

Volume 8, Issue 1, March 2021

EJournalAL

**EuroAmerican Journal
of Applied Linguistics and Languages**

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EJournalAL

EuroAmerican Journal of
Applied Linguistics
and Languages

Volume 8, Issue 1, March 2021 pages i-92

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ISSN 2376-905X

<http://dx.doi.org/10.21283/2376905X.13>

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All the articles in this issue underwent double blind peer review processes.

We thank the anonymous reviewers who contributed to the quality of this issue.

¿Para qué ironizamos? Reflexiones de adolescentes de 12 y 15 años sobre las funciones de la ironía verbal¹

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Received 21 September 2020; accepted after revisions 18 November 2020

ABSTRACT

ES Para establecer las razones por las que un hablante elige un enunciado irónico por encima de uno literal es necesario evaluar la mente del hablante y su intención al emplear la ironía verbal en un contexto comunicativo específico. Con base en lo anterior, el objetivo de este estudio es analizar la manera en que adolescentes de 12 y 15 años reflexionan sobre las funciones de la ironía verbal en dos tipos de enunciados irónicos: agradecimiento y ofrecimiento. Treinta y dos adolescentes se enfrentaron a diferentes situaciones comunicativas que finalizaban con un enunciado irónico, y mediante un guion de preguntas se indagó sobre las funciones que los participantes atribuían a cada enunciado irónico y sobre el tipo de conocimientos en los que basaban sus reflexiones. Los resultados muestran diferencias debidas a la edad en la cantidad y calidad de las reflexiones presentadas por los participantes.

Palabras clave: DESARROLLO LINGÜÍSTICO TARDÍO, IRONÍA VERBAL, REFLEXIÓN METALINGÜÍSTICA, FUNCIÓN DE LA IRONÍA, TEORÍA DE LA MENTE

EN To establish the reasons behind a speaker's choice to use an ironic expression over a literal one, it is necessary to evaluate the speaker's mind and his/her intention to employ irony in a specific communicative context. Taking this into account, the purpose of this study is to analyse the way in which adolescents ages 12 and 15 reflect on the functions of verbal irony in two types of ironic expressions: ironic thanking and ironic offering. Thirty-two subjects were faced with different communicative situations ending with an ironic remark and were asked about the functions they attributed to each remark and on what sort of knowledge they based their responses. Results show age-based differences in the amount and quality of the reflections presented by the participants.

Key words: LATER LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT, VERBAL IRONY, METALANGUAGE, FUNCTIONS OF IRONY, THEORY OF MIND

IT Per stabilire i motivi che spingono un parlante a usare un enunciato ironico al posto di uno letterale, è necessario valutare la mente e le intenzioni nell'usare l'ironia verbale in un determinato contesto comunicativo. Con queste premesse, il presente studio si propone di analizzare in che modo adolescenti di 12 e 15 anni riflettono sulle funzioni dell'ironia verbale in due tipi di enunciati ironici: ringraziamento e offerta. Dopo essere stati messi di fronte a diverse situazioni comunicative che si chiudevano con un enunciato ironico, a 32 adolescenti è stato chiesto di rispondere a una serie di domande sulla funzione che ciascuno/a di loro attribuiva a ogni enunciato e di dire in base a cosa avevano optato per quella funzione. I risultati mostrano differenze in base all'età nella quantità e nella qualità delle riflessioni fatte dai/dalle partecipanti.

Parole chiave: SVILUPPO TARDIVO DEL LINGUAGGIO, IRONIA VERBALE, RIFLESSIONE METALINGUISTICA, FUNZIONE DELL'IRONIA, TEORIA DELLA MENTE

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¹ Una versión previa a este artículo con resultados preliminares derivados del mismo proyecto de investigación apareció en Silva, Hess, Fernández y Avecilla (2019).

1. Antecedentes

1.1. Ironía verbal en el desarrollo lingüístico tardío

Una de las habilidades de mayor crecimiento dentro del desarrollo lingüístico tardío -aquel que se da durante los años escolares y la adolescencia- es el uso e interpretación del lenguaje no literal. Sabemos que un adecuado desarrollo del lenguaje no literal es necesario para que los individuos se puedan desenvolver como hablantes competentes dentro de la sociedad (Banasik-Jemielniak & Bokus, 2019; Berko & Bernstein, 2010; Berman, 2004; Hoff, 2014; Nippold, 2004, 2016; Tolchinsky, 2004; Zajackowska, Abbot-Smith, & Kim, 2020). Esto se debe a que el lenguaje no literal aparece frecuentemente en las situaciones comunicativas de la vida cotidiana, además de que forma parte de los contenidos de enseñanza durante los años escolares. Entre los diversos tipos de lenguaje no literal, aquel que ha sido señalado como de adquisición más tardía es la ironía verbal (Banasik-Jemielniak et al., 2020; Filippova, 2014a; Hess, Fernández, & De León, 2017; Nippold, 2016; Tolchinsky, 2004; Zufferey, 2016), entendida como una expresión lingüística en la que mediante un enunciado se manifiesta una discrepancia o contradicción con respecto a algo que ocurre en el contexto en el que aparece dicha expresión (Colston, 2017; Giora, & Attardo, 2014). La adecuada interpretación de la ironía verbal requiere el desarrollo de toda una serie de habilidades cognitivas, lingüísticas, comunicativas y sociales complejas que lleva a los individuos muchos años dominar (Filippova, 2014a).

Si bien resulta de gran importancia conocer cómo se desarrolla en los niños y adolescentes la capacidad para interpretar y producir la ironía verbal, este es un tema que ha sido muy poco estudiado en las investigaciones psicolingüísticas (al respecto véase Hess et al., 2017 y Hess Fernández & Olguín, 2018). Específicamente uno de los aspectos que, a nuestro conocimiento, no ha sido estudiado con la debida profundidad es la manera en que los individuos aprenden a atribuirle una función comunicativa a un enunciado irónico, es decir, cómo entienden la razón de por qué se elige una expresión irónica por encima de una literal. Hasta el momento no existen a nuestro saber estudios que analicen cómo los niños y adolescentes aprenden a reflexionar sobre la función comunicativa de un enunciado irónico en un contexto comunicativo dado y cómo logran identificar cuál es la función que el ironista busca atribuirle a la ironía verbal. Algunas investigaciones han señalado que para poder interpretar la función de la ironía es necesario ser capaz de reconocer diferentes situaciones comunicativas en las que se considera pertinente dicha expresión, saber por qué se usa ese tipo de enunciado y no otro, además de reflexionar acerca de lo que el ironista verdaderamente quiso decir y por qué lo quiso decir, es decir, qué actitud buscaba mostrar. Estos tipos de reflexiones son parte de la habilidad metalingüística del individuo, es decir, de la capacidad para reflexionar de manera consciente sobre el uso del lenguaje incluyendo tanto los aspectos lingüísticos como los extralingüísticos que involucra dicho uso (al respecto véase Baroni, & Axia, 1989; Berko & Bernstein, 2010; Collins, 2013; Crespo-Allende, 2009; Crespo-Allende & Alfaro-Faccio, 2010; Dos Santos, 2016; Gombert, 1987, 1992; Verschueren, 2000). Relacionado con esto, otras investigaciones han señalado que en la adecuada interpretación de la función comunicativa de la ironía verbal interviene la capacidad para atribuir, a uno mismo y a los demás, estados mentales, tales como pensamientos, conocimientos, emociones, creencias e intenciones, con el fin de predecir y explicar el comportamiento propio y ajeno (Banasik-Jemielniak et al., 2020; Bosco et al., 2013; Bosco & Gabbatore, 2017; Dews et al., 1995; Filippova, 2014a; Filippova & Astington, 2008, 2010; Mewhort-Buist & Nilsen, 2013; Szücs & Babarczy, 2017; Winner & Leekam, 1991; Yus, 2016; Zajackowska et al., 2020). Con base en lo anterior, el presente estudio tuvo como objetivo analizar la manera en que adolescentes de 12 y 15 años reflexionan sobre las funciones de la ironía verbal en dos tipos de enunciados irónicos: agradecimiento y ofrecimiento.

1.2. Interpretación de la ironía verbal

Si bien llegar a una definición clara de *ironía verbal* resulta complejo, en términos generales ha sido considerada como una expresión lingüística que conlleva una oposición, discrepancia, contradicción, contraste, incongruencia o incompatibilidad entre lo que se dice y lo que se pretende decir dentro de un contexto comunicativo dado (Colston, 2017; Filippova, 2014a; Giora & Attardo, 2014; Kalbermatten, 2006, 2010). A su vez, se le ha visto como una estrategia discursiva que utiliza el hablante para expresar de forma indirecta su postura ante una situación, significando lo contrario de lo que dice, por lo que se ha señalado que en la ironía verbal el significado real está oculto en el significado literal de las palabras (Attardo, 2000; Filippova, 2014a; Kalbermatten, 2010; Yus, 2009, 2016).

Diversos investigadores se han dado a la tarea de explicar qué aspectos intervienen en la capacidad del individuo para interpretar la ironía verbal. Al respecto, Yus (2009) señala que para lograr la adecuada

interpretación de un enunciado irónico es necesario llevar a cabo cinco tareas esenciales que remiten a la capacidad cognitiva humana de interactuar con el entorno físico y social: 1) filtrar la información proveniente del exterior o del propio sistema interno de procesamiento; 2) actualizar la visión general del mundo que posee el individuo; 3) combinar la información nueva que accede a la mente con la información ya almacenada para extraer conclusiones a partir de su unión; 4) seleccionar del contexto sólo aquella información que es pertinente para la obtención de conclusiones interesantes; y 5) metarrepresentar intenciones y actitudes proposicionales subyacentes en la actividad comunicativa de los interlocutores. Esta última tarea resulta de especial importancia para el presente estudio, pues se relaciona con la capacidad para atribuir funciones a la ironía verbal.

Se ha señalado que la interpretación de la ironía está íntimamente ligada a la capacidad para atribuir estados mentales a los participantes de la interacción verbal. Para interpretar un enunciado irónico, el individuo debe poder representar los pensamientos, creencias y emociones que pueden tener otros sujetos, con el fin de comprender la intencionalidad tanto del hablante como de su interlocutor. Por lo tanto, tiene que ser capaz de metarrepresentar, es decir, de formar una representación mental de los pensamientos, creencias y sentimientos del otro (Collins, 2013). Esta metarrepresentación se ha relacionado estrechamente con la presencia de una *teoría de la mente*, que supone la comprensión del mundo mental, es decir, el reconocimiento de creencias, deseos, emociones, pensamientos, percepciones, intenciones y otros estados mentales tanto en uno mismo como en los demás (Baron-Cohen, Wheelwright, Lawson, Griffin, & Hill, 2009; Flavell, 2004; Miller, 2012; Premack & Woodruff, 1978; Tomasello, 1999; Wellman, 2009).

Así, por ejemplo, en un enunciado irónico como (a) *¡Qué temprano llegaste!*, dicho a alguien que llegó una hora tarde a una cita, se daría el fenómeno siguiente. El ironista emite el enunciado (a) aunque en realidad **piensa** que el oyente llegó tarde (teoría de la mente de primer orden, tomar en cuenta una mente). Al mismo tiempo, el ironista **asume** que el oyente **entenderá** lo contrario de lo que (a) literalmente significa porque ambos saben que el oyente llegó tarde (teoría de la mente de segundo orden, observar dos mentes). Pero simultáneamente a lo anterior, el hablante produce el enunciado (a) **asumiendo** que el oyente **se dará cuenta** de que el hablante **quiso que entendiera** lo contrario de lo que (a) dice literalmente (teoría de la mente de tercer orden, ver tres mentes). Las investigaciones sobre el desarrollo de la interpretación de la ironía verbal confirman que efectivamente es necesario tener una teoría de la mente de tercer orden para poder interpretar de manera adecuada un enunciado irónico. Así, durante la edad preescolar, cuando los niños son capaces de tomar en cuenta la mente de solo uno de los participantes de un evento irónico, interpretan la ironía verbal como un error (*el hablante se equivocó, piensa que el oyente sí llegó temprano*). Entre los 5 y 8 años, cuando los menores ya poseen una teoría de la mente de segundo orden, interpretan la ironía verbal como una mentira (*el hablante quiere que el oyente piense que llegó temprano*). No es sino hasta los 9-10 años, cuando los niños ya poseen una teoría de la mente de tercer orden, que logran interpretar adecuadamente el enunciado irónico (*el hablante sabe que el oyente va a interpretar lo que el hablante realmente le quiere decir*). Para mayor detalle sobre lo anterior véase, entre otros, los trabajos de Dews y otros (1996), Filippova (2014a), Pexman (2008), Winner (1988), y Winner y Leekam (1991).

1.3. Funciones de la ironía verbal

Hasta hoy día se ha señalado que la interpretación de la ironía verbal involucra en gran medida la capacidad para identificar el estado mental de los interlocutores que participan en un evento irónico. No obstante, para comprender qué función tiene un enunciado irónico en una situación comunicativa dada es además importante identificar el estado mental del otro tomando en cuenta sus expectativas y creencias, así como poder reconocer las emociones del hablante y enlazar su estado mental con una acción o evento comunicativo específico. Así mismo, se debe tener la capacidad de comprender y predecir el comportamiento del otro y de juzgar lo que es o no apropiado en los diferentes contextos sociales en relación con las creencias y conductas de los participantes en el contexto comunicativo (para mayor detalle al respecto véase Hess et al., 2018). Además, se debe poder reconocer la motivación que tiene el hablante para elegir la expresión irónica por encima de otra (Filippova, 2005). Es por todo lo anterior por lo que la adecuada interpretación de las funciones que desempeña la ironía verbal en las situaciones comunicativas es de adquisición muy tardía y puede representar un reto incluso para las personas adultas, dado que se ha observado que hay adultos que no son capaces de interpretar adecuadamente los enunciados irónicos (Schwoebel et al., 2000).

Diversos autores han señalado que la ironía puede tener distintas funciones en el discurso (Attardo, 2000; Colston, 2017; Dews et al., 1995; Dews et al., 1996; Filippova, 2005; Filippova & Astington, 2008; Glenwright & Pexman, 2010; Harris & Pexman, 2003; Kalbermatten, 2006, 2010; Pexman & Zvaigzne, 2004;

Winner & Leekam, 1991; Yus, 2009). Las funciones más comunes—si bien no exclusivas—que se le atribuyen a la ironía verbal son las siguientes:

- Agresión o crítica: la ironía puede ser empleada para criticar, agredir o inclusive ridiculizar a una persona, quien se convierte en víctima del comentario irónico.
- Halago irónico: aunque es mucho más frecuente emplear la ironía para criticar a alguien, en algunas ocasiones un enunciado irónico puede ser usado para transmitir un mensaje positivo que halaga a alguien.
- Función atenuadora: se ha señalado que un enunciado irónico permite hacer una crítica o un halago más velado o atenuado que cuando se externa mediante una expresión literal. En este sentido, la ironía permite al ironista expresar su parecer de una forma más matizada y socialmente aceptada, lo que a la vez le permite salvaguardar las apariencias (*face-saving*) ante los demás.
- Función humorística: muchas veces la ironía permite al hablante criticar algo con humor para que parezca que no está tan molesto y que está en control de la situación.
- Control de emociones: debido a que la ironía permite hacer una crítica de manera atenuada o humorística, muchas veces puede tener la función adicional de permitirle al ironista controlar sus emociones y de comunicar su actitud respecto a una situación o persona de una forma más aceptada socialmente.
- Posicionamiento social: en ocasiones una expresión irónica permite elevar el estatus social del ironista y disminuir el de la víctima, sobre todo si el enunciado irónico ocurre frente a otras personas.
- Marca de intimidad: en algunas circunstancias la ironía puede ser utilizada para marcar una relación de confianza, unión o intimidad entre interlocutores que se conocen desde hace mucho tiempo. En estos casos los comentarios irónicos se emplean para bromear o intercambiar opiniones.

1.4. Desarrollo de la interpretación de las funciones de la ironía verbal

Algunas investigaciones psicolingüísticas han centrado su atención en el estudio de la manera en que los niños y adolescentes aprenden a interpretar las funciones de la ironía verbal. Así, Filippova y Astington (Filippova, 2005; Filippova, 2014a, 2014b; Filippova & Astington, 2008, 2010;) sostienen que la ironía verbal involucra una comunicación indirecta de creencias y actitudes que conforman el verdadero significado o intención por parte del emisor y que para su adecuada interpretación se requiere desde la evaluación de la mente del hablante hasta el reconocimiento de la función pragmática de la expresión irónica, que es la intención del hablante al usar la ironía en una conversación. Bajo este enfoque, Filippova y Astington han estudiado el desarrollo de la comprensión de la ironía en los niños, así como el papel que juegan en esta ciertas habilidades lingüísticas específicas. En general sus resultados muestran que a los seis años los niños interpretan literalmente un enunciado irónico y que a los nueve son capaces de observar la inconsistencia entre una expresión irónica y los eventos reales, pero que no son enteramente conscientes de la intención de estas expresiones. De acuerdo con las investigadoras, no es sino hasta la adolescencia cuando los jóvenes reconocen la función comunicativa de una expresión irónica.

Por otra parte, el grupo de investigación de Pexman (Climie & Pexman, 2008; Glenwright & Pexman, 2010; Pexman & Glenwright, 2007; Pexman et al., 2005, 2006, 2010; Nilsen et al., 2011) parte de la premisa de que la ironía se usa para alcanzar metas sociales y comunicativas complejas y que se emplea cuando el hablante quiere mostrar indirectamente su actitud sobre alguien o algún evento en particular, es decir, cuando busca salvaguardar las apariencias en determinada situación comunicativa. En sus investigaciones sobre las funciones de la ironía han encontrado que los niños interpretan como agresiva la ironía que busca criticar pero como más humorísticas las expresiones irónicas que las literales, y que perciben como más graciosas las expresiones irónicas de crítica que los halagos irónicos. Reportan también que desde los 5 años los niños muestran un mejor desempeño en la interpretación de la ironía cuando cuentan con información acerca de la personalidad del ironista, pues esta les permite interpretar la intención y las creencias del emisor de una expresión irónica.

Bajo un enfoque un tanto distinto, el grupo liderado por Winner (Dews et al., 1995; Dews et al., 1996; Winner & Leekam, 1991; Winner, 1988) ha estudiado la ironía como una expresión caracterizada por la oposición entre dos niveles de significados: el significado literal de lo expresado en contraste con el significado que el hablante tuvo intención de comunicar. En sus estudios han encontrado que los adultos perciben las expresiones irónicas de crítica y halago como más graciosas que los enunciados literales y que

los niños, tan pronto como comienzan a detectar la ironía, la reconocen como una expresión menos ofensiva y como más graciosa que los adultos, por lo que concluyen que los niños muestran sensibilidad a la función atenuadora de la ironía.

En estudios específicamente sobre el desarrollo del español, Hess y otros (2017, 2018) observan que, aunque los niños de 9 años hacen reflexiones sobre algunos elementos lingüísticos que aparecen en los enunciados irónicos, solo a partir de los 12 años los adolescentes son capaces de hacer referencia a la función humorística de la ironía.

En general los estudios anteriores muestran que durante la infancia los niños empiezan a observar que la ironía verbal es una expresión lingüística que permite alcanzar metas sociales y comunicativas complejas. Señalan que existen funciones a las que los niños son sensibles desde edades más tempranas, como es el caso de la función atenuadora, pero que hay otras que se desarrollan incluso muy avanzada la adolescencia, como la humorística. No obstante, a nuestro conocimiento no existen trabajos que analicen el desarrollo de varias funciones de la ironía verbal a la vez. El presente estudio pretende, por tanto, esclarecer cómo se desarrolla durante la adolescencia la habilidad para atribuirle a la ironía verbal diversas funciones comunicativas.

2. Método

2.1. Objetivo

Esta investigación tiene como objetivo analizar la manera en que adolescentes de 12 y 15 años reflexionan sobre las funciones de la ironía verbal en dos tipos de enunciados irónicos: agradecimiento y ofrecimiento. De manera adicional se busca observar si existen diferencias debidas a la edad en las reflexiones que los jóvenes pueden realizar sobre las funciones de la ironía en este tipo de enunciados.

Para ello se plantearon las siguientes preguntas de investigación:

- 1) ¿Qué funciones le atribuyen los adolescentes de 12 y 15 años a los enunciados irónicos?
- 2) ¿Existen diferencias debidas a la edad (12 vs. 15 años) en las funciones que los adolescentes son capaces de atribuirle a la ironía verbal?

2.2. Participantes

Formaron parte del estudio 32 adolescentes de 12 y 15 años (16 jóvenes por grupo etario, mitad mujeres y mitad hombres para cada grupo). Todos ellos pertenecían a una escuela privada de la ciudad de Querétaro, México. Debido a que era necesario que los participantes fueran capaces de identificar la ironía verbal para poder reflexionar sobre sus posibles funciones, en un primer momento se les aplicó una prueba de tamizaje que contenía ocho historias (cuatro con final irónico y cuatro con final no irónico) adaptada de estudios previos (Díaz, 2019; Hess y otros, 2017, 2018) (véase un ejemplo del instrumento de tamizaje en el Apéndice A). Para ser incluidos en el estudio, los adolescentes debían mostrar que identificaban la ironía en al menos tres de las cuatro historias irónicas. La obtención de datos siguió en todo momento los lineamientos autorizados por el Comité de Ética de Investigación Científica de la Universidad Autónoma de Querétaro.

2.3. Instrumento y procedimiento

Con el propósito de identificar qué funciones le atribuían los adolescentes de 12 y 15 años a la ironía verbal se diseñó un instrumento cuya función era presentar diferentes historias irónicas con las siguientes variables: 1) relaciones cercanas vs. distantes o nuevas entre los interlocutores; 2) situaciones comunicativas en las que la expresión irónica se da frente a un público o en privado; y 3) tipo de enunciado irónico, ya sea ofrecimiento (p. ej. *¿Quieres volver a llegar tarde mañana para que nos vuelvan a regañar?*) o agradecimiento (p. ej. *Gracias por llegar tarde y hacer que nos regañaran*). Se seleccionaron estos dos tipos de enunciados, ya que en un estudio previo (Hess et al., 2018) se había observado que el agradecimiento irónico es tan sencillo de identificar como la ironía prototípica mientras que el ofrecimiento irónico resulta muy complejo de comprender para los niños y los adolescentes. Se formó un repertorio de 32 historias irónicas en las que las variables se combinaron como se muestra en la Tabla 1.

Tabla 1
Tipos de historias presentes en el instrumento por combinación de variables

	PÚBLICO	PRIVADO	PÚBLICO	PRIVADO
Relación lejana	Agradecimiento	Agradecimiento	Agradecimiento	Agradecimiento
	Ofrecimiento	Ofrecimiento	Ofrecimiento	Ofrecimiento
Relación cercana	Agradecimiento	Agradecimiento	Agradecimiento	Agradecimiento
	Ofrecimiento	Ofrecimiento	Ofrecimiento	Ofrecimiento

Con esta variedad de combinaciones se formaron ocho paquetes que contenían ocho historias irónicas con la finalidad de incluir una historia con cada combinación de variables. Además, se agregó una historia con un final no irónico para que no todos los textos tuvieran la misma estructura (véase un ejemplo del instrumento en el Apéndice B). Los paquetes de historias fueron contrabalanceados entre los participantes. El instrumento se aplicó a cada participante en una entrevista individual que tuvo una duración aproximada de 30 minutos y fue audiograbada. Se le pedía a cada adolescente que al azar eligiera una por una las nueve historias de su paquete y que las leyera en silencio. Después de cada historia, el entrevistador aplicaba un guion de preguntas que tenía como objeto observar si el joven interpretaba la historia como irónica o no, por qué la consideraba así, qué funciones le atribuía al enunciado irónico presente al final de la historia y si pensaba que este era pertinente en el contexto comunicativo en el que aparecía.

2.4. Transcripción y codificación

Todas las entrevistas fueron transcritas y codificadas en el programa Atlas.TI 8 Mac OS X. La unidad de análisis fue la emisión. Se codificó el tipo de historia, así como el tipo de función identificada por los participantes. Las respuestas obtenidas por los adolescentes fueron clasificadas *a posteriori* con los criterios que se muestran en la Tabla 2.

Tabla 2
Funciones de la ironía encontradas por los participantes de la investigación

Función	Descripción	Ejemplos
Control de emociones	El participante menciona que el enunciado irónico es empleado por el ironista como una manera de controlar sus emociones.	“porque se molestó y generalmente cuando las personas se enojan en lugar de decirlo directo lo dices en sarcasmo”
Crítica negativa	El participante menciona que el enunciado irónico tiene la función de criticar, reclamar o burlarse de la víctima.	“porque el sarcasmo no es agradable, es una forma burlona de molestar a alguien”
Marca de intimidad	El participante menciona que el enunciado irónico sirve para mostrar una relación cercana entre el ironista y su víctima.	“cuando estás con amigos y ya los conoces de hace tiempo sí se puede, cuando ya sabes cómo de verdad piensan”
Posicionamiento social	El participante menciona que el enunciado irónico es empleado para elevar el estatus social del ironista o disminuir el de la víctima.	“porque están enfrente de amigos y lo hace como para humillarlo”
Humorística	El participante menciona que el enunciado irónico tiene la función de ser gracioso.	“cuando estás con amigos y ya los conoces de hace tiempo sí se puede, cuando ya sabes cómo de verdad piensan porque pues ya saben que es un chiste y no se van a ofender”
Atenuadora	El participante menciona que el enunciado irónico tiene la función de atenuar la crítica implícita.	“para que no suene como que la está regañando más”

Salvaguardar las apariencias	El participante menciona que el enunciado irónico tiene la función de salvaguardar la apariencia del ironista frente a otros.	“porque estaba en una clase de cocina y si los demás probaron el pastel van a decir 'ay, Roberto [ironista] cocina bien feo' entonces ya no van a querer probar lo que hace Roberto y por eso se enoja con Andrés y dice eso”
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Es importante mencionar que las categorías de la Tabla 2 no eran excluyentes entre sí, pues podía codificarse más de una función por respuesta. De manera adicional, para cada una de las respuestas de los participantes se codificó si se trataba de una respuesta metalingüística o epilingüística. Con base en la propuesta de Gombert (1987, 1992) se consideró que una respuesta *metalingüística* era aquella en la que el participante hacía una reflexión consciente sobre la relación de alguno de los elementos lingüísticos del enunciado irónico y el contexto en el que aparece, además de explicitar las reglas pragmáticas involucradas en su producción fuera del contexto comunicativo de la historia irónica analizada (p. ej. *porque cuando estás frente a un grupo de chavos y alguien dice algo sarcástico todos asumen que es una burla; el sarcasmo es una broma y entre amigos no está mal*). En cambio, una respuesta fue considerada *epilingüística* cuando el participante hacía una reflexión sobre el enunciado irónico pero esta era dentro del contexto comunicativo de la historia y el adolescente no era capaz de explicitar la regla pragmática involucrada (p. ej. *no, porque Joaquín es nuevo y no debería ser tratado así porque es su primer día; sí se puede valer porque dice que son muy amigas*). De acuerdo con Gombert y otros investigadores, las respuestas metalingüísticas se consideran más avanzadas que las epilingüísticas en el desarrollo del niño, aunque por lo general coexisten en los individuos (Baroni & Axia, 1989; Crespo-Allende, 2009; Gombert, 1987, 1992).

3. Resultados

En primer lugar se hizo una cuantificación de las diferentes funciones de la ironía verbal presentes en las respuestas (epi y metalingüísticas) producidas por los participantes de 12 y 15 años. El resultado de este análisis se aprecia en la Figura 1.

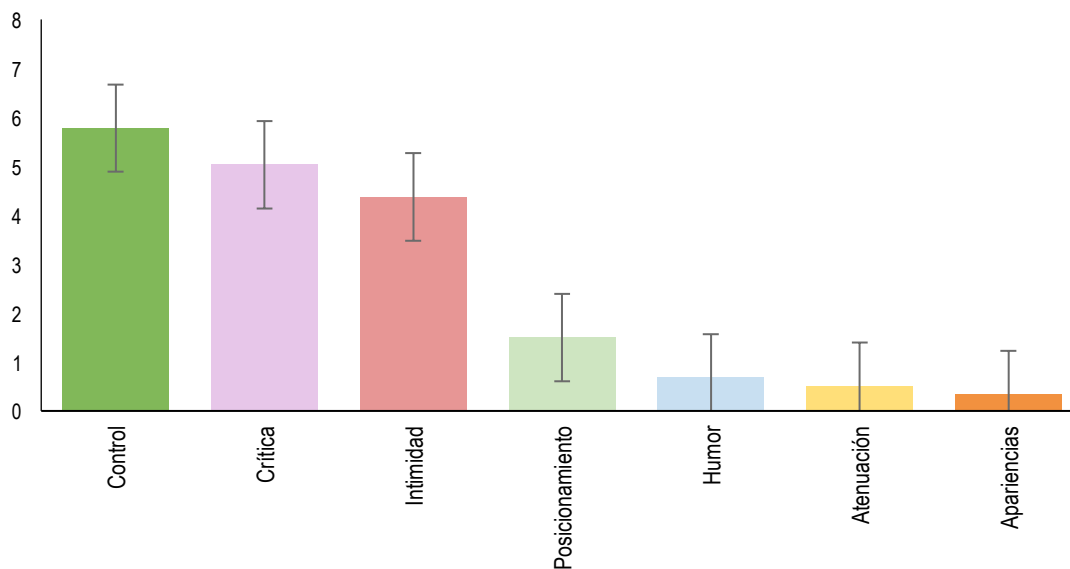


Figura 1. Cantidad media de respuestas por función de la ironía verbal para toda la muestra. (El eje de la “x” muestra las funciones identificadas y el eje “y” la cantidad media de respuestas por función de la ironía verbal)

Como puede observarse, la función más frecuente en las respuestas de los jóvenes fue la de control de emociones, seguida por las de crítica y marca de intimidación. Por su parte, las funciones de posicionamiento social, humorística, atenuadora y para salvaguardar las apariencias fueron mucho menos frecuentes. Un

análisis estadístico mediante una prueba de Friedman mostró diferencias estadísticamente significativas ($p < .001$) entre las funciones de la ironía mencionadas por los participantes.

A continuación, con la finalidad de analizar más a fondo el reto que para los jóvenes representaron las funciones de la ironía que aparecieron de manera menos frecuente en sus respuestas, se decidió realizar un análisis cualitativo de todas las respuestas para las funciones de salvaguardar las apariencias, posicionamiento social, humorística y atenuadora. A continuación se detallan los resultados de dicho análisis.

En primer lugar, se vio que la función de *salvaguardar las apariencias* fue identificada tanto por los adolescentes de 12 como por los de 15 años de edad. Sin embargo, los datos mostraron que las menciones a esta función fueron realizadas exclusivamente mediante reflexiones epilingüísticas. Al respecto obsérvense los siguientes ejemplos:

“Para no quedar mal (ironista) enfrente de sus amigos y hacerles entender que no fue culpa de ella que llegaran tarde” [mujer, 12 años, epilingüística]

“Quiso como quitarse la culpa porque ella no tenía la culpa” [hombre, 12 años, epilingüística]

“Melissa (ironista) solo le quiere hacer notar que fue su culpa (de Alberto) y que Alberto (víctima) se avergüence y que vea que por su culpa tomaron el atajo” [mujer, 15 años, epilingüística]

Se puede ver que en los ejemplos anteriores los participantes realizan una reflexión de carácter epilingüístico, pues se mantienen dentro de la situación comunicativa donde surge el evento irónico y no explicitan cuál es la regla pragmática detrás del uso de la función de la ironía que están identificando.

