The use of previously known languages and target language (English) during task-based interaction: A pseudolongitudinal study of primary-school CLIL learners

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ABSTRACT

EN
(Pseudo)longitudinal studies of the use of previously known languages (PKL) and the target language (TL) during interaction are still scarce in Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) contexts, particularly those with young learners. This paper examines the use of PKLs (Basque-Spanish) and the TL English in various categories (appeals for assistance-clarification requests-metacomments-discourse markers-private speech) in two groups of CLIL learners (grade 5 and 6) during dyadic interaction. A greater use of PKLs in older learners was found, especially in less cooperative and more external to the task strategies. As regards TL use, both groups performed similarly, except for metacomments, where younger learners made a slightly higher use. When comparing PKLs to TL use, both grade learners resorted to Basque-Spanish more frequently than to English, except for metacomments. Learners seem to use their language repertoire for task-management purposes. Nonetheless, they still resort to PKLs to keep the flow of speech.

Key words: CLIL, USE OF PREVIOUSLY KNOWN LANGUAGES, TASK-BASED INTERACTION, PRIMARY-SCHOOL LEARNERS, L3 ENGLISH

ES
Los estudios pseudolongitudinales sobre el uso de lenguas previamente conocidas (LPCs) y de la lengua meta (LM) en tareas de interacción son aún escasos en contextos de Aprendizaje de Contenidos y Lenguas Extranjeras (AICLE), y más aún con jóvenes aprendices. Este trabajo examina el uso de LPCs (Euskera-Castellano) y la LM (Inglés) en varias categorías (peticiones de ayuda-peticiones de clarificación-metacomentarios- marcadores de discurso-habla privada) en dos grupos de aprendices AICLE (5º y 6º curso) durante una interacción diádica. Se encontró un uso mayor de LPCs en el grupo de mayor edad, especialmente en estrategias menos cooperativas y más externas a la tarea. Con respecto al uso de la LM, ambos grupos tuvieron resultados similares, excepto en los metacomentarios, donde los estudiantes más jóvenes la usaron ligeramente más. Al comparar LPCs con LM, los estudiantes de ambos cursos recurrieron a las LPCs con más frecuencia que al inglés, excepto en los metacomentarios. Los estudiantes parecen utilizar su repertorio lingüístico para fines de gestión de tareas, pero aún recurren a las LPCs para mantener el flujo del habla.

Palabras clave: AICLE, USO DE IDIOMAS CONOCIDOS, TAREAS DE INTERACCIÓN, ESTUDIANTES DE EDUCACIÓN PRIMARIA, INGLÉS COMO L3

IT
Gli studi (pseudo)longitudinali sull'uso delle lingue già note e della lingua d'arrivo (TL) in interazione sono ancora scarsi nei contesti di apprendimento integrato di lingua e contenuto (CLIL), in particolare quelli con apprendenti di giovane età. Questo lavoro esamina l'uso di lingue già note (basco-spagnolo) e dell'inglese come TL in varie categorie (richieste di assistenza e di chiarimenti, metacommenti, marcatori discorsivi di discorsi privati) in due gruppi di studenti CLIL (classi di 5ª elementare e 1ª media) durante l'interazione diadica. È emerso un maggiore utilizzo delle lingue già note nei discenti più grandi, soprattutto nelle strategie meno collaborative e più esterne al *task*. In merito all'uso della lingua di arrivo, entrambi i gruppi hanno agito similmente, ad eccezione dei metacommenti, che gli studenti più giovani hanno usato leggermente di più. Quando si confronta l'uso delle lingue già note con quello della TL entrambi i gruppi fanno ricorso allo spagnolo-basco più frequentemente che all'inglese, ad eccezione dei metacommenti. Gli studenti sembrano usare il loro repertorio linguistico per la gestione dei *task*. Tuttavia, ricorrono ancora alle lingue già note per mantenere il flusso del discorso.

Parole chiave: CLIL, USO DI LINGUE GIÀ NOTE, INTERAZIONE BASATA SUI TASK, STUDENTI DELLE SCUOLE ELEMENTARI, INGLESE COME L3

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1. Introduction

The investigation of the use of previously known languages (henceforth PKL) during task-based interaction has attracted the attention of researchers in both English as a second language (ESL) and English as a foreign language (EFL) settings. Very recently, the emergence of Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) programmes has led to a growing body of research studies analyzing the effect of a more natural and intense input provided in these settings on the use of previously known language-based strategies (i.e., García Mayo & Hidalgo Gordo, 2017; García Mayo & Lázaro Ibarrola, 2015; Lázaro Ibarrola, 2016; Martínez-Adrián, in press; Martínez-Adrián & Gutiérrez-Mangado, 2015a). Most of these investigations have compared CLIL learners to non-CLIL learners, but (pseudo)longitudinal studies of CLIL learners across age and proficiency (Arratibel-Irazusta & Martínez-Adrián, 2018, 2019; Lázaro Ibarrola & García Mayo, 2012), which could shed more light on the development of strategy use, are still few in number in CLIL settings, and even more limited with young leaners (Azkarai & Imaz Agirre, 2017). In addition, a more detailed analysis of the different functions and patterns of both PKL and target language (TL) use is needed. This paper will try to fill these gaps by examining the use of PKL (Basque and Spanish) and the TL (English) in appeals for assistance, clarification requests, metacomments, discourse markers and private speech in two different age/proficiency groups of primary school learners (grade 5 and 6) immersed in a CLIL context during the performance of a communicative task in dyads. The article is structured as follows: the first section presents an overview of the literature as regards the use of PKL during oral production. Research questions are subsequently addressed in Section 2, while the methodology is described in Section 3. Results are presented and discussed in Sections 4 and 5, respectively. The last section concludes the paper and offers future research lines.

2. Literature review
2.1. The use of previously known languages during task-based interaction

Research on task-based interaction has shown that the use of PKL during the performance of communicative tasks is more the norm rather than the exception and has been reported to have positive effects for language learning (Storch & Aldosari, 2010). To the present date, a great bulk of studies in ESL and EFL settings with mainstream learners has been conducted, particularly with adults (i.e., Alegría de la Colina & García Mayo, 2009; Azkarai, 2015; Azkarai & García Mayo, 2015; Di Camilla & Antón, 2012; Storch & Aldosari, 2010; Swain & Lapkin, 2000). These studies have focused on the extent of use and functions of PKL. In terms of amount, adults have not been found to draw extensively on prior linguistic experience. With regard to functions, learners mainly employ PKL for a metacognitive function, phatics and for vocabulary searches (i.e., Alegría de la Colina & García Mayo, 2009; Azkarai & García Mayo, 2015; Storch & Aldosari, 2010). The extent to which learners rely on their previous linguistic experience seems to depend on a variety of factors such as proficiency (Di Camilla & Antón, 2012; Storch & Aldosari, 2010; Swain & Lapkin, 2000), onset age (Cenoz, 2001, 2003), gender (Azkarai, 2015; Ross-Feldman, 2005), task-type (Alegría de la Colina & García Mayo, 2009; Storch & Aldosari, 2010; Storch & Wigglesworth, 2003) and task-modality (Azkarai & García Mayo, 2015). More limited research is available on younger learners (Pinter, 2007; Shintani, 2012, 2014; Tognini & Oliver, 2012). In particular, studies providing a detailed examination of the functions of PKL, as documented in research on adult learners, are nearly non-existent for younger learners.

