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Editorial Board

Contents

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 32 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

The first full-length article by **Aya Watanabe** explores the role of non-verbal communicative behavior in language education, a rather underexplored topic in our field indeed. By documenting how a language teacher uses a microphone gesture to allocate turns in classroom interaction in structured fashion, the author provides valuable insight into communication in a second/foreign language as an embodied practice, and in the process, reveals classroom discourse analysis as a strand of applied linguistics research concerned with multimodality. In the second full-length study, which focuses on Japanese language prosody, **Kaoru Ochiai** reveals a positive correlation between self-directed perception and language production, and argues for the integration of accent listening activities to improve perception training.

In this issue we are lucky to have three *Expositions* articles by important thinkers in our field. In the first article, **Albert Weideman** shares some of the core features of his conceptually rich and provocative work over the past fifty years. Central to this body of work is the development of a theory of applied linguistics, labeled by the author as a discipline of design with an important and unique historical trajectory, invested in the resolution of real-world language-related problems. The second *Expositions* article is by **John Levis**, and summarizes the author's proposed 'intelligibility principle' as a reliable point of reference not only in the context of pronunciation teaching and learning but also everyday language use. The relevance of this principle is also explained with regards to other aspects of spoken language, and is positioned as a superior alternative to the often sought-after "native-like" pronunciation. The third article by **Kayoko Hashimoto** provides a much-needed discussion on ethics in applied linguistics research. Grounded partly in her own experience as a critical applied linguist and language-in-education policy analyst for over two decades, the author explores the links between a researcher's positionality, choices of research methods, and their ethical ramifications.

Reviews

In this issue, we are happy to introduce three book reviews. The first, written by **Wayne Malcolm**, is an interesting and personal perspective on Naeem Inayatullah's *Pedagogy as Encounter: Beyond the Teaching Imperative.* We believe that readers will find Wayne's dialogue with the text compelling.

The second, written by **Peter Clements**, is about the volume *Narrative Inquiry into Language Teaching Identity: ALTs in the JET Program,* written by Takaaki Hiratsuka. According to Peter, what sets this book apart from other research about ALTs is that it "focuses on ALTs' holistic experiences through retrospective interviews, thus providing an insider's perspective on the complexities and contradictions of JET and making the volume relevant to both policymakers and practitioners." The third, written by **Ugilkhon Kakilova, Dilnavoz Toshnazarova and Ulugbek Nurmukhamedov** is a review of Eli Hinkel's *Teaching Academic L2 Writing: Practical Techniques in Vocabulary and Grammar.* The three reviewers describe how theory informs the recommended practices in the book, as well as highlight specific examples of practices they found especially effective in their own classrooms. We hope readers will enjoy reading and benefit from this issue's reviews.

From the Editors

This issue marks Dennis Koyama's final contribution as editor of *JALT Journal*. His experience, vision, and steadfast and detailed approach to editorship helped secure *JALT Journal*'s SCOPUS accreditation, ensure the quality of published pieces, and develop possible avenues for the future of this journal. Thanks a million, Dennis! We appreciate your dedication, and wish you the best in your future research and professional endeavors.

We would also like to express our sincere gratitude to the authors who contributed articles and book reviews on a wide range of topics not often addressed in applied linguistics, including pronunciation, non-verbal communication, research ethics, and even a theory of applied linguistics. As Dr. Weideman states in his *Expositions* piece, strengthening applied linguistics research involves facing three complex challenges: (1) determining the direction that applied linguistics scholarship should take, (2) using appropriate conceptual paradigms for steering the field in that desired direction; and (3) establishing robust principles for the development of concepts relevant to research practice in the field. We believe that, in their own ways, the various contributions to this issue have made their own unique contributions in that direction.

— Dennis Koyama, Editor

— Jeremie Bouchard, Associate Editor

— Joe Geluso, Assistant Editor

Parting Acknowledgements and Farewell from Dennis Koyama

As this issue marks the end of my tenure as editor of *JALT Journal*, I reflect on two years as associate editor and another two years as editor. I am delighted to pass the editorial helm to Jeremie Bouchard as editor and Joe Geluso as associate editor. Their unwavering support and dedication to *JALT Journal* have been invaluable, and I am confident that the journal will continue to thrive under their leadership.

Volunteering with JALT Publications has been immensely rewarding, both professionally and personally. I have forged meaningful connections with colleagues in Japan and across the globe. This role has also provided countless opportunities for growth, collaboration, and the chance to contribute to the academic community in meaningful ways. I am grateful for the enriching experiences and the camaraderie shared with the JALT Publications team.

Although the list of people I would like to thank is much longer than what follows, a few people have been a significant source of support and encouragement. I extend my thanks to Melodie Cook for her continuous support of the JALT Organization and for stepping in as Book Reviews Editor, even after she has once retired from *JALT Journal*. Cameron Flinn's steadfast work as production editor and Malcolm Swanson's exceptional skills in formatting and finalizing the journal's layout and design have been instrumental in ensuring the timely and professional presentation of each issue.

I am deeply grateful to the Editorial Board members, copy editors, and reviewers, whose diligent efforts and expertise have been the backbone of the journal. Without their commitment to maintaining the highest standards of quality, *JALT Journal* would not be possible.

Special thanks to Gregory Paul Glasgow, my predecessor as editor, with whom I had the pleasure of working closely with for two years. Together, we got the journal SCOPUS registered, transitioned the article submission process to an online manuscript management platform, oversaw the first special issue of the journal, and introduced a new article type called, *Expositions*. Thanks, Gregory, for everything!

Lastly, I offer my deepest gratitude to Theron Muller for his dedication to JALT and his outstanding leadership as publications chair. His extensive years of service to JALT Publications has been pivotal in keeping it successful.

Thank you all for making my tenure as editor a truly memorable and rewarding experience. The journal is indeed in capable and dedicated hands, and I look forward to seeing its continued success.

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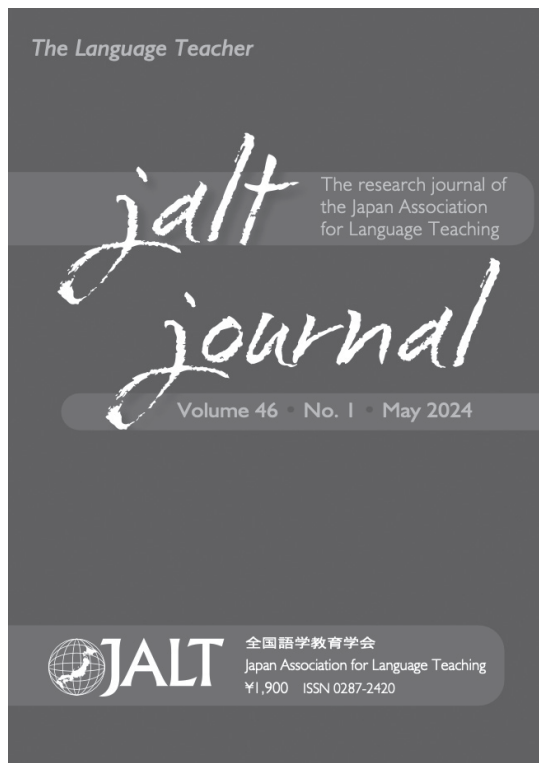
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Articles

Managing Turn-Taking and Student Response Through a Microphone Gesture in an EFL Classroom

Aya Watanabe
Fukui Prefectural University

Despite the growing interest in examining the roles of multimodal practices in L2 interaction and language learning (Hall & Looney, 2019; Jacknick, 2021; Lilja, 2022), few studies have been conducted on tracking down teacher's use of recurrent embodied practices utilized in an educational setting over lessons and how students orient to it. This study examines a teacher's systematic use of a specific gesture and embodiment through closely observing classroom interactions between an experienced EFL teacher and young learners in Japan. The analysis focuses on a recurrent hand gesture, which will be termed as *a microphone gesture*, that is utilized mainly as an interactional resource to allocate turns and moderate speaker shifts. The aim of the study is twofold: a) to describe the orderliness of the embodied practice employed by the teacher in terms of managing turn-taking and b) to show how the gesture is used to achieve pedagogical goals.

　教室会話におけるマルチモーダルな実践の記述への関心が高まっているにも関わらず (Hall & Looney, 2019, Jacknick, 2021, Lilja, 2022)、教育現場で教師が授業中に使用するジェスチャーを追跡し、学習者がそれに対してどのように志向しているかについての研究はこれまであまり行われていない。そこで、本稿では教師と生徒間のやりとりを詳細に分析することで、教師がマルチモーダル実践を体系的に使用していることを検証する。特に、本教室で繰り返し使われるハンドジェスチャー：マイクロフォン・ジェスチャーに焦点を当て、話者の順番交替を調整するための相互作用的資源として、どのように利用されているかを分析する。特に、a) 相互行為における順

番交替の観点から、教師が採用する身体的実践の秩序性を記述すること、b）　同時にジェスチャーがどのような教育目的を達成しているのかを明らかにすることを目的とする。

How teachers and students use their body movements in conjunction with their utterances in classroom interaction has been of interest among researchers. Previous studies utilizing conversation analysis (CA) have revealed that embodied actions, such as *gaze direction, body posture, head nods,* and *hand gestures*, play an important role in terms of organizing turn-taking and turn-allocation in classrooms. For instance, it has been reported that teachers use *gaze*, *head nods*, and *pointing* to nominate students as next speakers (Kääntä, 2012; Mortensen, 2008, 2009; Sert, 2015) along with personal address terms (Lerner, 2003) and students display their willingness to be selected as the next speaker through a *hand raise* and *mutual gaze* (Mortensen, 2009). Thus far, the value of using gestures in second language (L2) instruction has been recognized by researchers studying L2 use and teaching (Allen, 2000; Stam & McCafferty, 2008). Studies reveal that gestures are used by L2 teachers to increase comprehensible input (Allen, 2000), explain vocabulary (Lazaraton, 2004) and provide corrective feedback (Taleghani-Nikazm, 2008) to L2 learners. However, not many studies have focused on how a specific gesture gets recurrently employed by a teacher as a resource to manage turn-taking and achieve pedagogical functions for teaching young learners over time. Eskildsen and Wagner (2013) focused on how a teacher reused a shared gesture to elicit particular vocabulary in an adult ESL classroom. Tozlu Kılıç and Balaman (2023) also reported on teachers' repeated use of a target expression combined with a gesture which served to visually scaffold L2 learning for very young learners. The present study contributes to this line of research by examining a recurrently used hand gesture over time in the context of a teacher-fronted classroom interaction.

When humans interact with one another, they coordinate not only the way they talk but also their body movements along with their utterances (Goodwin, 2000; see also Atkinson, et al., 2007). These bodily movements play an important role as key interactional resources with which participants make sense of each other. How embodied actions act as interactional resources to achieve both professional and mundane social activities remains a relevant topic of investigation among scholars who are interested

in analyzing multimodality in human interaction (Deppermann, 2013; Heath & Luff, 2013; Streeck et al., 2011). Previous studies have revealed that bodily actions are organized in an orderly manner to achieve specific interactional goals (Sacks & Schegloff, 2002). Focusing on the use of a specific gesture in work meetings, Mondada (2007) reports how pointing gestures were used as a method to display a shift in speakership and project the emergence of possible next speakers. Describing how participants' bodily conduct gets employed in a systematic and recognizable way to achieve certain interactional and institutional aims is still an open-ended question that poses questions such as the following. *How does a specific embodied action get formulated and utilized as an interactional resource? When is it utilized and what does it achieve? How do the participants recognize and display or not display their understanding of the embodied action in the subsequent turn?*

In this article, I examine a classroom interaction to illustrate how an experienced English as a foreign language (EFL) instructor manages turn-taking and distributes speakership to possible next speakers as she interacts with her nine young learners. It focuses on a recurrently observed hand gesture which will be referred to as *the microphone gesture* (see figure 1).[1] and how it gets utilized over time.

Figure 1
The microphone gesture being used in the focal classroom

Literature Review
Studies on Turn-taking and Next Speaker Selection in Classroom

Turn-taking practices in conversations have been closely observed and examined. When two people talk on the phone, for instance, the order of turn-taking and speakership shift are rather simple. One person takes the role of the speaker and the other becomes the listener. When the speaker

signals the completion of a turn, for instance with a turn-final falling intonation or the completion of a word, phrase, or sentence, the listener projects the completion of the turn and is expected to take the next turn at a transition relevance place (TRP) (Sacks et al., 1974). In their seminal paper, Sacks et al. (1974) laid out the basic rules for the turn-taking organization and revealed the systematicity observed in ordinary conversation. The rules of who takes the turn, how long each turn takes, and when each will take a turn, are not predetermined, but instead locally managed by the participants themselves through careful monitoring and projection. When the number of people involved in the interaction increases and the interaction takes place face-to-face in ordinary situations or institutional contexts, naturally, the turn-taking organization and speaker shifts become more complicated.

Turn-taking organization observed in multiparty classroom interactions has often been studied based on participants' verbal conduct and has been described as unequally distributed among participants (Gardner, 2013; Markee, 2000, 2015; Seedhouse, 2004). In teacher-fronted classrooms, the teacher is in essence the only one who is entitled to allocate turns and select the next speaker, which is often a student, and the nominated speaker can only select the teacher after they complete their turn (Mehan, 1979; McHoul, 1978). Even if the teacher is not selected by the student, the teacher can continue to self-select, and the process gets repeated. Basically, as McHoul (1978) states, "only teachers can direct speakership in any creative way" (p. 188). This unequal distribution of turns and teacher control of turn-taking are a reflection of the asymmetric nature of knowledge and the difference in the social roles and expectations designated to teachers and students (Drew & Heritage, 1992). The teacher is expected to be knowledgeable about the content and carries the responsibility to assess students of their performances, which is reflected in the triadic dialogue known as the IRE sequence (Mehan, 1979). Thus, this characteristic is reflected in the turn-taking organization and sequence organization in classroom and makes the classroom interaction different to other institutional interactions and ordinary conversations.

The turn-taking organization in classroom is influenced by multiple participants and the use of embodied actions. Speaker shift and next-speaker selection in multiparty interaction can be a complicated act to be managed and negotiated verbally and nonverbally (Hayashi, 2013). Especially relevant for this study are interactions where the current speaker selects the next. In ordinary multiparty conversation, Lerner (2003) reported that next-speaker selection occurred through the current speaker

explicitly addressing a specific speaker by *gaze* and personal address terms, or else tacitly addressing them by formulating a turn specifically designed for an individual. Stivers and Rossano (2010) further reported that speakers design their actions to increase the accountability and relevance of a coparticipant's response by simultaneously combining multiple turn-design features like interrogative prosody, sensitivity to recipient's epistemic domain, and speaker *gaze*. Recent studies investigating multimodal aspects of turn-taking in teacher-fronted classrooms show that teachers' *gaze*, *body orientations*, *pointing*, and *head nods* are utilized to allocate response turns to students (Kääntä, 2012; Mortensen, 2008, 2009; Sert, 2015). Examining the context of Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) classrooms in Finland, Kääntä (2012) reported how teachers employ *gaze* and *pointing* to select the next speaker, and how students use *gaze* and *hand raising* after teacher-initiated questions to bid for the next turn. She points out that to accomplish smooth speaker shift, it is important that the teacher and the potential next speaker establish mutual gaze and clearly see each other's visual and bodily conduct.

Furthermore, the mechanisms of speaker shift and multimodal methods of speaker selection in classroom have been reported to be a collaborative act between teachers and students. Based on the data from Danish L2 classroom, Mortensen (2009) demonstrated that before teachers select a specific student to be the next speaker, they *gaze* towards the students in order to find a participant willing to answer a teacher-initiated question. Students willing to be selected as the next speaker display their willingness to take the next turn through *hand raising* or/and *gazing* towards the teacher. Similarly, Lauzon and Berger's (2015) study revealed that students play a significant role in locally managing their participation by displaying availability/ unavailability to respond to teacher initiations in French L2 classrooms in Switzerland. Thus, both teachers and students systematically employ talk and embodied action as interactionally meaningful resources to negotiate and manage turn-taking. These studies challenge the traditional notion of dominance in the teacher's role of controlling the classroom participation by revealing that speaker selection is in fact, jointly accomplished by all participants (Lauzon & Berger, 2015) through collaborative adjustments and orderly use of multimodal resources. In sum, it is useful to focus on the nonverbal resources utilized by both teachers and students when observing and analyzing turn-taking in classroom interaction.

Studies on Gestures and the Focal Gesture: The Microphone Gesture

Gestures are visible actions that are "used as an utterance or as a part of an utterance" (Kendon, 2004, p. 7) indicated through a movement of our body, especially through our hands. Gesture scholars have classified gestures into various categories and Applied Linguists have used these categories to investigate teacher gestures observed in classrooms. For instance, investigating a teacher's nonverbal actions in a foreign language classroom, Allen (2000) adopts Burgoon et al.'s (1989) five categories. They are *emblems*, *illustrators*, *affect displays*, *regulators*, and *adaptors*. *Emblems* are symbolic body movements specific to a culture, e.g., a thumbs-up gesture. *Illustrators* are movements that illustrate the utterance. *Affect displays* are facial expressions which displays emotions. *Regulators* are body movements that manage and regulate the flow of speaking and listening between two or more interactants. *Adaptors* are movements that individuals perform to satisfy their physical or psychological needs. Among these five categories, the most relevant category for the focal gesture of this paper, *microphone gesture*, is the fourth category, *regulators*. Analyzing Spanish as a foreign language classroom interaction, Allen (2000) reported that the teacher used gestures categorized as *regulators* to maintain turn-taking and have students repeat after her or continue to talk. Eliciting repetition, managing turns, and pursuing student utterances were some of the functions achieved by using the *microphone gesture*. Thus, under this categorization, the microphone gesture can be classified as a *regulator*.

Another influential categorization comes from a seminal work by McNeill (1992). He offers four categories: *iconic gestures*, *metaphoric gestures*, *deictic gestures*, and *beat gestures*. First, *iconic gestures* are gestures that depict the content of talk and represents both objects and bodily actions. *Iconic gestures* can be further categorized as *kinetographic*, if the gesture depicts bodily movements, or *pictographic*, if the gesture represents the actual form of an object. Second, *Metaphoric gestures*, in contrast, are gestures that describe abstract concepts. *Deictic gestures* are pointing gestures that indicate something specific in the environment or abstract concept. Lastly, *beat gestures* are hand moves, like a flick of the hand, which has a rhythmical pulse that goes along with the speech. Based on this classification, the *microphone gesture* belongs to a type of *iconic gesture*, specifically, *pictographic gesture*, as it represents an actual form of an object. Thus, this gesture can be understood to carry the functional characteristic of the represented object.

The *microphone gesture* is not commonly seen or used in our daily lives; however, the use of a microphone as a tool to address public audiences at large events, such as concert halls, to record sounds electronically at musical or political gatherings, or to interview people for a television show (Ponomareva, 2011) is commonly observed. According to Ponomareva (2011) who studied media interviews, a microphone served as a transmission device and fulfilled the role to determine the turn-taking through turn-initiation, continuation of the turn, and turn ending. Specifically, speaker nomination occurred through the microphone transition operated by the interviewer, who managed the course of interview. Thus, possessing the microphone signaled such a transactional state and had strong impact on the way interactants organized institutional talk. When a microphone itself is absent from the context and is substituted by a hand gesture, and if the gesture is recognized by participants as a representation of a microphone, the gesture can serve similar interactional functions as the microphone, for example, signaling a transactional state and thereby becoming a turn organizational resource. Gestures that substitute tools with specific functions can serve as an interactional resource and achieve similar interactional goals as the object. For instance, Mortensen's (2016) study on *cupping the hand behind the ear* gesture, once described as a "non-electric aid to hearing" (Stephens & Goodwin, 1984, p. 215), revealed that the participants treated the gesture as a display of a problem in hearing and this served as an interactional resource to achieve other-initiation of repair utilized by the teacher. Studying the same gesture, Amar (2022) showed how teachers used this gesture to pursue students' response when they fail to provide an answer in a timely manner.

When analyzing how gestures get deployed in interaction, it is important to attend to the timing of its appearance as well as the overall structure and phases of how they develop. The whole gesturing from the moment the limb begins to move and ends when the limb returns to the original position is referred to as a *gesture unit* (McNeill, 1992). The *gesture unit* consists of one or more *gesture phases* which include a *preparation*, a *pre-stroke hold*, the *stroke*, a *post-stroke hold*, and the *retraction* (Kendon, 2004; McNeill, 1992). Among the different phases, the *preparation*, *pre-stroke hold*, *post-stroke hold*, and *retraction* can be optional but the *stroke* marks the peak of the movement that expresses the meaning of the gesture, thus is obligatory. Previous studies have documented how gestures often get deployed and developed over turns with temporal progressivity (Kendon, 2004; Mondada, 2007; Sikveland & Ogden, 2012). In terms of bodily movements in naturally

occurring interaction, it has also been reported that a "very large number of moves and sequences of moves in interaction end where they begin" (Sacks & Schegloff, 2002, p. 137). This is also known as the "home position" (Sacks & Schegloff, 2002). Therefore, it is important to pay attention to the timing of when and where the gesture begins and ends, as well as how these stages develop in coordination with the talk. The *microphone gesture* gets deployed and developed through a series of phases: (a) the preparation – making a fist with either the right or left hand, departing from the original position; (b) the peak – placing the fist in front of a specific student; and (c) the retraction – withdrawing the fist back to the original *home position*. Moreover, the microphone gesture often co-occurred with the teacher's *gaze* towards a specific participant. Thus, the coordination of gaze direction, the temporal development, the position of body, and the verbal production should be taken into account when the gesture is being analyzed.

Eliciting Repetitions and Eliciting Responses in Language Classrooms

Eliciting repetitions from young novice L2 learners is pervasive in language classrooms (Chaudron, 1988; Duff, 2000; Kanagy, 1999). Repetition can be defined as "the act of copying or reproducing verbal or nonverbal behavior produced by self or other in communicative situations" (Piirainen-Marsh & Alanen, 2012, p. 2825). Repetitions in language classrooms can be observed in various forms, for instance, repetitions of pronunciation, prosody, vocabulary or phrase, grammatical features, and even nonverbal actions. Teachers use repetitions to provide corrective feedback on student utterances (Chaudron, 1988), to provide uptake and draw students' attention to a specific form, and to encourage students to become engaged in interaction (Duff, 2000). For learners, repetition is beneficial because it allows them to hear and practice problematic turns, and to join with other classmates in the common activity of learning. Therefore, eliciting repetitions play an important role in language classrooms.

Eliciting responses to teacher-initiated questions is also a common practice conducted by language teachers. When teachers initiate questions, and if there are no response in the next turn, the silence becomes noticeable and needs to be addressed. With the absence of response, the teacher moves on to prompt students to fulfill their obligations to answer the question. Under these circumstances, teachers use various techniques to elicit responses from learners. For instance, teachers might use designedly incomplete utterance (Koshik, 2002) with a rising intonation to mark the

absence and provide hints to students (Sert & Walsh, 2013). Moreover, teachers may use gestures to encourage and facilitate student response. Sert (2015) calls this an "embodied elicitation" (p. 102) and argues that teachers good use of combining gesture and speech has the potential to facilitate learners displays of understanding and lead to language learning. Based on data from a first-year EFL classroom in a Japanese university, Amar (2022) reported how teachers used the ear cupping gesture to pursue students' response when an answer was inapposite or not provided in a timely manner. Eliciting responses or pursuing a response is widely observed in language classrooms with learners of various levels of linguistic ability. Building on the prior research, this study aims to describe how an experienced teacher recurrently employs the microphone gesture to manage turn-taking and elicit student responses from young EFL learners. Moreover, it aims to show how the microphone gesture achieves different pedagogical goals as it gets recurrently employed over different lessons.

