Engaging with the Multilingual Turn for Learner Development: Practices, Issues, Discourses, and Theorisations

Table of Contents

Introduction

Engaging with the Multilingual Turn for Learner Development: Practices, Issues, Discourses, and Theorisations . . . 3

Andy Barfield, Oana Cusen, Yuri Imamura, & Riitta Kelly

Narrative Accounts

Multilingualism in the Foreign Language Classroom: The Curious Case of French in Mumbai 9

Vasumathi Badrinathan

Reconciling with English: An Autobiography to Ruminate Over the Different Meanings That English Has for Us . . . 25

Akiko Nakayama

Evolving Journeys of Multilingual Teachers of English in Japan . . . 40

Oana Cusen

Reflections on Co-Teaching Multilingual University-Level Language and Communication Courses . . . 57

Riitta Kelly and Jussi Jussila

Exploring Understandings of Multilingualism in a Social Learning Space: A Duoethnographic Account . . . 74

Isra Wongsarnpigoon and Yuri Imamura

Narrative Inquiry: Learning to Walk on Shifting Sands . . . 92

Lorraine de Beaufort

Re-interpreting University Students' Multilingual Lives: Connections, Questions, and Wider Issues in Society . . . 104

Andy Barfield

Practice-Related Reviews

Book Review and Critical Dialogue about *The Making of Monolingual Japan: Language Ideology and Japanese Modernity* (Heinrich, 2012) 125

Ellen Head and Chie Tsurii

Imagining Fair Language Policies: A Practice-related Review of Piller's (2016) *Linguistic Diversity and Social Justice* 136

Huw Davies

Visually Tapping into the Lives of Learners: Review of Kalaja & Melo-Pfeifer's (2019) *Visualising Multilingual Lives: More Than Words* 147

Melike Bulut Albaba

A Learner's Review of Horner & Weber's (2018) *Introducing Multilingualism: A Social Approach* 153

Brennan Conaway

Exploratory and Critical Reading About the Multilingual Turn with Japanese Students: Review of Conteh & Meier (2014) and May (2014). 159

Alison Stewart

A Practitioners' Collaborative Review of *Researching Multilingualism: Critical and Ethnographic Perspectives* (Martin-Jones & Martin, 2017) 170

Andy Barfield, Oana Cusen, Yuri Imamura, and Riitta Kelly

Commentary

Openness, Creativity, Collaboration and Narrativity Paving Our Road Towards Critical Multilingual Practices in the Classroom. 181

Maria Ruohotie-Lyhty

INTRODUCTION

Introduction to Engaging with the Multilingual Turn for Learner Development: Practices, Issues, Discourses, and Theorisations

Andy Barfield, Oana Cusen, Yuri Imamura, & Riitta Kelly

Three years ago the four of us serendipitously met at the JALT2018 conference in Shizuoka, Japan, and shared with each other our interests in learners' multilingualism and learner development. Enthusiastic about researching and understanding such issues further, we agreed that it would be exciting to explore the multilingual turn for learner development with a wider group of teachers. This was the genesis for the proposal that we made to the Learner Development Journal Steering Group in May 2019 for Issue 5 of the Learner Development Journal (LDJ5). Proposal discussed and accepted, we next drafted and publicised a Call for Inclusive Practitioner Research and Reviews. We were extremely fortunate to hear back from teacher-researchers of various languages (English, French, and Japanese) working in Finland, Hong Kong, India, Japan, and Turkey/UK. From mid-February 2020 members of this new community started communicating with each other, and, over the next 18 months, the work for LDJ5 took shape. In this introduction we recall the original Call for Inclusive Practitioner Research and Reviews, as well as highlight the particular genres of writing that LDJ5 features. After introducing certain practices that contributors followed over those 18 months, we conclude with a short overview of the papers in LDJ5.

In drafting the Call for Inclusive Practitioner Research and Reviews, our intention was to encourage writers and reviewers to explore the multilingual turn from various points of view related to learner development, inviting them to look at practices, issues, discourses, and theorisations in the field. For this particular issue of the LDJ, we emphasized the narrative point of view, as well as our intention to create a space for voices from different contexts. Conventional academic writing can often be a distancing experience for writers, reviewers, and readers; we wanted to break away from that kind of traditional writing style and, instead, create a community where everyone's personal voice could be heard, just as if we were talking to each other as teachers. Thus, we hoped to encourage the contributors to turn their research into stories and shape them into narrative accounts. By creating an interactive community where the writing could be advanced with the help of discussions, we aimed to nurture an environment where writers could work together, share their evolving understandings, and discuss the development of their research and writing, and, by doing so, benefit from each other's points of views. Our reviewers were also an important part of this process.

