notes, there may be different types of intelligences (e.g. musical, interpersonal), all of which do not necessarily have to be related to languages.

In the fourth factor, a large majority of pupils express negative attitudes. For example, this is visible in statements 4 and 17. In fact, 47.9% think that *children get confused when learning Catalan, Spanish and English* and that young children do not learn to speak Catalan, Spanish and English at the same time with ease (39.4%). Surprisingly, these results are opposite to the ones elicited by Aiestaran (2003), since 57.4% of the answers of his study expressed disagreement with the idea that children get confused when learning Basque and Spanish, and 76.6% of his participants stated that young children do learn to speak Basque and Spanish at the same time with ease. The results obtained by Aiestaran compared to the ones reached within this project may differ because the participants of Aiestaran’s study were older than the ones from this investigation. In this respect, older students may think that younger ones have more abilities in learning the languages than they do. In the same vein, the

participants of this study may also reckon that younger ones (i.e. students that are even younger than them) may learn these languages at easier.

Last but not least, when it comes to the social benefits of trilingualism, Table 17 suggests that item 11 (i.e. *I feel pity for those who cannot speak Catalan, Spanish and English*) is the one that gets lower scores of agreement within this group. In this sense, the vast majority of the subjects (41.7%) neither agree nor disagree with item 11. In terms of item 14 (i.e. *People who speak Catalan, Spanish and English can have more friends*), it seems that the majority of students do report favourable attitudes when it comes to the number of friends one can have if speaking three languages (36.4%). Yet, this difference is not statistically significant because there are not large differences between the percentages of students that agree (36.4%), neither agree nor disagree (30.3%), and disagree (33.3%). This is, these differences cannot be regarded as significant.

6.3.1. Summary of speakers' attitudes towards trilingualism

On the whole, students show positive attitudes towards trilingualism. Definitely, the attitudes are more favorable when it comes to general knowledge of trilingualism, and age to start learning English. In this respect, any neither agree or disagree as well as disagree responses are spotted. Within this factor, the item in which the vast majority agrees is as follows: *knowing Catalan, Spanish and English helps to get a better job*. Similarly, students also hold positive attitudes towards the social presence of trilingualism. In this respect, they report to disagree with the idea that speakers should only speak one language. Also, although with a slight lower percentage of participants, they agree in that Catalan, Spanish and English can coexist within Catalonia. On the other side of the coin, speakers are doubtless when it comes to the language that need to be used for the street signs as well as the languages speakers from Catalonia need to speak.

Following with the “neither agree nor disagree” option, it seems that students express more uncertainties in factor 3, which is related the cognitive and economical benefits of trilingualism. Indeed, in all items students do not have either positive or negative attitudes. Among these, furthermore, the item that receives more scores is oriented to the degree of intelligence one can have if speaking three languages. Last but not least, if moving to the other extreme, that is the negative attitudes,

participants' attitudes are not as positive as in the other factors when it comes to trilingualism related to the learning three languages. For instance, this is visible in item 4 and 17. In these, speakers believe that learning three languages may confuse students as well as that young children do not learnt the three languages at the same time at ease. Finally, as for trilingualism oriented to the social benefits, which is composed of two items, Table 16 suggests that students approve the idea that the more languages one may know, the more friends one may make. However, they do not do so when feeling sorry about those who do not speak three languages. On that account, they neither agree nor disagree.

6.4. Speakers' attitudes towards trilingualism: comparison between subgroups

6.4.1. Comparison between gender

Findings of gender physiological differences have been widely accepted among researchers, although some have argued that there are smaller differences than larger ones (Feingold, 1994; Hyde & Plant, 1995). In this respect, in terms of personalities, Feingold (1994) noted that men tend to be more assertive and have higher self-esteem than women do. On the contrary, females usually express higher levels of anxiety, trust as well as are tender-mindedness. Furthermore, she also reported to find these gender differences on a constant basis across ages, for which reason it could be stated that these differences exist in all stages of human' lives. Taking into account Feingold's conclusions, it is noteworthy to find out whether there are significant differences between girls and boys' attitudes towards trilingualism. Table 18.1 compares boys and girls' attitudes in terms of percentages and Table 18.2 demonstrates statistically (i.e. using Fisher's Exact Test) whether there are significant differences between the two variables: gender and attitudes.

In general, there are not a great number of significant differences between boys and girls, especially when it comes to item 1 and 22. In other words, boys and girls are aware to the same extent that Catalan, Spanish and English are important in Catalonia, also that they want their children to be regarded as speakers of these three languages. Looking at all the factors in general, furthermore, it is observable that there is common agreement about the social presence of trilingualism. On one side of the coin, it seems that in four items, which are item 15 (i.e. *Speaking Spanish*,

Catalan and English is more for older than younger people), 13 (i.e. *Knowing Catalan, Spanish and English makes people wiser*), 17 (i.e. *Young children learn to speak Catalan, Spanish and English at the same time with ease*) and 14 (i.e. *People who speak Catalan, Spanish and English can have more friends*); students' answers differ. In terms of item 15, greater percentage of girls disagree that speaking three languages is more for older people than younger ones (89.7%). This could be related to the fact that girls tend to mature earlier than boys, therefore, with the idea that they could be more critical when facing these statements than boys. Similarly, when it comes to item 13, most girls choose the option of "neither agree nor disagree", hence, they are not convinced with the fact that by just knowing the three languages people directly become more intelligent (57.4%). On the contrary, most boys (43.8%) assert that just knowing these languages make people intelligent and wise. In this respect, in his study, Aiestaran also found that boys and girls significantly differ in this statement.