The Data and Method

The study is based on approximately 450 minutes of video recordings of EFL classroom interactions at an after-school English program in Japan. The participants are an experienced EFL instructor with over 30 years of teaching experience and nine young learners attending a lesson held once a week (one lesson consists of 60 minutes). All students in this class were aged 5 or 6 at the start of data collection and were beginning level learners of English with almost no experience being exposed to English prior to coming to this school. Based on several years of observation of this instructor's classes, the instructor followed an English only policy in all her classes from day one and uses a great deal of nonverbal resources. It was clear that the teachers' rich use of her body orientation, gaze, facial expressions, and frequent use of gestures served as clues for students to recognize patterns, understand and follow the activities. Thus, her classes were videorecorded over time and became the focus of investigation. This study has been reviewed and approved by the Committee of Human Studies at The University of Hawaii in June 2008. The participants and their parents were informed of the research in July 2008. The purpose of the research, expectations of the participants, their rights, and benefits were explained explicitly to the participants in Japanese. Consent forms, which includes the use of data collected in 2006, were signed by the students and their guardians in both Japanese and English.

The excerpts analyzed in the current study were taken from the following data sources: April 2006 (Excerpt 1), June 2006 (Excerpt 2), and June 2009

(Excerpt 3). These excerpts were selected because they contained the variety of use of the microphone gesture, although the data were collected in different time periods. The microphone gesture appeared in every class and was recurrently used from day one of the English lesson represented in Excerpt 1, which occurred 37 times in total. In the lesson recorded 2 months later (Excerpt 2), microphone gesture was observed 23 times. Lastly, in the lesson recorded 4 years later (Excerpt 3), the same gesture was utilized 15 times. Collections of the microphone gesture were made and analyzed to describe how the teacher utilized the gesture when addressing young learners. The data collected over lessons allowed the author to observe how this recurrent gesture was utilized and how it was received by the learners in different time periods.

The data were analyzed using conversation analysis (CA) with an aim to explicate the underlying mechanism of social interactions from the participants perspective. The data were transcribed using multimodal transcription conventions developed by Mondada (2018) (see Appendix 1 for the symbols designated for each speaker.). Thus, the detailed transcription includes gaze symbols and gesture designated to a specific participant to describe when a particular action is in preparation, reaching its apex, or under retraction. All the names of the participants in the transcripts were changed to pseudonyms.

Analysis

In the following section, I will describe three examples of how and when the *microphone gesture* is being utilized, as well as how the gesture is being oriented to by the young learners who are in the very early stages of learning English. The first excerpt come from the very first day of the English lessons when all the participants met in the classroom for the first time. The second excerpt comes from a lesson that occurred 2 months later, and the third excerpt 38 months later. Note that they consist of mostly same group of students being taught by the same teacher.

Eliciting Repetition in the Target Language

This segment occurred at the beginning of the very first lesson, when the teacher had just collected tape recorders from each student and put them on the table in front of her. The excerpt starts right after Eisaku's tape recorder has been placed on the table by the teacher (TEA) who says, *here's eisaku's*, (in line 1) while gazing at the other students. Towards the end of the turn,

the teacher gazes at a specific student, Shizuka (SHI), who is sitting next to Eisaku.[2]

Excerpt 1 Tape recorder [T1_3_4_Shizuka]

```
1  TEA    +here's eisaku'*s.+
   tea                    *…>
          ▪gazes at Ss▪  ▪gazes towards shi▪
   shi    +holding tape recorder, moves body to tea+
          †gazes at tea†
```



```
2         + (0.5) +
   tea    reaches RH towards shi-->
   shi    +holding tape recorder with both hands+
3  TEA    AH (.) this is ↑mi↓ne*
          takes the recorder, tries to put it in pocket*
          ▪smiles and gaze at other Ss▪
   shi    †gazes at tea†
4  SHI    *+chigau+
                no
           +gaze and body leaning towards TEA+
   tea    *RH in pocket and moves RH towards…>
          ▪gaze at shi▪
```

```
5  TEA   →    no?
       ⇒    mic--->
```



```
   shi        †gazes at tea†
6  SHI        NO!
   tea        -->
7  TEA        °say°  (0.3)  it's *mine
   tea        circular hand......*mic-->
8  SHI        it's +mi*ne
   shi        +puts RH to chest-->
   tea        -----,,,*
```


At the end of line 1, the teacher shifts her gaze from the whole class to focus specifically on an individual student to indicate a transition. While looking at the teacher, Shizuka, the gaze-selected student, holds her tape recorder with both hands and moves her body towards the teacher during the teacher's utterance. Shizuka's shift in posture, the movement of her body and her gaze towards the teacher can be understood as soliciting teacher attention (Cekaite, 2008), and in fact, results in establishment of mutual-gaze with the teacher. By holding her tape recorder towards the teacher, Shizuka indicates her orientation to the topic of the activity and attentiveness towards the teacher's actions. After the mutual gaze, a gap follows and the teacher reaches her right hand towards Shizuka's tape recorder (line 2).

In line 3, the teacher's loud *AH* token draws the participants' attention and acts as a display of noticing something worthy of reporting, as she

takes Shizuka's tape recorder with her right hand. After a micropause, the teacher claims the ownership of the object by stating, *this is mine*, with a rather exaggerated upward and downward intonation, and demonstrates her statement with the embodied action of trying to put the tape recorder in her pocket (note that the tape recorder is larger than her pocket). Her facial expression, the smile, and gaze towards other students, as well as the animated intonation and management of the object in line 3, indicate the playful nature of this statement and action. Furthermore, the series of actions: taking a student's tape recorder, claiming ownership of it, and trying to put it in her pocket, were performed in a previous exchange with Eisaku prior to this sequence. This repetition or establishment of multimodal routine could serve as a clue for other participants to recognize the similar pattern that the teacher might be performing and help them project or anticipate what might follow next (Kanagy, 1999; Watanabe, 2016).

In the next turn, Shizuka responds to the teacher's previous embodied conduct and a statement in line 3 by denying it using one word in her first language (L1) Japanese, *chigau*, meaning *no* or *wrong*, along with a gaze and leaning towards the teacher. As soon as Shizuka finishes the verbal utterance in line 4, the teacher moves her right hand from her pocket towards Shizuka simultaneously forming a fist (the preparation stage). In line 5, the teacher reformulates the previous Japanese utterance into the target language, English, with rising intonation, *no?* Co-occurring with this reformulation of the word, the teacher places her right fist position as if it were holding a microphone in front of Shizuka's mouth (the peak). Gazing back at the teacher, Shizuka repeats the reformulated word in a rather loud volume in line 6. Following this, the teacher continues to take the next turn by uttering a directive, ◦*say*◦ *it's mine*, with a circular hand motion (the preparation) and formulating another microphone gesture towards Shizuka (the peak). Shizuka then repeats the phrase, *it's mine*, with the embodied action of placing her right hand to her chest. Here it is important to mention that the sentence, *it's mine*, emerged in the previous interaction with Eisaku to claim his ownership of his tape recorder. Shizuka is displaying her understanding of this interaction through not only through repetition, but also with her embodied action. In line 8, the teacher reverses the microphone gesture (the retraction) as Shizuka completes the repetition and the teacher's right hand returns to the home position.

Given that this is the very first day of English class for these students, their knowledge of English is close to nil. As mentioned earlier, students in this excerpt were 5 to 6-year-old preschool students who probably had limited exposed to English prior to coming to this school. Allen (2000) who

studied nonverbal foreign language teacher talk, mentions the importance of nonverbal resources "especially for learners in lower-level classes who, because their knowledge of the language form is limited, rely on extra-linguistic cues to close the gaps in comprehension" (pp. 169-170). Although the teacher follows an English only policy in her lessons, her nonverbal cues like body movements, gaze, facial expressions, and frequent use of gestures serve as clues for students to recognize patterns, understand and follow the activity, and help produce what they are expected to do in the interaction. It is also important to note that all students are displaying their attentive participation in various ways. More specifically, the selected next speaker, Shizuka, also participates by using her bodily conduct, gaze, and repetition of teacher utterances, as prompted by the microphone gesture. The other students who are not producing utterances and being listeners are attentively monitoring the interaction with their gaze (Goodwin, 1980), and make public their understanding of their current role as ratified overhearers by not taking the next turn.

From this excerpt, we can see that the microphone gesture serves at least three purposes: gaining attention, allocating a turn, and achieving a pedagogical goal. First, the microphone gesture is produced to gain joint attention from the young learners. Studies have reported on how children solicit attention from teachers using artifacts and embodied actions (Cekaite, 2007, 2008), but it is equally important for the teachers to gain attention from students. The microphone gesture combined with the teacher utterance is effectively performed to obtain attention from all participants including the selected next speaker. Second, the microphone gesture serves to allocate a turn and establish a specific student as a next speaker through publicly displaying the selection. The deselected students continue to orient to this action by monitoring and gazing at the focal student and the teacher. Third, the teacher's pedagogical aim of having students repeat the phrase in the target language (line 7) and trying to have them use English as much as possible is enabled with the use of microphone gesture. In this excerpt, we can see that the simultaneous production of the microphone gesture and the teacher utterance serves as an indication to prompt a student to repeat the reformulated word and target phrase that is produced with the microphone. Moreover, the position of its placement, e.g., right after the student's L1 production (line 5) and the teacher's intra-turn pause (line 7), serve as indications of which words to repeat. Furthermore, the return of the gesture to the home position marks the completion of the pedagogical goal being achieved. The microphone gesture occurred 37 times in total in the first day of instruction. The limited space does not allow other examples

to be shown, however, the next section shows a summary of the sequential positioning of the microphone gesture used to elicit repetition.

Formalization to Achieve Repetition: Sequence Organization

In the early stages, especially in the first lesson, the microphone gesture frequently occurred as a means not only to seek a response, but also to prompt a repetition from students, who were selected as the next speaker. Previous studies on repetitions in FL classrooms have pointed out that teacher repetitions are pervasive in relatively low-level foreign language classroom interactions (Duff, 2000). As discussed earlier, teachers utilize repetition to provide uptake on student utterances and to encourage students to become engaged in interaction. In addition to increasing participation, repetition benefits learners by allowing them to practice articulating problematic turns. By providing a candidate response along with the microphone gesture, the teacher prompts students to use the target word, without specifically verbalizing "repeat after me." Table 1 is the formalization of the phenomenon which describes speaker shifts, turns, embodied actions, and actions the turn achieves in the sequence.

Table 1
Formalization of the Microphone Gesture to Achieve Repetition

	Teacher (TEA), Selected Student (S) talk	Action	TEA's Gesture and embodied action	S's embodied action
Turn 1	TEA: Teacher Initiation	Initiates sequence		Displays recipiency (gaze)
Turn 2	S: Student Response in L1	Responds to TEA's initiation	Orients to student's contribution (gaze)	Answers in non-verbal action (nod)
Turn 3	TEA: Candidate Response	Provides candidate response in L2	The Microphone Gesture	Displays recipiency (gaze)
Turn 4	S: Repetition	Repeats candidate response	Microphone (Turn-final retraction)	Displays recipiency

In many cases, the microphone gesture serves the interactional purposes of obtaining attention from young learners, allocating a turn to a specific speaker, mobilizing a response (Stivers & Rossano, 2010), and prompting repetition of the candidate response produced by the teacher. In addition to this, there are other functions the microphone gesture carries out to achieve pedagogical purposes. Next, we will observe other pedagogical functions of the gesture in lessons that took place after the first lesson.

Legitimatizing Student's Turn

The following excerpt comes from a lesson that occurred about 2 months after the previous excerpt. Here, the teacher is reading a picture book entitled *A Beautiful Butterfly* (Nakamoto, 2011) to the students and invites them to participate by asking questions based on the pages of the picture book. The teacher uses two types of voices: a regular voice and an animated voice. The animated voice is recognizable and is differentiated from the regular voice in the transcript by embedding the talk in at-marks (@). The animated voice is produced when the teacher is reading out loud from the book and enacting the main character's voice, which is that of a caterpillar (lines 1-7).

Excerpt 2 Something blue [T3_1_2_3_2.49]

```
01   TEA   @*I want to be a (0.3)  blue butterfly*@
            *p at  the  words in  the picture book*
02         (0.5)
03   TEA   tch  @I *have to eat*  (0.5)  something ↑blue::@
                  *eating gesture*
04         (0.7)
05   TEA   @some[thing blue:@]
                 ▪gazes at Ss▪
06   EIS        [blueberry::]
07   TEA   @*bl↑ue, blue, [blue.*@
            *gazes and p at the picture book*
08   EIS                  [blueberry ai
09   TEA   *something ↑blue,*  >every*body<
            *snaps fingers twice*    *cupping ear--->
            ▪gazes at Ss▪
```

```
10   Ss        something blue* ((EIS not included))
     tea          ------------->*
11             (0.2)
12   TEA       what is something blue=
13   EIS       =*BULUE: BE[RRY*
               gazes at tea
     tea        *mic towards eis*
```



```
14   TEA                    [oh ↑blueberry is blue yes,
15             blueberry is bl- blue, blueberry is blue,
16             (0.4)
```

In lines 1, 3, and 5, the teacher is reading the book with an animated voice that represents the caterpillar looking for something blue to eat. While using the animated voice, pointing at the book, pausing, and gesturing to entertain and support the students' understanding, the teacher utters, *something blue*, in line 5. Eisaku, the focal student in this excerpt, gives the name of a blue fruit, *blueberry::*, in the middle of the teacher's turn (line 6), elongating the final vowel in overlap with her utterance. As observed in the following turn, this self-selected turn which displays his understanding and projection based on his attentive listening, does not receive any uptake and fails to obtain mutual gaze as the teacher continues to look at the other students. In the next turn, the teacher shifts her gaze and continues to read the book in an animated voice as she points to it (line 7). Again, during the teacher's turn, Eisaku overlaps his talk with the teacher's repetition in a second attempt to initiate a self-selected turn in line 8 which again results in no uptake. In line 9, the teacher repeats the key phrase, *something blue*, switching to a normal voice, along with a rhythmical finger snap and opens the floor to the whole group by shifting her gaze and addressing the students with, *everybody*, and employing the cupping ear gesture (Mortensen, 2016; Sert, 2015). In

this sequence, the cupping ear gesture serves as a prompt for repetition of the key phrase, something blue, which is responded to and achieved by the students (line 10), other than Eisaku. After the choral repetition and a gap, a question gets initiated by the teacher in line 12.

Immediately after the teacher's initiation in line 12, without a gap, Eisaku provides a response in line 13 in a clear and loud volume. Here it is interesting to note the timing of the teacher's microphone gesture. The gesture was produced at the same time as Eisaku produced the response and the peak was placed in front of him. The placement of the gesture and the timing of the response without a latch is almost as if it was planned. However, this is not surprising because the gesture is positioned after the two failed attempts of Eisaku taking self-selected turns that were not taken up by the teacher. The teacher's utterance overlaps in the middle of Eisaku's answer in line 14, which indicates that she can project what his answer is. By producing the "oh" token in the middle of a known answer (Hosoda, 2015), as well as taking up and repeating student's answer several times, the teacher is reinforcing the appropriateness of Eisaku's response produced at this particular point, i.e., after the teacher initiation. The teacher returns her microphone gesture to the home position at the end of the student utterance (the retraction) in line 13. It displays the completion of the expected action, which is producing a response turn at the right timing.

In comparison to Excerpt 1, the microphone gesture does not co-occur with the teacher's production of a candidate response and does not prompt a repetition of the teacher utterance. Instead, it serves to manage legitimate participation through official allocation of a turn. The gesture was produced right after the teacher's production of the teacher-initiated question in a normal voice and functioned to elicit a student response in the appropriate sequential position. Eisaku's self-selections in lines 6 and 8 were placed in the middle of the teacher's animated utterance, and as a result, interrupted the on-going activity of the book reading and did not receive any attention or uptake from the teacher. Although the response itself fulfilled the role of providing a valid answer, as we can observe from the positive treatment to the same answer received in line 14, the earlier attempts were not taken up due to their sequential positioning. Thus, in this excerpt, the microphone gesture did not function to prompt a repetition, but instead served to ratify the selected student as a legitimate speaker and allowed the student's turn to be officially included in the main interaction. The microphone gesture makes it visible for all participants, including the speaker, that turns must

be taken in a specific sequential position, that is after a teacher-initiated question was produced in a normal voice. In other words, the microphone gesture in this excerpt served as a means to distinguish non-legitimate self-selected turns from legitimate teacher-selected turns. The gesture served to display appropriate turn-taking rules in this particular context, a picture book reading, and carries out a disciplinary action without direct confrontation to maintain the progressivity of the talk.

Pursuing Expected Utterance

The final excerpt comes from a lesson recorded 38 months (about 3 years) after the first lesson. Prior to this excerpt, the students were reporting their weekend activities to the teacher, which is a routine interaction that is carried out in every lesson (Watanabe, 2016). This sequence comes after the completion of the reporting activity and opens with the teacher initiation of a subsequent activity related to the weekend report.

Excerpt 3.1 Who question [T9_4_Eisaku]

```
01 TEA      okay, *∞who question*
                  *raises RH*
   eis            ∞raises RH--->
02         (0.5)
   eis      ---->
03 TEA     who?  (. )   *hm hm hm*
                        *snaps fingers*
   eis      ------------------->
04         *(1.0)
   tea      *......->
   eis      ---->
05 TEA     okay (.) eisaku,∞
           #mic to eis----->
   eis      ------------,,,∞
```

```
   fig          #fig4
```



```
06           (1.5)
   tea       mic and a head nod-->
                    ▪gazes at eis▪
07 EIS       kanoko?*=
   tea       mic--,,*
08 TEA       =who no [no no. ]   *>you have to say,<*
                                  *hand to her mouth*
09 EIS               [∘ah no∘]
10 TEA       who [*stayed home*
                  *both hands moves for each word*
11 EIS           [who ]
12 EIS       ah
```

In line 1, the teacher starts with a positive acknowledgment, *okay*, and initiates a sequence by uttering a *who question*, while raising her right hand, a gesture that provides an embodied example of what the students should do to express their readiness to respond. Eisaku, the focal student in this excerpt, also raises his right hand to show his availability and willingness to be selected as the next speaker (Mortensen, 2009). This phrase itself does not function to initiate a specific action. However, from the participants' perspective (as demonstrated by Eisaku's hand raise) it is publicly available that this is a turn which can be treated as initiating an action that makes a response conditionally relevant. The routineness of this teacher initiation is also reflected in Eisaku and the teachers' simultaneous hand raising. While Eisaku continues to raise his hand in line 2, a 0.5 silence follows and the teacher produces an additional turn starting with an upwardly intoned, *who?*, a micropause and, *hm hm hm*, with snapping fingers to indicate that some words should follow. Snapping fingers instead of giving specific words

is a technique often used by this teacher and observed elsewhere across data. After a 1.0 second silence, the teacher allocates a turn to Eisaku by gaze selecting him, addressing him by name, and simultaneously placing the microphone gesture in front of him (the peak). He has been raising his hand throughout multiple teacher turns (lines 1-5) and retracts his hand raise as his name is spoken.

After the next speaker is selected by the teacher's embodied turn allocation, the microphone gesture is maintained in the same position (peak hold) throughout a rather long silence. Eisaku then takes the next turn by producing the name of one of the students with a rising intonation (line 7). The microphone gesture is reversed soon after Eisaku's utterance (the retraction) and the teacher immediately produces, *who no no no*, repeating a negation three times, and treating the previous turn as inadequate. After this, she displays an explicit instruction using, *you have to say*, accompanied with a hand in front of her mouth to emphasize the verb. It is interesting to point out that the microphone gesture retraction served to indicate a shift and the end of the speakership. Overlapping with the teacher's negation, Eisaku quietly produces an ah token and a negation which aligns with the teacher utterance (line 9). The teacher then goes on to provide an example of the expected utterance, producing an interrogative sentence starting with *who* followed by a past tense verb (line 10). In overlap with the model question, Eisaku produces the repeated key word, *who*, and utters *ah*, after the teacher's model question is completed. It has been reported that Japanese a-prefaced response tokens display a change of state and receipt the received information as new (Endo, 2018). Considering that Eisaku is a native speaker of Japanese, he might be displaying a change of state (lines 9 & 12) to show his updated understanding of what he is expected to do by receipting the negative assessment and explicit instruction of the teacher.

In Excerpt 3.1, the use of the microphone gesture not only allocates a turn to pursue a response from the recipient, but also signals a speaker shift by its removal. In order to achieve the teacher's pedagogical goal, that is to have the students produce a question starting with who, the microphone gesture also functioned to show whether the student's production was in line with the teacher's expectation. In this excerpt, when the microphone is utilized, students are not expected to produce a repetition of the teacher utterance as in the first excerpt, but to produce and formulate a certain question pattern, i.e., who-initial question. The following is a continuation of the previous excerpt.

Excerpt 3.2 Who question [T9_4_Eisaku]

```
13 TEA     okay, >everybody< *who question
                            *…..#mic----->
   fig                          #fig 5
```



```
14 EIS     ah who:: did (2.3) who did- (2.0) nn:::
   tea     mic---------------------------------->
15 EIS     who::::: [did
   tea     mic drops-->
16 TEA             [did (English) no?
                   mic-------------->
17 EIS     see-  see::
   tea     mic------->
18         (0.7)
19 EIS     basket[ball
   tea     mic------->
20 TEA          [who went to
                mic------->
21 EIS     who went to s-[ see a basket [ball ga-
   tea     mic---------------------------------->
22 TEA                   [see
                          mic-->
23 TEA                                 [ball game
                                       mic------->
24 EIS     game*
   tea     mic,*
   kan     raises hand
   ken     raises hand
25 TEA     oh who went to see a basketball game
```

In line 13 the teacher again initiates a sequence as she gazes at students and renews an action that is similar to the one in line 1. Although the teacher seems to invite the whole class with *everybody*, the teacher raises the microphone gesture and is placed in front of Eisaku towards the end of the teacher's turn. Given a second chance, Eisaku then responds with elongation and intra-turn pauses to formulate a question starting with *who* in line 14. Instead of using the grammatical format that the teacher provided, which is treating who as a subject and the verb following it, i.e., who (subject) + verb, Eisaku formulates a question using who and the auxiliary verb *did*. (The use of this grammatical form could be because the students are used to making question forms using the auxiliary verb did.) With the help of the teacher's clues (McHoul, 1990) accompanied with the embodied microphone cue, from lines 15 through 24, the teacher and Eisaku collaboratively formulate the who question until the teacher sums it up in line 25 saying, *oh who went to see a basketball game*. Here, the use of an *oh* token to a known utterance is a form of positive assessment that encourages the students (Hosoda, 2015). Towards the end of the co-production of the who question (line 24) and as the teacher produces the question in one turn (line 25), student bids begin from two students already raising their hands to answer this question.

In these excerpts, the microphone gestures functioned to gain attention, allocate a turn, pursue a response and to achieve the pedagogical task of producing a specific question type: who-initial question. The microphone gesture combined with the teacher clues allowed the respondent to sustain the speakership until the task is completed. The microphone is not only used in the pursuit of response, but also to maintain the relevance of that speakership over multiple turns. The use of turn-moderating microphone gesture over stretches of turns enables the teacher to pursue responses to her questions, and to thus structure the interactional organization of the class. Furthermore, the students' ability to monitor and adjust to the teacher's verbal and non-verbal action and instruction is essential to participating and achieving the task appropriately.

