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Race and Native-Speakerism in ELT

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Japan Association for Language Teaching

A Nonprofit Organization

The Japan Association for Language Teaching (JALT) is a nonprofit, professional organization dedicated to the improvement of language teaching and learning in Japan. It provides a forum for the exchange of new ideas and techniques and offers a means of keeping informed about developments in the rapidly changing field of second and foreign language education. Established in 1976, JALT serves an international membership of approximately 3,000 language teachers. JALT has 32 JALT chapters and 30 special interest groups (SIGs) and is a founder of PAC (Pan-Asian Consortium), which is an association of language teacher organizations in Pacific Asia. PAC holds annual regional conferences and exchanges information among its member organizations. JALT is the Japan affiliate of International TESOL (Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages) and a branch of IATEFL (International Association of Teachers of English as a Foreign Language). JALT is also affiliated with many other international and domestic organizations.

JALT publishes *JALT Journal*, a semiannual research journal; *The Language Teacher*, a bimonthly periodical containing articles, teaching activities, reviews, and announcements about professional concerns; and the annual *JALT Postconference Publication*.

The JALT International Conference on Language Teaching and Learning and Educational Materials Exposition attracts some 2,000 participants annually and offers more than 600 papers, workshops, colloquia, and poster sessions. Each JALT chapter holds local meetings. and JALT's SIGs provide information and newsletters on specific areas of interest. JALT also sponsors special events such as workshops and conferences on specific themes and awards annual grants for research projects related to language teaching and learning.

Membership is open to those interested in language education and includes copies of JALT publications, free or discounted admission to JALT-sponsored events, and optional membership in one chapter and one SIG. For an annual fee of ¥2,000 per SIG, JALT members can join as many additional SIGs as they desire. For information about JALT membership, contact the JALT Central Office or visit the JALT website.

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In This Issue

Articles

This issue of *JALT Journal* is the first **Special Issue** in the journal's history, with essays, articles, and reviews devoted to the topic of race and native-speakerism. On page 211, guest editors **Thomas Amundrud**, **Collette Grant**, and **Shirley Ando** introduce the contents of the Special Issue.

The content of the Special Issue is followed by one Japanese-language article by **Rie Koizumi**, **Susumu Matsuzawa**, **Reina Isobe**, and **Koichi Matsuoka** who employ a group discussion and a debate to analyze rater reliability for Japanese senior high school teachers without detailed rater training. Following this article is a review by **Masahito Yoshimura** of a book by Etsuko Shimo about Japan's purported ambivalence toward multilingual education.

Reviews

In addition to the three thematic-reviews of the Special Issue, six additional reviews are featured. To open, the fourth edition of *English L2 Reading: Getting to the Bottom*, which covers the systematic English writing system and some models of reading processes, is reviewed by **Adelia L. Falk**. Next, **Hugh Graham-Marr** evaluates a title on offensive or taboo language and the reactions engendered that lead to gatekeeping of online discourse. Through collaborative effort (with referral by James Kimball from KOTESOL), **Stewart Gray** was invited to examine an edited volume on policy suggestions for language teacher education in Asia. **A. J. Grimm** takes a look at a textbook addressing the art and architecture of academic writing and aptly named as such. A book authored by Kathleen Bailey on the techniques and practices in teaching speaking and listening is covered by **Khilola Uralova**. And finally, **Ian Wilson** lends his expertise of phonetics and phonology to review a practical guide (and its many online resources) designed to help readers analyze their own speech and that of others by becoming more consciously aware of how speaking and pronunciation are done through the use of the acoustic analysis freeware, *Praat*.

From the Editors

We begin this issue by expressing our sincere condolences to the family, friends, and colleagues of **Dr. Steve Cornwell**, who passed away on April 25th, 2022. It is well-known that Steve was an integral part of the JALT community, having held positions in special interest groups and the Board of Directors in the association. He also served proudly as the *JALT Journal* (JJ) Associate Editor and Editor from 2004 to 2008. His energy and enthusiasm will be sorely missed, and we could not be more grateful for his pivotal role in JJ's growth.

This issue will be the last issue with **Gregory Paul Glasgow** serving as Editor. **Dennis Koyama** and **Jeremie Bouchard** will assume the roles of Editor and Associate Editor respectively. Gregory wishes to express his sincere gratitude for the privilege of being a part of the JJ team since his tenure began in November 2018. He would also like to offer Dennis and Jeremie words of appreciation for their steadfast support and dedication. There is no doubt in his mind that the journal will remain in capable hands going forward! Gregory would also like to extend special thanks to Editorial Board Members, additional reviewers, and proofreaders for their efforts in maintaining the quality of the journal.

The JJ editors are excited to announce that this issue is the first **Special Issue** in its history. Special issues often make an important contribution to the development of academic discourse in a specific field, because they allow researchers and practitioners to (a) identify an issue or topic of particular relevance to the context in which the journal is read, (b) summarize the key concepts and debates shaping that issue, (c) bring further sophistication to existing academic discourse and identify new research possibilities, and (d) identify key readings for the journal readership. Special issues can also attract new authors and readers to an academic journal, and can be effective means of finding new editors for that journal.

In light of this, we therefore give special recognition to this Special Issue's guest editors for their tireless work in the coordination of this project. We also strongly encourage JJ readers to submit proposals for special issues in applied linguistics in the future. When submitting such proposals, please make sure to include: (1) a title which clearly captures the special issue topic, (2) a brief description of the special issue, (3) an account of the motivation behind the special issue and its importance to the field at large, (4) a list of guest editors with short biographical information, including editorial work experience, and (5) a list of article contributors, with a short descrip-

tion of each article contribution. Specific details on the submission process for special issue proposals will be available on the JJ website after the new year and will be printed in the May 2023 issue.

We would also like to remind readers that the Point to-Point section of JJ provides readers the opportunity to comment on, in no more than 1,000 words, previously published JJ articles. We look forward to your responses not only to the content from this Special Issue but to any published article in past and future issues.

Finally, JJ is now processing manuscript submissions in English via an online submission system. English manuscripts should be submitted in either Rich Text or Microsoft Word Format (PDF submissions will not be reviewed) to http://www.jalt-publications.org/content/. Materials in Japanese should continue to be forwarded by email to the Japanese-language-editor, as explained on the *JALT Journal* website. Starting in May 2023, all appendices will be published in digital format only and will not be included in the print version of JJ. This decision was made to help manage printing and shipping costs associated with the additional pages.

— Gregory Paul Glasgow, Editor
— Dennis Koyama, Incoming Editor
— Jeremie Bouchard, Incoming Associate Editor

Erratum

The review of the Candlin & Mynard ePublishing volume "Foreign Female English Teachers in Japanese Higher Education: Narratives From Our Quarter" edited by Diane Hawley Nagatomo, Kathleen A. Brown, and Melodie Lorie Cook, authored by Alina Friel and published in Volume 44, No. 1 (2022) of *JALT Journal*, contained a spelling error on page 177 for one of the co-editors of the book. The correct spelling of the co-editor's name is "Diane Hawley Nagatomo".

From the Special Issue Guest Editors

It is our pleasure to introduce this special issue of *JALT Journal*, "Issues of Race and Native-Speakerism In ELT." Race has implications for all aspects of the English language teaching (ELT) profession. It is imbricated in why English is a dominant global language; it is visible in the standardized textbooks used in classes around the world, and it is directly involved in the image and background of the so-called 'native speaker,' who remains prominent as the "ideal" English language teacher despite ongoing criticism (e.g., Butler, 2007; Fairbrother, 2020; Houghton & Hashimoto, 2018; Rivers & Ross, 2013; Von Esch et al., 2020).

This special issue emerged from two separate yet connected events: the January 23rd, 2021 JALT Kyoto Chapter event from which this special issue gets its title, and the subsequent Equity ELT Japan event held on January 25-28, 2021. It was at these two events that the authors of the articles and book reviews and the special issue editors met. The interest garnered in these events attracted a wide range of participants from around the world and across Japan. That many of them were not 'native speakers,' did not resemble the raciolinguistically typical 'native speaker' (Rosa & Flores, 2017), or did not come from Kachruvian "inner circle" (Kachru, 1992) countries, all hinted at the need for more substantive attention to the issue of race and native-speakerism in ELT.

Native-speakerism can be defined as a pervasive ideology within English language teaching which values the models of English and the institutions of the West, and by extension its 'native speaker' representatives, over those from other parts of the world (Holliday, 2006). The favoring of "the-West-as-the-best" model for teaching English has led to the spread of discriminatory hiring practices within the ELT industry where the marketing and hiring of teachers has less to do with language-related and teaching-related skills and aptitudes and more to do with skin color, accent, ethnicity, or even one's name. For instance, in Asia, local English teachers are denied employment opportunities and benefits in favor of (typically) white, 'native-speaker' teachers, regardless of how well-qualified local teachers, or poorly qualified some 'native-speaker' teachers, actually are (e.g., Braine, 1999; Lowe, 2020).

Alongside the ELT context, the global Black Lives Matter protests of Summer 2020 for justice and equity spurred many people to question their complicity in perpetuating historic injustices and upholding structures of exclusion and unjust hierarchies. JALT, like other language teaching and research organizations, has been rightly criticized for its part in perpetuating historic inequi-

ties in our field (e.g., Hollenback, 2021). This special issue, along with other changes such as greater diversity in the plenary speakers at JALT national conferences and the formation of the JALT Diversity, Equity, Inclusion Committee, is one small step toward addressing and correcting these injustices.

Beyond mere justice and the deep connections between the topic of race and native-speakerism and ELT described above, we believe this topic is relevant to *JALT Journal* readers because of current trends in language teaching scholarship worldwide and in Japan. The featured articles and book reviews which specifically address race and native-speakerism in this special issue will be of interest to teachers, scholars, and students from racialized and minoritized groups, many of whom will see issues concerning their own experiences discussed in a prominent journal in Japan. Moreover, it should be of interest to members of majority cultures, be they Japanese nationals in Japan or white 'native speakers' around the world who wish to develop greater understanding and work toward solidarity with their colleagues, whose stories they may not have been previously aware of.

In the Introduction to this special issue, **Ryuko Kubota** cautions against reproducing racial and linguistic prejudices that promote indifference or hostility toward certain racial or ethnic groups, and advises that stakeholders must not only promote anti-racism and anti-linguicism, but also recognize the epistemological biases that are present in their own knowledge, teaching materials, and methodologies. Following is a conceptual essay from **J. P. B. Gerald** that examines the ways the centering of whiteness and pathologization of English language learners are inextricably connected in English language teaching. He looks at how whiteness has been constructed both globally and in Japan as well as how Japan's English as a foreign language (EFL) industry has been conceived. He argues how whiteness as an ideology depends on the pathologization of 'non-native speakers', impairing both teachers and learners, and concludes with practical ways to challenge this ideology. In the next article, **Robert J. Lowe**'s ethnographic study explores native-speakerism in Japan through a frame analysis perspective. Based on teacher's notes and interviews, Lowe examines the hidden aspects of native-speakerism ideology, analyzing master and counter frames in a graduate class of teacher trainees learning critical issues in ELT. Although Lowe observed the persistence of native-speakerism, he also detected some movements away from it with examples of counter-framing. This may lead to teacher trainees' reevaluating their long-held beliefs in the superiority of the 'native speaker' as a necessary model for the English language.

Three book reviews directly connected to this special issue contain examples of how ELT practitioners worldwide experience and respond to being

marginalized as a result of their racial and linguistic identities. **Collette Grant** begins by reviewing the title *(En)countering Native-Speakerism: Global Perspectives.* The book includes works by English teachers who reflect on their experiences in countries such as Kuwait, Mexico, and Turkey, where 'native speakers' are favored, and warns against limiting teacher identities to 'native' or 'non-native' speaker labels. According to the authors, such constraints may yield an inaccurate picture of the professional identities of teachers, with certain aspects being magnified (e.g., their race and ethnicity) and others trivialized (e.g., their experiences and educational backgrounds). This culture of trivialization is further discussed by **May Kyaw Oo** in her review of *Narratives of East Asian Women Teachers of English: Where Privilege Meets Marginalization* which details the stories of a group of East Asian women educators enrolled in graduate TESOL programs in American universities who, despite their privileged backgrounds, find themselves marginalized because of their racial and linguistic identities. In the final book review, **Collette Grant** presents a summary of *Language Teacher Recognition: Narratives of Filipino English Teachers in Japan* which engages in a critique of the conceptualization of language teacher identity under the poststructuralist theory of identity. It proposes an alternate conception that emphasizes reality over discourse, and which promotes mutual recognition as a means of eliminating identity-based biases in ELT.

The Guest Editors would like to thank Susette Burton, Jackson Lee, Robert Lowe, and May Kyaw Oo for their involvement in the initial special issue proposal. We would also like to thank the keynote speakers at the 2021 Kyoto Chapter event, Ryuko Kubota and Le Ha Phan, for their support and encouragement. Finally, we are extremely thankful to *JALT Journal* Editor Gregory Paul Glasgow, Incoming Editor Dennis Koyama, Incoming Associate Editor Jeremie Bouchard, and the *JALT Journal* Book Review Editor Greg Rouault and Assistant Book Review Editor John Nevara, for their invaluable guidance and assistance at all stages of this publication journey.

Guest Editors: Thomas Amundrud, *Nara University of Education*
Shirley Ando, *Otemae University*
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Special Contributors: Susette Burton, *Kwansei Gakuin University*
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Special Issue Articles and Reviews

An Introduction to Race and Native-Speakerism in ELT

Ryuko Kubota
University of British Columbia

The recent public reckoning with racisms in North America has elevated the importance of addressing racial and linguistic justice in English language teaching (ELT). Although this topic is not entirely new in ELT, the link between race and language has not been sufficiently addressed in Japan. Research indicates that native speakerness indeed intersects with race and other identities, affecting the conceptualization of who legitimate English speakers are. Raciolinguistic injustices reflect a number of contradictions and ironies, including White Anglophone biases in promoting internationalization, self-marginalization of Japanese learners in desiring White native English speakerness which they can never achieve due to their race; racialized English teachers' complicity with normative ideologies, Japan's failure of social and economic advancement despite its neoliberal promotion of ELT, and a lack of understanding that communication is to bridge human differences. Addressing issues of racial and linguistic justice in ELT will contribute to societal wellbeing and peace.

近年北米で注目を集めている人種差別への認知は、英語教育においても人種的・言語的公正に取り組む重要性を高めている。これは英語教育にとって必ずしも新しいテーマではないものの、日本では人種と言語の関連性が十分に吟味されていない。学術研究によると、母語話者性は明らかに人種や他のアイデンティティと交差しており、正統な英語話者とは誰なのかという定義に影響を与えている。人種言語的な不当性には多くの矛盾や逆説が見られる。それは、国際化推進の根底にある白人英語話者への偏好、白人でない日本人学習者が白人母語話者性を願望することによる自己周縁化、非白人英語教師の規範的イデオロギーへの追従、新自由主義的な英語教育推進と相反する日本の社会的経済的後退、人間の差異を橋渡しするのがコミュニケーションであるという認識の欠如である。英語教育を通して人種的言語的公正と取り組むことによって、社会の福利と平和に寄与できるだろう。

Keywords: antiracism; native speakerness; raciolinguistic ideologies; social justice; Whiteness

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The 2020s opened with a rise of protests against anti-Black and anti-Asian racism in the United States, which quickly spread to other parts of the world. These movements inspired many professionals in language education to pay greater attention to racial inequalities involved in teaching and learning. Racial justice in language education is intertwined with linguistic justice, since language users—teachers, learners, and interlocutors—come from diverse racial and linguistic backgrounds, and yet they are positioned unequally in hierarchies of power. For instance, in our everyday discourse, 'native speakers' and 'non-native speakers' of English are often marked by perceived racial difference. This special issue of *JALT Journal* —"Race and Native-Speakerism in ELT"—responds to these burgeoning calls for racial and linguistic justice in language education.

Attention to justice issues in language education, however, is not entirely new. In the field of English language teaching (ELT), discrimination against non-native English speaker teachers (NNESTs) began to be problematized in the late 1990s as an advocacy movement within the association of TESOL International and as a research topic in applied linguistics (Selvi, 2014). Even before then, sociolinguistic research uncovered diverse varieties of English used in the world—or world Englishes—raising their legitimacy as research foci and laying a foundation for the NNEST movement. A concrete example of the NNEST movement is TESOL International's adoption of the "Position Statement Against Discrimination of Nonnative Speakers of English in the Field of TESOL" in 2006.[1] In the Japanese context, issues of NNEST and the superiority of native-speakerism have long been problematized (e.g., Kubota, 1998; Matsuda, 2003). Nonetheless, some universities and other educational programs in Japan still require the status of 'native speaker' for teaching positions.

Just as linguistic justice has been addressed for quite some time, issues of race, racialization, and racism in ELT have been discussed since the mid-2000s (e.g., Curtis & Romney, 2006; Kubota & Lin, 2006; see also Von Esch et al., 2020). Even as early as the mid-1970s in Japan, Douglas Lummis, an American critic residing in Japan, problematized the Japanese desire for Whiteness by describing the world of *eikaiwa* [English conversation] as racist because of employment discrimination that favored White teachers (Lummis, 1976). More recently, racial inequalities of English language teachers in Japan have been pointed out by several authors (e.g., Kubota & Fujimoto, 2013; Rivers & Ross, 2013; Takahashi, 2013). Outside of Japan, raciolinguistic ideologies and injustices in ELT and language education in general have been explicitly and increasingly problematized through pub-

lications, conference presentations, and social media conversations. More specifically, challenging raciolinguistic ideologies means to recognize how linguistic biases, as seen in native-speakerism and discrimination against non-mainstream language speakers, are closely linked to racial biases (Flores & Rosa, 2015). Nevertheless, critical discussions on racial and linguistic injustices in ELT in Japan are still rare.

Against this backdrop, this special issue exposes concerns that have not occupied the frontstage of professional discussions on ELT in Japan. Moving away from a sole focus on the pragmatic aspects of teaching and learning, this issue explicitly confronts the problems of inequity that professionally affect racially and linguistically minoritized teachers and epistemically influence learners in Japan.

Language and Race in ELT: Examining Contradictions

In addressing race and native-speakerism, it is important to recognize that the experiences of English language teachers and students cannot simply be characterized by either their linguistic background or racial identity; rather, these experiences are shaped by the complex workings of intersectionality or the interplay of multiple identity markers, including gender, ethnicity, class, language, sexuality, ability, and age. Furthermore, intersectional identities shape human experiences in multiple hierarchies of power that are contextually varied and fluid. Thus, although critiquing the perceived superiority of 'native speakers' of English is important, what also needs to be problematized is how native speakerness as a language marker intersects with race and other identities to construct people's mental images of who 'native speakers' are or who speaks correct English. Indeed, it is necessary to question not only language ideology but also raciolinguistic ideology.

When raciolinguistic ideology is considered, it becomes clear that learners' desires to acquire native-like English proficiency or educational policies and initiatives that are based on the standardized language scheme may not be just about language. The desired proficiency in English is entangled with other images of English speakers, including race, class, and nationality. This ideological entanglement creates many ironies, contradictions, and challenges.

The first irony has to do with the rationale for promoting ELT. During the last 30 years or more, Japan has been promoting ELT under the banner of internationalization and later globalization with the belief that English is a global lingua franca. The assumption is that being able to use English allows students to interact with people around the world. In real contexts,

the English used globally is characterized by multiple accents, expressions, and nuances used by speakers from diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds and nationalities. However, the racial bias behind native-speakerism as well as the ideology of standardized language paradoxically reduce international communication in English to encounters with mostly White English-speaking populations in Anglophone geographical spheres (Kubota, 2021; Kubota & Fujimoto, 2013; Takahashi, 2013). Imagining English to be standardized American or British English and associating it with Whiteness hugely contradict the aspiration for internationalization.

Second, learners' yearning for White 'native speakers' of standardized English can result in self-marginalization especially in Anglophone locations. This is due to the prevalence of anti-Asian racism, in which being Asian in and of itself can become a liability. Furthermore, Asians, even if they are 'native speakers' of English in these contexts, tend to be perceived as speakers with an accent and unqualified to be teachers or perhaps other types of professionals (Kang & Rubin, 2009). Such imposed marginality is greater for Asian women. This implies that even if Japanese learners attained native-like proficiency in English, they might not be treated as equally as White 'native speakers' in Anglophone societies. Put differently, even if Japanese learners prefer to learn English from White 'native speakers' rather than from racialized 'non-native speakers' or even if they desire to speak like White English speakers, they could never become like White speakers. Instead, they are likely to be categorized in the racialized group to which English teachers of color are also assigned within Anglophone societies. Learners' complicity with the normative assumptions about race and language can lead to their self-marginalization.

Third, the above problem of complicity also applies to racialized native or non-native English-speaking teachers. The superiority of Whiteness, native-speakerism, and standardized English sometimes compels them to support it rather than resist it because endorsing this dominant ideology is likely to benefit their professional attainment, if not to the equal extent compared their majoritarian peers. This kind of self-subordination without the direct imposition of power is referred to as *hegemony* (Gramsci, 1971) or *symbolic violence* (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990), a force that compels oppressed people to take the status quo for granted. The first step toward transforming unequal relations of power is to raise one's critical consciousness of the fact that one is actually being oppressed (Freire, 1998) and to decolonize the colonized mind (Ngugi, 1981). Overall, anti-racism and anti-linguicism should not only be promoted in the interpersonal domain or as an initia-

tive to increase representational diversity in institutions; they should also problematize the epistemological biases that dominate our knowledge and beliefs as reflected in our selection of teaching or research materials (Kubota, 2020).

Fourth, the overall improvement of English skills among younger generations in Japan during the last few decades does not seem to have brought about social and economic advancement for Japanese society. The emphasis on ELT during the last 30 plus years may have raised Japanese students' proficiency in English in general. The promotion of ELT has been influenced by the neoliberal ideology that supports the causal relationship between acquiring skills in English as a global language and obtaining an economic success (Kubota & Takeda, 2021). Yet, it seems that students' linguistic improvement has not enhanced the nation's international competitiveness of economy and technology, nor has it enhanced people's positive attitudes toward linguistic, racial, and ethnic diversity. Instead, xenophobia, hate speech, and discrimination against foreign workers and residents do not seem to have decreased despite the 2016 enactment of the Hate Speech Act (Ando, 2021). This relates to the final point.

Fifth, traditional ways of English language teaching and learning may not always enable learners to communicate successfully with diverse others because human communication involves more than linguistic knowledge and skills. When learning to communicate in English as an additional language is reduced to solely acquiring correct forms of English language, the ethical and dispositional dimensions involved in communication—being willing to understand diverse others and making efforts to convey meanings through mutual accommodation and respect—tends to go astray (Kubota & Takeda, 2021). Given that language learning should be about learning to communicate with other humans across difference, this shortcoming is troubling. As language education specialists, we must reconceptualize what human communication entails by paying closer attention to not only linguistic forms and functions but also our willingness to learn about human diversity in the world, respect for human rights, and a mindset for fostering racial, linguistic, and gender equity and social justice.

Conclusion

Thinking outside the conventional linguistic box is what students and teachers of English in Japan need to seriously consider in order to advance racial and linguistic justice as well as other dimensions of social justice. We should stop reproducing raciolinguistic prejudices and injustices that

feed into either indifference, compliance, or hostility toward certain racial, ethnic, or national groups. On top of the imminent environmental threats to human existence, these injustices further threaten humanity and become a breeding ground for violent conflicts, harming children, women, and other vulnerable people. ELT, as educational engagement for enhancing communication across differences, should contribute to teaching and learning for justice, wellbeing, and peace. The views and experiences uncovered by the articles in this special issue offer steps toward critical understandings and transformative actions.

Notes

1. https://www.tesol.org/docs/pdf/5889.pdf

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Embodied Whiteness and Pathologization in EFL

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This essay seeks to examine the ways in which pathologization and the centering of whiteness are intertwined in the English Language Teaching (ELT) industry writ large, with a particular focus on the English as a Foreign Language (EFL) subfield in Japan. The author connects the hierarchization inherent to whiteness with the ways that the English teaching field creates and perpetuates oppression, with guidance as to how readers can help combat these inextricable issues.

本論は、日本の英語教育(ELT)、ことにその副分野である外国語としての英語教育(EFL)における、病理的傾向と白人中心主義が相互補完的に関連している理由を明らかにすることを目的としている。更に、英語教育分野における、白人を頂点とするヒエラルキーと永続する抑圧的構造の関係性を示し、この分離不可避な問題と戦う方策を提示したい。

Keywords: anti-Blackness; Japan; native speakers; raciolinguistics; white saviors

The central argument of this essay is tied to the concept of *pathologization*, and as such it is important that it is clear how this term is being employed. In her book, *The Pedagogy of Pathologization*, Annamma (2018) chronicles the educational experiences of several dis/abled girls of color in the United States, demonstrating that the construction of their schooling is designed to categorize them as inherently abhorrent and deficient. The argument featured here is that the way we conceive of, define, and teach English requires that those who are said to be in need of the language be classified as inherently disordered, and that that disorder is based upon their distance from what we consider to be whiteness, a word I do not capitalize so as to limit its power and criticize its placement as a default standard.

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In this essay, I use a technical term (*pathologization*) associated with medical diagnosis of abnormality or disorder. As will become clear throughout the essay, whiteness operates on deficit-based ideologies (Delpit, 1995), where people in minoritized groups are seen as inherently lacking due to their membership in said groups. To give an exceptionally brief history, what we understand as whiteness only emerged in a form recognizable to us in approximately the 16th century and was gradually built and codified throughout the West alongside, and in conjunction with, chattel slavery, capitalism, settler colonialism, and the seemingly endless process of global colonization (Painter, 2011). These many axes of oppression and their connection to language teaching will be explored later in this article, particularly colonization, and the ways in which power and domination factor into our field.

In this essay, I will examine the manner in which whiteness has been constructed in Japan. This will be followed by a brief examination of the way that the EFL industry has built off of these conceptualizations in Japan, with a section on the inextricable link between native-speakerism and whiteness. After this, the argument will be made for how whiteness, as a concept and an ideology, depends upon pathologization for its perpetuation, and the article will then connect said concepts to EFL, and to Japan. I conclude with an analysis of how the embodiment of whiteness and the inherent pathologization of this ideal cause harm to both teachers and learners of English, in Japan and across the world, and offer a few possible paths forward to challenge such ideologies.

Positionality and Terminology

I began my career as an EFL teacher in Daegu, South Korea, in 2008. I have spent most of the intervening years working in adult education in the United States, though of late, having concluded my doctoral studies, I have turned my lens back onto the broader field of English Language Teaching, with a particular focus on the way that whiteness is centered in our industry, and how this is tied to the maintenance of power. As a Black and neurodivergent scholar who nevertheless possesses the privilege of maleness, standardized English, a U.S. passport, and other markers of class status, I have always been conditionally included in the ELT power structure; that is, my proximity to the ideal English language teacher depends on my context. My first book was just published (Gerald, 2022) and it discusses the way that the ideologies and hierarchies within our field are inherently stigmatizing for anyone not included within the image of whiteness. My aim in this article is to take

my ongoing work on this pattern of pathologization and infuse it with the specifics of Japan-based scholarship. After all, although whiteness may appear to have but one definition, each context has constructed it somewhat differently, and its impact on teaching in general, and language teaching in particular, depends on the time and place.

A brief word is necessary regarding the terminology used in this work. As a scholar who aims to trouble accepted definitions of oppressive concepts, I tried to make clear throughout that I do not accept 'nativeness' and other related ideas at face value, hence the inverted commas that surround terms like this and others in this essay. Unfortunately, unless the reader would be eager to read an article where every third word was framed accordingly, I will use inverted commas for other words that I might dispute for the sake of readability. For example, at various points I may refer to 'EFL' (English as a Foreign Language) and 'ELT' (English Language Teaching). If I had my druthers, I might refer to what we think of as ELT and EFL differently, along with a few other terms included in this piece, but so that we understand what aspect of the discipline I am describing, some of my terminology may fall a bit short of my preference. With that said, if you are interested in an extensive discussion of the field's acronyms and terminology, I provide an in-depth analysis of these issues elsewhere (Gerald, 2022). Now, we turn to perhaps the most important of the terms around which this article centers.

The Construction of Whiteness in Japan

When this article refers to *whiteness*, it is not referring to *white people*, or people with light-colored skin. Whiteness is not exclusively tied to skin color, and this work is more concerned with the ideology and the epistemology behind the concept than the people that might come to mind when one sees the term. The metaphors used across the literature are endless (Leonardo, 2016), and one that remains particularly salient is the comparison of whiteness to property (Harris, 1993), or something that its adherents must defend from intruders at all costs. Though skin tone is undoubtedly a factor in its conceptualization, whiteness is much more about determining who deserves to be protected by state power in white-dominant countries (Roediger, 2006), and despite its amorphous nature, has indeed been inscribed into the law in several places (Painter, 2011). Ultimately, then, whiteness is best understood as an organizing principle through which certain people, and certain practices, are classified as ideal and given disproportionate power, an unattainable standard that few can truly match, leading to a ceaseless competition with few outright victors.

Because of the global nature of colonialism and linguistic imperialism, English has traveled on the back of whiteness to attain a measured dominance even in countries where white people are rare (Phillipson, 1992, 2008). Accordingly, in a place like Japan, whiteness occupies a unique and powerful position, and it is worth considering how it is specifically understood in this context. Russell (2017) makes the important point that, for many in Japan, whiteness is subsumed under a "generic foreignness" (p. 5), as a distance from the Japanese norm. Whiteness is marked as different from the standard but is often not classified as its own racial category; yet white English-speaking celebrities are used in aspirational advertisements, even if their race is never mentioned. Japan's own concept of race is certainly different from how people living in the West might conceive it, but whiteness is nonetheless associated with high-class, cosmopolitan, well-educated individuals from powerful countries (Miladinović, 2020). By contrast, although Blackness has also found its way to Japan, it is usually limited to a superficial interpretation of United States hip-hop culture, fashion, and languaging (Russell, 2012); it is pervasive but not deep. Whiteness is rarely explicitly referred to but retains its power all the same.

Koshino (2019) points out that this idealization of whiteness in Japan is hardly novel, a result of its historical experience with Western powers. She writes,

> Japan's inability to conduct serious political negotiations with Western powers, in tandem with its early experience of whiteness during the Perry Expedition, shaped the Japanese education system, national identity, and its status within the international community for decades to come. (p. 53)

This sort of implicit idealization, the positioning of whiteness at the top of a hierarchy without naming it explicitly, cannot help but seep into the linguistic ideologies that inform the country's English education policies.