As for the item *Young children learn to speak Catalan, Spanish and English at the same time with ease*, again girls seem to be more doubtful than boys. Whereas 50% of males disagree with the statement, only 29.4% of girls do so. This can be interpreted in that the target girls' achievements may be higher than boys, hence, they may not experience as much difficulties as boys when learning to speak the languages. Girls also question the social benefits of trilingualism in terms of making friends. In fact, most of the girls disagree with the statement (44.1%). On the contrary, the vast majority of boys agree with the idea that the more languages one speak, the more friends one can make. This could be related to the fact that girls may be less opened in terms of making friends than boys. That is, males could be more open-minded when expanding their circles of relationships.

Table 18.1 Comparison between genders in speakers' attitudes towards trilingualism in %

Items		Missing	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree
<i>Factor 1 - Knowledge, job possibilities and age to start learning English</i>					
1. It's important to be able to speak Catalan, Spanish and English	Boys	0.0	87.5	10.9	1.6
	Girls	0.0	86.8	11.8	1.5
5. Knowing Catalan, Spanish and English helps to get a better job	Boys	0.0	90.6	9.4	0.0
	Girls	0.0	92.6	5.9	1.5

6. It is important to know how to write in Catalan, Spanish and English	Boys	0.0	81.3	17.2	1.6
	Girls	0.0	76.5	20.6	2.9
7. All schools in Catalonia should teach pupils to speak in Catalan, Spanish and English	Boys	0.0	85.9	10.9	3.1
	Girls	0.0	79.4	17.6	2.9
12. All children in Catalonia should learn how to read in Catalan, Spanish and English	Boys	0.0	70.3	21.9	7.8
	Girls	0.0	72.1	25.0	2.9
15. Speaking Spanish, Catalan and English is more for older than younger people (reverse coded)	Boys	0.0	6.3	21.9	71.9
	Girls	0.0	2.9	7.4	89.7
16. Those who speak Catalan, Spanish and English can get a better job	Boys	0.0	71.9	17.2	10.9
	Girls	0.0	77.9	16.2	5.9
22. If I have children, I would want them to speak Spanish, Catalan and English	Boys	0.0	79.7	15.6	4.7
	Girls	0.0	77.9	17.6	4.4
Factor 2 – Social presence of trilingualism					
2. To speak one language in Catalonia is all that is needed (reverse coded)	Boys	0.0	15.6	29.7	54.7
	Girls	0.0	8.8	32.4	58.8
8. All street signs should be written in Catalan, Spanish and English	Boys	0.0	25.0	43.8	31.3
	Girls	0.0	17.6	57.4	25.0
18. The three languages should be important in Catalonia	Boys	0.0	67.2	20.3	12.5
	Girls	1.5	60.3	33.8	4.4
20. When I become an adult, I would like to be regarded as a speaker of the three languages	Boys	0.0	64.1	17.2	18.8
	Girls	0.0	57.4	32.4	10.3
21. All people in Catalonia should speak Catalan, Spanish and English	Boys	0.0	31.3	40.6	28.1
	Girls	1.5	33.8	45.6	19.1
23. Catalan, Spanish and English languages can live together in the Catalonia	Boys	1.6	76.6	15.6	6.3
	Girls	0.0	72.1	22.1	5.9
24. People should speak only one language (reverse coded)	Boys	0.0	3.1	6.3	90.6
	Girls	0.0	1.5	8.8	89.7
Factor 3 – Cognitive and economical benefits of trilingualism					
3. Those who have studied Catalan, Spanish and English have become more intelligent	Boys	0.0	25.0	48.4	26.6
	Girls	0.0	11.8	50.0	38.2
13. Knowing Catalan, Spanish and English makes people wiser	Boys	0.0	43.8	31.3	25.0
	Girls	1.5	17.6	57.4	23.5
19. Those who speak the three languages can earn more money	Boys	0.0	32.8	31.3	35.9
	Girls	1.5	26.5	44.1	27.9
Factor 4 – The learning of the three languages					
4. Children get confused when learning Spanish, Catalan and English (reverse coded)	Boys	0.0	46.9	32.8	20.3
	Girls	0.0	47.1	39.7	13.2
9. Speaking three languages is difficult (reverse coded)	Boys	0.0	18.8	50.0	31.3
	Girls	1.5	16.2	57.4	25.0
10. Knowing Catalan, Spanish and English gives people problems (reverse coded).	Boys	0.0	3.1	9.4	87.5
	Girls	0.0	8.8	5.9	85.3
17. Young children learn to speak Catalan, Spanish and English at the same time with ease	Boys	0.0	17.2	32.8	50.0
	Girls	0.0	27.9	42.6	29.4

<i>Factor 5 – Social benefits of trilingualism</i>					
11. I feel pity for those who cannot speak Catalan, Spanish and English	Boys	0.0	39.1	39.1	21.9
	Girls	1.5	30.9	44.1	23.5
14. People who speak Catalan, Spanish and English can have more friends	Boys	0.0	50.0	28.1	21.9
	Girls	0.0	23.5	32.4	44.1

Table 18.2 Comparison between genders in speakers' attitudes towards trilingualism – Fisher's Exact Test