Discussion and Conclusion

The study has shown that the teacher's recurrent use of a specific hand gesture, the microphone gesture, was not randomly produced, but is in fact utilized as a meaningful multimodal resource to achieve interactional as well as pedagogical goals. Interactionally, the microphone gesture was systematically and recurrently employed by the teacher to organize and modulate turn-taking and turn-allocation (Allen, 2000). Repeated use of

a particular gesture could often lead to recipients adopting the gesture in their talk, a phenomenon known as "return gestures" to remedy troubles in interaction (de Fornel, 1992; Eskildsen & Wagner, 2013). However, interestingly, this gesture was never used by the students throughout the data, which shows how the teacher demonstrated the right and responsibility to manage turn-taking and how learners oriented to this right (Kääntä, 2012; McHoul, 1978). Selecting a next speaker could be a complicated task in multiparty classroom interaction where many students are present, and the teacher attempts to distribute opportunities for every student to participate. The microphone gesture combined with gaze carried out a smooth shift in speakership in turn transitions (Kendrick et al., 2023) by publicly displaying an orientation to who the next speaker will be. Secondly, it also served to obtain attention from the other students and have them focus on the interaction. Keeping eight to ten young learners attentive and having them participate in classroom activities for 60 minutes is not an easy task. By fully utilizing the microphone gesture and other embodied conduct, the teacher was able to gain joint attention (Kidwell & Zimmerman, 2007) from the learners and have them focus on the selected interactant by monitoring the activity and displaying their understanding when being selected. Having peripheral participants focus and monitor the on-going activity could lead to peripheral learning and serve as an important device for language learning (Okada, 2010). Thirdly, the microphone gesture served to pursue response when the response to teacher-initiated first pair parts were missing or delayed. Together with the use of verbal production of the teacher initiations, as well as gaze and rising intonation, the microphone gesture made it relevant for a student response to be produced by a selected individual.

Pedagogically**,** the microphone gesture was employed by the teacher to achieve instructional goals to produce certain types of responses to teacher-initiated turns and manage participation. In Excerpt 1, the microphone gesture served to prompt a repetition of the teacher's utterance co-produced with the gesture after the student's L1 utterance (see Table 1). The microphone gesture functioned to obtain an L2 response from the students by having them repeat the teacher's reformulation and produce expected utterances with appropriate timing and linguistic forms. This sequential position was recurrently used by the teacher and helped to achieve the pedagogical goal of having students produce repetition. Second, the microphone gesture managed to legitimize participation (Excerpt 2). The student's self-selected turns are a display of learner initiative and demonstrate willingness to

participate. However, when they are overlapped with the teacher's utterance, or provide answers before the question is initiated, they become disruptive. The microphone gesture served to differentiate the self-selected turns by legitimizing only those turns it allocated. The last excerpt showed that the microphone gesture enabled the teacher to pursue expected utterance. The length of microphone gesture was managed by the teacher and the prolonged use of the gesture functioned to maintain the role of speakership for the selected speaker. In sum, the teacher's use of the microphone gesture provides an example of the human body being utilized as a resource for achieving both interactional and institutional goals at the same time.

Lastly, the study contributes to our understanding of how a specific embodied practice gets recurrently utilized and oriented to by participants in educational settings (Eskildsen & Wagner, 2015). By tracking a very specific gesture, the microphone gesture, the study reveals how turn-taking and speaker shift is organized and coordinated by focusing on embodied practices employed by a teacher and her students. How teachers use recurrent gestures and embodied conducts when teaching a foreign language and studying its effectiveness has a lot to offer when reflecting on teaching practices or training new teachers. As the aim of this study is not to make any generalizations but to describe the orderly and systematic use of this gesture, I hope it contributes to our understanding of how gestures and embodiments are used as a meaningful resource in classrooms. Future studies should continue to investigate the systematic use of recurrent embodied practices employed by participants to reveal the world of embodiment in language classrooms.

Notes

1. Here it is important to point out the idiosyncratic use of the microphone gesture by this particular teacher. In this study, I am not trying to generalize the use of the microphone gesture in all EFL classrooms, but to reveal the systematic use of the gesture in this classroom through analyzing how it is treated and oriented to in the interaction by the participants.
2. All names in the excerpts are pseudonyms.

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Appendix

Appendix 1 is available from the online version of this article at https://jalt.org/main/jj.

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Appendix 1

Transcription Conventions

[	The point where overlapping talk and/or gesture starts
]	The point where overlapping talk and/or gesture ends
(0.0)	length of silence in tenths of a second
(.)	micro-pause less than 2/10 of a second
<u>underlining</u>	relatively high pitch
CAPS	relatively high volume
::	lengthened syllable
–	cut-off; self-interruption
=	'latched' utterances
?/./,	rising/falling/continuing intonation respectively
!	animated tone, not necessarily an exclamation
( )	unintelligible stretch
(word)	transcriber's unsure hearings
> <	increase in tempo, as in a rush-through
< >	decrease in tempo
°°	a passage of talk quieter than the surrounding talk
↑	higher pitch begins
↓	lower pitch begins
@	animated voice

Multimodal Transcription Conventions (Adapted from Mondada, 2018)

* *	delimits gestures and actions done by the **Teacher (TEA)**
▪ ▪	gaze by the Teacher
+ +	delimits gestures and actions done by **Shizuka (SHI)**
† †	gaze by Shizuka
∞ ∞	delimits gestures and actions done by **Eisaku (EIS)**

Abbreviations

Ss: Students choral response   S: Unidentified student
TEA: Teacher   SHI, EIS: Identified student
RH/LH: Right hand / Left hand   p: Pointing

The Effects of Self-Directed Perception Training on Japanese Noun Accent by American Learners of Japanese

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This study investigated how self-directed perception training on Japanese nouns affected L1 American learners of Japanese (*N* = 48) focusing on (a) listening; (b) accent pronunciation; (c) the perceived naturalness; and (d) the correlations of perception and production. The experimental group engaged in pitch-accent listening tasks with accent-lined vocabulary lists. Both the experimental- and control groups were asked to detect the accent patterns and to pronounce 13 words with 2, 3, and 4 morae. The results showed improvement in the posttest on listening and pronunciation. A significant difference was found only for the experimental group with pronunciation of the no-line condition. Perception and production were positively correlated with each other. Further analysis suggested that pretest listening might be associated with posttest speaking but not vice-versa. Thus, integrating accent listening activities is strongly suggested.

　本研究は英語が母語のアメリカ人の日本語学習者48人を対象に、各自がクラス外で行う聴覚練習が名詞のアクセント習得にどう影響するか調査した。特にa)リスニング、b)アクセントの発音、c)発音の自然さ、d)リスニングと発音の関係に焦点を置いた。実験群にはアクセントライン付きの単語リストを与え、ピッチアクセントの聞き取り練習を課した。テストでは2，3，4モーラの混じった13語のアクセントの発音とリスニングを行い、その結果、ポストテストのリスニングとアクセント発音に改善が見られた。特に実験群がアクセントラインなしで発音をした場合に有意差が見られた。本研究により聴覚力と発音の関連性が認められた。又、プリテストの聴覚力は、ポストテストの発音に影響する可能性があるが、発音の聴覚力への影響は認められなかった。この結果から、アクセントの改善に積極的にリスニング活動を取り込むことが推奨される。

Prosodic features play a crucial role in communication; however, teaching prosody is often neglected in foreign language instruction (e.g., Abe et al., 2013; Baker, 2011; Derwing & Munro, 2005; Odisho, 2016; Tsurutani, 2011). Acquiring a proper accent is one of the key factors in carrying out successful communication, especially in the Japanese language in which the accent has lexically contrastive pitch patterns (Beckman & Pierrehumbert, 1986; Shport, 2016). However, pitch accent is a challenge for non-native speakers with the irregularities of noun accent patterns (Matsuzaki & Kawano, 2003). When accents are indicated in Japanese textbooks, Tokyo accents or standard accents are often presented by marking where a pitch fall occurs for accented words and marking high-pitched morae for unaccented words (hereafter, accent lines). Even so, effective ways of utilizing the device are not well-incorporated in lessons, and acquiring the accents is left up to the learners (Minematsu et al., 2017).

Prior literature has addressed that difficulty in L2 production (pronunciation) is embedded in perception (listening) and has reported that training in perception improved production (Derwing & Munro, 2005; Wang & Sereno, 2003). Nevertheless, auditory practice is not conducted enough in current classrooms (Odaisho, 2016). Although many positive effects of systematic prosody instruction were reported, the majority of research was in laboratory settings, and the research findings were not reflected in teaching (Derwing & Munro, 2005). Because not very many studies have been done in classroom environments, this study was conducted in real classroom settings without formal accent training, aiming to examine if listening assignments with the visual aid of accent line would improve pitch accents of American learners of Japanese. The result of this study may suggest whether incorporating accent lines and listening practice outside class could enhance learning Japanese pitch accents. The main focus of the study was to investigate whether the self-directed perception training would help learners acquire proper pitch accents of Japanese nouns; whether it would affect the learners' perception and production; and the subsequent evaluation of the naturalness of pitch accents by native speakers of Japanese. Correlations among perception, production, and naturalness were also examined.

Literature Review

Japanese Pitch Accent

Japanese pitch accent differs from English accent in phonetic alignment and function. The prominent difference is that Japanese pitch accent is lexically linked, while English accent is not (Beckman & Pierrehumbert, 1986; Shport, 2016). Japanese words consist of mora, and each mora bears either a low (L) or high (H) pitch. A sudden pitch fall from high to low makes words "accented" and no pitch fall makes words "unaccented (or flat)" (Kubozono, 2007). Distinguishing pitch accent contrasts plays an important role in communication (Nakagawa, 2002), especially on homophonic nouns such as *ka.MI* (LH) 'paper' and *KA.mi* (HL) 'god' (Note: a [.] separates each mora, and uppercase letters indicate the high pitch). The correct lexical accent makes a significant impact on the natural pitch contour of Japanese (Tanaka & Kubozono, 1999; Tsurutani, 2011). Acquiring pitch accents, however, is a challenge as Japanese noun accents are mostly arbitrarily determined (Matsuzaki & Kawano, 2004) and pitch accents inflect with compound nouns and may change within different Japanese dialects. The irregularities of the noun accent patterns make pitch accents more complex to acquire and may discourage both teachers and learners from tackling them.

Causes of Difficulties in Learning Accent

Mastering tone and pitch accent is arduous if a learner's L1 is non-tonal or not associated with pitch (Shen & Froud, 2016; Yang, 2015). L1 American-English learners of Japanese often show strong first language interference (L1 transfer) from the characteristics of English stress which is determined at a phrase level and relates to duration, intensity, or vowel quality (Beckman & Pierrehumbert, 1986). Japanese pitch accent is prominent with an abrupt decrease in F0 while the English stress accent is marked by an increase in the degree of force, which can be perceived as similar to the Japanese pitch peak by L1 English learners (Nishinuma et al., 1996). It is reported that American learners rely on F0 peak location but not F0 fall, thus unaccented patterns could be difficult (Shport, 2016). L1 English speakers tend to stress at the pitch peak of unaccented words but fail to keep the flat pitch, resulting in the unaccented nouns being pronounced as accented (e.g., *wa.TA.SHI* 'I'[LHH] vs. *wa.TA.shi* 'I' [LHL])*.* Also, English accent rules are applied to stress the penultimate or antepenultimate syllable in a four-mora Japanese word (as cited in Taylor, 2012, p.79). The causes of mispronunciation on morae

can be categorized into three types: (a) lack of knowledge about the target language, or L1 does not have the patterns of the L2; (b) lack in perception, that is, one has the knowledge, but, the sound cannot be recognized and thus cannot be produced; or, (c) lack in production where one is able to distinguish the sound but cannot produce (Toda, 2003, p. 71), which may account for the causes of mis-articulation of accent.

Perception and Production in Second Language

Concerning the learning process, previous theoretical and empirical studies attested that perception of the L2 surpasses production in general and that the acquisition of perception is essential for L2 learners to develop production skills (e.g., Carlet & de Souza, 2018; Isbell, 2016; Lee et al., 2020; Saito & van Poeteren, 2018). In phonetic studies, Flege's (1995) speech learning model has generally been applied to account for the connection between perception and production. In this theoretical model, a new or similar phonetic category is created when the L2 sound is different enough from the L1 phonological system, and the process of perceiving the new L2 sound enables the production to occur. Applying the model, it is assumed that L2 learners first notice new accent patterns in L2 and develop a new prosodic system, which can be encouraged by explicit, form-focused instruction and by a substantial amount of listening. Accordingly, speaking domain is activated which leads to L2 production.

Considerable numbers of perception-production studies have reported that gained knowledge through perception learning was transferred to the production (e.g., Bladlow et al., 1997; Sakai & Moorman, 2018). Saito and van Poeteren (2018) studied English /r/ in Japanese learners of English and found that perception was correlated with accuracy and intelligibility of production in both controlled and spontaneous settings. Perception-based training with explicit instruction was reported to be more effective than production-based instruction, among four different instruction modes of perception-based versus production-based training with syllabic-focused and phonemic-focused, indicating significant large gains for both segmental and suprasegmental features (Lee et al., 2020). Wang and Sereno (2003) reported perception training effects were transferred to production on tone contrasts with American learners of Mandarin, improving by 18% compared to the pretest. The training effects were generalized to new stimuli and were retained six months after training. Some studies, however, found contrasting results indicating production exceeded perception (Yang, 2012, as cited in Yang, 2015) or reported no correlation found between perception and

production (Kartushina et al., 2015). Perception training research reported improvement in perception by 10-20%, although the positive results were partially transferred or not transferred at all to production for vowels (Carlet & de Souza, 2018) and tone constrasts (Perrachoine et al., 2011). Production training alone has shown positive results on L2 production Kartushina, et al., 2015; Yang, 2015); however, production training effects were only found on production but not on perception (Cooper & Wang, 2013). More recent studies state that perception and production positively interact with each other (Nagle, 2018, as cited in Saito & Plonsky, 2019, p. 663), thus strengthening perception may simultaneously activate both perception and production domains and enhance proficiency.

Knowledge and Accent Acquisition in L2 Speech Development

As Japanese pitch accent is a lexical property, it is suggested that a phonological form, or an accent pattern, is entailed in processing and storing the mental lexicon (Beckman & Pierrehumbert, 1986). Regarding lexical accent perception, Goth and Tamaoka (2019) state that lexical-linked prosody is promoted by long-term knowledge of L2 phonological structure. According to their theory, short-term storage is stimulated by perception that requires phonological-based judgments on lexical accent: first evaluating accent correctness, then categorizing sounds according to visual representations of pitch contours. L2 lexical knowledge contributes to an understanding of the phonological patterns. Thus, it can be assumed that accuracy on form-based judgments can be the representation of acquiring an accent pattern that was drawn from long-term memory.

Based on this premise, knowledge of L2 regularities positively affects perception; accordingly distinguishing the accent patterns may enhance L2 production ability. Previous research generally supported that explicit L2 instruction had a positive effect by raising learners' awareness on specific features of L2 (Carlet & de Souza, 2018; Kennedy, et al., 2014). Instruction-awareness links have been successfully reported in L2 listening with a metacognitive approach to L2, such as monitoring comprehension and evaluating understanding. With the complexity of pitch accent, the question is whether explicit instruction can lead to improving learners' accents. Japanese accent training often involves pitch accent lines or signs indicating the location of a pitch fall (see Ayusawa, 2003; Nakagawa & Nakamura, 2010). Isomura (1996) confirmed the relationship between knowledge and perception ability by conducting a set of two tests; one examined acquired knowledge by having the participants indicate a pitch

fall without listening and the other with listening to test their perception ability. A positive correlation was found between these two tests indicating that the perception proficiency was high when the patterns were acquired. Other studies on perception and production reported that knowledge of the pitch fall could improve listening, but knowledge alone would not guarantee accurate accent pronunciation (Ayusawa, 2003; Matsuzaki & Kawano, 2003). Prior studies lead us to assume that explicit instruction of accent patterns can promote perception by making a new set of accent categories; however, further studies are necessary to examine to what extent it enhances perception and pronunciation proficiency.

Current Accent Instruction in the Classroom

Pronunciation instruction tends not to be systematically organized in language curriculum due to time constraints and/or a lack of teacher's knowledge, and teaching materials do not provide sufficient information on methodologies for prosody (Abe et al., 2013; Derwing & Munro, 2005; Ogawara & Kawano, 2002; Tsurutani, 2011). Supportive devices such as variations of visualized prosody have been reported as effective tools. Prior studies found that audio-visual feedback with a visualized intonation line was more effective than mere auditory feedback (e.g., de Bot, 1983). Learners with high production proficiency performed well only with auditory feedback, while average learners utilized auditory, visual, or sensory supports (Nakagawa & Nakamura, 2010). Thus, incorporating a multisensory (auditory, visual, tactile-kinesthetic) and multicognitive (think, associate, analyze, synthesize, etc.) approach in teaching pronunciation is suggested for maximum effectiveness in acquiring L2 pronunciation (Odisho, 2016).

To help in learning pitch accent, some Japanese language textbooks provide vocabulary lists with an accent line; however, the explanation is brief and prosody instruction is not systematically incorporated into the lessons. Other researchers are against marking accents claiming that it confuses learners, especially beginners, unless it provides a detailed explanation (Hasegawa, 1995).

The Present Study

Despite many studies investigating the patterns of inaccurate accent, the majority of studies were in laboratory settings (Derwing & Munro, 2005) or through systematic in-class instructions. Furthermore, very few studies

focused on the effects of accent teaching materials (Matsuzaki & Kawano, 2004). With these conditions taken into account, the goal of the study was to examine whether the self-directed perception training (a series of accent listening assignments) with visual material (the accented-lined vocabulary list) would help learners acquire proper pitch accents of Japanese nouns. Due to the setting of this study, only words that the participants knew the lexical meanings were tested. The focus of this study was the correctness of pitch accent but not the pitch patterns, therefore each accent pattern was not mainly discussed.

This study investigated (a) whether the training would have positive effects on perception (listening) and production (accent pronunciation or speaking) of learned vocabulary; (b) whether the evaluation of naturalness of the experimental group would improve after the treatment; (c) whether there would be any relationship between perception and production of accent. Each hypothesis is stated below.

Hypothesis 1: The experimental group's improvement on all the posttest scores (listening tests, speaking tests, evaluation of the naturalness) from the pretest scores will be larger than the control group's improvement.

Hypothesis 2: The scores of the listening tests will be correlated with those of the speaking tests.

Research Method

Participants

All students (*N* = 58) in Japanese language courses at a university in the South of the United States were recruited. Ten students whose first language was not English were excluded from the data analysis. The final sample of 48 native speakers of American English (30 males, and 18 females) participated in this study. Among this sample, 25 students were in the first-year course, 13 students were in the second-year course, eight students were in the third-year course, and two students were in the fourth-year course. The majority of them are between 18 and 22 years old. The student's proficiency levels varied from novice for the first-year students to intermediate for the fourth-year students. Participants had very little opportunity to listen or speak Japanese in real communication due to the small Japanese population at the location.

Procedure

With Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval, pilot studies were conducted with a different group of participants before the main study, and, as a result, some words were replaced in the main study due to the difficulty of distinguishing pitch fall (see the Measures section for more detail). The participants in each course were divided into the experimental group and the control group by alphabetical order on the class rolls. The students with odd numbers on the roll were assigned to the experimental group (n = 26) and the students with even numbers were in the control group (n = 22). The number of each group became uneven due to the exclusion of non-native English speakers. The detail of the experiment of each group is explained later in this section. To avoid any influence, the purpose of the study was hidden from the participants, and the breakdown of the groups was known only to the researcher and was kept secret from the other instructor. No accent-focused instruction was provided in class during the period of the study. The tested words were incorporated into conversation practice and were indicated by images or photos rather than written words on a PowerPoint. When errors in accents were noticed, the instructor provided corrective feedback with a correct pitch accent.

Prior to the pretest, all participants received a 30-minute explanatory session by the researcher, which introduced the pitch accent along with practices on listening and drawing accent lines. They were asked to write a straight line on the unaccented (flat) mora and a symbol ˥ for the pitch fall (e.g., ka.˥ga.ku.wa). The participants were instructed by the researcher not to share any materials with members of another group during the study. They were informed that all the materials would be shared after the research, and extra points would be given for participating in the study as compensation for work done outside of class. Pretests for listening and accent pronunciation were given to both groups one month into the semester after the participants had learned the vocabulary in the lesson. The listening tests were conducted during the class; section one was conducted first followed by section two. On a different day, the data on accent pronunciation was collected individually outside class time; the no-line condition was followed by the with-line condition. Posttests were conducted at the end of the semester in the same manner. A questionnaire was also administered after the posttests to obtain information about accent learning.

Experimental Group

The experimental group engaged in pitch-accent listening homework assignments prepared by the researcher. There were four lessons covered during the experiment, and each lesson contained an average of 22 nouns including pronouns except the last lesson which had 14 nouns. During the first week of each lesson, the experimental group was asked to write the accent pitch of all the nouns in the lesson by listening to an accompanying CD with no support materials about accent. In the second week, they received a vocabulary list with accent lines and were asked to read aloud the nouns with the accent lines and practice the accent outside the classroom. For the third week's homework, they were asked to write two words in the current or previous lessons that contained the same accent pitch as a sample word. The homework consisted of six sample words with four different accent patterns. The experimental group repeated the routines for four lessons for twelve weeks.

Control Group

The control group received neither the accent-lined vocabulary list nor did self-directed training on accent during the period of the study, apart from the explanatory session before the pretest. In place of accent assignments of the counter-part group, they received meaning-oriented vocabulary homework in which they were asked to write the meaning of nouns in each lesson.

The homework was created to provide an opportunity for them to learn the meaning of words without focusing on the accent.

Measures

Modifying a Tokyo Accent Perception Test

The listening test was created based on a Tokyo accent perception test developed by Nishinuma (1994) which consists of three listening sections, each composed of 24 words of three, four, and five morae with different accent patterns to identify pitch fall for accented nouns. Based on the first part of the Tokyo accent perception test (test on a single word accent), three tests were developed for this study: (a) a listening test that contained two sections, (b) an accent pronunciation test with two conditions: a no-line condition and with-line condition, and (c) a naturalness evaluation by native speakers of Japanese. The tests were written in Romanized Japanese and/ or English to ensure the participants' understanding. At the end of the study, a questionnaire was administered to all the participants to identify how students valued accent learning.

The Tokyo accent perception test included a knowledge test to measure the learner's acquisition of accents, having them write pitch patterns without listening. Instead of the written knowledge test, this study included an accent pronunciation test with a no-line condition to evaluate if a participant could pronounce a correct accent from their implicit knowledge, or through a newly developed Japanese accent system. A total of 13 nouns including two-, three-, and four-mora nouns with four different accent patterns were selected from the first five lessons in the textbook and used for both the listening and accent pronunciation (speaking) tests. The words were presented with a subject/topic particle *wa* (e.g., *se.n.sei.wa* 'teacher,' *to.mo.da.chi.wa* 'friend,' *ku.tsu.wa* 'shoes'; see Table 1 for the tested words). The first six nouns were used for both the pretest and posttest. The other seven words were replaced at the posttest to avoid practice effects from the pretest. The measure contained more *nakadaka* (mid-high) accented words and unaccented (flat) words than other pitch patterns for two reasons (a) the complexity of acquiring these two patterns was reported in previous studies; (b) the skewed distribution of Japanese accent pitch. According to Kubozono's (2008) database, the distribution of Japanese accent is heavily skewed to the unaccented and antepenultimate; 71% of native Japanese nouns (N = 2,220) and 51% of Sino-Japanese (SJ) nouns (N = 4,939) are unaccented, and, among accented words, 59% of native Japanese nouns and 95% of SJ words are antepenultimate.

