

## **"In English!" Teachers' requests as reactions to learners' translanguaging discourse**

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### **Abstract**

Multilingualism in the world is the norm and the classrooms are no exception. The dynamic and flexible practices of multilingual teachers and learners in the classroom are referred to as translanguaging (Li and Lin, 2019). As shown in the literature on the topic and signaled out by some authors (Cenoz and Gorter, 2020; García, 2019), translanguaging discourse simply exists in classrooms. It is the means of communication employed by multilingual learners in multilingual learning settings. However, research on classroom pragmatics has adopted a monolingual perspective (Taguchi, 2019), and the need to examine multilingual learners and teachers from a multilingual viewpoint has been raised (Portolés, 2015, Safont, 2018). Bearing this research gap in mind, this study focuses on examining teachers' reactions to learners' translanguaging practices as instances of attitudinal conduct and potential sources of incidental pragmatic learning. Data for the study comprise transcripts from twelve video-recorded English as L3 lessons involving 268 learners (m.a.= 8.4) and 12 teachers. Interestingly, this study confirms the role of the language program in the classroom requestive behaviour and the existing monolingual bias in young multilingual instructional settings.

**Keywords:** requests, classroom discourse, multilingualism, sociopragmatics, translanguaging, language attitudes, L3 acquisition

### **1. Introduction**

Teachers' and learners' pragmatic performance in the classroom has received a great deal of attention (e.g. Kasper & Blum-Kulka, 1993; Bardovi-Harlig, 2013; Taguchi, 2019) for the last thirty years. Several individual variables have been identified (Taguchi, 2015), pragmatic instruction has been examined (Alcón, 2018; Sánchez-Hernández & Alcón, 2019), and intercultural perspectives have been adopted in the analysis of learners' pragmatic behavior (Kesckes, 2018; McConachy, 2019). Nevertheless, the analysis of multilingual learners and teachers from a multilingual perspective remains a challenge. In order to contribute to this line of research, the present study seeks to examine multilingual requestive behaviour by considering the pragmalinguistic forms employed and those social conditions underlying such pragmatic use. In doing so, previous research from a monolingual and a multilingual perspective is taken into account.

In this study, an observational approach to analyzing naturally occurring classroom requests was adopted. Current reviews on Interlanguage Pragmatics (Taguchi, 2019)

point out that observational studies on classroom pragmatics have addressed two main issues, namely those of language socialization and incidental pragmatic learning. Although incidental pragmatic learning is not guaranteed in the classroom and further research is needed on this issue, some scholars (Kääntä, 2014; Taguchi & Kim, 2018) raise the idea that classroom discourse that provides learners with a wide exposure to rich pragmatic input may facilitate incidental learning of various speech acts, interactional norms and other pragmatic features. Besides, research on language socialization and classroom discourse highlights the role of the teacher as s/he may facilitate learners' pragmatic and interactional development by guidance or scaffolding (Burdelski, 2010; Cekaite, 2007; Ohta, 1999). Therefore, teachers' discourse may be a valuable source of pragmatic input that deserves further analysis. For this reason, this paper examines teachers' discursive practices when learners use languages other than English in the English as an L3 classroom. In other words, a focus is drawn on how teachers react to learners' manifestations of their own multilingualism. In addition to that, these reactions are analysed as potential sources of pragmatic input. This viewpoint may also provide us with information about teachers' attitudes towards multilingual language policies in the classroom and teachers' input as a source for incidental pragmatic learning.

This paper attempts to fill the gap of studies on classroom discourse and pragmatic learning that still ignore the multilingual background of most learners. As raised by some scholars (Kesckes, 2017; McConachy, 2019), the analysis of the pragmatic competence in the classroom has traditionally adopted a monolingual perspective (e.g. comparing learners' performance to that of monolingual speakers). However, multilingualism is nowadays the norm also in classrooms, and the studies conducted in these settings should consider this fact. In order to contribute to this approach in examining instructional discourse, the present study deals with the teachers' discursive reactions to their learners' multilingualism as mentioned above. In doing so, I shall first refer to the study of multilingual practices in the classroom and teachers' attitudes towards them. After that, previous research on requests in the L3 classroom will be described with a specific focus on the effect of the language model adopted in the classroom. The relationship between attitudes and pragmatics in multilingual educational settings frames the research questions and hypotheses guiding the present study which will be introduced at the end of this section.

### 1.1. Translanguaging and pragmatic choices in classroom discourse

As stated by Lewis, Jones and Baker (2012), translanguaging has been defined following Baker's work (2001). The term addresses flexible multilingual practices in educational settings. As argued by García (2019), translanguaging does not regard bilingualism as the simple addition of two codes. It is not just the learners' use of all their languages in instruction. In fact, the dynamic practices of multilingual people transform classroom discourse (Wei & Lin, 2019) and the way it may be examined. Cenoz and Gorter (2017: 905) also refer to translanguaging as "a way of describing multilingual practices that include the full range of linguistic resources". These authors distinguish between spontaneous and pedagogical translanguaging although they recognise some overlapping

areas. While pedagogical translanguaging would be planned with a teaching purpose, there may also be unplanned instances in the classroom. These refer to a blurred zone where spontaneous translanguaging may also serve pedagogical purposes (Cenoz & Gorter, 2020:307).