Por su parte, en lo que se refiere a la identificación de la función de la ironía como una manera de modificar el *posicionamiento social* del ironista frente a los otros, el análisis cualitativo señaló que los participantes de 12 años únicamente lograron hacer reflexiones de tipo epilingüístico sobre esta función:

“Está haciendo que su hermano quede mal enfrente de sus primos” [hombre, 12 años, epilingüística]

“No se vale porque está poniendo a Alberto (víctima) como que no sabe enfrente de sus amigos” [mujer, 12 años, epilingüística]

en tanto que esta función fue identificada mediante reflexiones epilingüísticas y metalingüísticas por los participantes de 15 años:

“Como lo dijo enfrente de su grupo yo digo que lo dijo para burlarse” [mujer, 15 años, epilingüística]

“Pues si estás entre amigos o solo sí, porque si estás con alguien más pues sí lo estás humillando enfrente de la otra persona” [hombre, 15 años, metalingüística]

En lo que concierne a la *función humorística* de la ironía, el análisis cuantitativo de las respuestas de los participantes señaló que sólo dos adolescentes de 12 años atribuyeron una función humorística a la ironía y lo expresaron mediante reflexiones epilingüísticas, como se observa en los siguientes ejemplos:

“Lo dice para parecer más chistoso o algo así” [hombre, 12 años, epilingüística]

“Lo dijo para parecer más chistoso” [mujer, 12 años, epilingüística]

En cambio, varios de los adolescentes de 15 años fueron capaces de referirse al aspecto humorístico de las expresiones irónicas tanto mediante reflexiones epilingüísticas como metalingüísticas:

“Porque eran muy amigos y ya supongo que ya se llevaban algo así y se lo dijo en forma como de una broma para decirlo burlón aliviado” [hombre, 15 años, epilingüística]

“Cuando estás con amigos y ya los conoces de hace tiempo sí se puede, cuando ya sabes cómo de verdad piensan porque pues ya saben que es un chiste y no se van a ofender” [mujer, 15 años, metalingüística]

Por último, respecto a la función *atenuadora*, los resultados indican que fue una función compleja de reconocer por los participantes de ambos grupos etarios, puesto que la frecuencia en que fue identificada fue muy baja, tanto con reflexiones epilingüísticas como metalingüísticas:

“Se lo dice para no sonar tan ofensivo pero no es buena onda” [hombre, 12 años, epilingüística]
 “Es que yo pienso que sí es una manera no tan gacha de decirlo” [mujer, 12 años, metalingüística]
 “Se lo dice así como una forma mucho más amistosa de decirlo, como diciendo ‘ten cuidado’” [mujer, 15 años, epilingüística]
 “Esto es sarcasmo o ironía y se vale cuando tal vez no lo quieres hacer de una manera ofensiva” [hombre, 15 años, metalingüística]

Por otro lado, un análisis comparativo entre grupos de edades mostró que las respuestas proporcionadas por los participantes mayores tendían a ser más complejas que las de los menores, puesto que en una sola respuesta los mayores fueron capaces de señalar más de una función de la ironía:

“Cuando estás con *amigos y ya los conoces de hace tiempo* sí se puede, cuando ya sabes cómo de verdad piensan porque pues ya saben que es un *chiste* y no se van a *ofender*” [mujer, 15 años, funciones marca de intimidad, humorística, crítica]
 “A la vez *se molestó* un poco pero lo dijo frente a los amigos de Luis a modo de *burla para que se sintiera mal*” [hombre, 15 años, funciones control de emociones y crítica]
 “Para hacerle saber que *está enojado* con ella y que a pesar de que *se acaban de conocer* fue por ella que los descalificaron y que no serán amigos porque *el sarcasmo siempre es manifestación de un enojo*” [hombre, 15 años, funciones control de emociones, marca de intimidad, control de emociones]

Además, el análisis indicó que los participantes de 15 años utilizaron con mayor frecuencia términos metalingüísticos para referirse a la ironía, como se observa en los siguientes ejemplos:

“El *sarcasmo* es para sacar toda la ira” [hombre, 15 años]
 “A veces se vale un poco el *sarcasmo*” [mujer, 15 años]
 “Porque para eso es la *ironía*: para hacer sentir mal a la gente” [hombre, 15 años]

Sobre esto llama la atención que los participantes utilizan con mayor frecuencia la palabra *sarcasmo* que la palabra *ironía* para describir los enunciados irónicos, como ha sido señalado previamente por Hess y otros (2017). Así mismo, también es de notar que sólo los adolescentes de 15 años mostraron que reconocen que para atribuir funciones comunicativas a la ironía verbal se deben tomar en cuenta las implicaciones sociales que recaen sobre los participantes de un evento irónico:

“No se vale porque lo dice enfrente de sus amigos y eso *es una carga social más fuerte*” [hombre, 15 años, epilingüística]
 “Porque estaba enojada de que ella también *recibió quejas* de algo que ella no provocó” [mujer, 15 años, epilingüística]
 “Se lo dijo porque estaba enojado porque los clientes *se quejaron* y supongo que *le afecta a él también*” [hombre, 15 años, epilingüística]

Un hallazgo adicional de la presente investigación radica en las reflexiones que los adolescentes externaron sobre las reglas sociales que rigen la pertinencia de un enunciado irónico en las diferentes situaciones comunicativas, y que se detallan a continuación:

- 1) *Al ironizar se debe tomar en cuenta la relación entre ironista y víctima*: los participantes enfatizan el hecho de que la cercanía o lejanía de una relación afecta la aceptabilidad de un enunciado irónico. Mientras que para los adolescentes de 15 es más válida la ironía entre conocidos:
 - a. “En una *situación de amigas amistosa* sí se vale” [hombre, 15 años, metalingüística]
 - b. “Me parece que es bastante ofensivo pero *depende de la relación*. Si se llevan bien probablemente no lo diría para ofender sino más bien de ‘ten cuidado la siguiente’. Si se llevan como muy neutral sí sería mala onda y sería con el propósito de ofender” [mujer, 15 años, metalingüística]

para los participantes de 12 es justamente al revés:

- c. “No se vale porque como son muy amigas puede que ya no sean amigas después de eso” [hombre, 12 años, epilingüística]
 - d. “No se vale porque aunque sean amigos siempre hay que tener mucho respeto entre sí, sin importar qué tan unidos sean ni qué tanta confianza tengas, siempre hay que tener respeto” [mujer, 12 años, metalingüística]
- 2) *Al ironizar se debe tomar en cuenta el contexto social donde aparece el comentario irónico*: los participantes distinguen que la validez social que tiene el uso de la ironía depende del contexto social en el que aparece. Ejemplos:
- a. “No se vale porque se acaban de conocer. Además *es un trabajo*. Entonces debería ser más amable. O sea, si se acaban de conocer y *es un trabajo* pues te quieres llevar bien; no es como que quieres ser grosera el primer día” [mujer, 12 años, epilingüística]
 - b. “No se vale. *Si es como entre amigos* entenderías más pero aquí *es trabajo y no está padre llevarse así*” [hombre, 15 años, epilingüística]
- 3) *Al ironizar se debe considerar la relación jerárquica entre el ironista y su víctima*: los adolescentes reconocen la posible jerarquía que puede existir entre el ironista y su víctima, y mencionan que, en las situaciones donde el ironista tiene una posición social mayor a la de la víctima, la ironía no es socialmente válida. Ejemplos:
- a. “No se vale (usar la ironía) *porque va a ser su jefe*. Entonces deben mantener una relación buena” [hombre, 12 años, epilingüística]
 - b. “No se vale *porque es su jefe*” [mujer, 15 años, epilingüística]
 - c. “*No es válido porque lo está denigrando y es una relación empleador y empleado*” [hombre, 15 años, metalingüística]
- 4) *Tanto para interpretar la ironía como para ironizar es necesario considerar la intención del ironista*: los participantes enfatizan que el uso de la ironía puede ser socialmente válido o no dependiendo de la intención del ironista. Ejemplos:
- a. “Se lo dice en tono de juego *para que le haga caso*” [mujer, 12 años, epilingüística]
 - b. “Solo una persona enojada le habla así a otra persona *para que se sepa que está enojada*” [hombre, 12 años, metalingüística]
 - c. “*Cuando estás bromeando sí se vale*” [hombre, 15 años, metalingüística]
 - d. “*Cuando es un juego y no importa lo que digas o estás seguro que la persona no se va a ofender*” [hombre, 15 años, metalingüística]
- 5) *Al producir e interpretar la ironía es importante si esta se da en privado o frente a otros*: las respuestas de los adolescentes señalan que cambia la función que puede tener la ironía dependiendo de si se trata de una situación comunicativa privada o no:
- a. “No es válido porque está *enfrente de sus amigos* y eso lo hace más mala onda y se lo dice *frente a ellos* para burlarse” [mujer, 15 años, epilingüística]
 - b. “Al decirlo también *enfrente de su grupo de amigos* está diciendo “no sólo yo lo tengo que saber sino todo el mundo tiene que saber que tú lo hiciste mal y que por eso perdimos” [mujer, 15 años, epilingüística]
 - c. “Porque fue sarcasmo y se lo dijo *enfrente de un grupo de amigos* para hacerlos reír” [hombre, 15 años, epilingüística]
 - d. “Se vale si estás *entre amigos* y solo, porque *si estás con alguien más pues sí lo estás humillando enfrente de la otra persona*” [hombre, 15 años, metalingüística]

4. Discusión

Los resultados descritos anteriormente con respecto a las reflexiones que realizan adolescentes de 12 y 15 años sobre la función de la ironía verbal indican que estos lograron identificar siete funciones de la ironía: control de emociones, crítica negativa, marca de intimidad, posicionamiento social, humorística, atenuadora y para salvaguardar las apariencias. La presencia de estas siete funciones ha sido reportada por estudios previos de desarrollo lingüístico (véase, por ejemplo, Climie & Pexman, 2008; Dews et al., 1995; Filippova, 2014a, 2014b; Filippova & Astington, 2010; Glenwright & Pexman, 2010; Harris & Pexman, 2003; Kowatch et al., 2013; Meworth-Buist & Nilsen, 2013; Nicholson et al., 2013; Pexman & Glenwright, 2007; Pexman & Zvaigzne, 2004; Pexman, et al., 2005, 2011; Schwoebel et al., 2000; Whalen et al., 2017; Winner & Leekam, 1991).

Un análisis un poco más profundo sobre lo que implica cada una de las funciones de la ironía verbal dentro del contexto comunicativo nos permite señalar otros aspectos sobre el desarrollo de la capacidad para interpretar los enunciados irónicos. Como se recordará, las tres funciones que fueron más fáciles de reconocer por los participantes del estudio –porque aparecieron más frecuentemente– fueron las de control de emociones, crítica y marca de intimidad, en tanto que las cuatro más difíciles fueron las de posicionamiento social, humorística, atenuadora y de salvaguardar las apariencias. Resulta interesante que para interpretar adecuadamente las tres funciones que aparecieron como más sencillas es necesario tomar en cuenta los estados mentales del hablante y del oyente del evento irónico. Sin embargo, para comprender por qué un enunciado irónico puede elevar el posicionamiento social del hablante, puede ser humorístico, atenuador o permitir salvaguardar las apariencias del ironista, es esencial que el individuo se percate tanto de los estados mentales del hablante y oyente como del de los otros posibles participantes del intercambio verbal: aquellas personas que están presentes durante la expresión del enunciado irónico y juzgan si este es socialmente aceptable, gracioso, adecuado o pertinente en un contexto social determinado. En este sentido, nuestros resultados confirman que durante la adolescencia se da un crecimiento cognitivo importante en la capacidad para tomar en cuenta cada vez más los procesos y estados mentales de los interlocutores durante las interacciones sociales, como ya han señalado autores como Dumontheil, Apperly y Blakemore (2010) y Valle, Massaro, Castelli y Marchetti (2015).

Adicionalmente, los datos del presente estudio señalaron que los participantes de ambos grupos etarios logran atribuir funciones a la ironía verbal en relación con las reglas sociales que conocen y establecen como necesarias para su uso e interpretación. Esto muestra que son capaces de considerar a varios de los participantes involucrados en una situación comunicativa y que, además, logran generalizar el propósito del uso de la ironía a diversas situaciones comunicativas.

5. Conclusión

En suma, el presente estudio confirma que la capacidad para reflexionar sobre las funciones de la ironía verbal se sigue desarrollando durante la adolescencia, puesto que entre los 12 y 15 años se observa un crecimiento tanto en la cantidad como en la calidad de las reflexiones que son capaces de producir los adolescentes. A su vez, indica que los jóvenes pueden reflexionar sobre las diversas funciones de la ironía verbal y que durante la adolescencia desarrollan la habilidad para tomar cada vez más en cuenta las creencias, conocimientos, saberes e intenciones de los participantes de un intercambio irónico. Por otra parte, los resultados señalan que existen funciones de la ironía más sencillas de identificar y otras que representan un reto incluso para los adolescentes de 15 años, y que la dificultad para identificar las diversas funciones de la ironía se relaciona con la cantidad de participantes que hay que tomar en cuenta dentro de un evento irónico. Por último, es posible afirmar que durante la adolescencia los jóvenes aprenden a comunicar de forma cada vez más explícita las reglas pragmáticas que entran en juego en una situación comunicativa en la que interviene la ironía verbal.

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Apéndice A

EJEMPLOS DEL INSTRUMENTO DE TAMIZAJE

1) (Historia con final irónico) La mamá de Renata le mandó pizza de lunch a la escuela. Renata le platica a sus compañeras. Cuando Renata va a morder la pizza se da cuenta de que está podrida. Su amiga María huele la pizza podrida y dice:

-¡Qué deliciosa pizza te mandaron!

¿Por qué crees que María dijo “Qué deliciosa pizza te mandaron”?

- a) Porque piensa que a Renata le mandaron una pizza deliciosa.
- b) Porque piensa que Renata es suertuda porque siempre le mandan pizza deliciosa.
- c) Porque piensa que a Renata le mandaron una pizza asquerosa.
- d) Para que Renata piense que le mandaron una pizza deliciosa.

2) (Historia con final no irónico) Jorge y Sofía se quedan de ver afuera del teatro para ver una obra. Sofía llega 15 minutos antes y compra los boletos. Cuando llega Jorge él le dice:

-¡Qué puntual llegaste!

¿Por qué crees que Jorge dijo “Qué puntual llegaste”?

- a) Porque piensa que Sofía fue puntual.
- b) Para que Sofía piense que llegó puntual.
- c) Porque piensa que Sofía es una persona puntual.
- d) Porque piensa que Sofía llegó muy tarde.

Apéndice B

EL INSTRUMENTO APLICADO:
EJEMPLOS DE HISTORIAS IRÓNICAS PRESENTADAS A LOS PARTICIPANTES DEL ESTUDIO

	Sin Espectadores/Público		Con Espectadores/Público	
	Ofrecimiento	Agradecimiento	Ofrecimiento	Agradecimiento
Ironista y víctima son cercanos	Mariana y Alfonso son amigos desde la infancia. Se inscriben en un concurso de canto. El día del concurso Mariana desafina y los descalifican. Cuando todos se van Alfonso le dice a Mariana: - ¿Quieres volver a desafinar en nuestra canción la próxima semana que hay otro concurso?	Mariana y Alfonso son amigos desde la infancia. Se inscriben en un concurso de canto. El día del concurso Mariana desafina y los descalifican. Cuando todos se van Alfonso le dice a Mariana: -Gracias por desafinar en nuestra canción.	Mariana y Alfonso son amigos desde la infancia. Se inscriben en un concurso de canto. El día del concurso Mariana desafina y los descalifican. Más tarde, cuando están frente al grupo de amigos de Alfonso, él le dice a Mariana: - ¿Quieres volver a desafinar en nuestra canción la próxima semana que hay otro concurso?	Mariana y Alfonso son amigos desde la infancia. Se inscriben en un concurso de canto. El día del concurso Mariana desafina y los descalifican. Más tarde, cuando están frente al grupo de amigos de Alfonso, él le dice a Mariana: -Gracias por desafinar en nuestra canción.
Ironista y víctima son lejanos	Mariana y Alfonso se acaban de conocer y deben participar juntos en un concurso de canto. En el concurso Mariana desafina y los descalifican. Cuando todos se van Alfonso le dice a Mariana: - ¿Quieres volver a desafinar en nuestra canción la próxima semana que hay otro concurso?	Mariana y Alfonso se acaban de conocer y deben participar juntos en un concurso de canto. El día del concurso Mariana desafina y los descalifican. Cuando todos se van Alfonso le dice a Mariana: -Gracias por desafinar en nuestra canción.	Mariana y Alfonso se acaban de conocer y deben participar juntos en un concurso de canto. En el concurso Mariana desafina y los descalifican. Más tarde, cuando están frente al grupo de amigos de Alfonso, él le dice a Mariana: - ¿Quieres volver a desafinar en nuestra canción la próxima semana que hay otro concurso?	Mariana y Alfonso se acaban de conocer y deben participar en un concurso de canto. El día del concurso Mariana desafina y los descalifican. Más tarde, cuando están frente al grupo de amigos de Alfonso, él le dice a Mariana: -Gracias por desafinar en nuestra canción.

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Pre-service teacher education: Observing senior teachers through the theoretical lens of Ellis's principles of instructed language learning

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Received 20 October 2020; accepted after revisions 6 January 2021

ABSTRACT

EN The study is based on a training project completed in Italy as part of a qualifying course for high school teachers of L2 English. The project moves around the framework that Rod Ellis proposed in 2010 on the relationship between Second Language Acquisition and Language Pedagogy and it argues the need for student teachers (STs) to take the role of classroom researchers during their learning process and carry out critical observations through a solid theoretical lens, such as the 10 principles for instructed language learning by Ellis (2005a, 2005b). Three case studies are analyzed to explore how STs observed classroom activities armed with the knowledge of the principles. Data is based on feedback they gave during seminar discussions and remarks made in written reports. Moreover, a follow-up survey of informants after five years' in-service practice questions whether and how this experience influenced the quality and degree of their understanding of teaching and learning. Considering these results, suggestions are made for future implementations of this kind of project.

Key words: INSTRUCTED LANGUAGE LEARNING, SECOND LANGUAGE TEACHER EDUCATION, LANGUAGE PEDAGOGY, COMMUNICATIVE APPROACH, ITALIAN SECONDARY SCHOOL, ENGLISH AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE (EFL)

ES El estudio se basa en un proyecto de capacitación realizado en Italia como parte de un curso de cualificación para profesores de inglés como L2 de educación secundaria. El proyecto se inspira en el marco que Rod Ellis propuso en 2010 sobre la relación entre la adquisición de segundas lenguas y la pedagogía lingüística, y sostiene que los profesores en formación necesitan asumir el papel de investigadores dentro del aula durante su proceso de aprendizaje y realizar una observación crítica a través de una lente teórica sólida como los 10 principios para el aprendizaje de idiomas instruido de Ellis (2005a, 2005b). El análisis de tres estudios de caso explora cómo los estudiantes observaron las actividades de aula armados con el conocimiento de dichos principios. Los datos se basan en los comentarios que hicieron durante los debates del seminario y en las observaciones realizadas en los informes escritos. Además, una encuesta de seguimiento de los informantes después de cinco años de docencia cuestiona si esta experiencia influyó, y de qué manera, en la calidad y el grado de comprensión de los procesos de enseñanza y aprendizaje. Teniendo en cuenta estos resultados, se hacen sugerencias para futuras implementaciones de este tipo de proyectos.

Palabras clave: APRENDIZAJE DE IDIOMAS INSTRUIDO, CAPACITACIÓN DE PROFESORES DE SEGUNDAS LENGUAS, ENSEÑANZA DE LA LENGUA, ENFOQUE COMUNICATIVO, EDUCACIÓN SECUNDARIA ITALIANA, INGLÉS COMO LENGUA EXTRANJERA

IT Lo studio si basa su un progetto di tirocinio inserito in un corso di abilitazione per docenti d'inglese nella scuola superiore (TFA). Il progetto si ispira al quadro teorico proposto da Rod Ellis nel 2010 sul legame tra acquisizione della L2 e didattica delle lingue e si basa sull'idea che i tirocinanti debbano effettuare le osservazioni in classe vestendo i panni di ricercatori, con una lente teorica solida come i 10 principi per l'insegnamento delle lingue di Ellis (2005a, 2005b). L'analisi esplora il processo di formazione dei tirocinanti in tre casi studio e le modalità in cui essi si sono mossi nell'osservazione delle lezioni di lingua, armati della conoscenza dei principi di Ellis. I dati includono le riflessioni dei tirocinanti durante le discussioni seminariali e nelle loro relazioni di fine percorso. Inoltre, dopo cinque anni d'insegnamento di ruolo, quegli stessi tirocinanti sono stati intervistati per ricevere informazioni su se e come questa esperienza abbia influenzato la qualità e il livello della loro consapevolezza dei processi d'insegnamento e apprendimento. Sulla base dei risultati, vengono avanzate alcune proposte per lo sviluppo di questo tipo di progetti.

Parole chiave: APPRENDIMENTO DELLA LINGUA, FORMAZIONE PER DOCENTI DI LINGUA, DIDATTICA, APPROCCIO COMUNICATIVO, SCUOLA SECONDARIA ITALIANA, INGLESE COME LINGUA STRANIERA

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The focus of this paper is the need to situate second language teacher education (SLTE) in Italy within a theoretical framework which can be accessed and shared by second language acquisition (SLA) researchers, teacher educators, and language teachers. The study recounts a 2015 training project designed for those aspiring to teach English as a second language in high school. Specifically, the project consisted of a group of seminars held within a wider course on EFL teaching methodology. This course was part of the Italian *Tirocinio formativo attivo* (TFA, active formative training), a now defunct one-year teacher qualifying course which included up to 400 hours of school practicum.

The outline of the project followed the framework that Professor Rod Ellis (2010) created to guide the relationship between SLA and language pedagogy (LP), arguing that there is a need to “design and implement an SLA course for teachers that can be [...] investigated empirically” (p. 197). The theoretical lens through which classrooms were observed during this training course was guided by Ellis’s principles for successful instructed language learning (2005a, 2005b), which “draw on a variety of theoretical perspectives and are offered as ‘provisional specifications’ for a learning-centered language pedagogy” (Ellis, 2005b, p. 209).

Trainees’ reflections on observations of senior teachers’ practices during the course and five years later were analyzed to investigate the effect that this kind of learning experience had on the student teachers (STs). The purpose was to find out what the STs gained as a result of applying the theoretical lens of the principles for instructed language learning (Ellis, 2005a, 2005b) both in their immediate observations and afterwards, as they became in-service teachers. An examination of the data will help determine whether this model can be transferrable and applicable elsewhere.

This research attempts to respond to the needs of the Italian teacher training and enrolment scheme, which has not had the opportunity to stabilize itself into a solid and well-rooted system because of frequent governmental alternation between left- and right-wing parties. Each winning coalition often nullified decisions taken by the preceding rival one without considering the impact this instability would have on the efficiency of the teacher training system and on the creation of a shared set of values for teachers’ identity. Over the years, practicums have been included sporadically in teacher education plans; simultaneous and consecutive models have alternated and even coexisted; universities have been involved intermittently; pre-service courses (when included) have varied in terms of length and enrolment requirements; procedures have changed. A teacher training project like the one proposed here could help solidify the collaboration between SLA research and LP in the shaping of educational pathways to train teachers who can critically assess teaching practices and make choices with methodological awareness.

A theoretical tool for observations in pre-service school practicum is offered to prevent STs being sent into teaching apprenticeships without any tools to assess senior teachers’ practices as sometimes happens (cf. Richards, 1998; Richards & Nunan, 1990; Singh & Richards, 2006; Ur, 1996; Wallace, 1991). The reason why Ellis’s principles (2005a, 2005b) were chosen is because they were drafted upon the request of educational institutions (the Ministry of Education in New Zealand) and thus were specifically conceived for the learning of languages in schools. Guidelines have been proposed by others, but they were focused on somehow propaedeutic issues to the principles and on the quality of language teaching in general classroom contexts (Brown, 2000, 2001; Lightbown, 2001) or in the university context (Allwright, 2003). Also, since Ellis’s principles are offered as “provisional specifications”, they are open to be discussed, interpreted, investigated so teachers can access them actively and critically. In this regard, it is argued that Ellis’s principles for successful instructed language learning (2005a, 2005b) could favorably be used by a shared community of educators in SL (second language) teacher preparation courses as a solid tool for classroom observation, as an aid to strengthen STs’ background knowledge, as an enforcement to their self-assessment and as a point of reference in their later teaching career.

1. The theoretical models of the study

1.1. Bridging the divide between SLA and LP through teacher education

The following outline covers the theoretical background of this study, presenting studies that have attempted to bridge the gap between SLA and LP within the context of teacher education. Particular attention is given to a fundamental element that structured my project: the features of the nexus Ellis proposed in 2010 to guide the relationship between SLA researchers, classroom researchers, teacher educators and language teachers. Also, particular reference is made to Erlam’s research in teacher education contexts which—like my project—was based on Ellis’s nexus (2010) and more specifically on the principles for Instructed Language

Learning (Ellis, 2005a, 2005b), used both as a filter to access SLA theoretical knowledge and as the model for evaluation of teaching practices.

The divide between SLA research and LP has been widely acknowledged. Stewart (2006) and Han (2007) relate that the Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) organization attempted to bridge this gap. The SLA researchers, mostly teachers themselves, were increasingly concerned with the growing range of issues brought to light by the research but which were not always raised for pedagogical reasons (Ellis, 1997; Erlam, 2008).

If on the one hand, some argue there can be no divide since theory is in fact practice, then on the other, it must be acknowledged that theory and practice are conceived and performed differently in SLA and in LP. For example, the theory of the researchers is more explicit and involves technical knowledge whereas the theory of teachers is often translated in terms of the action it provokes; it is implicit and based on practical knowledge (cf. Ellis, 2008, 2010; Schon, 1983). Undoubtedly researchers and teachers communicate through different discourses (Gee, 1990) and have different perspectives and needs, related to their own distinct contexts. Clarke (1994) sees a kind of dysfunction in this theory/practice discourse caused by the peripheral position assigned to teachers who are often seen only as disciples of theoreticians. He argues this dysfunction can be resolved if teachers value themselves more and put their own experience of language teaching first.

In search of ways to bridge the divide between theory and practice, Ellis (2010) proposes a number of strategies that can be used by SLA researchers to facilitate “the process by which technical knowledge about SLA can interface with teachers’ own practical knowledge of teaching” (p. 198). Strategies can be based on implications sections of research reports, the preparation of summaries or stories accessible to practitioners, collaborative research among researchers and teachers, action research and exploratory practice. These strategies are mutually supportive. Still, they raise questions regarding what SLA can offer to teachers and how it can have a meaningful impact on what teachers do. Seeking answers, Ellis examines the nexus between SLA and LP that connects SLA researchers, classroom researchers, teacher educators and language teachers. Teacher education is the most appropriate field of mediation between SLA and LP, and teacher educators can play several functions: they can share information about SLA, mentor, and raise awareness. Researchers can take the role of teacher educators and teachers can act as classroom researchers. With this perspective, he proposes a set of eleven principles that can guide the relationship between SLA and LP.

The principles are meant to be used as a guide to design an SLA course for foreign language teaching programs. They identify which SLA topics may be relevant to teachers and explain how theory and technical knowledge can interface with teachers’ practical knowledge.

Principle 1 states that teachers should be helped to develop or modify their own existing theory on the way in which learners acquire the L2 under instructed learning. Ellis adds that the theory that teachers develop should be explicit. Principle 2 addresses the topics covered in SLA courses, which need to be demonstrably relevant to teaching. To assess relevance, handbooks for teachers could be consulted or teachers themselves could be invited to identify the topics that fit their needs the most. Principle 3 holds that topics should consist of “ideas” rather than “models”. Principle 4 stresses that texts must be comprehensible to teachers. The articles proposed should primarily be reports of classroom research (Principle 5) and any proposition arising from SLA theory should always be presented as a “provisional” specification (Principle 6).

According to Principle 7, the SLA course should encourage teachers to experience and reflect on the process of learning another language or create debates where they can relate what they learn in the course to their own experience of teaching an L2. To solidify the link between technical and practical knowledge, awareness-raising tasks based on L2 data or on SLA texts can be used (Principle 8). These can guide teachers to discover and reflect on the “ideas” presented in the text. Ellis highlights Erlam’s (2008) report of her in-service workshop for teachers as a good example of awareness raising activities.

Principle 9 argues for the need for teachers not only to become users of SLA research but also to be researchers in their own classroom. This can be done through collaborative research with an SLA researcher, action research or exploratory practice. It is important that the issues relate to teachers’ own understanding of language pedagogy. As for the role of the SLA researcher, it “should be that of facilitating the teacher’s research by providing relevant information from SLA and helping to develop appropriate data collection instruments and procedures” (Ellis, 2010, p. 196). Ellis suggests encouraging teachers to disseminate their own research through presentations or other forms of reporting. This is important to bridge the gap between

“researchers” and “teachers”. Principle 10 highlights the ideal that the teacher is the one who “ultimately determines the relevance of SLA constructs and findings for teaching” (p. 197) and that it is the SLA researcher who determines the relevance of the findings of teacher research for SLA. Lastly, Principle 11 implies that teacher educators need to evaluate their courses to establish which “ideas” were more useful to help teachers develop or modify their beliefs on instructed language learning.

In brief, in order to bridge the divide between SLA and LP, it is necessary that, whenever SLA researchers operate as teacher educators, they abandon the working structure of the academy and allow teachers to have their say. On the other hand, teachers should recognize the validity and importance of the technical knowledge that SLA research can convey. In this respect, Ellis (2010) points out that “somewhat surprisingly, there have been relatively few studies of how teacher educators approach SLA when functioning in these different roles and even less of what impact they have on teachers” (p. 193).

McDonough (2006) investigated whether teacher education had any effect on trainees’ actual teaching. She involved a group of teaching assistants in action research within a graduate-level seminar. After she provided the students with experience in conducting classroom research, they demonstrated an expanded view about research and understood the distinction between qualitative and quantitative research. They used the experience to change their teaching practice and worked on action research even after the seminar.

Other studies predominantly investigated the effects that knowledge of SLA can have on trainees’ beliefs about language learning. Badger, McDonald, and White (2001) elicited the beliefs about language learning of students taking an undergraduate course in SLA. The students were asked to respond to Lightbown and Spada’s (1993) questionnaire at the beginning and the end of the course. While the control group not taking the course did not show any significant changes, the students involved in the SLA course demonstrated a shift from a stronger to a weaker behaviorist view in that they became less convinced on issues related to imitation and L1 interference. Peacock (2001) performed a longitudinal study on teachers’ beliefs about L2 learning. A cohort of 146 pre-service teachers were followed for three years through classroom observations and instruments which included self-report questionnaires. The investigation showed that the beliefs of these STs actually varied very little over the three years. Peacock suggests that trainers should actively guide reflection among trainees to challenge STs’ beliefs over time.

Farrell (2003, 2006) investigated the transition from a teacher education program to life in a real classroom for a first-year English language teacher in Singapore. Beginning language teachers are often shocked by the gap between their idealized visions of teaching and the realities of the classroom; Farrell suggests that the use of a “story structure” framework (setting – complication – resolution) may be one way of avoiding the disillusionment created by some first-year teaching experiences. Angelova (2005) also examined the development of a mixed group of teacher trainees. They were asked to follow some short lessons in Bulgarian, a language they did not know, to complete a journal, and to take over some discussion after the lessons. Although data showed few overall changes in the vision of teaching, the trainees found the short lessons they were given more useful than traditional teacher education.

Watzke (2007) investigated the variation of pedagogical content knowledge across time. He analyzed the beginning teaching experiences of nine teachers of French, German, and Spanish during their first two years of teaching at the high school level through reflective journals, classroom observations, and interviews. The results show that the theoretical knowledge supporting communicative language teaching (CLT) develops as pedagogical content knowledge through a process of teaching, conflict, reflection, and resolution which is specific to the in-service classroom context.

Erlam’s (2008) study focuses on the attempt to bridge the divide through the mediation of the teacher educator and also examines the necessary background knowledge needed for successful CLT. First, she gathered case studies of senior language teachers who showed evidence of the use of the principles for instructed language learning (Ellis 2005a, 2005b) in their teaching practices (Erlam, Sakui, & Ellis, 2006). Then, during a workshop for support services language advisors in New Zealand (NZ), taking the role of both teacher educator and researcher, she gave a key word for each principle and opened a discussion on the reasons why some principles had not been evidenced in the case studies. The discussion also included the relevance of each principle and the constraints to each in the context of day-to-day work (Erlam, 2008). The participants chose to use the principles in professional development sessions with both primary and secondary school language teachers. Once advisors started to use the principles in their observations and evaluations of teaching practice, they met again and were encouraged to discuss in small groups the relevance they gave to specific principles. It was also agreed that advisors should take one principle as key focus for

each year and enforce its use amongst teachers. When later the Ministry of Education (MOE) in NZ promoted a further project with the aim of helping language teachers in primary schools, advisors chose to use the principles as a key component of the program. They first presented the principles to teachers, who were encouraged to do action research to test the application of the principles in class, then they used a “progress standard” document designed to assess the participants’ teaching practice according to the principles. The outcomes of this project have substantial implications for teacher education which here played a central role in linking theory to practice.