Whilst offering the contributors the support of the community, we also wanted to give them freedom to explore a wide variety of areas and viewpoints to do with the multilingual turn in learner development. These included themes and issues dealing with the importance of multilingualism in languages education, the influence of multilingual approaches in moving beyond current norms and notions, learners' use of multilingual resources in becoming more autonomous, challenges and puzzles encountered in engaging with multilingual practices, and insights gained while raising children multilingually. Writers were encouraged to move between theory and practice as they worked on producing "narrative accounts" of their

own teaching and research, and "practice-related reviews" on a choice of books addressing multilingual issues in education and society.

What do we mean by narrative accounts and practice-related reviews? In the narrative accounts, each contributor focuses on issues that arise from their life regarding the multilingual turn and take on a position (or positions) from which they choose to write their accounts. As editors, we tried to help contributors explore their own style of narration. For example, one of the contributors uses her response community members as a means of reconstructing her learner's narrative. By doing so, each narrative account becomes a unique piece with new insights into the multilingual turn. For practice-related reviews, authors connect their reading to themselves based on a particular position (or positions) that they have adopted. They also relate their reviews to their own localised learner development practices, as well as to concerns that emerged from their reading. So, these practice-related reviews are not conventional book reviews, but rather individual stories of practice and reflection. For both narrative accounts and practice-related reviews, all contributors assume an exploratory stance in their writing, which allows them to experiment with new forms of generating, analysing, and composing their texts.

In the development process for LDJ5, an important early step was the formation of "response communities" in February 2020. Every contributor was assigned to at least one group to discuss their research and writing in progress. The response communities were organised by genre (3 narrative account groups, 2 practice-related review groups). As might be expected, not everybody started at the same point in the research-writing cycle. Some had already completed their research and wished to write up their inquiries in new, more experimental ways; others were in the middle of doing, or yet to carry out, their research. Everybody, though, had made a proposal for their LDJ5 project, which became the starting point. From then on, the response community groups acted as a home base, so to speak, for contributors where they might have "sustained conversations" (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 165) about the development of their research and writing—a safe place in which to video-conference and discuss their incomplete work, share doubts, and talk over different directions they might take. Importantly, all four editors took part as writers in the response communities. Each of us wrote a narrative account, as well as worked together on a co-written practice-related review. We participated alongside contributors and observed the interaction in each response community from the inside. Inevitably, we could not shed our position as editors completely, but, for the first 12 months of the project, we held off on providing any editorial feedback on writers' drafts.

During this period, contributors went through "insider" development within the response communities, as well as "outsider" review with members of the Learner Development Journal Review Network. The latter took place from October to December 2020, and contributors had a choice between "blind peer review" and "open peer review." With blind peer review, writers and reviewers did not know each other's identities. This feedback was mediated by the editors, with reviewer comments anonymised. For open peer review, writers and reviewers could dialogue directly with each other. In February and March 2021, writers completed "first full drafts" and received further feedback. This came from one member of the Journal Steering Group, and two LDJ5 editors. To personalise the process, the editors also recorded a short video discussion about each draft so that writers could get a closer sense of how we saw their writing at that stage. "Second complete drafts" followed in May and June, with writers finishing "complete final drafts" between July and September, from when editing for publication took place through to December 2021. The whole process was incremental and involved different stakeholders taking part at different stages as each piece of writing grew towards completion.

What follows now is a brief introduction to each contribution to LDJ5, including a closing commentary by Maria Ruohotie-Lyhty.

Narrative Accounts

Multilingualism in the Foreign Language Classroom: The Curious Case of French in Mumbai .... *Vasumathi Badrinathan*

Vasumathi's narrative account discusses her awakening to the multilingual turn in language education, accompanied by the multilingual usage perceptions of six teachers of French in Mumbai. She juxtaposes the rich multilingual make-up of Indian society with strongly held teacher beliefs about monolingual target language use in the classroom and about students' existing linguistic resources hindering their acquisition of new languages. Vasumathi concludes with a call for the recognition of all these multilingual resources, and for the implementation of multilingual teaching strategies.