According to Garcia (2019:370), translanguaging occurs when language dominant students are learning an additional language. It is when translanguaging becomes evident that is judged as inappropriate for learning and in open conflict with a monolingual established education policy. Authors like Jakonen (2016), Prada (2019) and Gynne (2019) describe how teachers may follow a monolingual norm and react negatively to learners' use of other languages, and they also present evidence of contradictory interactional practices where they may encourage learners to use their languages, but they actually stick to the monolingual norm (Gynne, 2019:364).

In a bilingual instructional setting, Jakonen (2016) examines teachers' reproaches to inappropriate language choice. This author examines instances of classroom discourse that reflect ways in which the L2-only norm is invoked by the teacher. The data for his study was collected in a Finnish secondary school and it includes 16 lessons of CLIL classes in which English is the medium of instruction. Results show the teacher's constant attempts to make learners' switch from their L1 into English, and learners' regular use of their L1 Finnish in their interaction. However, when the teacher calls learners' attention and asks them explicitly to use the L2, learners stop taking part in the conversation and remain silent. As argued by Jakonen (2016), teacher's monolingual rule is ineffective in the short and long term as students avoid confrontation by not speaking and, whenever possible, continue using L1 with their peers. The instances analysed in his study show the 'monolingual bias' (May, 2014) that is present in current European CLIL and EFL teaching practice. In fact, the L2-only rule may derive from L2-only based research in SLA in general. That is why further studies are needed that consider all languages present in the CLIL and EFL classrooms, as well as the attitudes that their use or reactions to such use may illustrate.

Translanguaging practices may promote a positive and encouraging attitude to all languages in the classroom because they are regarded as equally valuable sources of communication (Gynne, 2019). According to Prada (2019), translanguaging may influence beliefs and prejudices that could be deeply rooted. It may also affect widely held attitudes towards the use of more than one language in the classroom, and hence, this may also affect linguistic practices. In fact, Gorter and Arocena (2020) show how teachers' beliefs, i.e. one of the components of the attitudinal construct, about multilingualism and translanguaging may be modified after taking part in a training course. In Gorter and Arocena's study, teachers showed some relief to see that soft boundaries between languages and translingual practices were beneficial. Probably, prior to the training, these teachers' in general were not using several languages in the classroom, and this had an influence on the way they interacted in the classroom.

As argued by Garrett (2010), attitudes include beliefs, emotions and behaviours and they are an integral part of our communicative competence; hence, they may not only influence our use of language but also our reactions to their users around us and so influence the language choices we make as we communicate. Most research on teachers' attitudes has focused on their beliefs, but we need more studies that tackle the behavioural component, that is, how attitudes are manifested in language use. In this sense, the analysis of teachers' reactions to multilingual learners' language choice will provide us with information about their attitudes and it may help us establish a link between these attitudes and pragmatic choices. Most research thus far has either examined teachers' beliefs or it has focused on teachers' discourse. The present study considers both because it focuses on attitudes as behaviours through discourse which have an effect on incidental pragmatic learning. The way teachers react to their learners' multilingualism may be influenced by their attitudes which are manifested through language in the form of requests. In this study the following research issues are addressed. On the one hand, teachers' verbal behaviour is examined as an indicator of attitudes to languages, more specifically to translingual practices. On the other hand, given the importance of classroom discourse in incidental learning (Taguchi & Kim, 2018), and the need to consider teachers' role in that process, this study analyses teachers' discursive reactions as a potential source of pragmatic input involving requests.

## 1.2. Requests in the English as an L3 classroom

Requests have been widely examined in Interlanguage Pragmatics (see Alcón, 2008 or Taguchi, 2019 for a review) with a focus on its two main constituents, that is, the request head act and the accompanying modification items. According to existing taxonomies (Alcón & Martínez-Flor, 2005; Safont, 2008), the request head act may involve the use of direct (e.g. open the window!), conventionally indirect (e.g. could you open the window) or indirect forms (e.g. it's hot in here), while the modification items may mitigate or aggravate the degree of imposition of the request form (e.g. May I ask you a favour? could you please open the window?). As suggested by Alcón (2008), the analysis of requests should pay attention not only to the pragmalinguistic forms employed but also to the sociopragmatic conditions underlying their use. For this reason, this study takes into account the use of requests as reactions to a very specific situation, that of the learners' manifestations of their own multilingualism, and the teachers' interest in maintaining the monolingual L3-only norm in the L3 classroom.