2.2. Research in CLIL settings

The use of PKL when performing communicative tasks in English has recently been the focus of several studies conducted in CLIL settings. In CLIL programmes, more intense and natural input is provided to students as, in addition to English as a school subject, they receive content lessons through the foreign language (Coyle, 2007; Dalton-Puffer, 2011). The greater amount of exposure received in these programmes leads the learner to attain a higher command of the TL (Lasagabaster, 2008; Martínez-Adrián & Gutiérrez-Mangado, 2015b; Navés & Victori, 2010; Ruiz de Zarobe, 2008) and in turn to a lower reliance on PKL (Gallardo-del-Puerto & Gómez-Lacabex, 2013, 2017; García Mayo & Lázaro Ibarrola, 2015; Lázaro Ibarrola, 2016; Martínez-Adrián, in press; Martínez-Adrián & Gutiérrez-Mangado, 2015a). Some of these investigations on the use of previously known language-based strategies during oral production have compared CLIL to non-CLIL learners (Gallardo del Puerto, 2015; García Mayo & Hidalgo Gordo, 2017; García Mayo & Lázaro Ibarrola, 2015; Lázaro Ibarrola, 2016; Martínez-Adrián, in press; Martínez-Adrián & Gutiérrez-Mangado, 2015a; Pladevall Ballester & Vraciu, 2017) and others, lower in number, offer (pseudo)longitudinal studies of

CLIL learners (i.e., Arratibel-Irazusta & Martínez-Adrián, 2018, 2019; Lázaro Ibarrola & García Mayo, 2012). Among these studies, either comparative or (pseudo)longitudinal in nature, some have centered on secondary-school learners (i.e., Arratibel-Irazusta & Martínez-Adrián, 2018, 2019; Lázaro Ibarrola, 2016; Lázaro Ibarrola & García Mayo, 2012; Martínez-Adrián & Gutiérrez-Mangado, 2015b) while primary-school learners are currently the focus of several investigations (i.e., Azkarai & Imaz Agirre, 2017; Gallardo del Puerto, 2015; García Mayo & Hidalgo Gordo, 2017; García Mayo & Lázaro Ibarrola, 2015; Gutiérrez-Mangado, 2015; Martínez-Adrián, in press). In fact, several researchers have called for more research on the acquisition of foreign languages by primary-school learners in an effort to maximize their learning opportunities (García Mayo, 2018). CLIL studies on the use of PKL during interaction have mainly examined age and proficiency effects (Arratibel-Irazusta & Martínez-Adrián, 2018, 2019; Lázaro Ibarrola & García Mayo, 2012; Pladevall Ballester & Vraciu, 2017), whereas findings for gender and task type have not been analysed in depth (Azkarai & García Mayo, 2017; Azkarai & Imaz Agirre, 2017).

In the case of CLIL studies with secondary-school learners, Martínez-Adrián and Gutiérrez-Mangado (2015a) compared the oral production of a group of CLIL learners to a group of non-CLIL learners. Participants performed an oral narration task in front of a researcher, which was subsequently examined in terms of the use of the first languages (L1s) (Basque and Spanish) in interactional strategies and transfer lapses. A lower use of the L1s and a greater use of the TL (English) was found in the case of CLIL learners. This study also confirmed a negative correlation between general proficiency, lexical richness and use of PKL. In addition to the use of PKL in interactional strategies, other comparative studies with secondary-school learners have analysed the production of discourse markers. Lázaro Ibarrola (2016) compared a group of 15 CLIL learners to a group of 11 non-CLIL learners at Time 1 when they were in their 2nd year of compulsory secondary education and subsequently at Time 2 when they were in the 4th year. All instances of discourse markers including those in English and those in Basque and Spanish were considered. In addition, the learners' use of other hesitation phenomena, namely, non-lexical discourse markers was also taken into account. The use of the L1s (Basque and Spanish) did not decrease with time and no differences were found between CLIL and non-CLIL (Basque and Spanish) learners. Few instances of discourse markers in English were produced, the most common of them being 'well', which is employed in textbooks and teacher talk. A difference was found between CLIL and non-CLIL learners in the use of non-lexical discourse markers, with a higher production on the part of non-CLIL learners. CLIL students were able to use discourse markers in the L1s while non-CLIL learners were in a previous stage of development and use more hesitation phenomena.

Other investigations with secondary school learners are (pseudo)longitudinal studies of one or two groups of CLIL learners. Lázaro Ibarrola and García Mayo (2012) tackled the use of the L1 in discourse markers and appeals for assistance as well as the morphosyntactic development of a group of 15-year-old students immersed in a CLIL context in the Basque Country. The use of the L1 significantly decreased over the two-year period investigated, while morphosyntax experienced significant development. However, the production of English discourse markers was uncommon. Arratibel-Irazusta and Martínez-Adrián (2018) explored the use of PKL (L1 Spanish/second language (L2) Basque) in appeals for assistance, transfer lapses, codes-switching and discourse markers in an oral narration task in two different age/proficiency CLIL groups of third language (L3) English learners. Both groups shared the same onset age (Year 3) but differed in length and amount of exposure. The analysis of the results did not yield statistically significant differences between the groups except for the production of foreignizings, which were more frequent in the younger group. However, the intragroup analysis revealed how less proficient learners preferred to use more implicit appeals and employed borrowings and foreignizings in similar proportions, while older learners preferred to use both explicit and implicit strategies and showed a tendency to use borrowings (a more communicative option). As for the different categories examined, discourse markers were the most common manifestation of prior linguistic experience. In a follow-up study involving the same groups of learners, Arratibel-Irazusta and Martínez-Adrián (2019) delved into the use of previous linguistic knowledge (L1 Spanish/L2 Basque) as a communication strategy (appeals for assistance and transfer) together with TL-based strategies (holistic and analytic strategies). No differences between the two age/proficiency groups were observed. As for the distribution of categories, holistic strategies were the most employed, a finding attributed to the overriding effect of CLIL as reported in other investigations with young learners that have analysed self-reported opinions (Martínez-Adrián, Gallardo-del-Puerto, & Basterrechea, 2019). In other words, even if these participants were considered low-proficient learners, they were exploiting strategies more typical of advanced learners, a result that might be due to the type of input received in their CLIL lessons, which is full of reformulations in the TL. In addition, the use of previously known language-based strategies was found to

correlate negatively with both the level of proficiency and receptive vocabulary. However, no significant correlations were found in the case of TL-based strategies. Likewise, the analysis did not yield a significant correlation between the use of PKL and the use of TL-based strategies. Thus, at this point of development, previously known language-based strategies still coexist with the use of TL-based strategies.

As regards CLIL studies conducted with young learners, most of them have examined the effect of the instructional context (CLIL vs. Non-CLIL). These studies, with a cross-sectional or (pseudo)longitudinal design, have compared CLIL to non-CLIL learners (Gallardo-del-Puerto, 2015; García Mayo & Lázaro Ibarrola, 2015; García Mayo & Hidalgo Gordo, 2017; García Mayo & Imaz Agirre, 2017; Gutiérrez-Mangado, 2015; Martínez-Adrián, in press; Pladevall Ballester & Vraciu, 2017).

Gallardo-del-Puerto (2015) looked into data from primary school learners performing a peer interaction task. Two groups of CLIL learners in grades 4 and 6 were compared to two age-matched non-CLIL learners in terms of their production of codeswitching and transfer lapses in a dyadic story-telling task. Younger and older CLIL learners produced fewer instances of codeswitching and transfer lapses than their non-CLIL counterparts, these differences reaching significance only in the case of the older learners. As for the distribution of functions, codeswitching, borrowings and foreignizings were far more frequent in non-CLIL than in CLIL, while CLIL learners produced more calques than non-CLIL students. This study contrasts with previous investigations that claimed that foreignizings are characteristic of higher proficiency (=CLIL) learners (Agustín Llach, 2014; Celaya, 2008; Celaya & Ruiz de Zarobe, 2010).