Reconciling with English: An Autobiography to Ruminate Over The Different Meanings That English Has for Us .... *Akiko Nakayama*

Akiko uses her narrative account to embark on a journey of self-discovery by working through her own fraught relationship with English, aided by the discussions she had with Jina, a Korean student struggling to navigate the use of Japanese and English. Akiko's narrative intertwines two threads, Jina's and her own, around attitudes to language learning and use, and the independence they have gained. She also includes experiences involving her mother and grandmother, and thus provides an innovative look at the gendered aspect of language learning.

Evolving Journeys of Multilingual Teachers of English in Japan .... *Oana Cusen*

In her narrative account, Oana documents a personal journey of reconciling her status as a non-native English speaking teacher (NNEST) with the multilingual practices in her personal life. Through conversations with other foreign NNESTs in Japan, Oana reflects on the contributions that such teachers can make to their learners' multilingual development, as well as ways for foreign NNESTs in Japan to bring multilingualism and multiculturalism to the language classroom.

Reflections on Co-Teaching Multilingual University-Level Language and Communication Courses .... *Riitta Kelly and Jussi Jussila*

Writing dialogically in their narrative account, Riitta and Jussi introduce a language and communication course taught multilingually (in Finnish, Swedish, and English) by teams of teachers with different specializations at a university in Finland. They engage in a reflective dialogue about their experiences as teachers involved in the planning and implementation of this course, and look at how these experiences have changed them as language teaching professionals.

Exploring Understandings of Multilingualism in a Social Learning Space: A Duoethnographic Account .... *Isra Wongsarnpigoon and Yuri Imamura*

Isra and Yuri take a duoethnographic approach in their narrative account to discuss the creation of a multilingual environment in the self-access center at a university in Japan. They

juxtapose their perceptions and experiences as advisors in the center with students' interview data on the topic. They also show how their understanding of ways to foster a multilingual culture in the center has evolved through their duoethnographic exploration.

Narrative Inquiry: Learning to Walk on Shifting Sands .... *Lorraine de Beaufort*

Lorraine uses her narrative account in LDJ5 to revisit a narrative inquiry she had previously conducted with a student of French in Hong Kong for her doctoral research. Lorraine focuses on how the narrative text is co-constructed by researchers and participants; she also reconstructs previous narratives with the help of her LDJ5 response community. Through this process, Lorraine discovers new insights into the value of narrative and its importance for learner development.

Re-interpreting University Students' Multilingual Lives: Connections, Questions, and Wider Issues in Society .... *Andy Barfield*

In his narrative account, Andy addresses issues on two sides of the same coin, namely linguistic privilege, and linguistic discrimination and oppression. He reflects on his own languaged life, as well as that of a colleague with whom he teaches a general education course on multilingual issues. Andy's narrative account then focuses on the reconstruction of the language portraits of four multilingual students, and explores potential connections to wider issues in society.

Practice-Related Reviews

Book Review and Critical Dialogue about *The Making of Monolingual Japan: Language Ideology and Japanese Modernity* (Heinrich, 2012) .... *Ellen Head and Chie Tsurii*

Ellen and Chie employ a dialogic approach to discuss questions of native speakerism, and how those are connected with the prevalence of monolingual ideologies in Japan since the time of the Meiji Restoration. They also relate issues arising from Heinrich's analysis and their discussion to their own approaches to English teaching in Japan.

Imagining Fair Language Policies: A Practice-Related Review of Piller's *Linguistic Diversity and Social Justice* .... *Huw Davies*

Huw bases his review of Piller's work on the theme of fair language policies in the Japanese education system. He argues that in order to truly move beyond the notion of Japan as a monolingual nation, it is necessary to consider the needs of linguistic minorities in education policies and practices. Only in this way can effective multilingual practices be developed within the Japanese context.

Tapping into the Lives of Learners: Review of Kalaja & Melo-Pfeifer's (2019) *Visualising Multilingual Lives: More Than Words* .... *Melike Bulut Al Baba*

Melike reviews *Visualising Multilingual Lives: More Than Words* from a number of different perspectives that inform her life: language teacher and teacher educator, as well as multilingual language user and parent. She reflects on how visual narratives like the ones described by Kalaja and Melo-Pfeifer can be applied as research methods in various multilingual contexts.

A Learner's Review of Horner & Weber's (2018) *Introducing Multilingualism: A Social Approach* …. *Brennan Conaway*

Brennan brings his recent experiences as a Master's TESOL student to bear on his review of *Introducing Multilingualism: A Social Approach.* He covers issues related to the global spread of English, societal multilingualism, and multilingualism in new media, among others. Brennan also maps significant personal shifts in his understanding of these issues and other language ideologies.