Listening Test: Section-1 and Section-2

In section one of the listening test, each stimulus was pronounced by a native speaker of Tokyo accent Japanese and recorded with a natural speed, and the participants listened to each word twice and marked the pitch fall or wrote straight lines for unaccented words. Written lines were analyzed and designated as correct or incorrect by the researcher. Correctness was determined by the locations of the pitch fall as well as distinguishing unaccented words. Section two was developed to test whether the participants could distinguish correct accents from incorrect ones. Previous studies reported that words with an accent at the first mora were easy for American learners (Ayusawa, 2003; Isomura, 1996; Nishinuma et al., 1996). For two mora words, it was assumed that the first mora accented nouns (*I.ma.wa*, *U.mi.wa*) would be scored high, whereas the unaccented word (*ko.RE.WA*.) and Odaka accent two-mora nouns (*ku.TSU.wa*) would be scored low. The incorrect accents were made to evaluate if American learners were able to identify unaccented (flat) accents when they were

Table 1

Nouns Used in the Pretests and the Posttests

No. of mora/ Accent patterns	2 morae	3 morae	4 or more morae
heiban 'flat' (unaccented)	**ko.re.wa** LHH 'this'	**wa.ta.shi.wa** LHHH 'I' *re.ki.shi.wa* LHHH 'history'	*to.m.da.chi.wa* LHHHH 'friend'
Atamadaka (head-high)	*i.ma.wa* HLL 'now'	**go.ze.n.wa** HLLL 'a.m.' *ka.ga.ku.wa* HLLL 'science'	
nakadaka (mid-high)		**ni.ho.n.wa** LHLL 'Japan'	**se.n.sei.wa** LHHLL 'teacher' *be.n.go.shi.wa* LHHLL 'lawyer' *da.i.ga.ku.sei.w*a LHHLLLL 'college student'
odaka (tail-high)	**ku.tsu.wa** LHL 'shoes'		*i.mō.to.wa* LHHHL 'sister'

Note. wa is a nominative particle.

In the posttests, the above not bolded words were replaced with the following nouns:

2 morae: u.mi.wa HLL, 'sea' (atamadaka), he.ya.wa LHL 'room' (odaka),

3 morae: ki.nō.wa LHLL 'yesterday' (nakadaka); go.ha.n.wa HLLL 'meal' (atamadaka), ko.do.mo.wa LHHH, 'child'(heiban/unaccented), 4 morae: shu.ku.da.i.wa LHHHH 'homework' (heiban/unaccented), ta.be.mo.no.wa LHHLL 'food' (nakadaka).

pronounced incorrectly with the first mora as high pitch (*KO.re.wa* and *KU.tsu.wa)*. Some of the longer mora words were also pronounced with high-pitch on the first mora (e.g., *DA.i.ga.ku.sei.wa, SE.n.sei.wa*, *SHU.ku.da.i.wa*). Regarding unaccented nouns, it is reported that American learners rely on F0 peak location but not F0 fall, thus unaccented patterns can be difficult (Shport, 2016). Considering the tendency, the second mora (F0 peak) was pronounced with high pitch in the words below (*wa.TA.shi.wa, ko.DO.mo.wa*, *to.MO.da.chi wa*) instead of the correct unaccented pattern (e.g., *wa.TA.SHI. WA*). The listening section two was conducted after section one. The same 13 nouns were pronounced with a correct accent and an incorrect accent, repeated twice. The participants chose which version they perceived as the correct one. Therefore the score ranges from 0 to 13 for both tests.

Accent Pronunciation (Speaking) Test: No-line Condition and With-line Condition

The speaking test was conducted individually on a different day from the listening test. The participants were given two cards with the same set of 13 words in two conditions: the no-line condition and the with-line condition. First, they were asked to pronounce the words with the no-line; then, they pronounced the same set of words with accent lines. For both conditions, participants' utterances were recorded and evaluated by three native speakers of Japanese who were trained to be Japanese language instructors. Two of them were from Tokyo, and one was from another region but spent a couple of years in Tokyo before coming to the U.S. Each word was judged for the correctness of the accent. When the judges disagreed, though rare, tended to occur with Nakadaka accent, they listened to the recordings to reevaluate the correctness by distinguishing the placement of pitch fall.

Evaluation of the Naturalness

Three native Japanese speakers, based on their Tokyo accent, assessed the naturalness of the accents. After listening to each recording, they gave scores on the naturalness of accents on a Likert scale from 1 (very unnatural) to 5 (very natural). They were instructed to focus on the speaker's accent, not pronunciation, loudness, or length of the sounds. An intra-class correlation (ICC) coefficient was computed on naturalness evaluation between three raters separately for each condition. ICC showed a high degree of reliability; ICC = .92 for the pretest no-line condition, ICC = .92 for the pretest with-line condition, ICC = .91 for the posttest no-line condition, and ICC = .96 for the posttest with-line condition.

Results

Descriptive Statistics

Table 2 shows the averages of correct answers by each word for the listening tests and accent pronunciation (speaking) tests. This highlights that the test includes a variety of words from easy to difficult words.

Table 2

Averages of Correct Answers by Each Word at the Posttest: Listening Tests and Speaking Tests

Words	Listening Section-1		Listening Section-2		Speaking No line		Speaking With line	
	Exp	Cont	Exp	Cont	Exp	Cont	Exp	Cont
	Percentage		Percentage		Percentage		Percentage	
kore wa	96	100	96	91	73	59	69	64
watashi wa	100	91	92	82	54	64	65	64
gozen wa	46	36	100	91	65	77	85	91
sensei wa	54	41	73	91	58	36	58	59
nihon wa	42	36	77	59	46	50	62	82
kutsu wa	15	27	58	68	8	0	15	14
kodomo wa	85	82	92	96	54	46	62	59
shukudai wa	65	59	89	82	39	23	54	55
gohan wa	19	27	92	82	58	77	89	77
umi wa	31	36	89	91	65	82	89	77
kinō wa	85	73	65	86	54	59	58	64
tabemono wa	31	55	81	82	58	82	89	91
heya wa	15	23	42	64	8	23	4	23

Note. Exp=experimental group; Cont= control group.

A chi-square test was performed with Bonferroni correction on the percentage of the correct answers of the listening and speaking tests on each word between the experimental and the control conditions. None of the words showed significant difference. For the difficulty of each word, it

revealed that two-mora Odaka accent words (e.g. *ku.TSU.wa, he.YA.wa*) were challenging for American learners of Japanese, which corresponds to the previous studies reporting that the first mora in two-mora nouns tends to be pronounced with high-pitch (Isomura, 1996; Ayusawa, 2003). However, the level of word difficulty did not affect the results of the experimental manipulation. Therefore, the following analyses were performed on the mean scores of all words.

Listening Test Section-1: Writing Accent Lines

The first hypothesis was to see whether the experimental group would improve more than the control group at the posttest on all the tests. A 2 (group: experimental group vs. control group) X 2 (time: pretest vs. posttest) mixed-model ANOVA was performed to detect the pitch patterns. Descriptive statistics of the listening test are shown in Table 3. As expected, there was a significant improvement from the pretest to the posttest, $F(1, 47) = 4.06$, $p = .050$, $\eta^2 = .080$ (for the pretest, $M = 6.41$, $SD = 1.96$; for the posttest, $M = 6.98$, $SD = 2.26$). However, no difference was found between groups, $F(1, 47) = 0.03$, $p = .875$, $\eta^2 = .001$. The interaction was also not significant, $F(1, 47) = 0.02$, $p = .902$, $\eta^2 = .000$. This indicates that posttest scores improved equally in both groups; therefore, the first hypothesis was not supported.

Table 3

Descriptive Statistics for Listening Pretest and Posttest for Section 1 and Section 2

	Group 1		Group 2	
	Section 1	Section 2	Section 1	Section 2
	M (SD)	*M (SD)*	*M (SD)*	*M (SD)*
Pretest	6.38 (1.92)	10.65 (1.72)	6.43 (2.04)	10.61 (1.99)
Posttest	6.92 (1.99)	10.46 (1.39)	7.04 (2.60)	10.52 (1.70)

Note. Group 1 = experimental group; Group 2 = control group.
Section 1 = writing accent lines; Section 2 = choosing correct accents.

Listening Test Section-2: Choosing Correct Accents

To examine whether the experimental group performed differently from the control group in choosing correct accents, a 2 (group: experimental group vs. control group) X 2 (time: pretest vs. posttest) mixed-model ANOVA

was conducted. Against the predictions, no main effects and interaction were significant, $ps > .616$ (see Table 3). Thus, hypothesis 1 was not supported for the listening test section 2 as well.

Accent Pronunciation (Speaking) Test: With-line Condition and No-line Condition

To examine the effects of the accent line, a 2 (group: experimental vs. control) X 2 (time: pretest vs. posttest) X 2 (line type: no-line vs. with-line) mixed model ANOVA was performed on the speaking test score, as judged by native speakers. Even though it was trending towards significance, the main effect of time was not significant showing the posttest score ($M = 7.40$, $SD = 1.79$) was slightly higher than the pretest score ($M = 6.97$, $SD = 1.74$), $F(1,47) = 3.00$, $p = .088$, $\eta^2 = .062$. More importantly, a significant main effect of the line type was found $F(1,47) = 69.44$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .602$. The score was higher with the accent line ($M = 8.06$, $SD = 1.90$) than without the line ($M = 6.31$, $SD = 1.51$). The main effect of the group was not significant, $F(1,47) = 1.30$, $p = .260$, $\eta^2 = .028$. The main effects of time and line type were qualified by a two-way interaction of time and line, $F(1,47) = 6.88$, $p = .012$, $\eta^2 = .130$ (see Table 4 for descriptive statistics). Post-hoc tests with the Sidak correction showed that the no-line condition improved tremendously from the pretest to the posttest, $p = .001$ while the with-line condition did not show an improvement, $p = .772$.

Table 4

Descriptive Statistics for Speaking Pretest and Posttest for No-line and With-line Condition

	Group 1		Group 2	
	No-line	With-line	No-line	With-line
	M (SD)	*M (SD)*	*M (SD)*	*M (SD)*
Pretest	5.35 (1.6)	7.85 (2.36)	6.41 (1.99)	8.41 (2.04)
Posttest	6.65 (1.62)	7.96 (2.29)	6.95 (1.76)	8.09 (2.31)

Note. Group1=experimental group; Group 2=control group.
No-line=the no-line condition; With-line=the with-line condition.

The means of the experimental group in the no-line condition displayed a large difference between the pretest and the posttest, compared to that of

the control group. One of the aims of the study was to examine a difference between the experimental and control conditions, and thus a post-hoc analysis was done for each condition although a three-way interaction did not show a significant difference (see Figure 1).

Figure 1

Scores of Accent Pronunciation (Speaking) Tests of Each Group
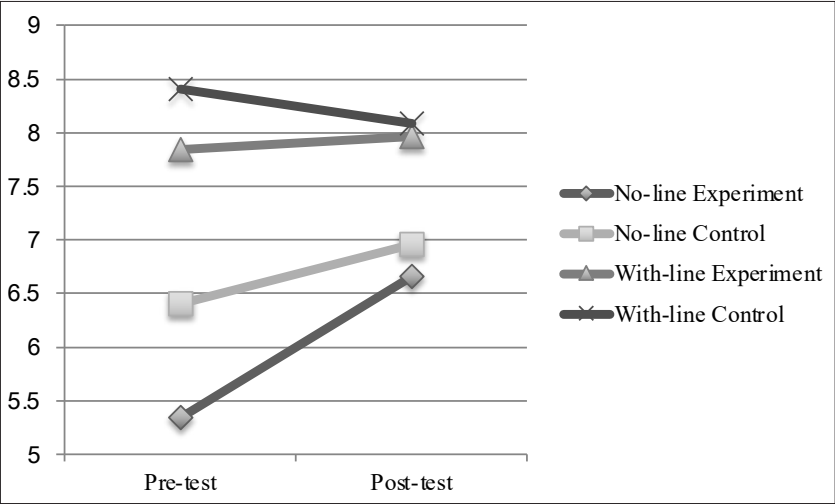
As shown in the graph, the experimental group in the no-line condition showed a sizeable improvement from the pretest to the posttest, with a significant difference only for the experimental group, p = .001, but not for the control group, p = .162. It shows that the first hypothesis regarding the accent pronunciation was supported for the no-line condition.

Evaluation of the Naturalness

In determining how native speakers of Japanese judged the accents produced by the participants, a 2 (group: experimental vs. control) X 2 (time: pretest vs. posttest) X 2 (line type: no-line vs. with-line) mixed-model ANOVA was performed on the naturalness of the accent. The result showed that all the main effects and interactions were significant, although the means were higher for the control group on both the pretest and the posttest. The main

effect of time was significant at $F(1,46) = 33.77$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .423$ ($M_{pretest} = 4.55$, $SD_{pretest} = 0.14$; $M_{postest} = 4.41$, $SD_{posttest} = 0.23$). The line's effect (no-line vs. with-line) was also significant at $F(1,46) = 59.44$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .564$ ($M_{no-line} = 4.42$, $SD_{no-line} = 0.17$; $M_{with-line} = 4.54$, $SD_{with-line} = 0.19$). A significant difference was also found between groups $F(1,46) = 4.11$, $p = .048$, $\eta^2 = .082$ ($M_{experimental} = 4.44$, $SD_{experimental} = 0.18$; $M_{control} = 4.53$, $SD_{control} = 0.14$).

The results indicate that a two-way interaction of group and time was also significant at $F(1,46) = 8.05$, $p = .007$, $\eta^2 = .149$. To assess in further detail, a post-hoc test with the Sidak correction was performed, and each group had significant differences between the pretest and the posttest: the experimental group, $p < .001$, and the control group, $p = .049$. The mean difference of the experimental group was larger between the pretest and the posttest (M difference = 0.19) than the control group (M difference = 0.07) (see Figure 2), thus, the first hypothesis was supported for the evaluation of naturalness. It may suggest that the training contributed to greater improvement in the experimental group.

Figure 2
Means of Naturalness of Pretest and Posttest
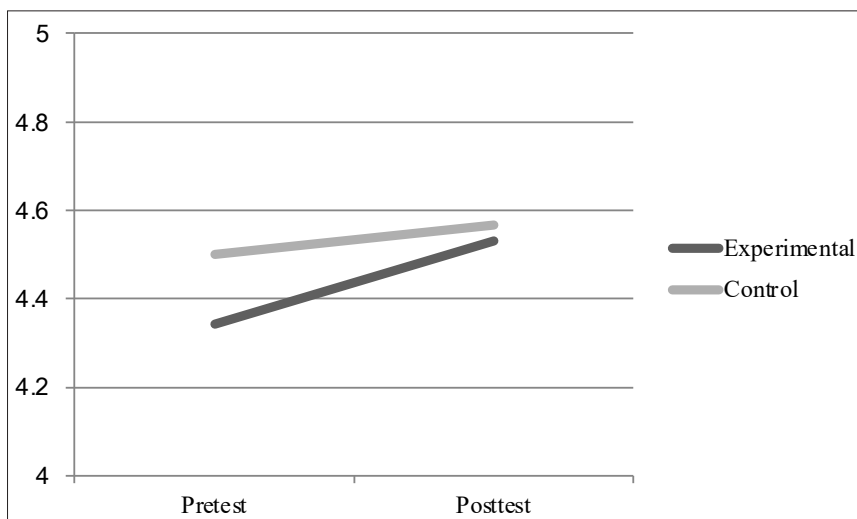
Correlations: Relationship between Listening and Accent Pronunciation

Hypothesis two was made to investigate whether perception, or distinguishing the pitch patterns, would be related to production, or proper accent pronunciation. To test how perception affected production, Pearson correlation coefficients were computed to assess the relationship between listening tests and accent pronunciation tests. Positive correlations were found on the pretest and the posttest, except on the pretest accent pronunciation and the posttest listening (see Table 5 and Table 6).

Table 5

Descriptive Statistics of Speaking and Naturalness

	Pretest				Posttest			
	Group1		Group2		Group1		Group2	
	No-Line	With-Line	No-Line	With-Line	No-Line	With-Line	No-Line	With-Line
	M(SD)	M(SD)	M(SD)	M(SD)	M(SD)	M(SD)	M(SD)	M(SD)
Speaking	5.35 (1.6)	7.85 (2.36)	6.41 (1.99)	8.41 (2.04)	6.65 (1.62)	7.96 (2.29)	6.95 (1.76)	8.09 (2.31)
Naturalness	4.28 (0.25)	4.41 (0.27)	4.43 (0.19)	4.57 (0.18)	4.47 (0.13)	4.59 (0.18)	4.52 (0.14)	4.62 (0.18)

Note. Group1=experimental group; Group 2=control group.
No-line=the no-line condition; With-line=the with-line condition.

Table 6

Correlation: Listening, Accent Pronunciation, and Naturalness for Both Groups

	2	3	4	5	6
1. Listening Pretest	.59**	.32*	.50**	.35*	.49**
2. Listening Posttest	–	.21	.48**	.12	.45**
3. Speaking Pretest		–	.57**	.86**	.61**
4. Speaking Posttest			–	.64**	.97**
5. Naturalness Pretest				–	.70**
6. Naturalness Posttest					–

Note. Listening tests include both sections 1 and 2.
Accent pronunciation (speaking) and naturalness include both no-line condition and with-line condition.
* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).
** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

These results showed the listening pretest correlated positively with all variables; *rs > .32* , *ps* < .028., which confirmed the second hypothesis. The speaking pretest correlated positively with the speaking posttest; *r* = .57, *p* < .001. However, no correlation was found between the speaking pretest and the listening posttest; *r* = .21, *p* = .147. The results suggested the listening pretest might relate to accent pronunciation but the speaking pretest might have no relation to listening. The results implied that listening ability on accents might lead to high scores on both perception and production while speaking ability might not aid perception.

Discussion

Perceptual Training, Accent Pronunciation, and the Naturalness

The main purpose of this study was to examine whether the self-directed perception training with accent-lined vocabulary lists would improve perception and production of pitch accents. Although both groups improved their perception overall, the treatment effect was not found in the listening sections. Looking at each section, both groups outperformed at the posttest in section one (writing accent lines; M = 6.98), but no significant improvement was found for section two (choosing correct accents; M = 10.49). The result suggests that the participants were able to distinguish what was correct or incorrect; however, detecting an exact location of pitch fall was a much more intricate task. Non-significant results of section two could be due to a ceiling effect because the mean score was 10.49 out of 13.

In general, however, the accent pronunciation test showed that the accent line was a useful device to produce more accurate pronunciation as both groups outperformed in the with-line conditions. In the no-line condition, a significant difference was found only for the experimental group, which can be interpreted to mean that this group learned pitch patterns through the treatment, leading them to acquire and produce more accurate pitch accents. In contrast, the with-line condition did not improve much in the posttest, which might be just a matter of course that participants could produce accurate accents at both tests if they knew how to read the visualized pitch accents with lines. From the result, it can be inferred that the accent line itself will guide learners to produce more accurate accent without training, but adding perception training will strengthen their proper accent pronunciation.

As for naturalness, the results showed that both groups scored higher on the posttest, but the mean difference of the experimental group was larger, which indicates that the experimental group improved their accent considerably. Furthermore, speaking at the pre- and posttest showed strong correlations with naturalness, which indicated the accuracy of the pitch attributes to the naturalness of accent, confirming previous studies (e.g., Tsurutani, 2011) that implied inaccurate accent could cause unnaturalness in their production. It can be more theoretically explained by Saito and Plonsky (2019) that specific suprasegmental instructions can improve global L2 pronunciation proficiency. It was reported that the phonological qualities attributed to human ratings of the global L2 pronunciation proficiency (i.e., comprehensibility, accentedness, perceived fluency). Improvement in naturalness might be the result of improving one or more qualities of L2 pronunciation proficiency.

Relationship Between Perception and Production of Accent

The listening pretest indicated a strong correlation with production and naturalness at the posttests. The result of the correlation leads us to assume that a word will be pronounced properly if one can listen to the accent. Interestingly, positive correlations were not found between the speaking pretest and the listening posttest. In other words, the ability to pronounce accent does not guarantee high listening ability later, whereas the listening ability could be related to the ability to pronounce accurately in a future task. Accordingly, prioritizing listening training in instruction is indeed effective in enhancing L2 pronunciation proficiency.

Did learners improve their pitch accent because of the perception training or from a different factor? A possible cause is the positive effects of accent research itself where the participants might become more attentive to their accents by being involved in accent research. Kennedy et al. (2014) note that learners' reflection and pronunciation awareness have a strong link, which enables learners to evaluate what affects their understanding of pronunciation and their production (p. 92). It calls for additional work to investigate learners' awareness of pitch accent as well as their motivation to improve prosody.

Pedagogical Implications

Incorporating perception and production training with explicit instruction can be effective and constructive, as both perception and production may correlate with relate each other (Lee et al., 2020). Recasting or speaking practices provide opportunities for learners to test their knowledge and to produce sounds, which may enhance procedural knowledge and lead to automatization. As Saito and Plonsky (2019) noted, "what is crucial for teachers and learners and what instructed SLA research is mainly concerned with—the extent to which L2 learners have automatized controlled knowledge resulting from instruction" (p. 667).

Although corrective feedback generally improves L2 learning, Saito and Wu's study (2014) suggested that form-focused instruction, without corrective feedback, might be a sufficient initial prompt to stimulate learners' attention from meaning to sound learning and may generate access to a new sound category in L2 (p. 674). Due to the limited time in class, L2 speech development can be promoted with a combination of explicit instruction in class, with consciousness-raising activities and autonomous activities outside the classroom. Carlet and de Souza (2018) suggested

that these outside activities could include L1-L2 comparison tasks and a phonological self-awareness questionnaire to increase learners' awareness about phonology which would be effective in motivating L2 pronunciation learning.

It was reported that pronunciation strategies affected comprehensibility while language aptitude correlated to pronunciation accuracy (Smemoe & Haslam, 2013); thus, a combination of strategies and consciousness-raising activities, which enhance accuracy, may magnify learning effects. A self-monitoring strategy for acquiring pronunciation creates positive effects such as building a standard of accurate pronunciation, monitoring one's own output, and practicing independently (Ogawara, 1997). Intonation instruction raises both learners' awareness and confidence, leading them to tackle further training; learners would perceive the necessary effort as valuable and worthwhile (Ramirez Verdugo, 2006, as cited in Kennedy et al., 2014).

Creating systematic instruction is essential to equip teachers to tackle accents with confidence (Hirano, 2014). Various methods and devices of accent learning have been introduced, such as phrasing by Nakagawa and Nakamura (2010) and shadowing technique by Toda et al. (2012). Recent widespread technology also enables us to use advanced digital resources. A computer-assisted language learning has shown pedagogical effectiveness; it can provide feedback based on an automatic analysis of the learner's utterance (e.g., Short et al., 2013). A Japanese accent database, On-line Japanese Accent Dictionary, provides various useful tools and functions: visual aids for accent patterns (high/low) for nouns, adjectives and verbs; intonation patterns of sentences, and speech synthesis; and text-to-speech technologies which generate spoken sounds and sentences from written texts (Minematsu et al., 2017). These technology-based tools are beneficial for both language educators and learners but, most importantly, help learners to be autonomous and self-directed. Considering individual variables such as language aptitude, learning goals, and preferred learning styles, various instructional methods should be introduced so that each learner can optimize their learning, and, important to this study, to improve accent pronunciation.