Items	Fisher's Exact Test	Significance
<i>Factor 1 - Knowledge, job possibilities and age to start learning English</i>		
1. It's important to be able to speak Catalan, Spanish and English	0.297	1.000
5. Knowing Catalan, Spanish and English helps to get a better job	1.436	0.522
6. It is important to know how to write in Catalan, Spanish and English	0.661	0.803
7. All schools in Catalonia should teach pupils to speak in Catalan, Spanish and English	1.304	0.597
12. All children in Catalonia should learn how to read in Catalan, Spanish and English	1.567	0.480
15. Speaking Spanish, Catalan and English is more for older than younger people (reverse coded)	6.852	0.033
16. Those who speak Catalan, Spanish and English can get a better job	1.197	0.576
22. If I have children, I would want them to speak Spanish, Catalan and English	0.200	0.942
<i>Factor 2 – Social presence of trilingualism</i>		
2. To speak one language in Catalonia is all that is needed (reverse coded)	1.420	0.507
8. All street signs should be written in Catalan, Spanish and English	2.494	0.293
18. The three languages should be important in Catalonia	5.804	0.083
20. When I become an adult, I would like to be regarded as a speaker of the three languages	4.860	0.084
21. All people in Catalonia should speak Catalan, Spanish and English	2.270	0.527
23. Catalan, Spanish and English languages can live together in the Catalonia	1.868	0.620
24. People should speak only one language (reverse coded)	0.783	0.722
<i>Factor 3 – Cognitive and economical benefits of trilingualism</i>		
3. Those who have studied Catalan, Spanish and English have become more intelligent	4.512	0.103
13. Knowing Catalan, Spanish and English makes people wiser	13.382	0.002
19. Those who speak the three languages can earn more money	3.149	0.298
<i>Factor 4 – The learning of the three languages</i>		
4. Children get confused when learning Spanish, Catalan and English (reverse coded)	1.418	0.509
9. Speaking three languages is difficult (reverse coded)	1.816	0.684
10. Knowing Catalan, Spanish and English gives people problems (reverse coded).	2.226	0.359
17. Young children learn to speak Catalan, Spanish and English at the same time with ease	6.002	0.048
<i>Factor 5 – Social benefits of trilingualism</i>		
11. I feel pity for those who cannot speak Catalan, Spanish and English	1.767	0.685
14. People who speak Catalan, Spanish and English can have more friends	11.438	0.003

6.4.2. Comparison between type of L1

As seen in the theoretical framework, research has shown that speakers' L1 influence in different degrees on their attitudes towards different languages. Concretely, individuals whose L1 is a minority language usually have more positive attitudes towards this minority language than towards the majority and foreign one. This pattern is repeated when it comes to majority languages, for which reason provided that speakers' home languages are majority they tend to harbour more favorable attitudes towards these majority languages (Lasagabaster, 2003; Lasagabaster, 2005; Huguet, 2006; Huguet, 2007; Ytsma, 2007; Huget, Lapresa and Madariaga, 2008). Yet, all research concerning with the impact of home languages on speakers' attitudes have been approached through a separateness view, which means that there is a gap in the current research regarding the influence of this variable when examining attitudes towards multilingualism using a holistic approach. Tables 19.1 and 19.2 provide data on speakers' attitudes towards trilingualism depending on their L1 in terms of being Catalan as a minority language, Spanish as a majority language, or both, Catalan and Spanish. In this respect, 14 students that have other languages as their home languages have not been included in the following tables since more information about the students and the origin of their families would be needed to determine whether their languages are minority or majority ones.

According to the data, there are not important numbers of differences among groups. In addition, students seem to differ significantly in their attitudes in only two statements out of 24. These are regarding the way they see trilingualism in a future perspective (factor 1, item 22), also the social presence of trilingualism (factor 2, item 24). As for item 22, students whose home language is only Spanish have the lower percentage of agreement with the statement. In other words, they are the group of people who less believe and are more uncertain in that if they have children, they would like them to speak Catalan, Spanish and English (66.7% of agreement and 24.1% of hesitation). In this sense, it could be inferred that as their language is a majority one, hence, as it can be used in a wide array of domains and territories, they may not see the need to actually speak other languages. On the contrary, individuals that speak Catalan or both, Catalan and Spanish, seem to acknowledge that they would actually like their children to know other languages as well, such as English. In this regard, those that their L1 is Catalan may either reckon, among other possibilities,

that since Catalan is not used in many geographical areas they may actually need to speak other languages or that, given the current society, knowing different languages, may enhance their life quality.

The second item in which greater differences were spotted is in relation to the number of languages people should speak. In this sense, interestingly, speakers of the minority language Catalan and speakers of Catalan and Spanish are more doubtless on whether participants should only speak one language, since they chose the neither agree or agree option. The percentages are 10.7% and 16.7% respectively. On the contrary, individuals whose L1 is Spanish show more discrepancy with the statement (96.3%). These results need to be pointed out since previously, in item 22, this latter group express the opposite opinions. That is, unexpectedly, whereas students with Spanish as their L1 are the group that express more disagreement and doubt with the fact that they would like their children to speak Catalan, Spanish and English; in the statement that *people should only speak one language*, they are the ones that show more disagreement and less doubt.

Finally, in the opposite extreme, that is, the statement in which fewer differences are located is item 2 (i.e. *To speak one language in Catalonia is all that is needed*). The data elicited need to even be more emphasized, since students were required about the number of languages that people should speak as well, but in this occasion, people that specifically live in Catalonia. This time, the same proportion of students in all three groups express indecision and disagreement with the statement. Taking into account the three items just analysed, also given the fact that in all of them students are asked about the number of languages people should speak and that in all of them each group's responses are not coherent, it would be interesting to further examine students' arguments about their position in the number of languages they think people should speak in Catalonia, in general and when it comes to their possible future children. Last but not least, before moving one, attention needs to be put in item 5 because 100% of students whose L1 are Catalan and Spanish agree with the statement.