Exploratory and Critical Reading About the Multilingual Turn with Japanese Students: Review of Conteh & Meier (2014) and May (2014) …. *Alison Stewart*

Alison adopts a unique approach to her practice-related review, not only by reviewing two books in tandem, but also by including a detailed analysis of the insights she gained by reading these books with her students at a university in Tokyo. While highlighting the importance of introducing new ideas about multilingual theories and practices, Alison also explores certain doubts about pushing the students to change their views of language education based on these new ideas.

A Practitioners' Collaborative Review of *Researching Multilingualism: Critical and Ethnographic Perspectives* (Martin-Jones & Martin, 2017) …. *Andy Barfield, Oana Cusen, Riitta Kelly, and Yuri Imamura*

In this collaborative review of *Researching Multilingualism: Critical and Ethnographic Perspectives*, Andy, Oana, Riitta, and Yuri each focus on a particular chapter in the book that speaks to them either personally or professionally (or both). Working with what is in essence a book written for researchers of multilingualism, they draw out connections to their own experiences and interests as practitioner-researchers, as well as relate these to the multilingual turn for learner development.

Commentary

Openness, Creativity, Collaboration, and Narrativity Paving Our Road Towards Critical Multilingual Practices in the Classroom …. *Maria Ruohotie-Lyhty*

Maria read through all contributions to LDJ5 with a keen critical eye, and in her commentary draws out particular themes she sees emerging across the narrative accounts and practice-related reviews. She points out that critical multilingual practices are collaborative, based on openness, and on careful ethical consideration and creativity. On this basis, Maria observes that "narratives, narrative research, and the process of narration" are central resources in the development of critical multilingual practices.

As editors and practitioner-researchers, we are delighted to share this work with you. Throughout the LDJ5 project, we have been deeply committed to supporting writers in exploring and experimenting as they created their own innovative texts outside the mould of conventional academic writing. In some ways, we sought to foster among contributors a sense of creative, collaborative, and critical autonomy for writing about the multilingual turn for learner development. We invite you, as the reader, to join this journey and take these multilingual explorations further.

—Andy Barfield, Oana Cusen, Yuri Imamura, & Riitta Kelly

Jyväskylä, Finland, Kobe & Tokyo, Japan

December 2021

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- Elizabeth Bekes, freelance teacher trainer, Cuenca, Ecuador
- Paul Collett, Shimonoseki City University, Japan
- Melodie Cook, University of Niigata Prefecture, Japan
- Simla Course, Akdeniz University, Turkey
- Donna Fujimoto, Osaka Jogakuin College, Japan
- Chika Hayashi, Seikei University, Japan
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NARRATIVE ACCOUNT

Multilingualism in the Foreign Language Classroom: The Curious Case of French in Mumbai

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This narrative account attempts to understand how multilingualism is handled within a foreign language classroom (French) in the linguistically heterogeneous city of Mumbai. Multilingualism in the area of foreign language learning in India remains typically unnoticed. Using the narrative inquiry approach, this study explores the lived experience of six teachers of French. While the narratives offer a first-hand introspective view of the teachers' own relationship with languages and their linguistic identities, they also reveal the minimal space for multilingual approach within the classroom. Teacher beliefs, language learning processes and sociocultural factors impact the teachers' understanding and use of languages inside the classroom. While some teachers are not hostile to inducting a multilingual approach in their pedagogy, they do so with reluctance and hesitation. This also points to the urgent need for strengthening awareness of multilingual strategies and calls for an acknowledgement of the linguistic richness in the foreign language classroom of Mumbai.

このナラティブ・アカウントは，言語的に異質な都市であるムンバイの外国語教室（フランス語）で，多言語主義がどのように扱われているかを理解しようとするものである。インドでは，外国語学習の分野における多言語は，ほとんど注目されていない。本研究では，ナラティブ・インクワイアリー手法を用いて，6人のフランス語教師の生きた　　を探る。このナラティブは，教師自身の言語との関係や言語的アイデンティティを　省的に示す一方で，教室　での多言語アプローチのための限られたスペースを明らかにしている。教師のビリーフ，言語学習プロセス，社会文化的要因が，教室　での言語の理解と使用に影響を与えている。教師の中には，自分の教授法に多言語アプローチを導入することに反感を抱かない一方，消極的で躊躇してしまう者もいる。このことは，多言語　略の認識を強化することが早急に必要であることを指摘しており，ムンバイの外国語教室における言語の豊かさを認知することが求められている。