Other studies have been carried by Erlam on SLTE which focused on the observation of teachers in a year-long professional learning program (Teaching Professional Development Program - TPD) that she directed in New Zealand for several years. What is important for the design of my study is that Erlam (2016) designed this course around Ellis’s principles for instructed language learning (Ellis, 2005a, 2005b). The TPD program that Erlam (2016) described aimed to encourage teachers who were already fluent in one language to learn another, so that they could be beginner language learners again, reflect on this learning experience with the eyes of teachers, and sit international language exams. Also, it aimed to empower practitioners with general as well as specific SLA pedagogical skills through a course run at a university for a total of eight days, in four blocks. Moreover, teachers were offered ‘in-school support’ in that they were visited four times over the course of the year by an In-School Support Facilitator (ISSF), who recorded meaningful utterances to discuss them with the teacher through two evaluation tools, the EPS and the Progress Standards. The tools were adapted from the case studies carried out by Erlam et al. (2006) with regard to the application of Ellis’s principles (2005a, 2005b). In 2015, Erlam reported that about 48 primary and secondary school language teachers who had completed the TPD (2015a). During the program, they had been introduced to TBLT and they had tried out language tasks in their classroom practice. Facilitators observed them and helped them assess their practices. A telephone interview was conducted one year after this experience to re-evaluate it and detect difficulties teachers might have come across. This was done to draw conclusions on what could be better implemented in the future SLA pedagogy courses based on TBLT. Erlam was able to evaluate the effectiveness of the professional development program and determine the aspects of task-design which were difficult for teachers, in order to dismantle any risk of ambiguity in the process of teaching task criteria (see also Erlam, 2015b).

The problem space for my work is situated within the studies mentioned above. It tries to implement an SLTE project based on Ellis’s principles (2005 a, 2005b) and make it adherent to the Italian national context and requirements. It tries to expand Erlam’s (2008, 2015a, 2016) studies, shifting from education for teacher advisors or for in-service teachers to one for STs and from the context of a workshop or a professional development course to the context of a qualifying course. My study examines the effects of a set of seminars in the TFA course, designed within Ellis’s framework (Ellis, 2010) on STs’ methodological awareness and beliefs. It argues that students need to be co-researchers during their learning process and practicum and to be offered a solid theoretical lens to do critical observations, like the ten principles for instructed language learning (Ellis, 2005a, 2005b). The principles are presented below, together with the studies which investigate their application in the classroom and their perceived applicability for teachers. The principles are thus held to be a valuable theoretical lens for observations in pre-service school practicum.

1.2. The principles for instructed language learning (Ellis 2005a, 2005b): A theoretical lens for pre-service teachers’ classroom observations

Ellis’s principles for instructed language learning (2005a, 2005b) can be seen as a general education document of quality teaching derived from SLA research. They are offered as “provisional specifications” (in line with Stenhouse, 1975) and therefore they are not self-imposed, but rather lend themselves to be something that teachers and teacher educators can discuss, interpret, trial, and engage with (Erlam et al., 2006, p. 2). Research has largely attempted to direct teachers in second language classroom practices with specific guidelines drawn by scientific investigation (cf. Allwright, 2003; Brown, 2001, 2002; Lightbown, 2000) but what makes the principles a particularly appropriate theoretical lens in pre-service courses for school teachers is that they originate from the precise needs and requests of educational institutions. They are thus conceived for all second language teachers but particularly for those practicing in schools.

The principles were outlined within a project commissioned by the New Zealand Ministry of Education (MOE) in 2005. The research project had two main objectives. As for the first, Professor Rod Ellis was asked to present an overview of Second Language Acquisition (SLA) and—in light of that—introduce a

set of principles that could help teachers direct themselves towards effective classroom practices and evaluate their own language teaching (Ellis, 2005a, 2005b). The second objective was to present case studies of teacher practices and beliefs to find evidence of the ten principles in the classroom and to investigate second language pedagogy in light of these beliefs and practices (Erlam et al., 2006).

The two projects attempted to bridge the gap between SLA and LP (e.g., Erlam, 2015, 2016) and were soon followed by the publication of new specific guidelines for learning languages in New Zealand. These guidelines replaced those from the former curriculum (e.g., East, 2012; Ministry of Education, 2007, 2010, 2011). The principles have also been disseminated beyond NZ to research areas in Ghana, Iran, Vietnam and South Korea, as will be later discussed.

The 10 principles are listed here. Ellis's discussion will be summarized further on in the analysis.

Principle 1 - Instruction needs to ensure that learners develop both a rich repertoire of formulaic expressions and a rule-based competence.

Principle 2 - Instruction needs to ensure that learners focus predominantly on meaning.

Principle 3 - Instruction needs to ensure that learners also focus on form.

Principle 4 - Instruction needs to focus on developing implicit knowledge of the second language while not neglecting explicit knowledge.

Principle 5 - Instruction needs to take into account the learner's built-in syllabus.

Principle 6 - Successful instructed language learning requires extensive second language input.

Principle 7 - Successful instructed language learning also requires opportunities for output.

Principle 8 - The opportunity to interact in the second language is central to developing second language proficiency.

Principle 9 - Instruction needs to take account of individual differences in learners.

Principle 10 - In assessing learners' second language proficiency, it is important to examine free as well as controlled production.

Each principle is sustained by guidance on how to apply it and by a variety of theoretical perspectives, the main one being the computational model of second language learning (Lantolf, 1996), which holds that acquisition works by way of cognitive processing of input and output. CLT conceived within the framework of task-based language teaching (TBLT) methodology is the baseline to the whole set of principles and the MOE guidelines supported the idea of moving from less effective communicative teaching towards TBLT (e.g., East, 2012).

Ellis (2005a, 2005b) acknowledged the limitations of the computational model, which does not include reflections on the sociocultural aspects of learning. He admitted that there were sometimes controversial aspects to SLA and all these considerations led him to caution that the principles should be considered as provisional specifications, citing Stenhouse (1985). Ellis reviewed the principles in 2014 within the context of sociocultural theory, for which learning takes place within social interaction. Interaction is not seen only as an input-output process but more as an important mediator for language acquisition because the simple act of "talking about language leads to learning" (Ellis, 2014, p. 42). As a result of this review, Principles 11 and 12 were added.

Principle 11 - Learners need to engage collaboratively in talk about linguistic problems and try to agree on solutions to them.

Principle 12 - Instruction needs to take into account the subjective aspect to learning a new language.

As mentioned above, a second project was funded by the NZ MOE in 2005, which studied teachers' beliefs and classroom practices in light of the ten principles (Erlam et al., 2006). Six teachers were invited to participate. The participants of the research were two teachers of French as a foreign language (FL) and two of Japanese FL. These teachers were considered by the MOE to be models of "best practice". Meaningful common aspects emerged from the case studies, although each teacher translated their conception of pedagogy into different classroom practices. As for the main findings, there appeared to be no clear understanding of "built-in syllabus," and this led to the conclusion that "the easiest way to ensure that teaching is compatible with the learner's built-in syllabus is not to follow a structural syllabus" (Erlam et al., 2006, p. 40). When reporting the results connected to Principle 2, researchers pointed out that teachers

seemed to make little use of tasks, especially in junior classes. Given the misconception that tasks mainly involved free production, these were postponed to later years when they could be performed more easily by learners. This may be connected to the fact that opportunities for output (Principle 7) seemed to increase according to the proficiency level of learners, who were on occasion asked to produce mostly oral but also written texts, and that interaction (Principle 8) seemed to take place mainly in modelled conversation patterns where little evidence of negotiation of meaning was found, although teachers were agreeable to scaffolding learners while producing texts. Also, tasks were sometimes confused with language exercises as role-plays. According to Erlam et al. (2006), there was “a need [...] for teachers to think through more fully what a ‘task’ is and how they can incorporate them into lessons for learners at all levels” (p. 39).

Research studies were carried out to investigate teachers’ adherence to the ten principles and the challenges and difficulties language instructors faced in implementing language teaching efficiently. They all globally confirmed the conclusions drawn by Erlam et al. (2006) regarding the application of the principles, despite the obvious divergences emerging in the different contexts. Howard and Millar (2009), for example, pointed out that teachers in South Korea had concerns about priority issues, which they saw as major obstacles to the implementation of the principles: secondary school and university placement examinations, the high student/teacher ratios, and the teachers’ level of proficiency in English. What is more, the teachers in the study had never received meaningful training on language acquisition theories, group work management or issues related to individual differences. CLT appeared to them as incompatible with the South Korean socio-cultural background. The same concerns applied to the Indonesian context, investigated by Kartikawati and Andriani (2017), and the Iranian context, analyzed by Bagheri and Mehrnoush (2013), where lack of time, number of students per class, the national testing system, and the structure of language books came out as the most meaningful constraints. Another conclusion that Bagheri and Mehrnoush drew was that, surprisingly, teachers in private schools had a stronger awareness of the principles and disseminated them more widely in classes.

Connor and Nazari (2020) studied the perceived relevance and applicability of the ten principles in adult English foreign language (EFL) learning environment in Qatar, this time including students in the analysis. Results showed that students and teachers agreed on the importance of some principles but not others, especially those regarding focus on meaning vs. focus on form. Teachers in Qatar seemed to make use of the “strong” version of CLT (Howatt, 1984) while students seemed partial to the “weak” version, which is blended with more traditional methods like explicit grammar lessons. Furthermore, despite being aware of the importance of interaction, many learners felt embarrassed when interacting in English in groups.

Elsewhere, I have presented similar research focusing on the practices applied by fifteen EFL high school teachers in Italy according to the principles (Petrocelli, 2020, in press). The challenges that teachers faced in implementing the specifications were mainly the high number of students per class and the structure and requirements of General English (GE) certification exams. As for the application of the principles, the results present a complex picture, indicating the existence of two macro groups of practitioners. One smaller group was made up of four more traditional teachers who advocated the use of grammar-translation and more structured methods of teaching whereas the other consisted of seven teachers who aligned with more communicative approaches and applied task-based teaching, despite sometimes having a low level of awareness and without always applying all the task components, especially the need to achieve a clearly defined, non-linguistic goal. Between these two macro groups stood the four remaining teachers, who alternated between approaches. The internal constraints of the most traditional group of teachers seemed to block them from rearranging their teaching methodology into a more communicative approach. Their initial teacher education background, which occurred at the beginning of their 30-year long career, may further complicate this unwillingness or inability to adapt to CLT. This imprint was evidently hard to redefine and update in subsequent years.

Thus, varying contexts clearly have an impact on the quality of teachers’ performance but what we mainly see from the data is that, globally, there is little awareness of the theory that leads to a solid form of CLT practice. This originates not only from contextual constraints but also from a lack of cohesive, organic, clear, and straightforward plan of transmission of theory to practice through pre-service and in-service teacher education pathways.

The reason for the success of the NZ project “is that it made technical knowledge, that is, SLA research, accessible to teachers” (Erlam, 2008, p. 263), as Widdowson (1993) had suggested. The principles for instructed second language learning give teachers access to the knowledge of the community of SLA researchers, never before available to them, in an immediate and direct way. The principles offer clear

concepts in a commonly accepted basic, but substantial, technical language that teachers can easily comprehend and share amongst all SLA professionals, whether examining their own practices autonomously or with the guidance of a mediator such as an advisor or teacher educator.

This is the reason why I decided to implement a qualifying course for pre-service teachers offering the principles for instructed language learning (Ellis 2005a, 2005b) as the bulk of the necessary knowledge toolkit for SL teachers and why I decided to shape the course according to the framework that Ellis (2010) proposed, meant to solidify the nexus between SLA and LP through the mediation of teacher education. We have seen from previous research how strongly the imprint of pre-service teacher education can influence the identity of practitioners and how difficult it sometimes has been for some to rearrange their approach to conform to new theories. This is why I think it is fundamental that early bird teachers start their service in an educational environment that offers them a solid theoretical lens through which they can construct their methodological awareness, reflect on their teaching beliefs and perform structured observations of second language classes in their practicum.

Field observation within the classroom practicum plays a key role in this qualifying course. Research has shown that the focus of most SLTE programs has primarily been on subject knowledge rather than on pedagogy. In many cases, STs are sent into teaching apprenticeships without any tools to critically assess senior teachers' practices and with the understanding that they are simply apprentices, whereas the practicing teachers are complete experts, which is not necessarily true (cf. Burns & Richards, 2018). The presence of a practicum in a qualifying course for pre-service teachers has a significant role in that it involves active learning and allows STs to view SLA ideas applied in real teaching contexts. This is essential to help shape their professional identity, facilitate cooperation with teachers and supervisors, establish relationships with students and colleagues and help manage the classroom (Burns & Richards, 2018). Unfortunately, the presence of a practicum has been quite unstable in Italy, and thus STs have not had the chance to grow and develop within such a framework. As stated above, the Italian teacher education system, which will be outlined in the next paragraph, is characterized by a substantial instability for both the teacher education system and the enrolment procedures, given the frequent governmental turnovers. This study in fact emerged from an attempt to contribute to the creation of solid educational pathways, which can both shape new teachers and eventually also nurture in-service ones during their career.

1.3. Pre-service teacher education in Italy

As Ellis (2010) points out when outlining the relationship between the actors involved in the SLA-LP nexus, the roles they perform "are, to some extent at least, determined by the wider context in which they operate" (p. 191) and therefore it is necessary to outline the latest history and policies of the Italian educational system in order to understand how a more solid connection between SLA researchers and language pedagogy in the teacher education field could be beneficial to teachers' education.

The Italian type of enrolment for new teachers has frequently varied over past decades. This has prevented mentoring institutions from stabilizing organic forms of initial teacher education and identifying a shared set of background knowledge and competences for new teachers, second language teachers included. As Barbieri (2010) points out, in the last two decades there has been a frequent alternation of left- and right-wing parties and the turn-taking winning coalition frequently nullified previous legislation. The impact of this instability on the teacher training system was not taken into account by decision makers. As a result of this marginalization, the Italian teacher education system remains underdeveloped,

[lacking] sound experiences in order to make decisions, and very weak, and it is exposed to the wind of political changes: instead of growing as an autopoietic system, able to give itself the rules of working, it depends on external decisors, often in strong distony with the real need of a school system and a teacher training system strictly connected and functionally co-operating (Barbieri, 2010, p. 24).

This is because while political decision-making tends to focus on the short term, teacher education needs a long time to stabilize innovation. What is more, for decades, the national training system has been alternating between the so-called simultaneous model, in which the professional skills are embedded in the whole educational curriculum, and the consecutive model, where a strong disciplinary competence is required, followed by a one- or two-year program of teaching-oriented curriculum. This ultimately increases the discrepancy and decreases the uniformity in teacher education across all levels.

In 1999 an opportunity for uniformity arose when all future secondary teachers in the Italian school system were to receive a consistent type of academic training. A consortium of universities in each region was created with the institution of the *Scuola di specializzazione all'insegnamento secondario* (SSIS, Interacademic graduate school of secondary school teacher training.). This decision allowed the implementation of commonly shared educational pathways among universities as well as between mentors from both the academic world and secondary schools. This exchange permitted universities to offer a strong theoretical disciplinary knowledge and high schools to offer the possibility for STs to put these theories into practice. This collaboration had little time to be nurtured and metabolized because it only lasted until 2009 when it was suspended by political turnovers.

Fortunately, the collaboration between universities and secondary schools continued through *Tirocinio formativo attivo* (TFA, Active formative training), which replaced SSIS courses in 2010, with a shortened time span of one academic year. TFA programs were managed by universities in collaboration with regional authorities. STs carried out their practicum under guidance of a school tutor in host schools. Course topics were defined at the national level and included pedagogical competences, disciplinary contents, and active training and observation in schools for approximately 400 hours. Unfortunately, this attempt at a uniform and standardized approach to teacher education was also eradicated by subsequent political decisions.

Today there is no longer pre-service training for secondary school teachers since entry requirements for the teaching career were redefined by Law 107 in 2015. Based on the results of a compulsory national competitive examination taken after graduation, the top tier of competitors is awarded teaching contracts that last three years during which a sort of apprenticeship must be carried out. In the first year, newly employed teachers are required to complete 50 hours of compulsory training, 20 hours of which through an online platform offering opportunities for communication, discussion, and exchange of materials among other apprentices. This is followed by a two-year paid internship at the end of which secondary school teachers are awarded a permanent national contract.

This whole system implies that new teachers learn predominantly by doing and therefore they are not exposed to teaching methodologies, nor are their beliefs questioned or discussed before they start their teaching career. Not only did this ministerial move eliminate the chance to experiment and stabilize the innovations carried out by former legislation but it also blocked the avenues of collaboration that had been established among researchers, teacher educators and schools through either SSIS or TFA courses. This means that now, Italy is arguably taking a risk by sending new teachers into class without any tools to critically self-assess their teaching practices.

The *Education and Training Monitor* by the European Commission (2019) has reported that Italy is among countries that will have to replace around half of their secondary school teaching workforce in the next decade. This implies that there is and there will be a need to train new teachers and it is evermore necessary to share practices and pursue common forms of second language teacher education.

The *European Profile for Language Teacher Education* (EPOSTL, 2007) reflects this urge toward uniformity not only in Italy but in the whole of Europe in the specific field of second language teacher education. While offering a frame of reference through descriptors that provide a systematic way of considering competences, the profile advises that these descriptors should not be considered as a checklist of dos and don'ts but rather as a stimulus for researchers, teacher educators, STs and teachers to discuss what learning and teaching principles feed into each competence. In other words, the EPOSTL does not address the theoretical background needed for STs to understand that the behaviors and practices they apply respond to specific theoretical views and have specific effects on language learning processes. As said before, my work tries to offer this background knowledge through Ellis's (2005a, 2005b) principles for successful instructed language learning within the framework of a course design that has specifically been created to strengthen the nexus between SLA and language pedagogy (Ellis, 2010).

1.4. Purpose of the study and research questions

The purpose of my study is to examine the effects of a group of seminars designed within Ellis's (2010) framework and held within a qualifying teacher course to encourage STs' methodological awareness. I will examine what the STs learned to determine whether this project is transferrable and applicable elsewhere. In particular, STs' observations of senior teachers' classroom practices through the theoretical lens of the principles for instructed language learning (Ellis 2005a, 2005b) will be taken as evidence of the evolution of the students' capabilities to recognize and understand successful language teaching practices

and to apply the principles later on in their career. Their understanding of the contextual constraints that shape those practices will also be considered. As mentioned earlier, the study argues that students need to be co-researchers during their learning process while being offered a solid theoretical lens to do critical observations.

Thus, I can frame my research questions in the following terms:

- What did the STs gain by being asked to learn and apply the theoretical lens of the principles for instructed language learning (Ellis 2005a, 2005b) in their observations of senior teachers' practices?
- How have these STs evolved into in-service teachers in terms of their own understanding of language teaching practices through the lens of the principles?

2. Methodology

2.1. Design for the group of seminars on the principles in pre-service teacher education

The project that I present draws on a reflective model of teacher education integrated into a craft/apprenticeship model. The approach acknowledges that the participants are mostly un-experienced STs who have not thoroughly engaged with practices in classrooms nor hold strong beliefs to sustain these practices.

I organized a group of seminars on the principles (Ellis, 2005a, 2005b) within a wider course I held on EFL teaching methodology for the TFA teacher qualifying course held at the University for Foreigners of Siena in 2015. This course was held fully in English and designed for postgraduates in English language and literature who wanted to become EFL teachers in Italian lower and upper secondary schools. Seven STs took part in the course. The seminars were cyclical and were focused on specific principles each time. Each cycle of seminars included these phases:

Preparatory phase:

Students read excerpts from articles related to the principles that would be presented in the following cycle of seminars. This phase helped familiarize with the issues raised by each principle and warm up on the specific vocabulary (e.g., built-in syllabus, focused task, ...).

Phase 1:

The principles were presented by the trainer and discussed in the group. Students thus had the chance to match the concepts shown in the readings with the principle presented. The following debate gave way to clarification of doubts and sharing of ideas.

Phase 2:

Field observations were carried out through a questionnaire on the principles. When needed, specific teaching behaviors or possible exchanges of ideas with the observed teachers were jotted down on a notebook. This was done to increase the trainees' awareness of the theory behind teachers' practices and their ability to observe classroom behaviors critically and with solid argumentation drawn from SLA research. Also, trainees had the chance to envisage the challenges teachers face every day, which can create obstacles to the application of some CLT practices.

Phase 3:

Trainees gave their feedback on field observations through group discussion. This activity was a chance for the trainee to check whether their understanding of the practices in light of the principles were shared by everyone, to clarify doubts, to leave issues open for re-discussion after new observations.

Phase 4:

Trainees wrote their final report on the overall experience. The aim of this activity was to help STs structure the narrative of their learning activities and in so doing evaluate the experience according to what was particularly beneficial for their growth and development as qualified teachers.

Ellis's (2005a, 2005b) principles were introduced at a stage where STs had already become familiar with the CLT approach and the methods and techniques connected to it. In particular, STs had come across the presentation, production and practice (PPP) paradigm, which combines CLT with more traditional methods, and the TBLT paradigm, which is the baseline for the principles in that it more effectively addresses the demands of a student-centered classroom where language is used as it is in natural communication (cf. Ellis, 2003). Despite some adaptation, the overall criteria for the outline of the group of seminars I hereby present are derived from Ellis (2011, p. 19), in which he gives a practical example of a unit on corrective feedback as part of an SLA course for teachers within the framework for the SLA-LP nexus.

Aim: The aim was to introduce content concepts through the principles (Ellis, 2005a, 2005b) and then encourage STs to observe senior teachers' practices through the theoretical lens offered by the specifications. The purpose was to give students a practical tool derived from SLA theory to do critical observations, and thus to develop their capability to recognize and understand successful language teaching practices, as well as to understand the contextual affordances and constraints that shape those practices.

Text (in the Preparatory phase): Ellis (2005a) - students were told about the principles that would be presented in the next seminar and they were asked to read excerpts from the following studies related to each principle as preliminary work on the topic.

Principle 1: Lewis, 1993; Foster, 2001; Myles, 2004.

Principle 2: DeKeyser, 1998; Ellis, 2003; Long, 1996.

Principle 3: Ellis, 2001; Richards, 2007.

Principle 4: DeKeyser, 1998; Ellis, 1993 ; Krashen, 1981.

Principle 5: Krashen, 1981; Pienemann, 1989.

Principle 6: Krashen, 1981.

Principle 7: Ellis, 2003; Skehan, 1998; Swain, 1995.

Principle 8: Lantolf, 1996, 2000; Long, 1996.

Principle 9: Dörnyei, 2001.

Principle 10: Ellis, 2003; Norris & Ortega, 2000.

Supporting research articles (in Preparatory phase and in Phase 1): Excerpts from studies and theory related to each principle were offered to help STs identify key constructs and empower them with technical vocabulary (input, output, interaction, types of tasks, etc.). Reference to these excerpts was made during the trainer's presentation of the principles in the seminar as to make the connection clear between the excerpts and the principles. Particular attention was given to the principles outlined in Ellis 2005b across the whole series of seminars. Most of the reading was carried out during the seminars.

Evaluation of "ideas" (in Phase 1): After the lecture where supporting literature was examined, examples of good practices were raised in problem-solving activities on the applicability of each specification. Each principle was discussed and the STs were invited to give their feedback or hypothesize possible modifications according to their beliefs.

Awareness-raising task (in Phase 2): STs were asked to trace evidence of the application of the principles during their practicum, which consisted of EFL classroom observation in lower and upper secondary schools. The seven STs were primed to use the questionnaire during theory classes. During field observation they were also asked to jot down descriptions of specific student and teacher behaviors related to the use of the principles and to exchange views of beliefs on instructed learning with the observed teachers.

Questionnaire (Appendix): The questionnaire was composed of yes/no questions, some of which were followed by scaled questions. The questions were drawn from the description of the principles that Ellis proposed, with guidance on how to operationalize them (2005a, 2005b). The questions were discussed with STs before observations so that they could raise questions or propose adjustments. Entries were structured simply to aid STs to detect behaviors clearly. STs observed a total of 15 teachers during their lessons for a minimum of 10 hours for each teacher.

Research project (Phase 3): The results of the observations were discussed in plenary sessions of the seminars. Each principle was analyzed in terms of whether the senior teacher appeared to have used it and with which practice or strategy. Moreover, since some teachers were observed by more than one ST, data were compared and any form of discrepancy in responses was examined through vivid and constructive discussion, which offered STs the possibility to further increase their awareness of teaching methodologies.

Evaluation (Phase 4): At the end of the course, STs were asked to produce a written report on this experience in which they were asked to present the theory that they had learned, describe the most significant practices observed, comment on those practices, and reflect on how their beliefs and level of awareness had changed over the course of the seminars.

2.2. Data collection

Data was collected through the following methods and during the following phases of the seminars.

2.2.1. Questionnaire on the application of the principles (during Phase 2)

STs were asked to trace evidence of the application of the principles during their observations by way of a questionnaire designed to elicit such practices (Appendix). They were primed to use the questionnaire during theory classes.

2.2.2. In-depth discussions after observations (during Phase 3)

A field-observation notebook was used during discussions with a single page for each principle. The researcher completed a set of field notes for each plenary class of the seminar by jotting down observed STs' comments relevant to each principle. In terms of research ethics, prior consent was obtained from informants.

2.2.3. Student teachers' written reports (during Phase 4)

In their final reports, STs were asked to describe and comment on the most meaningful practices they observed in class. The students' qualitative notes provide evidence of the growing sophistication in STs' understanding of teaching and learning through Ellis's principles along with heightened awareness regarding the contextual constraints facing teachers. The seminars were held in English but the report was written in Italian, so the quotes from reports will be translated.

2.2.4. Questionnaires to three of the STs after five years' in-service experience

Five years after the TFA course, three of the seven teachers were asked to respond to a questionnaire. Questions were related to the role the principles had played in their teaching approach, how they felt their teaching competencies had developed during the course and after it, and the way in which classroom observations contributed to the development of their methodological awareness. They were also asked if they were satisfied with the seminars and if they would transfer the model to other teacher qualifying courses.

2.3. Case studies

Data is shared through the case studies of three STs. The objective is to discover if the STs, armed with the knowledge of the principles, were able to observe classroom activities through that theoretical lens and whether and how it then influenced the quality and degree of their understanding of teaching and learning. The most meaningful feedback that they gave during the seminar discussions and the remarks that they made in the written reports were used as qualitative notes.

Studying the answers on the questionnaires completed after five years' in-service experience aided in understanding if these former STs actually saw a reward in having received this type of pre-service education. Did they find that the principles were actually useful for their teaching orientation? Do they remain useful?

Benedetta, Chiara, and Giuseppe's cases were chosen because they narrate three different learning stories and offer three different perspectives on the principles. Benedetta was particularly interested in the teaching of English for Specific Purposes (ESP), so she was able to envision the principles being used in this kind of context. She also had the chance to observe particularly good practices by teachers who implemented TBLT. Chiara's story is interesting because she observed two teachers with diametrically opposed teaching styles and had the chance to increase her awareness of the dos and don'ts of CLT practices. This also

happened to Giuseppe, who enriched the discussions with insightful comments related to assessment as well as to the influence of GE certification exams on classroom teaching practices. Importantly, the comments they raise, especially Giuseppe's, often integrate not only SLA but also pedagogical insights. Therefore, these case studies could be regarded as "a means of bridging theory and practice and demonstrating the complexity of teaching as a profession" (Crandall, 2000, p. 40).

3. Data analysis

3.1. Case study A (Benedetta)

3.1.1. Feedback after classroom observations

When Benedetta started her TFA course, she had taught EFL in a private language school for a total of 55 hours at an elementary and advanced level, so she had had minimal teaching experience. Benedetta spent 10 hours observing in a lower high school and 150 in an upper high school, which was divided into two areas: a lyceum focused on applied science and a technical college. Secondary education in Italy lasts eight years and is divided in two stages: *scuola secondaria di primo grado* (lower secondary school), also known as *scuola media*, and *scuola secondaria di secondo grado* (upper secondary school). The middle school lasts three years from the age of 11 to age 14, and the upper secondary from 14 to 19. The first two years of upper high school are compulsory; the remaining three years are voluntary. There are three types of *scuola secondaria di secondo grado* and students can choose what type to attend: *liceo* (lyceum), *istituto tecnico* (technical college), *istituto professionale* (vocational college).

In her practicum, Benedetta observed classes and taught some lessons under guidance of her school-tutors. Since she was interested in ESP, she chose to observe also some of these classes, so she was able to spot the presence of principles in this specific context. She carried out her observations in the last three years of Italian secondary school, where students are required to learn general and specialized language uses. They study English literature in the lyceum or, if they attend a technical school, they must learn the ESP related to their field of study (Chemistry, Electronics, Information Technology, Mechanics, Energy, etc.). Benedetta observed ESP classes in a lyceum with one teacher, and at a technical school in the specialization of Chemistry and Mechanics with another teacher. Although she observed four teachers in total, most of her comments regard two who both taught in upper high school classes. She pointed out:

Excerpt 1.

I was particularly interested in two classes of the second biennium of upper high school (3rd and 4th year), both with a B1 level going to B2 (CEFR - Common European Framework, Council of Europe, 2001). The approach used can be defined as CLT since the priority is that students speak English in real and active contexts.

As for Principle 1, Benedetta saw that formulaic chunks were used as a type of recast (Long, 1996, p. 436) for higher-level students. She noticed the two teachers tended to change the sentence components that were structured incorrectly without interrupting the flow of speech and—once the oral production was finished—asked the students to repeat the utterance to help them memorize the correct pattern. During seminars, Benedetta said she thought teaching formulaic chunks would be a monotonous activity for either teachers and students, but seeing senior teachers performing activities like the ones mentioned, she understood how formulaic chunks could be also simply presented through the repetition of the correct word/phrase in teachers' feedback, in a way that she thought useful but not invasive.

She also noticed how these two teachers performed practices which were primarily meaning-oriented (Principle 2). One of them, in particular, stressed that her main concern was to keep communication going. Benedetta recounted the experience of seeing these teachers perform tasks in ESP classes. For example, in the fourth year of the lyceum, students usually study Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. The teacher asked her class to watch the Zeffirelli version of the tragedy, then divided it into groups and asked each to analyze one character and present it to the rest of the class. The goal was to outline the actions of each character and determine which had the greatest responsibility for the tragic end. To do this, a class discussion was opened, and students were asked to use their own linguistic resources to express their opinion and come to a common decision.

A teacher in the Mechanics ESP class proposed a task on "Pros and Cons of the Electric Engine." The teacher reported students' feedback on the whiteboard. She then divided the class into four groups, who were

asked to write two lists, each with five pros and five cons. Finally, students had to debate in plenary to make a shared decision on the most relevant advantages and disadvantages. Students were then asked to write a brief summary on the topic discussed in class. In the same class, the teacher presented the topic “Alternative and Green Fuels,” and students were asked to prepare a presentation in groups with the aid of the Internet and their mechanics books. The presentation had to include elements like types of fuel, ways of production, and costs. Each group had to choose a speaker to present their findings. Benedetta commented:

Excerpt 2.

The meaning-oriented activities in these ESP classes show how the student-teacher interaction can be less asymmetrical than in the GE classes, since often students are the experts of the meanings conveyed. What is more, being your teacher’s teacher definitely increases motivation and self-esteem.