Table 19.1 Comparison between type of L1 in speakers' attitudes towards trilingualism in %

Items		Missing	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree
Factor 1 - Knowledge, job possibilities and age to start learning English					
1. It's important to be able to speak Catalan, Spanish and English	Minority		89.3	7.1	3.6
	Majority		87.0	13.0	0.0
	Both		94.4	2.8	2.8
5. Knowing Catalan, Spanish and English helps to get a better job	Minority		89.3	7.1	3.6
	Majority		87.0	13.0	0.0
	Both		100.0	0.0	0.0
6. It is important to know how to write in Catalan, Spanish and English	Minority		82.1	14.3	3.6
	Majority		85.2	14.8	0.0
	Both		77.8	22.2	0.0
7. All schools in Catalonia should teach pupils to speak in Catalan, Spanish and English	Minority		78.6	17.9	3.6
	Majority		79.6	16.7	3.7
	Both		91.7	8.3	0.0
12. All children in Catalonia should learn how to read in Catalan, Spanish and English	Minority		82.1	14.3	3.6
	Majority		64.8	29.6	5.6
	Both		77.8	19.4	2.8
15. Speaking Spanish, Catalan and English is more for older than younger people (reverse coded)	Minority		0.0	25.0	75.0
	Majority		3.7	13.0	83.3
	Both		5.6	8.3	86.1
16. Those who speak Catalan, Spanish and English can get a better job	Minority		71.4	17.9	10.7
	Majority		77.8	18.5	3.7
	Both		75.0	11.1	13.9
22. If I have children, I would want them to speak Spanish, Catalan and English	Minority		89.3	7.1	3.6
	Majority		66.7	24.1	9.3
	Both		88.9	11.1	0.0
Factor 2 – Social presence of trilingualism					
2. To speak one language in Catalonia is all that is needed (reverse coded)	Minority		10.7	35.7	53.6
	Majority		11.1	27.8	61.1
	Both		8.3	33.3	58.3
8. All street signs should be written in Catalan, Spanish and English	Minority		21.4	46.4	32.1
	Majority		18.5	48.1	33.3
	Both		19.4	58.3	22.2
18. The three languages should be important in Catalonia	Minority		57.1	39.3	3.6
	Majority		63.0	27.8	9.3
	Both	2.8	72.2	13.9	11.1
20. When I become an adult, I would like to be regarded as a speaker of the three languages	Minority		64.3	25.0	10.7
	Majority		51.9	25.9	22.2
	Both		66.7	27.8	5.6

21. All people in Catalonia should speak Catalan, Spanish and English	Minority		35.7	57.1	7.1
	Majority	1.9	25.9	38.9	33.3
	Both		38.9	33.3	27.8
23. Catalan, Spanish and English languages can live together in the Catalonia	Minority		71.4	21.4	7.1
	Majority		72.2	24.1	3.7
	Both	2.8	80.6	13.9	2.8
24. People should speak only one language (reverse coded)	Minority		3.6	10.7	85.7
	Majority		3.7	0.0	96.3
	Both		0.0	16.7	83.3
Factor 3 – Cognitive and economical benefits of trilingualism					
3. Those who have studied Catalan, Spanish and English have become more intelligent	Minority		28.6	46.4	25.0
	Majority		11.1	59.3	29.6
	Both		22.2	33.3	44.4
13. Knowing Catalan, Spanish and English makes people wiser	Minority		39.3	50.0	10.7
	Majority	1.9	24.1	42.6	31.5
	Both		33.3	41.7	25.0
19. Those who speak the three languages can earn more money	Minority		35.7	35.7	28.6
	Majority	1.9	25.9	37.0	35.2
	Both		33.3	33.3	33.3
Factor 4 – The learning of the three languages					
4. Children get confused when learning Spanish, Catalan and English (reverse coded)	Minority		39.3	39.3	21.4
	Majority		55.6	29.6	14.8
	Both		38.9	41.7	19.4
9. Speaking three languages is difficult (reverse coded)	Minority		21.4	46.4	32.1
	Majority		22.2	55.6	22.2
	Both	2.8	13.9	55.6	27.8
10. Knowing Catalan, Spanish and English gives people problems (reverse coded).	Minority		7.1	3.6	89.3
	Majority		9.3	11.1	79.6
	Both		0.00	8.3	91.7
17. Young children learn to speak Catalan, Spanish and English at the same time with ease	Minority		10.7	39.3	50.0
	Majority		27.8	33.3	38.9
	Both		25.0	38.9	36.1
Factor 5 – Social benefits of trilingualism					
11. I feel pity for those who cannot speak Catalan, Spanish and English	Minority		35.7	53.6	10.7
	Majority	1.9	29.6	42.6	25.9
	Both		36.1	36.1	27.8
14. People who speak Catalan, Spanish and English can have more friends	Minority		46.4	32.1	21.4
	Majority		33.3	29.6	37.0
	Both		25.0	30.6	44.4

Table 19.2 Comparison between type of L1 in speakers' attitudes towards trilingualism – Fisher's Exact Test

Items	Fisher's Exact Test	Significance
<i>Factor 1 - Knowledge, job possibilities and age to start learning English</i>		
1. It's important to be able to speak Catalan, Spanish and English	4.782	0.243
5. Knowing Catalan, Spanish and English helps to get a better job	7.901	0.476
6. It is important to know how to write in Catalan, Spanish and English	3.589	0.554
7. All schools in Catalonia should teach pupils to speak in Catalan, Spanish and English	3.197	0.515
12. All children in Catalonia should learn how to read in Catalan, Spanish and English	3.385	0.488
15. Speaking Spanish, Catalan and English is more for older than younger people (reverse coded)	4.423	0.314
16. Those who speak Catalan, Spanish and English can get a better job	3.986	0.414
22. If I have children, I would want them to speak Spanish, Catalan and English	8.810	0.046
<i>Factor 2 – Social presence of trilingualism</i>		
2. To speak one language in Catalonia is all that is needed (reverse coded)	0.935	0.939
8. All street signs should be written in Catalan, Spanish and English	1.743	0.796
18. The three languages should be important in Catalonia	7.736	0.204
20. When I become an adult, I would like to be regarded as a speaker of the three languages	5.259	0.258
21. All people in Catalonia should speak Catalan, Spanish and English	10.561	0.069
23. Catalan, Spanish and English languages can live together in the Catalonia	4.426	0.672
24. People should speak only one language (reverse coded)	11.115	0.006
<i>Factor 3 – Cognitive and economical benefits of trilingualism</i>		
3. Those who have studied Catalan, Spanish and English have become more intelligent	8.553	0.070
13. Knowing Catalan, Spanish and English makes people wiser	6.564	0.326
19. Those who speak the three languages can earn more money	2.436	0.952
<i>Factor 4 – The learning of the three languages</i>		
4. Children get confused when learning Spanish, Catalan and English (reverse coded)	3.367	0.511
9. Speaking three languages is difficult (reverse coded)	4.114	0.704
10. Knowing Catalan, Spanish and English gives people problems (reverse coded).	4.827	0.283
17. Young children learn to speak Catalan, Spanish and English at the same time with ease	3.662	0.457
<i>Factor 5 – Social benefits of trilingualism</i>		
11. I feel pity for those who cannot speak Catalan, Spanish and English	5.336	0.493
14. People who speak Catalan, Spanish and English can have more friends	4.617	0.332