Limitations and Future Directions

Although careful instructions were given before and during the study, because of the classroom-based nature of this study, some conditions were not fully controlled. Future studies should thus control the usage of

accented-line vocabulary lists and listening homework, and interaction between two groups. Second, the number of tested items was fairly small, and the selection of the tested words might not be representative. The choices of words were limited due to the data collection involving beginner-level participants, and under constrain, voiceless vowels and special mora were included. The averages of these words were relatively low; however, there are no significant differences between the experimental group and the control group. Thus, it can be assumed that the word did not affect the data analysis. Another issue was the number of mora, which was not equal in the pretest and the posttest. The posttest of this study includes more 2 and 3 mora words than the pretest. Although the results do not show the effects of the different numbers of mora words, the same number of different mora words should be included in each accent pattern. Future studies should contain more items with a careful selection of words to enhance the validity and to research the acquisition of pitch patterns further. Third, the results would be more reliable if each section of the listening test was conducted on a different day to avoid a possible practice effect. However, the test sequence equally affected both experimental and control groups, thus the test sequence might not have influenced the interpretation of the experimental effect. Fourth, the study was only conducted with specific and controlled tasks at the single-word level. As Saito and Plonsky (2019) pointed out, more varieties, such as both specific and global constructs and controlled and spontaneous tasks in different speaking contexts, should be incorporated to evaluate the effectiveness of instruction. The assessment for future studies should be conducted with multiple measures including both subjective and objective measures, or acoustic. Lastly, although this study only tested learned words because the focus was on acquiring correct accents of lexically known words, future studies should include novel items to evaluate if the positive effects will be transferred to new stimuli. Additionally, a delayed posttest should be performed in future studies so that the result can be generalized as a possible long-term effect.

Conclusion

This study provides evidence for the positive effects of perception training. Furthermore, the results indicated that the perception training and the presence of accent lines or visual devices were indeed effective. Thus, these are suggested to be incorporated in prosody instructions from the start. Incorporating prosody instruction from the beginner courses may optimize L2 learning as the perception-production link is relatively stronger than in

the later phrase (Saito & Van Poeteren, 2018). Further studies are necessary to improve the usage of visual devices and the implementation of perception training to reap its benefits. The timing as well as the quality and quantity of accent instruction should be taken into consideration when applying it to classroom instruction.

Notes

1. One female participant in the control group participated only in the listening test due to illness, thus the data of the accent pronunciation test did not include this participant.

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Expositions

Ignore at Your Peril: Paradigm Choice in Applied Linguistics

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There are 3 issues that applied linguistics as a discipline fails to attend to adequately. They are (1) the direction that work in applied linguistics should take; (2) which paradigm or paradigms to utilise for getting that work done; and (3) how to conceptualise the basic concepts and ideas operative in the field. To examine the first, one needs a definition of applied linguistics that appears likely to ensure success in taking the discipline in a desired direction. To handle the second issue, one must know which paradigm would best fit the work envisaged. The engagement with both these issues will already make it obvious that one needs to engage with the philosophy and the history of the discipline. The third neglected issue further emphasises that conclusion: We need a theory of applied linguistics that does justice to the basic notions of the field while being sensitive to how the concepts and ideas it utilizes have emerged in its history. If these are ignored, we may become victims instead of users of paradigms. Paradigm contestation can then become institutionalised as paradigm conflict, with deleterious professional effects. If we attend to them, it will allow us to work more responsibly, deliberately and productively. This paper takes a particular view of applied linguistics which attempts to honour its history, proposing a theory of applied linguistics which is non-reductionist, and which offers a framework to assess the relative merits of diverse paradigmatic claims, and so bring transparency and wholesomeness to our work. The paper gives examples of how such insight can be used productively, and enhance the theoretical defensibility of what we tackle in applied linguistics.

　応用言語学が学問として十分に対処できていない問題が3つある。それは、(1)応用言語学の研究が進むべき方向性、(2)その研究を進めるためにどのようなパラダイムを利用するか、(3)その分野で働く基本的な概念や考え方をどのように概念化するか、である。1つ目の問題については、応用言語学という学問分野を望ましい方向に導くために、成功が確実と思われる定義が必要である。二つ目の問題を扱うには、どのパラダイムが想定される仕事に最も適しているかを知らなければならない。この2つの問題に取り組むことで、学問の哲学と歴史に関わる必要があることは明らかであろう。3つ目の無視された問題は、その結論をさらに強調する: 応用言語学の理論には、この分野の基本的な概念を正しく理解すると同時に、応用言語学が利用する概念や考え方がその歴史の中でどのように生まれてきたかに敏感であることが必要なのだ。これらを無視すれば、私たちはパラダイムのユーザーではなく、犠牲者になってしまうかもしれない。パラダイム論争がパラダイム対立として制度化され、専門家として悪影響を及ぼすことになりかねない。もし私たちがパラダイムに注意を払えば、より責任を持って、より慎重に、より生産的に仕事をすることができるだろう。本稿では、応用言語学の歴史に敬意を表し、非還元主義的な応用言語学の理論を提案し、多様なパラダイムの主張の相対的なメリットを評価する枠組みを提供しようとするものである。

Keywords: non-reductionism; paradigms in applied linguistics; responsible design; theory of applied linguistics

Where Our Work Begins … And May End

Imagine an applied linguistics task which aims to minimise drudgery, bring hope, ensure respect and gain a good reputation as a trustworthy plan. We may be talking here of a language course that effectively uses the time needed to complete it, or a language policy that aims to enable clear language use, or a language test that has proved its mettle over time by giving accurate and fair measurements of language ability. All of these language interventions would have been designed to achieve this goal, and that would have set the direction of the design work. Thus our work as applied linguists begins: with the goal to alleviate misery related to language loss or absence, to treat users fairly by considering impact, or generally to benefit the recipients at the receiving end of these designed interventions.

Such socially appropriate direction-setting goals were not always part of applied linguistic endeavours. If we look back in history, we may find that at the outset finding the most efficient way of teaching and learning another language was the dominant goal for language courses. In the case of language assessment, the emphasis might previously have been exclusively on the reliability and validity of the language test we have created, again with not much concern for the social impact of the measurement. In respect of the adoption of an institutional language policy, the goal might even have been a less admirable one: appeasing political powers, instead of facilitating productive language use within an organization.

Thus, the direction that the design of applied linguistic interventions takes varies historically. Applied linguistics changes its direction over time. As we advance, we may add further conditions and principles that apply to our designed interventions to solve (usually) large-scale, pervasive and apparently intractable language problems.

Whether we are at the beginning of our careers as professional applied linguists, or already mid-career or mature professionals, the question of what conditions and principles characterise our work matters. When we ignore this, we either get caught up in the institutionalized power of the paradigm we have been taught in, or, should we realize that, blithely accept victimhood. In that case we may still find ourselves employed productively, even as we unreflectively continue along a professional path that might otherwise have been enriched by greater theoretical awareness and openness to alternatives.

Disciplinary Theory and History in Applied Linguistics

When a discipline changes over time, it has a traceable history, even when that history is as short as that of applied linguistics (De Bot, 2015; Weideman, 2017a, 2024). Such change means that it is likely to harbour a diversity of definitions of itself. At the same time, it may be reluctant to consider those definitions and the effects they may have on work in the field. There could be many reasons for this, but the one that I wish to foreground in this paper implies that we should not judge such reluctance among applied linguists (or those in any other field) too harshly. Defining a discipline is itself not a disciplinary issue. A discipline cannot define itself. Taking applied linguistics as an example, we note that its tools and instruments – its methodologies – are conventionally geared toward solving issues related to language problems in society. How those solutions are devised, in the formulation of language policies, in the design of language curricula and courses, and in developing language tests and assessments, illustrates the workings of the discipline, but is unhelpful in defining it. Such endeavours may thus illustrate what is happening, without attempting to define what is being demonstrated. The work presupposes and implies a definition, rather than articulates and concisely expresses what it entails.

That kind of reluctance is not limited to finding a satisfactory definition of applied linguistics. The quest for a clear definition of applied linguistics reveals that there are actually three interrelated issues that applied linguistics as a discipline fails to attend to adequately. They are:

(1) the direction that work in applied linguistics should take, as we noted in the introduction above;

(2) which paradigm or paradigms to utilize for getting that work done; and

(3) how to conceptualize the basic concepts and ideas operative in the field.

The issues are intertwined. Considering the first two, it should be obvious that knowing which direction is going to guide disciplinary work will be closely related to the choice of paradigm adopted by the applied linguist. With that, one has landed squarely in the realm not of applied linguistics, but in the philosophy or theory that supports it, and its disciplinary history. The third issue, of how we conceptualise the fundamental concepts and ideas of applied linguistics, emphasizes that conclusion still further: we are in the domain of theory about what it is, and have yet to begin employing the theory.

As we noted above, if we are historically aware, we would at the same time have to acknowledge that concepts and ideas used within a discipline emerge and change over time. To give one practical example: in the last twenty years, in the subfield of applied linguistics which is language testing, the notion of language assessment literacy has been discussed and scrutinized thoroughly (Taylor, 2009, 2013; Fulcher, 2012; Inbar-Lourie, 2017). Broadly, this kind of literacy entails the degree of knowledge of principles, practices and policies of language assessment that users of language tests possess. In the discussion that has since developed about this, the fundamental applied linguistic ideas of 'transparency', 'accessibility', 'communication', 'accountability' and 'impact' figure much more prominently in later reviews than the applied linguistic concepts like reliability, validity, and construct that were employed earlier. Our concepts have developed over time, to consider not only what appear to be empirically demonstrable concepts like reliability and validity, but now embrace the cultural, social, political and ethical dimensions of language testing (Weideman, 2017b; McNamara & Roever, 2006). The latter may be harder to quantify.

The argument of this paper will be that it is more than worthwhile not to neglect these issues, but rather to tackle them historically and systematically (which I shall use as a synonym for treating as theory, as philosophy or as fundamental analysis).

Paradigm Diversity in Applied Linguistics

Let me tackle the first two issues together. First, if applied linguistics has a history, we could examine how it has evolved. Should we find a variety of paradigms operative in its history, there are a number of conclusions to be made. Second, if there is variation in paradigm, that is likely to be an indication of non-neutrality, of potential bias, and of limitations in theoretical perspective, and that would have an influence on how the discipline is defined.

Since Kuhn (1962) alerted the scientific community to the existence of paradigms and paradigm shift, it has been impossible to think of science as a purely impartial, neutral endeavour. Positivist assurances that science was indeed so were overtaken by counter arguments in the work of Popper and others. As Strauss (2004) points out, Popper's proposal for a critical rationalism acknowledges that the belief in rationality, which lies at the basis of positivism, is itself not rational. Soon, paradigmatic diversity was not only recognized, but celebrated, as in Feyerabend's (1978) exhortations to embrace multiplicity in this respect: "Proliferation of theories is beneficial for science, while uniformity impairs critical power" (p. 24).

The diversity in applied linguistic paradigms is evident in the philosophical chasm that separates modernist and postmodernist approaches in applied linguistics, a rift that Cook (2015) has described as insurmountable:

> Across the supposedly unified field of applied linguistics, there is … an unbridgeable divide … between those who maintain a broadly rationalist, modernist, structuralist enlightenment approach to knowledge, and those who have rejected such a stance in favour of a post-modernist post-structuralist approach … These two directions are logically incompatible … (p. 429)

Though this is a very broad distinction, one may refine it further by identifying a number of styles of working in the discipline that align with these two apparent extremes. Early applied linguistics had a linguistic and psychological pre-occupation, justifying its language teaching designs with reference to those fields in order to boost the theoretical credentials of its solutions (Fries, 1945; Lado, 1964). Its essentially structuralist and behaviourist views of language and learning were replaced with an interactionist, communicative view of language (Habermas, 1970; Hymes, 1971; Halliday, 1978). This leaned on perspectives on functional language use in discourse, which became the theoretical defences of approaches

to language instruction like communicative language teaching (Paulston, 1974; Wilkins, 1975, 1976; Munby, 1978; Littlewood, 1981, 2014) and its later offshoots (Krashen & Terrell, 1983; Littlewood, 2004; Skehan, 2003; Wesche & Skehan, 2002) or alternatives (Roberts, 1986; Stevick, 1980). Three further styles influencing applied linguistic designs then emerged in quick succession: a realisation that our use of scientific theories to justify solutions was indeed multidisciplinary (embodied in the work of van Els et al., 1984), followed by justifications related to a renewed interest in the acquisition of an additional language, and then to constructivist explanations of language learning.

In the last thirty or more years, postmodernist approaches have been pitted against those related to complexity theory, as sixth and seventh possible styles of doing applied linguistics. Both of the latter display a dizzying variety within themselves. Postmodernism remains characterised essentially by its attention to a multiplicity of perspectives on how political issues are reflected in language arrangements (Pennycook, 2004; Weideman, 2003) veering also into poststructuralist (McNamara, 2008, 2012) and posthumanist directions (Pennycook, 2018). Complex systems theory may take inspiration from either the natural sciences (West, 2017), or from realist social perspectives (Bouchard, 2021), and be variously termed complex systems theory, complex dynamic systems theory, or complex adaptive systems theory or CAST (Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008; for discussions, see Weideman, 2009, 2015).

Despite the split between modernism and postmodernism, however, one notices continuities among, for example, postmodernist emphases on a plurality of perspectives and earlier calls for multidisciplinary inputs. Another example of where potentially contradictory methods are technically unified can be found in the continuity in emphasis on the four 'skills' (listening, speaking, reading, writing) in the audio-lingual method (e.g., Wakeman, 1967). That method brings together the emphases in two earlier language teaching methods, the grammar translation method (which focussed on reading and writing) and the direct method (which stressed listening and speaking). There are many examples of links between apparently opposing and incompatible styles of work in applied linguistics, enough to warn the practising applied linguist to be mindful and deliberate in choosing a paradigm or disciplinary style to work in. Since the variations in applied linguistic paradigms endure and not only succeed others, they may continue to co-exist. Thus, theoretically justifying the design of solutions with reference to an eclectic collection of them can amount to a complicated scholarly navigation. The integrity of our

work is at stake if we mix and collate without deliberation, as we may adopt solutions that are essentially contradictory. There are sufficient examples of how such conflicts have worked their way into designs to the detriment of learners (Weideman, 2002).

The variety of paradigms evident in this broad-brush characterisation of the history of the field of course results in various definitions of applied linguistics. With regard to their potential institutional intermingling referred to in the previous paragraph, I should caution that the statement at the beginning that we do not pay adequate attention to the definition of our field should be qualified. It does not mean that no attention has been given to defining applied linguistics. That this is so, is evident in the regular discussions of such definitions over time (e.g., Corder, 1972; Kaplan, 1980a, 1980b; Malmberg, 1967; Marckwardt, 1965; McNamara, 2008, 2015; Paltridge, 2014; Pennycook, 2004; Rajagopalan, 2004; Weideman 2007). The broadest definitions of the field use 'language' and the problematisation of social issues as characteristics. There are several arguments about that being problematic, which I shall not repeat here (see Weideman, 2017 for a more complete discussion). One of the unintended effects is to accommodate clearly linguistic subdisciplines related to sociological studies or even the sociology of language under the label of "applied linguistics". In view of the analysis thus far, the critical question here is then: what are these investigations to be used for? Are their results to be employed ('applied') in any way? In that case, the research will be slanted towards yielding a solution to the language problem which is to be addressed. It will be research, but not only to gain a theoretical understanding of a phenomenon, or to bolster or reject some theoretical insight. I shall argue in what follows that the kind of academic investigation that is aimed at imagining and devising a solution to a problem is different in kind from 'pure' theory. In contemporary popular terms, applied linguistics is more concerned with solving a problem than figuring out a theoretical puzzle. With this, we have progressed towards addressing the third issue flagged above: how do we form concepts in applied linguistics? If we accept, as many do, that applied linguistics can be informed by a multiplicity of theoretical sources from a variety of source disciplines, do we form concepts in terms of those original, source disciplines, or is there from the outset another angle from which we take our cue?

Angle of Approach: Modally Identified

To answer the question of how concepts and ideas are formed in applied linguistics, we should be clear, first, about what the analytical angle of

approach is from which we shall be pursuing such concept formation. This is a condition that needs unpacking.

Theory formation is characterized by analysis or abstraction (Strauss, 2009, pp. 14-15), in that we engage in the acts of identifying and distinguishing. We lift out certain things - abstract them - and disregard others. In applied linguistics, we can perhaps start by distinguishing between the various types of designed interventions, as objects potentially worthy of theoretical examination. The three main types of applied linguistic artefacts (there are others, which we are disregarding for the moment) are language policies, language courses and language tests. Similarly, we can choose to examine not only these objects, but also the subjective processes or events in which they are used. Such processes may include language use, enablement and facilitation within social institutions in the case of policies; in the case of courses, language instruction in live or virtual classrooms or the process of language learning; and language testing events and their social impact. Or we might choose to consider in our research the state or condition in which language presents itself: a complicated multilingual environment within a single institution that needs regulation; a problematically large classroom population; or distinctly heterogeneous levels of ability within the same group of language learners.

All of these applied linguistic objects (policies, courses, tests) and subjective processes, events, relationships or states are distinguishable, and hence worthy of scholarly attention. Yet we can take the level of abstraction still further, from concrete artefact, process, event or state, to ask what the modality of our engagement with them is. That presupposes that in addition to a realm of concrete objective or subjective entities or relations, there is also a modal dimension to our experiential horizon. When we abstract at the level of the modal structure of our experience, we ask the question: What is the nature of our involvement with these concrete entities and eventualities? Which modality best captures the type of engagement?

The particular answer I have given to this rests on the observation that the history of applied linguistics indicates that our involvement is one of designing a language intervention. That places 'design' at the heart of our engagement with the pervasive or recalcitrant language problem, and the further conclusion is that something characterized by 'design' – an involvement, in the present case – can be termed 'technical'. There may be other, alternative terms, but 'technical' has over time for me become the best term for that mode of engagement. It is intended neither in the sense of meaning 'complicated', nor in that of "not always intelligible to a lay person/

the uninitiated", but rather to express a mode of being that is characterized by shaping, planning, influencing, arranging, facilitating, devising or designing. The technical modality of our experience is one that has 'design' as its nuclear, defining moment. The answer to the question about the nature of our involvement, the angle of approach to devising solutions to language problems, is: it is a technically stamped endeavour.

We are now in a position to demonstrate how taking this route of theoretical abstraction assists our concept formation in applied linguistics. It has helped us to identify the characteristic modality of applied linguistic endeavours, and can now assist us in conceptualizing the fundamental principles and requirements for designing those artefacts to manage the language events, processes or states we encounter in our work.

From Abstraction to Condition: Putting Theory into Practice

All of the conditions for the design of applied linguistic interventions that we have mentioned in passing so far are identified requirements for designing these interventions responsibly. I use the term 'responsible' rather than one that perhaps more conventionally describes what I mean, viz. responsive. I do that because I want to add a normative dimension. In applied linguistics, we indeed subjectively respond to norms for the design of interventions. In that case, we are not merely responsive to, say, factual language needs or concrete, urgent language conflicts and dilemmas, but we also do so with deliberation, recognizing that we are responding to technical norms. If we say that a language test must be reliable and valid, we are setting normative requirements that we should respond to in making that test, and which the eventual test must satisfy. The kind of reliability and validity we are referring to is a technical one: we need to design the test so that it measures in a technically consistent way, and is effective ('valid') in yielding a measurement. Technical reliability and validity are norms that we respond to; if our response is adequate, we are giving shape responsibly to those fundamental requirements or design principles. Phrased another way: we are practically applying principles by designing in conformance to them. Also in passing, we have mentioned design conditions (which we now may treat as technical norms) like 'transparency', 'accessibility', 'communication', 'accountability' and 'impact', as well as the technical unity that can be achieved, as we have noted, by bringing together not pairs of two 'skills' at a time, as in some traditional methods, but all four of them in one teaching method.

Where do these norms derive from? What makes it possible to conceive of technical unity as a design principle, or seeking technical transparency in our articulation of our designs, or becoming accountable for the language policies we have developed? Where lies the conceptual basis for our examination of the technical impact of the intervention?

The answer has been suggested above: Our technically qualified work in applied linguistics links with other modalities or dimensions of our experience, with social, political, ethical and, in the case of the condition of technical unity, with the numerical mode. This is so because, if we are serious about avoiding the reductionist premises of modernism, we shall veer away theoretically from promoting the single mode of experience that we have identified as our angle of approach to an absolute, promoting it to the key that will explain everything. Everything is not feeling, nor is it an unbroken chain of cause and effect, or history (and therefore relative). Neither are beauty, justice, power, or science the be all and end all of everything. Applied to this case: the technical modality which we have indeed singled out as our angle of conceptual approach is related to all other dimensions of our experience. The first set of these other dimensions include the numerical mode, the spatial, the kinematic, the physical, the organic, the sensitive, and the analytical. From the relations of these with the technical we may derive, in sequence, the concepts of technical unity (echoing the numerical), technical range (referring to the spatial), technical consistency (the link with the kinematic), technical effect (a physical analogy), technical differentiation (an organic analogy), technical appeal (arising from the link with the sensitive aspect) and technical-theoretical defensibility (or what is sometimes called "construct validity" with reference to the theory supporting the design).

Each of these analogical technical concepts yields a particular set of design principles, which we have to comply with. An applied linguistic intervention is responsibly designed if it can be shown to possess a good measure of technical homogeneity, covers a limited range, is reliable, adequate ('valid') and differentiated, and furthermore has both technical appeal for its users and can be theoretically defended with reference to current or plausible theory.

Design Principles: From Building Blocks to Lodestars

The relations between the technical modality and the others discussed in the previous section yielded what may be termed constitutive principles for the design of language interventions. The links of the technical aspect with the remaining functions or modes may be conceived of as technical

ideas, comprising a complementary set of analogical notions. These modes, which are analogically reflected in the technical, are the lingual aspect, the social, the economic, the aesthetic, the juridical, the ethical and the sphere of belief or certainty. Technical ideas are approximating concepts, somewhat harder to define, and thus more open to contestation than those in the first set. There cannot be much argument about the technical reliability of a test, for example, if a statistical analysis of its consistency has been done, and expressed quantitatively in the form of an index such as Cronbach's alpha (coefficient alpha) as 0.93. But, though we should still do it, we might not as easily be able to demonstrate whether the test results are interpretable and meaningful. The latter idea, of technical meaningfulness, gives rise to a design norm emanating from the analogical link between the technical and the lingual mode of expression. Compared to the former concept of technical consistency, however, it is a guiding, regulative principle or lodestar, rather than a constitutive one that is an essential building block.

In the same way, the analogical idea linking the technical modality to the social mode may yield the design norm of technical appropriateness. Taking an example from language testing again, we may seek to demonstrate a fit between language abilities of the social group taking the test and the difficulty of the items making up the test, to ensure that the measurement is appropriate. An intervention must also be technically frugal, and the many new ways now emerging of how we might employ applications of machine learning (AI) to save design and instruction time are an indication of how we can conform to a design norm linking the technical and economic modalities. When we link the technical and the aesthetic, we meet the requirement of harmonising the various language interventions operative in an institution. Organisational language polices must be aligned with language assessments and language courses within a university or school, for example. In becoming accountable for our designs, we are able to do so because there is a link between the technical and the juridical. When we design a test that treats test takers fairly, we have ethical connections with the technical in mind. And finally, the reward for developing and maintaining quality language interventions over time (a goal of all the major publishing houses that offer language courses, and of every commercial test maker) is that of building a technical reputation. With that, the technical idea linking our designs with the sphere of belief and certainty becomes prominent.

The design principles discussed in this section function not as building blocks for design, as those constitutive concepts analysed in the previous section, but rather as lodestars. They are regulative technical ideas that

deepen and enhance the meaning of our designs. They strive to fulfil the goal mentioned at the beginning: to design solutions to language problems that benefit the recipients, restore their dignity by offering wholesome and accessible solutions, and, in being both academically and publicly accounted for, contribute to the transparency of our interventions. They should on these grounds be publicly justifiable solutions. To design language interventions to solve stubborn language problems with reference to principles is done not for the sake of theory, but for the benefit of those affected by the interventions. I believe that there can be little argument about this. It is embodied in the goal of responsibly designing language interventions.