EFL, Japan, and 'Native Speaker' Saviorism

The discourse around 'native speakers' is not new. Both those who are classified as such and those who are excluded from the classification have been drawing attention to the way that 'native speakers' have been centered in the ELT field for several decades now, since at least Paikeday's 1985 essay, *May I Kill the Native Speaker?* Holliday (2006) brought us the "native-speakerism" phrase, stating plainly that the supposed 'native speakers' has

been constructed and positioned as the ideal for English users. It has since been documented how proximity to the idea of nativeness has influenced recruitment and hiring for EFL teachers (e.g., Mahboob & Golden, 2013; Ruecker & Ives, 2015), and, more recently, how this influences selection of conference plenary speakers across the field (Kiczkowiak & Lowe, 2021). Despite this argument being several decades old by this point, very little has changed, and it is worth considering why that might be.

Jenks and Lee's (2019) formulation of *native speaker saviorism* helps explain the grip that nativeness retains on the teaching of English. They explained as follows:

> Merely critiquing native speakerist ideology is to miss the point. This is not only because the very status of the ['native speaker'] in TESOL hinges on the ['] native speaker's['] "responsibility" to save the cultural Other, but also because, as we argue, the purported "responsibility" to save the cultural Other has hitherto outweighed critiques leveled toward the ['] native speaker['] in the name of native speakerism. (Jenks & Lee, 2019, p. 4)

In other words, we scholars can continue to point out the problems with 'native speakers' being centered in our field, but without a deeper consideration of what it is about 'nativeness' that is prized, we will continue to flail about in our attempts to shift power. Houghton and Rivers (2013), for one, have noted these issues and how they pertain to the landscape of Japan. Indeed, the 'native speaker' is not just a linguistic model to be mimicked, but a person imbued with an innate surplus value toward which the Other can only hope to strive. By ascribing to the ideology of 'nativeness', one agrees that one cannot transform oneself into the 'native speaker,' no matter how long and hard one tries, and because of this definitionally insurmountable gap, the field continues to depend on the grace of the supposedly benevolent, expatriate 'native speaker,' who must be enticed to lower themselves to spending time living in, but not necessarily becoming a part of, cultures that are presented as deficient, or pathologized.

In Japan, then, the position of the 'native speaker' as savior leads to a clear hierarchization of status and power. For example, when Rivers and Ross (2013) conducted a survey among Japanese students about ideal teachers, they found a "100% preference that the non-Japanese EFL teacher be a 'native speaker' of English" (p. 333). Their experiment continued and manipulated certain characteristics of the ideal teacher, through which they

appeared to find that, more than race, gender, or other demographic details, 'native speaker' status was the most important for their participants. One might conclude that race is not an important factor so long as the ostensibly objective category of nativeness is sought. Yet the reason understanding 'native speakers' in their roles as saviors is important is so that one can understand why, even if not every 'native speaker'or expatriate teacher is white, and even if not every white person is a 'native speaker,' the raciolinguistic ideologies that have helped to hold nativeness in its central position do not map neatly onto external appearance, and the hierarchization inherent to whiteness is much more a question of power.

With all of this said, though, I cannot ignore the fact that even the 'native speakers' are not immune from the precarity of the field. As I wrote elsewhere, "The field is more difficult for the racialized, but the conditions and career stability for even white 'native' teachers are far from secure, and this precarity is absolutely by design, despite what the field would prefer us to believe" (Gerald, 2022, p. 70). Writing about instructors in Canada, Breshears (2019) explained the situation as follows:

> Low wages, a high reliance on part-time employment, uncertainty about ongoing work, threats of funding cuts, lack of adequate benefits, lack of administrative support, and excessive unpaid work were just a few of the employment concerns voiced in the studies. These conditions converged in the daily lives of teachers to create more or less bearable working situations. (p. 31).

The status of 'native' is only an illusory protection, even as it confers contingent benefits on a subset of those who qualify for them. That is, native speakerism hurts 'native speakers' too.

'Native Speaker' Saviorism and Whiteness

For those who are unfamiliar with the concept, the raciolinguistic ideologies under which we all live and operate position racialized languagers of English as inherently flawed because of their deficiencies in the eyes and ears of the oft-unmentioned *white perceiving subject* (see Flores & Rosa, 2015; Flores, 2019). We can continue to claim that in analyzing the practices of 'ELT'—and 'EFL' in particular—we are speaking only of language, but to do so is to ignore the way that conceptualizations of language and languagers are tied to their *racialization* (Omi & Winant, 2014), a context-

dependent process of racial categorization. This is all to say that, even in a place where the physical presence of white people is rare, such as Japan, a perceived distance from the ideal of both language and race nevertheless uplifts some and positions others as inferior.

Due to the aforementioned past and present nature of linguistic imperialism, colonial languages, and English especially, each retain power even where they are not used by the majority—which is to say, English and English speakers are *majoritized.* Because of its connection to whiteness via the ideological stubbornness of our field, the imported 'native speaker' is positioned as a powerful cultural force, regardless of his or her level of qualification. Accordingly, when, as mentioned, institutions seek someone who can successfully perform the *aesthetic labor* (Ramjattan, 2015) of looking and sounding like the ideal English languager, they are, intentionally or otherwise, excluding those who cannot represent whiteness effectively.

It is important to reiterate here that those who are positioned as closer to whiteness do not necessarily have to be, or identify, as white; there is much to be said about the ways in which different axes of oppression and power intersect with race, including but not limited to class, gender, and ability. For the purposes of this article, though, it is worthwhile to understand that when speaking of 'native speaker' saviorism, there is no functional difference between this phenomenon and the sort of white saviorism Straubhaar (2015) describes while analyzing earlier stages of his own teaching career:

> My pride in my own work at this moment is palpable—I had spent around six months writing this curriculum, and to see locals leaf through it and "get it"…was quite validating. The flawed assumptions underlying my white saviour status had been legitimated—I had been brought in because of my curricular "expertise" (which consisted of several short trainings on a particular facilitation method), and the acceptance of my work based in those shallow credentials was validated by the work's acceptance. (p. 391)

Suffice it to say that we stand little chance at defeating native-speakerism, 'native speaker' saviorism, and the dominance of 'nativeness' as a credential if we do not understand that is in fact whiteness that is being prized, and if we do not understand that whiteness exists to create subordinate categories that can be effectively pathologized as in need of correction.

Whiteness and Pathologization

As mentioned above, whiteness was developed alongside many other axes of oppression, including colonization. It is this particular practice on which this next section focuses, because, though now dominant colonial languages were absolutely factors in the development of enslavement and capitalism, the way that language was imposed on the victims of settler colonialism and colonization was central to the effort. Around the world, there were accounts of the ways that the people whose land was taken were positioned as less adult and less capable than their invaders. As Mills and Lefrancois (2018) wrote:

> A key effect of constructing colonized peoples through the metaphor of childhood is to justify governance of the "natives"... Moreover, assimilated colonized people in Africa—those who behaved less "native" and acquired the mannerisms of their colonizers—were seen as less childlike. (p. 511)

Colonized peoples' supposed inability to communicate served as additional justification for their being conquered, or worse. Those who did manage to adopt both the language and the customs of the newly-dominant settlers positioned themselves as more civilized, and even as formal colonization waned in the middle of the previous century, the highest levels of education always included the colonial languages against which the locals were consistently assessed, and compared to which local languages were always said to be inferior. With whiteness thus idealized, any reason for which someone could be classified as outside of its ever-shifting boundaries could lead them to be implicitly diagnosed as disordered, or pathologized. Whiteness requires an Other for its members to seek to surpass by whatever means may be necessary. If the Other is not just different but is instead disordered, almost preternaturally abhorrent, then not only should everyone seek inclusion within whiteness, they must also take great pains to distance themselves from any perception that they are themselves part of the pathologized group. As such, despite the existence of skin-lightening creams and other such products, individuals cannot successfully alter their phenotype. English acquisition is one avenue through which millions of people are implicitly promised a path into whiteness.

Embodied Whiteness and EFL in Japan

For decades now, and through deliberate action rather than happenstance, representatives of the Global North have been taught that it is their

duty and responsibility to spread the gospel of whiteness-through-English around the globe, to countries where the locals have little hope at physically appearing to be white but can nonetheless make an attempt to communicate in an acceptable fashion. Japan is not among the list of countries officially colonized by white-dominant nation-states, but in our current age, the West no longer requires official possession of land to impose its cultural will on others. People who have the option but little obligation to possess any credential beyond the whiteness that they embody are nonetheless positioned as linguistically superior to the locals in their classrooms (Wang & Lin, 2013). Even though some recruitment programs (e.g., English Program in Korea (EPIK) in South Korea) offer a slight financial bonus to those with teaching experience, the difference is negligible, and can be easily surpassed through any extra work an individual might acquire (Wang & Lin, 2013). Institutions in Japan construct clear binaries between teachers classified as 'native' and 'non' (Lawrence, 2020), yet our academic discourse has long situated this firmly in linguistic terms without an equal consideration to the way that the past and present of whiteness influences this hierarchization. Without whiteness, perfectly competent individuals would not be seen as linguistically deficient, and the sort of unserious pedagogues that populate far too many EFL classrooms would rightfully not be employed without undergoing complex, legitimate training that avoids stigmatizing other varieties of English. Without the constant process of pathologization, and of classifying the less powerful as deficient and disordered, whiteness would not be able to sustain itself.

I do not imply that all white English teachers are causing harm, nor that racialized English teachers are incapable of the same. Indeed, little of this is about individual cruelty but rather a superstructure that arranges groups along a ladder they are told they must fight to ascend. The past and present of EFL in Japan has classified Japanese students as lacking in comparison to the educators who are imported to both convey and embody a stigmatizing epistemology to them, and though some counterexamples are cited here, and can be seen across this special issue, not enough attention has been given to the hold that whiteness has on the field. Language teaching is about far more than the vocabulary and grammar on which students are assessed, and the people who are given undue power in our discipline have always shaped who is considered an exemplary English user. Unfortunately, it is challenging to wrest power from those who have attained it for themselves, but there are genuine ways forward for EFL, in Japan and otherwise, as, for better or worse, people are going to continue to want to learn English.

Conclusion: Paths Forward

The most straightforward and yet most difficult remedy is to convince every school administrator, every hiring company, every recruiter to dispense with proximity to whiteness as a credential. That means any mention of 'nativeness', any forms of accent reduction, or anything that stigmatizes English varieties should be removed from hiring and promotion processes in EFL contexts. As I wrote elsewhere (Gerald, 2020), the financial justification for preferential and discriminatory hiring practices forms a loop that is hard to escape, with administrators blaming their hiring on the preferences of their clients, and students expressing dismay over racialized teachers due to the assumption that they are less capable. Sadly, the system is constructed in such a way that idealizing the embodiment of whiteness is, in fact, a "rational" decision for a profit-seeking institution to make. Consequently, I hope that someone with both the power and the willingness to make such a wholesale change is willing to do the work necessary to help us escape this cycle.

The question, then, is what *JALT Journ*al readers can do in the Japanese context to work against these issues. For those who work in a classroom and who identify as white, they can work to provide examples of English varieties both visual and aural, placing them on equal footing with the standardized languaging that most materials prize. There are plenty of online corpora featuring Englishes from communities all around the world, and video clips with captions are freely available as well (International Dialects of English Archive, n.d.). Additionally, language teachers should ensure that captions are used for *all* speakers so as not to stigmatize those with less familiar accents or languaging, and to increase accessibility.

When assessing students' English, even if educators are hamstrung by rigid, standardized exams that students are forced to take, they should use whatever freedom they have to contextualize the language required on the tests as merely one of many English varieties, and far from the "best" version. Most importantly, teachers should engage in more critical activities. For example, the talk-to-text feature on mobile phones often struggles to accurately capture English speech that is not standardized, with languagers with other accents having to pay for accurate software (Fearn & Turner, 2021). Language teachers should demonstrate that, despite the fact that *they* can understand their students very clearly, their phones, programmed to understand standardized English, nonetheless fall short. They should then use this as a means of introducing the aforementioned concept of the white perceiving subject. Essentially, teachers can place specific emphasis on the fact that this is a flaw in the listener and not the students, and use this understanding to help guide pedagogy.

As for researchers, professors, and other academics, dig deeply into the epistemology around which you have structured your scholarship. What names and faces have you always centered, and what ideologies, implicit or otherwise, do you need to dismantle? The next time you are set to begin a project, are there different thinkers upon whom you can call and cite? What assumptions have you made about Japanese English speakers, and Japanese English? Can you reframe tendencies in Japanese English as useful variation rather than flaws? Can you spend time finding and celebrating the creativity in Japanese English? What does Japanese English have that standardized English lacks?

These questions are deliberately open-ended and meant as paths to pursue rather than endpoints. I am not comfortable providing a mere checklist, as I believe that even well-intentioned educators, over-burdened in many ways, are likely to reach for a quick solution if available, as I explain in detail elsewhere (Gerald, 2022). There are no shortcuts to moving away from pathologization, and it will be a long and challenging process to reverse. I hope that in reading this, educators can take something valuable away from my analysis and my suggestions, and that, at some point in the future, whiteness will no longer be a credential for teachers of English.

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Native-Speakerism Among Japanese Teacher Trainees: Ideology, Framing, and Counter-Framing

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Studies on native-speakerism in Japan have covered a variety of issues, and recent work has adopted a framing perspective to examine hidden strands of native-speakerist ideology within the profession which often go unrecognized. Defining a *frame* as an ideologically-constructed perceptual filter which influences how situations are interpreted, this research has attempted to break down the discourses of dominant or *master* frames to show the influence of native-speakerist ideology in particular contexts, and to investigate how *counter* frames have been constructed in resistance to this ideology. This paper will add to this work by focusing on the beliefs of teacher trainees. Through a qualitative study of a class based around critical issues in ELT, the complex web of framing and counter-framing on the part of trainee teachers is examined, and the pervasiveness of the ideology of native-speakerism is highlighted. Finally, some emergent possibilities for resistance are explored.

日本の母語話者中心主義に関する研究は様々な問題を扱ってきたが、最近の研究では、「フレーム理論」の視点を採用し、しばしば認識されることのない母語話者中心主義的イデオロギーの隠れた一面を検証している。本研究では、「フレーム」を、状況の解釈の仕方に影響を与えるイデオロギー的に構築された知覚のフィルターと定義した。また、特定の文脈における母語話者イデオロギーの影響を示すために、支配的または、「主要な（マスター）」フレームの言説を分解し、このイデオロギーに対する「逆の（カウンター）」フレームがいかに構築されてきたかを調査したものである。本論文は、教職課程を履修する学生の信念に注目することで、さらに研究を前進させることを目的としたものだ。ELTの重要な問題に焦点を当てた授業の質的研究を通して、教職課程の学生にあるフレームとカウンターフレームの複雑な関係性を検証し、母語話者中心主義のイデオロギーの広がりを示す。最後に、イデオロギーの影響への抵抗のためのいくつかの新しい可能性を探る。

Keywords: critical applied linguistics; discourse; frame analysis; native speaker; qualitative research,

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Native-speakerism is an ideology which privileges the institutions of the West in discussions around English language teaching (ELT), and by extension normalises the models of English, the teachers of English, and the pedagogical approaches which are most associated with those institutions (Holliday, 2005). This ideology manifests in numerous problematic practices which are endemic in ELT, including discrimination against teachers of English who do not fit the stereotypical image of the 'native speaker,' the promotion of Western models of 'standard' English, and the chauvinistic dismissal of the pedagogical expertise of so-called 'non-native speaker' teachers of English. This paper explores how subtle manifestations of this ideology can be identified through an analysis of qualitative data and the framing processes undertaken by participants within a research setting.

Readers will likely have noticed the strategic use of inverted commas in this entire Special Issue around terms such as 'native speaker,' 'non-native speaker,' and 'standard English.' This is intended to denote their socially constructed nature. Although often upheld as an objective criterion regarding language proficiency, the concept of the 'native speaker' of English is closely tied to notions of race, nationality, and class, to such an extent that the label itself is rendered deeply misleading (Amin, 1997; Dewaele et al., 2021; Javier, 2016; Kubota & Fujimoto, 2013; Ruecker & Ives, 2015). Accordingly, when used in this paper, concepts such as 'native speaker' or 'standard English' should be understood not as objective classifications, but rather as ideologically constructed categories which reflect entrenched and historically constituted power relationships in the field. Even though this understanding has led some scholars to reject the use of labels such as 'native speaker' entirely, in this paper, following Dewaele et al. (2021), I choose to use them due to their ongoing power and influence in ELT, and in order to explain the concrete effects they have in the world, despite their illusory nature.

Native-Speakerism: Surface Manifestations and Hidden Depths

Native-speakerism emerged from the context of an imperialistic approach to ELT, in which educational policy and practice was decided primarily with reference to what would most benefit the interests of Western nations (Phillipson, 1992; Widin, 2010). Models of English, teachers of English, and pedagogical approaches which are seen to deviate from this Western-normative base are therefore likely to be marginalized in global ELT.

The most obvious consequence of native-speakerism is discrimination against those teachers classified as 'non-native speakers' of English. Studies

into job advertisements and recruitment practices have revealed a heavy bias towards teachers labelled as 'native speakers' (Kiczkowiak, 2020; Mahboob & Golden, 2013; Ruecker & Ives, 2015), and even after employment, evidence shows that teachers are assigned different roles and duties according to how they are categorized (Lowe & Kiczkowiak, 2016; Selvi, 2014). This preference for 'native speakers' also manifests in other contexts, such as conferences in applied linguistics and ELT, which research has shown demonstrate a marked lack of diversity among their plenary speakers, both in terms of race and supposed speakerhood (Bhattacharya, Jiang, & Canagarajah 2019; Kiczkowiak & Lowe, 2021). Although this discrimination most commonly targets those teachers and professionals characterized as 'non-native speakers', prejudicial practices can cut both ways, with 'native speaker' teachers often stuck in insecure, peripheral positions within institutions (Nagatomo, 2016), expected to act as clownish entertainers (Amundrud, 2008; Shimizu, 1995), and pushed into fundamentally limited and limiting roles (Rivers, 2013). Discrimination against teachers and other ELT professionals is thus a widespread result of native-speakerism in ELT.

A second concern revolves around the promotion of 'standard' Western forms of English. It is generally recognized (Crystal, 2003) that the English language is no longer the sole property of those nations placed in what Kachru (1985) refers to as the inner circle (North America, the UK, Australasia), but is instead used by people all over the world both intranationally (as in the case of local forms of English, such as Singlish or Indian English) and internationally (as in the case of English as a Linga Franca, or ELF). Investigation into the language use of multilinguals has even started to cast doubt on the possibility of drawing clear lines between named languages, with concepts such as *code switching* being replaced by terms such as *translanguaging*, which more accurately reflect the ways in which people make use of a constantly expanding linguistic repertoire, rather than switching between distinct linguistic codes (Baker & Ishikawa, 2021). However, this diversity and variety of language use is rarely reflected in teaching materials. Syrbe and Rose (2018), in an analysis of English textbooks used in Germany, found that "all three books clearly favoured a static variety of British English, which was always presented unmarked throughout the three textbooks, thus indicating its use as standard" (p. 7). This is surprising, given actual global use of English no longer consists only of these idealized 'native speaker' norms, and the authors stressed this did not match data on how German speakers of English actually use the language. Kiczkowiak (2021) analysed a series of coursebooks in order to see what features of pronunciation were being

emphasized. He also conducted interviews with the coursebook authors to investigate their decisions regarding pronunciation models. Kiczkowiak's study demonstrated that most coursebooks focused on 'native speaker' pronunciation features, including connected speech and weak forms, rather than linguistic features and communication skills which, from an ELF perspective, are more conducive to intelligibility. The textbook authors interviewed in the study suggested that these features were included partly for marketing purposes at the behest of their publishers and indicated that the pronunciation models chosen focused on "mostly young educated southern UK types" (p. 63). The use of standard 'native speaker' accents and models in textbooks is also an ongoing problem in Japan (Amundrud, 2021). Despite growing awareness of the diversity of English use, coursebooks generally retain a focus on inner circle 'native speaker' models.

A third, often overlooked, issue concerns what constitutes acceptable approaches to teaching and learning. There has long been criticism of the exporting of one-size-fits-all communicative methodologies from the West to other countries, on the basis that they are not necessarily suitable in all contexts (Kumaravadivelu, 2006), and it has been claimed that the exporting of these methods represents the dissemination of Western cultural and educational values smuggled in under the seemingly neutral guise of 'effective' methods (Pennycook, 1989; see also Canagarajah, 1999).

Finally, native-speakerism often leads to the orientalist othering of students, who are dismissed as being, among other things, passive, reluctant to challenge authority, and unable to think critically (Holliday, 2005). Hollenback (2021) in a recent, systematic study of articles published in JALT's bi-monthly publication *The Language Teacher* found evidence of widespread discourses which negatively positioned Japanese students as being conformist, collectivist, communicatively deficient, and averse to risk.

In recent years, a growing resistance to this dominant ideology in ELT has emerged, with a proliferation of research, special interest groups, and advocacy aimed at challenging chauvinistic beliefs and discriminatory practices (Braine & Selvi, 2018; Kamhi-Stein, 2016). However, despite the success of this ongoing effort it may be too early to suggest that native-speakerism has lost its power in the field. Evidence of the continuing influence of the ideology can be seen most clearly in the narratives of teachers who still experience professional discrimination, both overt and covert (see Kyaw Oo, 2021 for a recent example), and research has demonstrated that native-speakerism is often internalised by 'non-native' users of the language, leading them to perpetuate an ideology through which they themselves are disadvantaged

(He, 2021). In addition, ethnographic work has shown how even strikingly progressive programs in ELT can be influenced by pervasive, concealed, native-speakerist discourses (Lowe, 2020), and it is these hidden manifestations of the ideology which must be investigated by researchers. If the influence of native-speakerism on the profession is to be challenged, research must focus not only on the readily apparent, surface-level symptoms of the ideology, but also the base assumptions through which it is propagated. This study is concerned with the excavation of these base assumptions.

A Model for Critical Research

In this paper, data from a critical qualitative classroom study show how an examination of the framing of the beliefs and practices of teacher trainees reveals hidden assumptions based on native-speakerist ideology, and how processes of counter-framing can help to problematize and challenge this ideology. Avowedly critical approaches to ELT research derive from a variety of philosophical and political perspectives including poststructuralism, and, more recently, critical realism (Block, 2022; Bouchard, 2022). As such, it is necessary here to explain the way in which I envision a critical project of ELT research before moving on.

In this paper, I work with a model of critical theory related to the early writing of Max Horkheimer. For Horkheimer, drawing on the young, humanistic Marx (see Fromm, 1961), the goal of a critical theory is to move towards a rationally organized society which serves to meet human needs, rather than to generate an increasing rate of profit or to satisfy the desires of dominant, powerful groups (Owen, 2002). This is accomplished by 1) an ongoing immanent critique of existing society (i.e., examining whether society is working towards its own professed standards), and 2) the critique of ideology (Horkheimer 1937/1972). Ideology, as understood by Horkheimer (1930/1993), is the collection of necessary social beliefs which serve to make existing social systems appear neutral and commonsensical, and thus uphold relations of domination in society. For Horkheimer, the task of the social theorist is to "articulate and help develop latent class consciousness" (Held, 1980, p. 25), by investigating and uncovering ideology, thus allowing people to move rationally towards a society which satisfies their needs. This research program entailed interdisciplinary empirical social research, complemented with social philosophy (Horkheimer, 1931/1972).

By describing native-speakerism as an *ideology*, I am defining it as a set of commonly held beliefs which serve to uphold relations of domination in the

structure of global ELT. These are beliefs regarding which language models should be taught and learned, who should be entrusted with teaching the language, what pedagogy is contextually appropriate, and whose voices are to be considered in decision making. By critiquing this ideology, I aim to open a space for discussion of more rational ways of organizing the field, and more awareness of (and resistance to) the political, economic, and social forces which have influenced its current form.

Naturally, by adopting a politically oriented research model, I belie my own positionality as a researcher. I believe that the goal of social research should be to lead to progressive social and political change, and that in ELT this should manifest in a move away from linguistic imperialism, native-speakerism, and attitudes of Western chauvinism. My political commitments doubtless influence how I interpret my data. However, I believe this is unavoidable, and that it is better to state this up front so that the reader can bear it in mind, rather than smuggling in my political views under an assumed guise of false neutrality.

Methodology: Critical Qualitative Research and Frame Analysis

The data for this study were drawn from a critical qualitative classroom study conducted over the course of 14 weeks at a Japanese university. The class, titled *Methods for Teaching English as an International Language*, was designed for students studying for an MA in English Language Teaching. The objective of the course was to familiarize the students with current literature and theory regarding English in the world today, and the first semester, from which the data were drawn, focused on units which covered the topics of 'native speakers' and native-speakerism, world Englishes, English as a Lingua Franca, and, briefly, intercultural communication (see Appendix for a list of topics covered).

The class was organized around a series of readings and discussions. Before each class the students were required to read one or two academic papers on the topic in question. The classes themselves took the form of short lectures on the topic, punctuated by extensive discussions in which students were expected to bring a critical perspective to the topic based on their homework reading and personal experiences. Towards the end of the semester the students were required to prepare short presentations based on their homework reading, which acted as spurs to further discussion.

After approval was granted by my institutional review board, I provided the students with written descriptions of the study and asked if they would

be willing to participate. All students enrolled in the class agreed to take part in the study, and signed consent forms were collected prior to the start of the project. Four students were registered for the class:

> **Akie** – Akie joined the graduate program directly after completing her BA. Akie was a highly motivated student with a strong interest in becoming a teacher. She had previously taken courses with the researcher as an undergraduate and was thus familiar with some of the ideas under discussion before the start of the course. In addition to her studies, she was working part-time teaching English to children.
>
> **Yurika** – Yurika had also joined the program immediately following the completion of her BA and was motivated in her studies to become a teacher. Unlike Akie, Yurika had a strong preference towards generative grammar, due to her close work with a Chomskyan professor.
>
> **Sachiko** – Similarly to Akie and Yurika, Sachiko was a 'straight Master' student, meaning she joined directly following her BA in the department's undergraduate program. Sachiko was a hardworking student, but perhaps due to being the youngest student in the group, was occasionally a little quiet in class.
>
> **Ms. Tachikawa** – Ms. Tachikawa was the only member of the class who had extensive experience as a teacher, having worked in elementary education for many years, and even having published several articles in professional publications. She was returning to complete her MA degree mid-career in order to deepen her understanding of educational theory and practice.

Data were collected first through a research journal. Notes were taken informally during the lessons, and as soon as class finished, they were written up into more narrative journal entries which ranged from short pieces of only a couple of hundred words, to longer entries that exceeded a thousand. These journal entries contained notes of general happenings in class, and of critical incidents or events which seemed to be of particular significance. Secondly, short interviews were conducted with each participant via email

at the end of the course. This was done so that the participants could take part in the interviews both a) at a distance—important given the spread of COVID-19—and b) at their leisure, which was necessary particularly for participants working full-time. Students were free to answer in either English or Japanese. In the latter case, translations were carried out by the researcher. All data have been anonymized, and details changed or omitted to avoid identification of the participants.

This was a critical qualitative study, meaning that it not only aimed to describe what was happening in the classroom, but also to problematize the expressed views and practices present in the setting (Stanley, 2013), with the goal of uncovering hidden strains of ideological thought underlying these views and practices. For this project, data underwent *frame analysis*. This is a form of data analysis which draws on and adapts concepts from the work of Feagin (2013) on racial framing and counter-framing, and from the framing perspective in social movement research (see Johnston & Noakes, 2005). *Frames* are understood here as perceptual filters through which people process and present their experiences and thoughts based on their ideological beliefs. *Framing* can thus be thought of as a process in which people make use of their ideological resources to construct meaning in the world around them (Lowe, 2020). With an understanding that ideology refers to the necessary set of beliefs that upholds the social order, an analysis of how people frame experiences and thoughts can be used to examine the origins of such framing. By starting with the framing participants are employing, it is possible for a researcher to distil this framing into discourses, which can then be traced back to their ideological roots (see Lowe, 2021 for a detailed description of this method). For this project I was interested in analysing both *master frames* and *counter frames*. Adapting terminology from social movement researchers such as Snow (2004), I define master frames as the dominant frames within a particular context, the identification of which thus reveals the most influential strains of ideological thought present in the setting. Counter frames, on the other hand, are defined here as those which begin to emerge as participants embark on rethinking their beliefs and constructing alternative interpretations of their situation, in response to conflicts or crises between their experiences and the dominant framing. Counter frames are thus a starting point for resistance to dominant ideology.

Frame analysis is considered a feature of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA; Bloor & Bloor, 2007), however, the form of frame analysis employed in this study is intended as a supplement to critical qualitative research. As such, this approach goes beyond text *alone*, and includes more ethnographic

forms of data such as situated behaviours, expressions, and gestures. It can thus be placed within the scope of Critical Discourse Studies (Block, 2018), which aims to incorporate perspectives from both CDA and ethnography. My analysis of the data here will therefore be more focused on ethnographic description than on textual analysis.

Although I have adopted an explicitly critical approach in terms of my theoretical framework and mode of analysis, it should not be assumed or inferred that the course itself was aimed at producing any specific change in views among the students. As with any course of study, the goal was to help them understand a set of ideas. However, it was made clear that the students were free to disagree with any of the perspectives raised in class, and lessons often featured discussion of the criticisms that have been made of the ideas under consideration. I was also open in the first lessons about my personal views and made it clear disagreement was both acceptable and welcomed. Although it is possible the students may have said what they thought their teacher wanted to hear, great effort was made to invite opposing viewpoints through the encouragement of disagreement, the playing of devil's advocate, and the praising and valuing of alternative perspectives when they arose. This does not guarantee that students were sharing their true feelings, but the large amounts of disagreement and discussion that took place within each class provides some evidence that the students did not feel overly restrained (see the section on 'the persistence of the master frame' at the end of this paper for some examples).

Results

Master Frame

In this section, I will present what I consider to have been the master frame of the students in the course. This will be broken down into three dominant discourses which were evident in the framing employed by the students.