Martínez-Adrián (in press) explored the use of interactional strategies (appeals for assistance, clarification requests and metacomments) in the L1 (Spanish) and the TL (English) in the same sample analyzed by Gallardo-del-Puerto (2015). The results indicated that NON-CLIL learners produced more instances of L1 use in interactional strategies and that greater differences emerged as grade level increased. In addition, metacomments were the most common manifestation of L1 use in both years in the non-CLIL groups, which suggested that non-CLIL learners were not so accustomed to interacting in the TL and not so well equipped to perform content tasks in the TL. A qualitative inspection of the results also showed that some differences between groups in their preference for either the L1 or the TL existed in the case of appeals and clarification requests. Nevertheless, metacomments were always produced in the L1 in both groups, a finding in line with previous classroom observation data (Gené Gil, Juan Garau, & Salazar Noguera, 2012).

Using the same sample as in Gallardo-del-Puerto (2015) and Martínez-Adrián (in press), Gutiérrez-Mangado (2015) investigated the pseudolongitudinal development of CLIL and non-CLIL learners as regards L1 use in interactional strategies, transfer lapses and codeswitching. Non-CLIL learners used the L1 in these three categories in the two-year period examined, while a decrease in appeals for assistance and an increase in borrowings was attested in the CLIL learners. The analysis of the data indicated that older learners seemed to favour more uncooperative strategies rather than more cooperative ones (i.e., appeals).

García Mayo and Lázaro Ibarrola (2015) studied the effect of CLIL and age in the oral interaction of 40 age- and proficiency-matched dyads in terms of conversational adjustments, repetitions and L1 use. CLIL learners displayed slightly higher linguistic abilities, a finding supporting previous studies comparing CLIL and non-CLIL learners and were found to negotiate more and to resort to the L1 less frequently than non-CLIL learners. As for the effect of age, older children in both contexts were reported to negotiate less and to use the L1 more frequently than younger children.

García Mayo and Hidalgo Gordo (2017) compared a group of CLIL learners to a group of non-CLIL learners at Time 1, when they were in the 3rd year of primary education and at Time 2, when they were in their 4th year. Both groups completed a jigsaw task that was subsequently codified according to the following L1 functions: metacognitive talk, vocabulary (appeals, borrowings and foreignizings) and discourse markers. The examination of the results revealed that L1 use as a whole was quite limited at both testing times, but a greater use was observed at Time 2 in both groups, even though it only reached significance in the non-CLIL group. Vocabulary was the function most served by the L1 in both groups in the two school years, a finding in line with other investigations exploring young learners in a CLIL setting (Azkarai & García Mayo, 2017). As for the effect of the instructional setting, non-CLIL learners relied on the L1 to a greater extent than CLIL learners, especially in the case of learners' use of the L1 for vocabulary purposes. When dealing with metacognitive talk and discourse markers, the instructional setting did not have a great influence. As regards the effect of age on functions, only a statistically significant difference was found in the metacognitive use in favour of the older non-CLIL group.

These results are partially in line with García Mayo and Imaz Agirre (2017) who also considered the impact of the learning context (CLIL vs. non-CLIL) on L1 use adopting a longitudinal perspective. 27 dyads

participated in the study. In particular, two groups of CLIL learners were compared to two groups of non-CLIL learners at two different data collection times. In addition, younger learners were also compared to older learners in each instructional setting in order to examine the effect of age. At two data collection times, non-CLIL learners were found to use the L1 to a greater extent than their CLIL counterparts. However, while the use of the L1 decreased in the non-CLIL groups over time, in the CLIL groups it remained stable across time in the younger group of learners, while an increase was observed in the group of older CLIL learners. The nature of the task, which could have been not so motivating for students, could have yielded these results in the CLIL group. As regards the effect of age, at Time 1, older non-CLIL learners were significantly found to make a greater use of the L1. At Time 2 older learners in both instructional settings employed the L1 to a greater extent with significant differences.

Other longitudinal studies comparing CLIL to non-CLIL learners during task-based interaction have controlled for amount of exposure, a factor that could explain the existence of some contradictory findings in the literature. Pladevall Ballester and Vraciu (2017) examined L1 use in the oral production of 5th and 6th grade primary school learners over a period of two academic years. Content and function words, codeswitching, lexical transfer (i.e., borrowings, foreignizings) and interactional strategies were codified. Interactional strategies were further broken down into metacognitive strategies, metatalk strategies, task-related interactional strategies and private speech. The examination of the results indicated a decrease in L1 use as L2 proficiency increased in both CLIL and non-CLIL learners. Primary school learners were also reported to make use of their L1 as a compensatory strategy during L2 production irrespective of the type of instruction (CLIL vs. non-CLIL) received. In terms of interactional strategies, metatalk and private speech were the most common functions in both groups at the beginning of the study, while, at the very end, the L1 preserved its regulatory function but its scaffolding role disappeared. In the case of lexical transfer, borrowings and foreignizings decreased with proficiency in both groups and the same applied to codeswitching.

Apart from these investigations that have compared CLIL to non-CLIL learners, others are pseudolongitudinal studies of different age/proficiency groups of young CLIL learners (Azkarai & Imaz Agirre, 2017), though limited in number and examining the interaction of age with other variables (i.e. gender). This line of research is particularly interesting as it could shed more light on the development of the use of PKL during task-based interaction across age. Azkarai and Imaz Agirre (2017) examined gender effects on the amount of L1 use in Grade 3 and 4 primary-school learners while performing a spot-the-difference task. Boys were found to make use of the L1 to a greater extent than girls, and this difference was even more marked in Grade 4 learners. Boys seemed to employ the L1 to avoid communication breakdowns, while girls showed a more restricted use of the L1.

The overview of the literature on L1 use during task-based interaction has shown a growing body of research in this area. However, it has uncovered several gaps that still need to be filled. First, studies aimed at the analysis of the development of use of PKL across age are needed. Second, a detailed analysis of the different functions and most common manifestations of PKL and TL use is advocated, as to the knowledge of the author, just one investigation involving younger learners has been conducted in this respect (Martínez-Adrián, in press). Thus, the present article will contribute to these gaps by examining the use of PKL (Basque and Spanish) and the TL (English) in appeals for assistance, clarification requests, metacomments, discourse markers and private speech in two different age/proficiency groups of primary school learners (Grades 5 and 6) immersed in a CLIL context, while performing a communicative task in pairs. The following research questions will be addressed:

- RQ 1. Are there any differences between both age/proficiency groups in terms of the amount of Basque/Spanish use?
- RQ2. Are there any differences between both age/proficiency groups in terms of the amount of English use?
- RQ3. Do learners in each group show a preference for either Basque/Spanish or English in the categories analyzed?
- RQ4. Among the categories examined, which ones are the most commonly served by Basque/Spanish?
- RQ5. Among the categories examined, which ones are the most commonly served by English?

3. Methodology
3.1. Participants
The study was carried out in a CLIL context in a mid-sized town in the Basque-Autonomous Community where Basque and Spanish co-exist as official languages. 90 Basque-Spanish bilingual learners of L3 English from a semi-private school participated in the study. All of them had been exposed to Spanish and Basque since birth and/or early childhood in the school-context[1]. They were enrolled in an early partial immersion programme in which half of the subjects are taught in Spanish and the other half in Basque, except for the English as a foreign language class and some content subjects that are in English.