Previous research on requests in the L3 classroom has tackled (i) the effect of instruction (Alcon, 2013; Safont, 2005; Safont & Alcón, 2012), (ii) early pragmatic development (Portolés, 2015; Safont, 2013; Safont & Portolés, 2015) with a focus on the use of request formulas involving the request head act and mitigation items, (iv) the role of the language model adopted by the school (Safont & Portolés, 2016) and (v) the effect of the research method adopted (Safont, 2018).

Regarding the role of the language program, previous studies (Safont & Portolés, 2015, 2016) analysed teachers' and learners' discourse from a naturalistic and interactional perspective. Those studies aimed at identifying to what extent the L3 classroom would differ from L2 classroom discourse. By focusing on pragmatic routines, special attention was paid to the learning environment that is part of two different language programs that coexist in the Valencian Community, Spain and that is also the context of the present study. Being a bilingual area, these programs take Spanish or Catalan as a means of instruction. The Spanish-based program offers instruction of all courses through Spanish except for English language and one Catalan course, whereas the Catalan-based program offers instruction through Catalan in all courses except for the Spanish and English classes. Results from the previous studies showed that a wider variety of English request forms were found in the Catalan-based than in the Spanish-based programs. Interestingly, a wider variety of request mitigators was also present in the Catalan-based programs in line with other findings that examined early multilingual discourse in the same sociolinguistic setting (Safont, 2013). These findings could not be attributed to the politeness orientation of the languages, as both Catalan and Spanish are positive politeness-oriented languages, that is, being socially accepted is more important than having one's own territory unimpeded, as would be the case of English (Trosborg, 1995; Brown and Levinson, 1987). In this sense, the explanation may not be that of pragmatic transfer but it may lead to the idea that multilingualism raises metalinguistic and metapragmatic awareness. The same aspects were also found in previous studies dealing with the pragmatic competence in English of multilingual and monolingual speakers (Safont, 2005). In fact, Portolés (2015) examined pragmatic comprehension of 402 young learners of English, and her findings also pointed to the fact that children in Catalan-based schools outperformed those in Spanish-based ones as far as the appropriate use of requests was concerned.

In light of the studies summarized above, the learning environment, that is, the language model adopted in the educational settings analysed, seems to be a powerful factor in the use and comprehension of requests. Furthermore, an analysis of classroom discourse that focused on learners' performance (Safont, 2018) showed that the requestive pattern in the L3 classroom shared characteristics with both traditional EFL and the CLIL classroom, while it also presented its own peculiarities. More specifically, requests for information were more frequent in the instructional than in the pedagogical register (Christie, 2002), while studies in CLIL settings showed other patterns. This last aspect confirmed existing research findings on young L3 requestive behaviour.

Therefore, the existing body of research on the awareness and use of L3 requests highlights the influence of the language model in the educational setting. However, previous studies have mainly dealt with learners' comprehension and production, whereas in contrast the present paper examines teachers' requestive behaviour. The use of request forms is considered as illustrative of teachers' reactions towards their students' translanguaging practices in two different learning programs. In doing so, a link between translanguaging, attitudinal research and pragmatic choice may be provided, and in order to achieve this goal, the following research questions have been formulated:

RQ1: What are teachers' reactions towards translanguaging and how are they manifested in discourse?

RQ2: Do teachers react differently to the learners' translingual practices in Catalan and Spanish-based programmes?

Taking into consideration the above research questions, the hypotheses deriving from previous research on multilingual learning environments are the following:

HYP1. Teachers will stick to the L2-only norm and this will be illustrated by means of requests used as a reaction to learners' translanguaging (Jakonen, 2016; Gynne, 2019).

HYP2. The language program adopted will have an effect on the way teachers react to translanguaging instances (Safont and Portolés, 2016; Safont, 2018).

## **2. The study**

### **2.1. Method**

#### **2.1.1. Data**

The study has been conducted in the Valencian Community, a bilingual region in Spain. The majority language is Spanish while Catalan is a minoritized language used by 44% to 65% of people according to government sources (i.e. latest survey from *Generalitat Valenciana*, 2015). The presence of Catalan in education dates back to the late eighties coinciding with a rise in the use of the language in society. It was not until after the Spanish dictatorship period (1939 – 1976) that the language could be taught in schools. The sociolinguistic status of the language in this region is different from Catalonia and the Balearic Island, the other Catalan-speaking areas of Spain. The language is spoken in towns and cities with less than 100.000 inhabitants in the northern and central part of the Community, but its use diminishes in big capital cities and in southern areas. Unlike the case of Catalonia, Valencians were not exposed to the language in mass media (TV, radio, written press) for a number of years. These circumstances had a great influence in the community and education, in particular on parents' and teachers' attitudes towards languages (Safont, 2015). Nowadays, there is an ongoing debate that focuses on the implementation of the English language in education and the coexistence of Catalan-medium instruction to promote learners' plurilingualism.