Discourse 1: The 'Native Speaker' as Embodiment of Western Language and Culture

The first topic discussed in the course was how to define the 'native speaker'. In the first week, it was very clear that a discourse centred on a bio-developmental definition was dominant, and that most students were unaware that there was any controversy around the concept of the 'native speaker' at all. This appeared to be primarily influenced by their experience

with other classes which focused on first and second language acquisition. As I recorded in my journal:

> Yurika and Sachiko began with a bio-developmental definition of the [']native-speaker['] (…) They did this with reference to their previous classes on Chomsky and FLA, and on SLA. They generally expressed the belief that a [']native speaker['] was born, not made, and that it was impossible to become a [']native speaker['] as an adult due to the critical period hypothesis. They also made reference to experimental work in SLA which supposedly distinguished a native from a [']non-native speaker[']. In other words, they expressed opinions which followed the idea of the 'native speaker' as being naturally distinct from the 'non-native speaker'. During the class, I brought up edge cases (Conrad, Nabokov, etc.) to test the strength of their beliefs. This did not seem to strongly impact their views, as they still attempted to impose objective psycholinguistic definitions onto the speakers (balanced bilingual, [']native['] of both, [']native['] of neither, etc.). Ms. Tachikawa held similar opinions and stuck closely to biological definitions. (Journal entry 16/04/2021)

As this extract makes clear, the students began with a view that the categories of 'native' and 'non-native speaker' were essentially determined by biology and childhood development and were persistent in framing this discussion as a question of psycholinguistics. Yurika, who was being supervised by a Chomskyan scholar at the time, was particularly adamant on this point. When I attempted to introduce an alternative, sociolinguistic way of framing this question, there was much resistance, and the psycholinguistic framing continued to dominate. This framing was pervasive particularly at the beginning of the course, and often hindered student engagement with the literature under discussion, precisely because this literature came from a sociolinguistic perspective.

However, there appeared to be some contradictory behaviour on display. The students made numerous references to the 'native speaker' not only as an embodiment of language, but also a repository of cultural knowledge. At many points, the students brought up the concept of the Assistant Language Teacher (ALT). ALTs are normal in Japanese secondary education and are usually (though not always) young 'native speaker' teachers who team-teach with a Japanese teacher. For the students, one prime role played by

the 'native speaker' ALT was to transmit cultural knowledge of the West. The belief in a bio-developmental model of the 'native speaker' does not itself necessarily indicate native-speakerism. In fact, if such a distinction were used consistently, it would imply that any speakers of English as a first language would be 'native speakers.' However, the framing of the ALT as an expert in Western culture seemed to belie the fact that, for the students, a 'native speaker' was only a person from a Western nation who spoke English as their first language.

An examination of the framing provided by the students revealed a primary discourse; that for them, the 'native speaker' was defined as someone who comes from a Western country and speaks English as their first language. Although this would seem to contradict the bio-developmental model of the 'native speaker' to which they also subscribed, because not all first-language English speaking communities are situated in Western countries, it appears this served the function of legitimizing and essentializing the 'native speaker' as an expert on Western language and culture. This understanding of the 'native speaker' was foundational to the next two discourses that were identifiable in the students' framing.

Discourse 2: The Superiority of Western Models of English

A second strong discourse was related to the superiority of Western models of English. This framing was present from the very beginning of the course, and throughout my research journal I refer to students describing Western forms of English as "pure", "perfect", "correct", and "beautiful." This seemed to be related to the bio-developmental definition of the 'native speaker' outlined in the previous section. In their interviews, the students were quite direct about their beliefs at the beginning of the course regarding "correct English":

> **Sachiko:** [At the start of this course] I thought British English and American English were the correct English. I thought that grammar and vocabulary that were not in these two English words were "mistakes." For example, I heard that "very hot" is said "hot hot" in Singapore English, but before taking this course I thought this was a mistake.

> **Ms. Tachikawa:** I thought that the English spoken / used by the British people was correct English.

These beliefs, expressed explicitly here, also emerged in a more unconscious form through the ways in which the students framed their beliefs about correct and incorrect language use. To illustrate this, I provide the following example recorded in my journal from the second week of the course:

> Akie from the beginning said the [']native speaker['] was "made" [rather than born], but this did not seem to be a strongly held conviction. References were repeatedly made to "purity" and "perfection" in speakers. She also mentioned that such speakers "never made mistakes" and could "speak with confidence and without hesitation." (Journal entry 16/04/2021)

Here, Akie hinted at a more sociolinguistic framing of the question, potentially informed by her undergraduate experience of studying similar topics. However, it is notable that even when using this more sociolinguistic definition, in which it is understood that varieties of English exist around the world besides those from the West, she continued to describe the English use of 'native speakers' in terms such as "purity", "perfection", and even going so far as to claim they "never made mistakes." As an understanding of world Englishes requires an acceptance that the standards of Western models of the language should not necessarily be taken as normative, Akie's highly value-laden framing of Western models of the language as embodying "purity" and "perfection" betrayed a perhaps unconscious acceptance of the normativity and superiority of these forms of the language. This is one example of many that occurred in the class, but it is one which is significant in that it reveals an unconscious framing which is in contradiction even to the expressed values of the student.

All of this points to a second strong discourse influencing the framing the students employed in describing their experiences and beliefs: the notion that Western models of English, particularly British and American, were superior to other models, and that these varieties should be taken as normative. The framing here reveals the students drawing on a discourse, which reveals in turn an ideological belief, in the superiority of Western models of English. This is the second major discourse which comprised the master frame of the course.

Discourse 3: The Fundamental Role of the 'Native Speaker' Teacher

The superiority of Western models of English strongly influenced the third and final discourse identifiable in the framing employed by the students; the necessity of the 'native speaker' teacher in English classes. As

Western models of English were considered normative by the students, and the 'native speaker' was defined as someone who embodied these models, it seemed to naturally follow that 'native speakers' were inherently necessary in the language classroom. This was clearly stated by Ms. Tachikawa in our interview, when discussing her initial views regarding the role of 'native speaker' teachers:

> **Ms. Tachikawa**: I thought it was the role of [']native speakers['] to teach grammatically correct English. Of course, it also motivates me to speak in English, including the cultural background of the English language, and to expand my world through English. I thought that was the role of [‘] native speakers['] in English language teaching.

The relationship between language and culture is also evident here, as Ms. Tachikawa clearly connected the concept of the "cultural background of the English language" to the "grammatically correct" English spoken by 'native speakers.' This notion of superiority, based on supposedly innate cultural and linguistic knowledge, was one that many of the participants admitted to holding in their interviews. This can be seen in the following interview extracts, in which Sachiko and Akie responded to the same question regarding their views on the role of 'native speakers' in ELT:

> **Sachiko:** I thought [‘] native speakers'[’] English was necessary for students to be able to hear and speak 'correct English.'

> **Akie:** I naturally thought that the role of a [']native speaker[’] was being a good model of English pronunciations [sic] or showing students some cultural differences between their home countries and a county where they teach English.

As is evident in these two quotes, the students framed the 'native speaker' as primarily a vessel of "correct" English and of cultural knowledge, whose job was to provide a model for their students to imitate. Evident here is a discourse in which 'correctness' was seen to be inherent in Western models of English, which the 'native speaker' was considered to embody. The further connection of language to culture reinforced the extent to which only Western forms were considered correct.

In addition to these obvious statements, there were more subtle hints during the study which showed how deeply this supposed necessity of

'native speaker' teacher was internalized. For example, at several points in our lessons we discussed how the students might be able to make these ideas practical or relevant to their teaching. On numerous occasions, the students described activities in which, halfway through, the ALT took over for a communicative exercise. When I asked the students to explain why an ALT had to appear at that point in the lesson, they were unable to give a clear justification, usually referring to the need for students to hear "correct" or "beautiful" English. The necessity (and availability) of the ALT was simply assumed, on the basis that such a person could provide "correct" grammar, pronunciation models, and cultural information.

The students framed the existence of the ALT, and thus of the 'native speaker' in English lessons as natural and unquestionable. This appears to be because of the strong relationship in their minds between 'correct' models of Western English, and the 'native speakers' who are seen as embodying that English. This was further evident in their assertion that the 'native speaker' is the arbiter of grammar, and thus the source of information on the language.

A Master Frame of Native-Speakerism

To summarise the three previous sections, an examination of the framing employed by the students in explaining their experiences and beliefs, particularly at the beginning of the course, revealed three key underlying discourses. The first of these was one in which the 'native speaker' is a repository of Western language and culture. When tied to a bio-developmental understanding of the 'native speaker,' these speakers were essentialized as linguistic and cultural experts. Although much controversy around the definition of the 'native speaker' continues, the students appeared particularly wedded to the idea that the 'native speaker' is someone who learns a (Western) form of the English language as a child, and is thus a linguistic expert to whom 'non-native speakers' must defer. A second key discourse was the superiority of Western models of English, which the students described as "beautiful," and "correct." Despite the global spread and diversity of English, the development of world Englishes, and the use of English as a global lingua franca, the students seemed most strongly drawn to the use of Western, inner-circle Englishes, particularly British and American. Finally, the students considered the 'native speaker' to have an intrinsically superior linguistic and cultural understanding of English which made them indispensable in the classroom; their existence taken as almost natural.

Putting these three discourses together, it is easy to see they are built on an ideological foundation of native-speakerist ideology. By according English an intrinsic association with Western cultures, it was possible for them to construct Western Englishes as inherently superior to other varieties, and thus to consider 'native speakers' of English (i.e., the human embodiment of those varieties) as a natural and necessary part of English language lessons. At the beginning of the course, this ideology was particularly strong, but as the course went on, there were some hints of the students reconsidering these points, and this was evident in the examples of counter-framing they began to produce.

Counter-framing

Over the duration of the course, the students began to reframe their ideas in a way which was counter to the master framing identified above. I will lay out three major elements of this reframing, which demonstrate how the students expressed ideas in which the potential for resistance to the native-speakerist master frame were evident. I call these *elements* rather than *discourses*, as they appear to be produced by the students themselves, rather than based on wider narratives absorbed from their environment. The discourses which comprise the master frame are widespread and shared by many, if not most, in the profession, forming a recognizable frame. These elements on the other hand, are not part of a wider frame, but rather were generated by the students as they encountered crises and contradictions in their beliefs.

Element 1: A More Sociolinguistic View of the 'Native Speaker'

The first example of counter-framing which I would like to focus on emerged only a few weeks into the course and involved the students rethinking their definition of the 'native speaker'. As mentioned earlier, the students had been averse to sociolinguistic definitions of this term, but gradually began to reconsider this. This could be partly a result of the regular introduction of examples of edge cases, or cases in which intuitive decisions about who is or is not a 'native speaker' are difficult. This became something of a game after the first few weeks, with the students interrogating each other's use of the term by asking questions such as "what do you mean by 'native speaker'?" This was light-hearted, but became part of the culture of the class.

This growing uncertainty manifested in interesting behaviours. For example, when saying the words 'native speaker', both Akie and Yurika began

using their fingers to indicate scare quotes around the terms, much as I am doing in writing this paper. This was an interesting reframing of the term from a biological certainty to something more questionable and unstable. In her interview, Akie vocalized this feeling directly:

> **Akie:** Although I thought I got some definitions of a [']native speaker['] in my mind, for example, they are capable of using and handling their mother tongue properly according to each context, as I tried to picture a person owning those traits which I thought (or maybe expected?) they would have, I found myself being confused with some ideas or images that I myself created in my mind because there were always contradictions, such as "what about when they use a specific language which is not their first language but other people do not notice that they speak the language as their second language because they handle it like people who speak the language as their mother tongue? If the definition of [']native speaker['] that I referred above is appropriate, would I say they are [']native speaker['] of the language even that is their second language?" I guess I would not.

Akie does not come to a conclusion here, but obviously her image of the 'native speaker' had become somewhat unmoored, and this appeared to be common in the class. This was the first example of counter-framing that was observed, but it presaged, and perhaps incited, the next two examples.

Element 2: Greater Recognition of the Validity of World Englishes

Over the duration of the course, the students' attitudes towards world Englishes also began to soften considerably. The first hints of this came in the 8th week of the course, while we were discussing world Englishes, and is captured in the following journal extract:

> Ms. Tachikawa expressed concern over the idea of world Englishes in the classroom, and said that what should be taught to students is "the word that everyone understands". To illustrate this, she bought up an example of a new teacher from her school who is from Aomori prefecture, and sometimes uses the Aomori dialect. She said this is a problem because the students don't understand, so this is not the correct language to tell the students. She suggested world Englishes might be incorrect for the same reason. Yurika suggested that this could actually

> be an opportunity. If the teacher used some Aomori slang, Ms. Tachikawa could model communication strategies such as checking understanding for the students, and thereby teach a new skill. (Journal entry 04/06/2021)

Here, the initial framing of world Englishes in the classroom was as a problem. Ms. Tachikawa suggested that the students should be provided only with language which everyone could understand. Yurika then reframed this scenario, positing that it could be a good opportunity for the teaching of communication strategies, and for students to thus learn an important communication skill. Although this does not validate world Englishes directly, it does show how the students were thinking about English less as a standard model that all students can learn, and more in terms of a communication tool, something that Sachiko and Akie also mentioned in their interviews. Akie noted her belief that "the role of English in the world is a tool for everyone to communicate", and Sachiko reiterated this and explained that "I thought that there were many mistakes in English spoken by people from countries that do not use English as their official language, such as Japan. However, as people from different countries use English, I learned that English is changing and diverse. I thought the difference was bad, but I found that I could communicate even if there was a difference."

Another example of this re-evaluation of world Englishes occurred about a month later, and emerged during a discussion about classroom code meshing:

> The students decided that the difference between this kind of creativity and simple mistakes was basically intentionality – if the student was aware of the language they were using, and if they were consciously changing it to express a new meaning unavailable to them in standard English, then that was a legitimate example of a new use of language. (Journal entry 02/07/2021)

Here, we see a much more direct change in attitude, as the students reframed their ideas about world Englishes. Rather than an absolutist 'correct vs. incorrect' mindset, the students instead emphasized the role of intentionality. and conscious creativity of the speaker when evaluating English use.

Element 3: Rethinking the 'Native Speaker' Teacher

The final, and perhaps most important example of reframing concerned the role of the 'native speaker' teacher. Early on, the students had empha-

sized the need for Western 'native speaker' teachers who could act as a linguistic model of British or American English, and as a cultural informant for the students. This began to change over time, and the students began to place a stronger emphasis on language awareness and pedagogical skills as the mark of a good teacher. This is illustrated by the following two journal extracts:

> Ms Tachikawa said she had experiences with ALTs in her city, and that one of the ALTs, a young man from Kenya, had been able to share his language learning strategies with the students and was the most successful of the ALTs. (Journal entry 07/05/2021)

> At the end of class, Ms. Tachikawa asked me (out of the blue) to explain the difference between "will" and "be going to". I gave a garbled explanation based on scraps that I recalled from my *eikaiwa* days, and afterwards Yurika gave me a much clearer explanation based on her pragmatics lectures (so much for my superior ['] native speaker['] intuition!). Akie then said, interestingly, "we ['] non-native speakers['] can give better grammar explanations" and Yurika replied "yes, because we learned the rules explicitly". (Journal entry 28/05/2021)

In the first of these extracts, the students provided an alternative framing of the role of the ALT. Rather than being only a source of linguistic and cultural intuition, the ALT in question was able to provide useful language learning strategies, and thus act as a pedagogical guide for the students. This suggests a much more positive framing which removes the linguistic privilege held by Western 'native speakers', and thus opens a space for other teachers to be included.

The second extract highlights the students' growing confidence in their own linguistic knowledge, perhaps enhanced by the fact they were able to show it off in the process of 'besting' their 'native speaker' teacher. Once again, we see here an interesting framing in which a previously held negative (the lack of 'native speaker' intuition) was reframed as a positive (the ability to explain language confidently because of intensive academic study). In both examples the framing of the positive qualities of teachers moved away from simple 'native speaker' intuition, and towards levels of language awareness and pedagogical skill.

It is certainly arguable that dividing up teachers on the basis of 'native' and 'non-native' and attributing different strengths and weaknesses to those groups is still displaying native-speakerism. I would agree. However, the point here is not to demonstrate that the students became fully-fledged critical applied linguists during the study, but only that over the length of the course they began reframing their beliefs in ways which indicated a drift from the ideologically-informed native-speakerist discourses they were relying on at the beginning. This counter-framing around the definition of the 'native speaker,' the validity of world Englishes, and the qualities of language teachers, suggests a move in a more progressive direction, in which they may eventually come to recognize the linguistic strength and creativity of all users of the language, themselves included.

The Persistence of the Master Frame

Despite these positive examples of counter-framing, it should not be inferred that the master frame no longer had any influence. This frame is based on a strong, pervasive ideology which the students will have encountered throughout their lives as both language learners and trainee teachers, and which may have been reinforced by exposure to more domestic forms of essentialism such as *nihonjinron*, as suggested by Bouchard (2017). As such, it is unsurprising that elements of this framing persisted, despite the hopeful glimmers offered by the examples of counter framing which were outlined in the previous sections. So as not to overemphasize the effect of the counter-framing, I offer the following two extracts from my journal from relatively late in the course, both of which strikingly illustrate the persistence of the master frame, and the ideology of native-speakerism:

> At the end of the lesson, Yurika said "if I am in this class, I will say world Englishes are valid, but outside this class if I am talking to someone, of course course I will say that British English and Nigerian English are not equal, because we use British English as a model" (Journal entry 28/05/2021)

> Yurika and Akie were quite emphatic about [the validity of world Englishes], and seemed to find the whole idea much more concrete than in our previous lessons. Ms. Tachikawa, on the other hand, deferred to the opinion of the [']native speaker['], saying that she needed to have the permission of the 'native speaker' to know if a word was correct or not. For her example of a native speaker, she said "you." (Journal entry 02/07/2021)

Conclusion

In this paper I have presented an analysis of data gathered from a critical qualitative study of a class based on teacher notes and interviews, analysed through a frame analysis perspective. The framing employed by the participants demonstrated that their perceptions were strongly influenced by the ideology of native-speakerism in terms of who counted as a 'native speaker' of English, which varieties of English were considered valid, and what qualities were considered valuable for teachers in the classroom. Despite the clear influence of this ideology, examples of counter-framing were observed, in which the students began to frame their ideas in ways which suggested movement away from this ideological base. Despite the fact that these examples of counter-framing were small, and although the master frame persisted, they did indicate potentially liberatory routes for the students to pursue. This study has thus illuminated not only some of the subtle manifestations of the ideology of native-speakerism among trainee teachers but has also indicated possible avenues of resistance which can be encouraged. For critical educators, these may indicate the beginnings of paths to be pursued; all the more likely to be successful because the students have taken the first steps themselves. No critical project should seek to didactically force students to change their position, as to do so treats the students only as objects to be acted upon, rather than as equal subjects engaged in their learning and development. However, following Freire (1974/2005), I suggest that teachers can help their students adopt an attitude of constant re-evaluation, and to "perceive themselves in a dialectical relationship with their social reality" (p. 30). By confronting tensions, contradictions, and crises between their beliefs and their experiences, it is likely that they will begin, autonomously, to present counter-framings which in turn represent ideological ruptures.

Although this study revealed complex and suggestive insights, certain limitations ought to be acknowledged. Firstly, this was a small-scale study, and the data was drawn mainly from student interviews, and fieldnotes in the form of a research journal. Future research could be made more robust through a more solidly ethnographic approach, including more overt triangulation between different sources of data. Secondly, a greater variety of data sources would help add to the legitimacy of these findings, and this is another avenue that could be explored in future work. Despite these limitations, this study has yielded data which resonates strongly with critical research in the field, has highlighted the strength and influence of native-speakerism in this context, and has also cast some light on ways this may be challenged in the future.

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Appendix

Semester Plan

- Lesson 1: Historical perspectives on the 'native speaker'
- Lesson 2: Theoretical perspectives on the 'native speaker'
- Lesson 3: Native-speakerism 1: Historical perspectives
- Lesson 4: Native-speakerism 2: Recent research
- Lesson 5: Native-speakerism 3: Language models and target cultures
- Lesson 6: World Englishes: Historical development
- Lesson 7: World Englishes: Models and shifts
- Lesson 8: Teaching world Englishes and ELF: Introducing varieties in the class
- Lesson 9: Teaching world Englishes and ELF: Introducing varieties in the class (cont.)
- Lesson 10: Student presentations 1
- Lesson 11: Student presentations 2
- Lesson 12: Teaching world Englishes and ELF: Linguistic innovations and creativity
- Lesson 13: Student presentations 3
- Lesson 14: Student presentations 4

Special Issue Book Reviews

(En)Countering Native-Speakerism: Global Perspectives. Anne Swan, Pamela Aboshiha, and Adrian Holliday (Eds.). Palgrave Macmillan, 2015. xiii + 222 pp. https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137463500

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Despite widespread criticism, native-speakerism within English Language Teaching (ELT) continues to permeate global professional spaces (Rivers, 2020). Consequently, native-speakerism creates a 'native speaker' versus 'non-native speaker' dichotomy in ELT, which favors 'native speaker' teachers as inherently more qualified to teach English based on linguistic birthright. In (*En)Countering Native-Speakerism: Global Perspectives*, both 'native speaker' and 'non-native speaker' teachers of English offer an insider's view on the state of native-speakerism globally. The book is divided into four parts and 12 chapters in which the authors qualitatively examine how labels associated with native-speakerism affect English language teachers and students. The authors explore how teachers construct their professional identities in environments that favor native speakers and suggest ways through which native-speakerism in ELT can be minimized and eventually eliminated.

In the first part, "Exposing the Ideologies Promoting Native-Speakerist Tendencies in ELT," Holliday outlines the ideology of native-speakerism and highlights the negative impact it has on both 'native speakers' and 'non-native speakers'. On page 11, Holliday introduces the term "cultural disbelief," which is the implication that 'non-native' English speakers are less competent because of cultural differences which limit their autonomy and abilities to teach English. According to Holliday, cultural disbelief is at the heart of native-speakerism. It places all speakers at a disadvantage by undermining

the achievements of 'non-native speakers' and reducing 'native speakers' to a list of marketable attributes (p.15). Therefore, Holliday advocates a shift to "cultural belief," or the affirmation of the cultural contribution of all students and teachers, regardless of background (p. 20). Holliday endorses this practice as a step towards dismantling the native-speakerism cycle that commodifies teachers and hinders the understanding of English as a multicultural language.

The second part, "Native-Speakerism and English Teachers," which includes contributions from Southeast Asia, the United Kingdom, and South Korea, focuses on how teachers in different parts of the world deal with native-speakerism and how it affects their professional identities. In Chapter 5, for example, Yeonsuk Bae claims that the pressure associated with native-speakerism often results in a reversal of teacher-student power dynamics in Korean classrooms, such that even well-regarded teachers may lose confidence in their ability to speak English when encountering students who sound like 'native speakers'.

The marginalization of 'non-native speaker' teachers is exemplified in Pamela Aboshiha's study, in Chapter 3, where English teachers from Britain cling to the view that they have superior education, linguistic abilities, and pedagogical knowledge compared to their 'non-native speaker' colleagues. However, some encouragement can be found in reports like that of a teacher named Rachel, whose perception of her 'non-native speaker' colleagues was altered through professional development. Instead of viewing these teachers as inferior, Rachel now perceives them as colleagues who face similar professional issues.

While Aboshiha discusses the attitudes of 'native speakers' towards 'non-native speakers', Anne Swan discusses the opposite in Chapter 4. In her study on how English language teachers define their professional identity, 'non-native speaker' teachers exhibited a high level of self-confidence unaffected by native-speakerism. This confidence is driven by their language learning experiences and knowledge of the local context. As Swan observes, the teachers took advantage of the skills of their 'native-speaking' colleagues to develop themselves and benefit their students.

The third part, "Native-Speakerism and Perceptions of Identity," highlights the consequences of the labeling of identities on language learning communities. In Chapter 6, Yasemin Oral focuses on the problematic nature of labels such as 'learner' and 'migrant' in an English language learning community of Turkish nationals in Britain. Oral argues that categorizing language learners and users under the broad category of second/foreign

language learners ignores the dynamic and complex nature of identity, and treats it as static and straightforward. Furthermore, labels reinforce native-speakerism by trivializing essential aspects of a 'non-native' speaker's identity by placing them in particular groups despite their individual differences.

In Chapter 7, Irasema Mora Pablo uses the experiences of teachers and students from a Mexican university to present a different perspective on labeling, particularly for 'native English speakers' from the United States. Pablo shows how Mexicans label 'native speakers' from America in derogatory ways, such as "gringos," to disempower them. Yet, the identities of teachers and students are nonetheless shaped by the 'native-speaker' construct because the blue-eyed "gringo" remains the ideal teacher.

In Chapter 8, Ayesha Kamal discusses the assumptions that 'native-speaker' teachers in Kuwait make concerning student performance and motivation. Kamal notes that, despite proof of student success, her 'native-speaker' participants continued to discuss students in a tone of cultural disbelief. The teachers, for example, made preliminary judgments about students' potential performance based on whether or not they wore traditional garb (p. 130). Kamal believes that negatively categorizing students limits their agency and ignores the more personal realities that shape their identities. The author concludes that teachers' inability to recognize students' individuality perpetuates native-speakerism and continues to harm students. Similar to Mahboob (2018), Kamal encourages teachers to recognize the dynamic nature of language teaching and to provide students with a positive learning environment focused on students' potential rather than their inabilities.

In Chapter 9, Caroline Fell Kurban discusses the advantages of association with the 'native speaker' label, through a focus on bilingual marriages between British 'native English speakers' and their 'non-native speaker' partners in Istanbul. She states that institutions, employers, and individuals alike regard Britishness and English as superior, resulting in bilingual partners having higher social-economic status within their community. According to Kurban, 'native speakers' enjoy symbolic and economic benefits while their 'non-native speaker' partners are considered legitimate English speakers and are favored for jobs even if they are underqualified.

The book's final section, "Native-Speakerism in the Academic Environment," distinctly focuses on what is being taught rather than who is teaching it. Victoria Odeniyi (Chapter 10) and Nasima Yamchi (Chapter 11) examine the discriminatory nature of standardized academic writing, characterized by generic writing styles, in higher education. According to them, despite

being framed as inclusive, neutral, and objective, academic writing programs have neo-racist undertones, and inadvertently portray learners who are unfamiliar with their underlying Western methodologies and cultural attitudes as lacking autonomy and critical thinking.

In Chapter 12, William Sughrua suggests that for academic writing programs to be inclusive, they must be framed using what he terms the "nostalgic modernist paradigm". This paradigm promotes a more individualized writing style as an alternative to modernism's generalized techniques and postmodernism's "anything goes" mindset (p. 205), and includes story-type writings such as journalistic, anecdotal, and autobiographical articles. Sughrua explains that, by adopting this approach, educators will be able to live up to Holliday's concept of cultural belief (Chapter 1) as this paradigm provides a space in which academics can be seen and understood as such, without the discriminatory distinctions of 'native' and 'non-native' English speakers.

A key strength of *(En)Countering Native Speakerism: Global Perspectives* is the diversity of nationalities represented in the contributors, whose perspectives on the 'native speaker' versus 'non-native speaker' dichotomy are informed by their lived experiences. Their contributions help to provide valuable insight into the prevalence of native-speakerism in contexts we might not otherwise have access to. More importantly, these ELT practitioners provide recommendations on how teaching practices can be reframed to minimize native-speakerism and ultimately eliminate it from the field by practicing cultural belief.

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Narratives of East Asian Women Teachers of English: Where Privilege Meets Marginalization. Gloria Park. Multilingual Matters, 2017. ix + 150 pp. e-book

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Narratives of East Asian Women Teachers of English: Where Privilege Meets Marginalization, by Gloria Park, narrates both the author's lived experiences and those of six East Asian women as they recount their struggles and joys of learning and teaching English. Park examines the fluid, multiple, and contested identities of the participants as she recounts their stories as scholars, mothers, and as immigrant women of color prior to and after coming to the United States. Additionally, she challenges the view that mothers are less academically productive as well as the cultural expectations that disadvantage women scholars in higher education institutions.

The book consists of six chapters, each containing the narratives of the participants, and should be read in their given order because the later chapters provide reflections based on the earlier chapters. In the Prologue, Park introduces the five participants and their pseudonyms, and why they came to the United States. Han Nah Jung is a native of South Korea who joined an MA TESOL program while waiting for her husband to complete his graduate course. Liu Li from Beijing joined a TESOL master's degree program to learn how to teach English effectively. Xia Wang, also a native of Beijing, joined a MA TESOL program to develop effective and engaging teaching materials. Both Liu Li and Xia Wang came to the United States with the goal of returning to China after completing their studies. Yu Ri Koh, from South Korea, joined a TESOL master's program hoping to further improve her English language and teaching skills. Lastly, Shu-Ming Fun, originally from Taiwan, is a self-identified non-native English speaker (NNES) despite her long-term residence in the United States where she is completing her master's in TESOL while volunteering to teach survival and citizenship classes to immigrants, refugees, and asylum seekers. As Park notes (p. 24), despite coming from different backgrounds, the English language remains a symbol of power and privilege in each of their lives, yet it is also a mark of linguistic marginalization. The Prologue ends with Park noting that one of the book's goals is to advocate for students and colleagues in the field, especially minority women scholars.

Chapter 1 begins with Park's autobiographical poems which she refers to as "autobiographical poetic waves" (p. 34). Each poem describes how Park came into her career, starting with her family immigrating to the United States in 1976, to becoming an established researcher and educator in academia. Through her poems, Parks tells stories of alienation and discrimination. For instance, she was perceived as a native English speaker (NES) in South Korea, which resulted in her being hired as an educational consultant despite not having any background in English language teaching (ELT). Park noticed that although her linguistic abilities put her in a position of privilege in South Korea, she also faced discrimination due to her gender and her identification as a Korean-American, causing her to be marginalized by South Koreans (p. 37).

In Chapter 2, Park focuses on literature discussing the gender, race, and class connections to teaching English in the United States and in the participants' home countries. Park also connects the transnational identities borne from immigration and access to English language education in her and her participants' home countries. For example, she addresses how their professional and personal development endeavors provided them with opportunities but at the same time led to marginalization in the United States and in their home countries (p. 45). Park also mentions the suppression of their struggles perpetuated by the *model minority* myth, which describes Asian Americans and Asians as economically successful and hardworking in the United States (p. 56). Another theme covered in this chapter is the scarcity of voices of women of color in the TESOL field, which has furthered their disenfranchisement. In the chapter, the women shared their experiences of working harder than NESs to claim credibility and legitimacy as ELTs, especially as they do not possess the white racial status that is equated with power, credibility, and being ideal teachers of English (Kubota & Lin, 2006).