Benedetta reported having seen these teachers insert focus on form activities (Principle 3) at the end of this kind of lessons, mostly by writing the frequent mistakes of the students on the blackboard, thus to favor reflection strategies and metalinguistic awareness. She recounted having viewed a lesson where form was retrieved from students’ implicit knowledge (Principle 4). Benedetta said she was captivated by the way in which one of the two teachers presented future prediction through a brainstorming activity on “What worries you about the future?” She recorded students’ feedback on the whiteboard and, in doing so, elicited expressions and structures used for this function. Whenever students produced non-targeted utterances, the teacher would simply write them correctly on the whiteboard to encourage students’ autonomous processing of language data. She then divided the class into four groups. Each group was asked to create two lists, one with five negative predictions and one with five positive ones. Students then had to debate in plenary and agree on the best and the worst prediction for the future. It was only at the end of the task that the teacher took a moment to reflect on the explicit knowledge about the future tense that had arisen spontaneously through the exercise.

Benedetta commented that this teacher showed consideration of the built-in syllabus (Principle 5) since she only presented new input when students were developmentally ready; the teacher also used the advantages of the inductive approach by leading the learners through the discovery of grammar by way of tasks. She showed appreciation for the approach used, which clearly promoted students’ interaction, participation, critical thinking for a deeper understanding of the language. Benedetta pointed out that the two teachers made extensive use of English in class (Principle 6), complete with videos and realia. Instructions were provided in English and repeated several times until completely understood but this does not mean that Italian was completely avoided. These teachers used it after having tried, with no success, to make themselves understood through rephrasing and miming. Also, Italian was used when the teacher or the students wanted to capture each other’s attention at an emotional or affective level, for example by telling jokes.

As for the output (Principle 7), Benedetta noticed that the teachers who advocated for the importance of communicative approaches tended to use scaffolding techniques to co-construct the output with their students and help them develop fluency and automaticity. They tried to use some specific language elements during the lesson. For example, Benedetta reports about expressions that related to the main topic of the lesson, like pre-modified elements that are typical of ESL uses (“a compact battery-operated black and white printer”) and did not mind students using them in the output even if deep understanding of these elements had not taken place yet. As for interaction, Benedetta realized how challenging it was for students to be involved in it and for teachers to promote it in class. She wrote on her final report (Principle 8):

Excerpt 3.

The complexity of interlocution derives from multiple challenging factors: you cannot plan what you are going to say, you must negotiate, you must be ready for the unexpected. What is more, the spoken language is more fragmentary, more immediate, with a weaker cohesive structure than the written language. It is not surprising to see that interaction represents the major challenge for both the teacher and the learner.

Benedetta reported two experiences that were significant illustrations of how any situation, moment or form of input can become a catalyst for valuable interaction. She mentioned having seen teachers start the lesson with themes like “The Secrets of a Longer Life” or “Healthy Food vs Junk Food” asking students to give their ideas, thus giving way to debates that were so involving that they lasted almost the whole lesson. In this way, Benedetta said, “meaning is actively co-constructed through the negotiation of each interlocutor.”

These teachers also helped students participate in language-related activities that were beyond their current level of proficiency and offered a full range of contexts for learners’ interaction. Benedetta reported on the use of authentic materials (newspaper articles, literary texts, films, TV series, etc.) to start conversation activities, in which the teacher encouraged the use of words and expressions newly learned through the input. This happened often in the ESP classes, where on some occasions students were already familiar with the topics presented in the input materials (in fact, sometimes they were more knowledgeable than the teachers) but had not yet learned the terms in English. Benedetta reflected on how interaction can only occur under these conditions:

Excerpt 4.

a positive environment, harmonious relationships among interlocutors, interest for the topic, which lower the affective filter (Krashen, 1981) and increase motivation, making communication become more effective

She was therefore able to realize how important it is to take account of individual differences in learners as well as of their preferences (*themselves, their life, their tastes, their opinions*) (Principle 9). She mentioned how in the final year of lyceum, a teacher introduced a module on “The Dystopian Novel” asking students to read and comment on excerpts by Orwell, Huxley, Bradbury and Golding. The teacher explained that students in this class were particularly interested in this type of novel and were eager to find out about novels that they had not come across in their personal reading. Benedetta commented,

Excerpt 5.

In this way, the approach to literature becomes more student-centered.

As for analysis or assessment (Principle 10), Benedetta stated that in her short teaching experience she had never given her students open tests, especially task completion or role-plays. But during the observations, she watched students perform both oral and written free productions and seen moments in which students were asked to present a PowerPoint presentation to their peers. She said that this helped her to have a clearer idea of how to assess free production.

3.1.2. Feedback 5 years after the TFA course

In 2016, soon after the TFA course, Benedetta and all the trainees who followed the TFA course became in-service teachers after passing a competitive public exam. Benedetta ended up teaching in the upper high school where she had done her practicum, so she had the chance to collaborate with her former tutors.

She states that the knowledge of the principles helped improve her teaching practices:

Excerpt 6.

especially in adopting a more meaning-oriented approach through task-based activities (e.g., internet projects, web quests) and in giving students more opportunities for output in the classroom (e.g., role-plays, class discussions, referential questions) as well as providing corrective feedback when needed (e.g., recasting) (Principles 2, 3, and 7).

Before becoming a qualified teacher, she claims she instinctively applied principles 6, 8, and 9. In fact she regularly exposed students to real-life input and gave them opportunities to interact and negotiate input through cooperative learning. She was also particularly attentive of students’ different learning strategies, so she would encourage them to share their learning techniques through the VARK test. This test was primarily developed by the Lincoln University of New Zealand in 1998 (Fleming, 2009). It helps learners identify their learning styles through visual, aural, reading, writing, and kinesthetic (VARK) instruments. This experience sensitized Benedetta to the fact that identifying and employing appropriate learning styles can help select the

right teaching styles for everyone. On the other hand, Benedetta did not have awareness of Principles 1 and 10 before the seminars. So, after the seminars she started to adopt more rote-learning strategies with beginning and intermediate students within the framework of a lexical approach (e.g., teaching them a lexical chunk as one unanalyzed item). When it comes to assessment, she says she now uses open tests like task completion or role-plays, which she did not often employ before the TFA course. At present, she would like to apply Principle 5 more. She could not imagine teaching without a textbook and admits that could be a mental and structural constraint so she hopes that she can become more detached from it as her expertise grows.

Benedetta claims the seminars helped her become more aware of the importance of applying the principles during the learning and teaching process and she feels that all principles are useful.

Excerpt 7.

The questionnaire was a powerful observation tool during my year as a student teacher since it helped me notice many aspects of which I would not otherwise be aware. It was a consciousness-raising tool as it made me deeply aware of my own teaching style.

She is grateful to have been given the opportunity to observe senior teachers in the classroom environment because she learned so much from their expertise in every aspect of language teaching and she thinks the principles could definitely help other STs develop their teaching skills.

Excerpt 8.

It was a fundamental step in becoming the teacher that I am today

It is important to highlight the fact that none of the senior teachers observed were native English speakers. There are often strong, unjustified prejudices against non-native English teachers despite their qualification and experience. It is meaningful to see that no specific reflections on the topic were raised, neither by Benedetta nor by the other trainees on their beliefs associated with native speakerism; this could be a sign of their general appreciation of the professional role and the competence in English of their senior teachers.

3.2. Case study B (Chiara)

3.2.1. Feedback after classroom observations

When Chiara started her TFA course, she had had some experience teaching Italian as an SL and EFL in two Italian private schools. She then spent eight months as teaching assistant in Germany. The only teaching experience she had held in Italian high schools was in a lyceum for three weeks, when she oversaw six classes. Chiara did her practicum in an upper high school and in a lower high school, but since she spent only one week in the latter, most of the remarks she made in the seminar discussions and in the reports regard her experience in upper high school. This school was a lyceum, divided into two sections, one focused on languages, the other on biology. Chiara had the chance to both view lessons and try out some teaching practices with the supervision of her tutors.

During classroom discussions, Chiara explained she had become particularly intrigued by the sharp differences of the practices of two teachers who worked in the same school and taught in the same grades. Therefore, she raised many comments on these differences. These two teachers will be referred to as A (with a stronger CLT approach) and B (more inspired by traditionalist views).

As for Principle 1, Chiara said that Teacher B did not seem to push students to learn memorized patterns. She tended to interrupt them to correct their pronunciation or translate words they did not know. Chiara commented that this clearly did not increase student self-esteem or the development of their communicative strategies. Teacher A instead helped students build a repertoire of formulaic expressions. Words and phrases were written on the whiteboard, and students were asked to keep record of them in a copybook. Chiara pointed out that this was a great help for them to memorize the words.

As for Principle 2, Chiara did not give accounts of activities that respond to the criteria of a task. For example, students were asked to prepare and present projects in group work. During their presentations, the teacher encouraged students to use their own linguistic resources to communicate effectively but these exercises in situational language practice cannot be considered as plain communicative tasks because there is

no information gap and no non-linguistic outcome. Despite this, Chiara described teacher A's practices as mostly focused on communicative skills in real life situations, and she claimed:

Excerpt 9.

As Lakoff (1999) argues with his theory of embodiment, you learn if you use the language, not if you memorize grammar rules mechanically.

Chiara recounted how Teacher A made sure that content related to form (Principle 3); this was presented through referential questions that pushed students to elicit language practices and thus become more aware of them. She preferred to guide students through awareness of form by way of focused tasks. Chiara also witnessed moments of corrective feedback followed by guided reflection of grammar mistakes in activities that were not primarily aimed at the improvement of grammar mastery. For example, Teacher A spent much time correcting students' open written responses connected to a reading activity. Regarding Teacher B, Chiara pointed out:

Excerpt 10.

Grammar rules are presented briefly in Italian, often with no examples on the whiteboard but only reading the rule on the textbook. Students are just pushed to learn from the book at home. These are episodes of focus on forms, which involve a primary emphasis on linguistic structures.

As for implicit knowledge (Principle 4), Teacher A was well practiced in negotiating meaning to fill linguistic gaps that might block communication. In so doing, she used elicitation or clarification requests to help learners process the language data of the input and become aware of the choice of language necessary for effective communication. If needed, when students had finished speaking, she spent time encouraging awareness. In case mistakes were made only by distraction, she did not insist on reflection but recast only to reformulate the utterance into a correct version without interrupting communication. On the contrary, Teacher B tended to interrupt students frequently to correct them when they spoke ("No, that's wrong!"). Self-correction was not encouraged, and learners were not invited to question how structural features work. Online planning was not allowed when students were pushed to verbalize their implicit knowledge. Chiara adds:

Excerpt 11.

The explanation of grammar rules is done in Italian through a constant comparison with Italian structures, which on the one hand facilitates the learning of the rule but on the other tends to create confusion in learners, in my opinion.

Chiara noticed that peer correction helped students retrieve information from their implicit knowledge of form. She argued:

Excerpt 12.

The explanation students can have from their peers becomes a sort of scaffolding for them. Also, those who explain can benefit from this activity because they have the chance to revise forms and make ideas clearer for themselves.

Teacher A seemed to take consideration of the built-in syllabus by making sure that learners were developmentally ready to acquire specific features, but she preferred to expand the time needed to teach, rather than modify the order of the syllabus in the textbook (Principle 5). For example, Chiara recounted that the teacher changed the topic of a class when she realized her students had never come across some preparatory content in the years before. To Chiara, this showed "a great level of expertise and flexibility." Instead, an excessive use of textbooks was made by Teacher B. Chiara observed students who were correcting a reading activity for homework:

Excerpt 13.

Every activity is corrected entirely by one student. Turns are taken according to the order of desks in the room. The students in the other part of the room are thus sure it will not be their turn to correct until the following 15 minutes, so they do not feel motivated to be focused on what the rest of the class is doing. These activities, if presented in a more involving way, would be very useful for the development of students' comprehension skills but instead in this way they only aid the 'best ones in class', also because they are corrected quickly with the rush of reaching the end of the unit, independently from the actual needs of the students.

In terms of input exposure (Principle 6), Chiara pointed out that Teacher B, whose practices seemed to cling more to grammar-translation methods, made little or no use of English in class. She intended to wait to use L2 until students had reached a level of communicative autonomy. Opportunities for exposure to input were more often proposed by Teacher A. The same happened for the output (Principle 7). The more traditional teacher seemed to constantly push students to produce correct output and did not always collaborate to sustain their productions. Teacher A, conversely, promoted interaction (Principle 8) and tended to use scaffolding techniques to co-construct the output with her students and help them develop fluency and automaticity:

Excerpt 14.

Teacher A collaborates with her students in negotiation of meaning to solve communication breakdowns. She suggests possible solutions in English to finish the sentence the student might be trying to say.

At higher levels, Chiara reported several moments of real interaction and collaborative communication. In the lyceum, students were often asked to give personal opinions on the historical or literary works studied and this gave way to fruitful debate. Some teachers were prone to modify the spatial setting of the seats to create a more communicative setting to aid circle time or group work activities. Teacher B did not create contexts where students had a reason to attend to language, which means she did not stimulate students to speak for a real communicative purpose, but for the purpose of simplistic exercises. For example, she asked students to perform a role-play in pairs. The dialogue was scripted in the language coursebook in an area dedicated to word expansion. The subject was food shopping. It included blank areas that students had to fill in with the newly learnt names of groceries. Thus, interaction was confined to some degree of text/input manipulation, which could not be considered as a task. As for Principle 9, Chiara considered individual difference firstly in terms of the relationship that teachers establish with their students.

Excerpt 15.

Teacher A enters class with a smile, asks students to take their seats with an affectionate mood; she calls students by their names and sometimes with nicknames derived from their names or surnames (e.g., "Can you please stop talking, Rebecchina, darling?"). It is totally the opposite with Teacher B instead, who enters the classroom only sometimes smiling. Sometimes she looks indifferent and she does not seem to have the same good relationship with her students as the other teacher has.

Also, Chiara raised an interesting comment on the motivational constraints that can emerge with a grammar-translation method applied to young students:

Excerpt 16.

This approach only works when students show strong intrinsic motivation, they are willing to deepen their knowledge by practicing outside of school but surely this does not have a positive effect on weaker and less motivated students, since it does not take account elements like cognitive styles or learning strategies. This means that often weaker learners of English start hating English, thinking it is a "difficult" subject, and raise their affective filter. Learning a language instead should occur in a relaxing environment with no anxiety.

As for assessment (Principle 10), Chiara observed that no task-based assessment was used in either written or oral texts. Also, Chiara reported having seen much grammar assessment performed, especially by the classes of Teacher B, who asked students to prepare and present group projects. During their presentations, the teacher corrected them in pronunciation and grammar. Feedback was given in Italian. At the end students were asked to read but the teacher constantly interrupted their reading to correct their pronunciation. In her final reports Chiara pointed out:

Excerpt 17.

The idea that teaching must regard practical language uses through CLT is still not commonly spread among all teachers. To this end, I hope there is soon going to be a turnover of EFL teaching staff.

3.2.2. Feedback after 5 years from the TFA course

Chiara has become a lower high school teacher. Five years after the TFA course, she acknowledges that the principles helped her improve her teaching approaches and practices:

Excerpt 18.

...because before getting to know them, I actually did not have almost any teaching experience at all. So, I had the chance to start teaching, having the principles in mind, and I could use them as a point of reference when I didn't know exactly how to react to some students' response or how to manage certain situations.

Chiara said that she did not know the principles at the start of the seminars and she found Principle 4 particularly interesting, as she had never reflected on the difference between implicit and explicit knowledge and learning process in the students' minds. Before the seminars she intuitively followed Principles 9 and 10 without actual knowledge of them. For example, she understood instinctively that teachers must take into account that each student has his/her own language level and cognitive styles, but she had never thought of that explicitly and actually put these thoughts into words:

Excerpt 19.

Before attending the TFA course, I did not know much about learning theories or didactic methods and through my studying of the principles and the observation of other teachers; I realized that teaching material can be modified and adapted to the students' needs. Their "built-in-syllabus" changes due to different factors and they may not be ready to start learning a certain topic one year, differently from other students of the same age attending the same class.

The questionnaire was useful as an observation tool to Chiara in that when observing the classes of senior teachers, she knew that she could not base her judgement exclusively upon her own ideas, so having a questionnaire as a point of reference was very useful to take notes in class and, consequently, to increase her teaching competence level.

Excerpt 20.

When I observed senior teachers, I learned a lot both from what I considered to be actions I would not implement (such as too much grammar during a lesson or boring and long homework corrections), but also from the good practices of those I considered "good teachers." Some examples of good practices could be motivating the students with songs, poetry reading or videos or using everyday life references to explain grammar rules.

The observation questionnaire became a point of reference in Chiara's future teaching career. When she started teaching on her own, she studied it carefully and felt more prepared to enter the classes, knowing better what to expect from students and how to manage the various learning situations. Chiara considers communication among students a vital element to learn a foreign language so she would like to apply principles 6 and 8 more extensively. However, one constraint to their application is that teenage students are not always happy to speak English in front of the teacher and other Italian classmates, because they fear

making mistakes and “losing face”. Another constraint that she sees is difficulty using the target language as a medium of instruction due to the average level of lower high school students and the significant presence of learners with special needs. Chiara thinks that seminars organized within this framework should be made available to student teachers, because she thinks it is vital to be offered the opportunity to observe someone else’s classes before starting to teach. She strongly believes the principles could be used as good guidelines for student teachers in their learning process in the future:

Excerpt 21.

...because they represent the perfect decalogue to refer to when experiencing teaching for the first time, when doing observations, when trying to put theory into everyday practice.

3.3. Case study C (Giuseppe)

3.3.1. Feedback after classroom observations

At the start of the TFA course, Giuseppe had had a one-year teaching experience in a private language school and he had also gained some degree of experience assisting special needs students. Giuseppe spent 10 hours observing in a lower high school and 150 in the same upper high school as Benedetta.

Giuseppe was particularly interested in issues related to assessment as well as in the influence of GE Certification exams on classroom teaching practices. GE certifications awarded by accredited international exam groups like Cambridge Assessment and are often requested by universities and in the business world in Italy. In fact, Italian universities require B1 or B2 level certification before undergraduate degrees are given, and many private companies consider the possession of a certification as a prerequisite for employment. According to Italian teaching guidelines, learners should, on average, reach A1+/A2 at the end of lower secondary schools, A2+/B1 after the first two years, and B2 by the end of upper secondary school (at the age of 18). So, although the guidelines are well-structured according to the CEFR, secondary school final certificates are unfortunately not given much value by either universities or businesses. Therefore, schools are pushed by families and executives to either use textbooks aimed at preparing for certification exams or, ideally, to run extra courses in the afternoon to train students for this kind of exam.

There is a problem associated with the management of these courses. For bureaucratic and economic reasons, internal teachers are generally favored for extra courses, but some are unwilling to teach them because they are already overloaded by the work with the curricular classes. If this happens, since the employment process of external teachers is quite complicated and expensive, schools sometimes choose not to implement extra-curricular courses, which pushes students to private language schools. Nevertheless, the teaching autonomy advocated in the Italian guidelines is undeniably influenced by the need to help students familiarize themselves with the structure and requirements of certification exams. Giuseppe said that the first thing that struck him about the school was its formulation of two main objectives. The first was to constantly try and improve the quality of the curriculum to help every single student with every single cultural background, attitude or ability reach his/her highest potential. The second was to prepare students for European skills certification exams run by companies external to the school (ECDL, GE Exams, Cisco, etc.), defined as a necessary passport to the world of university and business.

As Giuseppe pointed out, the first objective is clearly pedagogical, but the second one includes the issue of certifications. He argued that the dichotomy of these objectives was reflected in the consequent dichotomy residing in the sometimes-divergent teaching approaches of the EFL teachers in the school. To give evidence of this he often raised the example of two teachers he observed, whom I will refer to as Teachers C and D. Teacher C was particularly interested in certification and, according to Giuseppe, he seemed to align more with a structuralist approach and the PPP model. As for teacher D, she was more likely to use CLT practices, TBLT, and student-centered pedagogical approaches.

Giuseppe reports that this difference was visible in the way in which the two teachers related to formulaic expressions (Principle 1). Teacher D preferred to push students to use formulaic expressions in class to make learners internalize the chunks while using them. Teacher C, on the other hand, did not seem to encourage their use, and the rule-based competence of the students was significantly challenged by his corrections, especially regarding the way students pronounced words. Giuseppe commented:

Excerpt 22.

I do not agree with this approach. Teacher C continuously corrects pronunciation mistakes with reference to the standard British accent and sometimes these corrections are out of place because they relate to areas which do not regard the efficacy of the message and so they seem to me rather aimed at the teacher's own self-pleasing need, really.

As for Principle 2, Giuseppe said that concern about classroom control discouraged Teacher C from using communicative approaches. He consequently proposed more structured activities which tended to play a double role: on the one hand, they allowed learners to build up a well-rooted knowledge of linguistic elements and on the other, they permitted strong control over students, keeping them focused and quiet. What, according to Giuseppe, characterized Teacher D was that she instead gave primary importance to meaning practices. Giuseppe recalled having seen the teacher divide the class into groups and propose that each create a video project. In the video, students were required to reproduce a scene from a movie they liked or from a script they were free to invent and write collaboratively. Giuseppe particularly liked this practice and commented as follows:

Excerpt 23.

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- Students are encouraged to express their own creativity.
 - Students learn through cooperation.
 - Their talents, either visual, auditive or kinesthetic, are respected and used for the benefit of the group.
 - Students can give their contribution no matter what their level of English is and can adapt parts of the script with their own language resources.
 - Each student can offer his/her competence in extra-linguistic skills like acting skills, editing skills, or social skills, for the benefit of the group.
 - Students learn more vocabulary and discover new communicative contexts through the watching and the making of movie scenes.

Teacher C made intensive use of corrective feedback and was particularly careful towards non-formative utterances whereas the other intervened little and only when there was a communication breakdown because of the use of non-targeted forms. She believed that structuring lessons excessively on specific linguistic forms could be counterproductive to the language learning process. In his report, Giuseppe commented:

Excerpt 24.

Teacher D explains grammar rules [...] but her explanations always arise from communicative contexts, be it through the reading of a text that does not revolve around language forms, or listening to a conversation or to a song, etc. While explaining how structures work, she leads students to reflect on how they have been used in the context given.

Regarding issues related to implicit and explicit knowledge (Principle 4), Giuseppe pointed out in discussions that he saw Teacher C enforce explicit knowledge by asking students to memorize grammar rules from the book at home and do the related exercises, which were then discussed and corrected in class. When this happened, the lessons revolved around one topic of grammar and the use of metalanguage (either in L1 or L2) was significant. Self-correction was not encouraged, and learners did not tend to raise questions on how structural features work. Teacher D instead negotiated meaning and allowed online planning to help learners retrieve information from their implicit knowledge and increase their awareness of them. Giuseppe observed that she treated language as an object to study when she proposed a type of "irregular verbs challenge" game, where students were divided into teams and in turns had to guess the meaning and paradigm of irregular verbs to win.

As mentioned before, Giuseppe was particularly interested in the influence GE exams have on teaching practices in school and in the discussion about Principle 5 many issues were raised regarding this aspect. First, Giuseppe mentioned the choice that teachers make with regard to the textbook. He pointed out:

Excerpt 25.

In his first year in a new school, a teacher will be in charge of several classes, each one with a heterogeneous identity. His/her task in an upper high school will be to help these students reach a B2 level of communicative competence. With great probability, in this new school the department will have chosen to use a GE exam preparation coursebook. This means that all the exercises and the activities in the coursebook will be modelled on GE certification standards. So, what will be the challenges that this teacher will have to face? On the one hand, he/she will have to come to terms with the fact that surely weaker students will not be able to do all the activities and keep pace with the coursebook units. On the other, if the teacher decides to readjust the syllabus for the benefit of weaker students, he/she will have to give reasons to school superiors and department colleagues for this decision.

There was some mismatch between what teachers taught from textbooks and what, in fact, students took in. But the need for teachers to work organically as a department with the goal of leading students to B2 evidently did not make them feel at ease with the idea of reorganizing the syllabus in their classes. As for Teacher C, Giuseppe noted that his objective was solely that his students succeed in doing the activities well, and he did not pay much attention to the development of their general competences, which consist of knowledge, skills, existential competence, and ability to learn (Council of Europe, 2002). Giuseppe says:

Excerpt 26.

I think this teacher is a certifier, rather than an educator and in my opinion this approach does not fulfill the school's educational mission.

Teacher D made sure that her lessons were structured according to her students' actual needs and attitudes, so she adjusted the syllabus or her practices to align to her classes' abilities and requirements. As for language input (Principle 6), again Giuseppe noticed that Teacher C used very little English as opposed to Teacher D who made her best efforts to maximize her use of English. She made wide use of gestures and facial expressions to avoid instructing in Italian especially in early years, and this contributed to create a joyful and relaxing atmosphere. Giuseppe noticed attention to both written and oral output (Principle 7) across all levels for both teachers. For Teacher C, many activities were connected to GE certifications. For example, students were asked to observe, describe, and compare two pictures, and, for the written output, they were asked to write essays, reports, articles, and reviews, as requested in the First Certificate Exam by Cambridge Assessment.

When dealing with Principle 8, Giuseppe had interesting reflections on what actually aids interaction and again he emphasized one central idea: students are more apt to interact if the environment that their teacher offers is welcoming, warm and non-judgmental. Looking at the non-verbal communication of the two teachers, he argued that the approach and the amount of interaction they proposed was proportional to their own willingness to establish a communicative relationship with their students.

Excerpt 27.

Teacher C:
enters the classroom without looking at the students; says hello silently and quickly takes the coursebook from his handbag; puts teaching objects (book, bag, CD player, ...) on his teaching desk that in a way create a barrier between him and his students; calls the students by their surname (rarely by their first name).

Excerpt 28.

Teacher D:
enters the classroom and smiles at her students; she stops and waits until they all say hello and then while standing, she asks how everybody is doing; she makes it so that the desk is emptied of any object that might create a barrier between her and the class but she rarely sits because she prefers to be closer to the students; sometimes she sits amongst the students; she calls everybody by name or with nicknames deriving from their surname.

These reflections automatically led to considerations related to Principle 9. The grammar-translation approach and the lexical approach, exemplified by Teacher C, were, according to Giuseppe:

Excerpt 29.

...less “empathetic” approaches because they require less interaction amongst learners and do not involve their individual aspects and motivational components.

Giuseppe argued that assessment (Principle 10) is the area where the dichotomy between CLT approaches and more traditional approaches is more evident.

Excerpt 30.

One the one hand we have teachers who almost exclusively use grammar tests; on the other we have teachers who make up their own tests according to the needs and backgrounds of their learners. Through these tests they can obtain information on their students’ progress and thus plan activities accordingly.

For Teacher C, grammar tests, gap-filling, and GE certificate exams were a basis for much of the written and oral assessment. For example, Teacher C extensively prepared first or second year students to observe a photograph and then talk about the themes related to the photos. Teacher D, instead, was observed by Giuseppe giving her students a test she had created specifically for them. Students were asked to listen to a pop song whose lyrics expressed feelings of frustration and doubt. Teacher D asked students to find connections between the song and the sentimental world of Hamlet, a character they had previously studied. After listening to the song, students were given a handout with the lyrics and had to fill in the gaps with words from a list. Then, sentences taken from parts of the lyrics had to be transformed using a key word that needed to be inserted in a second sentence, which had a gap in it. Students had to use the key word to complete the second sentence so that it would have the same meaning as the first. This activity was also structured as practice for the writing part of GE certificate exams, but instead of being standardized, it was customized for those specific students. After this kind of priming activity, students were asked to answer open questions that guided them to the analysis of the text and the similarities that could be found between Hamlet’s feelings and their own feelings.

It was clear to Giuseppe why the classes taught by Teacher C had not reached the same assessment level as the ones of Teacher D. In his opinion, it all depended on these two totally different approaches in assessment.

3.3.2. Feedback after 5 years from the TFA course

According to Giuseppe, the knowledge of the principles helped him improve his teaching approaches and practices. Before learning them:

Excerpt 31.

I used to teach in a less reflective way, sometimes neglecting the importance of a balance between focus on meaning and focus on form. Now I try to take into proper account learners’ built-in syllabus in order to plan lessons that can be stimulating on both aspects and that include an assessment phase made also of uncontrolled performance through which I can get a clearer idea of their second language learning process.

Before the TFA course, he had not been formally introduced to many of the principles because the course was his first opportunity to study SLA theories. Despite this, he instinctively applied Principles 1, 2, 6, 7, and 8. He mentions that he had had some ideas about the importance of respecting learners’ different learning styles but had never really reflected on how this could be part of lesson planning. He used to focus more on the object of learning, the language, and little on the learning process. The observations through the theoretical lens of the principles gave him the opportunity to understand that:

Excerpt 32.

...even senior teachers should be open and ready to reconsider their approaches and practices when they are not successful

They also helped him understand that successful instruction is based on prior accurate planning and successful interaction in the classroom.

Excerpt 33.

I learned that there are no one-size-fits-all teaching practices, that teachers should keep their eyes and ears open to students at any time, that teachers should never feel good enough to teach everybody everything but they should be ready to learn from students, show them their feelings, create a favorable learning atmosphere, have no prejudices towards learners and, finally, that every day is a good day to put on a smile and show the learners that learning can be fun.

Giuseppe thinks that no principle is less useful than the others and that any prospective teacher should learn to observe their own and other teachers' practices through Ellis's principles. Today, while teaching, he says he always tries to leave enough space for interaction, both teacher-learner and peer-to-peer. In addition, he tries to dedicate more time to students' performances without focusing too much on errors, at least at an early stage. He would like to apply Principle 10 more extensively:

Excerpt 34.

sometimes having too many students in the same classroom with different levels of proficiency can represent a constraint due to the fact that free productions require more time and effort to be prompted and then analyzed. I wish I could have less paperwork to do and more time to set the scene for more creative work with the learners.

Giuseppe strongly disagrees with the ministerial decision to stop the TFA course because in second language learning both theoretical background and classroom observation are fundamental for a prospective teacher. He hopes that the practicum will be reintroduced because, in his experience, teaching cannot be improvised, rely solely on traditional methods or be accomplished through rote repetition.

4. Conclusions

As we have seen, the way in which SLTE for pre-service teachers is generally organized has some limitations. Researchers, teacher educators, and school-tutors do not usually manage to work cooperatively because courses and practicums are often organized separately. This means that STs do not receive enough structured preparation to maximize the learning experience of their practicum. Furthermore, practicums have been offered quite sporadically in TE programs, since conflicting ministerial decisions have at times removed them from pre-service qualifying courses. As we have seen, at present Italy has no pre-service courses whatsoever. Competitors win teaching positions and start their practicum while teaching, without having received prior theoretical knowledge or technical knowledge apart from their own personal studies or experience that they may have gained through supply teaching jobs.

The project that I proposed was an attempt to bridge the gap between SLA and LP through teacher education. It privileged classroom observation, putting STs in the role of co-researchers who investigated teaching practices through the solid theoretical lens of the ten principles (Ellis, 2005a, 2005b). This was possible because the Italian TE system was living a virtuous moment, in that it offered TFA courses, based on the idea of an active practicum (*tirocinio attivo*) being the main way to attain an educational background (*formativo*). A positive characteristic of this project, as reported by STs, is that it gave them the chance to view what was really happening in Italian schools, not to learn from results derived from external contexts. But, for this model to be further applicable in the Italian context, different decisions must be made in Italy and pre-service teacher education with practicum must be reintroduced. Evmorfia, another ST of the group whose feedback has always been very deep and straightforward, comments:

Excerpt 35.

As far as the enrolment issue is concerned, I believe it is wrong to create soft and hard paths to recruitment and we need a coherent and unified mode of teaching qualification. The lack of unified admission requirements has led to different thoughts of teaching. This multi-ramification sometimes impedes communication among teachers, as we talk and

think in different languages. The TFA has been a highly selective competition and can be kept like that but we need to standardize it. Finally, I believe that when the course is organized by valid organizations and supported by competent personnel, it can be extremely useful for teachers not only as “corso abilitante” (qualifying course) but also as Life Long Learning and training for in-service teachers.