6.4.3. Comparison between perception of number of languages spoken

The number of languages spoken by individuals could also play a paramount role in shaping attitudes towards trilingualism. In fact, it is commonly believed that the more languages one knows; the more able they are to learn other languages. It could be tentatively stated too that the more multilingual one person is, the more positive attitudes towards multilingualism. In spite of this, there also seems to be another gap in the current literature when it comes to find out whether there are significant differences between monolinguals, bilinguals, or trilingual speakers' attitudes towards multilingualism. For these reasons, in this section (see Tables 20.1 and 20.2) a comparison between attitudes depending on the number of languages individuals perceive they speak is made. Before doing so, nonetheless, it is worth noting that speakers that perceive as monolingual speakers have been excluded for this analysis due to the fact that they only represent 3.8% of the participants. In other words, since this monolingual group are not sufficient statistically representative, they have had to be rolled out. Students that regarded themselves as bilingual, trilingual, and as speakers of more than three languages, which are labelled as others, are the ones that have been considered.

In general, there are not significant differences between bilinguals, trilinguals and others speakers' attitudes towards trilingualism. Indeed, the only statement in which significant differences are detected is in *It is important to know how to write in Catalan, Spanish and English*. Specifically, trilingual speakers display the more positive attitudes towards this item (90% of agreement, 10% of neither agree nor disagree, and 0.0% of disagreement). Bilingual schoolchildren are the second group to harbour positive attitudes towards knowing how to write in the three languages (70.6%). In spite of this, it is also important to highlight that almost 30% of them also look doubtful on whether it is actually important, for which reason they chose the neither agree nor disagree option. Finally, surprisingly speakers of more than three languages are the group that support the statement on a lesser extent (59.1%), and at the same time show more disagreement. Indeed, regarding this latter disagreement, they are the only ones that do so (13.6%). Schoolchildren that are labelled within the others group may harbour less favourable attitudes because they could also perceive themselves as speakers of other languages. On that account, they could think that,

besides Catalan, Spanish and English, it is also important to know how to write other languages.

This statement and its results are aligned with item 1 (i.e. *It's important to be able to speak Catalan, Spanish and English*). In fact, although there is not significant differences, since the significance obtained with Fishers' Exact Test is 0.057, hence, superposes the expected 0.05; this is the second statement in which groups' responses differ from each other on a greater level. Again the group composed of speakers of more than three languages (i.e. the "other" group) are the ones that score a higher percentage within the neither agree nor disagree (22.7) as well as within the disagreement tiles (4.5%). This may mean that their other languages, that is, the ones they state they speak, may be as important as Catalan, Spanish and English. In other words, because of the degree to which these speakers are attached to their L1, they may also consider their home languages as important. Another reason could be that other languages, besides the ones they speak, may also be significant.

Last but not least, on the flip side of the coin, participants have approximately the same opinions regarding item 2. The statement is *to speak one language in Catalonia is all that is needed*. Although the percentages do not significantly differ, it seems that bilinguals have relatively more positive attitudes (61.8%) than trilinguals and speakers of more than three languages. The percentage tends to decrease to 59.1% among other speakers, and to 55.7% among trilingual speakers.

Table 20.1 Comparison between perceptions of number of languages spoken in speakers' attitudes towards trilingualism in %

Items		Missing	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree
Factor 1 - Knowledge, job possibilities and age to start learning English					
1. It's important to be able to speak Catalan, Spanish and English	Bilinguals		88.2	11.8	0.0
	Trilinguals		92.9	7.1	0.0
	Others		72.7	22.7	4.5
5. Knowing Catalan, Spanish and English helps to get a better job	Bilinguals		97.1	2.9	0.0
	Trilinguals		91.4	8.6	0.0
	Others		90.9	9.1	0.0
6. It is important to know how to write in Catalan, Spanish and English	Bilinguals		70.6	29.4	0.0
	Trilinguals		90.0	10.0	0.0
	Others		59.1	27.3	13.6