All participants started learning English at age 4 and were enrolled in a CLIL programme at age 8. In fifth- and sixth-years of schooling, learners are exposed to English in the classroom context for 5 to 7 weekly hours in lessons scheduled as English as a school subject (3 hours in 5th year and 4 hours in 6th year), as well as in content lessons such as science, arts and crafts or physical education (3 hours in 5th year and 4 hours in 6th year). At the time of the data gathering, 5th year learners had received 714 hours of exposure, and 6th graders 884 hours. As for their English proficiency, the proficiency level test administered at the outset of the study indicated that 5th year learners were in A2-, and 6th year ones in the A2 level (CEFR; Council of Europe, 2001). Participant characteristics are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1
Participant characteristics

	Learner groups	
	CLIL 5 (n = 50)	CLIL 6 (n = 40)
Grade	5	6
Age (years)	10	11
Onset age	3.93	4.28
Exposure (academic years)	6.5	7.5
Hours of exposure to English	714	884
Hours of CLIL exposure	162	291
Proficiency level	A2-	A2

3.2. Instruments and data analysis
At the beginning of the study, learners completed both a questionnaire on their personal and linguistic background (languages known, amount of time learning English (at school and/or extramurally) as well as a proficiency level test, consisting of the reading, listening and writing sections of the Cambridge English Flyers (see http://www.cambridgeenglish.org/exams/young-learners-english/flyers/testformat/). Subsequently, students worked in pairs to narrate a story in English with visual support provided by a series of wordless pictures. This task type has been widely used for similar research purposes with primary- and secondary-school children in CLIL and non-CLIL settings (i.e., Arratibel-Irazusta & Martínez-Adrián, 2018; García Mayo & Lázaro Ibarrola, 2015; Lázaro Ibarrola & García Mayo, 2012; Martínez-Adrián, in press; Martínez-Adrián & Gutiérrez-Mangado, 2015a, 2015b). These vignettes were selected from the Disney movie *Aladdin* (1992)[2]. As for the procedure, 12 pictures were distributed to the 5th and 6th graders (6 to each member of the dyad). At the beginning of the task, participants could not see each other. Each dyad member had to describe the pictures assigned, which had been randomly presented. Then, working together, they ordered the image and took turns telling the story according to the order that they had agreed upon. The participants were asked to perform the task naturally, drawing on all of their available resources, without the assistant's help for vocabulary queries. Even if this type of task has been found to be achievable and beneficial for middle school children (see García Mayo, 2018 for a review of empirical findings related to child interaction in task-based EFL contexts) and have been used in a wide range of studies with young children in an EFL context (i.e., García Mayo & Lázaro Ibarrola, 2015; García Mayo & Hidalgo Gordo, 2017; Lázaro Ibarrola & Azpilicueta Martínez, 2015; Martínez-Adrián, in press), prior to the administration of the task, the researchers ensure that the task was appropriate for the learners tested by having several meetings with the

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[1] Learners had one of three profiles: L1 Spanish/L2 Basque, L1 Basque/L2 Spanish, L1 Spanish/L1 Basque.
[2] To avoid one student in the dyad taking on a lead role, pairings were made based on each member's similar knowledge about the *Aladdin* story.

school teachers. In addition, it was piloted with similarly aged children so as to detect potential problems and make modifications accordingly.

All the narrations were videotaped and later on transcribed and codified in CHILDES format (MacWhinney, 2000). The oral data was codified in terms of Basque/Spanish use and English use in appeals for assistance, clarification requests, metacomments and discourse markers, following the categorization from our previous studies (see Martínez-Adrián, in press, with primary-school children; Arratibel-Irazusta & Martínez-Adrián, 2018, 2019, with secondary-school learners). Apart from that, the use of private speech has been incorporated in the present study in line with other investigations conducted with child learners (Pladevall Ballester & Vraciu, 2017). In what follows, a description of the categories along with illustrations from our database will be provided.

3.2.1. Appeals for assistance

Appeals for assistance (also known as interactional strategies, Cenoz, 2003) are "direct or indirect appeals to the interlocutor in order to get help to produce a specific term in English . . . they are considered intentional and present a marked interrogative intonation pattern" (Cenoz, 2003, p. 5). Example 1 illustrates an appeal for assistance in Spanish and Example 2 in English:

1)   CH2:   *¿Cómo   se dice   señor?*
                How   do you say man
                How   do you say a man?

2)   CH2:   *How do you say a magical thing?* [meaning lamp]

3.2.2. Clarification requests

These are cases in which the learner elicits clarification (Muñoz, 2007). Example 3 provides an example of clarification in Basque and Example 4 in English:

3)   CH2:   *eh #   ba ### hau*
                then   this
                so, this?

4)   CH1:   *All?*

3.2.3. Metacomments

These are instances in which the learner comments on the communicative situation (Muñoz, 2007), as in Example 5 (use of Spanish) and Example 6 (use of English):

5)   CH1:   *no sé esta misma es que yo no me lo he leído.*
                I don't know this one is that I have not read it
                I don't know, just this one, because I haven't read it

6)   CH1:   *this is the last [one].*

3.2.4. Discourse markers

Also called phatics, discourse markers are "lexical items such as well, so, you know, etc., which do not have meaning and whose basic function is to facilitate the flow of speech" (Lázaro Ibarrola & García Mayo, 2012, p. 140), as shown in Example 7 (use of Spanish) and Example 8 (use of English):

7)   CH1:   *bueno, princesa, eso es una princesa?*
                 Well, princess, that is a princess

8)   CH2:   *and this picture, is a, well there is Aladdin and evil and evil is eh eh attacking Aladdin.*

3.2.5. Private speech

Private speech refers to those segments of the interaction primarily used for self-regulatory purposes (Pladevall Ballester & Vraciu, 2017), as depicted in Example 9 (use of Spanish) and Example 10 (use of English):

9)   CH2:   *ay the umm the ay ay eh eeh # ay no sé the eeh this (pointing at the character).*
                    ay the umm the ay ay eh eeh ay not know the eeh this
                    The the I don't know the this

10)   CH2:   *to the ### I don't know.*

To perform statistical analyses, data were entered into SPSS 19 (IMB Corp. 2010), and both descriptive and inferential analyses were computed. In the case of descriptive analyses, both means and standard deviations were calculated for the different categories. Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests were run to verify the normality of distribution of the samples. As data did not follow a normal distribution, Mann-Whitney U tests were used for inter-group comparisons and Friedman Tests together with Wilcoxon's Signed Rank Tests were conducted for intragroup comparisons. Statistical significance was indicated at the $p < .01^{**}$ and $p < .05^*$ levels. Marginally significant differences were indicated at the $p < .09^\#$ level.

4. Results

To answer the first two research questions, intergroup comparisons regarding the use of Basque/Spanish in each category as well as the use of L3 English are provided. Table 2 shows the results for the total use of PKL (Spanish/Basque).