In Chapter 3, Park discusses her reasons for choosing evocative qualitative inquiry as her methodology in the book. The narratives of the women were collected via interviews, and discussions were conducted in an interactive dialogic manner where Park also shared her experiences so she could engage in conversations with her participants. She draws her approach from a wide range of authors such as Ivanic (1998), Norton (2000), and Shohamy (2004), focusing on narrative inquiry as a research methodology for understanding human experiences.

In Chapters 4 and 5, Park explores the narratives of Han Nah, Liu, Xia, and Yu Ri. She positions gender as a lens to demonstrate the need to explore the experiences of women not only at the institutional level but also at the

personal level to fully understand their perspectives. In these chapters, Park depicts the participants' engagement with English in their home countries, their experiences in working for professional companies, and their experiences leading up to joining MA TESOL programs in the United States. One recurrent theme explored in the narratives is how all participants were made to question their legitimacy as TESOL professionals in English language learning and teaching communities. In Liu's case, she felt excluded in classroom conversations while also having to negotiate her credibility when she contributed to group projects during her studies (p. 114). Xia also wrestled with issues of credibility as a woman of color applying for jobs in the United States, for instance, when a recruiter erroneously assumed that she was not able to correct K-12 multilingual essays because she was a NNES.

Park concludes the book with an epilogue by reflecting on critical incidents from her own autobiographical narratives and by discussing parallel themes from the stories of the participants. In one incident, she recounts her experience of becoming a new faculty member shortly after giving birth. Park acknowledges the privilege of being given an easier schedule due to her status as a new mother, but she also grappled with the assumption that new mothers were less career-oriented. At that time, she countered this assumption by publishing more research papers than others in her faculty. In authoring this title now, Park reflects on critical incidents in her academic career which guided her to become proud of her multilingual teacher identity. She also states that she hopes the narratives shared will raise critical awareness of incidents like those recounted here which, based on her experience and that of her interlocutors, are not uncommon in academia.

Overall, this book captures the fluid identities of women scholars who wrestle with issues surrounding privilege and marginalization while also initiating conversations regarding embedded ideologies in academia. As a female Asian educator, processing these narratives was emotional, as they clearly resonate with my own experiences. This is a recommended reading for people who share these experiences firsthand, as well as those who wish to gain greater empathy and understanding about identity, race, and the (dis)empowerment of women scholars of color in the academy.

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Language Teacher Recognition: Narratives of Filipino English Teachers in Japan. Alison Stewart. Multilingual Matters, 2020. xiii + 175 pp. https://doi.org/10.21832/STEWAR7895

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Researchers looking at language teacher education and development frequently emphasize language teacher identity (LTI), a concept that defines how language teachers see themselves with respect to their work and how they are perceived by their colleagues, students, and employers (Barkhuizen, 2021). However, researchers debate how to theoretically and methodologically conceptualize and investigate language teacher identity, with commonly discussed LTI frameworks being social identity theory, communities of practice, and post-structuralism (Varghese et al., 2005). In *Language Teacher Recognition: Narratives of Filipino English Teachers in Japan*, Stewart proposes *recognition theories* as an alternative for analyzing language teacher identity. Stewart utilizes narrative interviews to gather the career histories of nine Filipino English-language teachers, which she then recounts in detail over nine chapters. Stewart uses this to then discuss issues related to language teacher identity, such as how marginalized groups are affected by racial bias and native-speakerism, and the role of language teacher associations (LTAs) in identity formation and identity politics.

Stewart begins Chapter 1 by arguing for recognition theories through critiquing the commonly-used post-structuralist theory on identity. Stewart argues that recognition, the act of acknowledging or respecting others how they would like to be identified, rests at the core of all identity theories (p. 17). In Stewart's view, recognition is integral to developing pride in our

identity or sense of self. However, the concept of recognition differs significantly between recognition theorists. As Stewart explains, the individual in the post-structural concept of identity formation recognizes herself as the subject of ideologies or preexisting identities. These ideologies do not consider the more fundamental issues of ontology or reality, and so people understand themselves through the identities they are given, not because they truly represent who they are, but because they are expressed in language they know (p. 29).

Alternatively, Stewart asserts that in recognition theories, self and other are mutually co-constructed, with a desire for recognition or affirmation constituting the basis of identity formation (p. 34). In essence, Stewart believes that an individual's identity is not situated in ideologies but rather in the strengthening of one's ontological 'inner core' through mutual recognition—the validation one receives when others acknowledge the qualities that they recognize within themselves (p. 18). She stresses that, unlike post-structuralism, recognition theories emphasize the affective nature of identity. Stewart points out that people are motivated by loyalty and pride in their achievements and qualities, but they also experience prejudice when their abilities are underappreciated, or they are denied rewarding work based on nationality, race, or language identity (pp. 36–37). Accordingly, Stewart examines the emotions of pride and prejudice embodied in the stories told by Filipino English teachers whose contributions to the teaching profession, she claims, have historically been overlooked in Japan due to racial and linguistic biases.

As part of her exploration into the Filipino teachers' experiences, Stewart provides an overview of the history of English teaching in Japan in Chapter 2. According to Stewart, since its inception in the late 1800s (p. 56), English education in Japan has favored native English speakers from "inner-circle countries" (Kachru, 1992). She further explains that Japan's language teacher hiring practices are influenced by native-speakerism, a bias against 'native speakers' based on their status as native English speakers (p.19). Consequently, marginalized ethnic groups, such as Filipinos, have been denied English teaching jobs because they are not considered 'native speakers'.

Stewart states that despite structural changes in the Japanese education system that have now enabled Filipinos to work in English language teaching (ELT), they still face stigmatization that devalues them as teachers. Accordingly, in Chapter 3, Stewart discusses the concept of "investment" among Filipino teachers to secure their professional identity. Teachers Lori and Elma described feelings of under-appreciation, which motivated them

to invest time and money to increase their marketability and job security in what Stewart terms Japan's neoliberal English education landscape. Although Stewart applauds the actual investments teachers make in their profession, she questions the use of this term to conceptualize language teacher identity. She states that Filipino teachers make investments that are intended to maintain and enhance cultural capital, that is, their value as English teachers owing to their experience and education (Norton et al., 2011). However, according to Stewart, because of the fact that their value as teachers fluctuates with ideological shifts (pp. 76–77), employers and society should instead grant mutual recognition of Filipino teachers' skills and abilities and preserve their value and security.

In Chapter 4, Stewart takes a closer look at LTAs, specifically Filipino English Teachers in Japan (FETJ) and its role in promoting the recognition of Filipino teachers. Stewart describes LTAs as facilitating members' professional development and positively influencing public perceptions of language teaching and learning issues for their group (p. 96). For example, FETJ's members benefit from set normative standards for teaching that are documented in the organization's teaching guidelines handbook, as well as regular professional development training, and job placement assistance. Through these services, Stewart says FETJ is committed to improving the status of Filipinos in Japan and cultivating pride among its members.

FETJ's contribution to enhancing Filipinos' status is exemplified in the successful career stories of Anna Maria, Shin, and Katrina, whose accounts Stewart uses in Chapter 5 to address whether EFL teachers have careers. The teachers cited various reasons for pursuing teaching careers, including financial benefits, skill development, and social status enhancement; however, they all recounted situations in which they had to negotiate unfavorable working conditions to get better jobs. Stewart describes this negotiation as part of a new work order, in which people act as entrepreneurs responsible for enhancing and marketing themselves (p. 122). Stewart sees this perception as supplanting the notion that teaching careers are a series of stages that result in progressively higher wages and status and are only available to teachers in the public sector. Therefore, she concludes that EFL teachers do have careers when viewed as entrepreneurs.

The success stories of Renata and Carmela in Chapter 6 provide a unique perspective on the Filipino language teacher identity from teachers whose careers are not supported by FETJ. To gain insight into these teachers' identities, Stewart employs membership categorization analysis, a method for interpreting how people categorize themselves in their interactions

with others (Fitzgerald, 2015), to analyze the use of relative and collective pronouns in Renata and Carmela's stories. Stewart found that despite both participants expressing pride in their Filipino identities, their professional identities took precedence. Neither thought their nationality disadvantaged them professionally; in fact, Renata viewed it as an asset enhancing the teaching community's diversity (pg. 148). Both teachers acknowledged FETJ's contribution to the advancement of Filipinos in Japan but implied Filipinos no longer need to be saved from social stigma.

Overall, Stewart's insights into the role of recognition theories in discussing identity add substantially to the dialog on strategies for eliminating identity-related biases in ELT. Her use of narratives to examine language teacher identity provides a thought-provoking look at how marginalized groups in Japan's ELT field navigate the discrimination they may face due to racial and linguistic biases. Furthermore, Stewart delivers a convincing argument against post-structuralist identity theory and proposes a different approach to discussing identity, one that emphasizes reality over discourse, and teaches mutual recognition as a way to dismantle identity-based biases.

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Afterword

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As guest editor, alongside Shirley Ando and Collette Grant, of *JALT Journal*'s first special issue on a topic of such timely importance to our organization and to English language teaching (ELT) in Japan more broadly, I humbly felt the weight of expectations for this publication to address with full impact and import the breadth of all issues pertaining to race and native speakerism in ELT. This special issue pushed against such expectations, however, because it was rather motivated by a desire to spur greater discussion within *JALT Journal* on this topic, and so it should be seen not as a capstone but as a basis for further research, critique, and action. To that end, in this Afterword[1] I would like to address some outstanding issues raised by the related articles and books reviewed in this special issue in order to bring together the ideas raised, as well as to pose questions and propose directions for further examination with the hopes that future authors and editors will take these ideas and go beyond them, alongside the limitations and tensions in doing so.

On Resilience of the 'Native Speaker'

In the article "An Introduction to Race and Native-Speakerism," Ryuko Kubota provides a valuable account of the history of race and native-speakerism research around the globe. To understand how this strand of research has evolved in Japan, however, we need to look back to the pioneering work of Stephanie Ann Houghton at Saga University. Houghton's (2002) protest article questioned existing Japanese and international labor laws which, although prohibiting discrimination based on a broad range of identity markers, have yet to make explicit references to language-based ideologies including the categorization of people based on the 'native speaker' criterion. This gesture brought Houghton's own contractual status

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at her university under question. Fortunately, her voice was not drowned out by conservative forces, eventually leading her to be elected as the first non-Japanese labor union chair in Japan. Houghton's argument then gained national magnitude and helped lead to the disappearance in 2005 of the *gaikokujin kyoushi* (foreign lecturer) category, as well as the elimination—though still incomplete—of the 'native-speaker' category in job postings in Japan. In collaboration with other activists and researchers both within and outside Japan including Evan Heimlich, Arudou Debito, Damian Rivers, Kayoko Hashimoto, and many more over the years, including notably a collaboration with the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Racism (Dième, 2006), Houghton's involvement facilitated discussion with a broad range of conceptual and empirical questions regarding the resilience and dismantlement of native-speakerism in Japan (see Houghton & Bouchard, 2020). In the context of multiple national and international symposia on the subject, a growing body of work has now emerged, which increasingly makes it clear that a critical analysis of racism and native-speakerism in language education is more than a matter of raising questions about identity and ideology. Racism and native-speakerism are first and foremost systems of oppression (i.e., antecedent and enduring) imposing considerable discursive and material constraints upon workers in the language teaching industry and beyond. This growing body of work has also led to more sophisticated understandings of the debilitating impacts of racism and native-speakerism on both 'non-native' and 'native speakers' alike. This critical improvement is crucial, for it not only aligns with long-standing conceptualizations of ideologies as "double-edged swords," but it also pushes the conversation further towards the ultimate goal of social emancipation. At the same time, however, even as we combat the ill effect of racism and native-speakerism on 'native speakers' themselves, they/we should not be the focus because this may end up recentering whiteness by marginalizing the importance of race (Hammond, 2006). Indeed, as special issue author J. P. B. Gerald argues elsewhere (2020), it is essential that TESOL professionals take the risk to actively de-center whiteness in our research and teaching. This is particularly in light of the fact that while the reduction of (white) 'native-speakers' to "saleable attributes" (Holliday, 2015, p. 15) is no doubt dehumanizing, it is not nearly as detrimental to their professional, personal, and material standing as the injustices experienced by their/our colleagues. This special issue will hopefully encourage scholarship from all researchers, and particularly scholars considered 'non-native speakers' from outside Japan who work here, that takes these raciolinguistic barriers to account.

A further site of enduring resilience is within the framing by Japanese teachers of English of 'native speakers' as the final arbiter of what is *correct* English, a topic examined by Robet J. Lowe. Given the persistence of 'native speaker' norms worldwide (Lowe, this issue) and the resilience of 'native speaker' master frames despite active academic interrogation among Lowe's participants, it is not entirely surprising that universities in the Kansai region, for example, would still be advertising "native English" as a selling point of their schools even in 2022 or that colleagues may still ask for a "native check" of an English text. At the same time, it is necessary to acknowledge and appreciate work done by Japanese scholars in Japan against this "native speaker worship" (Sato, 2022, p. 70) and towards the grounding of English norms on a broadly Global Englishes/English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) basis (e.g., Konakahara & Tsuchiya, 2020) and as advanced institutionally in places such as the Center for English as a Lingua Franca at Tamagawa University. We look forward to more Japanese researchers in these fields advancing this research in *JALT Journal.*

Intersectionality: A Path Not Yet Taken Far Enough

This special issue is the start of a needed dialogue on the crucial topics of race and native-speakerism in ELT in Japan and beyond, and as such, it is by no means complete or definitive. Despite the fact that two of the three special issue editors, the author of the introductory article, and our book review contributors are female, the special issue editors nevertheless keenly felt the lack of female-authored research contributions in the final publication. Given the exigencies of publishing, however, we felt its absence was better than silence. The special issue editors therefore call on authors working with the intersections of gender, race, sexual identity, ability, and speakerhood to submit to *JALT Journal* and hope that this special issue will demonstrate *JALT Journal*'s commitment to this particular area of critical applied linguistics. One recent example of such scholarship is Owens (2017), which examines what she terms the "traveling yellow peril" represented by Filipina English teachers, such as those interviewed in Stewart (2020), and their threat to the white hetero-masculinity of some U.S. men working as English teachers in Japan. Another is Lawrence and Nagashima (2020), which examines via duoethnography the multiple means through which nationality and sexuality intersect in the authors' identities as ELT professionals. By highlighting the conjunctions between race, gender, and sexuality under professional neoliberal flexibility and privilege, such as noted in Park (2017), it is hoped that this special issue will not only raise issues related to the problematic

influence of neoliberalism on contemporary critical applied linguistics but that it will also enable more frank and necessary conversations among scholars and language practitioners aimed at developing effective emancipatory strategies for language learners and users everywhere (see Block et al., 2012).

What Is to Be Done?

For those who may still question the relevance of such issues to language teaching, we would like to reiterate Bouchard (2022) who argues that the notion that critical issues are somehow extraneous to language teaching research ignores the situation of our work within multiple layers of power and domination. These social structures act as powerful conditioning forces upon decisions regarding who can speak in our field, what is considered important research, and how it is—or is not—supported by funding, tenured positions, and other forms of material institutional recognition. It also overlooks the inherently critical nature of the humanistic scholarship in which we are engaged. With this in mind, the following is a brief examination of the constraints and promises of what changes language teaching professionals should make.

In *Global English and Political Economy* (2021), John O'Regan details through a Marxist analysis of the political economy of the spread of English since the inception of capitalism in the 17th Century how English has functioned to smoothen the circuits of capital and aided its accumulation. In Chapter 7, on "superdiverse translingualism," O'Regan (pp. 184–185) makes the uncomfortable yet cogent observation that the detractors of native-speakerism (present company included) are ourselves complacent in the perpetuation of 'native speaker' norms of speech and, more importantly, of academic writing. That this should be so is no surprise, however, because as discussed in Bourdieu (1988), scholars are overdetermined by their relation to and place within an academic marketplace in which capital is, as O'Regan puts it, "the real foundation" (p. 184). O'Regan, following Blommaert (2010), suggests viewing this in terms of orders of indexicality that determine whether and to what extent more normative forms of English will be used given the social value and concomitant registers attached to articles in an academic journal such as this, for instance. The resilience of native-speakerism and the racist and imperialist roots of the ELT enterprise, as described by our special issue authors, contribute to a double-bind in which our silence and inaction in the face of injustice are damning, but yet so is our action in writing critically against inequities in our field. Furthermore,

criticality—as necessary as it is—is definitely a profitable trend in all aspects of academia, thus further reinforcing the real foundations upon which we work.

Yet, we must act, for the sake of our students, our colleagues, and ourselves. Gerald (this issue) for instance suggests that when using videos in class, teachers use captions "for *all* speakers so as not to stigmatize those with less familiar accents or languaging, and to increase accessibility," and that researchers relentlessly question their/our assumptions about Japanese English, as well as the faces of those whose research we draw upon (see also Kubota, 2019). Lowe (this issue) suggests that we help our students adopt a Freirean "attitude of constant re-evaluation" and that by "confronting tensions, contradictions, and crises between their beliefs and their experiences, it is likely that they will begin, autonomously, to present counter-framings which in turn represent ideological ruptures." Beyond these changes to our teaching and research are the more concrete steps of eliminating discriminatory hiring practices against 'non-native' non-Japanese teachers of English from outside the "inner circle" countries in particular since, according to the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (2018), Japan still has insufficient legal prohibitions against racial discerimination. Although these steps may on their own be insufficient in dismantling native-speakerism or its raciolinguistic basis, they will help marginalized groups of teachers, such as those interviewed in Stewart (2020), accomplish the recognition and professional security they deserve for their contributions to the ELT field. Most importantly, they will be one small but necessary move towards building solidarity in our profession based upon shared humanity.

Note

1. The author would like to acknowledge the useful feedback and constructive input from Jeremie Bouchard in the writing of this afterword, especially for his help with the crafting of the list For Further Reading.

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Japanese-Language Articles and Reviews

日本の高校におけるスピーキング評価の採点者信頼性―教室内グループ型のディスカッションとディベートの場合

Rater Reliability in Speaking Assessment in a Japanese Senior High School: Case of Classroom Group Discussion and Debate

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高校の授業内スピーキングテストにおいて、シンプルなルーブリックを用い、詳細な採点者トレーニングを行わない場合に採点者信頼性が十分確保できるかを、グループ型のディスカッションとディベートで検証した。227名の高校生の発話をそれぞれ教員2名で採点し、多相ラッシュ分析・一般化可能性理論等で分析した。その結果、採点者間一致度・一貫性と採点者内一貫性の観点で十分な信頼性が満たされていることが示された。グループ型タスクの場合に、ルーブリックにやり取りの適切さでなく言語面の観点を入れる、生徒が話す時間を長めに設定する、生徒の役割や発言する順番を決める、共通認識がある教員で採点を行う等の信頼性を高める方法とその問題点が示唆された。

Securing rater reliability for classroom speaking tests can be difficult because teacher-raters typically do not have much time to engage in rater training to understand and discuss rubrics and scores. Furthermore, a teacher typically faces difficulties asking colleagues to help double mark each student's performance. Intensive rater training and double scoring are typical procedures to maintain high reliability (Knoch et al., 2021) but are not well practiced in the classroom. However, in some cases, extensive training or double scoring is not necessary when teachers use a rubric with a few criteria and levels, which is simpler than conventional detailed rubrics (Koizumi & Watanabe, 2021). Thus, we use a group discussion and a debate to explore rater reliability when Japanese senior high school teachers use simple analytic rubrics without detailed rater training. We pose the following research questions (RQs):

RQ1: To what degree are raters similar in terms of interrater consensus and consistency?

RQ2: To what degree do raters score students' responses consistently?

RQ3: How many raters are required to maintain reliability?

We analyzed ratings for two speaking tests administrated in September or November to 227 third-year students at a public senior high school. Each test, taken by a group of four students, included either a five-minute group discussion or a 21-minute group debate; the test administration and marking were conducted during the lesson time. An analytic rubric was developed for each task and consisted of three or four criteria with three levels (e.g., content, expression, and technique). Two of the three raters scored each student's response during the test. Teachers had no time to discuss the rubrics in detail and engaged in only a 10-minute discussion about the rubrics before the tests. The ratings were analyzed separately for each test using weighted kappa statistics, Spearman's rank-order correlations, many-facet Rasch measurement (MFRM), and multivariate generalizability theory (mG theory).

The results indicated that the overall rater reliability was adequate, but some cases required careful training. For RQ1, the kappa statistics of two raters' scores for each criterion ranged from poor to substantial agreement (-.06 to .84). Correlations between two raters' scores ranged from negligible to strong (-.07 to .91) and there were not large differences in rater severity (i.e., differences in fair mean-based average values of 0.07 to 0.16 with full marks of 3). In addition, the overall agreement percentages from MFRM were higher than those predicted by MFRM (e.g., 72.9% > 71.6%). The intrarater consistency examined for RQ2 using Infit and Outfit mean squares from MFRM was also adequate (e.g., 0.86 to 1.35). The number of raters needed to maintain sufficient reliability (Φ = .70) for RQ3 was one at the overall test levels and one to three at the criterion levels.

Using simple rubrics, a group discussion task, and a debate task, the results showed that rater reliability can be maintained without extensive rater training. Although the current results may have been affected by study contexts, such as procedures and students' and raters' characteristics, they provide pedagogical and methodological implications for developing speaking assessment tasks and procedures and reporting rater reliability statistics from multiple perspectives.

Keywords: シンプルなルーブリック; 採点者トレーニング; 多相ラッシュ測定; 多変量一般化可能性理論; simple rubrics; rater training; many-facet Rasch measurement; multivariate generalizability theory

スピーキング指導の成果確認のために教室内でスピーキング評価を行う際には、様々な困難が伴う。例えば、実施や採点に時間がかかる。採点時にはルーブリック（採点基準）と生徒の発話を関連づけ、適切なスコアを付けることが求められる。

文部科学省（2020）を整理して再分析した結果によると、2019年度に1年間スピーキングテスト（ST）を実施しなかった（または実施する予定がなかった）科目の割合は、中学校で5.9%、高校では47.8%に上っていた。またSTで使われたタスク形式を見ると、面接とスピーチ、プレゼンテーションがほとんどで、中学校では84.4%、高校では92.1%を占めていた。生徒同士でやり取りを行うタスク（やり取りタスク）として、ディスカッションとディベートは典型的であるが、2つを合わせて中学校で9.6%、高校では4.7%しか使用されていなかった（文部科学省、2020）。

スピーチやプレゼンテーションは発表の力を測り、一般的な面接は、教員と話すことでやり取りを行う力（やり取り力：interactional competence）を測るが、それらの形式だけでは測るやり取り力が限られる。やり取り力は、話し手が他者とやり取りする際に用いる力で、コミュニケーション力の重要な要素である（Celce-Murcia, 2007）。やり取り力には会話を開始する、話題を変える、トピックやターン（発話権）を管理する、やり取りが止まったときに相手を助けつつ会話を何とか続ける（修復する）などの力が含まれる。STに教員と話す形式だけでなく、生徒同士で話す形式を入れることで、学んだ項目や機能を幅広く適切に使う力を測ることができ、また指導時のタスクと近

いものを使うことで動機づけや習得によい影響を与えられるとされる（小泉、2018c; Galaczi & Taylor, 2021）。

2020年度から順次施行されている学習指導要領（文部科学省、2019）において「話すこと」が「やり取り」と「発表」に分かれて記述された。それに伴い、やり取りを意識した指導が積極的に行われていくだろう。しかし、それを支える評価の基盤は弱く、改善が必要である。髙島（2019）が中学校の教員に行ったアンケートによると、STの実施に自信がない教員は、やり取りで57.14%、発表で38.10%おり、発表よりやり取りのテスト実施に自信がない傾向が見られる。さらにST実施後の採点に関して自信がない教員はさらに多く、やり取りで61.90%、発表で66.67%であり、約3分の2を占めている（p. 16; %は筆者らが計算）。STをより多く実施している中学校においてこの結果であるため、高校ではSTの実施や採点に自信がない教員がさらに多い傾向が見られると考えられる。そのため、やり取りの評価、特に実施と採点に関する研究と実践が求められている。本研究では、やり取り力の適切な評価に向けて、やり取りテストの採点に焦点を当て、高校の授業内に行ったディスカッションとディベートのテストを採点する際に、シンプルなルーブリックを用いた場合の採点の質を調べる。

採点者信頼性の種類と対策

教室内で行うSTの採点では、テストで生徒が話した英語を聞き、ルーブリックと突き合わせてどのレベルにあたるかを、教員が採点者（評価者・評定者）として判断するのが一般的である。採点者は、採点間で一致するような判断を安定して行うこと（高い採点者信頼性）が求められるが、意図せずにルーブリックに沿わない判断をすることがある。採点者信頼性は採点者間と採点者内の観点で分けられる（Luoma, 2004）。採点者間信頼性は、異なる採点者の間で同じような厳しさやパターンで採点しているかである。採点者内信頼性は、同じ採点者が採点中同じように採点しているか、また同じスピーキング力を持つ受験者を同じように採点しているか（例：他教科の成績がよい生徒のスコアを、英語の発話に関わらず高くしていないか）、複数の観点を別々に判断する分析的（analytic）採点であれば、採点観点で厳しさを違えて採点していないか（例：文法より流暢さの方が難しくなるように意図したルーブリックで、他の採点者はその方向で採点している中、文法の方が難しくなる方向で採点していないか）等の観点で調べられる。

Stemler（2004）によると、採点者信頼性は3つのアプローチで分類できる。第1の一致度（consensus）アプローチでは採点者間のスコアが一致しているかを調べ、単純に一致した割合を出す一致率や、偶然起きる一致を調整した値であるkappa係数などで示す。第2の一貫性（consistency）アプローチでは、採点者同士が同じ傾向で採点しているかを調べ、Pearsonの積率相関係数やSpearmanの順位相関係数、Cronbachのアルファ係数等で示す。第3の測定（measurement）アプローチでは、主成分分析や多相ラッシュ分析（many-facet [またはmultifaceted] Rasch measurement: MFRM）、一般化可能性理論（generalizability theory: G theory）などの測定モデルを使って調べる。MFRMでは、採点者の厳しさ（rater severity）値や、採点者間の一致率、採点者の採点パターンがラッシュモデルから予測されるパターンと一致しているかを示す「採点者適合度指標値」等が算出される。この中で、採点者の厳しさ値と一致率は、概念としては第1の一致度アプローチに近い。採点者適合度は第2の一貫性アプローチに

近く、採点者内一貫性を示す。表1では、採点者2名または採点2回の場合に使える採点者信頼性の指標を、本研究で使用するものを中心に整理した。目的によるが、採点者信頼性を検討する際には、より包括的に検討することが望ましいとされる。

教室内STでは、大規模テストや重要な判断に用いるテストとは違い、非常に高い信頼性は求めなくてもよい。しかしある程度の信頼性は保たれるべきで、系統的に信頼性が低くならないような方策をとる必要がある（Knoch et al., 2021; Luoma, 2004）。その典型的なものとしては、以下3つの方法がある。第1に、採点前に採点者トレーニング（またはstandardization, calibration, moderation）として、採点者がルーブリックやサンプル発話、スコア、その理由等を確認した後、別の発話を聞いて採点者が個々に採点し、その後ずれをなくすために話し合い、調整する方法である。第2に、本番のテストの発話を2名以上で採点し、その後ずれがある場合に話し合う、平均点を使う、別の採点者が採点する等のプロセスを経て、最終スコアを決める方法である。第3に、1名の採点者が時間をおいて2回行う方法である。

上述の採点者信頼性を担保するための3つの方法は、教室内STでは実施ができないことが多い。採点者トレーニングは最低でも1時間、徹底的に行う場合には数時間かかるが、その時間は確保できないことが多い。複数の採点者の確保は、外国語指導助手やティーム・ティーチング配置がない場合には難しいことが多く、同じ採点者が2回最低するのも採点に2倍の時間がかかることになり、同様である。

信頼性確保のための一般的な手順が満たせない場合に、その手順を行うための環境づくりに注力する方向もあるが、他の方法がないかを考える方向もある。本研究は後者のアプローチをとり、ルーブリックの簡素化を試み、その影響を探る。

表1.
採点者2名または採点2回の場合の採点者信頼性指標

観点	主な指標	解説	基準・解釈
採点者間一致度	一致率	一致したスコアの割合	0〜100%で、100に近いほど一致度が高い
	kappa係数（κ）	偶然起きる一致率を調整した値。値は-1〜1。基準の英語は、低い順から、none to slight, fair, moderate, substantial, almost perfect。0以下は一致なし（no agreement）	.01〜 .20:若干 .21〜 .40:まずまず .41〜 .60:中程度 .61〜 .80:十分 .81〜1.00:ほぼ一致[a]
	一致率【MFRM】	一致したスコアの割合。予測一致率は採点者の厳しさ値を考慮して算出	予測一致率よりも少し高いのがよい[b]
	採点者の厳しさ（推定）値の差の最大値【MFRM】	厳しさ値の最も離れた採点者2名の値の差。どの程度の違いがあるかを示す。厳しさ値は、受験者やタスク等の影響を調整した値。ロジット尺度[c]上で表され、0が平均値、プラスの値は採点者が厳しいことを示す	絶対値で0に近いほどよい。他の相の差よりかなり小さいと差が小さいと考える
	採点者（分離）信頼性【MFRM】	採点者の厳しさ値にどの程度の違いがあるかを示す	0〜1の値を取り、高いほど異なる。0に近いほどよい
	採点者のfair scoreの差の最大値【MFRM】	fair score（fair mean-based averageの値）は、採点者の厳しさ値を素点の尺度に直した値。最も離れた採点者2名の値の差。実質的にどの程度の差があったかの判断材料になる	明確な基準はないが、差が大きければ、素点を使う場合には実質的な影響が出ると解釈する
採点者間一貫性	Spearman順位相関係数（r_s）	2名の採点者の採点パターンが似ているか（例:よい発話をした受験者に、採点者がともに高いスコアを付けているか）を示す。値は-1〜1	.25〜 .39:弱 .40〜 .59:中程度 .60〜1.00:強[d]
採点者内一貫性	採点者適合度指標値【MFRM】	採点パターンが、ラッシュモデルから予測されるパターンと一致しているか。Infit平方平均（mean squares: MS）とOutfit MSがあり、通常は前者で判断。値は0〜無限大	例:〜0.49:過剰適合 0.50〜1.50:適合 1.51〜:不適合（2.01〜は測定に影響する可能性がある）[e]
その他の採点者信頼性	採点者分散の割合【G theory G研究】[f]	スコア全体の分散の中で採点者分散が占める割合。採点者がスコアに与える影響の度合いを示す	小さいほどよい
	必要な信頼性を満たす採点者数【G theory D研究】	テストの信頼性（G係数・Φ係数）が、基準値[g]以上になる場合で判断	小さいほど安定して測定できている