Data for this study have been collected during 12 lessons involving 268 students (mean age 8.3 years) and 12 teachers (mean age 43.5 years). Learners were emergent trilinguals with Spanish or Catalan as their home or as their L2 language and English as L3. All

teachers were proficient in Catalan, Spanish and English. Nevertheless, teachers in Spanish-based schools did not use Catalan. In fact, the presence of Catalan in these schools was restricted to the Catalan language class. As mentioned in previous studies (Safont, 2015), teachers' and learners' attitudes towards the three languages (i.e. Catalan, Spanish and English) may be influenced by their sociolinguistic status. While English and Spanish are regarded as prestigious languages and there is no doubt about its inclusion in education, Catalan is seen as a local medium of communication related to folk culture and identity. For this reason, questions about the time devoted to Catalan and the need to increase the amount of hours of English teaching or the dangers that such a rise may represent for a minoritized language are often debated among practitioners.

Given the complexity of this context, and findings from previous research, another analysis that considers attitudes as well as language use seems timely. Former analyses of the same educational context involved the use of tests and questionnaires that elicited pragmatic production or showed language attitudes. The present analysis relates to both pragmatics and attitudes and it focuses on natural classroom discourse data. On that account, the 268 learners examined were video and audio-taped and they were transcribed for subsequent analysis. The lessons are subdivided as follows: six lessons belong to schools that adopt a Spanish-based program, that is, two languages are mainly promoted, Spanish and English, and six lessons belong to schools that adopt the Catalan-based program. These last schools follow an immersion program where Catalan is the means of instruction in most subject courses, and the learners are also exposed to Spanish and English in some courses. The goal in these 6 immersion schools is to promote multilingualism so that by the end of primary education students are familiar with three languages, Catalan (minority language of the community), Spanish (majority language), and English (foreign language). Part of these data were used to provide a descriptive account of L3 learners' request forms (Safont, 2018). Specific data used for the present study include learners' translingual practices and teachers' discursive reactions to them which may be best summarised as follows.

	Lessons	Learners	Teachers	Translingual episodes
Catalan-based	6	134	6	303
Spanish-based	6	134	6	211
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>268</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>514</b>

Table 1. Data sources and language program adopted in the schools examined.

As previously mentioned, the present study uses a discourse-pragmatic approach to investigate naturally-occurring teachers' requests. The perspective followed is interactional where observation of classes takes place, and attention is put on the pragmatic analysis of discourse (Williams, 2014). All instances of teachers' requestive

behaviour including questions have been considered as in other studies describing classroom requests (Dalton-Puffer & Nikula, 2007; Jakonen, 2015, 2016; Safont, 2018).

### 2.1.2. Data analysis

Teachers' discursive reactions are the focus of this study as they are considered as potential sources of pragmatic input. Special attention has been paid to teacher's turns after learners' translanguaging practices, that is, when they use a language other than English, thus, either Spanish and/or Catalan. This analysis also refers to the interactional and contextual factors influencing the request forms employed. The following graph may best illustrate the taxonomy used for data coding and further analysis.

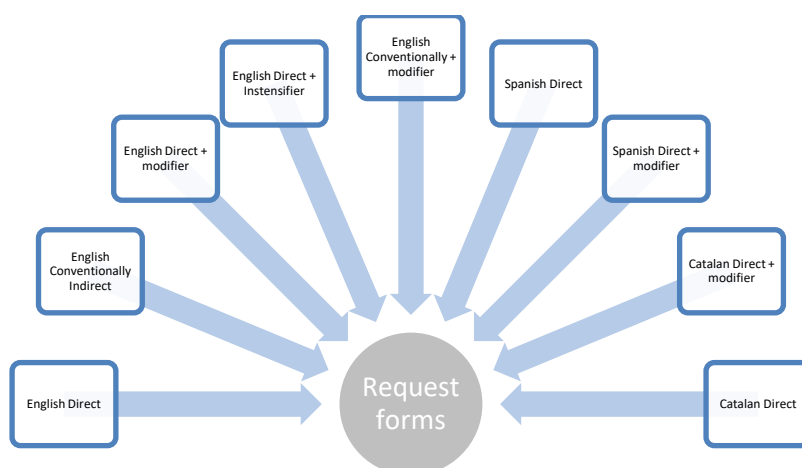


Figure 1. Request forms used for data coding and analysis.

As shown in Figure 1, the request types and modification forms examined include direct and conventionally indirect forms in English, Spanish and Catalan. The taxonomy employed in previous studies (Alcón et al. 2005) has been adapted as no instances of indirect or opaque forms were found in the corpus. Some examples for the codification are shown below.

#### Example 1

01 T: ok, stop, stop, enough, shh [direct request + intensifier] (.) Jose, please, can you tell me [modifier + conventionally indirect request] what's the weather like today?