Table 2
Spanish/Basque use during interaction: Descriptive and inferential statistics

		Mann-Whitney U test	
Learner groups	Instances of Spanish/Basque use	Z	Significance
CLIL Year 5	M = 17.00 (SD = 16.02)	−2.905	**0.004
CLIL Year 6	M = 28.63 (SD = 25.31)		

As can be observed in Table 2, older CLIL learners made a higher use of PKL. This difference was highly significant from a statistical point of view. The differences were particularly evident in metacomments, discourse markers and private speech, as depicted in Table 3. The L3 (English) was also used for these categories in both groups (see Table 4). The analysis of the results indicated that both learner groups employed L3 English with the same frequency, except for the category *metacomments* in which a statistical tendency was found in favour of Year 5 learners. In order to give an answer to the last three questions, intragroup comparisons were carried out. Tables 5-6 display the findings concerning the use of Basque/Spanish compared to English in each category.

Table 3
Instances of Basque and Spanish use by categories: Descriptive and inferential statistics

	Learner groups		Mann-Whitney U test	
Categories	CLIL Year 5	CLIL Year 6	Z	Significance
Appeals	M = 4.10 (SD = 3.86)	M =3.85 (SD = 2.80)	−0.229	0.819
Clarification requests	M = 1.20 (SD = 2.00)	M = 0.93 (SD = 1.54)	−0.404	0.686
Metacomments	M = 7.70 (SD = 9.47)	M = 15.48 (SD = 20.42)	−2.752	**0.006
Discourse markers	M = 3.02 (SD = 4.11)	M = 6.28 (SD = 6.02)	−3.319	**0.001
Private speech	M = 0.98 (SD = 1.46)	M = 2.10 (SD = 2.82)	−2.131	*0.033

Table 4
Instances of L3 English use by categories: Descriptive and inferential statistics

	Learner groups		Mann-Whitney U test	
Categories	CLIL Year 5	CLIL Year 6	Z	Significance
Appeals	M =0.20 (SD = 0.40)	M =0.10 (SD = 0.30)	−1.293	0.196
Clarification requests	M = 0.56 (SD = 0.95)	M = 0.30 (SD = 0.56)	−0.999	0.318
Metacomments	M = 14.26 (SD = 10.07)	M = 11.30 (SD = 11.46)	−1.922	#0.055
Discourse markers	M = 0.04 (SD = 0.198)	M = 0.65 (SD = 3.48)	−1.165	0.244
Private speech	M = 0.96 (SD = 1.52)	M = 0.73 (SD = 1.43)	−1.216	0.224

Table 5
Comparison of instances of Basque/Spanish use to L3 English use by categories in Year 5: Descriptive and inferential statistics

	Language use		Wilcoxon Rank test	
Categories	L1/L2 (Spanish/Basque)	L3 (English)	Z	Significance
Appeals	M = 4.10 (SD = 3.86)	M = 0.20 (SD = 0.40)	−5.381	**0.001
Clarification requests	M = 1.20 (SD = 2.00)	M = 0.56 (SD = 0.95)	−1.710	#0.087
Metacomments	M = 7.70 (SD = 9.47)	M = 14.26 (SD = 10.07)	−3.204	**0.001
Discourse markers	M = 3.02 (SD = 4.11)	M = 0.04 (SD = 0.198)	−5.106	**0.001
Private speech	M = 0.98 (SD = 1.46)	M = 0.96 (SD = 1.52)	−0.285	0.775

Table 6
Comparison of instances of Basque/Spanish use to L3 English use by categories in Year 6: Descriptive and inferential statistics

	Language use		Wilcoxon Rank test	
Categories	L1/L2 (Spanish/Basque)	L3 (English)	Z	Significance
Appeals	M = 3.85 (SD = 2.80)	M = 0.10 (SD = 0.30)	−5.188	**0.001
Clarification requests	M = 0.93 (SD = 1.54)	M = 0.30 (SD = 0.56)	−2.581	*0.010
Metacomments	M = 15.48 (SD = 20.42)	M = 11.30 (SD = 11.46)	−0.805	0.421
Discourse markers	M = 6.28 (SD = 6.02)	M = 0.65 (SD = 3.48)	−4.726	**0.001
Private speech	M = 2.10 (SD = 2.82)	M = 0.73 (SD = 1.43)	−2.840	**0.005

In both groups, the tendency was to resort to their PKL more frequently than to English in appeals for assistance, clarification requests and discourse markers. This preference reached significance in both groups. In the case of private speech, no differences in Year 5 students, while a significantly greater use of Basque/Spanish was observed in Year 6 learners. As regards metacomments, Year 5 students preferred to use English in a highly significant manner, whereas the inexistence of significant differences was obtained in Year 6 students, a finding that seems to indicate a more balanced use of both languages in this category. Figure 1 depicts the descriptive comparison of the use of Spanish/Basque in the different categories among Year 5 students.
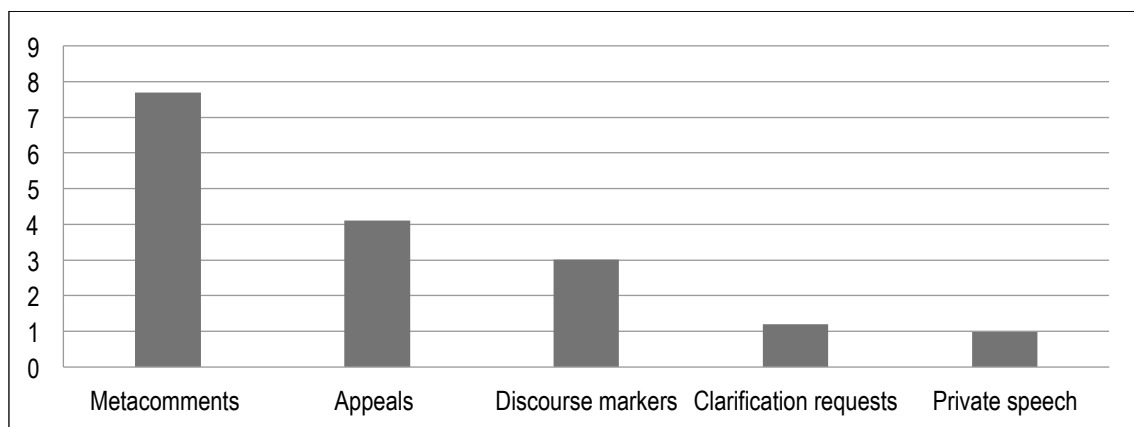

Figure 1. Categories served by Basque/Spanish in Year 5

As illustrated by Figure 1, metacomments, followed by appeals and discourse markers, were most commonly served by the use of Basque/Spanish. Clarification requests and private speech were the categories with the least use of these languages. In order to see whether these differences were statistically significant, a Friedman's Test was conducted. Statistically significant differences emerged (Chi-Square=324.708; p-value=0.001), and therefore post-hoc analyses were conducted. A Wilcoxon's Signed Rank test showed that metacomments significantly differed from the other categories. In addition, statistically significant differences were also observed among appeals, discourse markers and clarification requests, while no differences emerged between clarification requests and private speech. Table 7 presents the summary of these results. The same descriptive analysis was carried out for year 6 (Figure 2).