The problems connected to SLTE are widely discussed in literature, as is the lack of solid and organic learning experiences through practicum (cf. Richards, 1998; Richards & Nunan, 1990; Singh & Richards, 2006; Ur, 1996; Wallace, 1991). Practicums are often based on the assumption that senior teachers can be models to STs but, in fact, teachers are individuals who often make different choices from what SLA would prescribe. Apart from Italy, the experience outlined in this study could be applicable in other countries, especially in Europe, with the necessary modifications linked to each national context. The recent survey data of the 2019 Education and Training Monitor, which contains a dedicated analysis of school teachers in the EU, stresses the importance of induction and mentoring programs at the early stages of careers and the necessity for solid structured practices, since European education systems are confronted with a number of challenges relating to teachers and several countries already face or are about to face shortages. In this regard, the Education and Training Monitor states that:

A high-quality induction with classroom experience, good opportunities for professional trainings and appraisal methods focused on teachers' development needs have been identified as three common policy elements in countries where learning outcomes are good. (European Commission, 2019, p. 26)

I found inspiration from studies like Erlam (2008) and Ellis (2010) to present a project where SLA research “was not seen as a set of studies conducted by a group of experts, but a process that teachers could be encouraged to join in and contribute to, as well as researchers” (Tarone & Allwright, 2005, as cited in Erlam, 2008, p. 264). This was done by presenting the principles (Ellis, 2005a, 2005b) in seminar lectures, discussing them, operationalizing them through an observational questionnaire and then giving STs the chance to observe senior teachers' practices through this theoretical lens. STs were encouraged to view the principles as a source of open reflections which could take several directions and perspectives along the SLA/LP continuum. This is why, as seen from the case studies, each ST reflected on either methodological or pedagogical concerns depending on their areas of interest.

This is in line with what Erlam (2008) did when she shared discussion on the principles and former case studies (Erlam et al., 2006) with teaching advisors in NZ: “the view of knowledge was process-oriented (Korthagen et al., 2006); that is, knowledge was seen as a subject that could be created by the learners themselves (Freudenthal, 1978) rather than as a created subject.” (Erlam, 2008, p. 264). STs had the chance to become classroom researchers, learn the rigor and efficacy of research, investigate the psychological and structural constraints on teaching, and make discoveries about their own beliefs and identities. The aim was to make them the protagonists of their learning experience and not simply containers to be filled in with notions.

Another positive outcome of the project was, of course, that it gave STs a horizon of reference in their later career. As seen, all STs in the case studies confirmed that seminars on the principles were fundamental to supporting intuitive knowledge with specific scientific knowledge. They gained confidence through this type of observation and all of them mentioned that the principles were extremely useful for their future teaching choices. It might be surprising to find out that before the TFA course, trainees were not so familiar with SLA theories applied to the language classroom. This definitely depends on their university curricula, which focused more on issues related to literature and general linguistics, as is the case for almost all prospective EFL teachers in Italy. A wider offer of SLA related content would be advisable for university curricula designed for English language experts who wish to specialize in teaching EFL.

The discussions carried out in the seminars also gave STs the opportunity to reflect on and discuss the practices observed; this is something that they often have little time or chance to do with their peers now that there are enrolled teachers. The most positive result of the project was that all seven of the STs who followed the seminars passed the subsequent State competition against a huge number of competitors vying to be assigned a permanent teaching contract. This means that their level of preparation fully responded to national requirements.

In light of these results, projects like these could be carried out in other SLTE pre-service contexts. What should be guaranteed is a solid integration between the theoretical course and the practicum, as well as the meaningful involvement of host schools with motivated senior teachers who align to CLT practices.

Implications for SLTE training beyond this project are logical not only for pre-service but also in-service education. As seen in previous studies, those in-service teachers who embrace CLT mostly have an intuitive approach to its practices rather than formal, technical training on the principles, so structuring more courses on the principles could definitely help homogenize teacher beliefs and CLT practices in school. Senior observations through the lens of the principles could be substituted in favor of peer-to-peer observations. These could be later discussed through reflective talks amongst colleagues and a tutorial leader. The principles could be favorably used for self-assessment along the whole teaching career. Obviously, since what is lacking today is a convergent and organic pathway which would contribute to and strengthen the identity of CLT in schools, it goes without saying that ministries should collaborate with SLA and LP experts in order to implement a unitarian educational pathway for all language teachers.

To improve the design of the project, more hours should be dedicated to the seminars unless SLA theories were included in the university curricula designed for prospective EFL teachers, as it would be advisable. Unfortunately, as stated above, in Italy most undergraduate educational pathways for prospective teachers of EFL tend to focus primarily on literature and general linguistics, so teacher trainees approach courses without an adequate prior knowledge of SLA theories. The principles, in fact, relate to a whole world of theories of SLA which cannot be summarized or studied solely as an overview. A limitation is that Principles 11 and 12, which Ellis added in 2014, were not included in the seminar discussions, nor in the observations, so seminar time should be added to accommodate discussion of these additions. Not doing so would definitely be a loss since these last two principles refer to relevant issues that were raised by STs based on an implicit level of knowledge and it would be appropriate to promote formal reflective talks and observations on them.

Acknowledgements

My deep gratitude goes to Professor Rod Ellis for inspiring me along the course of my studies in New Zealand and for offering SLA and Language Pedagogy such useful guidelines as the principles. My appreciation also extends to Rosemary Erlam who kindly offered me valuable background material for this analysis. Lastly, this study would not have been possible without the precious work and feedback offered by all the trainees involved in the TFA course, especially Benedetta Burrone, Chiara Di Maria, Evmorfia Kalovidouri and Giuseppe Trotta for this article.

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Appendix

QUESTIONNAIRE ON INSTRUCTED SECOND LANGUAGE LEARNING IN ITALIAN HIGH SCHOOLS - BASED ON ELLIS (2005B)

Name of observer: _____ Type of school: Scuola secondaria di I grado / II grado

Classes where observation was carried out: medie / primo biennio / secondo biennio / quinto anno

PRINCIPLE 1 - Instruction needs to ensure that learners develop a rich repertoire of formulaic expressions and a rule-based competence

1. Does the teacher engage students in the use of formulaic expressions?

YES / NO

If so, to what extent? a little / much / rather / extensively
2. Are students required to learn rote-memorized patterns of grammar?

YES / NO

If so, to what extent? a little / much / rather / extensively

PRINCIPLE 2 - Instruction needs to ensure that learners focus predominantly on meaning

3. Does the teacher propose activities in which students focus on the meaning of lexical items?

YES / NO

If so, to what extent? a little / much / rather / extensively
4. Does the teacher propose activities in which students focus on the meaning of grammatical structures?

YES / NO

If so, to what extent? a little / much / rather / extensively
5. Does the teacher propose activities in which students focus on pragmatic meaning (i.e. the highly contextualized meanings that arise in acts of communication)?

YES / NO

If so, to what extent? a little / much / rather / extensively

PRINCIPLE 3 - Instruction needs to ensure that learners also focus on form

6. Is form taught through lessons designed to teach specific grammatical features?

YES / NO

If so, to what extent? a little / much / rather / extensively
7. Is form taught through focused tasks (i.e. tasks that require learners to comprehend and process specific grammatical structures in the performance of the task)?

YES / NO

If so, to what extent? a little / much / rather / extensively
8. Is there incidental attention to form through corrective feedback?

YES / NO

If so, to what extent? a little / much / rather / extensively

PRINCIPLE 4 - Instruction needs to be predominantly directed at developing implicit knowledge of the L2 while not neglecting explicit knowledge

9. Are there any attempts to verbalise students' implicit knowledge as to make them consciously aware of how a structural feature works?

YES / NO

10. Are students pushed to use metalanguage (either in L1 or L2), that is the ability to understand and do explanation of rules?	If so, to what extent? a little / much / rather /extensively	YES / NO
11. Does the teacher allow time for online planning as to facilitate students' access to their own explicit knowledge?	If so, to what extent? a little / much / rather /extensively	YES / NO
12. Does the teacher engage learners in consciousness-raising tasks, i.e. in thinking and communicating about language, so that the language point becomes the topic that is talked about?	If so, to what extent? a little / much / rather /extensively	YES / NO
PRINCIPLE 5 - Instruction needs to take into account the learner's 'built-in syllabus'		
13. Does the teacher adopt a zero grammar approach that makes no attempt to predetermine the linguistic content of a lesson (i.e. a Task-Based approach)?		YES / NO
14. Does the teacher ensure that learners are developmentally ready to acquire a specific target feature before introducing it?		YES / NO
15. Does the teacher reorder and restructure the syllabus sequence proposed in the textbook?		YES/NO
16. Does the teacher focus the instruction on explicit rather than implicit knowledge as the former is not subject to the same developmental constraints as implicit knowledge?		YES / NO
PRINCIPLE 6 - Successful instructed language learning requires extensive L2 input		
17. Is the target language the medium as well as the object of instruction?		YES / NO
18. Does the teacher create opportunities for learners to receive input outside the classroom (i.e. through graded reading, surveys, activities which require the use of internet, ...)?	If so, to what extent? a little / much / rather /extensively	YES / NO
PRINCIPLE 7 - Successful instructed language learning also requires opportunities for output		
19. Does the teacher make learners perform both in written and oral output?		YES / NO
	If so, to what extent? WRITTEN - a little / much / rather /extensively	
	ORAL - a little / much / rather /extensively	
20. Does the teacher create opportunities for learners to produce pushed output (when learners are pushed to use the TL accurately and clearly)?		YES / NO
	If so, to what extent? a little / much / rather /extensively	
21. Does the teacher create opportunities for learners to produce structured output in the development of activities that encourage learners to use newly learned TL?		YES / NO
	If so, to what extent? a little / much / rather /extensively	
22. Are learners required to use their own linguistic resources when producing output?		

	YES / NO
23. Are learners required to use a predetermined set of forms?	If so, to what extent? a little / much / rather /extensively
	YES / NO
	If so, to what extent? a little / much / rather /extensively
PRINCIPLE 8 - The opportunity to interact in the L2 is central to developing L2 proficiency	
24. Does the teacher create contexts of language use where students have a reason to attend to language?	YES / NO
	If so, to what extent? a little / much / rather /extensively
25. Does the teacher provide opportunities for learners to use the language to express their own personal meanings?	YES / NO
	If so, to what extent? a little / much / rather /extensively
26. Does the teacher help students to participate in language-related activities that are beyond their current level of proficiency?	YES / NO
	If so, to what extent? a little / much / rather /extensively
27. Does the teacher offer a full range of contexts for learners' interaction?	YES / NO
	If so, to what extent? a little / much / rather /extensively
PRINCIPLE 9 - Instruction needs to take account of individual differences in learners	
28. Does the teacher employ strategies to develop and maintain their students' intrinsic motivation?	YES / NO
29. Does the teacher try to teach at a pace that is not too fast and not too slow?	YES / NO
30. Does the teacher use a variety of learning activities?	YES / NO
PRINCIPLE 10 – In assessing learners' L2 proficiency it is important to examine free as well as controlled production	
31. Does the teacher assess language by way of metalinguistic judgement (e.g. grammaticality judgment test)?	YES / NO
	If so, to what extent? a little / much / rather /extensively
32. Does the teacher assess language by way of selected response (e.g. multiple choice)?	YES / NO
	If so, to what extent? a little / much / rather /extensively
33. Does the teacher assess language by way of constrained constructed response (e.g. gap filling exercises)?	YES / NO
	If so, to what extent? a little / much / rather /extensively
34. Does the teacher assess language by way of free constructed response (e.g. a communicative task)?	YES / NO
	If so, to what extent? a little / much / rather /extensively

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Lipstick on pigs: Critical discourse and image analysis of non-humans in U.S. children's ESL textbooks

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Received 25 July 2020; accepted after revisions 6 February 2021

ABSTRACT

EN Gender equality in language learning has received considerable attention in research on classroom policy and materials. Within studies of materials like language learning texts, most research focuses on content analyses of character roles and images, with sometimes purposeful exclusion of non-human characters. However, non-humans in children's picture books comprise almost 60% of the characters children read. Therefore, their representations of gender, including biases, overt sexism, and covert sexism should be examined. In this study, I examine gendering of non-human characters using corpus linguistics and critical discourse analysis. Additionally, I use critical image analysis to discuss pictorial gendering of non-human characters within 12 textbooks in two of the United States' most widely used textbook series for language learning in elementary schools. Results indicate a strong preference for aggressive and adventurous male characters, male supremacist ideologies, and the suppression of female agency.

Key words: CORPUS LINGUISTICS, CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS, TEXTBOOK ANALYSIS, GENDER AND LANGUAGE, ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE (ESL), CRITICAL IMAGE ANALYSIS

ES La igualdad de género en el aprendizaje de idiomas ha recibido una atención considerable en la investigación sobre la política y los materiales en el aula. Dentro de los estudios sobre materiales como los textos para el aprendizaje de idiomas, la mayoría de las investigaciones se centran en el análisis del contenido de los roles y las imágenes de los personajes, con una exclusión de los personajes no humanos. Sin embargo, los personajes no humanos de los libros ilustrados para niños representan casi el 60% de los personajes que leen los niños. Por lo tanto, deben examinarse sus representaciones de género, incluyendo los prejuicios, el sexismo manifiesto y el sexismo encubierto. En este estudio, examino la representación de género de los personajes no humanos utilizando la lingüística de corpus y el análisis crítico del discurso. Además, utilizo el análisis crítico de la imagen para analizar el género pictórico de los personajes no humanos en 12 libros de texto de dos de las series de libros de texto más utilizados en Estados Unidos para el aprendizaje de idiomas en las escuelas primarias. Los resultados indican una fuerte preferencia por personajes masculinos agresivos y aventureros, ideologías de supremacía masculina y la supresión de la agencia femenina.

Palabras clave: LINGÜÍSTICA DE CORPUS, ANÁLISIS CRÍTICO DEL DISCURSO, ANÁLISIS DE LIBROS DE TEXTO, GÉNERO Y LENGUAJE, INGLÉS COMO SEGUNDA LENGUA, ANÁLISIS CRÍTICO DE LA IMAGEN

IT L'uguaglianza di genere nell'apprendimento delle lingue è stato oggetto di notevole attenzione nella ricerca su norme scolastiche e sui materiali didattici. La maggior parte degli studi sui testi per l'apprendimento delle lingue si concentra sull'analisi del contenuto dei ruoli e delle immagini dei personaggi con l'esclusione, a volte intenzionale, di personaggi non umani. Tuttavia quasi il 60% dei personaggi nei libri illustrati per bambini è non umano. Pertanto, dovrebbero essere esaminate le rappresentazioni di genere, inclusi pregiudizi, sessismo palese e sessismo nascosto di tali personaggi. In questo studio si esamina la rappresentazione del genere di personaggi non umani usando la linguistica dei corpora e l'analisi critica del discorso. Inoltre, viene utilizzata l'analisi critica delle immagini per discutere la rappresentazione del genere di personaggi non umani all'interno di 12 libri in due delle serie di libri di testo più utilizzate negli Stati Uniti per l'apprendimento delle lingue nelle scuole elementari. I risultati indicano una forte preferenza per personaggi maschili aggressivi e avventurosi, ideologie suprematiste maschili e soppressione dell'agire femminile.

Parole chiave: LINGUISTICA DEI CORPORA, ANALISI CRITICA DEL DISCURSO, ANALISI DEI LIBRI DI TESTO, GENERE E LINGUAGGIO, INGLESE COME SECONDA LINGUA, ANALISI CRITICA DELLE IMMAGINI

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1. Introduction

When considering one's favorite childhood stories, at least one tale with fantastical characters may come to mind. These characters permeate children's spaces—amplified, reinvented, and reimagined through various forms of technology in both social and academic contexts. Curriculum writers often choose literacy materials from published children's literature, adapting them to fit the target level, age, and teaching context. The resulting schoolbooks are often relied upon not just for content area learning, but also for reinforcing a society's cultural values and norms, including gender roles which can involve gender bias and stereotyping (Witt, 2001). We know that children's interactions with books have the potential for not only gender role assimilation, but also for promoting social change (Capuzza, 2020). As such, it should come as no surprise that books used in U.S. English as a second language (ESL) classrooms as language learning curricula carry great weight, as they are often viewed and accepted more readily by the children whose teacher has chosen and read these books to them (Wharton, 2005).

Children's literature and English language learning literacy texts have historically limited the potential of female agents (Blumberg, 2015). However, most historical studies have ignored the roles that non-human characters play in offering potential opportunities for male and female agents and readers (Sunderland, 2015). While some scholars have examined gender in children's literature or language learning texts, few have employed systematic linguistic analysis to study gendering of non-human characters in language learning texts. As many language learning texts adapt full length picture books or literature for use in language learning, it is imperative that we understand what these fantastical characters are communicating to young language learners acquiring language, literacy, and social norms simultaneously from these texts (Harro, 2000).

In this study, I engaged in the previously uncharted realms of language learning material study by examining the linguistic and visual gendering of non-human characters within 12 English language development (ELD) textbooks adopted by the two largest ELD markets in the United States, the states of California and Texas. Together, these markets represent 2.4 million young readers each year (Sanchez, 2017). I had two research questions:

- 1) How are gendered non-humans represented discursively?
- 2) How are gendered non-humans represented visually?

To answer these questions, I employed critical multimodal linguistic analysis through Critical Discourse Analysis and visual analysis. Critical multimodal linguistic study is rare in current empirical research of gender in language learning materials, and the study of non-human characters in linguistic analyses are new to this field. To increase the validity of linguistic analysis, I employed computational software to analyze linguistic phenomena related to non-humans, a technique of corpus study first used in textbook gender analysis by Yang (2011). I built my analysis and recommendations upon what is currently known about gender representations of non-human characters in children's materials.

2. Literature review

First, it is necessary to explain what is meant by *non-human characters*. These are agents within works of fiction and sometimes non-fiction that are not human. These are often animals gendered through nomenclature, appearance, and personification. They are also fantastical characters like fairies, giants, trolls, and other mythical creatures. Included here are gods and goddesses, which are part of religious and folkloric texts. These can also be personified objects, such as toys and other household items. "Non-human characters" can even include elements of nature that are personified and gendered in works of literature.

2.1. Gender and children's fiction

A genre that has received considerable attention with regard to gender is children's fiction. Researchers have analyzed the stories themselves for thematic representation, considered how children receive and act upon fiction stories, as well as studied how children perceive gender within them. However, very little has been done to analyze the *language* of children's fiction. Instead, most research has settled on content analyses. In contemporary analysis of content, children's literature has been found to consistently stereotype characters into gendered binaries and demonstrate gender inequality between characters,

content, and pictures (Crisp & Hiller, 2011; Mattix & Sobalak, 2014; McGrabe, Fairchild, Graurholz, Pescosolido, & Tope, 2011). These works show that there are more male protagonists with more interesting activities than female characters or non-binary characters. Males are given greater autonomy and traits such as bravery. Females are less often central to the stories and are more likely to engage in maternal roles of understanding, sympathizing, and comforting. As Hamilton, Anderson, Braudus, and Young (2006) describe in their study of parents in children's fiction, females are far more often engaged in homemaking activities.

Other studies have confirmed uptake of gendered stereotypes when children are repeatedly given reading materials that contain them, demonstrating the profound roles children's fiction play in the formation of ideologies on gender. One notable and recent example is Hill and Jacob's (2020) project wherein circle time sessions were recorded and analyzed while gender ambiguous stories were read, with explicit conversations about gender. The authors found that children perceived gender based on adornment, coloring, posture, activities the characters engaged in, and the names given to them. This study found that children made similar comments regarding gender regardless of the human or non-human nature of the characters, and they tended to assign gender binaries even to ambiguously drawn and ambiguously described characters.

2.1.1. Visual analysis in children's fiction

Visual analyses of gender in children's fiction have historically found that visuals do support the text in terms of gendering (Nilsen, 1971, 1977; Sunderland, 2010). Thus, as Caldecott winning books place females within the home through role allocation, images of females are likewise in the home, wearing domestic clothing (Sunderland, 2010). In particular, Nilsen (1977) remarked on the overuse of aprons in illustrations for female characters. In more contemporary studies, visual analysis has demonstrated more egalitarian attempts at character representation, with more options for children's picture books featuring gender ambiguous characters or characters who identify as LGBTQIA or who are drawn as less stereotypically or traditionally feminine or masculine (Capuzza, 2020; Hill & Jacobs, 2020). However, in terms of frequency of visual occurrence or being alone in an image, males experience far greater visual representation in contemporary children's fiction than females (Hamilton et al., 2006; McGrabe et al., 2011).

2.1.2. Thematic analysis of non-humans in children's fiction

Little work has been done to examine gender representation, biases, or sexism within children's literature focusing on non-human agents. Even fewer studies have been conducted through linguistic analysis. The first work examining non-humans for gender representation within children's literature was by Nilsen (1971). Publishers at this time recommended authors write fewer books with female protagonists because while girls would read about male or female protagonists, boys would not read about female leads. Teachers were requested to find more books with male protagonists for classroom use as well, to encourage boys and girls to participate. Nilsen uses the terms "boys' books" to refer to books with male protagonists and "girls' books" to refer to books with female protagonists. In her study of gender in Caldecott-winning picture books, she compared "boy's books" with "girl's books," examining characters' activity, characters' size within illustrations, and gendered themes about romance, domesticity, and adventure. In these analyses, she examined non-human stories separately from human stories. She considered the use of gendered pronouns and compared them to anthropomorphic illustrations and found that even when illustrations did not gender the character, the masculine pronoun was used, suggesting that unless the character is drawn with female traits it is automatically male. She found that male non-human characters were an incredibly common occurrence in children's award-winning literature, naming Dr. Seuss books for their ratio of 7 to 1 male to female characters. She also examined the personality traits of these characters and found distinct stereotypical attitudes constructed for male and female non-humans. In addition to identifying female non-humans in mothering roles, books portrayed females as fashion conscious, sick, and lonely.

Bradley and Mortimer (1972) examined picture books from the School Library Service's recommended lists and found that for anthropomorphized male characters, there was greater activity, autonomy, exploration, bravery, disobedience, mastery of skills, and aggression than for females, besides having a greater quantifiable presence in the stories. Female anthropomorphized characters displayed no autonomous behavior and instead were consistently victims.

In a study by McGrabe et al. (2011), an examination of Caldecott award winning books from 1900-2000 demonstrated minimal improvement over time in representation of female non-human characters. They found that male animals are central characters in 23% of books per year, compared to female non-human centralization of 7%. They found that as of 1990, disparity in gender for animal characters was still

two males to every one female. They posited that these disparities pointed to the symbolic annihilation of women and girls particularly through female animals.

Finally, Ferguson's (2018) analysis of the top 100 children's books for 2017 saw that 60% of characters were non-human and 73% of those non-human characters were male. Ferguson also found that males were more likely to be dangerous creatures, such as dragons, bears, and tigers, while females were smaller and meeker such as birds, cats, and insects. From these content analyses, we can glean that non-humans have played a large role in children's literature for decades, and that they are still much more likely to be male than female or neuter.

2.1.2.1. Linguistic analyses of non-humans in children's fiction

In 2010, Sunderland questioned whether Nilsen's (1977) assertions about gendered pronouns for non-humans could still be true and called for up-to-date research on this topic. In fact, as of 2012, Sunderland claimed that most work to date had focused on content in gendered fiction, such as roles and actions of protagonists. She advocated for and produced work that engages the *language* of gendered fiction for analysis—what the characters were like, did, and said—and how this was linguistically presented. She advocated for linguistic analysis which she described as “looking closely at language in a principled and often systematic way” (p. 63). Samples of linguistic analysis of gendered fiction include analysis of titles of books for gender, character naming, male and female pronoun use, and physical and emotional adjectives. In even more current work, Sunderland (2015) pushed for the field to examine gender in non-human characters within language textbooks both linguistically and visually. This work seeks to respond to her prompting.

Beyond Nilsen's (1977) study of gendered pronouns mentioned earlier, Lieberman (1986) explored Hans Christian Anderson fairytales through linguistic focalization, or the construal of different characters' points of view. He identified beauty as an asset for fairytale females such as the Little Mermaid. The Andersen version of this tale uncommonly provides her point of view more often than the prince. Through a feminist linguistic analysis, the researcher examined how, for the want of love, the mermaid sacrificed her literal voice and her necessary tail to be near the prince.

2.1.2.2. Visual analyses of non-humans in children's fiction

In Nilsen's (1971) paper on gender in Caldecott winning picture books, she coined the term “occult of the apron” to describe the overwhelmingly female uniform for children's literature books. She recounted images of non-human characters as well—mother alligator, mother rabbit, mother donkey, and mother cat—all wearing aprons. She wrote of the need to investigate picture book illustrations because these were promoted for children during their most impressionable life stages. She blamed artists for many of the issues surrounding male-centric illustrations. At that time, freelance artists were three times as likely to be male. Thus, when they illustrated children's literature, they drew from their impressions and memories of childhood unless the text itself directed them otherwise.

In their examination of notable children's books from 1995-1999, Gooden and Gooden (2001) also found greater instances of male animals (116) over female animals (78) in illustrations. They argued that continued imbalance in gender representation and the continued gender stereotyping was harmful to male and female readers. Yabroff (2016) noted that most illustrations in the top 100 booklists from Scholastic and Time did not have gendered illustrations but relied on the text to gender the non-human characters for them. This linguistic gendering where pictorial gendering is not present is an important reason to conduct multimodal analyses to glean a thicker description of gender representations for the most common characters in children's readers. The common framework for these studies was content analysis, which relied on head counts to determine stereotyping and representation. However, counts alone should not be solely relied upon to examine the issues of non-human gender representation and the possible harmful effects on young readers.

2.2. Gender and ESL texts

As this project aims to examine gendering in children's ESL texts, it is additionally necessary to focus on not just children's picture books but on child and adult ESL texts. Over the last three decades, both content and linguistic analysis of textbooks for gender construction have investigated sexist language, female visibility, firstness, and gender stereotypes (Giaschi, 2000; Hartman & Judd, 1978; Mustapha, 2015; Porreca, 1984). Hartman and Judd (1978) defined “firstness” as “a subtler convention of language. . . the ordering of

sex pairs like male and female, Mr. and Mrs., brother and sister, husband and wife, which are usually ordered with the male first, with the single exception of ladies and gentlemen" (p. 390). These studies have provided quantitative and qualitative data on the unequal treatment of gender in educational materials. While research regarding gender in American-made ESL materials is virtually non-existent, gender role representation in English language textbooks in English as a foreign language (EFL) contexts outside of the United States has been studied more recently and with greater depth. These studies demonstrate a perpetual display of women in more stereotypically feminine professions and men experiencing a wider variety of roles allocated to them within the text (Amerian & Esmaili, 2015; Pakuła, Pawelczyk, & Sunderland, 2015; Sadeghi & Maleki, 2016; Yaghoubi-Notash & Nouri, 2016). Sadeghi and Maleki (2016) and Yaghoubi-Notash and Nouri (2016) both employed Van Leeuwen's approach to critical discourse analysis (CDA) with an emphasis on social actors. Pakuła et al. (2015) examined Polish EFL textbooks at varying age levels and found that women were relatively powerless next to men within the texts. Women and men had different roles, representing conventional and gendered stereotypical role allocation. Their study was incredibly thorough, examining both texts and their consumption.

Linguistic study of textbooks in EFL and ESL contexts has consistently revealed that women are given secondary roles in classroom materials twice as often as men (Chankseliani, Silova, Palandjian, Mun, & Zholdoshalieva, 2018; Curaming & Curaming, 2020; Lee, 2014; Porreca, 1984; Samadikhah & Shahrokhi, 2015). Through an examination of linguistic representation—pronouns, nouns, and other gendered grammar markers, research has consistently shown males in first positions (e.g., as lead character) within learning materials at least twice as often as females (Graham, 1974; Porreca, 1984; Samadikhah & Shahrokhi, 2015). In other contexts, however, EFL textbooks have demonstrated improvements in this area. For instance, in Parham's (2013) analysis of children's EFL textbooks in Iran, she found nearly equal linguistic visibility for male and female human characters. In Hong Kong, Lee and Collins (2015) compared the same textbook series from 1988 to its updated 2005 version and found significant improvements in this area.

2.2.1. Visual analysis in ESL texts

There are two frameworks that are commonly employed in visual textbook analysis: Giaschi's Critical Image Analysis (2000) and van Leeuwen's Visual Social Actor Network plus Representation and Viewer Network (2008), where Visual Social Actor Network examines exclusion and inclusion, and Representation and Viewer Network examines distance, relation, and interaction. Giaschi's framework is derived from Fairclough's CDA and contains seven questions for analyzing gaze, agency, and body language. In van Leeuwen's framework, analysis includes who is and is not included, who could have logically been included, character agency, cultural representations, and individual vs. group members on display, as well as relative distance between viewer and character in image and angle of gaze.

From the current EFL context and the historical ESL context, we see evidence of textbooks containing more male images, more males at work, and more male dominated images (Hartman & Judd, 1978; Porreca, 1984; Yang, 2016). A historical look at ESL texts from Porreca (1984) noted that men were displayed at work five times as often as women. In more recent studies, there is movement towards equality in gender representation pictorially (Lee, 2014; Samadikhah & Shahrokhi, 2015; Yang, 2016). Lee's (2014) comparison of Hong Kong English textbooks from 1988-2005 claimed that while there were still significantly more men than women in the images, there were more women-only images, and more women and men represented equally in images in the 2005 edition of the text. Visual analyses of textbooks produced for the Iranian school system in Amerian and Esmaili's (2015) investigation of *The American Headway Series* showed more male-only pictures and more male-dominant pictures. Only 24% of images showed equal numbers or male and female characters. In each of these studies, however, the analysis was based on a simple counting of characters to determine gender equity pictorially. Dabbagh's (2016) study in the Iranian EFL context more thoroughly applied Van Leeuwen's framework to visual analysis, examining gaze, space, distance, body display, and activity in addition to the simple counts conducted by previous studies. Dabbagh found that males were 1.5 times more active in images, males looked at the viewer more often than females and were framed in close ups more often. Yet, Dabbagh found greater balance in spaces such as work and home images with males and females, and he found similarities in body display such as clothing choice that represents religious ideologies regarding dress.

Giaschi (2000) conducted Critical Image Analysis (CIA) on texts in the Eastern European and Asian contexts. In his 2000 study, he found that women's heads were often inclined towards a man. When the woman's gaze was averted and the man's gaze was upon her, his facial and body language showed physical

signs of tension or anger. Mustapha (2015) used Giaschi's framework to examine gender positioning through visual images in ESL books in Nigeria. He employed four parts of the CIA framework to conduct his analysis and found that males within the Nigerian ELT context were positioned visually as inherently superior, strong, and in control in professions, social activities, and conflicts, but inferior in the domestic domain to females. Females were only viewed as superior in the domestic domain.

2.2.2. Non-humans in ESL texts

There are limited studies examining non-human gendering in language learning materials. Often, non-humans are explicitly removed from analysis in language learning materials, despite their prevalence and importance to child learning (Curaming & Curaming, 2020; Parham, 2013). In Bhattacharya's (2017) small-scale study of Indian English language learning textbooks, using content and linguistic analysis, just one section was given to non-human gendered characters. In this section, Bhattacharya found that masculine pronouns gendered otherwise neutral characters. She brought attention to the fact that in Hindi, several animal names are feminine, but the English descriptions of them used masculine pronouns. She also described how the use of metaphors positioned male non-human characters as powerful, strong, and aggressive. Similarly, in an analysis of early-literacy textbooks in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, Chankseliani et al. (2018) found that animals and insects were humanized to promote ideologies of ethicized and gendered moral education. A study of the language showed foxes to be predominantly female through naming and pronoun use, and to be described as sly and dishonest, whereas bears and wolves were male and "less smart."

Just a few studies of non-humans in ESL materials have examined images. In Yang's (2016) visual analysis of Hong Kong primary English language texts, the author determined that non-human characters – while not gendered in the same ways as humans, were still gendered and often in exaggerated ways. The study noted clothing and accessories such as handbags to ensure readers understood the gender of the non-human character. The study of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstani early literacy books described above (Chankseliani et al., 2018) found that anthropomorphism of insects and animals also translated to images that were gendered stereotypically. Bears, bees, and other animals wore traditional clothing and exemplified gendered stereotypes of women and men in their societies to reinforce heteronormative and nationalist ideologies of "normalness" of gendered and ethnic divisions.