7. All schools in Catalonia should teach pupils to speak in Catalan, Spanish and English	Bilinguals		94.1	5.9	0.0
	Trilinguals		81.4	17.1	1.4
	Others		72.7	18.2	9.1
12. All children in Catalonia should learn how to read in Catalan, Spanish and English	Bilinguals		76.5	20.6	2.9
	Trilinguals		72.9	22.9	4.3
	Others		59.1	36.4	4.5
15. Speaking Spanish, Catalan and English is more for older than younger people (reverse coded)	Bilinguals		5.9	20.6	73.5
	Trilinguals		4.3	8.6	87.1
	Others		4.5	22.7	72.7
16. Those who speak Catalan, Spanish and English can get a better job	Bilinguals		67.6	23.5	8.8
	Trilinguals		81.4	12.9	5.7
	Others		72.7	13.6	13.6
22. If I have children, I would want them to speak Spanish, Catalan and English	Bilinguals		85.3	14.7	0.0
	Trilinguals		75.7	18.6	5.7
	Others		86.4	13.6	0.0
Factor 2 – Social presence of trilingualism					
2. To speak one language in Catalonia is all that is needed (reverse coded)	Bilinguals		8.8	29.4	61.8
	Trilinguals		10.0	34.3	55.7
	Others		13.6	27.3	59.1
8. All street signs should be written in Catalan, Spanish and English	Bilinguals		32.4	47.1	20.6
	Trilinguals		14.3	54.3	31.4
	Others		27.3	45.5	27.3
18. The three languages should be important in Catalonia	Bilinguals		61.8	29.4	8.8
	Trilinguals		70.0	27.1	2.9
	Others	4.5	59.1	22.7	13.6
20. When I become an adult, I would like to be regarded as a speaker of the three languages	Bilinguals		58.8	23.5	17.6
	Trilinguals		65.7	22.9	11.4
	Others		45.5	31.8	22.7
21. All people in Catalonia should speak Catalan, Spanish and English	Bilinguals	2.9	41.2	35.3	20.6
	Trilinguals		27.1	47.1	25.7
	Others		40.9	45.5	13.6
23. Catalan, Spanish and English languages can live together in the Catalonia	Bilinguals		73.5	20.6	5.9
	Trilinguals	1.4	72.9	22.9	2.9
	Others		81.8	4.5	13.6
24. People should speak only one language (reverse coded)	Bilinguals		0.0	5.9	94.1
	Trilinguals		0.0	5.7	94.1
	Others		0.0	18.2	81.8
Factor 3 – Cognitive and economical benefits of trilingualism					
3. Those who have studied Catalan, Spanish and English have become more intelligent	Bilinguals		14.7	50.0	35.3
	Trilinguals		17.1	48.6	34.4
	Others		27.3	50.0	22.7
13. Knowing Catalan, Spanish and English makes people wiser	Bilinguals	2.9	20.6	47.1	29.4
	Trilinguals		35.7	40.0	24.3
	Others		22.7	59.1	18.2

19. Those who speak the three languages can earn more money	Bilinguals	2.9	29.4	35.3	32.4
	Trilinguals		25.7	41.4	32.9
	Others		36.4	36.4	27.3
Factor 4 – The learning of the three languages					
4. Children get confused when learning Spanish, Catalan and English (reverse coded)	Bilinguals		41.2	38.2	20.6
	Trilinguals		50.0	32.9	17.1
	Others		45.5	45.5	9.1
9. Speaking three languages is difficult (reverse coded)	Bilinguals		20.6	47.1	32.4
	Trilinguals		18.6	55.7	25.7
	Others	4.5	9.1	54.5	31.8
10. Knowing Catalan, Spanish and English gives people problems (reverse coded).	Bilinguals		2.9	14.7	82.4
	Trilinguals		4.3	5.7	90.0
	Others		9.1	0.0	90.9
17. Young children learn to speak Catalan, Spanish and English at the same time with ease	Bilinguals		29.4	26.5	44.1
	Trilinguals		24.3	41.4	34.4
	Others		9.1	45.5	45.5
Factor 5 – Social benefits of trilingualism					
11. I feel pity for those who cannot speak Catalan, Spanish and English	Bilinguals	2.9	38.2	35.3	23.5
	Trilinguals		28.6	50.0	21.4
	Others		50.0	27.3	22.7
14. People who speak Catalan, Spanish and English can have more friends	Bilinguals		32.4	26.5	41.2
	Trilinguals		34.3	34.3	31.4
	Others		50.0	27.3	22.7

Table 20.2 Comparison between perception of number of languages spoken in speakers' attitudes towards trilingualism – Fisher's Exact Test

Items	Fisher's Exact Test	Significance
Factor 1 - Knowledge, job possibilities and age to start learning English		
1. It's important to be able to speak Catalan, Spanish and English	7.751	0.057
5. Knowing Catalan, Spanish and English helps to get a better job	1.265	0.633
6. It is important to know how to write in Catalan, Spanish and English	16.783	0.001
7. All schools in Catalonia should teach pupils to speak in Catalan, Spanish and English	6.912	0.097
12. All children in Catalonia should learn how to read in Catalan, Spanish and English	2.526	0.657
15. Speaking Spanish, Catalan and English is more for older than younger people (reverse coded)	5.103	0.244
16. Those who speak Catalan, Spanish and English can get a better job	3.947	0.402
22. If I have children, I would want them to speak Spanish, Catalan and English	2.601	0.621
Factor 2 – Social presence of trilingualism		
2. To speak one language in Catalonia is all that is needed (reverse coded)	0.954	0.942
8. All street signs should be written in Catalan, Spanish and English	5.311	0.256
18. The three languages should be important in Catalonia	7.817	0.198

20. When I become an adult, I would like to be regarded as a speaker of the three languages	3.650	0.463
21. All people in Catalonia should speak Catalan, Spanish and English	6.261	0.381
23. Catalan, Spanish and English languages can live together in the Catalonia	2.901	0.185
24. People should speak only one language (reverse coded)	3.399	0.178
Factor 3 – Cognitive and economical benefits of trilingualism		
3. Those who have studied Catalan, Spanish and English have become more intelligent	2.801	0.736
13. Knowing Catalan, Spanish and English makes people wiser	6.632	0.334
19. Those who speak the three languages can earn more money	3.753	0.773
Factor 4 – The learning of the three languages		
4. Children get confused when learning Spanish, Catalan and English (reverse coded)	2.210	0.713
9. Speaking three languages is difficult (reverse coded)	5.365	0.507
10. Knowing Catalan, Spanish and English gives people problems (reverse coded).	5.190	0.223
17. Young children learn to speak Catalan, Spanish and English at the same time with ease	5.298	0.257
Factor 5 – Social benefits of trilingualism		
11. I feel pity for those who cannot speak Catalan, Spanish and English	7.529	0.243
14. People who speak Catalan, Spanish and English can have more friends	3.205	0.528