Table 7
Use of Basque/Spanish: Wilcoxon's Signed Rank Test for Year 5

| Categories	Z	Significance
Clarification requests-Appeals	−4.842	**0.001
Metacomments-Appeals	−2.432	*0.015
Discourse markers-Appeals	−2.124	*0.034
Private speech-Appeals	−4.753	**0.001
Metacomments-Clarification requests	−5.032	**0.001
Discourse markers-Clarification requests	−3.605	**0.001
Private speech-Clarification requests	−0.621	0.534
Discourse markers-metacomments	−3.158	**0.002
Private speech-Metacomments	−4.890	**0.001
Private speech-Discourse markers	−4.101	**0.001
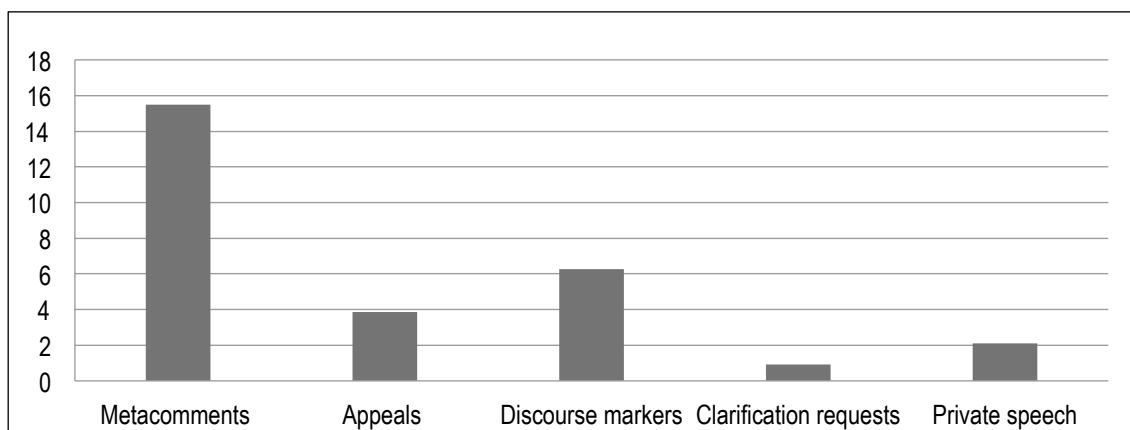
Figure 2. Categories served by Basque/Spanish in Year 6

As in Year 5, metacomments were the most common manifestation of Basque/Spanish use, followed by discourse markers and appeals for assistance. The use of these languages was less common in private speech, and even less in clarification requests. The Friedman test indicated the existence of significant differences across these categories (Chi-Square= 292.418; p-value=0.001). Consequently, post-hoc analyses were conducted. The Wilcoxon's Signed Rank test (Table 8) confirmed the existence of significant differences between metacomments and the rest of the categories. Similarly, the differences between appeals, discourse markers, clarification requests and private speech were significant or nearly significant. Figure 3 shows the descriptive analysis for the use of English in the different categories explored.

Table 8
Use of Basque/Spanish: Wilcoxon's Signed Rank Test for Year 6

| Categories	Z	Significance
Clarification requests-Appeals	−4.443	**0.001
Metacomments-Appeals	−5.144	**0.001
Discourse markers-Appeals	−1.853	#0.064
Private speech-Appeals	−2.876	**0.004
Metacomments-Clarification requests	−5.376	**0.001
Discourse markers-Clarification requests	−4.784	**0.001
Private speech-Clarification requests	−2.465	*0.014
Discourse markers-metacomments	−3.033	**0.002
Private speech-Metacomments	−5.306	**0.001
Private speech-Discourse markers	−3.904	**0.001
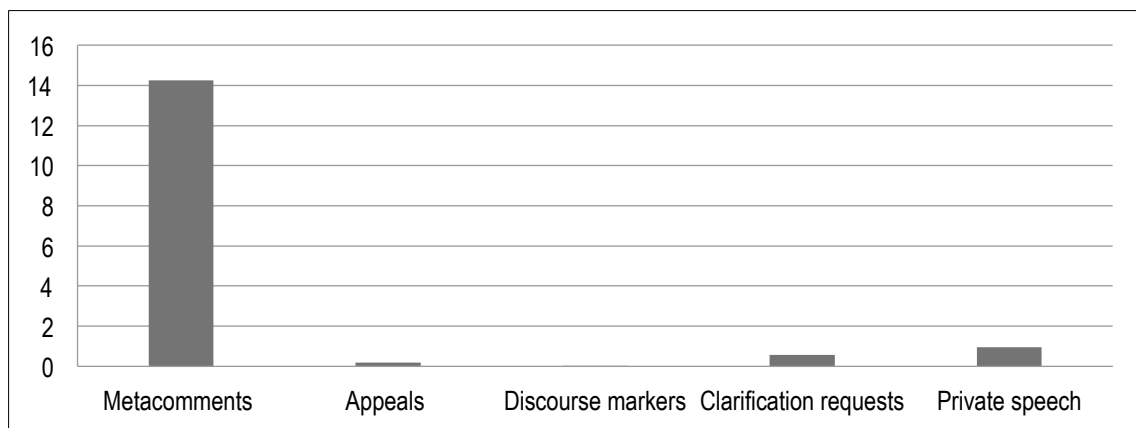
Figure 3. Categories served by L3 English in Year 5

The use of English was prevalent in metacomments, while the use of this language in the other categories was scarce. Particularly, the use of English discourse markers was nearly non-existent. The Friedman test revealed the existence of significant differences across these categories (Chi-Square = 324.708; p = 0.001). A Wilcoxon's Signed Rank test indicated that metacomments significantly differed from the rest of the categories. Statistically significant differences emerged among the other categories, except for the contrast between private speech and clarification requests (see Table 9).

Table 9
Use of English: Wilcoxon's Signed Rank Test for Year 5

Categories	Z	Significance
Clarification requests-Appeals	−2.640	0.008*
Metacomments-Appeals	−6.156	0.001**
Discourse markers-Appeals	−2.530	0.011*
Private speech-Appeals	−3.571	0.001**
Metacomments-Clarification requests	−6.155	0.001**
Discourse markers-Clarification requests	−3.342	0.001**
Private speech-Clarification requests	−1.335	0.182
Discourse markers-metacomments	−6.156	0.001**
Private speech-Metacomments	−6.141	0.001**
Private speech-Discourse markers	−4.073	0.001**

Figure 4 shows the results for the use of English by Year 6 learners. Year 6 students also made substantial use of English in metacomments compared to the other categories, in which the use of this language was less frequent. In particular, appeals were the least frequently used category. The interaction among these categories was significant (Chi-Square = 292.418; p = 0.001). Post-hoc analyses showed that metacomments significantly differed from the rest of the categories. Statistically significant differences were obtained between the rest of the categories, except for the contrast between discourse markers and appeals for assistance, as well as discourse markers and clarification requests (Table 10).
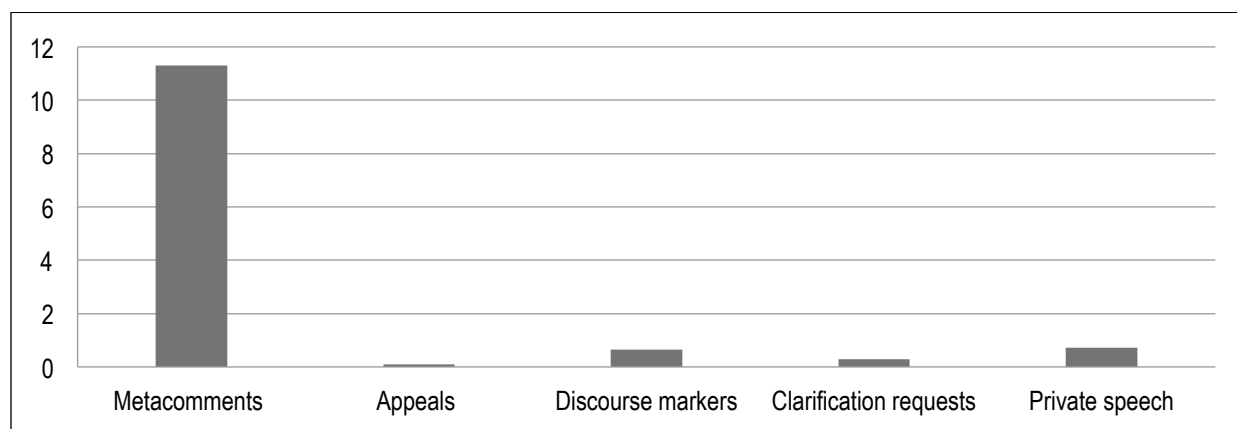