02 S: err, it's /mondai/

03 T: no, no, the weather [direct request]

For purposes of reliability, a senior researcher and an applied linguist coded part of the data, the inter-rater reliability index was 0.9, as there was agreement in 95% of cases. One-sample Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests showed that the values for the request forms examined were not normally distributed. In all cases the null hypothesis was rejected. Therefore, the Friedman, and Mann Whitney U tests were employed in order to identify whether reported differences in our results were statistically significant. Spearman



correlation tests were also employed in order to confirm part of the results obtained during the hypotheses testing process. Comparative tests were used in line with previous studies dealing with the young multilingual classroom (Portolés, 2015; Safont & Portolés, 2016; Martí & Portolés, 2019). These tests allow for identifying similarities and differences with other analyses in the same multilingual context of the Valencian community.

## 2.2. Results and discussion

### 2.2.1. Results and discussion related to research question 1 and hypothesis 1

The first research question refers to the teachers' reactions to learners' use of L1 and L2 in the English classroom. The interest lies in identifying how teachers' attitudes are manifested in discourse. Considering previous research, the hypothesis predicts that teachers will make use of requests in their reactions to learners' translingual practices.

As far as teachers' reactions to learners' translanguaging are concerned, that is, learners' use of languages other than English in the L3 English classroom, there seems to be a pattern that provides a link between the monolingual bias of EFL teaching and requests production. The teacher reacts when the student uses their L1 in the English class. Interestingly, these reactions always involve some type of request move which in all cases is a direct request form. It shows teachers' negative attitude towards L1 use in the classroom. Table 2 below shows the specific ways in which teachers manifest their attitudes towards translanguaging in discourse.

	<b>Modified Direct request</b>
<b>DIRECT</b>	Direct request & Intensifier
<b>REQUEST</b>	Ignore & Direct request
	Translate & Spanish Direct request
	Spanish Direct Request

Table 2. Discourse manifestation of teachers' attitudes to learners' translanguaging.

The pattern that has been identified shows six different ways of reacting including (i) a modified direct request, (ii) an intensified direct request, (iii) ignoring the student message and request immediately, (iv) translating student's turn and requesting and (v) a Spanish direct request. As illustrated in table 2 above, teachers' attitudes are manifested by requesting students directly to use English, in some cases they modify their requests or even intensify them. Some examples are provided in Example 2.

#### Example 2

01 T: skirt (1.0) skirt, are you wearing a skirt? no?  
 02 S: yes  
 03 T: I am (.) what colour is your skirt? (.) ahh, you don't know, eh? what 04  
 colour?  
 05 Ss: *gris, gris*

06 T: in english?  
07 Ss: gris  
08 T: in English?  
09 Ss: grey

(...)

10 T: have you been here Pepe? Yes?  
11 S: Sí  
12 T: yes? In English, in English, in English, tell me in English, ok (.) I was here, ok, werr, I think on Saturday, on Saturday I was here and I saw fallas a::nd

In example 2, the teacher is reacting to the learners' L1 by making use of a direct request (elliptical phrase) that is widely employed in our learning environment, that is the phrase 'in English'. It explicitly shows teacher's interest for maintaining the monolingual norm in the classroom.

In order to find out whether the different frequencies in the use of direct request were statistically significant, a Friedman test is applied to the data. Results from the Friedman test show that the differences in terms of teachers' reactive behaviour are statistically significant ( $\chi^2=23.144$ ;  $p=0.00$ ). Figure 2 illustrates these findings.

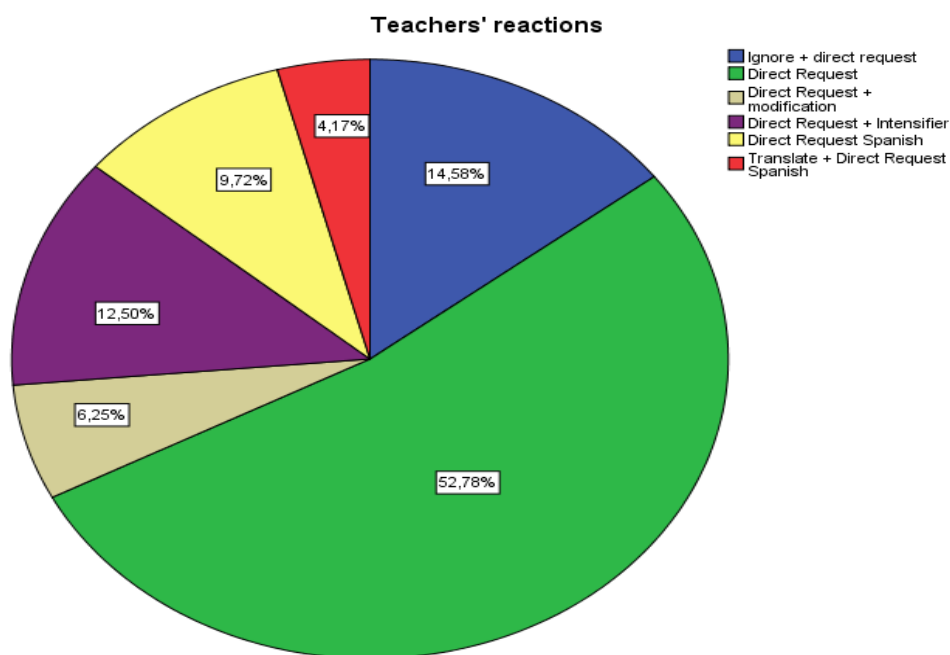


Figure 2. Frequency in the use of teachers' requests to stick to the English-only norm.