6.4.4. Summary of speakers' attitudes towards multilingualism: comparison between subgroups

In section 6.4 attitudes have been analysed within subgroups of students with the purpose of finding out whether there are significant differences between them. Specially, the independent variables taken into account when forming these groups have been gender, type of L1 (i.e. whether they are minority languages, majority ones, or both), and perception of number of languages spoken. In general, among all the groups there are not significant differences, which means that the sample has been consistent in formulating their responses. In other words, the analysis of students' attitudes within subgroups has revealed that statistically significant differences are scant, for which reason any trends can be clearly detected.

For instance, when it comes to boys and girls, it seems that only in four out of 24 statements schoolchildren's responses differ at a statistically level. Such differences may have been influenced, among other possibilities, by the fact that girls mature earlier than boys, for which reason they could be more critical with the statements they read. As for type of L1, in only two statements out of 24, students have presented differences. Yet, it seems that all subgroups' attitudes (i.e. minority, majority or both) have not been coherent in these two statements. For example, whereas a large amount

of students from the “majority” group have not widely agreed to the same extent as the “minority” and “both” groups in the item that they would like their children to be speakers of Catalan, Spanish and English, this “majority group”, on the other hand, has been the group that has supported on a lesser degree the item that *people should only speak one language*. Last but not least, the analyses of students’ attitudes according to the number of languages they perceive they speak has shown that students who perceive as speakers of more than three languages do not equally agree as the others groups in the statement that *It is important to know how to write in Catalan, Spanish and English*, since they could also believe that other languages, such as the ones they consider they speak, are also important.

7. CONCLUSIONS

As discussed in the first part of this project, current literature has argued that individuals are increasingly using multiple languages at different levels, and that this is connected to the unceasing growing number of educational settings that are integrating multilingual programmes within their syllabus. Furthermore, such multilingualism is even steadily rising in contexts, such as Catalonia, where two or more languages have historically been in contact and used. Besides this, it has also been discussed on a research basis that attitudes play a paramount role in the growth or decay of languages, also in the use of them. Yet, in accordance with the literature, in most cases studies examining these attitudes towards multilingualism have been conducted under the influence of a separateness view, in which all the languages have been analysed independently, rather than holistically. All these elements have substantiated the standpoint of this project.

The research presented here has taken into account three objectives and three hypotheses. The three objectives underlying this study have been:

- (i) To explore the language use of Catalan schoolchildren in different domains
- (ii) To examine Catalan schoolchildren's language attitudes towards trilingualism
- (iii) To examine the impact of three different variables on Catalan schoolchildren's attitudes towards trilingualism

As for the hypotheses, which are related to this latter objective, three hypotheses have also been considered. These have been:

HYP1 There is significant difference between speakers' attitudes towards trilingualism depending on the number of languages they perceive they speak.

HYP2 There is not significant difference between speakers' attitudes towards trilingualism depending on their gender.

HYP3 There is significant difference between speakers' attitudes towards trilingualism depending on their L1, in terms of being a minority language, a majority language, or both, a minority and a majority language.

Regarding the first objective, it seems that schoolchildren frequently choose Spanish as their first language of choice in a wide array of domains. For instance, they prefer to use that language with their closest relations and especially when it comes to communicating with their classmates and their friends from outside school; also with the media and ICT and especially when it comes to watching TV, listening to the radio and surfing the Internet. In most cases, their second language of choice is combining Spanish and Catalan, that is, they similarly use both languages. In this sense, they employ such languages as their second option with all their closest relationships (e.g. with classmates, friends from outside school, and coaches), to watch the TV and to read magazine. Finally, Catalan is usually their third choice (e.g. to communicate with their classmates and friends from outside school, to watch TV or to read newspapers). Yet, surprisingly Catalan is an exception when it comes to commuting with coaches, such as sport or music trainers. In this sense, schoolchildren usually employ Catalan as their language of preference. This is significantly relevant since their coaches are more often than not adults and they may see them as teachers. In this regard, since with their teachers students use Catalan, they may also employ the same language with their coaches.

In terms of the second objective, overall students report positive attitudes towards trilingualism. They actually harbour more favorable attitudes with regard to general knowledge of trilingualism, job possibilities and age to start learning English, also with the fact that people should not only speak one language. On the other hand, it seems that the vast majority of students are uncertain on whether trilingualism in fact brings cognitive and economical benefits. In this sense, a great number of participants neither agree nor disagree with the statements that *“those who have studied Catalan, Spanish and English have become more intelligent, knowing Catalan, Spanish and English makes people wiser, and those who speak the three languages can earn more money”*. Students’ indecision could be attributed to their age and their awareness that language is not a crucial factor in determining the intelligence of people. This conceptualization could be interpreted through different stances, for example, through Garden’s notion of multiple intelligences. Finally, a large amount of speakers have negative attitudes towards one statement. On that account, they believe that *children get confused when learning the three languages*.

As for the last objective and the three hypotheses, findings show that there are not statistically significant differences between subgroups (i.e. gender -boys and girls-; type of L1 -speakers' L1 being a minority, majority or both languages-; and perception of number of languages spoken -bilinguals, trilinguals and speakers of more than three languages-). In spite of this, among all the variables and groups, it seems that there are more differences between genders than the other two variables. Indeed, whereas 4 significant differences are detected between genders, 2 are spotted between type of L1, and only 1 is located between speakers' perception of number of languages spoken. In terms of gender, girls tend to agree more than boys when it comes to the fact that *speaking Spanish, Catalan and English is more for older than younger people*. On the contrary, boys usually express greater support on the statement that *people who speak Catalan, Spanish and English can have more friends*.