3. Rationale for current study

In a given year, in well-known collections of children's literature (e.g., Caldecott winners, Top 100 Booklist, etc.), between 27% and 60% of children's books contain non-human characters (Sunderland, 2010). Using images of non-humans for marketing purposes is a proven strategy that demonstrates the power of non-human characters over the child as consumer (Karpyn et al., 2017; Veer, 2013). Harju and Rouse (2018) describe books with non-human characters as "featur[ing] anthropomorphized protagonists who stand in for human characters, imparting moral and social codes through their attributes and actions" (p. 456). This is not only true for original, non-paraphrased, or adapted works sold in bookstores; classroom texts featuring non-human characters are also shown to teach lessons about morality and social norms. And, while children in classrooms are socialized to trust their teachers and therefore to believe what their teachers share with them through the curriculum, English Language Learners are even more prone to take up the social codes within the narratives of non-humans, as they are simultaneously acquiring language, literacy, content, and cultural norms. With the prevalence and relative importance non-humans play in conveying what is valued to children, it is surprising that, in 2021, no greater depth of work has been conducted into what messages about gender roles and ideology are being conveyed and potentially taken up by this more vulnerable group of children in U.S. public schools. Thus, this study seeks to better understand the way language and images of non-human characters portray gender roles and ideologies in English language learning textbooks. Implications of this research will affect how educators both choose the best reading passages for their language learning students, but also how they might use texts to open discussions to promote efforts of critical literacy in language learning.

4. Methods

4.1. Data

While many nations publish curriculum on a national level, in the United States, states decide on the textbooks used in the classroom. As Texas and California have the highest student populations, publishers

often write curriculum with these two contexts in mind, or in collaboration with these two boards of education (BOEs). Books created for Texas and California educational contexts are then marketed to other states as well. Therefore, Texas and California's BOEs often make curricular choices that affect the books read across the United States. In other words, two large educational governing bodies with their own political and ideological motivations tell publishers what they would like to see and read, and those books are published nationwide (Blumberg, 2015). For this reason, I examined 12 textbooks from two series published by Rigby, a Houghton Mifflin company, and Benchmark Education Company for the Texas and California ESL classrooms, examining gender representation and positioning linguistically and pictorially through systematic analysis.

The first series, *California Benchmark Advance: Texts for English Language Development*, is a Benchmark Education textbook series printed in 2018 and currently adopted by California's public schools, the largest school system in the United States for English language learners. This text is also printed and distributed to schools nationwide without the California Standards for Language Learning. The second series, *On Our Way to English: Texas*, was printed by Houghton Mifflin Company in 2014 and is currently adopted through 2022 by Texas, the state with the second largest population of English language learners nationally. This series is also printed nationally and is currently adopted in its national form in Louisiana and Florida. These texts are designed to meet learners of various ages and proficiency levels and considers kindergarten to be the first or beginner year of English for most language learning pupils. Thus, as the texts progress from kindergarten through fifth grade, the pupils are progressing in grade level and proficiency level, placing 5th grade students at an advanced level of English language proficiency in reading with scaffolded writing and speaking activities. I examined 6 books in each series from kindergarten through 5th grade. As these texts contained exercises, quizzes, vocabulary, and grammar explanations in addition to reading, I chose to focus only on readings that gave explicit instructions to learners to produce language. While reading in general in the second language is beneficial for acquisition, I am concerned with readings that contained both instructions for production and references to gender, because I wanted to focus on the students' opportunities for engagement with the readings that reference gender. For each series, optional supplementary materials exist, but there are no instructions or references to these supplements in the principal textbooks, and they are sold separately from the textbook series.

4.2. Corpus linguistics

To examine these texts through systematic linguistic modes of inquiry, I employed corpus linguistics to gather and analyze the data within the 12 books using a sample corpus approach (Leech, 2007). Corpus linguistics is defined as procedures for analyzing some set of machine-readable texts deemed appropriate to study a set of research questions. The set of texts is called the corpus and is usually too large to rely on hand and eyes alone (McEnery & Hardie, 2012). I specifically employed ANTCOnc as a computational tool for organizing and managing my data (Anthony, 2019). This allowed me to have more accurate quantitative analysis of linguistic features of the texts. Yang's (2011) study used concordancing techniques similar to the methodology of the current study, examining collocations of he/she, man/women/woman boy/s, girl/s in a series of primary textbooks, but Yang's study was limited by the small size of her corpus (14,340 words) and by her restriction to collocation. This study is based on a much larger corpus—*Benchmark Advance* contains a corpus of 44,757 words, and *On Our Way to English* contains a corpus of 18,039 words—and includes a wider range of gender-concerned features and is as such more on par with more recent corpus studies such as Lee and Collin's (2016) corpus study of 29,216 words.

All the texts were entered electronically and then edited manually. I first annotated the corpus for linguistic references to gender, then performed collocational and concordance analyses on these readings. Specifically, I annotated all gendered nouns: proper names; terms like "man/en," "woman/en," "girl/s," "boy/s;" familial terms denoting gender such as "aunt," "uncle," "brother," "sister," "husband," "wife," "nephew," "niece," "son," "daughter," "mother," "father," "grandmother," "grandfather;" and their derivatives, both in English and Spanish (such as "abuelo" and "abuela"). Next, I annotated all mentions of gendered pronouns: "he," "him," "she," "her/s," "his" and their derivatives, such as versions ending in the suffix "-self." I considered and annotated linguistic stereotyped words, such as "master" and the "-man/en" and "-ess" suffixes. Then, I annotated address titles that refer to gender, such "Mrs.," "Ms.," and "Mr.," in addition to "Mister" and "Miss." From these annotations, I then labelled collocated adjectives. Next, I labelled verbs that collocated with "she" and "he," as these are the most frequently occurring representations of male and female agents within the texts. I used the clusters tool to identify the verbs within five words to the left and right as a means of identifying the kinds of activities associated with males and females, following the example of Lee

and Collins (2015). I additionally annotated the readings to denote genre and human or non-human. To analyze gender representation in the series, I used frequency counts and collocational analysis. The Word List tool was used to configure token versus types of words in each series. The collocate tool was used to examine the verbs associated with male and female agents, and the concordance tool elicited frequencies of individual words and phrases in a KWIC (Key Word in Context) format, which shows collocates of the word chosen and identifies common phrases.

4.3. Critical discourse analysis

Following data collection through ANTCOnc, I chose Fairclough's framework for CDA. CDA is a derivative of critical theory, which is any theory concerned with the critique of ideology and domination. Fairclough's approach to CDA reflects an examination of the power *behind* discourse, not just the power *in* discourse. There are two main assumptions of CDA: language is a social event that is related to the speaker's selection of vocabulary and grammar that is "principled and systematic" (Fowler, Hodge, Kress, & Trew, 1979), and the purpose of CDA is to make clear the opaque linguistic elements that lead to or protect unequal distributions of power (Wodak & Meyer, 2001) to ultimately change the existing social reality (Fairclough, 2015).

My study relied on two stages of CDA known as description and interpretation. Description entails a linguistic uncovering of the text and regards the grammar and vocabulary present as choices from among the options available depending on the genre. To interpret the features of the text, it is important to realize what other ways meaning could have been made morphologically or grammatically. Interpretations are generated by what is in the text (description) and what is "in" the interpreter in addition to the sometime religious, sociopolitical, and historical powers of the society in which the discourse is being produced (Fairclough, 2015).

4.4. Visual analysis

Many previous studies that included visual analysis relied on frameworks for analyzing people and therefore had to eliminate non-humans from their investigations (Curaming & Curaming, 2020; Parham, 2013). Those that have attempted to analyze non-humans in the same way they analyzed humans have found that these methods fall short (Hill & Jacobs, 2020; Yang, 2016). However, when studies relied on principles of gendered anthropomorphism as an art sub-genre, their analyses were more relevant in their findings relative to their context (Chankseliani et al., 2018; Nilsen, 1971, 1977; Perea, 2018; Yarbrough, 2011). Cibos and Hodges (2009) categorized the key elements necessary to achieve gendered anthropomorphism as anatomy, rhythm, mass, facial features, and functional details. Anatomy entails making curvier lines for female bodies and sharper lines for male bodies. Rhythm refers to the consistent exaggeration needed for those lines to ensure viewers understand the maleness and femaleness of the characters, such as rounded bellies on male bears and elongated torsos, fingers, and toes on females. Mass refers to the exaggeration of weight needed to mimic both animal size and gender: greater weight for bears in general, but even more so for male bears than for females. Facial features commonly exaggerated to denote male vs. female are lips, fuller for females than for males. Functional details refer to coloring and patterns, clothing, and accessories with suggestions to remove decorative items like bracelets, earrings, and skirts from male animals. Thus, after cataloguing each image within NVIVO and annotating it for traits of gendered anthropomorphism, following Cibos and Hodges series of drawing manuals beginning in 2009, I noted that with non-human characters, clothing, facial features, coloring, and mass/size were the most frequently conveyed visual markers for gender within these two series. Earlier studies of non-humans in children's books and learning materials concluded that gendering most often happens through coloring, clothing, physical features, and postures (Burke & Copenhaver, 2004; Hill & Jacobs, 2020; Perea, 2018; Yang, 2016). I first annotated images based on whether the character was an animal or a mythical creature and whether it was gendered pictorially and/or linguistically as male or female. If an image contained no visible gendering (i.e., it was drawn as anatomically accurate for the kind of animal it represented), I eliminated it from my visual analysis. I then gave each image a mark for containing one of the traits of gendered anthropomorphism, such as facial features that gender the character, clothing/adornment, coloring, and size.

5. Findings

5.1. Description phase of linguistic analysis

Through repeated close readings of both series, which I will refer to as *Benchmark* (California) and *OOWTE* (Texas), I catalogued types, token appearances, gender, and non-human form of characters (e.g., robot, dwarf), as well as short descriptions and linguistic references and page numbers for each occurrence. I then compiled a table to demonstrate the linguistic gendering of non-human characters by both series in Table 1. Table 1 also shows that *Benchmark* had far more stories and poems about animals and other non-human characters than did *OOWTE*, which predominantly featured human stories.

Table 1
Gender of non-human characters by series

Gender	Benchmark	OOWTE
Male	88	15
Female	28	5
Non-gendered	3	0

5.1.1. Nouns and pronouns

Linguistic gendering in these texts was predominantly demonstrated using pronouns. Sometimes, the names of the characters were helpful in determining gender, as with the fairy Tinkerbell in a Peter Pan retelling in *Benchmark Advance*. I did not rely solely on proper nouns for linguistic gendering but looked for pronouns to confirm.

The ratio of male to female non-human characters was quite high in *Benchmark* at 3.14 to 1. *OOWTE* had fewer non-human characters but shared a similar ratio of 3:1 male to female. These findings are nearly double those of Gooden and Gooden (2001) who examined Caldecott and other notable picture books from 1995-1999 and found a ratio of 1.5:1, but on par with Ferguson's (2018) study of children's picture books at 2.4:1 suggesting that these textbooks are moving in the same direction as current children's picture books—more male centric—for non-human gender representation.

I also examined character types and found that male non-humans were more likely to be large than were female non-humans and more likely to be aggressive creatures such as bears and lions. These findings are represented in Figure 1 for the *Benchmark* series. I did not present a chart for *OOWTE* as it was almost completely small animals for males and females.

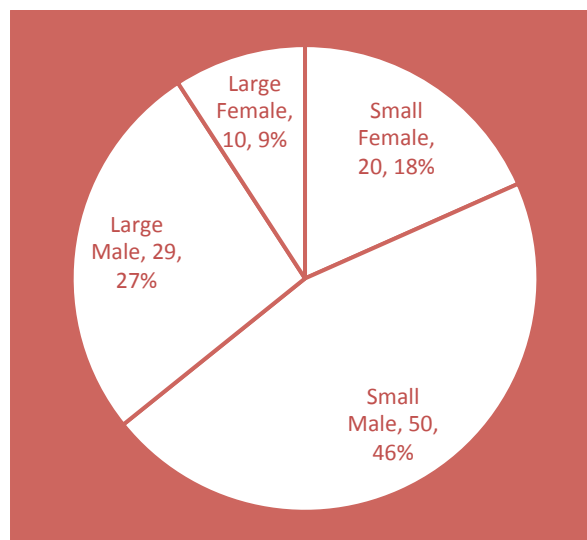


Figure 1. Non-Human Gendering by Size - Benchmark

There were characters in each series that were only male, such as dogs and badgers. There was just one occurrence total in both series of a fox being female. Non-human females in each book were frequently

quite small such as ladybugs, snails, beans, beetles, ants, birds, and fairies. However, there were female cows, a giraffe, a dragon, and a giant within the two series. There are also a few small male animals, such as a mosquito, a gnat, and a crawfish, although these small males each accomplished something huge using their size to their advantage. For example, the mosquito was blamed for a never-ending night in an African folktale (*Benchmark*, Grade 1 Unit 6), and the gnat boasted about taking down the King of Beasts in the retelling of the Aesop tale (*Benchmark*, Grade 4 Unit 2). Overall, there were both more tokens and more types of male non-humans than female non-humans (2:1) in both *Benchmark* and *OOWTE*, as shown in Figure 2.

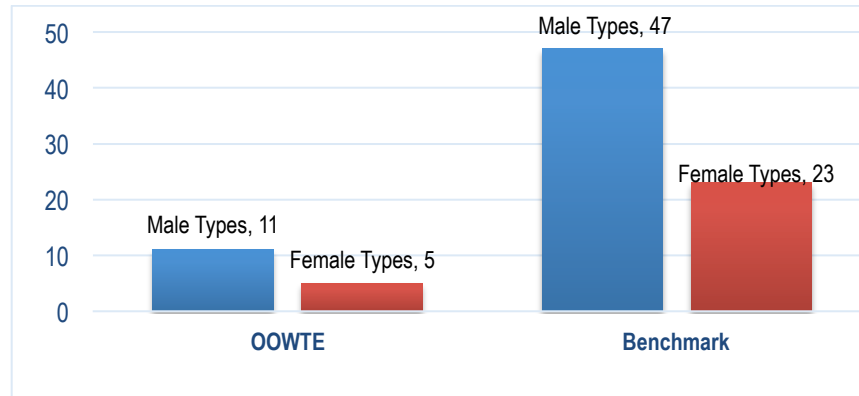


Figure 2. Non-Human Character Types

5.1.2. Adjectives

Through an examination of adjectives, males were frequently described by character traits that emphasized intelligence, such as “clever,” “cunning,” “intelligent,” and “crafty” as in “Crafty Fox” (*Benchmark* Grade 1 Unit 4 and Grade 3 Unit 6), “Clever Raven” (*Benchmark* Grade 5 Unit 8), and “Wise Friend Fox” (*Benchmark* Grade 2 Unit 6). The adjective “little” is used only for females.

In *OOWTE*, females are often characterized as less intelligent than males as in “Fox and Crow” where the male fox flatters the crow through compliments of her beauty. She sings for him, dropping her cheese to do so. He then pokes fun at her before taking the cheese and running away.

- 1) Between bites of the cheese, the grinning fox said, “You have a voice, madam, I see, but what you want is wits.” (*OOWTE* Kindergarten).

Another example is a female cow in *Benchmark* Grade 1 who “knew not how” to thank the farmer boy for getting her home.

Females are also characterized as being slow in contrast to their faster male characters. An example of this is of Kate the Country Mouse in “City Mouse Country Mouse” (*Benchmark* Grade 1) where Kate’s slow quiet life is too boring for Clyde, the City Mouse. Kate does not like the speed at which life moves in the city and returns home, happy to be in the quiet countryside.

When females are able to accomplish something, this often surprises the male characters as in “Tortoise and the Hare” (*Benchmark* Kindergarten), “How the Beetle Got Her Coat” (*Benchmark* Grade 2), and Snail in “How Water Came to Dry Lands” (*OOWTE* Grade 4). In each of these stories, the female is described in ways that emphasize her slowness. Tortoise is described as:

- 2) ...plodded along, slowly putting one foot in front of the other as tortoises do. “I may be slow,” said Tortoise, “but I always try hard to do my best.”

The Beetle has this description:

- 3) “The beetle crawls so slowly,” he thought. “She can’t possibly win!”

Snail has several adjectives to describe the intensity of her slowness:

- 4) Snail was small and slow.
- 5) The people watched as Snail went slowly to the ocean. Some shook their heads and said, "She's so small, and the bottle is so big!"
- 6) When Snail finally returned, everyone was asleep. Slowly, the exhausted Snail climbed the hill to her home. She was so tired that she dragged the water bottle on the ground.

In each of these tales, the female must overcome the obstacle of slowness with some other characteristic she possesses: the Tortoise and the Snail are both determined; the Beetle can fly.

5.2. Interpretation phase of linguistic analysis

5.2.1. Males supreme vs. females demeaned

These stories perpetuate gender stereotypes that females are the weaker, fairer sex as well as less intelligent than males. This has been a trope for centuries and promotes consumeristic ideologies of male and female worth based on physical features. Magazines often push airbrushed versions of super-sized males and wafer-thin females onto consumers as "real" beauty, thus encouraging the sales of products that promise this beauty to the consumer (Talbot, 2010). Females who appear helpless and in need of rescue are a familiar trope of femininity as espoused by Jhally (2010) in his documentary on gender in advertising, *Codes of Gender*. Jhally demonstrated how masculinity is constructed through large males centering themselves and directing their gaze at the camera, whereas femininity was constructed through wafer thin females placing themselves off-balance through postures of brokenness, or through facial features that denote uncertainty such as biting the lip or laughing hysterically with face upturned. These images construct the tropes of masculinity and femininity that sell products and promote hegemonic masculinity as a social norm. These descriptions of masculine and feminine non-humans act in a similar nature, emphasizing what hegemonic and indeed toxic masculinity supports in male and female physique and behavior. An additional note to remember about these images is that they were drawn for these textbooks, not taken from the original sources such as Aesop's Tales. These images were drawn in the 21st Century for texts published in 2014 and 2018. So, while words may reflect older ideologies or ideologies from other cultures, the illustrators had options to draw characters anatomically correct and to avoid these linkages. While the exact consumeristic ideologies expressed here have not been reported in EFL contexts, Chankseliani et al. (2018) claimed that non-humans emphasized ideologies of nationhood and traditional femininity for the Kazakhi context. Therefore, it appears that, as the U.S. is a highly consumeristic society, the ideologies emphasized by these non-humans are in line with priorities of the capitalist government in which the texts are created.

Additionally, adjectives that consistently place male non-humans as intelligent by nature continue the stereotype that male=smart and promote a dangerous binary that "others" females or discourages female readers from pursuing traditionally male enterprises. Power is then granted when discourses present the dominant forms as the default and other more diverse forms as "other" (Talbot, 2010). Demeaning female characters through adjectives of diminutive size and intellect are part of a traditional male supremacist ideology linking masculinity with achievement and femininity with physical appearance. Interestingly, in the Kazakhi context, while females were also seen as small and males as large, adjectives tended to paint females as sly and dishonest and males as unintelligent (Chankseliani et al., 2018). In each example above, it was the appearance of the female that had to be overcome in order for her to achieve, whereas the male appearance was not questioned but instead was assumed normative. Tortoise, Beetle, and Snail all verbally agreed to complete the physical challenges they undertook but were questioned and undermined through descriptions that depicted them as incapable, despite what they claimed to be able to do. Ignoring the voices of female agents and instead focusing on their physical or perceived mental flaws has damaging effects on society as evidenced by recent studies demonstrating children as early as age six have taken up the stereotype that boys are smarter than girls and defer to them in classroom situations (Bian, Leslie, & Cimpian, 2017). This is, however, an unfortunate and pervasive issue in the United States called "mansplaining" by popular culture, in which a woman's voice is ignored in favor of a male who takes over, explaining, typically to a female, in a condescending or patronizing manner. These examples qualify as "mansplaining" as the female voices are ignored, and male voices explain to them using demeaning language why they cannot complete the tasks they've agreed to (Conner, McCauliff, Shue, & Stamp, 2018).

5.2.2. Foregrounded males vs. backgrounded females

There were multiple instances in these series where the female was backgrounded through linguistic suppression or linguistic backgrounding, which is similar to findings from Samadikhah and Shahrokhi's (2015) study of two EFL series. One example of female backgrounding is in the folktale "How Water Came to Dry Lands." Here, there are two named female characters, Blue Bird Woman and Snail. Blue Bird Woman has one job in the story, telling Chief Deer Man what she has heard from the townspeople. He takes it from there and the story continues and finishes without her. While Blue Bird Woman is one character type, she is only referenced twice in the tale, and her presence is backgrounded through passive verbs and fewer descriptors. She had the ear of the people and could have played a larger role than what she was given. In fact, when I searched for the origins of this Navajo tale, I found a much stronger female presence for this character in published folklore. In the retelling by Geri Keams (1998), the character in charge was named "First Woman". There was no Deer Man who took over when Blue Bird Woman found out the townspeople were grumbling about water. In fact, the only Blue Bird Woman I found in Native American folklore was married to High Horse. She was a princess in Lakota mythology (Schell & Woldstad, 2012). This suggests an unfortunate homogenization of indigenous peoples by the writer of this piece, in addition to the unnecessary steps *OOWTE* took to background the original female protagonist in its retelling. Thompson (1990) calls this "concealing," which is when a text disguises or hides the working of power through hiding some of the information and telling only half-truths. In the Lakota myth told by Schell and Woldstad (2012), Blue Bird Woman has significantly more power than she is allocated in the *OOWTE* textbook. Additionally, in the Keams retelling (1998), First Woman is the chief and Snail is called "Snail Girl," and her image is quite magnificently drawn (see Figure 3 for comparison between the *OOWTE* image and the image in Keams [1998]). However, in the *OOWTE* retelling, her gender is only obtained through pronouns that are used to describe her. Finally, the titles are quite different. In the *OOWTE* title "How Water Came to Dry Lands", the passive voice is used—"water came." This acts to suppress the actions of Snail who is the one responsible for bringing water. The retelling by Keams is titled "Snail Girl Brings Water," which puts the female protagonist in first position within the title and gives the title active voice, with Snail Girl taking the action upon the water.



Figure 3. "Snail" (*OOWTE*) vs. "Snail Girl" (Keams, 1998)

Within *Benchmark's* Grade 2 Unit 2, the folktale, "Rough-Faced Girl" propels a non-human male, warrior named Invisible One, to the foreground, which conflicts with other retellings. Through a hasty promise from an invisible yet still somehow handsome warrior, Invisible One, that whoever can see him he will marry, a man's rough-faced daughter makes an unlikely match. In the textbook retelling, the father and the Invisible One negotiate the marriage agreement, and Rough-Faced Girl does not speak. Not only does her value come from her appearance and her marriage, but this story also removes the female character's agency and choice by excluding her voice in the marriage arrangement. It is assumed that the female character will be better off married to the handsome invisible being, and that she needs no say in the matter. These stories continue to reflect a sexist and patriarchal ideology through the hidden curriculum, which links achievement to masculinity and physical appearance to femininity.

I discovered the origins of “Rough-Faced Girl” and realized the depth at which this tale was altered by the writers of this series. Rafe Martin, an award-winning storyteller who has been a keynote speaker at myth, folklore, and storytelling conferences internationally wrote *Rough-Faced Girl* from his studies of the Algonquin peoples and their story of the female mystic on the shores of Lake Ontario (Martin, 2011). In his telling, the focus is on Rough Faced Girl’s inner character, not her appearance, with little space given to the Invisible One. It was she who sought the marriage alliance with the warrior, not her father, showing agency and choice for the female protagonist. It was also the Invisible One’s sister who negotiated the marriage, not the Invisible One himself, further demonstrating how the textbook version chose to propel the non-human male into the foreground. In fact, Sister and Rough-Faced Girl have far more lines than Invisible One. These two women dominate Martin’s (1992) retelling.

Interestingly, the Algonquin tale has a family of three sisters, but *Benchmark’s* version eliminates one sister. So, through eliminating one female character, diminishing the autonomous voice of Rough-Faced Girl and Sister and giving greater voice to the Invisible One, purposeful steps were taken by the author to diminish and exclude females from the text about a female mystic while simultaneously propelling the Invisible One to the foreground, further promoting patriarchal ideas about the need for males to care for females. Additionally, this misleading retelling of these indigenous folktales falsely implies an offensive eurocentric view on masculinity and femininity that was not present in the original while presenting indigenous peoples as homogenous.

5.2.3. Males go out vs. females stay in

There are multiple verb examples that demonstrate the adventurous nature of males, which is often contrasted by the more quiet, complacent nature of females. From a male dog following his owner to school (Benchmark K), pigs leaving home to build their own homes (Benchmark K) to Millie the female goat happily waiting on the children to come to her pasture to play (Benchmark K), and City Mouse Country Mouse, where Kate country mouse is content to stay home while her male city cousin lives an adventurous life, the reader frequently notices females going home or staying home. For instance, in Benchmark K, Mother Fox waits patiently at home for her son to go to the Hen’s coop and grab her for dinner. There were 36 readings featuring a male non-human going out, a female non-human staying home, or both out of 64 non-human tales. These findings are like McGrabe et al.’s (2011) study, which found female parents in children’s picture books were more likely to be within the home, caregiving. Crisp and Hiller (2011) found that males in their study did more interesting activities than females, which is also like this ESL context. This pattern constructs females as inactive and peripheral, with less agency than males. I found that there were more verbs and more concrete action verbs collocated with males than females. Verbs collocating with male characters tended to be highly active, and males contained a greater variety of action verbs than females. Female actions tended to exist within the home and were related to domestic arts. This pushes the ideology of gender essentialism, an ideology present in the post industrial revolution America and proliferated in the contemporary Christian church. Popular Christian authors such as Nancy Lee DeMoss tout this as Biblical and therefore rational, which normalizes this ideology in modern Christian families. Ironically, DeMoss describes this ideology in her book *Lies Women Believe and the Truth That Sets Them Free*, where she claims that God wired men to be providers and protectors, who are therefore not well suited to childcare and homemaking, and that God wired women for nurturing and emotional support, making them perfect for childcare and homemaking (Wolgemoth, 2018). Thus, heteronormative WASPish (White Anglo-Saxon Protestant) values are perpetuated in these texts through verb use and non-human gender roles. These ideologies have kept women under employed and underpaid since the Industrial Revolution and are used to rationalize discrimination and the gender pay gap (Beaty, 2017).

5.3. Description phase of visual analysis

In *Benchmark Advance California*, 44 animals and 34 mythical creatures were visually gendered through gendered anthropomorphism, meaning that 78 characters were visually gendered in this series in at least one of the four categories of gendered anthropomorphism studied (see Table 2). This means that 67% of characters who were linguistically gendered were also visually gendered in some way. There were several images of characters in this series that were either photographed or drawn as completely anatomically correct so there were no traces of gendering, which explains the difference between images and linguistic references. Sixty-two percent of linguistically male characters were also pictorially gendered, while 82% of linguistically female characters were also pictorially gendered. This may point to the use of the generic “he”

for animals within this series. Additionally, this may point to a more purposeful use of the pronoun “she” or of female proper nouns and purposeful use of female traits in illustrations.

Table 2
Benchmark gendering of non-human characters

Gendering Type	Male	Female	Totals
Linguistic	88	28	116
Pictorial	55	23	78

In *OOWTE*, 14 animals and 13 mythical creatures were visually gendered, for a total of 27 (see Table 3). 81% of non-human characters were both linguistically and visually gendered. This shows that characters were more often visually gendered than linguistically gendered. One reason for this is that some characters went unnamed or undescribed but were pictured in the stories. Within *OOWTE*, non-human gendering was done both linguistically and visually at about the same rate, but there was additional gendering that occurs through the illustrations only. As there were far fewer gendered non-human characters in *OOWTE*, less firm conclusions can be drawn about visual representation overall.

Table 3
OOWTE gendering of non-human characters

Gendering Type	Male	Female	Totals
Linguistic	16	6	22
Pictorial	20	7	27

5.3.1. Definition of terms for visual analysis

Following Cibos and Hodges’s (2009) instructions on gendered anthropomorphism, I noted four features consistently evident in these series. First, adornment is any form of accessory or article of clothing worn by the character. Anthropomorphic characters are most often clothed to represent stereotypical dress codes for male and female humans. Secondly, according to Cibos and Hodges and much of children’s picture book illustration research, male non-humans are larger than females of the same species. They also point to greater curving lines in shape for female anthropomorphized characters. Thus, size and shape refer to the curves or lack thereof, using anatomical renderings as a baseline, as well as comparative size of each gender of character by species. Third, I examined the colors used on clothing, skin, and fur, referring to stereotypes regarding pastels for females and primary colors for males. Finally, gendered facial features included rounded “doe” eyes for females versus the more simplistic black dot eyes that are norm in cartoon styling of non-humans, particularly animals. Additionally, full lips, use of make-up (rouge, eye shadow, eye liner, mascara, and lipstick), and fuller cheekbones characterized female facial features. Tables 4 and 5 summarize the occurrences of each these features of visual gendering for males and females, divided by series.

Table 4
Benchmark visual gendering by category

Gender	Adornment	Size/Shape	Coloring	Facial Features
Male	39	13	9	21
Female	11	9	4	11
Totals	50	22	13	32

Table 5
OOWTE visual gendering by category

Gender	Adornment	Size/Shape	Coloring	Facial Features
Male	6	5	3	1
Female	2	3	2	2
Totals	8	8	5	3

5.4. Interpretation phase of visual analysis

5.4.1. Adornment

As shown in Tables 4 and 5, adornment was the most common way illustrators gendered non-human characters, which aligns with studies from EFL contexts (Chankseliani et al., 2018; Sunderland, 2010; Yang, 2016). Females were gendered through facial features or through adornment in equal occurrences (11 times). Males tended to have few human additions, while the few female creatures were likely to contain more than one marker. Figure 4 demonstrates this phenomenon, as the Fox has no discernable male or female features, but his mother has what appears to be eyeliner on her eyes, a roller in her “hair,” and a blue apron tied on. Otherwise, she is drawn the same as the male fox.



Figure 4. Benchmark. Grade 1 Unit 4, “The Fox and the Little Red Hen”

Female characters in domestic clothing also insinuate gender essentialism, supporting the language in this series that a woman’s place is in the home. This is in line with visual analyses in children’s picture books in the 1970’s, where Nilsen noted the phenomenon of the apron on every woman, and from the Kazakhi context of Chankseliani et al.’s (2018) EFL study. Figure 5 demonstrates how adornment was used to gender the characters who are supposed to be the different tastes—Sweet, Salty, Tangy, and Spicy. The female characters had stereotypical female hairstyles—pigtails for the female child and a beehive hairdo for the adult female. And like the Fox in Figure 4, the female in Figure 5 also wears make-up. This time, she is wearing lipstick. Further, cat-eyeglasses and a dress adorn the female adult, while the female child also wears a dress. The adult male is dressed in a collared button up shirt, suggesting white collar work attire. These are not only gendered clothing and accessories, but dated as well, harkening back to 1950’s United States, where 2 out of 3 women worked within the home.

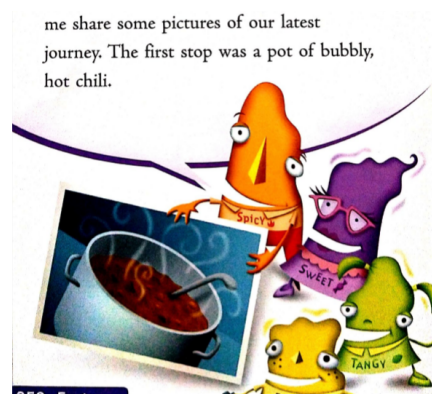


Figure 5. OOWTE, Grade 4 Unit 8, “Chef Jeff’s Nose”

5.4.2. Size and coloring

Illustrators and photographers commonly used size to make a character masculine. Female characters were sometimes drawn smaller than male characters in the same image and of the same character

type. One example is the giant in “Molly Whuppie” where the giant is huge, but “his wife”—the only name she is ever given—appears average height (Figure 6).