Momentarily Suspending Objections

It is appropriate to end with a remark about the usefulness of theory. Adopting this framework means acknowledging that our experience contains a modal horizon, which in turn enables us to utilize the variety of distinguishable modes of experience – the numerical, the spatial, the organic, the technical, the aesthetic, the juridical, the ethical, and so on – not only as ways or modes of being, but also as modes of theoretical explanation. This reflection has focussed specifically on how the technical mode of experience can be employed to form applied linguistic concepts and ideas that explain the fundamentals of the discipline. These fundamentals, discussed in the previous two sections, have been identified as constitutive and regulative technical concepts and ideas.

The framework presented is neither incontestable nor final. Yet, despite its provisionality, I request my co-discussants in this debate to hear it out, and clarify, before dismissing the issues raised as unimportant. The perspective on applied linguistics outlined above may well give rise to objections. One is that such a highly focussed view may exclude many traditional perspectives on what applied linguistics is and what it should do. The robustness and richness of the framework briefly outlined above should set objections of exclusion aside. The claim is simply: if we seriously examine all work done under the disciplinary label of applied linguistics, there is not much that will conceptually escape the reach of the seven constitutive analogical technical concepts mentioned above, or theoretically evade the seven regulative ideas discussed in the previous section. In fact, one of the main current uses of this theory of applied linguistics is that it enables one to evaluate the paradigmatically inspired variety of emphases of different theoretical starting points. What is missed by one, may be complemented by what is being achieved in adopting another. CAST is a good illustration of this, and is

evaluated accordingly in terms of this theoretical framework: it contributes greatly to our understanding of technical life, development and emergent organisation. In taking this approach, the theory proposed here mediates between potentially contradictory and conflicting paradigms. It provides a platform for communication rather than paradigm conflict.

The framework, in my experience, is robust and adaptable, quite useful in evaluating the merits of an applied linguistic design, and wholly implementable. At the same time it is open to challenge. Its theoretical lacunae need to be identified and dealt with.

To meet that challenge, I hope to have stimulated here the beginning of a debate that is worth maintaining. We need to attend on a sustained basis to the issues of where we want applied linguistics to go. We need to continue to enhance our awareness of paradigm variation and also what choosing to work within a paradigm means to us, professionally. Finally, we should take the development of a theory of applied linguistics (Weideman, 2024) much more seriously. That is a professional demand for applied linguists, and for that we need scholarly discussion.

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Challenging Native-Speakerism: Embracing the Intelligibility Principle in Pronunciation and Spoken Language Instruction

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In 2005, I coined the terms "Intelligibility Principle" and "Nativeness Principle" to describe 2 approaches to pronunciation teaching and learning. The Intelligibility Principle has since become the dominant way to describe how priorities should be set for pronunciation teaching, whether certain errors are worth the use of precious classroom time, and why native accents should not be considered desirable outcomes of pronunciation learning. In other words, the intelligibility principle "recognizes that communication can be remarkably successful when foreign accents are noticeable or even strong, that there is no clear correlation between accent and understanding... and that certain types of pronunciation errors may have a disproportionate role in impairing comprehensibility" (Levis, 2005, p. 370). In this *Expositions*, I argue that the intelligibility principle is desirable, not only for pronunciation teaching and learning, but that it is also appropriate for spoken language more generally, applying to speaking instruction and listening instruction and all of their subparts, including vocabulary, grammar, nonverbal gestures, as well as pronunciation. In this article, I extend what we have learned from the study of intelligibility as regards pronunciation to other aspects of spoken language to show how all aspects of spoken language learning and teaching can benefit from considerations of priorities, teaching practices, and the social nature of language use.

2005年に、私は発音指導及び発音学習に対する二つのアプローチを説明するために、「明瞭性原則」と「母語発音原則」という用語を造った。それ以来、明瞭性原則は、特定の間違いに貴重な授業時間を費やす価値があるかどうか、発音学習においてなぜネイティブの発音を目指すべきではないのかなどの発音指導の優先順位を設定する際に大きな役割を果たしている。すなわち、明瞭性原則は、「外国のアクセントが目立つ、または強い場合でも、コミュニケーションが著しく成功する可能性があることを認めている。なまりと理解の間に明確な相関関係はなく、特定のタイプの発音エラーが理解力を損なうという不釣り合いな役割を果たしている可能性がある」(Levis, 2005, p. 370)。本論文では、明瞭度の原則は発音指導や学習だけでなく、スピーキング及びリスニング指導、語彙、文法、非言語ジェスチャー、発音を含むすべてのサブパートに適用する一般的な話し言葉にも適していることを討論する。さらに、発音に関する明瞭性の研究から学んだことを話し言葉の他の側面にも拡張し、優先順位、教育実践、言語使用の社会的性質を考慮することで、話し言葉の学習と教育のあらゆる側面にどのようなメリットがあるかを示す。

Keywords: comprehensibility; intelligibility principle; nativeness principle; pronunciation; spoken language

This *Expositions* talks about two principles that reflect the teaching of pronunciation specifically, the Nativeness Principle and the Intelligibility Principle. In doing so, I will argue that the Nativeness Principle in teaching pronunciation is in line with native-speakerism in other areas of English Language Teaching. I will also argue that the Intelligibility Principle is superior for the teaching not only of pronunciation but of spoken language more generally because it helps to set realistic priorities, recognize the strengths of all teachers without assuming that nativeness is a desirable qualification, and recognize the social realities of English language use in today's world.

The Nativeness and Intelligibility Principles

In the teaching of pronunciation, the specter of nativeness is always present. Whenever someone begins to speak English, listeners immediately classify speakers as fitting into categories based on nativeness. We once had a German exchange student who lived with us, and her accent was utterly nativelike. We regularly introduced her to friends as our German exchange student, and she would say "Hello" to them. Almost everyone responded the same way, saying something like "You don't sound like you're from Germany!" One day, she became so frustrated that she said to us later, "How can they say that? I just said 'Hello'!" But they could tell, and "Hello" was enough speech to tell them that her accent did not fit what they assumed of German speakers of English.

This anecdote more generally reflects the importance of the Nativeness Principle in how we judge the speech of others. Nativeness is our implicit standard for spoken language achievement, serving not only as a standard for pronunciation, but also as a measure by which oral proficiency is evaluated, and as a social signal of whether the speaker can be considered an insider or outsider in speaking the language. Even in the world of English as a Lingua Franca, with its multiple inner circle, outer circle, and expanding circle accents (Kachru, 1992), a small minority of prestige inner circle accents (especially Standard Southern British and General American) continue to be prestigious among English language learners and teachers. This is evidence of what I called the Nativeness Principle (Levis, 2005), an approach to L2 English pronunciation in which the detailed description of these prestige accents determines the features that should be taught and learned.

The need to describe the features of the language that should be learned is basic to any language-teaching endeavor. All languages have lexical, syntactic, and phonological features that are important for teachers to prioritize and for learners to know about so that they can use the new language to serve their communicative needs. The Nativeness Principle, however, takes pronunciation learning beyond a sufficient understanding of phonological features to an assumption that any achievement short of sounding like a native speaker represents failure. In this respect, the Nativeness Principle represents an ELT gate-keeping measure that can be used to quickly judge whether someone is an authoritative speaker of English.

Not achieving nativelikeness in pronunciation is the norm for language learners. Indeed, for adult learners of a language, nativelike pronunciation is incredibly rare. Even though pronunciation learning continues to be possible throughout life (Flege, 1995), the kind of acquisition that is evident in children becomes more difficult with time (Piske, MacKay & Flege, 2000). But for teachers of English, the Nativeness Principle has higher stakes. It not only determines curricular and pedagogical goals, but its assumptions can determine whether teachers are considered valid and authoritative speakers of the language, even to themselves (Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010; Golombek & Jordan, 2005). One of my students told me that when her (non-native) teacher pronounced something wrongly, she decided that the teacher should never be trusted as a model of the spoken language. This immediate and permanent judgment would never have been made of a native speaker of the language, who would have been given a pass for their pronunciation differences from a native standard.

The Nativeness Principle is the primary pronunciation-oriented aspect of a larger issue in English Language Teaching (ELT), that of native-speakerism. Holliday (2006, p. 385), describes native-speakerism as a "pervasive ideology within ELT, characterized by the belief that 'native-speaker' teachers represent a 'Western culture' from which spring the ideals both of the English language and of English language teaching methodology." Despite the widely-known fact that most global interactions in English take place between L2 speakers who share only English as language of communication, native norms and expectations continue to influence what most teachers and learners consider to be correct English pronunciation.

Just as there are alternatives to the ideology of native-speakerism in ELT, there are also alternatives to the Nativeness Principle in pronunciation teaching, specifically, the Intelligibility Principle (Levis, 2005). The Intelligibility Principle is based on a different goal for the teaching and learning of spoken language than the Nativeness Principle. Whereas the Nativeness Principle has a standard of adherence to all aspects of the phonological system, the Intelligibility Principle has a standard of being understood and understanding others. While the Nativeness Principle is especially suited to pronunciation, the Intelligibility Principle applies to all aspects of spoken language.

This Exposition will expand upon the value of moving away from the assumptions of the Nativeness Principle and adhering to the assumptions of the Intelligibility Principle, not only for pronunciation but for all aspects of spoken language. As important as pronunciation is in speaking and listening, it is only one part of intelligibility. While the Nativeness Principle is very much centered on the teaching of pronunciation, the Intelligibility Principle provides a global framework for approaching the teaching of spoken language that is in line with communicative goals. As a result, the Intelligibility Principle is not only likely to be more successful, but it is more able to recognize the strengths of all teachers.

Native-Speakerism and Pronunciation Teaching

Being a native speaker of a language brings with it assumed values and deeply-held ideologies about what is normal and what is deficient in the speaking of a language, and, correspondingly, in those who speak the language. Although being a native speaker of a language is never an earned accomplishment, assumptions about the normality and superiority of nativeness do not apply only to the language but rather expand beyond the language itself to include social and professional advantages. In languages

with many dialects, nativeness is associated with different varieties of the language, but one of the varieties is usually seen as the best, and this evaluation may bring with it extra advantages that apply to assumed expertise having to do with the culture associated with the language. For example, in the United States, General American (GA) is seen as carrying advantages over Southern US English in many (but not all) contexts of speaking. GA speakers are seen as better models of how to speak English, and they may have advantages in getting jobs or having their opinions taken seriously.

Nativeness can thus be socially complicated within different countries and cultures. Davies (2014) critically examined how the colonial history affected how new varieties of French and English developed in their colonies. In countries in which French was a dominant colonial language (e.g., Senegal, Cote d'Ivoire), standard French, as spoken in Paris and its environs, became the model of how French was to be spoken. In colonies in which English was the colonial language (e.g., India, Nigeria), nativized varieties were given room to develop even though the prestige varieties were still seen as superior. These different approaches resulted in different attitudes toward the colonial language. In French-speaking colonies, fewer Indigenous writers used French because French remained the vehicle of a colonialized identity that writers felt could not truly communicate the nuances of African life. In Davies's terminology, they never became native users of French. In colonies where English was dominant, writers much more frequently became native users who used distinctively colonial English varieties, and they felt fully comfortable using English to create literature that reflected their indigenous experiences. In other words, French remained a colonial language while English became a new indigenous code.

In Japan, the concept of "native speaker" is complicated in a different way in that the concept can be expressed by different words expressed using different writing systems. The katakana word is typically associated with native speakers of English who teach English in Japan, but the kanji word is associated with native speakers of Japanese (Hashimoto, 2018). In both cases, the terms involve an "inseparable relationship between, people, language, and place" (Hashimoto, 2018, p. 61). This distinction in terminology has also been used to encourage nationalism and to separate those who are Japanese from those who are not (Hashimoto, 2018). It has also been used to discriminate against native speakers of English who teach English in Japan (Houghton & Hashimoto, 2018) by treating "them [native speakers of English] as instruments rather than people" (Hashimoto, 2018, p. 62).

Intelligibility - A Principle for Language Teaching

The power of the Nativeness Principle and of native-speakerism comes from hidden assumptions about not only what is best but also what is normal. This means that the Nativeness Principle can only be overcome by questioning its assumptions and providing a different way of thinking about language learning and teaching. This different way of thinking is seen in the Intelligibility Principle. Both the nativeness and intelligibility principles affect how we conceive of the goals of language teaching and learning, the techniques and activities we employ, the topics we teach, the questions of who can be a legitimate teacher, and the social reasons for using an additional language. In all respects, both principles give different answers to the questions they raise.

The nativeness principle, and the assumptions of native-speakerism more generally, "constrain and enable what people say and do, and in the process, are also transformed and/or reshaped by agentive processes" (Bouchard, 2017, p. 328). They set forth the native speaker of the language as the pinnacle of achievement, despite the fact that native speakers rarely have to achieve anything to reach the pinnacle. In baseball terms, native speakers were born on 3rd base and think this makes them superior to anyone who does not start with their advantages. For pronunciation, native speakers, by definition, have native pronunciation. They perceive and produce with ease, and their intuitive understanding of the phonology and phonetics of their native language allows them, even without training, to notice small deviations from what is expected and to classify these deviations into whether they reflect different native dialects, pathological difficulties, or foreign-accented speech. Native speakers are, in other words, superior accent detectors. They are so good at this task that they can even detect accented speech when the speech is filtered to mask the sounds being used, and afterwards played backwards (Munro et al., 2010). In addition, nativeness confers the same blessing of intuitive understanding on the use of vocabulary, syntax (Coppieters, 1987), and pragmatics, as well as the ability to freely use the language to convey complex meanings without conscious attention to the structures of the language. The ultimate goal of language learning and teaching, according to the assumptions of the nativeness principle, is for teachers and learners to achieve the pinnacle of native achievement and to continue to pass on its standards to others whose goal is to communicate with native speakers.

The intelligibility principle is also a principle for language teaching and learning. Intelligibility includes both actual understanding and ease of understanding, two levels that are called intelligibility and comprehensibility by Munro and Derwing (1995). Actual understanding includes, in the terms used by Smith and Nelson (1985), the ability to decode the words that are spoken, to understand the messages being communicated, and to correctly infer the underlying intentions of the communication. Comprehensibility, on the other hand, is a measure of how easily understandable speech is. The intelligibility principle thus sets forth a goal of communicative effectiveness that may differ according to the purposes of the interaction. Speakers and listeners of the language have a common goal, which is to understand what each other is saying and to be understood. While native speakers of the language clearly have a head start on these goals in comparison to those learning it as an additional language, this advantage is limited. Their status as native speakers does not guarantee that they will be able to be intelligible or comprehensible to their interlocutors. Achieving intelligibility is a skill that sometimes requires only word-level understanding, but in many cases, requires more sophisticated use of the language.

Even though I am a pronunciation teacher and many of my comments about nativeness and native-speakerism focus on pronunciation, I argue that the Intelligibility Principle is not just an approach to pronunciation teaching but rather a way to understand the teaching and learning of spoken language more generally. Pronunciation, vocabulary, syntax and other aspects of language knowledge are ways to achieve communication in the L2. Intelligibility should be understood as a general principle for language learning and teaching, as expressed in Figure 1 (from Levis, 2020, p. 317). In the Figure, all of the outer circles include features of language, but not everything that can be classified within those features is essential to intelligible speech. One can speak effectively and understand others without a lexicon of 80,000 words (indeed, most native speakers don't have this level), or an understanding of all spoken grammatical features, just as one can understand and be understood with a noticeable accent. Similarly, the figure indicates that what is true of pronunciation, lexicon, and syntax is also true of the many other aspects of spoken language, including aspects such as pragmatics, gestures, and fluency. What matters for any area of language is to understand and be understood and to have strategies to ensure that when the inevitable struggles occur, a language user can negotiate understanding through a well-developed strategic competence.

Figure 1
Intelligibility as a Principle for Language Learning
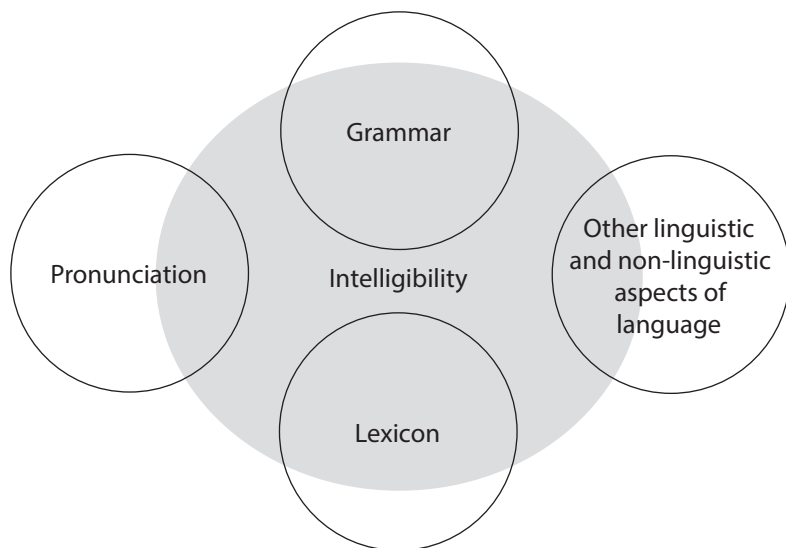
The Centrality of Priorities

The Nativeness Principle is ultimately incomplete and is fraught with internal contradictions about learning and teaching priorities (Bouchard, 2017). This is partly because good enough pronunciation is both necessary for intelligibility but also of minor importance. For pronunciation, the principle assumes that achieving excellent (i.e., native-like) pronunciation will ultimately lead to success in spoken communication. This is simply not the case for two reasons. First, there is compelling evidence that accentedness does not equal intelligibility. Speakers whose accentedness is very non-native can nonetheless be fully intelligible (Munro & Derwing, 1995). Second, there is also no evidence that intelligible and comprehensible speech is the result of "good pronunciation". Pronunciation is only one aspect of spoken language abilities, but understanding is not guaranteed, except at the most basic level, by native pronunciation.

Evidence for this second reason is found in Jenkins' (2000) groundbreaking study of intelligibility in NNS-NNS communication in English. She found that loss of intelligibility was influenced not only by pronunciation but also by errors in syntax and vocabulary. Of these, pronunciation was the most frequent

trigger of unintelligible speech (about 67% of all instances), but syntax and vocabulary also regularly caused loss of intelligibility, indicating that a focus on pronunciation overly limits what learners need to achieve intelligible speech. Furthermore, in Jenkins' study, unintelligibility was defined narrowly, by obvious difficulties in understanding words. Her methodology thus flagged only the most obvious losses of intelligibility (i.e., when individual words were not understood). Other aspects of intelligibility, such as struggling to understand a message or to interpret intent, were not targeted in her study. Nor were struggles with comprehensibility, in which listeners worked harder to process speech. Isaacs and Trofimovich (2012) demonstrated correlations between holistic comprehensibility ratings and pronunciation, lexico-grammatical features of L2 speech, fluency, and construction of spoken discourse. This indicates that comprehensibility is not simply a matter of basic structural components of spoken language (pronunciation, vocabulary, syntax) but also of how easily one puts structural components together in unplanned speech (fluency) and the ways in which messages are constructed (discourse features). Jenkins hints that comprehensibility was also a factor in the NNS-NNS interactions when she indicates that interacting with speakers of different L1s led to both more accurate pronunciation and greater struggles in understanding. This reflects another important aspect of the Intelligibility Principle, that of the importance of listening. The Nativeness Principle emphasizes production while the Intelligibility Principle recognizes that listening is a critical skill, especially in learning to listen to a wide variety of other speakers, both native and non-native.

Who Is a Language Teacher?

Even though "there is no cultural, professional, pedagogic, or economic excuse for defining a teacher's professional worth purely and narrowly in terms of their speakerhood" (Holliday, 2015, p. 16), adherence to the Nativeness Principle does precisely that. It presents a picture of who should teach spoken language: a native speaker, preferably one who commands one of the prestigious pronunciation models and can speak fluently and accurately. Under the Nativeness Principle, non-native teachers find their worth being valued in terms of an implicit and hidden comparison to native speakers (Bouchard, 2017). In such a comparison, non-native teachers may be acceptable if they are fluent and automatic in their speaking and native-like in their pronunciation, but the nativeness principle assumes them to be questionable models no matter their expertise. Thus the native/nonnative dichotomy is fundamental to "the politics of labeling in the field of TESOL,

in which non-native status is assumed to be inferior" (Hashimoto, 2018, p. 62). For pronunciation teaching, the Nativeness Principle does not assume the worst aspects of Holliday's description of native-speakerism, in which native speakers represent Western culture and ELT methodology more generally, but this does not change the damage wrought by the assumption that non-native teachers are questionable spoken language teachers, that their speaking and pronunciation represent something that will be caught like a cold. In reality, a teacher's nativeness is not a vaccine against language errors, nor is non-nativeness a disease that is contagious.

The Intelligibility Principle, on the other hand, has a different answer to who can be an effective teacher of spoken language. The primary qualification includes expertise, both as a language teacher, and in teaching speech and pronunciation, including the ability to diagnose challenges, set priorities, and provide helpful feedback. Nativeness is neither a sufficient nor necessary qualification. Indeed, non-native teachers may even be better models and teachers because of their experience and skills in learning the L2 (Derwing & Munro, 2015; Murphy, 2014). One of the reasons that native and nonnative teachers can both be equally effective is that effectiveness is dependent on expertise not nativeness. In a study by Levis et al. (2016) of two relatively inexperienced pronunciation teachers, one native and one nonnative, there was no advantage to nativeness in terms of learner improvement. In addition, learners in the two classes rated both teachers as equally excellent. The study was undertaken to test whether learners taught the same content by a native and a nonnative teacher who were otherwise well-matched (in gender, age, training, and enthusiasm) would differ in improvement. Unsurprisingly, there was no difference due to teacher L1.

Social Aspects of Language Use

Perhaps the most limiting aspect of a focus on nativeness is its focus on language form and correctness (competence in Chomskyan terms) rather than language use. In other words, the Nativeness Principle is performative, whereas the Intelligibility Principle is communicative. A focus on nativeness, in other words, has no obvious or necessary connection to social contexts. Intelligibility, which assumes language use in social context, does. Nativeness also assumes a target that is ultimately out of reach for almost all language learners, especially when it comes to pronunciation, where L2 users can at best pass as native in limited contexts. Piller (2002), in a study of bilingual couples in Germany, found that the L2 speaker of the couple could often pass as native in service encounters (e.g., in a shop), which for some L2 speakers

became a kind of game they played. Their passing as native was often more successful if they were skilled at employing dialect-specific discourse markers from a nearby dialect area. This social consciousness was one of the two key features of L2 speakers (along with a cognitive approach to pronunciation) whose pronunciation was especially skilled (Moyer, 2014).

The power of social factors in pronunciation is also seen in a study of American women married to Norwegians and living in Norway. Lybeck (2002) explained that the development of social networks in Norway is particularly difficult for outsiders. Women whose extended families helped provide a social network for them showed more Norwegian-like pronunciation of /r/ (a distinctive sound in Norwegian), while those who struggled to establish social networks did not show the same use of Norwegian /r/. In one interesting case, a woman whose social network was initially strong converged on a Norwegian /r/ pronunciation, but when her marriage started to struggle, she began to use an American English /r/ to reflect her divergence from the social network that she had had.

A focus on nativeness does not promote convergence in communication, especially when speaking to those for whom nativeness is also an unrealistic goal. Jenkins (2000) argues that most interactions in English around the world take place between L2 speakers of English who do not share a common language outside of English. They use English because the social context and their communicative goals require it. Jenkins (2000) also points out that speakers, when they are cooperative in task completion with those who have different accents in English, tend to converge on a pronunciation they believe will be more intelligible.