注. 包括的な指標はKnoch et al.（2021）、McKay and Plonsky（2021）を参照。A〜B = A以上B以下。【 】= 分析法。[a] McHugh（2012）。[b] Linacre（2021）。[c] 受験者がタスクに成功する確率を基に算出した尺度で、ロジット（logit）を単位とする。[d] Plonsky & Oswald（2014）。他の基準も存在する（例:嶋田、2017）。[e] 基準の英語は、低い順からoverfit、fit、underfit（またはmisfit）。overfitとunderfitを合わ

せてmisfitと言うこともある。目的に応じて基準を変えることもできる（Wright & Linacre, 1994）。[f] 複雑なデザインの場合には、採点者相と他の相との交互作用の割合も関わる。[g] 基準値はテストの重要性を考慮して決める。例えば教室内テストは .70以上、重要性が低い標準化テストは .80以上または .85以上、重要性が高い標準化テストは .90以上とされる（Wells & Wollack, 2003）。

採点者信頼性の現状

Jönsson et al.（2021）は、教師間の成績の付け方にはばらつきが大きい傾向があることを、先行研究に基づき述べている。また彼らは実証研究を通して、卒業という重要な判断が成績のみで行われるスウェーデンにおいて、外国語としての英語の成績で教師間の信頼性は高くないことを示した（例：スコアの中央値との一致率：100%が望ましいところで59.7〜66.7%）。

日本においては、信頼性を研究トピックとすることや、信頼性を量的研究の一部として報告することは限られている。例えばStapleton and Collett (2010) は*JALT Journal*の過去30年間の論文の中で、テストの信頼性と妥当性を扱った論文は少なく（5.72%, 17/297）、量的研究の中で信頼性を報告した研究も少ないことを明らかにしている（10.53%, 8/76）。McKay and Plonsky (2021) によると量的研究の中で信頼性を報告する研究の少なさの傾向は国際誌でも同様である（例：16〜40%）。

このように研究としての信頼性の報告が限られる中で、日本の実際の教育活動の中で採点者信頼性を調べた実践はさらに限られるだろう。研究的な側面はあるが、中高生とその教員対象に行った研究が数件ある。例えばAso (2000) では、英語教員10名が高校生10名の英語面接時の発話を、分析的・総合的（holistic）ルーブリックを用いて採点した（採点者トレーニングやルーブリックの詳細提示の記述はなし）。その結果、2つのルーブリック両方で、採点者間の相関が低いものから高いものまであり、採点者間一貫性は一部の採点者の間でのみ満たされていた（例：総合的でr_s = .26〜 .96）。一方、同じ採点者が半年間を空けて2回行った採点を比較したところ、採点者内一貫性は非常に高かった（例：総合的でr_s = .98）。

採点者信頼性をMFRMで調べた研究もある。大学生を含む日本在住の英語学習者を対象にした研究を表2にまとめた。例えばNegishi (2011) では、日本人中学生から大学生までの135名がグループ型ディスカッションテストを受け、11名の日本人高校・大学教員が3日間程度の採点者トレーニングを受けた後に135名の発話を採点した。MFRM結果では、採点者の厳しさ値に違いがあり（厳しさ値の差：ロジット値で3.25）、適合度（Infit MS）では1名が0.50〜1.50の範囲内に入らなかった（1.94）。その1名を除いた再分析でも別な採点者2名が若干の問題を示した（Infit MS = 1.51, 1.55）。なお、表2のまとめにおける採点者数はテスト採点に関わった人数であり、一般的には1人（1組）の発話は2名で採点されていることに注意したい。例えばVan Moeren (2006) では1グループ4名の会話を採点者40名中の2名が聞いて採点した。

表2.
MFRMを用いた採点者信頼性研究（日本の英語学習者対象に限る）

	受験者	タスク形式	採点者	分析的ルーブリック観点数	トレーニング時間	厳しさ値の差[a]	採点者適合度[b]
Sato (2012)	大学生156名	意見表明	9名	5個5段階[c]	なし[d]	あり[e]	範囲内
Inoue (2013)	大学・院生65名	絵描写	9名	5個5段階[c]	3時間	あり/なし (1.78～2.11)	範囲内
Hirai & Koizumi (2013)	大学・院生48名	技能統合型再話	9名	3個5段階	1～2時間	あり[f]	範囲外1名
Yokouchi (2018)	大学・院生128名	技能統合型再話	4名	4個5段階[g]	20分と個人練習[h]	なし (0.17～0.21)	範囲内
Akiyama (2001)	中学生109名	面接[ij]	4名	5個5段階	約1時間	なし (0.72)	範囲外1名
Akiyama (2004)	中学生288名	面接[k]	10名	5個6段階	2時間	あり (3.84)	範囲内
Iwamoto (2018)	大学生46名	面接[l]	4名	4個9段階	不明	あり[l]	範囲内
Nitta & Nakatsuhara (2014)	大学生30名	ペア型[m]	2名	3個9段階	90分	なし (0.0)	範囲内
松村・守屋 (2019)	大学生38名	ペア型[m]	2名	4個5段階	8時間[n]	なし(0.32)	範囲内
Koizumi et al. (2020)	大学生110名	ペア型[km]	3～4名	4個3段階[c]	5～8時間	なし(1.18～1.42)	範囲内
Nakatsuhara (2007)	高校生42名	グループ型[m]	2名	5個6段階	1時間	なし (0.06)	範囲内
McDonald (2018)	大学生64名	グループ型[m]	4名	5個9段階[o]	2時間	なし (1.27)	範囲内
Bonk & Ockey (2003)	大学生1103～1324名	グループ型[m]	20～26名	5観点9段階	2時間	あり (最大で4.50)	範囲外約4～7名
Van Moere (2006)	大学生113名	グループ型[m]	40名	5観点9段階	90分	あり (3.41)	範囲外6名
Negishi (2011)	中学～大学生135名	グループ型[m]	11名	5個7段階[c]	3日間程度	あり (3.25)	範囲外1名
Negishi (2015)	大学生24名	ペア・グループ型[m]	5名	総合的10段階	3日間程度	なし (0.62)	範囲内

注．企業作成のテストの研究と採点者相分析がない研究は除く。[a] 最大値がロジット尺度で2以上の場合を差ありとした。[b] 値掲載がある場合にはInfit/Outfit MSの0.50～1.50の間を範囲内とした。掲載がない場合には、論文の記述に沿った。[c] 総合的ルーブリックも使用。[d] 採点手順やサンプルでの練習資料は提供。[e] 採点者分離信頼性 = .99。[f] 採点者Separation = 2.32。[g] 4個5段階に0を加えた計21段階で分析。[h]（横内、私信、2021年3月8日）。[i] 絵描写。[j] ロールプレイ。[k] ペア型ロールプレイとスピーチ。[l] 採点者Separation = 4.04。[m] ディスカッション。[n]（松村、私信、2020年10月5日）。[o] 5個5段階の結果も同様。

表2から、中高生対象のSTの研究が少ないこと、分析的ルーブリック観点は3～5個、段階はKoizumi et al.（2020）以外は5～9個と多いこと、採点者トレーニングは行う場合は1時間以上が多いことなどが見えてくる。厳しさ値については、差がある場合とない場合があり、採点者適合度はどのテスト形式でも満たす採点者が多い。しかし、発表型の技能統合型再話やグループ型までどの形式でも、適合しない採点者はトレーニング後でも見られる。先行研究では、トレーニングや個別フィードバックを行って採点者の一致度や一貫性が改善した例とそうでない例があり（McNamara et al., 2019）、教室内テストに限らず採点者が関わるテストでは課題となっている。

表2の採点者適合度では、特にグループ型のBonk and Ockey（2003）とVan Moere（2006）での範囲外の採点者の多さが目を引く。これは受験者数や採点者数が多いためもあるだろうが、グループ型の採点が難しい可能性もある。後で詳細に述べるKoizumi and Watanabe（2021:以後K&W）では、採点者トレーニングがほぼない場合にグループ型採点の難しさを支持する結果が出ている。グループ型では一般に、3名以上の受験者がいつ話すか分からない状況で採点するため、1～2名のときよりも採点者の認知的負担が高く、難しい可能性がある。

McNamara et al.（2019）によると、MFRMを用いれば採点者の厳しさ値の違いを調整したスコアが出せる。しかし、不適合の採点者の影響はMFRMでも調整できず、問題となる。また教室内テストでは、採点スコア（素点）をそのまま使うことが多いため、採点者の厳しさ値の違いも検討事項となる。

表2の中でG theoryも行った研究において、十分な信頼性を保つために最低必要な採点者数は、タスク2個で1名（松村・守屋、2019）、3観点で2名（Akiyama, 2001）、テスト1回で4名（Van Moere, 2006）と様々だったが、8時間のトレーニングを行った松村・守屋（2019）を除くと、通常2名は必要だった。

まとめると表2で挙げた研究では、観点は3～5個で、5段階以上が多いなど詳細なルーブリックを使い、採点者トレーニングは1時間以上行うことが多い。しかし、教室内評価の場合、生徒の能力の幅は狭く、指導目標を達成したかの確認が重要なため、焦点を絞った少ない段階のシンプルなルーブリックを使うので十分という考え方もあるだろう。その場合、測れる力が限定されたり、結果の診断機能が少なくなって指導や学習に使える情報が減ったりという問題もある。一方、シンプルなルーブリックを使うことで採点者トレーニングを詳細に実施しないとしても、また採点者を2名確保できないとしても、十分な信頼性が保たれたり、採点の負担が減って実行可能性が高まったりするならば、年間で数回定期的に行い、採点者信頼性をある程度保ちたい状況では、この方が教室内STに適しているという考え方もある。

この考えに基づいて行ったK&Wでは、3観点、3段階のシンプルな分析的ルーブリックを使用し、採点者の事前の打ち合わせを10分間のみ行い、テストの最初の2～3名

（2〜3組）を独立に評価した後にずれや疑問点を話し合い、基準を調整した。その上で採点を複数名で行い、どの程度採点者信頼性が保てるかを調べた。授業に即したテストを年4回行い、採点者は2〜9名で授業時間のテスト中に採点を行った（表3参照）。採点者の厳しさは、fair scoreの差の最大値で見ると、第2回グループ型ディスカッション以外はテストの3点満点中0.50未満で実質影響がない範囲と考えられた。採点者適合度は、ペア型ロールプレイ以外では問題が見られず、一致率は予測一致率より高い結果で、全体的には採点者一致度と一貫性がほぼ満たされていた。しかし観点ごとの一致度を見ると、個人プレゼンテーションとペア型ロールプレイはまずまずだったが、2回のグループ型ディスカッションでは低かった。G theoryの結果では、1〜4名が十分な信頼性を保つために必要という結果になった。全体的には、採点者トレーニングがない割にあまり問題がなく、十分運用ができる範囲で、一部、特にグループ型ディスカッションで注意が必要と考えられた。

表3. Koizumi and Watanabe（2021: K&W）のテスト内容と採点者信頼性結果

タスク形式	個人プレゼンテーション	第1回グループ型ディスカッション	ペア型ロールプレイ	第2回グループ型ディスカッション
実施時期	7月	10月	12月	1月
測る力	発表＋やり取り	（発表＋）やり取り	やり取り	（発表＋）やり取り
使用授業回数	1	2	2	1
採点者の厳しさ値の差	0.82	1.65	1.47	3.35
fair scoreの差の最大値[a]	0.22	0.29	0.43	0.98
採点者適合度	範囲内	範囲内	ほぼ範囲内[b]	範囲内
一致率（MFRM）	予測一致率より高かった			
観点ごとの一致率[c]	61.0〜75.2%	50.9〜72.7%	77.1〜81.7%	47.8〜57.5%
観点ごとのkappa係数c	.45〜 .71	.17〜 .40	.79〜 .82	.10〜 .54
Spearman相関[c]	.45〜 .74	.18〜 .44	.76〜 .82	.11〜 .59
合計点の信頼性確保に必要な採点者人数	2	4	1	3

注. [a] 3点満点中。[b] Outfit MSを若干外れた採点者が2名（0.49と1.88）。[c] 本研究のために計算（G theoryで使用したデータを使用）。

この結果は、他のタスク形式ではどうなるだろうか。本研究では、K&Wでも用いたグループ型ディスカッションとともに、やり取り力を測るタスク形式としてグループ型のディベートを用いる。本研究により、K&Wと比較しながら浮かび上がる、多様なタ

スク形式での採点者信頼性を維持し、教育の資源を適切に配分するための手順が明確化されると思われる。

目的と研究課題

本研究の目的は、高校生のグループ型のディスカッションとディベートを採点する際に、詳細な採点者トレーニングがなくシンプルなルーブリックを用いた時の採点者信頼性を調べることである。研究課題は以下3点である。

研究課題1:採点者間一致度・一貫性の点で、採点者はどのような採点を行っているか?
研究課題2:採点者内一貫性の点で、採点者はどのような採点を行っているか?
研究課題3:十分なテスト信頼性を持つために、何人の採点者が必要か?

方法

受験者と採点者

受験者は、日本の公立高校の3年生227名であり、STは必修の英語の授業の中で受験した。対象校は地域の進学拠点校であり、受験者は6クラスのうちの1クラスに所属していた。このクラスの授業では、コミュニケーション力を高めることを目的として4技能を用いる活動が普段から多く行われていた。受験者の4技能の英語力は、CEFR-J(日本版ヨーロッパ言語共通参照枠;投野・根岸、2020)のA2.1が35%、A2.2が47%、B1.1以上が11%であり、スピーキング力は、A2.1が37%, A2.2が36%, B1以上が0%だった(7月のGTECの4技能テスト結果[3技能版で219名、STで224名受験]に基づく。Benesse Corporation, 2019参照)。

STの採点者3名は全員、同じ学年で同じ科目の授業を分担して担当していた教員である。採点者3名のうち、クラスごとに異なる2名がペアとなって採点を行った(授業担当者ともう1名。当日の事情により、生徒2名のみ教員1名で採点)。3名の教員は日本人で、10年以上の英語指導歴があった。3名は、定期的に「CAN-DOリスト」の形での学習到達目標を確認し、授業前に指導理念や方法、教材を共有していた。一方、テストタスクとルーブリックについては、事前に10分ほど話し合いを行ったが、サンプル発話の採点や詳細な議論などの精密な採点者トレーニングは行わなかった。

テストタスクとルーブリック

生徒は年間で、コミュニケーション英語IIIで3回、英語表現IIで3回、計6回のSTを受けた。その中で、英語表現IIの2回目(9月)と、コミュニケーション英語IIIの3回目(11月)のテストが今回の分析対象である。対象生徒が受けたSTの中で、外部研究者である第1著者に情報開示が可能だった採点データを分析した。

テストタスクやルーブリックは、第1著者のアドバイスのもと、授業担当者3名のうち1名が作成した。タスク形式やルーブリック、またトピックについてはすべて、事前に生徒に提示した(表4、付表A・B・C・D参照)。教員は、テストに向けてどのように準備するかは生徒に詳細には示さず、授業で学んだ表現をテストで使えるように復習してお

くように伝えた。STは生徒全員が教室にいる状態で行われ、実施や採点はクラスごとに2名の教員で行った。

一般に言語テスティング研究におけるタスクは、発話を引き出すために受験者に提示される活動を意味するが、本研究におけるタスクは第二言語習得研究で習得に役立つものとして挙げられている4点（Ellis & Shintani, 2014; 福田他、2017）、活動中の焦点が意味にあること、発話者間に情報のギャップがあること、発話者のリソースを使ってタスクが実行されること、タスク達成が（内容の観点で）評価されることを満たしていた。

表4.
スピーキングテスト（ST）の詳細

タスク	ディスカッション（9月）	ディベート（11月）
科目	英語表現II	コミュニケーション英語III
測る力	やり取り	やり取り
グループ形式	4名で1グループa。司会者1名と参加者3名	4名で1グループ[a]。4名それぞれに立場（役割）を割り当てあり
時間	1グループ約5分 50分授業の1.5回分を使用	1ディベート2グループ参加、21分（話す時間は11分） 50分授業の2.5回分を使用
分析的ルーブリックの観点（3段階、計30点[b]）	内容（10点） 表現（10点） 技術点（10点） 内容と表現について、司会者と参加者で異なるルーブリックを使用	内容（12点） コミュニケーションに対する姿勢（8点） 文法・語法（5点） 音量・速度・発音（5点） 内容について立場ごとに異なるルーブリックを使用
トピック例[c]	1. Why do you think some students study abroad? 2. Which do you prefer to work for a large company or a small company?	1. Students should be asked to study foreign languages other than English. 2. There should be boys-only and girls-only high schools in addition to co-education schools.

注. [a] 60グループ中、数グループは欠席等のために3名または5名で構成された。[b] 評定100点中の30点は、それぞれのST結果を使って決定された。[c]トピックはそれぞれ11個と12個で事前提示。付表C・D参照。

ルーブリックは、3〜4観点の3段階（レベル1〜3）の形で作成した（表4・付表AとB参照）。ディスカッションとディベートの観点は、「内容」は共通で、「技術点」は「文法・語法」と同じ、「表現」は「コミュニケーションに対する姿勢」と「音量・速度・発音」に分岐という形で、ラベルが異なっていても共通の観点で構成されていた。

グループ型ディスカッション

このタスク形式では、生徒はトピックに基づき、グループごとに約5分間英語で話し合った。トピックごとに司会者1名と参加者3名と、各参加者が発言する順番を予め決めておき、1人目→2人目→3人目→1人目の順で発言することとした。司会者は司会進行時に自分の意見を述べても構わないとした。参加者は、直前の参加者の意見に言及してから自分の意見を述べることとし、1人目の参加者も2回目の機会にそれを行うこととした。トピック以外の指示はなく、5分以内に合意に達するよう求めることもなかった。

テストの授業前には、授業担当者が事前に作成した1グループ4名、1クラス10グループのグループ分けを全員に向けて発表した。その後、グループ内で司会者1名を決めた。司会者はトピックごとに交代し、テスト全体で1人あたり計2〜3回担当した。

テスト中にトピックを提示した後に、話す内容や表現を考える時間はなかった。教員が1つのトピックを提示すると生徒はすぐにディスカッションを始め、5分が過ぎた時点で止め、再び教員が次のトピックを提示すると、同じグループで役割を変えて次のディスカッションを開始する、という形式で進めた。各グループが（事前に提示していた11個のトピック中の）10個のトピックについて話し続ける中、教員2名が1個のトピックについて1つのグループを観察し、次のトピックでは時計回りに次のグループへ移動して評価を続けた。教員の採点を始める位置は異なっており、教員は毎回異なるトピックの会話を採点した。生徒にとっては、あるトピックでディスカッションを行っている時に教員1名が近くで採点しており、数個後の異なるトピック時に別な教員1名が近くで採点している形だった。10回のディスカッションのうち2回が採点対象だったことになる。

本手順は、松尾（2019）を若干修正したものである。本研究の手順の利点は、生徒が授業中に継続してディスカッションを行うことになり、スピーキングの機会が十分確保できること、教員にとっては、生徒の役割と発言する順番が分かっていることで、今話している生徒の発話に集中できることである。弱点は、採点の対象になるトピックや順番（例：1回目のディスカッションでの採点と、慣れてきた時点での採点）がグループごとに異なることである。このことは採点者信頼性の観点からみると、教員の採点が一致しなかった際には、教員間の採点のずれからの影響だけではなく、採点のタイミングやトピックからの影響も考慮する必要があるということを意味する。しかしトピックについては、事前提示があり準備ができる形になっていたため、また似たタスクの先行研究ではトピックのスコアへの影響は見られなかったため（例：Van Moere, 2006）、影響は少ないと思われた。

グループ型ディベート

このタスク形式では、表5の流れに沿って、1グループ4名から成る2グループの試合形式で、準備時間を含めて21分間ディベートを行った。どちらのグループが勝利したかについては、ディベートをオーディエンスとして聴いたクラスの生徒の挙手数によって決定した。2グループごとにディベートを行い、それを異なるトピックで5回繰り返した。

表5.
ディベートの流れ

	Stage	Team A	Team B
準備4分	① 肯定側立論(90秒)	論題を肯定する立場でメリットを述べる	
	② 否定側立論(90秒)		論題を否定する立場でメリットを述べる
準備2分	③ 質疑(60秒)	相手側チームの意見に質問をする	
	④ 質疑(60秒)		相手側チームの意見に質問をする
準備2分	⑤ 反論(90秒)	立論・質疑を踏まえたうえで、再度自分たちの優位性を説明する	
	⑥ 反論(90秒)		立論・質疑を踏まえたうえで、再度自分たちの優位性を説明する
準備2分	⑦ 総括(90秒)	自分たちの主張の方が重要性が大きいことを印象付ける	
	⑧ 総括(90秒)		自分たちの主張の方が重要性が大きいことを印象付ける

注. 準備時間中は、グループ内で話し合いが行われた。

テストの授業前には、授業担当者が事前に作成した1グループ4名、1クラス10グループのグループ分けを全員に向けて発表した。試合を行う2グループ、トピック、グループごとの肯定側・否定側の立場は、ディベート開始直前に授業担当者がくじをひいて決定した。グループ内での立場の割り当てはグループ内で決めた。表5の流れに沿ってディベートが行われ、教員はそれを聞きながら採点を行った。

本手順は、教科書のディベート活動に基づくもので、その長所は、生徒は他のグループの様子を確認することで英語表現やディベートの効果的な方法を体感することができる点である。また教員にとっては、ディスカッションと同様に、生徒の役割や発言する順番が決まっていることで、発話中の生徒に意識を向けやすく、採点に集中しやすい。また2名の教員が同じ発話を採点するため、スコアがずれた時の理由の特定や、スコアの調整が行いやすい。一方短所は、後に行うグループは、事前提示のトピックのどれが提示されるかは分からなくても、他グループのテスト中にある程度は準備が可能で、また他グループの様子からも学ぶことができ、有利になりやすい点である。

タスクと授業目標・指導の関係

2つのタスクとも、授業目標と事前の指導で用いたタスクに基づいて作成した。STでのトピックは指導時に用いたタスクに近く、生徒の興味をひくもので、生徒の現在または今後の生活に関係するものという視点で設定した。

指導やテストで使用するタスク形式やトピックを決める際には、この学校が定める、高校3年生のやり取りの領域における「CAN-DOリスト」の形での学習到達目標も参照した。高校3年生後期の目標は「社会問題や抽象的な話題について、流暢かつ自然に対話ができると共に、建設的な議論の構築に積極的に参加し、相手を説得できるように自分の考えを説明することができる」であった。高校3年生前期のやり取りの学習到達目標は「社会問題や抽象的な話題について，相手を説得できるように説明したり，情報を交換したりすることができる」であり、前期と後期の目標は、後期目標中に下線を引いた部分が大きく違っていた。前期実施のSTと指導時の反応に基づくと、前期終了の時点で前期の目標は8割の生徒がおおむね満たしたと思われた。後期には、後期の目標を達成するために、自分の意見を述べさせる活動を多く行った（まずペアやグループで話し、次に書く形式）。その際、(a)　自分の考えや意見を根拠・理由、具体例を添えて話すこと、(b)　相手に伝わるように発音や文法、語法、またアイコンタクトなどを工夫して表現することを強調した。これらのポイントは、分析的ルーブリックの (a) 内容と (b) それ以外（例：ディスカッションの観点では「表現」と「技術点」）に反映させた。

1グループ4名でのディスカッションも、1グループ4名、2グループでのディベートも、テスト前の授業中に実施し、生徒は形式に慣れていた。特に2つのテストの前の授業では、通常の授業の延長として役割（立場）も含めてテスト本番を想定した練習を複数回行った。その際にはテストのトピックとは別のものを用いた。

採点

上述のように、3名の教員間で事前に詳細に話し合う採点者トレーニングを行う時間はなく、10分程度の情報の共有のみを行った。1名の生徒につき、2名の教員が独立に採点した。テストの録画・録音はされなかった。

採点時には、すべて生徒一人ひとり観点ごとに採点したが、ディベートの「内容」は個人点を付けた後、4人グループでの平均値を出し、内容グループ点も算出した。内容についてはグループでの準備時間の話し合いが反映されており、グループ全体の力が反映されていると考えたためであった。本研究の分析では、個人点とグループ点を使った場合の両方を分析した。成績には、2名の教員のスコアの平均値を使用し、ディベートの内容はグループ点を用いた。結果はスコアレポートとして生徒に返却した。

なお、内容グループ点を成績点に含めることが適切かは議論を要する点である。生徒一人ひとりの発話とスコアに大きく影響するのが、個人の力とグループの力のどちらと考えるかによって捉え方が異なってくる。言語テスティング研究において、生徒のやり取りでの発話やスコアが何を意味するのか、発話やスコアを個人の力として捉えてよいのか、対話者や採点者等の要因の影響をどの程度受けるのかについては長年議論がされている（Iwashita et al., 2021; McNamara, 1997）。今回は、発話直前に提供された準備時間では、グループで内容は相談できるが表現を話し合う時間はあ

まりなく、内容のみグループの影響が大きいと考え、内容グループ点を成績に採用した。しかし、それを用いることでの影響を調べるため、内容個人点を使った場合と比較することにした。

分析

もともとのルーブリックには、「表現」のレベルの4点、7点、10点のように各観点に重みづけがあった。またディスカッションの観点はすべて10点満点だったが、ディベートの観点の満点は12点、8点、5点、5点と異なり、その意味でも重みづけがあったが、分析時にはすべて1〜3に変換した。採点者ごと、観点ごとの変換後のスコアを用いて、様々な採点者信頼性指標（研究課題1向け）、MFRM（研究課題1と2向け）、G theory（研究課題3向け）を使って分析した（分析用シンタックスは付表E・F）。重みづけなしの値の1〜3に変換したのは、本研究は信頼性が焦点であり、Linacre（2021）によると、測定値の真の信頼性は重みづけなしの分析から得られ、重みづけを行うことで信頼性の分析に恣意的な要素が入ってしまう（p. 375）ためだった[1]。また重みづけなしに行うことで、ディスカッションとディベートの比較が容易に行えることも理由の1つであった。

様々な採点者信頼性指標はMizumoto（2021）で算出した（Plonsky & Mizumoto, 2021も参照）。採点者の組み合わせごとに（採点者AとB、BとC、AとCの場合で別々に）調べ、採点者間一致度を見るために一致率と重みづけkappa係数を、採点者間一貫性を見るためにSpearmanの順位相関係数を用いた（表1参照）。

多相ラッシュ分析（MFRM; 小泉、2018b; 平井他、2018; McNamara et al., 2019）ではFacets（Ver. 3.83.6; Linacre, 2021）を3回用いた。各観点が個別に機能すると考え、部分採点モデル（partial credit model）を使った。入れた相は、受験者、採点者、ルーブリック観点だった。モデル適合の基準は、テスト単体で重要な判断を行わないため、Infit MSとOutfit MSの0.50〜1.50とした。

G theoryは、mGENOVA（University of Iowa, 出版年不明）を用いて3回分析した。多変量一般化可能性理論（multivariate generalizability theory: mG theory; 小泉、2018a; Grabowski & Lin, 2019）の完全なクロス式で欠損値のない、1相の$p^{\bullet} \times r^{\bullet}$デザインを用いた。採点者をランダム相とし、3〜4個の観点を従属変数として扱った。本分析で採点者は、採点者3名のスコアを圧縮して採点1・2として分析する、G theoryでは一般的な方法（Lin, 2017）を用いた。トピックはグループによって異なっていたが、同じとみなして分析した。G研究で、スコアの分散を、受験者能力の違いに由来する分散、採点者の厳しさの違いから来る分散、その他誤差から来る分散に分けてその割合を出した。D研究では、採点者の数を変化させたときにどの程度信頼性（信頼度：dependability）が変化するかを調べた。本テストは目標基準準拠（criterion-referenced）評価に使われるため、Φ（ファイ）係数を用い、Φ = .70以上を十分な信頼性と考えた。

結果

様々な採点者信頼性指標

表6を見ると、全体としては採点者間の一致度と一貫性が保たれていたが、一部満たされていないものもあった。例えばディスカッションの内容の観点において、採点者AとBで採点が完全に一致したのは74.4%で、kappa係数は .71で十分高く、相関は .70で強い相関があったが、採点者AとCでの完全一致度は57.1%で、kappa係数は .11で若干の一致で、相関は .11でほとんど関係がなかった。

表6.
採点者間信頼性係数:採点者の組み合わせごとの値の範囲

タスク形式	観点	一致率	kappa係数	Spearman相関
ディスカッション	内容	57.1〜74.4%	.11〜 .71	.11〜 .70
(*n* = 21〜117)	表現	52.4〜81.0%	.31〜 .70	.30〜 .73
	技術点	56.0〜81.2%	.06〜 .73	.13〜 .73
ディベート	内容	78.3〜90.6%	.58〜 .84	.61〜 .91
(内容個人点。	姿勢	65.2〜90.6%	.49〜 .82	.54〜 .85
n = 64〜91)	文法・語法	75.4〜90.6%	.40〜 .83	.48〜 .84
	音量等	55.1〜91.2%	.03〜 .82	.06〜 .82
(内容グループ点)	内容	68.8〜86.8%	-.06〜 .56	-.07〜 .63

注. *n* = 採点者組み合わせごとの生徒数。内容個人点 = 内容も他の観点も個人点を用いた場合。内容グループ点 = 内容はグループ点を用い、それ以外は個人点を用いた場合。

採点者2名の組み合わせは24ケースあり、その中の一致度や一貫性が低めだった6ケース(ともに.39未満のものを選択)について、どのようにずれていたかを詳細に調べた(表7参照)。クロス表を見ると、例えばケース1では、ディスカッションの内容の観点においてkappa係数が .11で一致度が低く、相関係数が .11と低かったが、ずれは採点者Aが2と採点したものを採点者Cは3とした場合(4名分)、またはその逆(5名分)であり、レベル2と3でのずれで、ケース4と5と同じパターンだった。ケース2ではレベル1と2、レベル2と3でのずれがあり、ケース3と6ではレベル1と3、2と3のずれだった。この中でより深刻な不一致は、第1に2レベル異なるレベル1と3のずれ(計3件)、第2に授業目標を達成したかを示すレベル1と2のずれ(計2件)であり、採点者トレーニング時や事後に優先して話し合うべき事項だと思われた。また、このように採点者間の採点のずれが大きく現れた場合の発話にどのような特徴があり、採点者がそれをどのように捉えたかについては探求すべき重要な点である。今回はテストの録画・録音がないために確認はできなかったが、それがあれば検討できるだろう。なお、深刻な不一致と考えられるのは、採点全体の中では一部にとどまり、表7の中では5件のみであった。

表7.
kappa係数とSpearman相関係数が低かった場合

	ケース1	ケース2	ケース3	ケース4	ケース5	ケース6
タスク	ディスカッション			ディベート		
観点	内容	表現	技術点	内容グループ点		音量等
クロス表						
一致率	57.1%	52.4%	66.7%	68.8%	86.8%	55.1%
Kappa	.11	.31	.06	.38	-.06	.03
相関	.11	.30	.13	.38	-.07	.06

多相ラッシュ分析（MFRM）

採点者信頼性に関する結果を提示する前に、MFRMの前提であるモデルの全体的適合度の結果を提示する（表8参照）。予想外の回答（Unexpected responses）における標準化残差を用い、±2を超えた標準化残差が約5%以内、±3を超えた標準化残差が約1%以内であれば、データがラッシュモデルに全体的に適合したと考えた（Linacre, 2021, p. 178）。例えばディスカッションでは、それぞれ4.35%, 0.81%で、全体としてこの基準は満たされていた。

表8.
テストの全体的モデル適合度：標準化残差の割合

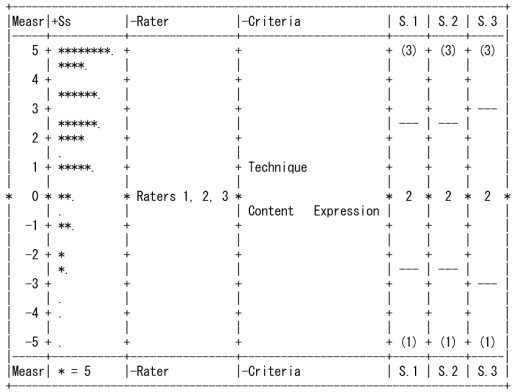
	ディスカッション	ディベート（内容個人点）	ディベート（内容グループ点）
データポイント数	1,356	1,804	1,804
±2 and ±3を超えた割合	4.35%, 0.81%	3.77%, 0.67%	4.05%, 0.89%

図1の変数マップ（Wrightマップ）の各図において、第1列のMeasrはロジット尺度を、第2列のSsは受験者の能力（推定）値を、第3列のRaterは採点者の厳しさ（推定）値を、第4列のCriteriaはルーブリックの観点の難易度の（推定）値を、第5列以降のS.1～S.4はルーブリックの観点の1～4個目のレベルの分かれ目を示している（値は表9）。変数マップでは通常、値がプラスの方向に高ければ高いほど、受験者の能力は高く、採点者の採点は厳しく、観点の難易度は高く、各観点で高いレベルのスコアを得ることが難しいことを示す。表9の測定値の平均値を比較すると、受験者能力が採点者の厳しさと観点難易度よりも高く（ディスカッションでの例：2.48 > 0.00 = 0.00）、平均的な受験者は、採点者の採点はより甘く、ルーブリック観点はより易しく感じられたと思われる。測定値の標準偏差（SD）では、受験者が最も大きく（2.64）、採点者は最も小

さく(0.14)、採点者の厳しさ値のばらつきは相対的に小さいものだった。標準誤差の平均値では、受験者が最も大きく、採点者と観点はほぼ同じであった。これは、受験者の推定は小さいデータから、採点者と観点の推定はより大きいデータから行うために避けられないことである(概算例:受験者の値の計算は採点者・観点ごとの6〜8個のデータ [2 x 3または2 x 4] から行い、採点者の値の計算は受験者・観点ごとの681〜908個のデータ [227 x 3または227 x 4] から行った。詳細はEngelhard, 2013を参照)。

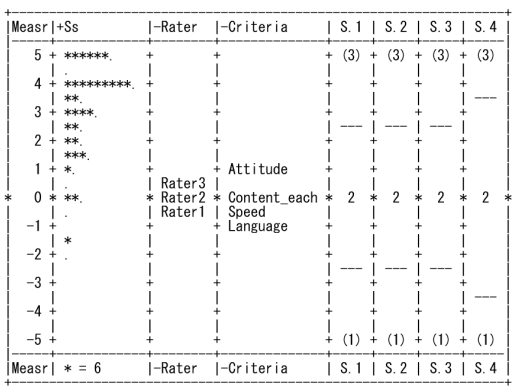
図1.