Cet article porte sur la place du plurilinguisme au sein de l'enseignement-apprentissage du français langue étrangère à Mumbai, ville hétérogène et multilingue. Le plurilinguisme par rapport aux langues étrangères reste un domaine peu étudié dans le contexte indien. En s'appuyant sur l'enquête narrative, cet article retrace le vécu de six enseignants de français langue étrangère à Mumbai. D'un côté, les enquêtes narratives permettent de comprendre le rapport que les enseignants partagent avec les langues et leur identité linguistique. De l'autre, elles révèlent également la place négligée de l'approche plurilingue en classe de langue. Ce qui ouvre la discussion vers un nécessaire renforcement des stratégies plurilingues et une reconnaissance de la richesse linguistique en classe au service des langues étrangères, ici plus spécifiquement dans le contexte de Mumbai.

Keywords

multilingualism, narrative inquiry, multilingual teaching strategies, French as a foreign language, Mumbai

多言語主義，ナラティブ・インクワイアリー，多言語教育ストラテジー，外国語としてのフランス語，ムンバイ

plurilinguisme, enquête narrative, stratégies d'enseignement multilingues, français langue étrangère, Mumbai

In this narrative account, I study the narratives of six French language teachers in Mumbai city. Thereby I hope to gain an insight into the understanding of the concept of multilingualism by these teachers, as well as their classroom pedagogy involving French and the other languages. At the outset I would like to briefly retrace my own personal experiences with languages, with learning French, and with multilingualism. Subsequently, I shall provide three vignettes relating to language in the educational space in order to contextualize this study. Further I shall proceed to the teacher narratives and their analysis.

I myself speak with fluency more than three Indian languages, in addition to English and French. At home in Mumbai, I grew up speaking Tamil. English was always a part of my reading, writing world, and my education, so in other words it was a "second first language" if I could use that term. I speak, read, and write Hindi and Marathi with ease, the latter being the regional language of the state of Maharashtra where Mumbai is situated. I also speak a smattering of imperfect Gujarati (language of the neighbouring state Gujarat, commonly heard in Mumbai) and Malayalam (language of the Southern state of Kerala to which I was exposed in my early years). I later studied Spanish and Russian at some point of my life. I began learning French in school, was fascinated by the language, and continued further to acquire my degrees of specialization in this language. As I did not learn my first language Tamil at school, I learnt to read and write the language with external coaching. Besides teaching, I seriously engage with Indian classical music and on this front, I am constantly handling a wide lyrical repertoire in several Indian languages. This is the multilingual self that I am as an individual and as a language teacher.

Having provided this brief autobiography that contributes to my own understanding of multilingualism, I shall now proceed to present the three vignettes I spoke about at the beginning, as a means to contextualize this study. The first is the reminiscence of a teacher who taught me language in school, the second speaks of an Indian film and its relevance to languages and the third of my own personal journey as a teacher towards a broader and empowering perspective of multilingualism.

While at school, I learnt Marathi the local language which was compulsory until a certain level before exercising an option to choose French. My Marathi teacher enjoyed the language she taught, spoke often to us in Marathi and explained poetry in simple Marathi that I still remember and cherish. Marathi being close to Hindi in script and vocabulary, a language which is widely spoken in India, it was not difficult for most students in the class to understand and draw from their linguistic resources. The teacher would use English and some Hindi as an intermediary to explain. Somewhere in my mind, these classes had a profound experience on me. Decades later as I look back on the Marathi classes, I understand why they impacted me. Marathi is a regional language, spoken by many in the city of Mumbai, often heard on the streets, and a common language of a large majority of the domestic workers or house maids that many families employ. Teaching Marathi through Marathi with a touch of English and Hindi was the right blend to teach a regional language. It was not an all-English class nor was it an all-Marathi class. The hegemony of English was shattered and a space, though small, yet powerful, was created for regional Marathi in a non-invasive way. Although the teaching style was traditional, which was not surprising given that this was the late 70s, the teacher was avant-garde in the sense as she made all comfortable with her explanations, balanced the known languages (English, Hindi) with the target language (Marathi), encouraged the students to think of equivalents in Hindi and make connections with known cultural symbols. She used her own multilingual background (Marathi, Hindi, English) to construct supporting knowledge for her multilingual students through their languages. Although I cannot meet this teacher today unfortunately to understand her thought processes, I would certainly conclude that her positive beliefs about the language she taught underpinned her teaching methodology. She knew how to harness the languages that the class had, she gently dismantled the binary approach of English and the other language as well as a purely monolingual approach to teaching and learning Marathi. This example remains with me as an abiding model of expanding boundaries of language teaching and creating a space for multilingualism within the class.