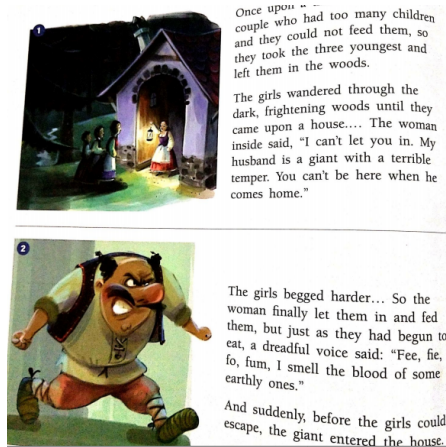


Figure 6. Benchmark, Grade 4 Unit 6, “Molly Whuppie”

Size and coloring were used in this series, though not to the extent of adornment or facial features. When coloring did occur, it accompanied adornment such as a pink dress for a female bear or a blue pair of overalls for a male rabbit, such as the one in Figure 7 from *Benchmark* Grade 4 Unit 6. While the pink/blue dichotomy was not exclusively used to gender (see Figure 4 for a female in blue), blue, brown, and red clothing were used 9 times for males, while and pinks and purples were used 4 times for females. This is an interesting difference from Yang’s (2016) study of coloring in an EFL context, in which color was not a significant marker of non-human gender in the series analyzed. The “pink is for girls, blue is for boys” is a strict and socially constructed gender norm and marketing ploy promoting “gender normal” products starting with the 1980’s as a reaction to the second wave feminist movement, pushing back on their goals of gender equality. Thus, these texts support a heteronormative ideology of gender-color associations (Wolchover, 2012).

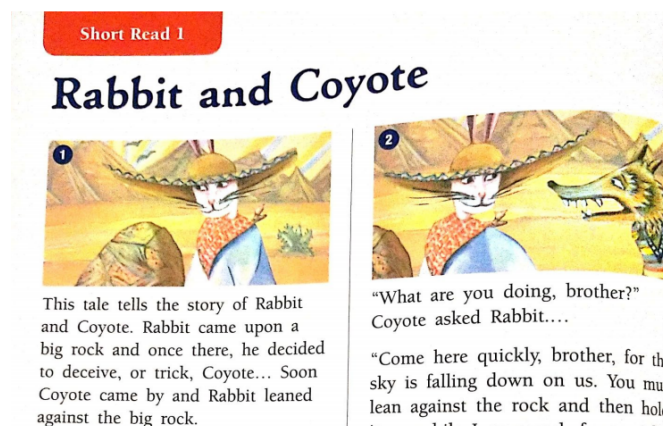


Figure 7. Benchmark, Grade 4 Unit 6, “Rabbit and Coyote”

One important instance of gendering for adornment and coloring was a comic about a dog and cat fight in the *OOWTE* kindergarten text (Figure 7). The male dog was colored shades of brown, and the cat shades of lavender. So, while a reader might judge the dog anatomically correctly colored for any dog, the cat was overtly feminized in appearance. It shifts the balance away from their species and onto their gender in a superfluous manner, which is what Thompson (1990) calls “fragmenting” or separating agents (in this case animals) to divide and rule. The illustrator emphasizes the sex differences between the characters

unnecessarily to split them into different groups. This shift takes the “cat fight” out of an animal-based scenario and insinuates that the cat fight is a female behavior, thus perpetuating the stereotype of the cat fight as a “sexy, ineffective, and amusing” characteristic of women (Reinke, 2010, p. 163). This is also a phenomenon described by Pakuła, Pawelczyk, and Sunderland (2015) as “multimodal disambiguation,” or when the gender or sexuality of the characters is not integral to the story, but either the linguistic or visual mode genders or sexualizes the characters.

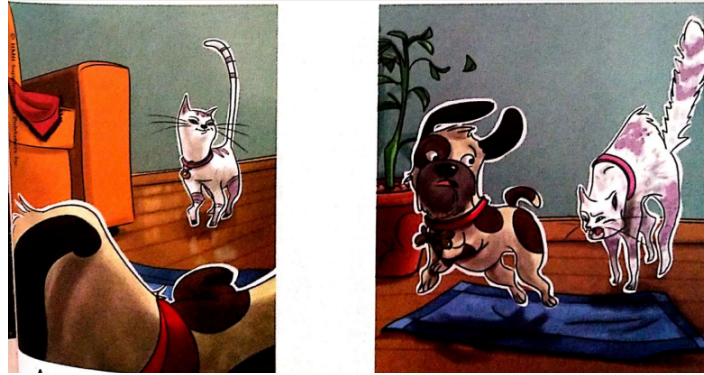


Figure 8. OOWTE, Kindergarten Unit 5, “Mack’s Bad Day”

Interestingly, the cat is never named, but is made linguistically female through the pronoun “she.” However, the dog is given the name “Mack” in addition to being gendered with the pronoun “he.” Naming the male gives him more power than the unnamed female, as named characters are more often principal characters while unnamed characters play peripheral roles. The very existence of this tale, with a male dog and female cat is quite stereotypical. Women are often compared to cats in fiction stories historically (Biggle, 1900; Earl, 1895). St. George Jackson Mivart, author of *The Cat: An Introduction to the Study of Backboned Animals, Especially Mammals* (1881) theorized that these connections are made because:

The cat also is favoured by that half of the human race which is the more concerned with domestic cares; for it is a home-loving animal and one exceptionally clean and orderly in its habits, and thus naturally commends itself to the good will of the thrifty housewife. (p. 1)

Mivart highlighted the connection to historical notions of femininity such as cleanliness and domesticity. Others claim the link is because cats are sensitive creatures and frightened by harsh treatment—again stereotypically like historical representations of females.

The premise of the text itself is somewhat problematic in that it was created in 2014 for an audience through 2022 yet refers to stereotypes about females from the 19th and 20th century, going so far as to highlight the femaleness of the cat through coloring, eye shape, and adornment. The dog’s collar is red, while her collar is pink, making them adorned in masculine and feminine colors, respectively. Along with naming the male, these strategies work together to give the male character dominance in the story, despite the aggressive behavior of the female. This follows de Beauvoir’s (1949) Hegelian approach to the historical othering of women. De Beauvoir made sense of this “othering” by claiming that males were dependent on the female’s inferiority for their status and power. In this cartoon, the male dog gains status using coloring and naming over the unnamed female cat.

5.4.3. Facial features

The most common way gender was conveyed in non-human faces was through eye shape or lip shape. Female animals often had slanted, alluring eyes with long curled eyelashes while male animals did not have eyelashes, or they were not apparent. Non-gendered eyes were round and cartoonish. See Figure 9 for a side-by-side comparison of eye shape between a female and male animal. Exaggerated eye lashes are a popular trope of femininity in characters that harkens back to the days of Roman naturalist Pliny the Younger, who alleged that long eye lashes were a sign of female chastity—that she lost them after having sex. Thus, the equating of chaste femininity with exaggerated eye lashes has been reproduced and sexualized for

centuries not just in cartoons, but in fine art and poetry as well (Olson, 2009). In Figure 9, the text uses stereotypically masculine adjectives, “big” and “long,” but creates a feminine slant and long lashes to the character’s eyes, in addition to a full lip with pinkish red coloring. This is noticeably absent in the male penguin next to her. Stereotypically masculine features, such as a five o’clock shadow are absent. He is drawn in a more simplistic cartoonish style.

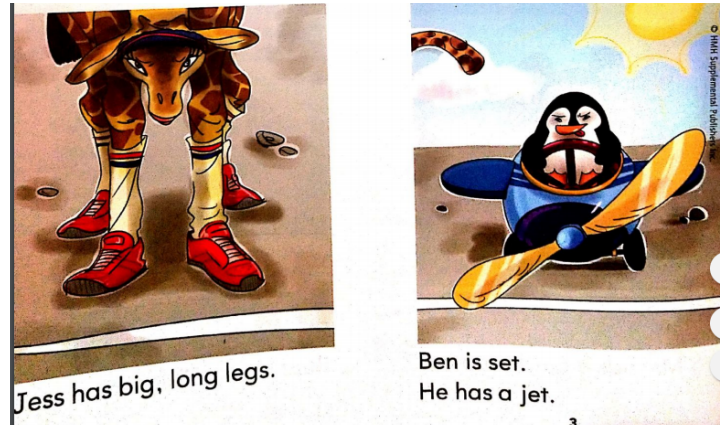


Figure 9. OOWTE, Kindergarten Unit 2, “Big Race”

I found this to be true consistently within both series. Females were given extra artistic development to ensure their gender was apparent visually, but male characters were not. It is simply assumed then that male is the unmarked animal norm, and female is marked, or *othered*, in multiple ways. Lee described this as one form of linguistic sexism known as “male as norm” ideology (2015). Butler (1999) described *othering* as one type of normative violence wherein the male subject is signified and the female subject is marked “off.” This is a common strategy employed by illustrators in these series: to assume a non-human is male unless drawn with female stereotypical add-ons.

Fifty-six percent of non-human characters with female gender markings had more than one gender marker in the *Benchmark* series. Thirty-four percent of non-human characters with male gender markings had more than one gender marker. This affirms the hypothesis that in this series, non-humans are presumed to be male more often unless add-ons are drawn to give female characteristics. Fewer markers lessen the intensity of visual gendering. In this series however, visual gendering was done in a way that gave more power to male characters, such as through adornment for a white-collar worker and a larger size than females, such as in the drawing in Figure 5. Figure 5 shows that it is the male who does the talking through a speech bubble. He is drawn larger and in workwear. These characteristics give him status in the image. The mother is colored purple and put in a dress and heels, with long lashes peering over her cat-eye glasses. Her head also appears to be sporting a beehive hairdo of the 1960’s. She is drawn smaller than the male, but larger than the male and female children. Even her name “Sweet” is a common pet-name for females in society that feminists have tried to squash from our vocabulary as it often accompanies a justification of male privileges as this very image suggests (Talbot, 2010).

What is perhaps the most important discovery was the prevalence of visual othering that takes place with non-human characters in these widely read textbooks. Yabroff (2016) noted that *Scholastic* and *Time Magazine* top 100 children’s books often had neuter illustrations but linguistic gendering. The same is not true for these 12 texts. Characters who are drawn neuter are assumed male as gendering happens more intensely with females, effectively othering them. In the image analysis of gendered non-humans, this was accomplished visually.

6. Implications and conclusion

This study uses several new perspectives in analyzing ESL textbooks made in the United States for U.S. public schools through linguistic analysis of gender representation of non-humans, followed by an analysis of the visuals in language textbooks. Instead of simple frequency counts of male and female non-humans or a relaying of the activities they engaged in visually, this study analyzed how gender is represented

via the language of the texts and how gender is visualized in illustrations of non-humans. Gender stereotyping was prominent in illustrations through various gendered anthropomorphic strategies: facial features, adornment, coloring, and size. Linguistic analysis supported the visuals in many respects as well, such as descriptive adjectives that construct male characters as larger, stronger, and more intelligent and females as smaller, weaker, and less intelligent.

As the descriptions and interpretations indicate, these textbooks are continuing outdated ideologies of male supremacy, gender essentialism, and heteronormativity using the socio-political mechanisms of patriarchy. These images were drawn to create an understanding of the texts, thus their agreement visually and linguistically. They are also drawn for individuals to relate to the images through their anthropomorphic features. However, recent research demonstrates that readers do relate to ambiguously drawn non-humans and that multimodal disambiguation is unnecessary (Hill & Jacobs, 2020). These texts create unnecessary binaries for gender norms, behaviors, and roles. So, though I believe the intent was to create characters that were relatable and that aligned with the text to support comprehension and for language learning purposes, the texts and images herd children into distinct binaries and may ostracize or intimidate readers who do not naturally fit into these strict categories. Additionally, perpetuating outdated gender roles through non-human characters—who have demonstrated to be effective marketing tools—continues to harm society as a whole.

These ideologies are outdated and permit a hidden curriculum of male supremacy. In a post-industrialized society, the notion that physical size makes one more powerful is no longer true when confronted with the true power of machines and computers, which can be created and run by anyone. Secondly, the ideology of male supremacy through intelligence is not accurate despite its proliferation here. In 2018, women made up 56% of college attendees. In 2017, 53% of PhDs were earned by women (McCarthy, 2018). The texts promote discourses of traditional masculinity and consumeristic ideologies of beauty that continue an institutionalized political-social system of male dominance by presenting these stereotypes as natural and therefore immutable. Critical theorist Janks (2014) wrote: “There is a great deal at stake in how we decide what is and is not part of nature” (p. 154). Naturalization is one of Thompson’s modes of operations of ideology. If a society names something as natural, then we think it is unchangeable, absolute, and there is no need for further action. This leads us to draw conclusions based on cultural beliefs, not facts.

When comparing these findings with studies in EFL contexts, these sources are more in line with historical studies from the 1980’s and from EFL contexts in Eastern Europe now but hold more traditional patriarchal ideologies when compared to texts in an Asian context (Lee, 2014; Lee & Collins, 2015; Yang, 2016). The United States has more work to do to catch up to the advances being made in these nations. When comparing results with children’s literature books, the findings in these ESL texts are unfortunately similar in simple counts of male and female non-humans, activities, and gender roles to those Caldecott award-winning books from the last century and into current day (Ferguson, 2018; Gooden & Gooden, 2001; McGrabe et al., 2011). There are stories in each series of this study that are adapted from Caldecott winner picture books or from classic fables and fairy tales to be suitable for various levels of ESL instruction. Thus, it is not completely surprising to find these similarities exist. Yet, as evidenced in this study, there are original works and adaptations of folktales that are altered to fit the patriarchal hegemony of U.S. culture.

Educators can respond to these texts through critical literacy, having conversations with students that promote critical consciousness and language acquisition. Teachers should use ambiguously gendered protagonists from children’s literature to get at the deeper meanings of gender and performance while challenging the naturalness of the textbook readings. Research notes that without proper teacher training on how to recognize gender bias, many teachers will miss it. Sadker (2000), a teacher trainer, researcher, and author, described how each time he begins a teacher-training workshop, he is reminded of the “gender blindness” most educators have. A specific recommendation for raising teacher consciousness of gender bias is through training teachers to examine their own textbooks for gender bias through linguistic principles of discourse analysis, such as that proposed in *TESOL Connections* (Burden, 2020). With additional training on identifying and responding to bias, teachers who may not have complete control over the texts in their classrooms can create a space for critical discussions and reflections while keeping the current series in the curriculum. Simultaneously, more endeavors to create a progressive curriculum employing critical pedagogies should be undertaken in conference with publishers so that future editions of these texts demonstrate marked improvements in these areas.

7. Limitations and future research

There were several limitations to this study that should be examined in future research endeavors. First, this study examined kindergarten through fifth grade textbooks, while middle and high school English Language Development texts were excluded. I focused only on printed words and images, but many textbooks now include listening prompts on a CD or mp3 that would provide another layer of linguistic study and potential influence on the learner's reception of gender messaging. In addition, I decided to only examine texts that contained instructions to the student for language production but examining texts without explicit instructions to produce the language could be included for a fuller picture of gender representation in the series. However, concerns over how much of the hidden curriculum would be taken up by students who are not required to produce the language before during or after reading should be considered in selecting texts for linguistic studies, as well as how the textbook asks students to interact with the readings. Finally, inter-coder reliability including Kappa coefficient measures should be adhered to in future research studies in this context, as they would enhance transparency and bring greater validity to the conclusions reached about the data collected.

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Recensione: Pavesi, Maria, & Ghia, Elisa (2020). *Informal contact with English. A case study of Italian postgraduate students*. Edizioni ETS.

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Book Review

Received 9 March 2021; accepted after revisions 18 March 2021

ABSTRACT

- IT** *Informal Contact with English. A case study of Italian postgraduate students* tratta dell'acquisizione informale della lingua inglese in contesto italiano. Il volume, infatti, dopo una rassegna dei principali studi acquisizionali attorno al tema, illustra e descrive i risultati dell'indagine condotta su studenti dell'Università di Pavia riguardo al loro rapporto con media e input in lingua inglese. Il testo presenta un focus specifico sui benefici e sull'impatto dei testi audiovisivi in generale, e dei testi audiovisivi sottotitolati in particolare.
- Parole chiave:** ACQUISIZIONE INFORMALE, LINGUISTICA ACQUISIZIONALE, LINGUA INGLESE, INPUT AUDIOVISIVI
- EN** *Informal Contact with English. A case study of Italian postgraduate students* examines informal English acquisition in the Italian context. After a review of major studies of informal acquisition, the volume describes the results of a study conducted with students at the Università di Pavia (Italy) regarding their engagement with English-language media. Specifically, the text focuses on the benefits and impact of input from audiovisual materials and, in particular, audiovisual materials with subtitles.
- Key words:** INFORMAL ACQUISITION, ACQUISITIONAL LINGUISTICS, ENGLISH LANGUAGE, AUDIOVISUAL INPUT
- ES** *Informal Contact with English. A case study of Italian postgraduate students* se ocupa de la adquisición informal de la lengua inglesa en el contexto italiano. Tras un análisis de los principales estudios adquisicionales sobre el tema, el volumen ilustra y describe los resultados de una investigación llevada a cabo con estudiantes de la Universidad de Pavia (Italia) sobre su relación con los medios y el *input* en lengua inglesa. El texto se centra especialmente en los beneficios y el impacto del *input* procedente de materiales audiovisuales, en particular, de aquellos que incluyen subtítulos.
- Palabras clave:** ADQUISICIÓN INFORMAL, LINGÜÍSTICA ADQUISICIONAL, LENGUA INGLESA, INPUT AUDIOVISUAL

Il volume di Maria Pavesi ed Elisa Ghia, *Informal Contact with English. A Case Study of Italian Postgraduate Students* (Edizioni ETS), ha come obiettivi principali: illustrare lo status dell'acquisizione informale della lingua inglese in vari contesti culturali, geografici e sociolinguistici; riflettere sulle modalità attraverso cui avviene il contatto informale con la lingua inglese da parte di studenti universitari italiani; analizzare gli strumenti e i mezzi attraverso cui tale contatto avviene; indagare il profilo di coloro che accedono informalmente alla lingua inglese (e alle lingue LOTE: *languages other than English*); analizzare eventuali *pattern* che prevedano le tendenze comportamentali degli studenti nella fruizione di input in inglese; indagare l'efficacia percepita dagli studenti nel processo di acquisizione della L2.

Il volume si rivolge principalmente ad accademici e ricercatori dei settori della linguistica acquisizionale, della didattica delle lingue moderne e della linguistica educativa; tuttavia, i dati illustrati potrebbero risultare particolarmente interessanti anche per le comunità di pratica dei docenti universitari e dei collaboratori esperti linguistici nella didattica della lingua inglese poiché, come specificato da Pavesi e Ghia, i contesti di apprendimento sono sempre più fluidi e meno rigidamente distinti tra formali ed informali.

Il volume è diviso idealmente in due parti: i primi due capitoli costituiscono la premessa teorica entro cui si iscrive la ricerca condotta, che è illustrata nei restanti capitoli. La prima parte tratta dello status attuale della lingua inglese in vari contesti culturali e geografici, e descrive le ricerche attorno al tema dell'acquisizione informale presenti nella letteratura scientifica. La seconda parte del volume, invece, si focalizza sul caso studio e analizza: le motivazioni per cui la ricerca è stata condotta; gli obiettivi perseguiti; le metodologie applicate sia in fase di somministrazione del questionario che in fase di analisi dei dati; le implicazioni acquisizionali derivate dall'analisi dei risultati ottenuti.

Nello specifico, il Capitolo 1 intitolato, "The Macro-Context: English in a Globalised World", illustra come e quanto i paesaggi linguistici di vari contesti culturali siano cambiati recentemente e, con essi, la lingua inglese. L'inglese non può essere definito come un'unica lingua né come un insieme di varietà, bensì come: "una serie di fenomeni eterogenei" (Ferguson, 2015, p. 12), il cui status sociolinguistico ne permette la definizione di "multilingua franca", perché la lingua inglese è usata in contesti plurilingui e fa parte del repertorio linguistico dei parlanti plurilingui, indipendentemente dall'uso o meno che essi ne fanno a livello interattivo. L'inglese è, infatti la lingua della comunicazione internazionale, l'unica lingua ipercentrale (De Swaan, 2001) che, grazie ai media tecnologici e digitali, continua a diffondersi sempre di più, senza limiti spazio-temporali. Pavesi e Ghia sottolineano che, nonostante il ruolo ipercentrale dell'inglese, gli investimenti effettuati per il suo apprendimento e insegnamento sono inferiori rispetto alle aspettative in vari contesti, tra cui quello italiano. Secondo indagini statistiche recenti (Eurostat, 2016; Gazzola, 2014), il tasso di esclusione linguistica risulta ancora elevato e la competenza linguistica in lingue diverse dalla lingua-madre risulta essere bassa tra i cittadini italiani, specialmente se paragonata alla *competence* (e anche alla *performance*) dei cittadini nord europei, a conferma del fatto che il divario europeo Nord-Sud esiste e persiste. A livello statistico, tuttavia, emerge un altro dato significativo: il contatto con l'inglese avviene sempre di più attraverso modalità informali; in particolare, attraverso media come internet, la televisione e la radio, ed attività come la lettura e i viaggi (Eurobarometer, 2012). Tra i media, internet ricopre un ruolo predominante anche nella fruizione di quegli input, come film e serie, che precedentemente sfruttavano piattaforme differenti. Andando ad analizzare il contesto italiano, non solo si può notare un allineamento rispetto ai trend appena menzionati; ma, secondo le indagini INVALSI 2019, esperienze di contatto informale con l'inglese sembrerebbero essere alla base di *performance* migliori, specialmente nelle abilità di comprensione orale e scritta.

Nel Capitolo 2, "Informal Language Learning", Pavesi e Ghia ripercorrono gli studi acquisizionali riguardo all'apprendimento informale presenti in letteratura. Anzitutto, analizzano le varie etichette che sono state date a tale tipo di acquisizione linguistica: da *out-of-school* a *out-of-the classroom*; da *extramural* a *extracurricular*. Inoltre, Benson (2011) conia l'etichetta LBC (*Language Learning Beyond the Classroom*) che indica un modello di apprendimento informale a quattro variabili: luogo, tipo di didattica, grado di formalità, attività di controllo. Se tutte queste definizioni ruotano attorno alla variabile spazio, nel modello di Sockett (2014), OILE (*Online Informal Learning of English*), è la variabile intenzionalità a giocare un ruolo essenziale, perché l'apprendimento informale viene definito come quel tipo di acquisizione linguistica in cui non c'è un obiettivo esplicito di apprendimento di una L2, ma semplicemente la volontà di comunicare. La distinzione tra apprendimento accidentale e intenzionale era già stata proposta da Hulstijn (2003) che sosteneva che questo tipo di acquisizione linguistica si basasse sul fatto che l'attenzione dell'apprendente non è sulla forma della lingua, ma sulla semantica, sul significato. Dopo aver definito, secondo varie prospettive, l'apprendimento informale, Pavesi e Ghia specificano che apprendimento informale non significa

apprendimento dei registri informali; anzi, molti media e *input* che fungono da canale di contatto informale con la lingua presentano molteplici varietà diacroniche, diastratiche e diatopiche di inglese (tuttavia, con una preponderanza di registri colloquiali). Tra tutti gli input accessibili, i testi audiovisivi sono tra quelli più fruiti e i cui benefici sono stati maggiormente studiati in letteratura, si pensi agli studi di Caruana a Malta (2006), e a quelli di Arnbjörnsdóttir e Ingvarsdóttir (2018) in Islanda. Difatti, indipendentemente dal medium usato (il web, il cinema, la televisione), la multimodalità e la complessità semiotica dei testi audiovisivi favoriscono l'acquisizione informale della L2, in particolar modo, delle abilità di comprensione orale e di comunicazione interazionale.

“An Italian Case Study: Aims, Questionnaire and Participants” è il titolo del terzo capitolo che introduce gli obiettivi, i partecipanti e il questionario al centro dello studio condotto. L'indagine, inizialmente parte del progetto di ricerca MIGRA-TI-N (2015-2017) dell'Università di Pavia, si basa su due principali domande di ricerca, chiaramente esplicitate dalle autrici: 1) Qual è il grado di esposizione informale all'inglese del campione di studenti universitari italiani? 2) Qual è il tasso di esposizione informale all'inglese tra gli studenti universitari italiani attraverso gli input di natura audiovisiva (in particolare, testi sottotitolati)? Come viene chiarito dalle domande di ricerca, il profilo su cui lo studio si incentra riguarda gli studenti universitari italiani, in particolare studenti delle lauree magistrali (in Psicologia, Ingegneria, Farmacia, Biologia, Chimica, Scienze Politiche, Matematica e altre) perché meno esposti ad un insegnamento formale della lingua inglese (avendo solitamente già terminato la formazione linguistica) e con maggiori esperienze all'estero, ad esempio: partecipazione a programmi Erasmus, scambi internazionali, periodi di studio e/o lavoro in paesi esteri. Inoltre, questo profilo di apprendenti, ovvero giovani adulti, è stato al centro di studi paralleli sul contatto informale con l'inglese condotti in altri Paesi. Gli studenti intervistati ($n = 305$) sono dell'Università di Pavia, un ateneo di media grandezza, multidisciplinare con studenti provenienti da varie regioni d'Italia e, per questi motivi, adatto a fare da sfondo all'indagine. Il questionario, strumento ampiamente usato nell'ambito degli studi acquisizionali, è stato ideato con l'intento di esplicitare il grado di esposizione all'inglese, le risorse utilizzate e preferite dagli studenti nel contatto con la lingua e i benefici percepiti dagli stessi a livello linguistico. Il questionario consta di 83 domande, sia aperte che chiuse, ed è suddiviso in tre parti: la prima indaga sociolinguisticamente gli informanti; la seconda si incentra sul contatto con l'inglese attraverso film e serie TV e web; l'ultima analizza il rapporto degli studenti con altri media come YouTube, i social network, i blog e i videogiochi. Il capitolo si chiude con un'istantanea del profilo degli intervistati: la maggioranza ha iniziato a studiare inglese alle scuole primarie; due terzi dichiarano di avere un livello B1/B2 di inglese e soltanto il 16% dichiara di avere un livello avanzato; circa la metà degli intervistati dichiara di conoscere due lingue straniere e soltanto il 23% più di due.

Il Capitolo 4, “Informal Exposure to English. Sources of Input, Patterns of Access, Participant Profiles”, analizza i dati sul contatto informale degli studenti con l'inglese attraverso vari media, cercando di delineare il grado di esposizione alla lingua e le modalità attraverso cui questo si esplica. In generale, i media più utilizzati in inglese sono: le pagine web (92%), i testi delle canzoni (87%), i social network (79%), YouTube (77%), film, serie web e TV, programmi web e TV (71%). Tra i media meno utilizzati nella L2, invece, si collocano: forum e blog (22%-30%), videogiochi (25%) e email (19%). Pavesi e Ghia sottolineano che l'accesso ad un determinato *input* non è necessariamente direttamente proporzionale alla durata di fruizione: YouTube, ad esempio, per la natura stessa dei contenuti proposti, viene fruito per meno di 30 minuti per sessione da circa il 40% degli studenti intervistati. Al contrario, i film e le serie (fruite sempre di più in modalità *binge watching*) prevedono durate di esposizioni più prolungate. Interessanti sono i dati riguardanti l'interazione: il 46% degli intervistati ha dichiarato di interagire in inglese e la maggioranza di loro lo fa attraverso la mediazione della macchina, confermando quanto la *computer-human interaction* stia assumendo un ruolo essenziale oggi. Sulla base dei dati ottenuti, dei tassi di esposizione e durata, e applicando i principi dell'analisi fattoriale, Ghia e Pavesi individuano tre *cluster* con l'obiettivo di identificare i tratti latenti e comuni al modo in cui gli intervistati entrano in contatto con la lingua inglese. Il primo gruppo, caratterizzato dal fattore internet, raggruppa tutte le risorse tradizionalmente fruito online: videogiochi, social media, blog e forum. Il secondo *cluster* riguarda tutti gli input che presentano testi audiovisivi: film, serie, programmi, videogiochi. Il terzo gruppo è caratterizzato dal fattore interazione: social network, blog, forum. Mentre all'interno dei primi due *cluster* è possibile osservare delle correlazioni tra le variabili proposte, il terzo gruppo non presenta *pattern* che siano in grado di prevedere le tendenze comportamentali degli utenti nel contatto con la lingua inglese. In base alla durata e alla frequenza di esposizione ad *input* in inglese, le autrici hanno suddiviso gli intervistati tra due poli: utenti/apprendenti ad alta esposizione (6%) ed utenti/apprendenti a bassa esposizione (21%). La stragrande maggioranza (73%) si attesta come utente a

media esposizione. Tuttavia, applicando gli stessi principi di calcolo ai soli *input* audiovisivi, si nota che gli intervistati ad alta esposizione sono il 51%, a conferma del fatto che questo tipo di *input* è tra i più significativi nello studio sul contatto informale con la lingua inglese.

Il Capitolo 5, infatti, è interamente incentrato sui dati raccolti a partire dalle 34 domande del questionario dedicate agli *input* audiovisivi e, in particolare, ad *input* sottotitolati. Anzitutto, le autrici evidenziano un dato importante: i cambiamenti di piattaforma nella fruizione di film e serie. Le piattaforme *internet-based*, infatti, coerentemente con altri studi recentemente condotti in letteratura, vengono preferite dalla maggioranza degli intervistati rispetto alla televisione oppure al cinema, perché maggiormente accessibili, perché permettono modalità di *binge-watching* e *re-watching*, e perché offrono varie combinazioni di lingue e sottotitoli. Dei 216 studenti che hanno risposto di fruire frequentemente di audiovisivi, il 54% ha dichiarato di guardare film sia in lingua originale (in inglese, quindi) che nella versione doppiata in italiano. Soltanto il 22% predilige guardare sempre la versione originale. I principali motivi dichiarati dagli studenti nella scelta della versione in inglese rispetto a quella doppiata riguardano: il desiderio di imparare la lingua e la volontà di coglierne sfumature sia di natura prettamente linguistica che soprasedimentale, preferendo l'autenticità dell'interpretazione e delle voci degli attori a quelle dei doppiatori italiani, la cui qualità, tuttavia, non viene messa in discussione dagli intervistati. Per quanto riguarda le serie web e TV, fruite in maggior quantità rispetto ai film, le percentuali sono simili, tuttavia, si riscontra un numero maggiore di intervistati (pari al 32%) che preferisce guardarle in lingua originale. Similmente ai film, i motivi dichiarati riguardano principalmente la volontà di apprendere l'inglese. Pavesi e Ghia, poi, illustrano i dati riguardo ai sottotitoli: la maggioranza degli intervistati ne fa uso sia nel caso di film (87%), sia nel caso di serie TV (83%), principalmente per migliorare la comprensione del testo, sia nel caso di sottotitoli intralinguistici che interlinguistici. Rispetto a questi ultimi, 75 studenti hanno dichiarato di sceglierli per motivazioni legate anche all'analisi della resa traduttiva. Tra i fattori che invece fanno propendere per la scelta di non usare i sottotitoli troviamo: la difficoltà di lettura, dovuta alla scarsa permanenza in video, e la natura distrattiva del testo stesso. Tra i generi filmici preferiti, si riportano: la commedia, i film e le serie d'azione e d'avventura, e i *thriller*. Infine, nel capitolo, si descrivono i risultati riguardo alla percezione dei benefici da parte degli studenti: circa l'80% ha affermato di aver migliorato la propria competenza nella L2 dopo l'esposizione a *input* audiovisivi. In particolare, sono state indicate le abilità di comprensione orale, di arricchimento lessicale e di interazione comunicativa come quelle maggiormente migliorate.