変数マップ

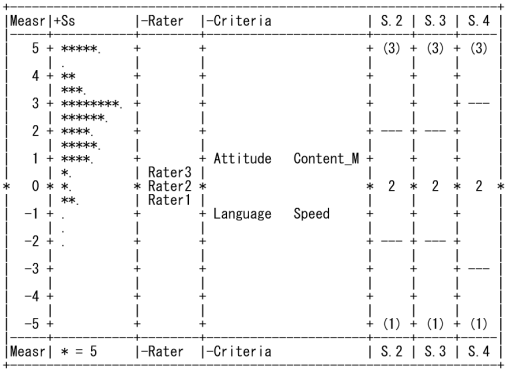


ディスカッション

ディベート(内容個人点)



ディベート(内容グループ点)



注. Ss = 受験者。Rater = 採点者。Criteria = 観点。S.1〜S.4 = ルーブリックの1〜4個目の観点(表4参照)。Speed = 音量等。ディベート(内容グループ点)のS.1がないのは、グループの平均値を使ったことでレベル1の採点がなくなり、2段階になったため(付表G)。

表9.
採点者、受験者、ルーブリック観点の統計値

	測定値の平均値	測定値のSD	標準誤差の平均値	適合度	層(Separationと Strata)		信頼性
ディスカッション							
受験者	2.48	2.64	1.16	範囲外あり	1.91	2.88	.79
採点者	0.00	0.14	0.13	範囲内	0.42	0.90	.15
観点	0.00	0.73	0.12	範囲内	5.87	8.16	.97
ディベート(内容個人点)							
受験者	3.02	1.87	0.97	範囲外あり	1.50	2.33	.69
採点者	0.00	0.29	0.10	範囲内	2.66	3.88	.88
観点	0.00	0.77	0.12	範囲内	6.49	8.99	.98
ディベート(内容グループ点)							
受験者	2.43	1.58	0.95	範囲外あり	1.20	1.94	.59
採点者	0.00	0.30	0.10	範囲内	2.85	4.14	.89
観点	0.00	0.94	0.12	範囲内	8.02	11.03	.98

注. 表の見方は、表1参照。信頼性は分離信頼性。受験者と観点では、高い値がそれぞれを詳細に分けて測れることを意味し、高い値が望ましい。一方採点者では、高い値は採点者の厳しさが大きく異なることを意味するため、低い値が望ましい。

受験者と観点

受験者の適合度に関して、ディスカッションとディベートともに範囲外の適合しない者がおり、過剰適合と不適合が両方あった。例えば、Infit MS 0.49以下の者が10.13～11.45%、1.51以上の者が10.13～12.33%、2.01以上の者が2.64～7.05%だった（表9参照）。受験者のスコア（回答）がラッシュ分析による予想パターンに似すぎていたり（過剰適合）、予想から大きく異なっていたり（不適合）した受験者がある程度いたということである。測定の質を下げる可能性がある不適合の詳細を、予想外の回答（Unexpected responses）のパターンで調べたところ、採点者間で異なるパターンはほとんどなく、ルーブリックのある観点のスコアが他観点のスコアから予想されるスコアよりも高いか低く、そのパターンが予想と異なるものだったことに起因していた。例えばディスカッションでは、技術点のスコアが予想より高い場合（40.91%）と内容のスコアが予想より低い場合（36.36%）が多かった。ディベート（内容個人点）では、態度または言語のスコアが予想より低い場合が多く（30.00～40.00%）、ディベート（内容グループ点）では、内容と言語のスコアが予想より低い場合が多かった（30.00～45.00%）。ディベート（内容グループ点）の内容で予想外と判定されたスコアは、個人の力だけでなく、グループの他のメンバーの力で変わるため、個人の力の反映である他の観点とのずれが見られたためだろう。全体的には、受験者の不適合は、スピーキング力の構成要素の相対的な高低によって起きる場合が多いと推測できる。これは、ある観点が極端に苦手や得意などの、もともと持つ力の高低差とともに、グループでの役割や構成、テストを受ける順序など、テストの環境や受験者の情意面の影響も考えられる。Bonk and Ockey（2003）は、受験者の不適合はSTではあまり大きな問題ではないと述べ、その理由を、(a) STでは当て推量で答える、真面目に取り組まない、寝ているような可能性は低く、受験者の採点が採点者2名から出ているために結果が安定しないことから起こることが多いため、(b) ルーブリック観点の難易度は全受験者から計算しているが、それとは異なる、観点ごとの得意不得意が個々の受験者に存在することは十分あるため、と述べている。本研究では、全員が真剣にテストに取り組んだことは採点者が確認しており、(b) の事象が多いことは上述の予想外の回答の分析で述べた。そのため、受験者の不適合の多さはあまり問題にならないと考えた。MFRMの受験者適合度基準は厳しすぎる場合があり、Mokken尺度分析（Walker & Wind, 2020）や、タスク数やサンプルサイズを考慮したBootstapping法（Seol, 2016）が適切な場合も報告されており、今後は複数の基準で確認する方向もあるだろう。

受験者がSTで弁別できるか（分離）については、Strataを見ると、ディスカッションで2.88で、能力層が異なる2～3群に分けられていた。ディベートでは2.33, 1.94であり、2群に分けられる程度だった。受験者分離信頼性は、一般的な分析でのテスト信頼性と概念的に同じで、ディスカッションとディベート（内容個人点）では .79と .69とまずまずの高さだったが、ディベート（内容グループ点）では .59であり、テスト信頼性は低いという結果だった。これは、ディベート（内容グループ点）の4観点中の3観点において、採点でレベル1がほぼ使われず、受験者の能力を3段階で弁別することができなかったことが大きな理由と思われる（付表G参照）。

観点については、適合度はすべて範囲内におさまっていた。分離については、ディスカッションのStrataで8.16あり、意図した9段階（3観点の3段階ずつのルーブリック）まではいかないものの、それに近いものが得られており、ディスカッションでも全体的には同様だった。観点の分離信頼性は、.97～.98と高かった。

ルーブリックの適切さについては、Bond et al. (2021)のほとんどの基準を満たしていた(詳細は付表G)。満たしていなかった基準は、(x) 各レベル使用頻度が10以上という基準で、レベル1の頻度が極端に少なかった点と、(y) 隣接する敷居値の距離が1.40〜5.00という基準において、5.01以上が見られ、レベル2の距離が長く(レベル2をとった者が多く)、レベル1とレベル3の難易度の差が大きすぎた点だった。この点を今後修正すべきかを検討する際には、レベル1と2、またレベル2と3の受験者のスコアや発話を比較して、本来レベル1(レベル2)になる受験者がレベル2(レベル3)に入っていないか(またその逆もないか)、それがある場合に、レベル1から2になるのをより難しくするか、レベル2から3になるのをより易しくするか、レベル2を分割して、3段階を4段階にするか、問題があった箇所の記述やサンプル例を明確化したり修正したりするか、採点者トレーニングでの説明を変えるかなどを1つずつ検討していくことになる。もちろん授業目標や授業内容、授業での反応とルーブリック結果を比較し、意図通りであれば修正しない方向もある。例えば (x) の場合、レベル2は授業目標をおおむね満たした場合であり、指導の結果、それを全生徒が到達した場合には、レベル1の使用数は0回になるが、それは問題がないと考えられる。また (y) の場合に意図的にレベル2の幅を広くしたときには問題ないだろう。また観点の段階数を増やすことで採点の負担も増すため、それも考慮すべきである。

採点者

採点者信頼性に関して、採点者の厳しさ値の違いは小さかった(表10参照)。例えばディスカッションでは、厳しさ値の差の最大値は0.34(-0.18〜0.16)であり、fair scoreの差の最大値は3点満点中0.07のみだった。表9で採点者信頼性は、.15と低かった。この値は、採点者がどの程度異なる採点をしたかを示す分離信頼性であり、低い値は採点者が似た厳しさで採点していたことを示し、今回はそうだったと言える。採点者間の一致率は高く、また予測一致率よりも高かった(72.9% > 71.6%)。他のテストでも同様の結果だった。

表10.
採点者統計値

	厳しさ値の差の最大値	fair scoreの差の最大値	Infit MS	Outfit MS	一致率	予測一致率
ディスカッション	0.34	0.07	0.86〜1.35	0.80〜1.41	72.9%	71.6%
ディベート(内容個人点)	0.69	0.16	0.93〜1.09	0.93〜1.11	82.9%	67.6%
ディベート(内容グループ点)	0.72	0.14	0.95〜1.02	0.97〜1.05	81.6%	66.7%

採点者適合度のInfit MSとOutfit MSの点では、全員の採点者が0.50〜1.50内に入り、適合度を満たしていた。例えばディスカッションでは、0.86〜1.35と0.80〜1.41だった。この結果から、本研究のテスト結果では、採点者内一貫性が高く、採点者が最初から最後まで、また観点ごとに似た厳しさで採点していたことが分かる。

一般化可能性理論（G theory）

G theoryのG研究の結果に基づく各変動要因の分散要因の割合を表11に示す。例えばディスカッションの内容の観点（C1）では受験者が62.00%、採点者が0.00%、残差が38.00%だった。残差は、採点者が受験者によって採点方法を変えたことから起きる変動と、それでは説明できない変動を含む値である。ここから、受験者の分散が占める割合が大きく、採点者の影響はなかったことが分かる。表11全体で採点者の影響は最大で2.14%で、小さかったことが示された。

次に、採点者数を変えた時にテストの信頼性がどのように変わるかをD研究で調べた。表12によると、例えばディスカッションの内容（C1）では、採点者1名だと .62で .70未満のため十分な信頼性がなく、2名いると .77となり、必要な信頼性を満たしていた。表現（C2）、技術点（C3）でも同様で、全体（計）では採点者1名で十分だった。ディベートでもほぼ同じ結果だった。

表11.
G研究における推定された分散成分とその割合

		ディスカッション			ディベート（内容個人点）				ディベート（内容グループ点）			
		C1	C2	C3	C1	C2	C3	C4	C1	C2	C3	C4
受験者 (p)	VC	0.23	0.23	0.23	0.22	0.23	0.15	0.15	0.10	0.23	0.15	0.15
	%	62.00	66.94	59.85	74.38	67.87	65.90	56.04	49.92	67.87	65.90	100.00
採点者 (r)	VC	0.00[a]	0.00[b]	0.00[b]	0.00[b]	0.01	0.00[b]	0.00[a]	0.00[b]	0.01	0.00[b]	0.00[a]
	%	0.00	0.09	0.08	0.75	1.89	1.42	0.00	2.14	1.89	1.42	0.00
残差 (pr, e)	VC	0.14	0.11	0.15	0.07	0.10	0.07	0.11	0.10	0.10	0.07	0.00
	%	38.00	32.98	40.07	24.87	30.25	32.68	43.96	47.94	30.25	32.68	0.00

Note. C1～C4 = 第1～4の観点。VC = 分散要因（variance component）
[a] 負の分散を0に固定。[b] VCの小数点第3位を四捨五入して0.00になった。下の段の%はVCの四捨五入前の値を用いて%を算出した。

表12.
D研究における信頼性の変化

	ディスカッション				ディベート（内容個人点）					ディベート（内容グループ点）				
R	C1	C2	C3	計	C1	C2	C3	C4	計	C1	C2	C3	C4	計
1	.62	.67	.59	.81	.74	.68	.66	.56	.79	.50	.68	.66	.56	.71
2	.77	.80	.74	.89	.85	.81	.79	.72	.88	.67	.81	.79	.72	.83
3	.83	.86	.81	.93	.90	.86	.85	.79	.92	.75	.86	.85	.79	.88

注. R = 採点者。計 = 3～4観点を合わせた結果。下線はΦ = .70 以上の場合。

テスト間の相関

STの実施や採点には手間がかかるため、学期で複数回行うべきかが議論になることがある。その点への示唆を得るために、MFRMで出した受験者能力値の相関を調べたところ、ディスカッションとディベート間では中程度の相関があった（r = .41, .46）。またディベートの内容個人点と内容グループ点の相関は非常に高く（r = .94）、どちらを用いても、受験者のスコアは似た結果となった。

ディスカッションとディベートの間では中程度しか相関がなく、共通して測れる部分は2乗した16.81～21.16%のみであった。9月と11月で2カ月の間なので、能力の違いよりは、テスト形式の違いによるスピーキング力の見え方の違いが大きいと解釈でき、1形式だけでテストを行うと測れない力も多いと考えられる。

考察

研究課題1の採点者間一致度・一貫性の点での採点者信頼性については、全体的に保たれていた。MFRMでの採点者の厳しさ値の差は小さく、一致度も十分あった（表10）。G theoryのG研究でも、採点者がテストのスコア全体に影響する割合は小さかった（表11）。しかし採点者の組み合わせごとにみると、kappa係数や相関係数に低いものがあり（表6）、その点を満たすためには採点者トレーニング等が必要だと思われる。

研究課題2の採点者内一貫性の点については、MFRMの採点者適合度は範囲内で、保たれていた（表10）。

研究課題3の必要な信頼性を満たすための採点者数（表12）については、G theoryのD研究結果から、3～4観点の合計点では採点者1名で十分と示された。1観点のスコアで何らかの判断をする場合には、必要な採点者数は1～3名と分かった。

本結果とK&Wのグループ型ディスカッションの結果を比較すると、採点者信頼性の点で共通点は多かった。例えばMFRMの採点者の厳しさ値にはあまり違いがなく、一致度が高かったが、採点者ごとの組み合わせでの一致度と一貫性を見ると低いものも見られた点が同じだった。一方大きく異なる点として、グループ型タスクを使った合計点の結果で、必要な採点者数が、K&Wでは3または4名だったが本研究では1名だった。2つの研究は、シンプルなルーブリックを使って、詳細な採点者トレーニングはない状態で採点という点が共通だが、相違点も多く、以下に7点挙げる。

第1に、生徒の学力層が異なっていた。本研究は高校3年生対象で、その英語力は県の上位層に属していたが、K&Wの高校1年生の英語力は県で平均的だった。

第2に、ST結果を成績点に含めるかが異なり、本研究では評定の3割を占めていたが、K&Wでは形成的評価のみで成績には含めなかった。

第3に、受験者の能力と比較したテストの難易度は、図1で受験者の多くが上の方に位置づけられたことから分かるように本研究では易しめだった。K&Wでは2回行ったグループ型ディスカッションのうち2回目は本研究と同様だったが、1回目は適した難易度の範囲だった。

第4に、ルーブリックの観点の違いがあった。本研究では、内容と言語的要素、コミュニケーションに対する姿勢を採点対象としたが、K&Wでは、内容とやり取りの適切

さ、コミュニケーションへの意欲を対象とし、言語面でなく「やり取りの適切さ」を採点し、やり取りの適切さの判断の難しさが採点の不安定さにつながった可能性がある。

第5に、生徒1人あたりの発言時間が異なっていた。本研究のディスカッションでは、1グループ約5分、1人あたり75秒以上あったが、K&Wでは1グループ3〜4分、1人あたり45秒から60秒で、グループ全員が十分話す時間がなく、採点者がスコアの結論を出す前に採点の時間が終わってしまうこともあった。Van Moere（2006）では1グループ4名で5〜10分採点にかかったとあり、自由に話す形で採点者信頼性を保つためには1グループ採点により長い時間を確保する必要があると思われる。

第6に、採点者の認知的負荷の度合いが違ったと思われる。本研究では、司会者と参加者を決め、参加者が発言する順番も決まっていたため、会話の流れは予測できた。K&Wでは全員が自由に話してもいい形だったため、誰がいつ話すか予想ができず、採点者は生徒Aが話し始めるとその発話を採点し、スコアの結論が出ない状態でも、次の生徒Bが話し始めるとBの採点に移り、生徒Aが再び話し始めると前回のところから再開してスコアを考えた。1グループの4人分を同時に採点する形で、採点がより難しくなっていたと考えられる。

第7に、採点者である教員の特徴が異なっていた。本研究では、採点者全員が同じ学年に対して同じ教材を用いて指導や評価を行い、指導理念を共有していた。そのため、直接教えていない生徒の発話の採点でも、自分が教える生徒の様子からスピーキング力がどのくらいかを判断しやすかった可能性がある。さらに本研究のSTの前の6月に2種類のSTを実施し、また5年前から1科目ごとに年4回STを行っていたため、ST実施・採点の経験もあった。一方K&Wでは、授業担当者以外の教員は、STを行っておらず、授業中のスピーキング活動内容もあまり共有されていない中で、他教員が採点の援助をする形で、また授業担当者も前年にはSTを実施していなかった。そのため、どの程度の発話を求めるか等の共通認識を持っておらず、判断がずれた可能性がある。

本研究とK&Wの相違点の中で、どの点の影響が大きかったかについては要因を絞って今後実証研究を行う必要があるが、第4〜7の相違点での説明は理解しやすいものである。シンプルなルーブリックで採点者トレーニングなしのグループ型タスクでも、やり取りの適切さよりは発話の言語面（文法や語法）に注目して採点する、1グループあたりの時間を長めにとる、生徒の発言する順番を決めるなど、会話の流れがある程度予想できるタスク構造にする、指導や評価について共通認識を持つ教員が採点するようにすることで信頼性が保てる可能性がある。

ただし、これらの方法は信頼性を高める可能性がある反面、妥当性や実行可能性を下げることも認識しておきたい。例えば、会話での役割や発言の順序を決めることは、グループ型ディスカッションで測りやすいとされる、やり取り力を測る度合いが下がる。役割や発言順番が決まっていないことで、会話を開始したり、会話を修復したりという発話が生徒から自然な形で自発的に表れにくくなるためである。さらにルーブリックの観点にやり取りの適切さを含めないことで、やり取り力の重要な要素を測りにくくなる。また1グループあたりの時間を長く確保することで、テストに必要な授業時間が増え、その分指導時間は減るため、他教員の同意が取りにくくなり、共通認識のある教員に採点を依頼することも難しくなりやすい。このような点も含めて、どのようなタスク形式や実施方法にするかを決める必要がある。

本研究とK&Wの結果により、授業内STでは、シンプルなルーブリックを使えば、長時間の採点者トレーニングは必要なく、採点者1名でも安定して採点できる場合もあることが示された。しかし、表7にあるように、全体として信頼性が確保できていても、個々に見ると一致度や一貫性が低い場合もあり、3段階のレベル1と2や、レベル1と3と意見が割れた場合も見られた。そのような場合、素点を用いて採点者1名のときには、採点の偏りがそのまま成績に直接反映されることになる。そのため、一般にSTの採点で言われているように、事前の採点者トレーニングを短時間でも行い、特にずれそうな点だけでも行うことが望ましい。またK&Wで行ったように、テストの最初の数件を採点した後に話し合いの機会が持てるとよいだろう。実際のSTでの生徒の発話を観察すると、ルーブリック等のあいまいな点等に気づき、基準を調整した上で採点を行うことができる。

次に、本研究でのグループ型のディスカッションとディベートを比較すると、採点者信頼性の点でも、他の点でもテストの性質に関わる相違点は少なかった。また2つのタスク形式から推測できる受験者の能力値の相関は中程度であり、形式は似ていても測っている力は同じではないことも示された（***テスト間の相関参照***）。K&Wを再分析すると、1〜3カ月の間をおいた時期が隣り合わせのテスト同士では、弱から中程度の相関（r = .31〜 .40）があり、同様の傾向があった。もし2回STを行ううちのどちらかだけでSTに関する評定を決定すると、実施したテスト形式を得意とする生徒が有利になる可能性がある。使用タスクによって見える力が異なることは先行研究でも述べられており（In'nami & Koizumi, 2016; Ockey et al., 2015）、定期的に様々なタスクを用いてテストを実施する方が望ましいだろう。

ディベートで内容個人点と内容グループ点を使った場合を比較すると、内容個人点の方が生徒の個人の力がより反映されるため、より受験者信頼性が高く（表9）、受験者の不適合は少なかった（例［表9には不掲載］：Infit MS 1.51以上が、内容個人点の場合に12.33%、内容グループ点で14.10%）。内容グループ点の不適合では、内容のスコアが予想より低いというケースが多く（45.00%）、内容にグループ全体の力が反映されているとはいえ、STの信頼性の点では内容個人点を使用した方がより適切と言えよう。しかし、グループで協力して相手グループを論破するというディベートの目的と教育的効果を考えると、ルーブリックでもそれが反映されていた方がよく、その点で内容をグループ点にする方法は適切だと考えられる。内容グループ点を使った結果は、STの信頼性は若干下がる傾向になることを理解しつつ使うのがよいだろう。

結論

本研究は、3〜4観点で3段階のシンプルなルーブリックを用いることで、詳細な採点者トレーニングがない場合にも信頼性が十分保てるかを、グループ型のディスカッションとディベートの場合で検証した。その結果、採点者間一致度・一貫性と採点者内一貫性の観点で十分な信頼性が満たされていることが示された。K&Wとの比較で、信頼性を高める方法として、グループ型タスクの場合に、やり取りの適切さよりは言語面（文法・語法）を観点に入れる、生徒が話す時間を長めに確保する、生徒の役割や発言する順番を決める、共通認識がある教員で採点を行う等の方法が示唆された。

本研究で得られた示唆は4点ある。第1に、採点者トレーニングを詳細に行えない状況でも採点者信頼性を保つ方法として、タスク構造や手順の工夫などが示唆さ

れ、教員が授業内STを作成・実施・採点する際の指針として使えると思われる。特にK&Wに加え、新たなタスク形式（ディベート）や生徒の実態が異なる別の学校での結果が報告されたことで、より適用できる範囲が増える可能性がある。第2に、ディベートの内容の観点について、個人点とグループ点を用いることの利点と弱点が示され、グループで協力して行う度合いが大きいタスクにおいてどちらのスコアを用いるかを考える際に役立つだろう。第3に、近い時期に行ったSTスコアの関係は中程度のみと示されたことで、異なるテスト形式を用いることで多様な生徒の力を的確に測ることの意義が示された。第4に方法論的な示唆として、採点者信頼性を報告する際に、一致度・一貫性・測定アプローチの1つだけを用いることが多いが、それぞれの指標で結果が若干異なる事例を本研究は報告した。目的によるが、可能であれば3つのアプローチすべての情報を提供することで、バランスよく採点者信頼性を検討できるだろう。またその分析によって、採点者間や採点者内でスコアの大きなずれが見られた場合を特定することができ、録音・録画を使ってなぜずれたのかを確認し、採点でずれやすい観点や特徴、状況を精査し、それ以降の採点者トレーニングで共有するという流れを作ることもできる。

本結果は、今回の使用したタスク形式やルーブリック、指導目標や指導タスク、生徒の英語の熟達度、生徒と教員の情意的や認知的特徴などに限定される可能性がある。そのため、別な状況での研究をさらに行い、知見を深めることが必要である。要因を厳密に統制した実験的な研究は授業内STの研究は行いにくいが、より多くの研究を行うことで、日本の状況に適したSTの実施や採点の方法を、発展させていくことにつながるだろう。

最後に、採点者信頼性が満たされたとしても、測りたい力が適切に測れ、テストの目的に沿った形で適切に使えているか、という妥当性の中の一部が満たされただけである。例えば論証に基づく妥当性検証を、領域定義、得点化、一般化、説明、外挿、利用、波及効果という7段階の推論に基づくものと捉えるとき、採点者信頼性は、得点化、一般化に大きく関わる（Chapelle & Voss, 2021; 小泉, 2018b）。教室内STのスコアに基づく解釈と使用の妥当性を示すためには、採点者信頼性（得点化、一般化）以外の観点を検証する必要があり、様々な文脈での教室内STにおいて、その検討を教員と研究者が協力しながら行うことが重要である（Gu, 2020; Koizumi, 2022）。

注

1. 念のため信頼性以外の値の検討のために重みづけを行ったデータを用いて、ディベートのデータのMFRMを行ったところ、本研究で報告した結果と全体的には変わらなかった（観点に重みをつけて分析する方法は、Linacre, 2021, pp. 375–377参照）。相違点は、重みづけがあることで、受験者・採点者・観点すべてにおいて層（SeparationとStrata）が増大し、信頼性が高くなっていたことだった。例えば、ディベート（内容個人点）のStrataでは、受験者が6.79、採点者が11.89、観点が22.73であり、表9の2.33, 3.88, 8.99よりも大きくなっていた。また表8で報告した全体的モデル適合度は、重みづけがあることでやや適合しない結果になった（例：ディベート［内容個人点）の重みづけありで5.54%, 1.66%）。この結果から、受験者の力を詳細に弁別したいのであれば観点を重みづけるのは1つの方法ではあるが、採点者の弁別も高まり（採点の厳しさの違いも大きくなり）、モデルに適

合しにくくなる場合もあるため、重みづけを行う場合にはそれも考慮に入れるべきであろう。

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付表A

ディスカッションのルーブリック

Performance Test Evaluation Sheet: English Expression II
[司会者:Moderator]
Class: No. Name

内容	まとめ方	参加者の発言を別の表現で言い換え、要約できている。	10
		参加者の発言を繰り返すなどして、適宜フィードバックしている。	7
		参加者の発言に言及しようとしているが、不十分である。	4
表現	発声・音声・ノンバーバルコミュニケーション	適切にアイコンタクトやジェスチャーなどを用いており、自然に議論を進行することができている。	10
		時折アイコンタクトやジェスチャーを用いており、自然な議論の進行に努めている。	7
		アイコンタクトやジェスチャーが不十分であり、議論の進行に滞りがある。	4
技術点	文法・語法	文法・語法のエラーが少なく、既習の表現を活用しながら自分の考えを不足なく伝えられている。	10
		文法・語法のエラーについて多少のエラーや単純な表現は多いが、自分の考えが伝えられている。	7
		文法・語法のエラーが目立ち、自分の考えが十分に伝えられていない。	4

[参加者:Participant]

Class:	No.	Name	
内容	考え方	相手の考えと自分の考えを比較しながら、根拠に基づいた自分の考えを述べている。	10
		根拠に基づいた自分の考えを分かりやすく述べている。	7
		自分の考えを述べているが、内容がやや不足である。	4
表現	発声・音声・ノンバーバルコミュニケーション	適切にアイコンタクトやジェスチャーなどを用いており、自然な(理解されやすい)表現をしている。	10
		時折アイコンタクトやジェスチャーを用いており、自然な(理解されやすい)表現に努めている。	7
		アイコンタクトやジェスチャーが不十分であり、相手に伝わりにくい表現である。	4
技術点	文法・語法	文法・語法のエラーが少なく、既習の表現を活用しながら自分の考えを不足なく伝えられている。	10
		文法・語法のエラーについて多少のエラーや単純な表現は多いが、自分の考えが伝えられている。	7
		文法・語法のエラーが目立ち、自分の考えが十分に伝えられていない。	4

付表B

ディベートのルーブリック

Performance Test Evaluation Sheet: Communication English III

(内容は各立場で異なり、他の観点は共通)

【肯定側立論／否定側立論】(Affirmative Constructive Speech / Negative Constructive Speech)

Class:	No.	Name
内容	12	トピックについて、自分の立場に即して考えや意見を理由や具体例を添えて分かりやすく説明している。
	8	トピックについて、自分の立場に即して考えや意見を説明している。
	4	トピックについて、自分の立場に即して考えや意見を説明しようとしているが、内容が不明瞭である。

コミュ姿勢	8	自然なアイコンタクトやジェスチャーを用いている。積極的に発言して議論の発展に努めている。
	5	アイコンタクトやジェスチャーを用いる努力がある。時々言いよどみながらも議論の発展に努めている。
	3	アイコンタクトやジェスチャーが不十分である。積極性に欠け、議論への参加に意欲が見えない。
文法語法	5	理解を妨げるような文法・語法のエラーがほぼなく、自分の考えを不足なく伝えられている。
	3	理解を妨げるような文法・語法のエラーが少しあり、自分の考えが十分に伝わらないところがある。
	1	理解を妨げるような文法・語法のエラーが多く、自分の考えが十分に伝えられていないところが多い。
音量速度発音	5	話す音量や速さを調整し、また発音にも留意しながら、聞き手が理解しやすいように話している。
	3	話す音量や速さを調整し、聞き手が理解しやすいように努めている。
	1	話す音量や速さが、聞き手にとって理解しづらいものである。
12点	We think that Japanese high schools should allow their students to work part time. Some need to earn money to pay school fees, some to buy essential goods for their school life, and others to support their families financially.	
8点	We think that Japanese high schools should allow their students to work part time. Students can learn many things through working part time. The experience of part-time job will be helpful for their future.（具体性に欠ける）	

【質疑】(Question)

内容	12	相手側の立論で提起した内容について質問している。
	8	相手側の立論の内容について質問しようとしているが、内容が不明瞭である。
	4	自然なアイコンタクトやジェスチャーを用いている。積極的に発言して議論の発展に努めている。
12点	You said that some students need to support their family financially so they should be allowed to work part time. I know what you mean, but don't you think it will have a negative effect on their study? They will definitely have less time to study.	
8点	I see your point. But we're afraid that they will study less due to their part-time job. What do you think?（要約なし）	

【反論】(Rebuttal Speech)

内容	12	立論・質疑を踏まえ、自分たちの優位性を理由や具体例を添えて分かりやすく説明している。
	8	立論・質疑を踏まえ、自分たちの優位性を改めて説明している。
	4	立論・質疑を踏まえ、自分たちの優位性を改めて説明しようとしているが、内容が不明瞭である。
12点	We believe that high school students are mature enough to handle both a job and their studies, so there's no need to prohibit them from working part time. Rather, through keeping a good balance between study and work, they can learn how to manage time.	
8点	We believe that high school students can keep a good balance between study and work. They are high school students, so they know what they have to do. No problem.（具体性に欠ける）	

【総括】(Summary)

内容	12	相手の主張と比較し、自分たちの主張の方が重要性が大きいことを、具体的な根拠とともに分かりやすく説明している。
	8	相手の主張と比較し、自分たちの主張の方が重要性が大きいことを説明している。
	4	相手の主張と比較し、自分たちの主張の方が重要性が大きいことを印象付けようとしているが、内容が不明瞭である。
12点	Of course, working part time has some risks like affecting their academic performance, but, in a democratic society, everyone has the right to do what they like, within the law. If students say that they can balance their schoolwork with part-time jobs, no one can stop them from doing what they want. The experience of balancing the two will help them become responsible and independent adult.	
8点	Certainly, there are some risks about working part time, but if students say they want to work part time, who can stop them? We need to believe they will do well both in study and in work. The experience of part-time job will bring them a lot of benefits.（抽象的）	

付表C

ディスカッションのトピック

1. Why do you think some students study abroad?
2. Which do you prefer to work for, a large company or a small company?
3. Do you think games are important for adults as well as for children?