According to these findings, we may say that there is a pattern in teachers' reactions that is based on the use of direct requests, but that also allows for some variability in such production. Hence, we may say that the first hypothesis of this study is confirmed by these findings as teachers made use of directives in the form of request acts as in the case of previous studies (Jakonen, 2016). The answer to the first research question refers to a discourse pattern that includes the direct request form as basis of reaction but is also linked to variability including modification, intensification, ignoring the interlocutor, or

translating the interlocutors' message. Also, in all cases and coinciding with previous research (Jakonen, 2016; Dalton-Puffer, 2011), the teacher shows a clear interest in maintaining the L2, in our case L3-only norm in the classroom. It seems that teachers react identically in other learning environments in which English is the target language. In fact, these data show the open conflict that arises when learners manifest their multilingualism as mentioned by García (2019). These findings also reflect the contradiction that Gynne (2019) indicates as teachers encourage language use but react negatively to learners' translingual practices.

### Example 3

01 T: ok Nestor, what's your favourite animal?  
02 Sn: nestor, el teu animal:  
03 Nes: *com se diu la cobra? es que tinc una.*  
04 T: yes??you have one?  
05 Nes: *I també tinc un xotet.*  
06 Sn: *una cabra*  
07 T: ok boys and girls. Ok listen we're going to play a game.  
08 Sn: *nestor a que la teua cabra i el xoto d'Efren van criar?*  
(xxx)  
09 Sn: *Jo tinc un cavall.*  
(xxx)  
10 Sn: *un cavall val més de cent euros.*  
11 Sn: *jo em vull comprar un pardalet.*  
12 T: *ok speak all the time and in the playground all the time we'll be*  
13 *stay here, all the class?*  
14 Sn: *tota la classe?*  
15 T: yes  
16 T: *speak speak speak!*  
17 NOW *listen*, I have these cards ok  
18 these cards these cards are classroom objects, *do you know what is*  
19 *a classroom?*

Example 3 clearly illustrates teachers' use of direct request forms as a reaction to learners' use of their L1. In fact, these direct request forms are accompanied by intensifiers as we see in line 12 where the teacher threatens learners with no playground or in line 16 where the imperative form is repeated. Although examples of teachers' adherence to the L3-only norm are found in all the schools, the example above belongs to the Catalan-based program. The effect of the language programs in teachers' discursive reaction to learners' translanguaging is examined in the next section.

#### 2.2.2. Results and discussion related to research question 2 and hypothesis 2

The second research question deals with the possibly different reactions of teachers to learners' translingual practices in the two language programs. As mentioned before, the data analysed come from a Spanish-based and a Catalan-based program. In the light of previous findings, the second hypothesis predicts the language program as a clear factor in the teachers' use of requests. Results thus refer to the effect of the language program on teachers' attitudes to learners' translanguaging.

A pattern that differentiates Spanish from Catalan-based classrooms is found regarding teachers' reaction to learners' translingual practices and their adherence to the L2-only (L3-only in our case) norm, and the difference is statistically significant ( $p < 0.05$ ). As shown in examples 4 and 5, teachers show a preference for Spanish in the Spanish based program, while they resort to other pragmatic forms in the Catalan-based classroom. This could be an indicator of the dominance of the majority language and its sociolinguistic status mentioned before. Furthermore, the fact that most learners in Spanish-based programs are also L1 Spanish speakers may explain teachers' preference for using Spanish with them as shown in Example 5 below. However, the Catalan-based schools included learners whose L1 was either Spanish or Catalan. English preferred use may not only reflect teachers' interest in maintaining the L3-only norm, but also their chance to replace the dominant language in society, Spanish, with a foreign language. When Spanish and Catalan speakers interact in the Valencian Community, it is often the case that Spanish is used although the interlocutors are fluent in both languages.

#### Example 4

01 T: Jaume come here  
02 Alb: *et diu que vages.*  
03 T: **alberto, don't translate**  
  
04 T: Javi how old are you?  
(4.0)  
05 Sn: *quants anys tens?*  
06 T: **Joan don't translate**  
07 Javi how old are you?  
08 I AM  
09 Jo: I'm eight years old.  
10 Sn: *huit anys.*  
11 T: **so and you? You?**

#### Example 5

01 T: can you tell me, Roberto, what's the unit number five about? what?  
(2.0)  
02 S: (xxx)  
03 T: eh?  
04 S: *de la ropa*  
05 T: **in English! En inglés!**  
06 S: (xxx)  
07 T: clothes, it's about clothes...  
(4.0)  
08 T: ok, we have shirt and we have t-shirt, ok? (.) look, this is a shirt, ok?  
this is a shirt, and a t-shirt, ok, i::s  
09 S: *manga corta*  
10 S2: (xxx)  
11 T: **no no no no, a t-shirt is camiseta, camisa short,** ok? a:nd t-shirt camiseta,  
ok? remember, remember (.) eerr, Naomi, ay! Naomi