The social power of accent, and of native-speakerism more generally, can be seen in research by Gluszek and Dovidio (2010), in which learners believe that their lack of native pronunciation is the source of the discrimination and social stigma that they experience. This stigma is often left unquestioned, but it is a powerful force limiting the development of an L2 identity and a sense of belonging to their new culture (Miller, 2003). Obviously, these feelings of stigma have some reality. Pronunciation is the most obvious marker of being an outsider in social contexts, and Lippi-Green (2011) and Munro (2003) have convincingly demonstrated that accented speech provokes discriminatory attitudes and behavior. However, this does not mean that nativeness is an appropriate way to understand the world. Rather, like other negatively-charged -*isms* (e.g., racism, sexism), native-speakerism reflects a faulty view of the world in which some people are granted power and prestige based not on merit but birth.

Nor is it the case that nativeness in pronunciation or any other aspect of language is necessary for communication. Clarke and Garrett (2004), in a groundbreaking study of listeners' ability to adjust to unfamiliar accents, found that native listeners adjusted to unfamiliar accents with as little as one minute of exposure. Further research has shown that exposure to multiple speakers with similar accents results in quicker adjustments with new speakers with the same accents and new unfamiliar accents. Baese-Berk, Bradlow and Wright (2013) showed that more extensive experience with accented speech generalized not only to new speakers with the same accents but even to those with new accents, suggesting that in some contexts (e.g., university lectures), providing training for native listeners may be helpful in overcoming the initial challenges in negotiating accented speech (Kang & Moran, 2019).

To conclude, social awareness is central to the development of L2 pronunciation skills and has little to do with nativeness in pronunciation or in other aspects of language. Learning an L2 should have the goal of intercultural communication, and an ideology of native-speakerism gets in the way of this more important goal in language learning (Houghton & Hashimoto, 2017). Levis and Moyer (2014) summarize the issues this way:

> L2 pronunciation is a deeply personal and inherently social phenomenon; it is an integral part of communicative fluency and at the same time reflects our sense of self. L2 pronunciation also reaches beyond the speaker, since listeners judge accent in relationship to supposed social and personal traits. In other words, accents come to symbolize much more than traditional notions of native and non-native speakers. (p. 275)

Acknowledgments

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The Researcher's Positionality, Ethics, and Research Methods in Language Education Research

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Being a critical linguist requires a critical understanding of the researcher's positionality, which involves a critical examination of interactions with research participants. A consideration of ethics is crucial in relation to the researcher's positionality and provides opportunities for researchers to critically reflect on their position and identity in relation to the project and research participants. Although the notion of research ethics is specific to each culture and society, and Japanese universities rely on certain assumed shared morals in relation to appropriate ethical considerations, it is important to understand that the researcher's positionality and research ethics shape research methods and outcomes. This article addresses issues surrounding the researcher's positionality, research methods, and ethics, using some of the author's own experiences as a researcher as examples.

批判的言語学者であるためには、研究者の立ち位置を批判的に理解することが必要であり、それには研究参加者との関わり合いを批判的に検証することが含まれる。倫理への配慮は研究者の立ち位置との関係において不可欠であり、プロジェクトと研究参加者との関係において、研究者が自らの立場とアイデンティティを顧みる機会を提供する。研究倫理の概念はそれぞれの文化や社会に特有であり、日本の大学では適切な倫理的配慮は一定の当然とされる道徳観に依存しているが、研究者の立ち位置及び研究倫理が、研究方法と結果を方向づけることを理解することが重要である。この論文では、筆者の研究者としての経験を例に挙げながら、研究者の立ち位置、研究方法、そして倫理を巡る問題を取り上げる。

B eing "critical" is essential for a researcher of language policy. In his article on critical applied linguistics in this journal, Bouchard (2022) states that "criticality is inherent to AL [Applied Linguistics] rather than a mere addition to it" (p. 154). Tollefson (2013) argues that critical linguists understand "the processes by which social, economic, and political inequality are created, masked, and sustained, as well as how language policies may undermine hierarchical systems and offer instead a wider range of life options for speakers of all language varieties" (p. 30). Researchers of language policy have a responsibility to be critical not only because our research deals with power but also because we are involved in the process of making changes that address such inequalities. Johnson (2018) further argues that being a critical linguist requires a critical understanding of the researcher's positionality, which involves a critical examination of interactions with research participants. When a researcher acts as an advocate for the minority, rather than simply presenting generalised findings (Canagarajah & Stanley, 2015), a consideration for ethics is crucial in relation to that researcher's positionality and subjectivity.

This article addresses issues surrounding the researcher's positionality, research methods, and ethics, using some of my own experiences as examples, for readers of this journal who are teacher researchers of languages in Japan. I chose this topic because even though a researcher's positionality and ethics shape their research method, I often find that there is a lack of attention to or consideration of these aspects in research conducted in Japanese universities. As each country has its own education system, and its research culture has been nurtured and developed within that system, understandings of positionality, method and ethics are likely to be influenced by cultural differences, including academic practices. The article begins with an overview of ethical approvals for human research in Japan.

Ethical Conduct of Research

Research integrity is of utmost importance to protect and advance our research, and "ethics and ethical behaviour (often linked to 'responsible practice') are the fundamental pillars of a civilised society" (Sivasubramaniam et al., 2021). In many countries and institutions, appropriate measures have been put in place to set standards for ethical behaviour. While the Japanese government has urged scientists to act responsibly in conducting their research activities, condemning misconduct such as fabrication, falsification and plagiarism (Japan Science and Technology Agency, 2024),

the same attention has not been paid to humanities researchers. A disparity in understandings of and approaches to ethical approval processes for non-medical human research between researchers has been reported in Japan and Europe (Morimoto, 2023; Sivasubramaniam et al., 2021). The most notable aspect of ethical review for non-medical human research in Japanese universities is, however, that it is largely left to the judgement of institutions and/or individual researchers.[1]

Okada (2015) argues that universities are not obliged to follow the government's administrative guidance for ethical review and that it is sufficient for universities to ensure that non-life-threatening human research follows the appropriate regulations, without scrutinising the specific content of such projects. The notion of ethical review requirements as a bureaucratic imposition has changed over the last ten years, and the benefits of receiving an ethical review have gradually been acknowledged by humanities researchers (Morimoto, 2023). The calls to minimise administrative processes, however, remain strong, in order to reduce the burden on researchers as well as review committee members. Morimoto (2023) suggests a simplified review process for research projects that do not need ethical approval but are required to obtain it solely because their findings will be presented publicly, for example at a conference. This suggests that if researchers do not intend to present or publish their findings, they do not need to apply for ethical review. Indeed, universities inform researchers that they only require ethical approval if they intend to present and/or publish their findings and/or if it is required by their funding body or publisher (University of the Ryukyus, 2024). This raises a few questions. Do researchers ever conduct research without the intention to present or publish their findings? Can researchers do anything they like in their research as long as they do not present or publish their findings? Don't Japanese academic publishers require proof of ethical approval upon manuscript submission?

International publishers, such as Taylor & Francis, require a statement confirming ethical approval to be included with manuscript submissions. This statement provides details of the name of the ethics committee and reference/permit numbers (Taylor & Francis, n.d.). *The Japanese Journal of Language in Society*, published by the Japanese Association of Sociolinguistic Sciences (JASS), provides authors with advice to avoid inappropriate data collection (JASS, 2022). One such piece of advice is to obtain consent from participants after explaining the purpose of the survey/experiment, but the journal does not require proof of ethical approval. In other words, it relies on authors' self-declarations in relation to whether they have observed the

journal's research ethics guidelines. This reliance on self-declarations is also evident in universities' ethics guidelines for researchers. For example, the flowchart of research that require ethical review in the research ethics handbook of Ritsumeikan University (2024) includes the following:

> (5) Is there any possibility that the research has an impact on the participants physically or emotionally or on the society, and causes ethical, legal or social problems?
>
> ↓ No
>
> (6) Does the research require ethical review for joint research, research grant application, conference presentation, and/or paper submission?
>
> ↓ No
>
> It is not necessary to apply. (p. 16, author's translation)

This means that it is left to the researcher's judgement whether their research has an impact on the participants or society more generally, and that judgement is subjective. Sivasubramaniam et al. (2021) point out that many ethical guidelines are based on society's moral "beliefs" in such a way that the words "ethics" and "morals" are often used interchangeably. In fact, as we have seen, the web address of Kansai University guidebook uses "morals" and Ritsumeikan University uses "ethics". Sivasubramaniam et al. (2021) explain that morals are "the beliefs of the individual or group as to what is right or wrong", which "may differ from society to society and culture to culture", while ethics are "the guiding principles, which help the individual or group to decide what is good or bad".

Msoroka and Amundsen (2018) call for a more culturally diverse interpretation of what constitutes "ethical research conduct". Examining human research ethics procedures in New Zealand, they argue that ethical norms endorsed in one culture or society may not always be considered "right" in another culture and society. This suggests that ethical review involves a researcher's belongingness and identity. In contrast, Japanese universities' reliance on researchers' self-determination of whether or not they need to go through an ethical review seems to be based on a belief in shared morals.

Like Ritsumeikan University, Yokohama National University (2023) provides a guidebook for human research. The guidebook specifies that if

the research satisfies all nine criteria, ethical review is not required. Two of these criteria are: (1) "It provides appropriate consideration for protecting participants in terms of issues relating to procedure, harassment and pressure" and (8) "In the questionnaire survey and experiment prompts, items that are beyond the scope of social and daily life are not included (e. g. Have you been bullied? What is your recent sexual appetite? Have you wished to die?) (p. 2, author's translation). The first criterion indicates that there is an assumed consensus about what is "appropriate consideration" in such areas among academics at the university. The second criterion suggests that only extreme questions are considered to be problematic as question items.

In terms of conflict of interest, the application form for Kansai University (n.d.b) ethical review asks the applicant whether they are "ready to explain that they will not be disadvantaged by refusing to participate in the research (if there are benefits of participating in the research or if there are power relationships between researchers and participants who are students, clients or colleagues)" (p. 8, author's translation). This question suggests that it is researchers who decide whether there is a conflict of interest in their research, and a statement that ensures that participants will not be disadvantaged satisfies review requirements. It appears that it is common and acceptable practice in Japanese universities to collect data from the current students of researchers. University of the Ryukyus provides a sample ethical review application form, using a research project that examines the abilities of pre-service teachers who are currently enrolled in the course the researcher teaches. The sample entry for the written consent section includes a statement that "refusal to participate will not affect your grade at all; agreement to participate will not affect your grade at all" (University of the Ryukyus, n.d., author's translation). Since it is impossible to prove that participation and non-participation in the research does not affect a student's grade because they are currently enrolled in a course for which the researcher has the power to determine their grade, this kind of statement remains a token gesture.

Another important point in relation to ethical review in Japanese universities is that the treatment of student research varies from university to university. While Yokohama National University (2023) applies the same rules as those for staff research to student research apart from pilot studies, University of the Ryukyus (2024) takes the view that research for a postgraduate thesis is conducted under the supervision of their advisor and therefore exempt from review. Kansai University considers students to

be researchers if they are expected to present and publish their findings in future and applies the same rules to them as to staff researchers (Kansai University, n.d.a). These various approaches to student research in terms of ethical review suggest that preparation for ethical review is not necessarily included in student research training programs at Japanese universities. The next section discusses how ethical review is related to the researcher's positionality.

The Researcher's Positionality and Ethics

A researcher's positionality is about where the researcher stands in relation to the topic and data. By acknowledging this positionality, the researcher has an opportunity to critically reflect on their position as a researcher in their chosen research project. This is important because the researcher's positionality directly influences how their research is conducted, how the data is analysed, and whose voices are represented in the findings (Rowe, 2014). Yip (2024) reports on how her insider-outsider position influenced her relationships and interactions with the participants in her PhD research project.

As mentioned above, in Japanese universities, it seems common to collect data from students that researchers currently teach during class time. In Australia, all human research must obtain ethical approval, apart from research that handles existing publicly available data. At my university, The University of Queensland (UQ), researchers are not normally allowed to conduct research that focuses on students who are currently enrolled in the course they coordinate and/or teach. This is due to the perceived conflict of interest. Researchers have power over students because they determine their academic grades, and the teacher-student relationship could have an impact on their participation and non-participation in the project as well as their responses to or performance in the project. Another related issue is regulations surrounding teaching practices. At UQ, course profiles specify teaching content, assessment, and class schedules, and are published prior to the beginning of the semester, and making it impossible for researchers to introduce their individual research into their teaching. It appears that in Japanese universities, academics have greater power and freedom over their courses, which allows them to collect data from their students.

One of my current projects received ethical approval to use assignments submitted by my students for my research. This project differs from my other projects that involve survey questionnaires and interviews. In this project, I wanted to use short essays that students had written in Japanese

and their reflections, which were written in English. They were submitted as assignments in an advanced Japanese course that I coordinated and taught last year. There were 39 students enrolled in the course. The assignments relate to the students' Japanese language learning experiences and their reflections on their cultural and linguistic backgrounds. The assignments were marked and returned to students, but the original submissions are still available on Blackboard, which is a web-based learning management system controlled by the university. Even though student assignments are considered to be university property, it was necessary to ask students' consent because students did not submit their assignments to be used in my research. I initially thought that I only required consent from the students to use their assignments, but the university research ethics and integrity office advised me that I also needed to provide a Participant Information Sheet, as there was also interaction between the investigator and participants in the process of seeking consent. In terms of conflict of interest, since the grades for the course were finalised last year, I initially eliminated students who had failed the course as potential participants. The university office, however, pointed out that "if the students have not graduated yet, they might need to take another course by the course coordinator/researcher and therefore feel pressured into accepting" (Email to request additional information, UQ Research Ethics and Integrity). In response to this request, I excluded students who might be likely to take another course of mine. For students who were already enrolled in another course I coordinated, I contacted them only after their grades were finalised and published. As a result, the number of students who agreed to participate was smaller than I had hoped (total 13) but going through the proper procedure also provided participants with opportunities to understand research ethics. The students were happy to have their writing used in my research partly because they were familiar with my research interests—where I stand in the research field— through my teaching, and partly because I have established positive relationships with them, showing an interest in and respect for their individual experiences and backgrounds. This experience of ethic approval made me realise the importance of positionality and sensitivity towards power-imbalanced relationships in the process of data collection.

Regarding consent forms, I recall that I had difficulties in obtaining a written consent form from some interview participants for a project on administrative language practices for local foreign residents that I conducted in Japan some time ago. It was in the pre-COVID era, and the interview participants I could not obtain a written consent form from were

local government employees at prefectural offices in different locations. They agreed to be interviewed, but since they refused to sign the consent form, I was not able to record the interviews. They seemed to believe that once they signed the consent form, they would be held responsible for what they said. The fact that the participant information provided clearly ensured anonymity seemed to mean little to them. This tendency seemed strong in people who were in lower positions in their workplace. Similar experiences were reported by some of my PhD students who collected data in Japan from Japanese people. This suggests their unfamiliarity with consent forms for research purposes and a lack of understanding of the need for consent to participate in research. This is not surprising given that ethical approval is not mandatory for all human research in Japan. In a society where shared morals play an important role, perhaps a written consent form is seen as too formal and makes participants suspicious and wary. On reflection, I also realise that I was a total outsider to them in terms of the topic, and my positionality certainly did not make them feel inclined to have their voices recorded for my research.

Ethics and Research Methods

I recall one project in which I took advantage of being an outsider. I interviewed Vietnamese university students who were studying Japanese in Vietnam during a month-long stay in Hanoi (see Hashimoto, 2022). The project was on their views of learning Japanese language in relation to their future pathways. Since I do not speak Vietnamese, and I was advised that they spoke Japanese better than English, I decided to conduct the interviews in Japanese by myself. I did not want to use a Vietnamese interpreter because I wanted to have full control over the interviews. As the project description clearly stated that interviews would be conducted in Japanese, the students who signed up for the interviews seemed to be confident in their Japanese speaking ability. All of the students (28 in total) were able to be interviewed face-to-face in Japanese for 20 minutes. Some were curious to meet a Japanese teacher from Australia, commenting on me in comparison to the Japanese people they knew. They also seemed comfortable with critically describing their learning experiences at their university and in Japan. This was probably due to my outsider but neutral position as an Australian researcher.

When I submitted my paper to the journal, one of the reviewers' comments was on how I analysed the interview data, given that the interviews were conducted in Japanese, which was not the first language of the participants. In response to the question, I clarified that content analysis, rather than

discourse analysis, was applied to the interview data because the level of Japanese proficiency of the participants varied. A researcher's linguistic ability is extremely important in data collection and analysis, partly because it determines the range of data that the researcher can access and the depth of analysis possible, and partly because it shapes the researcher's positionality. Some researchers might hire interpreters and use translated materials for data collection without thinking carefully, but we must be mindful of the gap caused by linguistic differences and interpretation of these differences. Not being able to have access to primary sources is a fundamental weakness of researchers, and it requires considerable effort and training to overcome these weaknesses—effective use of research assistants, interpreters, and translators requires experience and skills. I often encounter journal submissions that rely heavily on secondary sources. Often such authors do not state their positionality.

In a team project whose membership include international researchers with different linguistic skills, such weaknesses would not be a concern, but researcher diversity in multiple locations can sometimes cause disagreement over research methods. I had one such experience—as part of an international joint project, one member wanted to interview colleagues who were her subordinates about the program she was running. Since the study was meant to be a comparative one, if this was agreed to, we would have needed to conduct the same survey at my university. I objected to the method because it would not have passed UQ's ethical review due to the obvious conflict of interest, but my concern was not well received because of different research ethics practices in the two countries and the other researcher's research experience as an exchange student in Japan. Ultimately, the project did not proceed in the way the member wanted.

Lastly, I would like to point out that most Japanese universities seem to only provide research ethics information in Japanese. Such a practice is understandable given that these days Japanese language skills are required for academic positions at Japanese universities regardless of nationality. At the same time, however, many universities have also made an effort to attract international students by offering English-medium courses. As I believe that researcher training should be available in both undergraduate and postgraduate programs, and research ethics is essential part of this, perhaps it is time to make ethics guidelines available in English for these students. Hopefully, the process of preparing English guidelines would help to develop research ethics at Japanese universities in a way that is more applicable to researchers with diverse backgrounds.

Notes

1. For example, in Kansai University's guidebook on human research ethics, the response to the question "Does 'human research' that researchers of the university conduct need to go through ethical review?" is that "the university respects researchers' decisions on whether to go through ethical review" (Kansai University, n.d.a, p. 5, author's translation).

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Reviews

Pedagogy as Encounter: Beyond the Teaching Imperative.
Naeem Inayatullah. Rowman & Littlefield, 2022. 145pp.
¥4,117. https://doi.org/10.5771/9781538165126

Reviewed by
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Pedagogy as Encounter: Beyond the Teaching Imperative by Naeem Inayatullah was written during his final years of teaching at Ithaca College in Central New York State. Readers will be introduced to wide range of Inayatullah's ideas, from his views on global politics and international relations to his beliefs on teaching, student encounters, higher education power structures, culture, music, and relationships. The author puts a career's worth of experience into a compact and dynamic format. He empties his mind, heart, and soul on to the pages and leaves the reader with the decision what to accept and what to reject. This book is an insightful memoir, teacher resource, and pedagogical tool. At times readers may feel the author has veered too far from any central message. He does, however, return to his central narrative: communicating his ideas about teaching and learning. This keeps readers on a familiar enough path so they can know where they started from, where they are, where they might be going, and as I said, what they want to take away. Those interested in memoirs will find this book engaging, but also those who are looking for insights into teaching and learning will find this book thought-provoking and inspirational.

The entire book is written in the author's voice, except where he adds those of students, colleagues, and family members. He includes their voices in the main text, as well as in footnotes the use of which is deft but complicated. They provide immediate insight to the narrative unfolding before the reader —a kind of sub-commentary. However, there were times when the footnotes provided such clarity that I wondered why the author did not make the note part of the main text. I will expand on this point later.

Spread over eight chapters compacted into 127 pages, Inayatullah poses a thought-based piece that is not centered on telling the reader *what* to think, but instead providing a blueprint for *how* to think. In the first paragraph of Chapter One he says, "I believed that teaching and learning were possible when I began my career… I may have had my doubts…why did I treat doubt as a threat and not also a resource, as a gift to open" (Inayatullah, 2022, p. 1)? This gave me pause and inspired me to make a note on for future reflection. Inayatullah concludes his opening section with a kind of Socratic interplay that tells readers this book is about discovery, but only if we release ourselves from formally held views about teaching and learning. He closes Chapter One describing how teachers, instead of being domineering-authoritarian figures in the classroom, are on a parallel journey with students for equal amounts of knowledge and healing.

In Chapter Two, we see the author dive into memoir writing. Inayatullah recounts his upbringing in Pakistan, his education in Europe and the United States, and we experience the tense relationship with his father. His family and how they affect his life are a constant narrative, and one he writes about with honesty. We also learn about educators who inspired and molded him. For example, Mr. Denison, who taught him physics in high school, showed him how to be a teacher, who while simultaneously commanding the room, also removes himself playfully. Because he portrayed people in his life almost like characters in a play, the author left me with a clear understanding of what they contributed to his existence.

Chapter Three continues as memoir and brings us into the author's challenges as a burgeoning academic. Chapter Four, however, takes us into his method. The author illustrates his pedagogy by bringing us into his classroom and through various encounters. The title of the chapter – Encounter as Method – is appropriate and will provide the reader with many insights. For example, he sets up his classroom in a circle because "It is imperative for me that we all see each other's faces. The process of including all voices and ears is built into the classroom geometry and begins immediately" (Inayatullah, 2022, p. 49). The idea of encounter is revealed in the structure of his classroom; a pragmatic approach some teachers may find useful.

Chapter Five centers around conflict, exploring the concept of risk, and what we can learn within the critically tense space that is created by risk. Readers encounter the realization that out of conflict and risk can come endearing love. The story of Alex on page 82 illustrates this point beautifully and with some humor. Chapter Six takes us on Inayatullah's journey with

music as a love and tool to develop his pedagogy and self. Here we see how he lives his ideal for teachers to share space with the student and be "intrinsic collaborators" (p. 7). He admits to not being able to read music let alone play an instrument, yet he engages with students who are formal musicians and vastly superior to him regarding the musical arts. Pages 91 to 92 – finding the one – illustrate this with humility and again, humor. Chapter Seven closes the main section of the book leaving readers with various encounters that show what happens when everyone engaged in them are committed, even over-committed. Chapter Eight sums up the book in-large-part by handing it over to past students.

Inayatullah provides an insightful text worthy of exploration. The memoir/vignette style provides readers with a driving narrative. He dips into his own personal exhortations while illustrating very personal and confrontational encounters. I go to the story of Nora:

> Nora didn't mind shouting at me, and I enjoyed yelling back – with the office door open, of course. My department chair walked by during one such interaction, detected our intimacy, and jumped to a conclusion… 'You have too strong an influence on your students, especially the women'" (p. 68).

The vignette concludes with Inayatullah telling Nora about what his department head said and cited that as reason for not including her work in a future course reader. Nora berates him for his "lack of courage… 'If my work is good enough, why can't you publish it?'" (p. 68). Inayatullah went back to his department head, after some consultation with his spouse, and said, "I can become better at my methods, but I cannot change them" (p. 68). Readers may see an erratic, obsessive teacher who oversteps his bounds. I imagine to educators in Japan, such a situation would not be imaginable, and therefore to see this in a book about pedagogy may raise questions about the author and his predilections. This is a risky way to convey a message, but one I believe he executes well while staying true to his mission.