4. Why do you think some people are attracted to dangerous sports or activities?
5. Which do you think is better, being single or being married?
6. Which do you think is better, working by hand or using machines?
7. What is the most important factor to be successful in life?
8. What would you like to be if you were born again?
9. Which is more important to learn, history or science?
10. Where is the most important place in your house?
11. Do you agree with the following statement? Everyone must go to university.

付表D

ディベートのトピック

1. Students should be asked to study foreign languages other than English.
2. There should be boys-only and girls-only high schools in addition to co-education schools.
3. We should abolish smoking in all restaurants.
4. We should ban Giri chocolate.
5. High school shouldn't allow students to bring their cell phones to school.
6. High achieving students should be allowed to skip grades.
7. Students should be allowed to choose their homeroom teacher.
8. All students should join a club.
9. There should be a convenience store in high schools.
10. Animal testing should be banned.
11. Zoos should be abolished.
12. There should be no homework for high school students.

付表E

ディスカッションの場合のMFRMのインプットファイル　　注. ( ) = 解説

title = Discussion_rater_criteria
convergence = 0.1 ; size of largest remaining marginal score residual at convergence
unexpected = 2 ; size of smallest standardized residual to report
arrange = m ; arrange output tables in Num decending and Logit ascending order

facets = 3 ; 3 facets 1 Person, 2 Rater, 3 Criteria
noncenter = 1 ; examinee facet floats
positive = 1 ; for examinees, greater score greater measure
Pt-biserial = Yes ; report the point-biserial correlation
Inter-rater = 2 ; facet 2 is the rater facet
Missing = N
Yardstick = 0,2,-5,5
Model =
?,?,1,R3
?,?,2,R3
?,?,3,R3
*

Labels=
1,Ss
001-227

*
2,Rater
01 = Rater1
02 = Rater2
03 = Rater3

*
3,Criteria
1 = Content
2 = Expression
3 = Technique

*
data =
001 01 1-3 3 3 3
（受験者番号001、採点者01、観点3つ1-3、観点ごとのスコア3つの順）
002 01 1-3 3 2 2
（途中略）

001 02 1-3 3 2 2
（途中略）
001 03 1-3 N N N
227 03 1-3 2 2 1

（最後にエンターキーを入れる）

付表F

ディスカッションの場合のmG theoryのインプットファイル

GSTUDY p x r Design with Covariance Components Design = p
OPTIONS "*.out"
MULT 3 Con Expr Techni
EFFECT * p 225 225 225
（227名中2名は採点者1名のみの採点だったため225名で分析）
EFFECT # r 2 2 2
FORMAT 0 0
PROCESS
3 3 3 2 3 2
（Contentの採点者1、2のスコア、Expressionの採点者1、2のスコア、Techniqueの採点者1、2のスコアの順）
（略）
DSTUDY p x R Design with Covariance Components Design = p
DOPTIONS DCUT 2.0
DEFFECT $ p 225 225 225
DEFFECT # R 3 3 3
ENDDSTUDY
DSTUDY p x R Design with Covariance Components Design = p
DOPTIONS DCUT 2.0
DEFFECT $ p 225 225 225
DEFFECT # R 2 2 2
ENDDSTUDY
DSTUDY p x R Design with Covariance Components Design = p
DOPTIONS DCUT 2.0
DEFFECT $ p 225 225 225
DEFFECT # R 1 1 1

ENDDSTUDY

（最後にエンターキーを入れる）

付表G

ルーブリックの適切さの判断

表G1には研究全体の結果をまとめた。

ルーブリックの適切さの判断基準は、5点ある（表G1参照）。その基準を用いた解釈例として、「ディスカッションの内容」の結果を以下に挙げる（図G1と図G3左参照）。また図G2と図G3右に、問題が2点見つかった「ディベートの音量等」の結果を示す。

表G1.
ルーブリックの適切さの結果

基準	各レベル難易度・敷居推定値	各レベル使用頻度	各レベルの適合度	隣接する敷居推定値の距離		ルーブリックの確率曲線
	段階的に上昇	10以上	Outfit MS 2.0 未満	1.4以上5.0以内（括弧内は値）		各レベルに頂上あり
ディスカッション						
内容	OK	OK	OK	OK	(4.66)	OK
表現	OK	OK	OK	問題あり	(5.08)	OK
技術点	OK	OK	OK	問題あり	(5.94)	OK
ディベート（内容個人点）						
内容	OK	OK	OK	OK	(4.66)	OK
姿勢	OK	OK	OK	OK	(5.00)	OK
文法・語法	OK	問題あり [4]	OK	OK	(4.88)	OK
音量等	OK	問題あり [2]	OK	問題あり	(7.12)	OK
ディベート（内容グループ点）						
内容	OK	問題あり [0]	OK	--		--
姿勢	OK	OK	OK	OK	(4.42)	OK
文法・語法	OK	問題あり [4]	OK	OK	(4.28)	OK
音量等	OK	問題あり [2]	OK	問題あり	(6.46)	OK

注. 問題あり = レベル 1 で問題あり。[ ] = レベル1で観測された頻度。-- = レベル1のスコアがなかったため、算出・描画されなかった。

基準1:各レベルの難易度推定値と敷居推定値が段階的に上昇するか

「ディスカッションの内容」について、図G1では、Average measures (Avge Meas)が-2.06から3.34まで上昇し、RASCH-ANDRICH Threshold Measureも-2.33から2.33まで上昇し、ともに段階的に上昇していた。

基準2:各レベルの使用頻度は、10回以上あるか

各レベル使用頻度は、Counts Usedが26, 163, 175と各レベルで10回以上あった。

基準3:各レベルの適合度は、アウトフィット平均平方(Outfit mean squares)が2.0未満か

OUTFIT MnSqで0.9～1.1で見たしていた。

基準4:隣接する敷居値の距離は1.40以上、5.00以内か

-2.33と2.33の値から距離は4.66と算出でき、基準は満たしていた。

基準5:ルーブリックの確率曲線(図G1)においては各レベルに頂上が見えるか

レベル2に頂上が見えていた。

図G1.

「ディスカッションの内容」の「ルーブリックの適切さ」の結果

DATA				QUALITY CONTROL		RASCH-ANDRICH		EXPECTATION		MOST	RASCH-	Cat
Category Counts			Cum.	Avge	Exp. OUTFIT	Thresholds		Measure at		PROBABLE	THURSTONE	PEAK
Score	Total	Used	%	%	Meas	Meas	MnSq	Measure	S.E.	Category	-0.5	from	Thresholds	Prob
1	28	26	7%	7%	-2.06	-1.97	.9			(-3.40)		low	low	100%
2	163	163	45%	52%	1.20	1.14	1.0	-2.33	.26	.00	-2.33	-2.33	-2.33	84%
3	261	175	48%	100%	3.34	3.39	1.1	2.33	.14	(3.41)	2.35	2.33	2.32	100%
										(Mean)		(Modal)	(Median)	

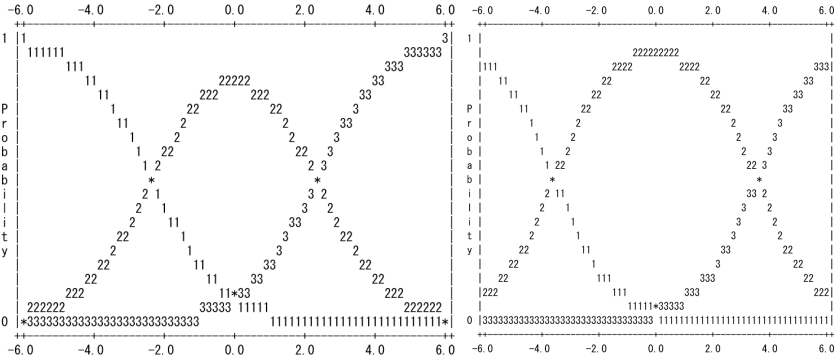
図G2.

「ディベートの音量等」の「ルーブリックの適切さ」の結果

DATA				QUALITY CONTROL		RASCH-ANDRICH		EXPECTATION		MOST	RASCH-	Cat
Category Counts			Cum.	Avge	Exp. OUTFIT	Thresholds		Measure at		PROBABLE	THURSTONE	PEAK
Score	Total	Used	%	%	Meas	Meas	MnSq	Measure	S.E.	Category	-0.5	from	Thresholds	Prob
1	2	2	1%	1%	2.19	-.06	1.4			(-4.62)		low	low	100%
2	216	216	55%	56%	2.53	2.42	1.2	-3.56	.72	.00	-3.54	-3.56	-3.56	95%
3	233	174	44%	100%	3.86	4.02	1.2	3.56	.12	(4.64)	3.55	3.56	3.55	100%
										(Mean)		(Modal)	(Median)	

図G3.

「ディスカッションの内容」（左）と「ディベートの音量等」（右）の確率曲線



『多言語教育に揺れる近代日本「一外国語主義」浸透の歴史』
下 絵津子 著
Ambivalence Towards Multilingual Education: Modern Japan and the Gradual Implementation of its 'One Foreign Language Principle'. SHIMO Etsuko 東信堂, 2022. (264ページ)

Reviewed by
吉村雅仁
YOSHIMURA Masahito
奈良教育大学

本書は、下絵津子氏が京都大学大学院人間・環境学研究科に提出された博士論文「近代日本における外国語教育政策：英語偏重型をめぐる議論の考察」に加筆修正を施し、勤務先である近畿大学の助成を受けて出版されたものである。

下氏の研究関心は幅広く、現勤務校における業務とも関連する英語教育、特に学習者自律性、協働学習、ポートフォリオ評価などに始まり、英語学習プログラムのカリキュラム開発の枠組みに影響を与える要因としての言語政策やイデオロギー、またその源泉や経緯を探る言語政策史にまで及ぶ。そして本書は下氏の言語政策史研究の集大成ともいえよう。

本書のタイトルにある「多言語教育」は、現代日本の外国語教育においてもしばしば議論されているテーマの一つである。例えば1980年代には、ほぼ英語のみの外国語教育政策は「英語支配」「英語帝国主義」という表現で特徴づけられ、外国語教育の多様化が主に研究者の間で議論された（例えば、津田、1993；中村、1993）。また、2000年代になると、「ヨーロッパ言語共通参照枠」の公刊以来、ヨーロッパだけでなく日本においても、便利な道具としてA1～C2の共通参照レベルや能力記述文のみが英語や日本語の単言語教育の中で個別に扱われてきたりしたことに対する批判という文脈で、その前提となる「複言語主義」という教育思想とともに多様な言語教育のあり方が語られることが多い（例えば、細川・西山、2010；森住他、2016）。下氏の研究指導教員である西山教行氏は日本における複言語主義研究の第一人者ともいえる研究者であるが、この概念の意義はもちろんその使われ方の歴史もおろそかにしない西山氏の研究姿勢は、下氏の研究にも底流として大きな影響を与えているといえよう。彼女は、現代における多言語教育の意義あるいはそれを求める声は過去と比べて何が同じで何が異なるのか、そもそも多言語教育は過去どれほど、どのように

必要とされていたのかを、歴史的にしかも可能なかぎり政策立案に関わる一次資料に基づき、それらが存在しない場合は新聞報道などの資料を用いながら、丹念に掘り起こしていくのである。以下、本書の概要を示す。

序章で示される本書全体の研究課題は二つある。第一に、「明示・大正期の教育政策決定関連機関において、英語偏重の外国語教育に対抗する議論にどのようなものがあった」のか、第二に、「その議論は外国語教育政策にどのような影響を与えた」のかである(p. 5)。

第1章は、まず現在の外国語教育の概観で始まる。上で述べたような、1980年代、2000年代の、英語以外の外国語教育推進の動きにもかかわらず、英語偏重の傾向がさらに強まっていることがまず確認される。そして、著者がなぜ明治期・大正期の外国語教育を研究対象としたのかが述べられる。一つは「現在の外国語教育の方針が明治期の学校教育確立の過程で定まったこと」もう一つは「明治期から大正期にかけて、英語偏重の外国語教育を批判する動きがあったこと」である(p. 20)。また、この問題に関する先行研究がこれまで明らかにしてきたことを整理し、英語偏重の外国語教育への批判がほとんどドイツ語・フランス語教育推進の立場からなされ、外国語教育政策自体を対象としていないこと、「英語教育については、政策に関連した研究があるものの、英語偏重化に対する議論とその影響を考察の対象としてこなかった」ことを指摘する。その上で本書の意義は、国の外国語教育政策の文脈や決定までの議論、その議論の影響の考察という点で、「過去と現在の問題をつなげ」(p. 35)、これからの外国語教育のあり方を考える上で新たな視点を与えることだという。

第2章は次の第3章とともに、「英語偏重の外国語教育を決定づけた時代の背景」の確認である。第2章では、明治・大正期の教育関連法規における外国語の位置づけの変遷が整理されている。明治期の初等・中等・高等教育に関する法規に加え産業教育に関するものも含め、それぞれの教育課程で外国語がどのように扱われていたのかがわかりやすくまとめられている。

第3章では、同時代の高等学校入学試験(試業)における外国語の位置づけおよび中学校外国語教育への影響が考察される。特に1880年代から1910年代にかけて、英語・ドイツ語・フランス語が高等学校の入試でどのように扱われたのか、そしてそれが中学校の外国語教育に与えた影響について第一高等学校の入学試業を中心に明らかにしている。中でも、「明治期から大正期にかけて、ドイツ語、そしてフランス語を高等学校の入学試験に加えたことは、高等教育におけるその価値を維持することに多少は貢献したが、外国語教育の多言語化を図る方法としては全く不十分であった」(p. 112)という分析は現在の言語教育政策の検討に一つの示唆を与えるものであろう。

第4章においては、明治時代の教育政策決定会議で英語以外の外国語教育の推進の動きがどのように展開されたかを探るために、1989年の全国中学校長会議(全国尋常中学校長会議)での議論を取り上げている。特に会議出席者である勝浦鞆雄(当時東京府立第一中学校長)に焦点をあてつつ、会議における第一高等学校第三部の入試に英語を加えるべきだという建議が可決に至るまでに、英語偏重の外国語教育に対する教育関係者からの批判の一例を明らかにしようとしている。

第5章は、文部大臣の諮問機関として初めて設置された高等教育会議(1896〜1913)における議論を扱っている。ここでは、外国語学習の目的および学校間の系統問題で議論された中学校の目的論との齟齬が背景となり、英語以外の外国語を中

学校学科課程に含める案は提出されなかったこと、一方でこの会議で主張されたドイツ語教育の必要性が、1901年の「中学校令施行規則」における科目名である「外国語」に結びつき、第一外国語・第二外国語の区別なく英語・ドイツ語・フランス語が列挙されたことが論じられる。

第6章では、高等教育会議廃止後に設置された教育調査会（1913～1917）における学制改革案と外国語教育の方針が取り上げられる。特に、江木千之（当時貴族院議員）を中心とする委員たちの英語以外の外国語教育推進の提案に着目し、ドイツ語・フランス語教育推進と国民平等の普通教育重視の議論の末、「一外国語主義」「英語以外の外国語を含めた外国語の学習を10歳から開始する選択肢」「中学校・高等学校の外国語を英語・ドイツ語・フランス語のいずれかとする」「中学校（中学科）から高等学校（高等科）に進学した際に言語の転換を許可」という方針が盛り込まれたことを紹介する。

第7章は、二つの研究課題の考察および結論である。上の章での議論から、明治・大正期における外国語教育の多様化に関する議論の一端およびその背景は明らかとなった。現在、過去を問わず、英語中心の外国語教育からの脱却は困難ではあるが、繰り返し行われてきた多様な言語教育の重要性の主張が、英語完全一本化を免れている背景となっていること、これからの日本の外国語教育においても、その目的をさらに議論し、教育方針を検討すべきであることが結論として語られている。

初等中等教育、教員養成の文脈において多言語・複言語教育推進に向けて研究や草の根的な実践を続けてきた書評子のような読者にとって、本書は得るものが多く、自身の研究や実践の方向性だけでなく予想される結果をも与えてくれるものとなるであろう。

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Reviews

English L2 Reading: Getting to the Bottom (4th ed.). Barbara M. Birch and Sean Fulop. Routledge, 2021. xi + 294 pp. e-book. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429397783

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Those looking for an introduction to reading development and reading research have a wide array of excellent books to choose from. Available volumes range from books focused on theory and research, with some practical applications, such as Grabe and Stoller's *Teaching and Researching Reading* (2020), to books focused on practical teaching advice that is supported by research, such as Nation and Macalister's *Teaching ESL/EFL Reading and Writing* (2021). As an addition to the coverage in this field, the fourth edition of *English L2 Reading: Getting to the Bottom* may be of greatest use to those looking for an introduction to the English writing system and some of the models used to explain reading processes.

The book is organized into thematic chapters with a strong focus on writing systems, the Baddeley (2003) model of memory, and models of psycholinguistic infrastructure based thereon. As suggested by the title, the emphasis is on the lower-level processing of texts, from the grapheme level to the word or phrase level. The chapters are presented as textbook units, with pre-reading, while-reading, and post-reading discussion questions. In addition to the main text, each unit contains several boxes in which the etymology of one or two words selected from the text is explained. According to the authors, the goal of these boxes is to "improve lexical awareness" (p. 26), and questions about the terms are included among the post-reading discussion questions. Most chapters conclude with one or two classroom suggestions.

Chapter 1 provides a brief introduction to models of memory, and models of linguistic infrastructure, codes, and networks. These concepts are then referenced throughout the remainder of the text. A description of the stages in L1 reading development follows, with a very brief discussion of L2 reading development. The chapter concludes with a few suggestions for increasing young learners' awareness of the sounds that make up English words, such as segmentation practice through nursery rhymes and rhyming games or clapping for each phoneme included in a word.

Chapter 2 describes the major types of writing systems used in modern languages and a brief history of the English writing system, while in Chapter 3 Birch and Fulop explain some of the preferred reading strategies employed by readers of each system described in Chapter 2. The authors create fictional readers of each writing system and use these imaginary representatives to illustrate changes in strategy that might be needed when learning to read in English. These fictional readers are also referenced in later chapters.

In Chapter 4, the authors begin to link the English writing system with the sound system. The chapter opens with a discussion of the development of phonological awareness in the L1. English phonology, prosody, and stress are then briefly described. This is followed by a short section covering the development of phonemic awareness in L2 learners, in which the authors state that the ability to distinguish English phonemes is necessary for effective reading, but perfect pronunciation is not. They suggest minimal pair and rhyme identification exercises to foster this ability.

Chapter 5 introduces the concept of graphemes and their relationship to English phonemes. Some attention is given to the processes in the brain thought to be involved in grapheme and word recognition, many of which were suggested by eye-movement research. Chapter 6 builds on the grapheme concept to argue that the English writing system is generally systematic and learners can use probabilistic reasoning to determine grapheme-phoneme correspondences. The authors suggest that extensive reading is necessary to build the experience needed for such probabilistic reasoning, but they also note that direct phonics instruction may benefit some learners. Inductive and deductive methods of word study are described in general terms and two activities are suggested for classroom use: dictation and dicto-comp, in which students recreate texts as closely as possible after listening to them.

In Chapter 7, the authors outline historical methods of phonics instruction, such as synthetic methods, which they then proceed to caution against. L1 reading developmental stages are described, and the authors again sug-

gest that direct phonics instruction may be beneficial. Several strategies for teaching students to determine the correct pronunciation of written English words, such as reasoning by analogy, are described in general terms. Reading while listening and shadowing are recommended as activities to reinforce grapheme-phoneme correspondences and improve pronunciation.

In Chapter 8, the authors continue to build the case for a systematic English writing system that was begun in Chapter 6. First, the concept of morphemes is introduced. This is followed by an explanation of differences between the pronunciation of English root words and related words created by derivational morphology. The authors explain English spelling conventions in terms of consistent representations of morphemes. They advocate for direct instruction of derivational morphemes, particularly for English for academic purposes (EAP) students.

The focus of Chapter 9 is on spelling, rather than reading. Factors that may affect spelling are introduced, followed by strategies that writers employ for determining the correct spellings. L1 spelling development is discussed, and general descriptions of spelling instruction suitable for L1 learners are provided. Factors affecting L2 spelling are briefly described, such as interference from errors in pronunciation, difficulty spelling unstressed syllables, lack of sufficient exposure for probabilistic reasoning, and interference from transparent writing systems (systems with one-to-one grapheme to phoneme correspondences).

Chapter 10 contains a description of the size of the English lexicon and various processes that are involved in word formation. Attributes and behaviors of "good" word learners are described. These attributes include such things as strong working memory and the ability to repeat newly encountered words. Behaviors of good word learners include fixating on and attempting to pronounce unknown words as well as trying to ascertain some meaning from context. The authors advocate active word learning for building L2 linguistic infrastructure. They suggest actions such as repeating unknown words or creating a mental image that includes both the meaning of the target word and a word that is similar in sound to the L1 equivalent.

The final chapter revisits the models of reading and memory presented earlier, placing them in the context of automaticity and fluency. Attributes of fluent readers, such as structural priming (exposure to one code causes the triggering of syntactically related codes in phrases) and prosody (conveyance of the syntactic organization and meaning of text while reading aloud) are described. The authors suggest that techniques used for L1 remedial reading instruction may be helpful to L2 learners. Further, they argue in

Chapter 11 that when engaging in intensive reading, repeated exposure to the same text in a variety of ways (e.g., silent reading multiple times, discussion of unknown words and structures, listening to the text as read by a proficient reader, reading aloud by themselves, and recording or dramatizing the text) is important for reader development. They go on to say that students should not be invited to read aloud in a formal setting until they have had the opportunity to engage in such varied practice.

English L2 Reading: Getting to the Bottom provides a reasonable overview of the English writing system and compares it to other writing systems in current use. Indeed, the most useful sections of the book for teachers may be the appendices, which include a table of English graphemes (Appendix A), and a table of English phonemes and their principal spellings (Appendix B). The use of word boxes to explain the etymology of various words in each chapter may be interesting to some readers, but it is more distracting than helpful. Some teachers or advanced students might benefit from the information about affixes contained in some of the word boxes, as in the entry for the word family including *analogue*, *analogous*, *analogy*, and *analogical* (p. 159). However, it is difficult to fathom, for example, how knowing that the word "test" derives from the Latin word for "earthen pot" (p. 259) will be of significant help to either teachers or L2 learners.

Readers looking for an introduction to some of the theories of psycholinguistic structure and processing as applied to reading may find *English L2 Reading: Getting to the Bottom* interesting, while those who are looking for a basic explanation of the English writing system are likely to find the second half of the book useful.

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Offensive Language: Taboo, Offence, and Social Control. Jim O'Driscoll. Bloomsbury Academic, 2020. vii +191 pp. https://doi.org/10.5040/9781350169708

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Jim O'Driscoll's *Offensive Language: Taboo, Offence, and Social Control* focuses on the use and control of language, and in particular, of language online. Its thesis comes in the very last line of the book where O'Driscoll writes, "If, therefore, we want to avoid the possible disastrous consequences of the latter, it may be wise to loosen the chains of the former" (p. 172). Or, to paraphrase with all the referents he uses in place, that overly zealous gatekeeping of what can and cannot be said online may lead to political counterreaction far worse than the discomfit of encountering uncomfortable ideas. O'Driscoll builds up to this through the course of four sections and 172 pages in which he establishes what he means by offensive language, carefully analyzes innumerable examples from real life, and then examines the process of gatekeeping.

In Part I, "Offensive Language and Why it Matters," O'Driscoll makes the point that offensive language is not something to be casually dismissed, that it is indeed something that can cause harm. He quotes the author Stephen Fry, "Sticks and stones may break my bones, but words will always hurt me," (p. 3) and introduces the nexus of the book: language which gives rise to a negative reaction. He states that his rationale for the book is that "there is some evidence to suggest…(that) ...the territory of taboo language is expanding" (p. 10) and that this is a threat to public discourse. O'Driscoll then details the theoretical basis for his analysis, and why he chose the analytic tools he employs in the text. His starting point for analysis is the *reaction engendered*, his working definition of offensive language being "any word or string of words which has or can have a negative impact on the sense of self and/or well-being of those who encounter it" (p. 16). Analysis from this angle, he notes, is in line with a general shift in research away from the utterance, and towards reaction to the utterance. O'Driscoll describes his approach as sociopragmatic, but one that also incorporates elements from other fields of research such as Speech Act Theory. For his description of the different roles played by participants in the examined interactions,

O'Driscoll employs the nomenclature of Goffman (1979). His analysis also employs the tools of "textual intervention" as described by Pope (1995), where one part of the data is replaced with a different word or words and the change in effect is examined. O'Driscoll's starting point for the analysis of incidents is a description of all possible relevant aspects of context, an approach he ascribes to Mey (2001).

In Part II, "Potential Offence: Taboo Language," O'Driscoll talks about language in the abstract, about what people might find offensive. He begins the section by examining what is meant by *taboo language*. He rejects using a description of how a word functions or is intended to function in a context as a useful focus for offensiveness since "an assessment of offensiveness rests primarily not with the producer of language but its recipient" (p. 39). Instead he opts to define taboo language as "any (string of) words whose production is transgressive of polite social norms" (p. 40). He ends the section by describing three kinds of taboo language: (a) *taboo words* (words that are taboo however they are used), (b) *taboo reference* (taboo because of what is being pointed at), and (c) *taboo predication* (a reference that becomes taboo within a certain context)—each of which he examines in detail by including real life examples of each and of the offense that was taken.

In Part III, "Actual Offense: Case Studies," O'Driscoll introduces some further theoretical considerations before launching into case studies of incidents where offense was taken, where he breaks down each case using the analytic tools he previously described. The cases he looks at range from the well-known to some that come from direct experience. They also range from the highly impactful (such as the case of Fomusoh Ivo Feh and two of his friends who were sentenced to 10 years in prison in Cameroon for forwarding a text message about the terrorist group Boko Haram that was intended as an ironic comment) to the less serious (like an email misunderstanding between colleagues where a comment intended as jocular was seen as hostile and needed clarification). For the reader, the case studies provide useful insights into the ways a single communication can be interpreted. O'Driscoll notes how technology-mediated communication particularly exacerbates "the problem around participation framework" (p. 93). The communication may end up being viewed by people who see it in a very different context from that of the original participants. He also notes the longevity of offensive statements, which can be "revisited by the offended party," (p. 93) and how easy it is for people to share their offense online. For language teachers, the takeaway is perhaps that we should always encourage our students to err on the side of caution.