The teacher in example 4 uses a direct request 'don't translate' and an attention-getter as modifier ('Joan' 'Alberto') to call the attention of her interlocutor. In line 11, the teacher ignores learners' turn from line 10 as he has used his L1 (Catalan). In example 5, we see how the teacher is using Spanish as a reaction to the students' use of their L1 or L2. Line

5 illustrates the monolingual policy that the teacher adopts in the classroom by using an elliptical phrase as direct request (i.e. *in English!*). It is a very good example of teachers' reaction to learners' translanguaging that might be found in other settings and multilingual contexts. The statistical analyses of these data are shown in figure 3.

Figure 3 below illustrates teachers' reactions to learners' translanguaging practices in the two language programs.

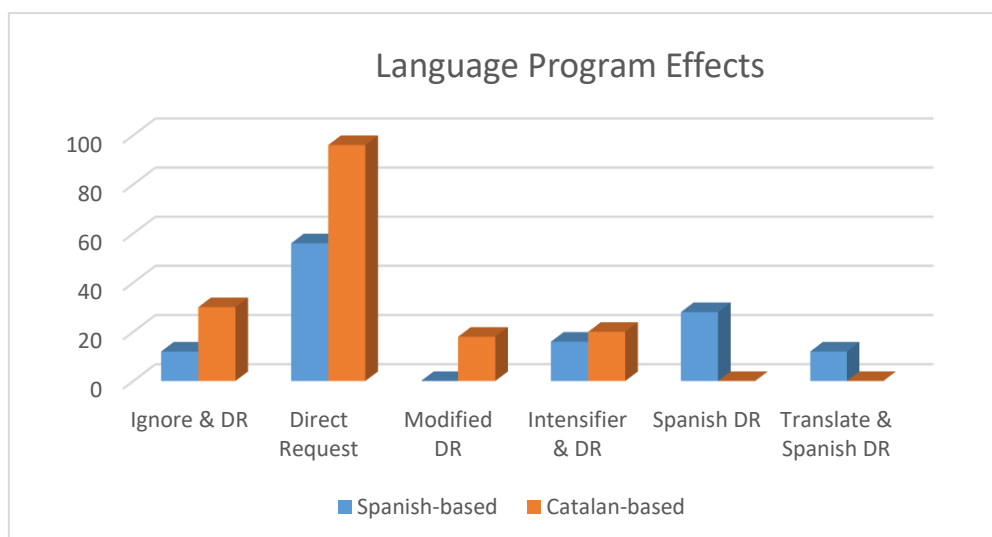


Figure 3. Language program effects and teachers' reactions to translanguaging.

According to the Mann-Whitney Test results, differences between the two language programs may be reported as, on the one hand, teachers in the Catalan-based programs show a preference for modifying their English requests (m.r.=9.5;  $Z=-3.095$ ) and for ignoring learners' turn and addressing learners' attention by means of another request (m.r.= 8.5;  $Z=-1.970$ ) and these differences are significant ( $p<0.05$ ). On the other hand, teachers in the Spanish-based program prefer to translate their learners' L1 or L2 turns into English prior to directly requesting them to use the target language (m.r.= 8.5;  $Z=2.298$ ), and they also make frequent use of direct requests in Spanish (m.r. 9.5;  $Z=-3.095$ ). On the whole, teachers in the Spanish-based program showed a preference for requesting in Spanish or for translating into the target language and then make a request in Spanish. Even though non-parametric tests have been employed, a correlation analysis confirms the differences. Spearman correlation results are in line with the Mann-Whitney's test. In fact, Spearman results show that the variable language program correlates significantly with the above-mentioned variables ( $r < 0.9$ ;  $p < 0.05$ ).

The second hypothesis is confirmed in light of these findings. In fact, these results indicate the influence of the language program adopted in teacher's reactions to learners translanguaging. The results are also in line with previous research on the effect of the language program (Portolés, 2015; Safont & Portolés, 2016) in the use of specific pragmatic routines. Considering previous and present results, one may state that the

language program has an effect on teachers' reaction and attitudes to learners' translanguaging. Interestingly, while teachers in both programs stick to the L3/L2 norm (i.e. only the target language is allowed in class), those in the Catalan program use a monolingual code where only English is present although it includes a wider variety of request forms. The Spanish-based program shows many instances of translation into Spanish and less variety of request routines that involve the use of direct forms. Interestingly, these results may be linked to previous findings on learners' pragmatic comprehension (Portolés, 2015; Safont & Portolés, 2016) in the same sociolinguistic and educational setting. In those studies, we found that learners in the Catalan group recognised a wider variety of English requests than those in the Spanish-based program. Here, we have shown that teachers' discursive reactions in the Catalan group also involve a wider variety of English request forms and modification devices. The role of the teacher in the learners' pragmatic development is crucial (Cekaite, 2007) because teachers' discourse is regarded as a source of pragmatic input, and therefore these findings may also explain the advantage of learners' pragmatic comprehension in Catalan-based groups. Nevertheless, a wider and deeper analysis contrasting teachers' and learners' pragmatic performance in those groups would be needed to be able to establish a direct relationship. These findings also shed some more light on the way languages and cultures interact in the classroom in the case of multilingual communities, and the empirical data presented here corroborates research in intercultural pragmatics (Kesckes, 2017, 2019).