The book is not comprised of entirely personal thoughts and recounts of encounters. The author grounds his beliefs and actions in a wide range of references that appear in the footnotes. As I mentioned earlier, this provided clarity in many cases, but some were perplexing to me. For example, in Chapter 1, Footnote 1, he says,

> My purview is limited to teaching and learning as they occur in Western formal educational institutions. I suspect that

my claims are generalizable to other cultures, alternative institutions, informal spaces, and everyday life processes. Nevertheless, developing the wider scope is a challenge for a different book. (p. 1)

I thought to myself, "Why the disclaimer? The main text is so bold... 'My subject is not progress and genocide but teaching and learning (p. 1).' This footnote dilutes the impact...Maybe you should have expanded on this in this book..." This was a reoccurring thought because Inayatullah mentions researchers, educators, authors, writers, musicians, students, and others who have impressed themselves onto who he is as a person and a professional. I, however, catch myself and wonder if such exposition would have warranted more pages and a heftier manuscript thus compromising the boldness of the current style and form. My position here is to yield to the literary persuasion of the author; it is, after all, his book.

Throughout the book, many encounters blossomed with literature students proposed to work with Inayatullah. He took this on with great energy, enthusiasm, and sincerity. In Chapter Eight he mentions that he was growing tired of reading the works of Paulo Freire because the idea of liberation as a possibility was too prevalent in his writing. Incidentally, he mentions in a footnote on page 125 that bell hooks (1994) purported the same idea in *Teaching to Transgress*. Upon recommendation by a student, he read books by Marshall Alcorn and Thomas Rickert. The influence was immediate and did not wear off. Throughout his book Inayatullah extensively quotes both scholars. In Alcorn and Rickert he saw an alignment of why he had become a teacher. Teaching was not the career he set out on attaining, but the one that has fulfilled him.

This book illustrates how teachers could release themselves from the common dynamic of teacher as ultimate authority and student as loyal and obedient observer (Freire, 1996). Despite Inayatullah having grown weary of Freire's scholarship, the book can be considered a piece of emancipation literature or liberation pedagogy like Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1996). The difference is that Freire existed in a system where the people had real and immediate life or death decisions to make, in an environment where the government was actively exploiting them. Educating the local population truly threatened social cohesion and power dynamics.

Inayatullah, however, does not have such a context to work against. Ithaca College is a private liberal arts institution in Central New York State; the student population is not comprised of impoverished farmers

fighting the state against exploitation. He recognizes this reality in one of the many vignettes that illustrate his encounters, "Ithaca College students, overall, have plenty of discretionary income that they flaunt, knowingly and unknowingly" (p. 66). I believe this is a constant tension and reflection point in the book because while the author comes from an accomplished but humble family lineage that began as farmers in the Punjab, and has reached exemplary heights in academia, he is teaching students who, mainly, started life in a seemingly beneficial position; they were primed for success. Inayatullah faces this critical tension point in various encounters with colleagues, students, and his family.

This book, therefore, adds significance to the teaching-learning dynamic and the understanding of pedagogy. The author's outsider perspective, having not been a trained teacher in the traditional sense, has allowed him to theorize and explore his own adventures, risks, and encounters to develop a pedagogy. I believe teachers will appreciate the instructions and discussions on creating space for critical encounters, designing classroom setups to allow for authentic communication, and engaging in risk taking. These are lessons that all language acquisition teachers can learn from and incorporate into their pedagogy. Ultimately, Inayatullah does not leave readers with a list of best practices, instead choosing to let the voices of his students breathe and construct those practices alongside him.

Finally, the book challenges us to think and engage our thought processes with rigor and precision. Dewey (2004) said, "Thinking, in other words, is the intentional endeavor to discover specific connections between something which we do and the consequences which result, so that the two become continuous" (p. 140). In addition, Freire (2005) espoused, "...the task of the teacher, who is also a learner, is both joyful and rigorous. It demands seriousness and scientific, physical, emotional, and affective preparation" (p. 5). Similarly, Inayatullah (2022) reveals, "I am devoted to the precision that science brings. If I cannot be precise about why I believe something, how I am moved by something, or why I make something, then I have betrayed the spirit of what it means to be a human" (p. 22). He concludes his revelations on precision with a warning of sorts, "However, precision for its own sake is a fetish. Precision's purpose is to serve the larger story that doubt, death, and morality impel us to construct" (p. 22). Do not just go through the motions. Dig deeper and be more in the encounter.

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Narrative Inquiry into Language Teaching Identity: ALTs in the JET Program. Takaaki Hiratsuka. Routledge, 2022. xiv + 234 pp. ¥8,353. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003248729

Reviewed by
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As the title suggests, this volume presents the results of an investigation of the language teaching identities (LTIs) of assistant language teachers (ALTs), who are hired from abroad by the Japan Exchange Teaching (JET) Program primarily to work in Japanese public schools as team teachers of English. Hiratsuka, himself a former high school teacher in frequent personal and professional contact with ALTs, observes at the outset that there is a great deal of research and public commentary on JET, ALTs, and the Japanese teachers of English (JTEs) who work with them. However, much of this writing deals either with narrowly defined pedagogical issues or broad policy questions. Hiratsuka's investigation, by contrast, focuses on ALTs' holistic experiences through retrospective interviews, thus providing an insider's perspective on the complexities and contradictions of JET and making the volume relevant to both policy makers and practitioners.

The first three chapters of the book are introductory, with a bird's-eye view of the study presented in Chapter 1 along with an exposition of the four key terms of the title: ALTs, the JET Program, identity, and narrative inquiry. Chapter 2 looks at the JET Program in further detail: its history, working conditions for participants, and empirical research to date. Building on his criticism of the narrow focus of previous work, Hiratsuka further suggests

that research has tended to present ALTs and their experiences as static and unchanging. He then outlines the innovations of his study: the use of narrative inquiry to capture the dynamics of ALT identities as they evolve over time. In Chapter 3, Hiratsuka delves into identity as it has been applied in recent research on language learners and teachers. Drawing particularly on the identity facets outlined by Benson et al. (2013), he adopts a poststructuralist view of ALT identities as multiple and shifting, where a number of specific personal and professional selves can come into play at a given moment.

Chapter 4 describes the methodology of the study, beginning with the distinguishing features of narrative inquiry: its usefulness in capturing participants' experiences, sensitivity to context, and co-constructed character. Hiratsuka then tells his own story and how as a language learner and teacher he came to be interested in ALTs. This is followed by details of data collection: in-depth interviews with 22 former ALTs, 10 of whom were eventually selected as focal participants for the volume based on factors such as gender, age, nationality, and geographic location while working as an ALT. The chapter concludes with a model of the two main identities that Hiratsuka uses to make sense of his data: foreigner and dabbler.

Chapters 5 through 7 represent the core of the volume, in which *narrative analysis* and *analysis of narratives* (Polkinghorne, 1995) are used in turn to examine the stories of the 10 focal participants. Narrative analysis, which involves taking raw data and distilling their narrative elements, is applied in Chapter 5, where each participant's ALT history is told in the first person as it has been pieced together into a seamless account by Hiratsuka. The chapters that follow employ analysis of narratives to highlight the ways in which foreigner and dabbler identities intertwine in those stories within the ideological context of Japan. Chapter 6 focuses on foreigner identity and its three sub-identities (celebrity, sojourner, English expert), while Chapter 7 looks at dabbler identity and its manifestations (assistant, greenhorn, Japanese novice).

The next two chapters form the discussion section by exploring factors at play in these varied identities. Chapter 8 deals with internal factors such as participants' motives and expectations prior to JET, level of maturity and experience, gender, sexuality, nationality and ethnicity. Hiratsuka observes that while some of these factors are fairly straightforward in their apparent influence, others (such as ethnicity) seem to vary widely in relevance and what they suggest about individual ALTs and Japanese society. External factors are taken up in Chapter 9, including location, school type, the JTEs that the ALTs worked with, and the other ALTs with whom they came into

contact. Here as well the implication is that the influence of any one factor can be quite complex, such as when ALTs' placement preferences are ignored and they are assigned to rural areas, resulting in initial disappointment but also (in some cases) the chance to immerse oneself in local life and culture.

Hiratsuka begins his conclusion (Chapter 10) by summarizing the two identity configurations in light of previous research, often noting that his study broadly supports previous findings while revealing a complex interaction of factors underlying the ways in which participants understood their experiences. He then revisits his identity model of Chapter 4 and adds a more detailed conceptualization that captures its dynamic nature in terms of positions, attitudes, and possibilities. Hiratsuka then makes specific proposals for practice and research, notably the suggestion that the term "assistant language teacher" is a misnomer and that JET participants should be rebranded as language teaching assistants (LTAs), which would better reflect the roles that they play in Japanese schools.

A key strength of this book is its accessibility. Hiratsuka identifies different groups of primary and secondary stakeholders that his research addresses—ALTs and JTEs first and foremost, but also school and government officials, organizations that support ALTs, and teacher trainers—and he makes quite specific recommendations regarding these groups. For example, ALTs should be incentivized towards gaining greater proficiency in Japanese and understanding of Japanese culture prior to arrival in order to reduce the potential for marginalization. Similarly, JTEs should have authority to assign ALTs a greater variety of duties within schools so as to reduce their own workload and free up time for collaboration in lesson planning. Finally, those involved in recruiting and hiring need to strive for greater transparency in what ALTs can expect from the position. In order to support proposals like these, it is essential that the research be presented in a way that is digestible without compromising its theoretical and methodological rigor. Hiratsuka does this through an engaging and earnest style that juxtaposes the stories of individuals with more abstract theories and policies. An instance of this can be found in Chapter 4, where discussion of the features of narrative inquiry is followed by Hiratsuka's own language learning and teaching history, leading up to his interest in ALTs. In short, he works hard throughout the volume, and I would argue largely succeeds, at situating abstract concepts and issues in specific people, places and times.

The book is also accessible in its organization. It is laid out along familiar research-report lines with plenty of signposting to tell readers what Hiratsuka is doing before and after he actually does it. Moreover, Hiratsuka

cycles through the core stories, and many of the peripheral ones, at several different points. For example, the account (in Chapter 5) of a White male participant from South Africa who worked in a rural prefecture with few Caucasians is later referred to as an instance of the foreigner identity and its celebrity sub-identity (Chapter 6), and then pops up again in discussions of factors such as ethnicity and geographical location (Chapters 8 and 9). Similarly, a female participant from Australia describes spending large amounts of time as an ALT, often the whole day, sitting alone at her desk in the staff room with nothing to do, an experience that is revisited in light of the assistant sub-identity of the dabbler (Chapter 7), and how it can lead to professional marginalization. Continual cross-referencing of this sort makes for a fair amount of repetition, which is especially noticeable if one reads from cover to cover, but it also makes the book easy to dip into—and Hiratsuka himself suggests that different readers may want to skip over certain chapters in favor of the parts most relevant to them. More importantly, I would suggest, it emphasizes the dense and interwoven nature of the stories and how they can index different LTIs in varied and surprising ways.

Hiratsuka's study also makes important contributions to research on identity in language learning and teaching, particularly as an example of the contrastive uses of narrative analysis and analysis of narratives. Benson (2013) has suggested that these two types of analysis are not strictly separate and that they can be productively employed at different stages of the research process, from gathering data to analyzing it and then writing it up. In this case, Hiratsuka first presents each interview as a single cohesive story (narrative analysis), instead of the battery of quotes that one might expect, and then he picks those stories apart to scrutinize the themes and categories that they share (analysis of narratives). This can be seen as a "vertical/horizontal" approach, in which each case is examined vertically on its own terms, so that readers have a clear picture of each participant before cases are then analyzed horizontally, according to elements that cut across individual accounts. The suitability of these two steps in this particular order can encourage researchers to think about how different aspects of narrative inquiry might inform stages of their own projects, whether in a vertical-to-horizontal manner or otherwise.

Hiratsuka is also appropriately cognizant of the limitations of his study. He notes primarily that his small group of 10 focal participants, recruited through convenience and snowball sampling (that is, through the researcher's personal contacts and their acquaintances), leaves open the possibility of inherent bias in the data and limits generalizability, which

he suggests may not even be desirable in this case. While this may pose problems for readers looking for quantitative rigor, qualitative researchers are more likely to be concerned with how Hiratsuka handles another set of issues. One of these is the possibility of bias arising from the researcher's personal history of involvement with ALTs, both as a language learner and teacher. Hiratsuka points out that he attempted to mitigate this by aiming for as varied a sample as possible, but he also addresses it throughout the volume by telling and referring back to his own story, which helps make his status clear vis-à-vis the participants. Other issues relate to methods triangulation, or the use of different sources of data to verify conclusions, and member checking, which is the practice of providing participants with research results in order to give them the chance to disagree with findings. Hiratsuka states that neither of these was practically possible in his study, though it is not completely clear why, in the case of member checking, he was unable to run the participants' stories by each of them for confirmation. The obvious upshot of these limitations is that readers must be cautioned against taking these stories as representative of all ALTs, and that further research using more varied methods is needed to confirm and build on Hiratsuka's results.

In short, this volume is a rich resource for teachers, administrators, and researchers. Current and former ALTs will no doubt see echoes of their own experiences in these stories (as I did myself), but the book will also be useful to those hoping to improve the JET Program, whether through broad policy reforms or grass-roots action, as well as researchers interested in narrative inquiry. The ultimate achievement of Hiratsuka's study, I would suggest, lies in the way it manages to problematize the response typically given to ALTs who ask questions or complain about their condition: "Every situation is different." As Hiratsuka points out, this phrase has become so well recognized by ALTs that there is even an acronym for it (ESID). It represents the tendency of JET Program officials to avoid transparency by papering over the varied experiences of ALTs across Japan, thus whitewashing the problems and contradictions of the program as a whole. Hiratsuka pierces through this attitude by offering an important critical perspective on the JET Program, team-teaching, and most importantly, the working lives of ALTs.

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Teaching Academic L2 Writing: Practical Techniques in Vocabulary and Grammar (2nd ed.). Eli Hinkel. Routledge, 2020. vii + 484 pp. ¥8,254. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429437946

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This book is an excellent comprehensive resource for academic writing teachers and researchers. In this research-informed book, Hinkel highlights prominent characteristics of academic writing and offers practical techniques and useful strategies that help writing teachers find solutions to mistakes that their second language (L2) writing students make. The theoretical discussions and practical exercises are drawn on findings from previously published research in the areas of L2 writing, lexico-grammatical studies, and corpus linguistics also makes this compendium a solid research-informed resource for novice and expert researchers. The current review will provide an overview of the book, highlight its strengths, briefly describe how some exercises from the book were implemented in two respective EFL settings, and offer constructive suggestions for the book author and publisher.

The book has three main parts, totaling twelve chapters. **Part I** (*Academic Text and Teaching Second Language Writing*) provides a rationale for the book by highlighting the linguistic and rhetorical challenges L2 writers face in addressing academic writing tasks commonly assigned in English-speaking

colleges and universities. **Part II** (*Sentences and Their Parts: Vocabulary and Grammar*) lists a range of sentence-level grammar stems and offers a stock of academic vocabulary that is commonly used in academic prose. **Part III** (T*ext and Discourse Organization: The Sentence and Beyond*) moves beyond sentence-level grammar and vocabulary patterns by delving farther into larger discourse-level rhetorical features (e.g, coherence, hedging) that appear frequently in academic texts.

Hinkel centers her book on five principles (see page 7 for further details). The essential principles include: (1) learning to write in L2 is fundamentally different from L1; (2) L2 writers cannot attain the same level of academic writing proficiency as their L1 writer counterparts; (3) a writing curriculum designed for L1 writers is not necessarily meant to enhance L2 learners' writing proficiency; (4) one's proficiency in conversational English does not necessarily lead that person to produce advanced academic writing texts; and (5) more focused instruction on academic vocabulary, grammar, and discourse-level conventions are essential for helping L2 writers become proficient, independent writers. To address all five of these principles, Hinkel urges writing teachers to introduce to L2 writers essential elements such as frequent academic vocabulary and sentence stems; raise their awareness of rhetorical features in academic texts; and teach those elements by using persistent, explicit, and systematic approaches.

Utterances in conversational English and paragraphs in academic texts entail strings of words or phrases that entail grammar rules. Because academic writing is highly formulaic and conventionalized, many scholars encourage teachers to establish links between grammar and vocabulary in their instruction (Richards & Reppen, 2014). Hinkel suggests that "grammar instruction has to take place in tandem with instruction on vocabulary and recurrent academic phrases" (p. 58). To achieve this goal, she offers tips and practical techniques for raising L2 writing teachers' awareness about academic vocabulary and sentence stems, as well as highly conventionalized paragraph-level discourse features commonly found in academic prose. Hinkel does not use the words "practical techniques" lightly, as each chapter includes useful techniques and tested strategies for L2 writing teachers to implement in their instruction. To make the recommended hands-on teachable ideas visible to readers, the following headings appear throughout the book. *Action Point* offers a single teachable idea, provides numerous example sentences, and cites one or two key research studies to support the idea (see pages 272-73 for details). While *Trouble Spot* entails a description of one or two typical problems L2 writers encounter in their

writing (see examples on pages 154, 155), *How to Teach It* includes step-by-step instructions for addressing the errors illustrated in the Trouble Spot sections while offering efficient ways to remediate those errors. There also is a section titled *Talking Shop* that offers research pointers and insights intended to communicate some of the essential points to readers (see examples on pages 13 and 30). Additional exercises can be found under the heading of *Chapter Summary*, located toward the end of each chapter. While reviewing the book, we concluded that the term *Chapter Summary* not only succinctly summarizes the major theoretical points in the chapter but also includes extensive exercises to engage L2 students in the writing evaluation and self-editing processes.

Although the suggested exercises are meant to be implemented under the supervision of teachers, Hinkel recommends several *Editing Practice* tasks throughout the book to encourage students to practice writing outside of class. Hinkel believes that "the learning of many L2 academic skills, such as writing, reading, vocabulary and essay editing, is largely a solitary activity" (p. 72). Self-editing tasks help L2 writers become *independent* while solidifying their knowledge of recently learned academic vocabulary, grammar construction, and discourse-level rhetorical features.

Two first authors of the current book review (Ugilkhon and Dilnavoz) implemented the exercises from Hinkel's book in their respective EFL classrooms. The exercises were not randomly assigned. While reviewing the book, the first two authors—who also serve as EAP teachers in Uzbekistan—discovered several level-appropriate exercises that could potentially address recurring pitfalls in their students' writing. The first author, Ugilkhon, noticed that her undergraduate students at Andijan State Institute of Foreign Languages wrote sentences that contained exaggerations and overstatements. Instead of writing *These days, many students occasionally plagiarize their papers by using artificial intelligence tools such as ChaptGPT and QuillBot*, they would oftentimes produce utterances such as *These days, students plagiarize their papers by using artificial intelligence tools.* To introduce the concept of *hedging* and/or *hedges*, "… words, phrases, clauses, and other constructions, that are used to limit or qualify a statement, reduce the degree of certainty, and project politeness" (p. 429), Ugilkhon created a short handout drawing on the information presented in Chapter 12 (see pages 455-456) and had her students practice the use of some of the hedging devices (e.g., quantifiers, modal verbs). By the end of the instruction, most of the students were aware of the functions of hedging in academic prose and could successfully identify when a sentence was being qualified or limited.

Another success story comes from the second author, Dilnavoz, who introduced to undergraduate-level EAP students at Urgench State University (northern region of Uzbekistan) sets of activities that featured contextualized groupings of nouns. She decided to introduce the concept of "catch-all nouns" to her students after realizing that her students tended to overuse one word in their writing, either intentionally or due to a lack of alternative word options. For example, her L2 writers would repeatedly use the word *people* rather than substituting it with other lexical choices, such as *adults, employees, individuals, population, the public, residents, community, group members, workers* (see page 128 for more information). In chapter 5, Hinkel suggests that L2 writers must be taught about contextualized groupings of nouns. Using the information presented on pages 128 through 134, Dilnavoz had her students complete some tasks in a classroom. Although her students were able to produce lexical substitutes for the words *higher education* and *status*, they faced challenges in offering alternative words instead of *reason*. Dilnavoz's post-exercise reflection resonates well with what Hinkel repeatedly highlighted in the initial chapters of the book, that is, that L2 writers lack a large repertoire of academic vocabulary. Thus, they tend to employ words immediately accessible to them instead of exploring a range of possible vocabulary options.

While the book contains a sufficient number of classroom-friendly exercises, it should be pointed out that not all the exercises contain answer keys. Since the exercises are meant for busy L2 writing teachers, answer keys are always appreciated. The author may want to host the book's supplementary materials (e.g., additional exercises, answer key) on the publisher's companion website, similar to other oft-cited book titles such as *How Languages are Learned* (Lightbown & Spada, 2021) and *Academic Writing for Graduate Students* (Swales & Feak, 2012). The formatting of the book also could be improved. To illustrate grammar and lexical (mis) use in writing, suggest practical tips, and present major research-based insights, the author utilizes a series of illustrations in the following format: italicizing sentence phrases in example sentences, placing two-to-three word combinations in boldface type, underlining key words, presenting information extended to multiple paragraphs inside white- and grey-shaded boxes, and including one-to-two-sentence information in small boxes. The illustrations are neither numbered nor systematically bulleted; hence, re-formatting the illustrations by either numbering the boxes or using color charts should improve the accessibility and navigation of such critical information that is presented by the author. This is something publishers should consider in the 3rd volume of the book.

Despite the minor formatting issues listed above, the second edition of Hinkel's *Teaching Academic L2 Writing: Practical Techniques in Vocabulary and Grammar* is an excellent resource to help advanced L2 writers become fluent and proficient in using academic vocabulary and grammar structures that are prevalent in academic writing. Using this book also should make them aware of discourse-level rhetorical conventions typically found in formal academic texts. Usage examples and lists of frequent grammar/ sentence stems, academic words/phrases, and pre-patterned lexical chunks that should be prioritized in L2 writing instruction can be found within each chapter and in the appendices at the end of each chapter.

To summarize, this comprehensive resource book is intended for EAP teachers who aim to bolster the academic vocabulary and grammar components of their writing curriculum by employing research-informed teaching techniques. Throughout the book, Hinkel offers several writing goals and principles that should be prioritized in designing an L2 writing course curriculum. In addition, advanced L2 writers who pursue their graduate studies in TESOL or language education-related programs at English-medium universities can use the book as a go-to resource to enhance the quality of their academic writing.

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JALT Journal Aims and Scope

JALT Journal is a bi-annual, Scopus-approved research journal of the Japan Association for Language Teaching (全国語学教育学会). JALT's larger mission is to support the research programs and professional development of JALT members, promote excellence in language learning, teaching, and research, and provide opportunities for those involved in language education. In line with this mission, *JALT Journal* publishes high-quality English- and Japanese-language, quantitative and qualitative, theoretically-informed and empirically-grounded studies of relevance to second/foreign language education in Japan. Although emphasis is placed on the Japanese context, *JALT Journal* values contributions which also transcend geographical boundaries to illuminate the complex interaction between language, language use, people, education, and society across cultural and socio-political contexts.

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Guidelines

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Authors are encouraged to submit manuscripts in five categories: (1) full-length articles, (2) short research reports or papers addressing specific theoretical and/or methodological issues in applied linguistics research (*Research Forums*), (3) theory-grounded essays which may include analysis of primary or secondary data (*Perspectives*), (4) comments on previously published *JALT Journal* articles (*Point-to-Point*), and (5) book/media reviews (*Reviews*) either requested by the Book Reviews editor or suggested by the author. Articles should be written for a general audience of language educators; therefore, statistical techniques and specialized terminologies must be clearly explained and their use clearly justified.

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日本語論文投稿要領

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