Part IV, "Reprise," is the final and shortest section in the text. Here, O'Driscoll examines the reporting of offensive language, looks at the issue of social control and free speech, and presents his thesis, that of overreach on the part of the gatekeepers of online discourse in the policing of language.

O'Driscoll, a former EFL teacher now in higher education in the UK, writes on a subject that is important and highly topical, and his meticulous analysis of incidents where offense has been taken, and why it has been taken, is a valuable addition to the public debate. *Offensive Language* also serves as a useful introduction to different modes of and possibilities for analyzing interactions, and Part I where this overview is given is perhaps the strongest section of the book. In short, there are components here for what could have been a truly excellent book.

However, there are a number of points that keep it from attaining this level. It is not all clear at whom the book is targeted. The almost tentatively presented conclusion suggests he felt he was writing to a potentially hostile audience. Is he writing to students similar to those whom he teaches who he suggests have quite a different view of freedom of speech than does he? On the other hand, his final recommendations suggest a book written for those with gatekeeping power, though they do not seem otherwise addressed. Furthermore, he offers only an admonition that we as a society need to go more lightly in policing speech, and none of the concrete steps that those involved in policy might be interested in reading. Also, while a book on this topic could have found a receptive general readership of educated non-experts, the style and focus of the book suggest it was not written with such readers in mind either, though his message that "for participants in interaction, it is a call for tolerance and empathy" (p. 170) would seem to be relevant to all of us.

Perhaps the biggest flaw, however, is that he does not seem to firmly establish the connections between gatekeeping language and the backlash that he suggests is the reason we need to temper control, and merely points to the rise in political power of more authoritarian figures who also flout social strictures on language use. Nor does he present other reasons for laxer control that might be given, such as the need to allow for the more open discussion that allows a society to self-correct.

In conclusion, *Offensive Language: Taboo, Offence, and Social Control* is a book with great topicality and potential that in the end falls short of what it might have been while remaining a worthwhile read, most especially if social discourse is an area of special interest.

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The overarching aim of this edited volume is to offer policy suggestions to improve English teacher education throughout East and Southeast Asia. In a series of research-based chapters, the contributors to this book, who hail from many of the countries that comprise the ASEAN Plus Three (the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, plus Japan, China, and South Korea) investigate, describe, and critique the current state of English teacher education in their respective territories.

The book begins with an introduction by Zein, who notes that ASEAN has established English as its working language. This fact lends an international significance to English education, and consequently to English teacher education, in Asia. However, Zein assures the reader that little is known about the state of pre-service English teacher education in this region.

The book is divided into four parts, with "Part I: Setting the Scene" containing only one chapter focused on current trends in pre-service teacher education. In this chapter, authors Ng Chiew Hong and Cheung Yin Ling highlight common threads among English teacher education systems in different Asian countries. They note that English teacher competence is a political issue in multiple nations because English education is part of a larger globalization strategy in those nations. The authors also list other commonly recognized issues affecting many countries, such as large class

sizes, insufficient lesson preparation time, an ambivalence on the part of governments towards the use of English as a medium of instruction in place of their own national language, and a general preference for communicative teaching at the policy level which stands in contrast to the grammar-centric teaching often favored in actual classrooms, among other issues.

With the general overview complete, Parts II to IV comprise a series of chapters from various countries. The chapters are all research-based and include a wide range of topics. For example, the four chapters that make up "Part II: Innovations in Teacher Preparation" cover, in order of appearance, translanguaging in English classes (Indonesia), teacher evaluation procedures (Brunei), the benefits of a pre-service practicum (Malaysia), and issues of native-speakerism (Cambodia). In the first of these, the author Zein recommends that teacher education programs give teachers-in-training the chance to watch videos of themselves and others teaching and, after watching these videos, to discuss and evaluate the ways that English-medium and L1-medium instructional strategies can be effectively employed in class. Zein's chapter is noteworthy because it is the only chapter in this book that focuses on practical approaches to teacher education. All other chapters in this book address matters of educational policy and the design of education systems. For instance, the recommendations in the remaining chapters of Part II are that teachers should not be evaluated based exclusively on their students' grades, that a pre-service practicum is good preparation for teachers and should be longer than it currently is in Malaysia, and that policy makers should not write policy documents based on the 'native speaker' ideal.

Chapters in the following parts of the book make other large-scale policy suggestions in diverse areas of English teacher preparation. In "Part III: Teacher Preparation, Development and Evaluation," authors from Brunei, Japan, the Philippines, South Korea, and China make recommendations which should probably be heeded by policy makers everywhere, though many of these are decidedly broad. For example, in Chapter 10, Hoo Dong Kang recommends that curriculum developers "need to focus on the development of practical courses in which students can apply what they have learned to the real-life classroom" (p. 194) based on a survey of educational stakeholders in South Korea. Other recommendations are more specific but similarly large in scale, as in Chapter 11 when Sally Thomas, Lei Zhang, and Dini Jiang argue that schools in China should become professional learning communities to better meet teachers' professional development needs.

Finally, in "Part IV: Teacher Preparation and Policy," there are three chapters that describe the language teacher education systems of Vietnam and Myanmar and highlight certain issues. In Chapter 12, Khanh-Linh Tran-Dang and Marianne Turner note that Vietnam has introduced new English teaching materials and approaches, such as task-based language teaching, but that awareness among teachers of these new policies and their practical implementation may be lacking. Furthermore, in Chapter 14, Mai Trang Vu argues that there is insufficient emphasis in Vietnam on the capacity of teachers to act autonomously, and that "a more visible focus on teachers' formal knowledge and critical reflection" is needed (p. 274). Meanwhile, the description of Myanmar's teacher education system in Chapter 13 by Mary Shepard Wong, Jennifer Miller, and Brooke Treadwell is more alarming, as it describes a situation of neglect, scarce resources, low pay for teachers, and irrelevant content on teacher training courses. This places Myanmar in sharp contrast with more affluent nations in ASEAN such as Brunei Darussalam, which is described in Chapter 7 in terms of its relatively successful teacher education system.

Overall, in my assessment, the chapters in this book represent an impressively broad set of studies on English teacher education in Asia. I would recommend this book to anyone responsible for setting educational policy, ideally at the national or regional level. Policy makers from many countries in Asia will find at least one chapter about some key challenges facing English teachers and teacher educators in their own jurisdiction, as well as much profitable insight from research elsewhere. Good English teacher education policy could certainly be written based on the recommendations in this book. The book may also be of use to those studying educational policy. Any PhD student needing a bolster to their literature review on English teacher education throughout Asia would do well to read this book.

I would not necessarily recommend this book to teacher educators seeking ideas for their own sessions and programs. As mentioned, the book contains only one description of a practical activity for teacher educators: video watching. There are certain ideas in the book that could inform the design of teacher education sessions and program, such as the importance of critical reflection highlighted in Chapter 14. However, I suspect that most of the recommendations offered are outside the responsibility of teacher educators. For example, proposals such as revising the system of teacher evaluation, extending teaching practicums, setting up professional learning communities in schools, and paying teachers more fairly seem to be of greatest use to policy makers who are empowered to act on them. Nevertheless, it is surely

beneficial for teacher educators to be aware of such proposals, and so this book might be suitable material for a teacher educator preparation course focused on policy making and issues in the English education industry.

It should be noted that the implications of the various chapters mostly reflect views that are commonly held among English education stakeholders today. If you believe that teacher evaluations based only on student test scores are questionable, you will find nothing in this book to change your mind. Likewise, if you believe that native-speakerism sometimes exerts an undesirable influence on English education in Asia, you will find this belief reconfirmed also. The effect of this book is not to reveal any surprising truths about what makes education systems work well. It is to confirm truths that are already widely known, and package these so that policy makers can (hopefully) make use of them. However, for early-service teachers, some of these truths may be as yet unfamiliar, and so this book may be of use to educators working with such teachers.

The Art and Architecture of Academic Writing. Patricia Prinz and Birna Arnbjörnsdóttir. John Benjamins, 2021. x + 299 pp. https://doi.org/10.1075/z.231

Reviewed by
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The Art and Architecture of Academic Writing by Patricia Prinz and Birna Arnbjörnsdóttir serves as an introduction to academic writing for university courses. As such, students will primarily use this textbook to learn how to write evidence-supported, thesis-driven essays and research papers. The authors' intended users of the book are English language learners and users who are enrolled in university programs where English is the main language of instruction (p. 3). Consequently, students will require an English proficiency level of CEFR B2 or above to use this textbook successfully in coursework with peers and an instructor or by only the most committed in independent study mode.

Working in higher education in Japan, where once a week courses for 15-week semesters are common, there is enough material in this book to cover over two semesters. The authors explain that students develop their

academic writing voice in Part I, while students practice synthesizing an argument from multiple sources in Part II. Part I spans Chapters 1 through 7 of the textbook and covers standard thesis-driven essays assigned in college courses. Part II consists of Chapters 8 through 12 where students learn to write two varieties of thesis-driven research papers: a case study and a literature review.

To the authors, most university academic writing assignments share the following qualities: "they are factual, require evidence to support the writer's point of view, use specific types of language, and organize ideas in predictable patterns" (p. 7). Their "art" of academic writing correlates to specific academic language use and their "architecture" of academic writing corresponds to organizing content effectively. They explain the art and architecture of academic writing in Chapter 1 and Chapter 2 respectively.

In Chapter 1, the authors make a clear distinction between language style in private-versus-public and informal-versus-formal contexts. It should be noted that this opening chapter persistently frames the readers as 'non-native speakers' and this framing continues throughout the textbook. As such, this book may be less suitable for teachers who oppose reinforcing native-speakerism in English language education.

In Chapter 2, the authors explain the mechanics of theses, main ideas supported by evidence, topic and concluding sentences, body paragraphs, and finally development of the introduction and conclusion. It may surprise some teachers that the second half of Chapter 2 does not deal directly with the architecture of academic writing. Instead, it details how to identify the directions given in different assignment types or prompts and covers how to revise common grammatical issues such as sentence fragments, comma splices, and infinitive fragments. This approach is calculated, though, as Prinz and Arnbjörnsdóttir end most chapters by targeting common academic vocabulary and grammar challenges for 'non-native speakers.' As such, this textbook will best suit a course with grammar and vocabulary objectives as these sections account for nearly a quarter of the textbook.

Chapter 3 introduces the AWARE framework for the academic writing process. The letters in the acronym stand for the following: *arranging to write*, *writing*, *assessing*, *revising*, and *editing*. Each aspect of AWARE is clearly described, exemplified, and paired with accessible practice material. Students are guided through the AWARE framework for each assignment in subsequent chapters. While repetitive, the scaffolding is consistent and should be pedagogically effective in particular for course schedules like those in Japan which do not typically allow time for multiple essays of each different type.

In Chapters 4 through 7, students practice applying the AWARE framework to distinct writing assignments. However, essays are not the singular focus of each chapter. Chapters 4 and 5 utilize enumerative (partitive) essays to teach how to write a thesis and organize body paragraphs. Chapter 6 exemplifies how to write body paragraphs according to more complex theses such as compare-and-contrast and cause-and-effect. Chapter 7 does not cover a new essay type, but rather uses all three previous essays to teach how to write effective introductions and conclusions. Given the iterative nature of assignments, teachers may have to align their course to the order provided in the book unless they are willing to fill in several gaps to use the text in a non-sequential fashion.

The skills addressed in Part I are applied to synthesizing ideas from multiple sources in Part II. Chapter 8 explains key aspects of academic writing that are important for university course research papers. This entails covering the nature of quantitative versus qualitative research, primary versus secondary sources, the process of conducting research, and summary writing. Detailed guidelines are also provided on how to avoid plagiarism through proper quotation and paraphrasing skills.

In Chapters 9 and 10, students are guided through the steps to conduct a case study research paper. The assigned topic is, "A Remarkable Person I Know," with examples given such as "a family legend" and "a personal mentor" (p. 183). This topic may not match the curriculum goals in some programs, could prove to be limiting, or might even be uninteresting for some students. However, the authors scaffold this research project by requiring students to use the skills, vocabulary, grammar, and AWARE framework which they repeatedly practiced throughout the textbook. This structured approach should reduce the challenge of writing what might be a student's first case study.

In Chapters 11 and 12, students rework their previous case study thesis statements to compose a literature review research paper. Retaining this topic choice facilitates preparing students for the literature review paper, but it may stifle student engagement and investment. An additional concern is that the topic may not be academic enough for students to practice engaging with the caliber of primary or secondary sources they will encounter in their content coursework during university. Despite this, the materials outline and demonstrate each step of the literature review while incorporating skills covered in previous chapters. This may help students streamline the task and their efforts while maintaining a clear direction in the development of their research.

For writing research papers, this book compares well with resources like *Sourcework* (Dollahite & Haun, 2012) and *They Say/ I Say* (Birkenstein & Graff, 2010). Prinz and Arnbjörnsdóttir offer more effectively scaffolded skills development for inexperienced writers than *Sourcework*, and in these materials the authors specifically demonstrate how to write academically whereas students spend more time reading about how to write in *They Say/ I Say*.

There are several practical considerations which may determine whether this textbook is suitable for an institution's particular program or course. This textbook is applicable for both international as well as domestic students in Japanese university academic writing courses as long as the curriculum design does not include both Part I and Part II in one 15-week semester course. However, this textbook could also be used to introduce academic writing skills to 'native speakers' despite the repetitive 'non-native speaker' references. Another practical consideration is that teachers considering using the material will likely need to design their course around the textbook contents given the highly interwoven scaffolding of exercises, prompts, and assignments. Teachers who want an academic writing skills textbook to supplement their own writing assignments may not find this book suitable for their classes. Nevertheless, most instructors could adjust the assignment prompts to achieve their curricular goals.

References

Birkenstein, C., & Graff, G. (2010). *They say / I say: The moves that matter in academic writing* (2nd ed.). W. W. Norton.

Dollahite, N. E., & Haun, J. (2012). *Sourcework: Academic writing from sources* (2nd ed.). Heinle/Cengage Learning.

Teaching Listening and Speaking in Second and Foreign Language Contexts. Kathleen M. Bailey. Bloomsbury, 2020. 220 pp. e-book. https://doi.org/10.5040/9781350093560

Reviewed by
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In *Teaching Listening and Speaking in Second and Foreign Language Contexts*, Kathleen Bailey's aim is to provide readers with an overview of the key concepts while focusing mainly on the techniques and practices in the designated topic area: teaching speaking and listening of L2. The target audience is primarily novice language teachers, but also experienced teachers who are adapting to career changes, teacher educators, and teachers of any languages.

The book consists of 14 chapters, each of which sets out to introduce both theoretical and practical elements of teaching listening and speaking. In every chapter, Bailey tries to raise awareness on certain key issues by beginning the chapters with guiding questions, then addresses these issues in a main "what we know" section and subsequently shares practical activities and outlines some challenges. Each chapter concludes with discussion questions and follow-up tasks suitable for group work. Finally, a technological tools section of useful resources for language development and a section of additional suggested readings for professional development round out the book. In the volume, Bailey mentions that she presents ideas in the first person instead of using a more academic style in order to make these ideas more understandable for readers. In addition to this, she recycles content from time to time to connect ideas across chapters. For these reasons, novice teachers, experienced language teachers, and teacher educators are likely to find the book particularly informative, interesting, and useful as a resource or course text for undergraduate and graduate courses.

In Chapter 1, the focus is on reviewing the concepts and introducing the vocabulary related to teaching speaking and listening. Bailey opens by providing some useful definitions of key concepts that every language teacher should know, such as foreign language versus second language, and the components of spoken language. Moreover, she differentiates the terms *multilingualism*—"the presence of many languages in one area" (p. 3) and *plurilingualism*—"the range of language varieties that many individuals

use" (p. 3) and explains their relation to the language learning and teaching processes covered in the chapter. The linguistic subsystems, referred to as the *components of language*, such as the sound system, morphology, syntax, discourse, and two types of knowledge - declarative as well as procedural knowledge are defined in this part of the book. The importance of *declarative knowledge*—"knowing about something and being able to explain it" (p. 6) and *procedural knowledge*—knowing how to deploy such knowledge in real life (p. 6) is explicated in a way appropriate for the target readership. Along with the three different uses of language: *transactional*—language involved to use services (p. 6), *interactional*—language used to bond and know other people (p. 6), and *ludic*—"discourse involv[ing] jokes, puns, riddles, comedy routines, and many forms of storytelling" (p. 7), spoken grammar is elucidated in the first chapter with simple examples. At the end of the chapter, in the Challenges section, learners' opportunities for target language practice are introduced with the terms - *high* and *low enclosure*. According to Schumann (1978), the enclosure is considered high, when there is separation in two language groups. Schuman continues: "If the two groups share the same social institutions, are free to marry outside their group and engage in the same professions, crafts and trades, then the degree of enclosure is low" (p. 78). First language use in language classes is addressed with real-life examples from the author's experience. This opening chapter also includes a preview of the subsequent 13 chapters in the book.

Chapter 2 provides a brief history of teaching L2 speaking and listening throughout different periods, but early history—before 1970s is not discussed much. Bailey also discusses a few important languages teaching methods (such as grammar-translation method, direct method, audiolingual method, and alternative methods) by outlining how speaking and listening have been taught under these methods. In this chapter, readers will be informed about the methods that prioritized the development of L2 listening and speaking as well as those that de-emphasized them. Throughout the chapter, Bailey shares her own language learning experiences and at the end she discusses issues related to error treatment.

In Chapter 3, communicative competence and language proficiency are explored by focusing particularly on communicative language teaching activities. Bailey explains that communicative competence deals with the general and larger matters of identifying linguistic abilities, developing syllabi and lessons, and assessing students' achievements; whereas proficiency deals with more specific behaviours, such as characterizing peak performance and the stages that lead up to it. Can-do statements about certain

linguistic behaviors are frequently used to demonstrate proficiency. The chapter also introduces communication strategies in L2 contexts and how to help students learn to use strategies like reduction strategies, compensatory strategies, and time-gaining strategies.

In Chapter 4, some ideas derived from second language acquisition (SLA) that are related to teaching speaking and listening, in this case—interactionism and sociocultural theory are presented. Additionally, the chapter introduces the concepts of input, intake, output, interaction, scaffolding, affordances, and zone of proximal development (ZPD) (p. 45) together with their relevance with L2 speaking and listening skills. These notions will be quite familiar to language teachers as they are several of the core concepts of SLA and sociocultural theory. However, the idea of *affordance* (p. 52) and its direct relation to teaching might warrant broader consideration. Here, Bailey uses a quotation to explain that an affordance is the "relationship between an organism and a particular feature of its environment" (van Lier, 2000, p. 252). Readers of this volume will come to understand why that in the process of language teaching and learning the activities that teachers use assist students in different ways due to this notion of affordances.

Chapters 5 and 6 are mainly about teaching listening and speaking in non-interactive contexts while Chapter 7 focuses on teaching interactive speaking and listening. Non-interactive contexts mean the situations which include listening to songs, announcements, podcasts, radio programs, and watching TV; while interactive situations consist of conversations and other forms of oral communication. Bailey claims that the usefulness of learners employing the target language to accomplish things, including doing things with others, has been demonstrated in the SLA research. SLA research findings have been turned into instructional activities by language teachers, curriculum designers, and materials developers. In Chapter 8, two of the most important implications of this trend for research to impact practice are detailed: task-based and project-based learning and teaching in L2 speaking and listening.

Chapter 9 offers information and teaching activities on listening and speaking fluency. Since fluency is usually associated with speaking skills, some *JALT Journal* readers might be less familiar with the construct of L2 listening fluency. According to Segalowitz (2007), listening fluency is the ability that can be used to understand fast speech, and Bailey explains the importance of listening fluency in this chapter.

In Chapter 10, readers are informed about a sensitive issue, L2 pronunciation, and are provided with an explanation of three key aspects of teaching

pronunciation: *accentedness*—the degree of difference between speech and accent, *intelligibility*—the measure of how much of what speaker says can be understood by an average listener, and *comprehensibility*—how easy a listener can process what another person says.

In Chapter 11, Bailey explores the concepts of pragmatics, speech events, and speech acts touching also upon how language learners can use their knowledge of these concepts in order to accomplish their communication goals.

The book closes with three chapters in which Bailey discusses assessment. Ways of assessing listening and speaking skills of language learners in non-interactive contexts are taken up in Chapters 12 and 13, while Chapter 14 is focused on evaluating listening and speaking in interactive contexts. The chapter reviews how teachers can assess their learners' oral proficiency when they are interacting in the target language. Moreover, this final chapter also addresses teaching languages for specific purposes.

In conclusion, *Teaching Listening and Speaking in Second and Foreign Language Contexts* offers a useful overview and interesting practical activities for teaching speaking and listening in the contemporary world of language education.

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Investigating Spoken English: A Practical Guide to Phonetics and Phonology Using Praat. Štefan Beňuš. Palgrave Macmillan, 2021. xvii + 272 pp. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-54349-5

Reviewed by
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Readers of *JALT Journal*, and indeed many ELT professionals around the world, may be in a position in which they are teaching English but lack confidence or proper training in phonetics and phonology. In a survey of ESL instructors and program coordinators in Canada (Foote et al., 2011), results from 159 individuals showed that teachers are "not receiving the professional development they need to feel completely comfortable teaching pronunciation" (p. 16).

One of the greatest dangers of introductory textbooks on phonetics and phonology is that the writing can end up being very dry, detached from the reader's own reality, and sometimes difficult to understand. Fortunately, the approach by Štefan Beňuš in *Investigating Spoken English: A Practical Guide to Phonetics and Phonology Using Praat* is (true to the title) extremely practical, and the author continually encourages readers to actively analyze their own speech and that of others. The approach is descriptive, not prescriptive. In other words, the author is not concerned with labeling "correct" and "incorrect" pronunciation, but more with enabling the reader to describe what is occurring (in the vocal tract and the sound signal) when one pronounces sounds in a certain way. The primary tool for doing this is acoustic analysis freeware called *Praat*, available from www.praat.org and widely used by scientists, teachers, and students around the world. The book utilizes examples from both "British" and "American" English.

The book includes a companion webpage for each of the 14 chapters, complete with 73 sound files, 32 Praat TextGrid files (for annotation), and 2 Praat scripts for automated analysis. The sound files available online include some NPR interviews, as well as other short excerpts from 'native' English speakers and the author himself, an L2 speaker.

Absolutely crucial to the book are the many "Activity" sections where the author leads the reader to introspect about how words are pronounced, or to use Praat for example to analyze sounds, before going on to answer the questions that he posed. In Chapters 2 to 13 there is an average of 10 of

these "Activity" sections per chapter. This hands-on type of reading is what makes this book so valuable and different from other books on the market. And from the perspective of a language teacher, many of the introspective activities could be used in a pronunciation lesson as awareness-raising tasks for English learners.

There are also short "Find Out More" and "Advanced" sections throughout the book, where the author gives more examples with the help of online videos, manuals, websites, and so forth to enhance the material in the textbook. These are quite interesting but are not critical to understanding the book.

Chapter 1 introduces the aims and structure of the book. The first paragraph of the chapter succinctly describes the primary goal of the book: "This book assumes that you are fairly proficient, 'native' or 'non-native', speakers of English. But that despite this proficiency you are not consciously aware of how speaking and pronunciation are done. […] The primary goal of this book is to bring this unconscious knowledge into your conscious awareness" (p. 1).

Chapter 2 is a very clear introduction to the fundamental concepts in phonetics and phonology, with interesting analogies to demonstrate the subconscious knowledge we have of how to speak. The writing style makes the material very approachable for readers who do not have a background in phonetics. Real phonetic data from x-ray imaging and electro-magnetometry are used to clearly illustrate the continuity of speech.

After an introduction to articulation in Chapter 3, necessarily heavy on vocal tract anatomy, the author then introduces acoustics and Praat freeware in Chapter 4. This is an excellent introduction to a very powerful tool that language teachers can use in their classrooms to make the speech signal visible.

Most of the remainder of the book (Chapters 5 through 13) progresses bottom-up from a focus on segmentals, namely vowels and consonants in Chapters 5 and 6, and allophonic variation—how the same consonant or vowel can sound different depending on the context—in Chapter 7, to combining segments into syllables in Chapter 8, word stress in Chapter 9, aspects of connected speech (combining words) in Chapter 10, and then suprasegmentals—prosody—in Chapters 11 to 13. Chapter 14 then brings everything together in an utterance-by-utterance comprehensive pronunciation analysis of authentic radio interviews. As one progresses through these chapters, one learns more and more advanced techniques of using Praat for analyzing speech.

With the stated target audience being students taking undergraduate phonetics and phonology courses, some language teachers may find the sheer volume of material more than they bargained for. In my opinion, this book would be best used by language teachers as a resource to improve their own ability to understand, describe, and analyze the speech produced by themselves and their students. As an L2 student, there's nothing more frustrating than trying to learn pronunciation by simply repeating again and again after the teacher and being told that it's not quite correct (but not *why* it's incorrect). However, not only having teachers introspect about their pronunciation, but also having students do that can be extremely helpful in both teaching and learning pronunciation. It is interesting to see the look on my Japanese students' faces when, after telling me that the "u" in "tsuki" (moon) and "tsugi" (next) are pronounced exactly the same, they open their own sound files in Praat and find that the former is completely devoiced and the latter is fully voiced.

If I had to say something negative about the book, it would not be about the content or the author's approach, but about more technical features related to the links in the e-book and the online supplementary content. When downloading the files from the Electronic Supplementary Material, there is no way to download all files simultaneously. One must instead download each file separately, and each chapter's files are on a separate webpage. In addition, although the link names are very clear and relevant on those webpages, the files that get downloaded have unhelpful, cryptic filenames. Regarding the links to YouTube and other videos appearing sporadically throughout the book, many of them do not work when accessed. Luckily though, in the Electronic Supplementary Material for each chapter, the publisher has downloadable docx files, which contain all clickable links.

Putting these minor technical issues aside, this book should be a very welcome addition to the library of any language teacher who is interested in broadening their knowledge of phonetics and phonology in a very practical manner. The book should be especially appealing to teachers who would like to introduce or expand the use of freeware such as Praat in their classrooms.

Reference

Foote, J. A., Holtby, A. K., & Derwing, T. M. (2011). Survey of the teaching of pronunciation in adult ESL programs in Canada, 2010. *TESL Canada Journal, 29*(1), 1–22. https://doi.org/10.18806/tesl.v29i1.1086

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JALT Journal, the refereed research journal of the Japan Association for Language Teaching (*Zenkoku Gogaku Kyouiku Gakkai*), invites empirical and theoretical research articles and research reports on second and foreign language teaching and learning in Japanese contexts. Submissions from Asian and other international contexts are accepted if applicable to language teaching in Japan. Areas of particular interest include but are not limited to the following:

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2. Classroom-centered research
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Kiwamu Kasahara, *JALT Journal* Japanese-Language Editor

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日本語論文投稿要領

*JALT Journal*では日本語で執筆された（a）論文、（b）研究報告、（c）展望論文、（d）*JALT Journal*に掲載された著作物へのコメント・考察、（e）書評を募集しています。（a）論文と（b）研究報告の違いは、以下の通り字数制限による違いです。（c）展望論文は、言語教育研究に関する課題に焦点をあてた短い論文で、先行研究の検証、理論や1次2次データに基づく議論などを含むものです。文体:一般的な学術論文のスタイルを用い、章立ての仕方や参考文献のデータの書き方などは、*Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association*（7th edition）の定める方式に合わせて下さい。*JALT Journal*書式シート（日本語原稿用）を以下からダウンロードできます<https://jalt-publications.org/jj/>。なお、*JALT Journal*の読者は現場の教師が主なので、特殊な専門用語や統計的手法は、わかりやすく定義するか説明を加えるなどして下さい。原稿:長さは、参考文献リストも含め、（a）論文は25,000字、（b）研究報告は13,000字、（c）望論文は16,000字、（d）*JALT Journal*に掲載された著作物へのコメント・考察は2,000字、（e）書評は1,500~3,000字以内です。A4の用紙に横書きで、1行40字、1ページ30行で印刷して下さい。手書きの原稿は受け付けません。

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*JALT Journal*書式シート（日本語原稿用）を参考に作成の上、電子メールの添付書類でお送りください。　なお、上記（a）論文~（e）書評のどのカテゴリーへの投稿かを明記ください。審査を経て掲載の認められた草稿は、図表などを全て写植版にしたものにして提出願います。

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JALT2022 International Conference: Nov 11–14 in Fukuoka

JALT2022
11-14 November, In Fukuoka City

Fukuoka International Congress Center

JALT's annual international conference on language teaching and learning is our highlight of the year. **In 2022, our conference will be held in the vibrant city of Fukuoka on Friday, November 11 - Monday, November 14.**

At a Glance:

» An average of 1,550 attendees (f2f), 1,300 online (2020)
» Up to 600 presentations, including SIG Forums
» Educational Materials Exhibit (Saturday and Sunday)
» Technology in Teaching and Professional Development workshops (Fri.)
» Research presentations, practical sessions, workshops, textbook demonstrations, poster sessions (Saturday, Sunday, Monday)

Fukuoka is famous for yatai (pop-up food stalls). About 100 can be found around downtown Fukuoka.

Bayside Place is a 5-minute walk from the JALT2022 venue. Small aquarium, onsen, restaurants, souvenirs.

JALT
THE JAPAN ASSOCIATION FOR LANGUAGE TEACHING

jalt.org/conference

The Shinkansen station is called Hakata

Tokyo: 5 hours
Nagoya: 3 hours 19 min
Osaka: 2 hours 28 min
Hiroshima: 1 hour

FUK is the 4th busiest airport in Japan

Tokyo: 72–78 per day; 1 hour 50 min
Osaka: 14–15 per day; 1 hour 10 min
Sapporo: 5 per day; 2 hours 30 min
Sendai: 12 per day; 2 hours

Airport → Subway by escalator & elevator

Fukuoka subway is connected directly to Fukuoka Airport. Arrive, you're there!
Downtown Tenjin: 11 minutes (5 stops)
Central Hakata: 6 minutes (2 stops)

JALT2022 INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

FUKUOKA • November 11–14, 2022