Summing up, the results of this paper seem to be in line with previous studies conducted in multilingual settings. There are different requestive patterns in the two language programs in terms of teachers' reactions to translanguaging practices and this confirms the role of the language program in the pragmatic production. It is also possible to establish a connection between the current findings and previous ones that focused on learners' pragmatic comprehension. Furthermore, this study provides us with more evidence on the monolingual bias that is still present in multilingual communities and the need to train teachers to understand learners' translanguaging practices (Prada, 2019). As argued by some scholars (Gorter & Arocena, 2020; Cenoz & Gorter, 2020), identifying attitudes to translanguaging may be a first step to modifying negative views and encourage the introduction of pedagogical and sustainable translanguaging. The effect of these new multilingual instructional proposals on the pragmatic development of L3 language learners may also be examined and constitute a timely research goal for future studies.

### **3. Conclusion**

This paper has dealt with how teachers' attitudes to translingual practices are manifested in discourse, and the characteristics of such manifestations from a pragmatic viewpoint. The interest of this study refers to (i) the way attitudes are manifested in discourse, (ii) teachers' interest in maintaining an L3-only monolingual norm even in multilingual

settings and (iii) acknowledging the potential role of the teacher in incidental pragmatic learning.

Regarding attitudes, a focus on what teachers do with languages (i.e. behaviour) rather than on what they say they do (i.e. beliefs) could shed more light on their attitudes towards plurilingual practices. The study has been conducted in the officially bilingual Valencian Community of Spain. Catalan and Spanish are the official languages and both languages have a presence in the English classroom. Former studies conducted in this sociolinguistic context with a focus on teachers and student teachers showed their positive attitudes towards multilingual practices (Safont, 2007; 2015).

In an attempt to contribute to the study of attitudes in the plurilingual classroom, this paper has tackled the way teachers' attitudes towards translanguaging may be signalled in discourse by examining their reactions to learners' translingual practices. As in previous studies (Jakonen, 2016), requests served as basis to examine teachers' attitudes to learners' unfulfillment to the monolingual norm. Therefore, the goal was twofold as, on the one hand, teachers' requests in naturally occurring classroom discourse have been analysed, and on the other, especial attention has been paid to teachers' reactions to learners' translingual practices.

Considering research in multilingual settings (Gynne, 2019; Safont & Portolés, 2016), it was predicted that (i) teachers would prefer to stick to the L3-only norm and would thus react accordingly, and that (ii) there would be significant differences in teachers' discursive reactions to learners' translanguaging in Catalan and Spanish-based classrooms. These two hypotheses have been confirmed by the results obtained. This means that a monolingual bias is also present in multilingual learning settings and that the language program adopted does play a role in the teachers' pragmatic behaviour. As explained in the discussion of the results, there is a connection between these findings and previous ones deriving from the same education context that focused on learners' use of requests and on comprehension. In fact, teachers' discourse is a source of pragmatic input that may facilitate the incidental learning of specific request forms (Taguchi, 2018). Yet, more studies dealing with multilingual teachers' and learners' pragmatic production and comprehension are needed to corroborate such claim.

This study is subject to a number of limitations as one pragmatic aspect (i.e. requests) and one specific age group (i.e. 8/9-year-old students) have been considered. It may be worth looking into other pragmatic targets and a wider range of age groups in order to be able to generalise results. Nevertheless, these findings may be relevant to the extent that they further confirm previous findings and they also include a different perspective in these analyses. Adopting a multilingual perspective and tackling data in authentic classroom discourse may enable us to widen the scope of expected results from a monolingual perspective. In any case, what seems obvious is that the monolingual bias is present in L3 classes and this entails a number of pedagogical implications and learning consequences that deserve further attention.

In fact, teachers are not considering the advantages of using several languages to engage in communication because they make learners stick to their L3 (Redinger, 2010) or ignore their plurilingualism. Instead of promoting learners' participation, the monolingual norm prevents learners from speaking (Jakonen, 2016) and thus from participating in classroom tasks. Besides, results from the present study also point to the need for providing learners with appropriate pragmatic input. Finally, the role of the language program, implies that policy makers in bilingual and multilingual communities have to make informed choices when modifying existing curricula.

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### **Data availability statement**

Research data cannot be shared due to data protection restrictions.

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