As for type of L1, speakers whose L1 is a minority and both, a minority and a majority language, usually have more positive attitudes towards the item about that they would like their children to speak the three languages than speakers' whose L1 is a majority language. Unexpectedly, these two groups (i.e. "minority" and "both" groups) display more uncertainty than speakers' whose L1 is a majority language when it comes to the item about that *people should only speak one language*. Finally, in the perception of number of languages spoken, bilinguals and trilinguals tend to agree on a greater level the idea that *it is important to know how to write in Catalan, Spanish and English* than speakers of more than three languages. In this respect, they may also consider other languages important.

7.1. Limitations of the study

Three limitations could possibly be detected in the present study. These are related to the size and representation of the sample, as well as the scarce number of schools that have participated. As far as the sample is concerned, given the small size of it, findings should be carefully generalized. In this respect, had the sample been larger, findings could be more extrapolated. In the same vein, the size implied that perhaps it was not enough representative. This means that it may not have represented all Catalan schoolchildren. Finally, had the number of schools participating in the project been higher, the sample could have been larger, more representative and, consequently, all the findings could have been more generalized.

7.2. Further research

This study has sought to explore, within a holistic approach, schoolchildren's language use and attitudes towards trilingualism, as well as the extent to which different variables influence on their attitudes. In this regard, it could be suitable that more research was conducted using this integrative stance, thus, combining all languages. In accordance with this, a great deal of studies that have approached this holistic view has focused on the well-known context of the Basque autonomous community, giving then little attention to other territories, such as Catalonia. It may be interesting to further examine this context using this integrative view.

The results from this project have shown that in general students' attitudes towards trilingualism are positive and that not significant differences exist between gender, type of L1 and perception of number of languages spoken. Yet, further research, could examine whether these positive attitudes are equal regardless of the languages involved in the study. For instance, research on whether students' attitudes towards trilingualism composed of elite languages and trilingualism composed of non-prestigious languages is similar or different could take place. Also, since there is a gap in the current literature among attitudes and type of L1 as well as perception of number of languages spoken, more research concerning with these two independent variables could be conducted. Last but not least, it could be favourably recommended that, since teachers could also influence on students because of the number of hours they spend together at school, research was closer to teachers and vice versa. In other words, that there was a connection between what is done inside the classrooms and what research says.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1 – Questionnaire

QÜESTIONARI SOBRE LLENGÜES

L'objectiu d'aquest qüestionari és recollir informació sobre temes relacionats amb la llengua. Això no és un “examen”, motiu pel qual no hi ha respostes “correctes” o “incorrectes”. De fet, només estic interessada en la vostra opinió personal. Si us plau, sigues el màxim d'honest possible. Tot el que contestis serà guardat de manera **confidencial i anònima**.

Moltes gràcies per dedicar una estona del teu temps a contestar les següents preguntes.

Edat:

Sexe:

1. Quant de temps fa que vas a una escola de Catalunya?

2. Quines llengües parles?

3. Quines llengües utilitzes amb les persones amb qui tens més contacte?
 - Família:
 - Companys:
 - Amics de fora l'escola:
 - Monitors, entrenadors, professors de fora l'escola:

4. Quines llengües utilitzes amb els mitjans de comunicació i les noves tecnologies?
 - Veure la TV:
 - Escollar música:
 - Escollar la ràdio:
 - Explorar internet:

5. Quines llengües utilitzes per llegir?
 - Llibres:
 - Revistes:
 - Diaris

Si us plau, indica amb una creu el grau en què estàs d'acord o en desacord amb les afirmacions que es mostraran a continuació. Abans, però, tingues en compte els següents valors:

1 = D'acord

2 = Ni d'acord ni en desacord

3 = En desacord

Afirmacions	1	2	3
1. És important ser capaç de parlar castellà, català i anglès.			
2. Parlar una llengua és tot el que es necessita a Catalunya.			
3. Aquells que han estudiat català, castellà i anglès s'han tornat més intel·ligents.			
4. Quan els estudiants aprenen català, castellà i anglès es confonen en algun moment.			
5. Saber castellà, català i anglès ajuda a l'hora d'obtenir una feina			
6. És important saber com escriure en castellà, català i anglès.			
7. Totes les escoles de Catalunya haurien d'ensenyar als estudiants a aprendre parlar català, castellà i anglès.			
8. Totes les senyals dels carrers haurien d'estar escrites en castellà, català i anglès.			
9. Parlar tres llengües és difícil.			
10. Saber català, castellà i anglès dona a la gent problemes.			
11. Sento compassió (pena) per aquells que no poden parlar català, castellà i anglès.			
12. Tots els estudiants de Catalunya haurien d'aprendre a llegir en català, castellà i anglès.			

13. Saber català, castellà i anglès fa a la gent més sàvia.			
14. Les persones que parlen català, castellà i anglès poden tenir més amics.			
15. Parlar castellà, català i anglès és més cosa de gent gran que de gent jove.			
16. Aquells que parlen català, castellà i anglès poden obtenir un millor lloc de treball.			
17. Els infants aprenen a parlar al mateix temps català, castellà i anglès amb facilitat.			
18. Les tres llengües haurien de ser importants a Catalunya.			
19. Aquells que parlen les tres llengües poden guanyar més diners.			
20. Quan sigui adult, m'agradaria que em consideressin com a parlant de tres llengües.			
21. Totes les persones de Catalunya haurien de parlar català, castellà i anglès.			
22. Si tinc fills, m'agradaria que parlessin castellà, català i anglès.			
23. El català, castellà i anglès poden conviure a Catalunya.			
24. Les persones haurien de parlar només una llengua.			