Il sesto capitolo, "Assessing English Informally: Italian Postgraduate Students in a Wider Context", analizza il profilo generale risultante dai dati ottenuti con la somministrazione del questionario e mette in evidenza parallelismi e differenze rispetto ad altri contesti culturali. In particolare, le autrici rilevano come l'interesse suscitato dai media, e soprattutto, da quelli di natura audiovisiva, sia trasversale, indipendente dagli interessi curriculari degli studenti che, eccetto nel caso di coloro che fanno parte dei dipartimenti di Filologia e Linguistica, sono poco affini alle discipline linguistiche. Inoltre, si evidenzia il carattere piuttosto ricettivo anziché interattivo delle attività preferite, tutte caratterizzate però dalla multimodalità. Le medesime tendenze si riscontrano anche nei Paesi europei che, per tradizione, usano il doppiaggio e in cui, quindi, c'è una minor possibilità di esposizione ad *input* audiovisivi in inglese: Francia e Germania, ad esempio. Kusyk (2017) ha condotto delle indagini su larga scala su studenti universitari che si avvicinavano al modello OILE e ha rilevato come anche in questi contesti culturali prevalgano attività di tipo ricettivo (guardare serie e film, accedere a YouTube, leggere pagine web) a discapito di quelle interattive. Lievi discrepanze si notano nella scrittura delle email, a cui gli studenti tedeschi sono più abituati, e nella fruizione dei social media, perché gli intervistati italiani hanno dichiarato di usare anche l'inglese molto più assiduamente rispetto agli intervistati di Francia e Germania. Differenti sono, invece, i livelli di competenza riscontrati: gli studenti tedeschi, infatti, hanno un livello superiore rispetto alla media di italiani e francesi. Ciò influisce anche sulle modalità di accesso a film e serie: mentre gli studenti tedeschi preferiscono non aggiungere i sottotitoli, gli studenti francesi optano per sottotitoli interlinguistici e quelli italiani propendono leggermente per i sottotitoli intralinguistici. Nell'Europa del nord, invece, l'esposizione all'inglese risulta maggiore e di natura più interattiva, confermando il divario Nord-Sud riguardante l'accessibilità e l'accesso a risorse plurilingui. Infine, le autrici, dopo aver passato in rassegna vari studi che sostengono i benefici degli *input* audiovisivi rispetto all'acquisizione linguistica, dedicano spazio anche a speculazioni sull'ESP (*English for Specific Purposes*), cioè sull'inglese settoriale. Gli audiovisivi, difatti, sono risorse utili ed efficaci anche per apprendere gerghi e linguaggi specifici, ad esempio: il linguaggio della fisica e della scienza (*The Big Bang Theory*), il gergo medico (*Grey's Anatomy*), il lessico tecnologico (*Sherlock*).

Il Capitolo 7, “Shifting Landscapes”, oltre a fare da chiosa al volume, offre interessanti spunti per riflessioni future specialmente riguardo al sottile confine tra ESL (*English as a Second Language*), EFL (*English as a Foreign Language*) e ELF (*English as a Lingua Franca*), e all’impiego sempre più massiccio di risorse online, specialmente nel periodo storico contingente che stiamo vivendo.

Il volume di Pavesi e Ghia ben esplicita le metodologie applicate in fase di ricerca e di raccolta dati, manifestando in modo trasparente i limiti del questionario sottoposto: mancanza di parametri per la valutazione dell’intensità e della frequenza per alcune attività quali l’ascolto della musica e la consultazione di pagine web; la probabile sopravvalutazione della *competence* in inglese da parte degli intervistati; l’alterazione delle risposte date dagli studenti in base alle aspettative percepite; limiti, per altro comuni a molte indagini basate sulla somministrazione di questionari. Inoltre, a questa chiarezza e trasparenza metodologica corrisponde una chiarezza espositiva che rende questa pubblicazione coerente con gli obiettivi dichiarati. In conclusione, il volume non soltanto risulta estremamente interessante ma è anche significativo poiché getta le basi per ricerche più approfondite sull’apprendimento informale in contesto italiano, contesto su cui ancora risultano scarse le indagini presenti in letteratura.

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**Review/Reseña: Paulsrud, BethAnne, Tian, Zhongfeng, & Toth, Jeanette
(Eds.). (2021). *English-medium instruction and translanguaging.
Multilingual Matters.***

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Book Review

Received 5 March 2021; accepted after revision 20 March 2021

ABSTRACT

EN This text reviews *English-Medium Instruction and Translanguaging*, edited by Paulsrud, Tian, and Toth, published this year (2021) by Multilingual Matters. The book comprises eleven empirical studies from across the globe, by different authors, raising awareness of the multiple possibilities, challenges, and considerations that emerge when addressing translanguaging in English-medium instruction (EMI) today. The authors of this volume inspire new research paths towards translanguaging theory, practice, and policy.

Key words: TRANSLANGUAGING, ENGLISH-MEDIUM INSTRUCTION (EMI), LINGUISTIC REPERTOIRE, L1 USE

ES Este texto es una reseña de *English-Medium Instruction and Translanguaging* de Paulsrud, Tian y Toth, publicado este año (2021) por Multilingual Matters. El libro recoge once estudios empíricos procedentes de todo el mundo y de distintos autores, que permiten conocer las múltiples posibilidades, consideraciones y retos que surgen al abordar el translenguaje en contextos de inglés como Medio de Instrucción (IMI) hoy en día. Los autores de este volumen abren nuevas vías de investigación sobre la teoría y la práctica asociadas al translenguaje y sobre políticas educativas que lo incorporen.

Palabras clave: TRANSLenguAJE, INGLÉS COMO MEDIO DE INSTRUCCIÓN (IMI), REPERTORIO LINGÜÍSTICO, USO DE LA L1

IT Questo testo recensisce *English-Medium Instruction and Translanguaging* di Paulsrud, Tian e Toth, pubblicato quest'anno (2021) da Multilingual Matters. Il libro, che raccoglie undici studi empirici di diversi autori provenienti da tutto il mondo, permette di conoscere le molteplici possibilità, le considerazioni e le sfide originate dall'occuparsi di *translanguaging* in un contesto di *inglese come lingua d'istruzione (EMI)*. Le autrici e l'autore del volume indicano nuovi sentieri di ricerca sulla teoria e la pratica associate al *translanguaging* e sulle politiche educative che lo includono.

Parole chiave: TRANSLANGUAGING, INGLESE COME LINGUA D'ISTRUZIONE (EMI), REPERTORIO LINGUISTICO, USO DELLA L1

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1. Overview of the volume

English-Medium Instruction and Translanguaging, edited by Paulsrud, Tian, and Toth, offers a fresh, global, and well-documented look at the interplay of English-medium instruction (EMI) and translanguaging theory and pedagogy. The book is organised in eleven compelling and comprehensible chapters. Together, the chapters present cutting-edge empirical research, which unpacks current practices and provides reflections on language use in the EMI classroom, from primary school to higher education.

While the chapters differ in the linguistic ecologies and geographical contexts they address (South Africa, Malawi, Kenya, Hong Kong, Japan, Maldives, Cambodia, Kazakhstan, Turkey and Italy), they point at common goals which constitute the main themes of this volume. One of these themes is an understanding of the EMI classroom as an intrinsically multilingual space, in which pedagogical use of the full linguistic repertoires of both students and teachers should be accepted and promoted for meaning making. That theme is highlighted all over the volume, together with an opposition to dominant monolingual ideologies and their colonial underpinnings regarding English as the only medium of instruction in EMI. A second theme addressed in the volume is the need to acknowledge and to raise awareness of the fluidity of language use that happens inside classrooms, as well as to encourage EMI stakeholders to recognise the role of the home languages as a valuable tool for learning. This giving of prestige to local languages also implies a demand to determine policy from a bottom-up approach that reflects and legitimises such translanguaging reality. Finally, the editors of the volume point out that research on practices in EMI university classrooms—practices that address learners and teachers' beliefs and that transcend the monolingual medium of instruction principle—is still very limited and, hence, they encourage it.

As Paulsrud, Tian, and Toth foreground in the introduction, the main contribution and primary innovation of this book lies in presenting a pedagogical approach that allows room to understand different possibilities when translanguaging and EMI coexist, not only for communicating and learning, but also for challenging monolingual ideologies and existing hierarchies, fostering social justice, and developing identity and educational policy. The volume closes with a fantastic epilogue, a reflection by Ute Smit, which places the focus on “translanguaging EMI” (p. 257) and on the transformative potential that translanguaging encompasses for English-medium educational settings.

2. Individual chapters

In Chapter 1, Sahan and Rose advocate for a broader interpretation of the “E” in EMI: one that does not restrict itself to English-only language practices, but that also embraces and normalises multilingual practices. Their understanding of the EMI classroom as an inherently bi-/multi-lingual space, co-created by non-monolingual students and teachers, is supported by the various empirical studies they review, which point at the advantages of fluid language use, namely L1 use. Translanguaging practices, conceptualised in this chapter as an educational tool, are shown to engage the entire linguistic repertoire of students and teachers, who make meaning simultaneously in different languages to support content knowledge learning and teaching.

In Chapter 2, Adamson and Fujimoto-Adamson explore pedagogical practices of translanguaging in the Japanese higher education (HE) context, through an intrinsic case study at a university established in 2009, whose main field of study is regional development and international studies. The authors combine multiple methods, such as semi-structured interviews, questionnaires, recordings of student-to-student and language advisor-to-student interaction, discourse analysis and a collaborative autoethnography from which to draw EMI findings. The authors report L1 and L2 interaction practices to be apparent within content faculty to address international issues, to provide scaffolding, for classroom management and in their teaching materials, among others. The authors consider that teaching and learning in EMI programmes with mixed proficiency levels brings to light the opportunities and challenges of translanguaging practices and, in this sense, they view the scaffolding of the L2 content as necessary in order for less proficient students to access that content. In this context, this chapter aims at highlighting the need of regarding translanguaging as student-determined (p. 69) and of regulating policies apropos of translanguaging.

Through Chapter 3, Reilly shares a linguistic ethnography of language beliefs and practices in Malawian universities to pinpoint university classrooms as spaces created by translanguaging, where students and staff can make use of their multilingual repertoires (12 Malawian languages, with Chichewa, Chinyanja, and Chiyao being the most commonly spoken languages) for the purposes of both socialising and engaging with course content. Despite this multilingual reality, the strict English-only EMI language policy

does not acknowledge universities as translanguaging spaces. The author underlines the need to challenge monolingual ideologies and to legitimise this multilingual reality by embracing a translanguaging perspective. Such a perspective would value student and staff languages and guarantee that learners acquire the essential skills to thrive in both a global context and the local environment. This shift, Reilly argues, would represent a valuable decolonising move, an opportunity to “disrupt and transcend language ideologies from the Global North” (p. 78).

Chapter 4, by Luckett and Hurst-Harosh, addresses how translanguaging pedagogies in the humanities and social sciences in South Africa can support student engagement, motivation, meaning-making, and conceptual relationships. They focus on a first-year course in a degree programme in the Humanities Faculty at the University of Cape Town. Students in this degree come mainly from disadvantaged schools and the programme aims at redressing previous inequalities “effected during apartheid and structurally reproduced through the continued poor quality of education for black people living in townships and rural areas” (p. 96). The authors carefully choose 13 essays which incorporate instances of translanguaging and which had been written by students as part of a language history task. Six of the essays were written in English and isiXhosa; two in English, isiXhosa, and Sesotho; three in English and Afrikaans; one in English, Afrikaans, and isiXhosa; and one in English, Afrikaans, and Arabic. Luckett and Hurst-Harosh analyse the different meanings students make when they are allowed to write using their full linguistic repertoires. The authors group the data into four “constellations” (p. 98) that are charged by sets of values and beliefs: language attitudes, language and identity, language education policy, and language and cultural knowledge. Based on their findings, Luckett and Hurst-Harosh assert that a pedagogical approach that regards language as repertoire and resource fosters social justice. They state that, in this case, this approach is implemented despite the lack of a multilingual language policy at this higher education institution, but that educational language policy should be created to “respond to bottom-up practice” (p. 94). The study is noteworthy in how it highlights the value students give to home languages as conveyors of cultural knowledge and how it foregrounds multilingualism as the future for language practice in South Africa.

In Chapter 5, Crisfield, Gordon, and Holland present a case study of an international English-only programme at a private junior school (Grades 1-5) in Kenya that implemented a translanguaging pedagogy balancing Kiswahili and English. The authors demonstrate how such an international programme facilitates learning while providing strong bonds with the local culture and language. They argue that a genuinely ethical model of education should consider and take care of the linguistic needs of the students, “as a necessary element of their overall development” (p. 107). The authors express the ethical imperative to create bilingual programmes that incorporate a translanguaging pedagogy in their curriculum, so that local and home languages and students’ cultural capitals can be brought to light and developed together with English.

Throughout Chapter 6, Mohamed explores translanguaging practices in the Maldives through a case study based on storytelling tasks. In this context, she evaluates how four children (6-11 years old), who are exposed to Dhivehi, Arabic, and English, use their linguistic resources to both create and tell stories. She then examines how the children’s narrations are influenced when their language use is limited to Dhivehi, Arabic, or English. In general, she found that children deliberately shift languages for reasons of “clarifying, elaborating, seeking agreement, using specific terminology, confirming and self-monitoring” (p. 142). Restraining the use of one language then was detrimental to children’s linguistic competence, as well as to the development of children’s identity. As a result, Mohamed argues that educational policies ought to integrate translanguaging pedagogy and practice.

In Chapter 7, in the context of content-based EMI lab classes in secondary schools in Hong Kong, Pun introduces how translanguaging provides a space to scaffold higher-order thinking and the acquisition of abstract scientific knowledge. The author judiciously analyses classroom interactions to point at the pedagogical functions of students’ L1 (Cantonese) and L2 (English) translanguaging to develop higher-order thinking and scientific English. Pun found that the teachers made flexible use of the L1 to formulate higher-order questions that facilitated the understanding of both complex scientific concepts and of the L2, through repetition of L2 content. Pun emphasises the need to acknowledge the key value of translanguaging for EMI teacher training and pedagogy, arguing that more attention should be paid to form-focused instruction, in order “to provide students with more opportunities for L2 learning alongside the development of scientific knowledge” (p. 169).

In Chapter 8, Boun and Wright present English/Khmer translanguaging perceptions and practices in a Master of Education (MEd) programme at a university in Cambodia. In so doing, they address the views of both faculty members and students regarding attitudes and academic and linguistic needs regarding the use

of Khmer and English in the programme. Their findings suggest that the use of Khmer occurs mainly in group discussions, in presenting new information, in describing key aspects after a presentation in English, or to use humour in class. The authors observe that, because of Khmer's function in humorous interactions, students are eager to use Khmer, together with English. Interestingly, the authors also observe that students' literacies and language learning benefit from these translanguaging practices, which facilitate academic content and offer "greater opportunities for success than if the programme is conducted entirely in Khmer or English" (p. 191).

In Chapter 9, Dalziel and Guarda focus readers' attention on a European, Italian higher education setting to analyse translanguaging patterns in student language practices and the function of these patterns in EMI. They illustrate how translanguaging promoted content knowledge and prevented domain loss of Italian for EMI students and that translanguaging also helped international students to assimilate into the local society by discussing meaning with their classmates. The authors note that these translanguaging practices were commonplace, regardless of teachers' and students' stated belief in using only English. However, learners regarded these practices as fully acceptable solely in student-to-student and group work interactions. Yet, in these interactions, translanguaging was used for meaning-making functions, task instructions, fostering cooperation, verbalising academic content, and indicating cultural identity, therefore ultimately strengthening content and language learning. In this line, the authors underline the relevance and usefulness of "transliteracy practices" (p. 204), by which students access their full linguistic repertoire for literacy input and output in a flexible manner.

Chapter 10, written by Goodman, Kerimkulova, and Montgomery, explores how translanguaging practices are regarded by Kazakhstani students in an English-medium university. Goodman, Kerimkulova, and Montgomery state that students, who have strong proficiency levels in English, do not consider translanguaging a helpful pedagogical practice. Nevertheless, after graduation, alumni translanguage actively at work by adapting their use of Russian, Kazakh, or English flexibly and strategically. This translanguaging allows them to reuse and modify academic practices that they have previously acquired, transferring them to a new, working context. In this way, despite struggling to produce different textual genres in Russian, due to "absence of experience and training in writing and doing research in the language, unawareness of terminology and unfamiliarity with structure" (p. 230), the alumni are able to use their shifting among languages to adjust to the employer requirements. This chapter shows that translanguaging is an effective strategy towards enhancing transfer of academic skills beyond EMI.

In the last chapter of this book, Chapter 11, Probyn reveals the controversy surrounding EMI and linguistic ecologies in South African schools, where most of the speakers of African languages are almost only exposed to English inside the classroom. Probyn ably analyses planned and spontaneous in-class translanguaging practice to ponder how these practices may inform the development of "context-appropriate translanguaging pedagogies" (p. 250) and change "entrenched language-in-education ideologies" (p. 255) towards social justice in South African education. Moreover, in the face of a lack of teaching guidelines around the functions of students' local languages in learning, the author advocates for a teacher training that incorporates a translanguaging pedagogy that can be followed and scaffolded, for student teachers to learn a flexible translanguaging practice dependent on different linguistic environments.

3. Conclusiones (Translingual)

Together, the chapters above highlight the main theme of this review: the need to place students at the centre of translanguaging pedagogies and to normalise multilingual practices in content learning environments, thereby challenging monolingual ideologies and preserving local languages. Yet, these chapters also make clear the need for more empirical research conducted at the university level, in order to describe the operationalisation of a translanguaging pedagogy in higher education contexts, with a focus on students' strategies and disciplinary views of their learning. This way forward echoes Mazak and Carroll's (2016) edited volume, *Translanguaging in higher education: Beyond monolingual ideologies*, which contemplates various challenges that the implementation of translanguaging practices pose in higher education institutions, such as providing future teachers with "the discourse to explain and justify their use of translanguaging practices" (p. 182). In order to consider how English-medium educational realities at university are influenced by forces that operate simultaneously at local and global levels, such empirical research would benefit from Dafouz and Smit's dynamic ROAD-MAPPING framework (2020), a sociolinguistic and ecolinguistic model to holistically analyse English-medium education in multilingual university settings.

En conclusión, el presente volumen ofrece una visión exhaustiva y global de la teoría y la práctica del translenguaje en la actualidad, revelando la necesidad de continuar investigando este fascinante camino. En este sentido, al final del libro los autores indican, a modo de colofón a una lectura fructífera, una serie de áreas que requieren estudio, entre otras, el translenguaje como medio de instrucción. Así, los autores inspiran nuevas vías de investigación sobre la teoría, la práctica y la política educativa y lingüística asociada al translenguaje. En esta línea, se trata de un libro relevante para un amplio público de lectores, desde maestros a profesores de secundaria y universidad, futuros profesores, investigadores, responsables de política lingüística y alumnos universitarios. En definitiva, este es un libro interesante para todos aquellos que deseen enriquecerse en esta materia y contribuir positivamente al desarrollo de la educación desde un enfoque práctico y socialmente justo, que abarque y fomente el uso de los repertorios lingüísticos al completo, incorporando de manera pedagógica las lenguas maternas a los procesos de aprendizaje y comunicación.

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**Review: Kagan, Olga, Carreira, Maria M., & Hitchins Chik, Claire (Eds.).
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Book Review

Received 16 January 2021; accepted after revision 21 February 2021

ABSTRACT

EN | *The Routledge Handbook of Heritage Language Education* successfully contextualizes heritage language education initiatives across a wide range of languages and geographical settings. It comprises an impressive range of studies that cover all levels of education and show the institutionalization process of heritage language education initiatives. The book is recommended reading for researchers, scholars, educators, language planners, and practitioners.

Key words: HERITAGE LANGUAGE, INSTITUTIONALIZATION, MINORITY LANGUAGE, INNOVATION

ES | *The Routledge Handbook of Heritage Language Education* contextualiza con éxito las iniciativas educativas realizadas en el campo de las lenguas de herencia en una amplia gama de entornos geográficos. Incluye una impresionante variedad de estudios que abarcan todos los niveles educativos y muestran el proceso de institucionalización de las iniciativas de enseñanza de las lenguas de herencia. El libro está dirigido a investigadores, académicos, responsables de planificación lingüística y profesores de lenguas.

Palabras clave: LENGUAS DE HERENCIA, INSTITUCIONALIZACIÓN, LENGUAS MINORITARIAS, INNOVACIÓN

IT | *The Routledge Handbook of Heritage Language Education* inquadra con esito positivo le iniziative di percorsi educativi che riguardano lo studio delle lingue ereditarie in numerose aree geografiche. Il lavoro comprende una gamma sorprendentemente vasta di studi che riguardano tutti i livelli di istruzione, e rivela il processo di istituzionalizzazione delle iniziative a livello educativo riguardanti le lingue ereditarie. Il libro è rivolto a ricercatori, studiosi, responsabili delle politiche linguistiche e insegnanti di lingua.

Parole chiave: LINGUE EREDITARIE, ISTITUZIONALIZZAZIONE DI PERCORSI EDUCATIVI, LINGUE MINORITARIE, INNOVAZIONE

1. Introduction

Recent significant developments in heritage language (HL) education have enhanced the understanding of HL teaching and consolidated HL education as an emerging field in education (Felices-De la Fuente, 2020). A heritage language refers to the home language of a bilingual speaker who is dominant in the main societal language (Polinsky, 2018). Growing awareness of HL education, a greater appreciation of HL programs, and attempts by schools to build or improve HL teaching programs have led to renewed interest in HL teaching across the world. With recently developed pedagogical approaches to foster HL competence, more and more traditional language teaching programs have been replaced by education programs promoting multilingualism. For example, positive pedagogical changes were documented thanks to increased visibility of HLs in 23 New York City schools participating in the CUNY-NYSIEB project (Menken, Pérez Rosario, & Guzmán Valerio, 2018). Elsewhere, a report by the Minnesota Department of Education (2018) shows an increase in primary home languages other than English. In addition, Leonard, Vitrella, and Yang (2020) published a report on the 2019 Summit, which drew attention to the need to engage more HL learners and created a series of calls to action for students, families, teachers, educational institutions, and state agencies to develop and promote HL programs. European policies identifying multilingualism as a goal for European citizens have also led to an increase in the number of HL teaching programs in Europe. Recent developments such as these have made it necessary to revisit *The Routledge Handbook of Heritage Language Education: From Innovation to Program Building*, published in 2017 and edited by Olga Kagan, Maria M. Carreira, and Claire Hitchens Chik.

Agnes He (2010) refers to HLs as “the language[s] of the heart” (p. 66). As HLs are the very first languages that children are exposed to within the family setting, these languages have a special meaning for heritage speakers. As the HL speaker population grows, the need to promote HL acquisition and maintenance is also expanding. An increasing number of educational institutions have recently begun to support HL development or to offer instruction in HLs, but the question arises of whether to teach these languages as L1 or L2. Heritage speakers fit neither into the model of a monolingual native speaker nor into that of a balanced bilingual (Chang, 2016). Therefore, it is vital that educational institutions foster pedagogical innovation in HL teaching and meet the linguistic needs of this special group of speakers.

The title of the handbook implies to its readers that its aim is to introduce innovative approaches to HL teaching within the framework of institutionalization. The volume adopts Ekholm and Trier’s (1987) definition of *institutionalization*, which refers to the assimilation of an innovation into an organization, such as a school, until it becomes stable and routinized. This explanation points out how innovation and institutionalization are interrelated in an education context. The studies in this handbook successfully represent the process of institutionalization, through the acceptance of changes in teaching (e.g., the adoption of a new curriculum or new teaching practices by different educational institutions).

With 31 chapters by 50 authors, this handbook makes significant contributions to the field of HL education, which is itself an emerging field. It reaches a wide audience by covering all levels of education on an international HL teaching spectrum and enriching it with carefully designed studies. These studies are likely to appeal to researchers, language planners, and practitioners who would like to establish a new HL education program or adopt a new curriculum or approach. The handbook’s significant contributions to the field lie in the compilation of an impressive number of studies and in the diversity of educational contexts described.

2. Summary of content

The handbook is a single volume comprised of studies on 22 languages, conducted by researchers in various areas of the world. The volume is divided into seven parts, each of which includes four to five chapters. Its 31 chapters cover all levels of education and encompass studies focusing on HLs spoken by both immigrant and diasporic communities. These studies investigate HL education practices within the framework of institutionalization, on both the micro- and macro-levels.

The first part of the volume is devoted to the changing demographics of HL communities in many parts of the world. The five chapters in this part provide a historical overview of changing demographics and immigration patterns; they also cover immigrant languages and HLs in Europe, Australia, the United States, Latin America, and Canada. For example, Wiley and Bhalla’s chapter (Chapter 3) on the demographics of heritage and community languages in the United States enables readers to gain insight into the sources of linguistic diversity in the United States by comparing historical and current census data. Wiley and Bhalla identify a disconnect between the top 10 languages spoken in U.S. homes and the most popular foreign

languages offered in the U.S. schools. This chapter concludes with useful recommendations to adopt a broader and more comprehensive national policy that embraces the multilingual reality of the United States.

The second and third parts of the handbook introduce HL education paradigms initiated by minority communities such as after-school programs and all-day pre-, primary, and secondary schools. The nine chapters in Parts 2 and 3 outline the stages of institutionalization of these community initiatives and the process of adopting innovation. Chapter 6, by Uriu and Douglas, describes how a Japanese weekend school in California went through a significant institutional change by adopting a new HL curriculum. Implementation of the new curriculum was well-known to the authors through their own involvement in the curricular change. The chapter presents a very realistic picture of adopting an innovative curriculum, acknowledging negative developments such as skeptical parents, overburdened, overworked, and underpaid teachers, and the loss of a third of the students as well as more than half of the teachers. A particular strength of this chapter is the way that it reflects students', parents', teachers', and the school administration's perspectives on the challenging political process of initiating a curricular change, and recounts how the school overcame this crisis. The authors conclude that although there is still a long road ahead of them to fully stabilize the curriculum, they are making progress.

Chapter 12 (by Bourgerie) takes a close look at how Chinese education has evolved in line with political and cultural changes in the Cambodian Chinese diaspora. The historical overview of Chinese presence in Cambodia, the background of the Chinese language, the number of Chinese dialect speakers and Chinese populations in Cambodia offers important contextualization to readers with limited or no background knowledge on Chinese as an HL in Cambodia. The author first identifies factors such as the teachers' backgrounds and the students' levels of language use at home and elsewhere, literacy levels, ethnic identity, and religion, before delving into the issues of the pedagogy and approaches used in teaching Chinese as an HL in four schools in Cambodia and comparing these with those used in Mainland China. The examination of these factors enables readers to understand the reasons for shifting attitudes towards Chinese language in Cambodia and, accordingly, perceptions about Chinese HL education as a professional asset.

The nine studies in Parts 4 and 5 of the handbook investigate to what extent public education systems meet the linguistic needs of HL speakers and how societal and governmental policies and ideologies shape the organization of these paradigms. In Chapter 15, Kagan depicts the vivid multilingual landscape of the metropolitan area of Los Angeles and investigates whether the local high schools offer the languages spoken by the ethnic communities that they serve. Kagan's findings highlight a disparity between the languages used by residents and the foreign languages and HLs offered by the schools in the region. The chapter is limited to one specific area and a small number of interviewees and survey respondents. However, it achieves its goals by identifying the vital need for schools to offer instruction in languages spoken by the community in which a school is located. It also highlights the importance of offering these languages in a way that meets the linguistic needs of both foreign language and HL learners. With this goal in mind, the author moves on to describe successful HL programs and concludes with useful recommendations for schools to make the most of the linguistic and cultural richness of their surrounding communities. The chapters in Part 5 continue to exemplify the institutionalization of various types of HL programs in public schools from Japan, New Zealand, Lithuania, Norway, Sweden, and Germany.

Part 6 addresses the presence of HLs in higher education. In Chapter 25, Nielsen's framework of "Arabic-as-resource" or "Arabic-as-problem" engages readers with the teaching of Arabic as HL in Danish higher education and helps readers to understand the status of Arabic in Danish media, politics, and language education policies. The author outlines key issues in the design of Arabic programs, which were expected to achieve short-term economic goals in Danish postsecondary education, in addition to the challenges that Arabic HL learners face.

The last part of the volume, Part 7, addresses HL maintenance. The four chapters in this part provide examples from learning Chinese, Turkish, Korean, and Yiddish as HLs in formal and informal contexts. Pfaff, Dollnick, and Herkenrath present an outstanding chapter on Turkish HL maintenance in Germany. Their chapter, Chapter 29, shows how an extensive collaboration between formal and informal structures may lead to an increase in support for HL instruction. This chapter documents macro-level demographic and social factors affecting Turkish in Germany, including micro-level language programs. The authors come to the uneasy conclusion that the institutionalization of Turkish HL education in Germany is controversial; although there is a great deal of support for Turkish, language instruction is still not available for all HL learners and HL classes are still very restricted in mainstream schools.

One of the main messages of this handbook concerns the integration of HL education in a manner that is not limited by bottom-up attempts. To do this, the authors opt for a common approach of institutionalization through innovation to investigate HL teaching programs. Therefore, in order to identify to what extent HL education programs are institutionalized, the studies present evidence from educators, directors, families, and students through observations, interviews, surveys, and linguistic biographies. This volume diverges from others in its field because it does not attempt to present ideal models for teaching HLs. In addition, although the field of HL education has yet to be fully developed, the volume consists of studies on HL maintenance in formal education contexts, unlike others that mainly focus on the home setting.

3. Analysis and evaluation

The Routledge Handbook of Heritage Language Education covers a wide range of languages and geographical settings. Despite the immense scope of the book, the concept of institutionalization provides readers with a common framework for approaching different HL programs in various educational settings. While the studies in each part present a number of approaches to HL education, certain indicators of institutionalization are identified in the volume such as linguistic resources, teacher qualifications, and funding. These indicators enable readers to compare the degree of institutionalization of different HL education paradigms and initiatives.

One of the main strengths of the book is the way it successfully contextualizes HL education initiatives through a number of studies conducted in various parts of the world. Each study introduces the teaching of a non-dominant language in a different educational setting. These studies provide readers with a comprehensive historical and methodological overview of the HL programs, as well as demographic analyses, information on the status of foreign/minority language instruction in the mainstream education systems of the host countries, multilingual practices in particular cities, and language ideologies within immigrant and host communities. A well-presented background of the status of HLs and multilingual practices in the host countries helps readers to gain a better understanding of HL teaching initiatives.

Another strength of the book is its engagement with micro- and macro-levels of HL teaching initiatives. HL teaching programs are evaluated through both the work of researchers and linguists, as well as through the statements of families, students, and teachers who are actively involved in this process. Direct statements from teachers and members of executive committees are, for example, used in the study conducted on Brazilian complementary schools in London and Barcelona (Chapter 8). The sixth chapter, concerning a Japanese weekend school in California, presents perspectives of teachers, parents, and students. These studies, with their use of personal narratives, enhance insight into the possible challenges and risks inherent to the process of adopting a new curriculum, while suggesting ways to overcome these obstacles.

One of the shortcomings of the handbook is that, although it covers all levels of education in various types of educational institutions, it does not detail the efficiency and outcomes of these HL education programs or long-term consequences of the innovations made by adopting a new approach, strategy, or curriculum. The outcomes of these programs are not only significant to understanding the impacts of different approaches to institutionalization, but also to helping educators, administrators, and policymakers to decide what kind of models or strategies to adopt in establishing or improving an HL teaching program. The “Lessons Learned” section of the introduction does present useful tips from the studies in the book about the requirements and challenges of the institutionalization of HL practices into the curriculum. Devoting an entire chapter to learning outcomes, however, could have been of greater help to readers and offered better insight into comparing different HL teaching approaches and models.

This handbook is immensely useful for HL scholars and educators and it makes significant contributions to the field of HL education. It deepens an understanding of HL education by emphasizing that it is an issue that must be tackled on an international level. The variety of theoretical and pedagogical approaches—including bottom-up education program initiatives, introduced by many researchers—is another tremendous achievement of this book. The handbook may also be useful for comparing and contrasting the experiences of other teachers and administrators in diverse educational settings around the world.

4. Conclusion

The book sheds light on innovations in HL teaching pedagogy and provides a broad outline of HL education programs across various parts of the world. Most of the studies are conducted by researchers who

are members of the minority speech communities in which they conduct their research. These studies and observations help readers gain better insight into the status of immigrant languages and HLs. The theoretical and practical overviews of the educational paradigms make a significant contribution to future work in this area through identifying the limitations of the studies and introducing novel approaches.

Mobility in the 21st century and the changing face of multilingualism are well-reflected in the book. A limitation of the handbook is the fact that learning outcomes from the HL education programs are not addressed in the studies. However, diverse approaches to HL education, teaching methods, assessment tools, and language teaching materials present readers with a rich source of HL maintenance practices that may be adapted and applied by educators working in and with minoritized communities.

The handbook's dedication to parents and educators indicates an appreciation of their diligent and often voluntary work, in the face of many challenges, to maintain their community languages or HLs. The efforts made by these dedicated people result in inspiring bottom-up HL teaching initiatives. In sum, the handbook contributes to the field of HL education by encouraging other minority speech communities to create bonds, to collaborate as a means to learn from each other's experiences, and to initiate teaching programs. The handbook is worth reading for those who intend to establish and maintain sustainable and successful minority language teaching programs.

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