Figure 4. Categories served by L3 English in Year 6

Table 10
Use of English: Wilcoxon's Signed Rank test for Year 6

Categories	Z	Significance
Clarification requests-Appeals	−1.890	0.059#
Metacomments-Appeals	−5.092	0.001**
Discourse markers-Appeals	−0.647	0.518
Private speech-Appeals	−2.724	0.006*
Metacomments-Clarification requests	−5.219	0.001**
Discourse markers-Clarification requests	−1.016	0.310
Private speech-Clarification requests	−2.041	0.041*
Discourse markers-metacomments	−5.089	0.001**
Private speech-Metacomments	−5.164	0.001**
Private speech-Discourse markers	−1.771	0.077#

5. Discussion

In this section, the five research questions of the study will be answered. As regards the first research question (*Are there any differences between both age/proficiency groups in terms of the amount of Basque/Spanish use?*), the intergroup analysis showed a greater use of PKL in Year 6 learners, a result in line with findings from other studies carried out in a CLIL context (Arratibel-Irazusta & Martínez-Adrián, 2018; García Mayo & Hidalgo Gordo, 2017; García Mayo & Imaz-Agirre, 2017; García Mayo & Lázaro Ibarrola, 2015). This greater use of Basque/Spanish is especially reflected in metacomments, discourse markers and private speech. Due to older learners' cognitive maturity and on economy grounds, they seem to make use of strategies that are less cooperative and more external to the task. In fact, studies conducted with CLIL learners (both primary-school learners and adolescents) have shown the use of PKL to be prevalent in metacomments and discourse markers, and this use did not decrease as age increased (Arratibel-Irazusta & Martínez-Adrián, 2018; Gutiérrez-Mangado, 2015; Lázaro Ibarrola, 2016)[3]. As regards more cooperative

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[3] Also note that private speech, an underresearched category in CLIL studies, was also maintained over the period examined in the study by Pladevall and Vraciu (2017).

strategies (appeals for assistance and clarification requests), the intergroup analysis did not yield statistically significant differences. But despite the inexistence of statistically significant differences, the descriptive means point to a greater use by Year 5 learners. In previous investigations with young CLIL learners (Gutierrez-Mangado, 2015), similar tendencies were observed for these two categories. These strategies are more internal to the task, and we could claim that use decreases as age and proficiency increase. A greater gap in proficiency could likely result in statistically significant differences in these categories. Nevertheless, the results from the present study contrast with Lázaro Ibarrola and García Mayo (2012). In their longitudinal study with secondary-school learners in which a wider gap in proficiency existed, L1 use in appeals for assistance and discourse markers decreased as proficiency increased.

Even if a higher use of Basque/Spanish was observed in the older group of learners, as in other investigations with young CLIL learners (García Mayo & Hidalgo Gordo, 2017; García Mayo & Imaz Agirre, 2017; García Mayo & Lázaro Ibarrola, 2015), the underlying reasons cited in these investigations for this higher use are not applicable to our sample. Unlike the older learners in these investigations, for whom the task performed may not have been very appealing or in other cases (e.g. when task repetition was carried out) not so motivating the second time they performed the task, the older learners in the present study were highly engaged while carrying out the task. Their attitude towards performing a different task from the one used in the aforementioned studies suggested that the task was indeed attractive to them. Thus, we cannot really argue that low motivation explains the higher use of PKL on the part of older learners. The higher use of PKL by older learners seems to be a trend and deserves further investigation in future studies.

With respect to the second research question—*Are there any differences between both age/proficiency groups in terms of the amount of English use?*—both groups were able to perform the categories examined in English, a result in line with the bilingual nature of the educational programme in which the learners were immersed. The use of both Basque/Spanish and English was evident in the different categories. These results contrast with the findings obtained in previous investigations with younger learners (Martínez-Adrián, in press) in which similar categories were examined. In particular, metacomments were always produced in L1 Spanish in Martínez-Adrián (in press), while both Basque/Spanish and English were employed in the present study. The differences existing in the CLIL programmes in which learners were enrolled in these studies could account for these results. In the present study, learners received instruction in content subjects such as science, arts and crafts and physical education exclusively in English. In Martínez-Adrián (in press), Years 4 and 6 learners were receiving half of their lessons in English and half in Spanish[4].

In terms of quantity, the intergroup analysis revealed that English was employed in similar proportions in Years 5 and 6 as in previous investigations in which a small gap in age and proficiency was not so big as to result in statistically significant differences (see Arratibel-Irazusta & Martínez-Adrián, 2019, with secondary-school learners and oral production; Martínez-Adrián et al., 2019, with self-reported opinions gathered from the same sample tested in the present study), except for the metacomments category in which a statistical tendency was found in favour of Year 5 learners. This result is related to the answer to the next research question, which centered on language preference in each category. In the case of this category, Year 5 preferred the use of English over Basque/Spanish. As neither interviews with the teachers of this group of learners nor the observation of the lessons were carried out, the advocacy for a more English-only policy in the Year 5 group, which could explain this result, remains tentative.

As for the third research question—*Do learners in each group show a preference for either Basque/Spanish or English in the categories analyzed?*— in Year 5 a significantly higher use of Basque/Spanish was observed in nearly all the categories except for metacomments, in which statistically significant differences emerged in favour of English use. A similar pattern was attested in Year 6, even though in the category metacomments, learners used Basque/Spanish and English in similar proportions given the inexistence of statistically significant differences in this respect. Nevertheless, even if the analysis did not yield statistical significance, the descriptive means point to a tendency to increase the use of Basque/Spanish over English in this category.

In general, the trend is for learners to use Basque/Spanish to a greater extent than English in the categories examined when they are interacting, as it is the language shared by both members of the dyads (see Arratibel-Irazusta & Martínez-Adrián, 2018 and Lázaro Ibarrola, 2016 for similar results in the category

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[4] Also note that the present study and Martínez-Adrián (in press) differ in design, as Martínez-Adrián (in press) compared CLIL to non-CLIL learners in Years 4 and 6, no inferential analysis was carried out when contrasting the use of English and Spanish, and the task performed, although similar in procedure, differed in terms of the visual stimuli employed.

discourse markers). However, the category metacomments deserves further examination as a preference for English existed among Year-5 students and a more balanced use of Basque/Spanish and English was observed in Year-6 learners. What these results reveal is that English is special for the performance of metacomments. This category is specifically linked to the task procedure. Learners use English to a greater extent or as much as they use Basque/Spanish when they have to, among other things, move the task forward,when they have to classifiy the pictures or when they have to order them. In this respect, the more functional use of English is observed. We should not overlook the fact that English is a language of communication rather than an object of study in CLIL programmes (Martínez-Adrián & Gutiérrez-Mangado, 2015a), which could explain the use of English for metacognitive purposes. This result also aligns with Martínez-Adrián et al.'s study (2019) in which the preference for the use of English in paraphrases was evident in the same learners' self-reported opinions. In that study, this was explained in light of the input provided to CLIL learners and the fact that learners use the foreign language as a means of communication, which might lead them to manipulate the TL to a higher rate compared to mainstream learners. Even if the use of English in paraphrases or descriptions is slightly different from its use in metacomments, what seems to be clear is that the use of English as a language of communication in CLIL lessons may be the underlying reason for both episodes.

If we tackle the differences between Year 5 and Year 6 learners in terms of metacomments, even if we observed a similar use of Basque/Spanish and English in Year 6 learners, the tendency seems to augment the use of their PKL. It seems as if these Year 6 learners were more practical and were guided by economy principles to solve the task in a faster way (Lin, 2015). This is not surprising as the same learners in Year 6 were found to show a preference for more communicative options, such as borrowings, to avoid communication breakdowns in the self-report questionnaire administered to them in Martínez-Adrián et al. (2019). In fact, other studies with primary-school learners have reported similar tendencies (Gutiérrez-Mangado, 2015) and the same applies to secondary-school learners (Arratibel-Irazusta & Martínez-Adrián, 2018). On the other hand, Year 5 learners seem to be more conservative by using the language of instruction to a greater extent while making comments related to the task. However, this argument remains tentative due to the lack of questionnaires or interviews carried out with these learners and their teachers about the use of Basque/Spanish and English in their classes. The use of more qualitative data on the language policy implemented in each class would undoubtedly illuminate the discussion of the results.

All in all, what these results seem to evince is that, even if English is widely used in metacomments, Basque/Spanish use overrides the use of English in the rest of the categories. This aligns with previous research studies in which previously known language-based strategies coexist with the use of TL-based strategies (Arratibel-Irazusta & Martínez-Adrián, 2019; Martínez-Adrián, in press; Martínez-Adrián et al., 2019; Pladevall Ballester & Vraciu, 2017). This suggests that these learners are functioning in a bilingual mode, rather than in a monolingual mode (Martínez-Adrián, in press).

In response to the fourth research question—*Among the categories examined, which ones are the most commonly served by Basque/Spanish?*—metacomments are the most common manifestation of the use of PKL, followed by appeals for assistance and discourse markers in Year 5. A similar result is obtained in Year 6. These are the functions characterized by a greater use of the L1 in previous investigations with both children (Azkarai & García Mayo, 2017; García Mayo & Hidalgo Gordo, 2017; Martínez-Adrián, in press) and adults (Alegría de la Colina & García Mayo, 2009; Arratibel-Irazusta & Martínez-Adrián, 2018; Azkarai & García Mayo, 2015; Storch & Aldosari, 2010). The use of Basque/Spanish in metacomments allowed the learners to progress in their completion of the task and comply with task requirements. Similarly, the use of these languages in appeals for assistance regarding deliberations over vocabulary and in discourse markers to keep the flow of speech prevented them from communication breakdowns. In fact, the use of appeals for assistance was also one of the strategies that ranked higher in frequency in the self-report questionnaire administered to the same learners in Martínez-Adrián et al. (2019).

The least used functions were clarification requests and private speech. The lower use of L1s in clarification requests has also been attested in research with younger learners (Azkarai & García Mayo, 2017). Private speech is similarly uncommon in other investigations with children (García Mayo & Hidalgo Gordo, 2017) as well as in studies with adults conducted in an EFL setting (Alegría de la Colina & García Mayo, 2009).

Finally, in response to the last research question—*Among the categories examined, which ones are the most commonly served by English?*—metacomments were the most productive category in both years. Students employed the language of instruction, which together with Spanish, was also used for task

management. This finding could be related to the use of the TL in CLIL programmes with a meaningful purpose. However, the use of English is uncommon in discourse markers and appeals for assistance. Other studies have also reported the inexistence of English discourse markers in CLIL learners' discourse (Arratibel-Irazusta & Martínez-Adrián, 2018; Lázaro Ibarrola, 2016). Likewise, when learners noticed a gap in knowledge while interacting, they preferred to use Basque/Spanish rather than English, so the communicative flow of speech would not be interrupted and doubts concerning vocabulary items could be solved much more effectively and efficiently. In this fashion, the message can be conveyed.

6. Conclusion

The goal of this study has been to examine the use of PKL (Basque and Spanish) and the TL (English) in appeals for assistance, clarification requests, metacomments, discourse markers and private speech in two different age/proficiency groups of primary school learners (grades 5 and 6) immersed in a CLIL context, while performing a communicative task in pairs. In terms of amount, there were differences between age groups, with greater use of PKL among the older learners, especially in less cooperative strategies and those more external to the task (metacomments, discourse markers and private speech). As for the use of the TL (English), the analysis indicated that both age groups behaved in a similar way, except with regard to metacomments, which younger learners used slightly more frequently. The intragroup analysis revealed that both age groups resorted to Basque/Spanish more frequently than to English, except for metacomments, in which the younger group preferred to use English, while older learners made use of Basque/Spanish and English in similar proportions. The fact that English has a more functional use in CLIL settings, as the language of communication in these meaning-oriented settings, could account for the use of English for metacognitive purposes by these learners during dyadic interaction. In terms of types, a similar pattern was observed as regards the most common manifestation of Basque/Spanish use and English use. Metacomments, followed by discourse markers and appeals for assistance were the categories most commonly served by PKL. In the case of TL use, metacomments were widely employed. What this analysis indicates is that learners use their language repertoire for task-management purposes, a finding which could be ascribed to the bilingual nature of the CLIL programme in which they were immersed.

In the light of the results, two main pedagogical implications may be drawn. The examination of the findings has shown the beneficial effect of CLIL on the learners' use of their language repertoire for task-management purposes. However, the less balanced use of their PKL and the TL attested in appeals for assistance indicates the need for more TL-based strategies (i.e., use of synonyms, descriptions, reformulations) among students or the enhancement of paraphrasing during teachers' discourse, which could provide students with rich and repeated modeling (Dalton-Puffer, 2016, as cited in Pavón & Ramos, 2019). It is not a matter of banning the use of their PKL, but of making students aware of other strategies that could help them during interaction when they might feel stuck. Similarly, more systematic activities aimed at practicing TL lexical discourse markers could promote the development of more natural speech. Taken together, these two measures could boost learners' flow of speech in the TL. By integrating the development of strategy use in the curriculum, we would be contributing to a more balanced use of learners' PKL and the TL, as advocated by recent research (see Martínez-Adrián, Gutiérrez-Mangado, & Gallardo-del-Puerto, 2019). In other words, gradually bridging PKL and the TL in the everyday/academic register could lead to more optimal communication and maximize the effectiveness of CLIL in terms of both content and language learning (Lo & Lin, 2019).

For future research, as indicated in Martínez-Adrián et al. (2019), statistical correlations should be conducted between learners' self-reported opinions and their performance during oral interaction. In general, a call for more research along these lines has been made in the literature (Gao, 2007). This line of research is especially inexistent in studies on young learners. Similarly, longitudinal investigations will shed more light on how the use of PKL and the TL evolve over time. Likewise, more qualitative data (observations, interviews with both learners and teachers in different subjects) would elucidate some of the arguments provided in the discussion of the results. The impact of different types of pairings and task-modality effects are also worth investigating so as to explore the best learning conditions for young learners. Finally, a follow-up study comparing the performance of CLIL to non-CLIL leaners will allow us to reach more robust conclusions concerning the effect of more intense and meaningful input during CLIL lessons.

Acknowledgements

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