The second vignette that I wish to present is from an award-winning Indian film, Newton (Masurkar, 2017). The film is set in rural India, against the backdrop of the Indian national

elections. A team of election officers attempts to set up a polling booth in a violent and disturbed rural belt, home to forest tribal people. One of the polling officers is a local girl, who otherwise by profession is a school teacher in the same belt. At one point, she describes her daily work and expresses how difficult it is for her school children to understand the text books, as they are in Hindi, whereas the children speak and are familiar with Gondi, the local, home language. Gondi is the language spoken by the aboriginal peoples or the Gonds from the central and south-central regions of India. So, as a teacher familiar with this language which is also her own, she explains the content to the school students in Gondi. This anecdote from the film reveals two distinctive elements—negligence or disdain towards the local language and an institutionalized instructional strategy that is unidimensional. The other element, the more positive one, and very relevant to this study, is the effort by the teacher to bring in the familiar language, making learning meaningful for her audience through linguistic familiarity. Multilingualism is thus present not just in the classroom, in the city, and in my own life experience, but is also part of public discourse and modern media offering different perspectives as the film sequence shows.

I now move on to discussing my own experience as a teacher of French. When I began teaching French as a foreign language in Mumbai more than three decades ago, as a young novice teacher, I was altogether enchanted with the idea of the foreign tongue—the mystery, the exoticism it offered, and above all, in the depth of my mind, the unpronounced, implicit norm of the native teacher. This meant, teach in French, speak in French and try to emulate the native speaker model.

Trying to reach up to this model amongst other things, meant speaking the right way, with the "correct" accent and imitating the famous melodious French rhythm. Equipped with meagre experience and eager to learn and experiment, as a young teacher, the only path I could fall upon was my own experience with learning French. And this was through the medium of English. Thus, English became the via media for negotiating what could not be transferred effectively through French. This was the norm that became the mirror for my early teaching practices. In juxtaposition with my Indian experience of learning French through English, I would place a French-only pedagogy, which was prevalent in the courses taught by French native teachers, and which I took at the Alliance Française, a French-run institute for learning French. As I grew and matured as a teacher, the difference between the two approaches struck me. On the one hand, there was the Indian model that used English in order to teach French (not forgetting the fact that French, or any foreign language education is offered only in institutions of English-medium instruction). On the other, there was the imported model of teaching French through French. Let us admit that the latter was certainly more effective in acquiring spoken skills and pronunciation, but far less practical in the mainstream educational context of India. Grappling between the two models, and my incapability to surmount this dilemma, I took the middle path. I taught for around five years in a bilingual model, French through French when possible but more often than not, French through English. Only two languages existed in my class—French and English.

The "multilingual turn" for me took place some years later through unexpected quarters—firstly my own class and secondly, a colleague's class. Back then, I confronted problems of pronunciation with French for the learners. Those gifted for phonetics grabbed the nuances of French without difficulty. The challenge was for the rest, who struggled with sounds that were foreign to them and mispronounced them by grafting Indian phonetic sounds on them, which is a common phenomenon. While I tried to find efficient ways of dealing with this pedagogically, I stumbled upon a student who was faithfully transcribing the pronunciation in his notebook into Tamil, his home language, for better understanding. Finding this to be a brilliant idea, from that moment onwards I began integrating Indian languages that

learners were familiar with, to transcribe baffling French pronunciations. This came with fairly satisfactory results. The second occurrence was, when walking past a class, I noticed and heard a colleague putting up the pronunciation of a French sentence in Hindi on the board. This was met with large-scale criticism. The stigma of using one language to teach another reinforcing the "holier than thou" monolingual norm awoke in me the awareness of the hegemony of the "one language" model in language classes together with the implicit ostracizing of the other languages present in situ, thereby making the learner feel inadequate for possessing those languages, even if indirectly.

The above three scenarios that I have presented bring out the scene of teaching in India—often a tug-of-war between target language and the other languages in question or between language and the subject matter, as in the film (Masurkar, 2017). There is an inherent paradox here that I would like to highlight. Indians are rarely monolingual. They know and use at least two languages right from birth if not more. Hence, learning a foreign language alongside should not be problematic. But the underlying current of high and low languages along with the inherent sociolinguistic hierarchy based on negative discrimination around such individual and societal heteroglossia comes into play. Those having non-English education are referred to as "the vernaculars" ot the "vernacs," or coming from the "vernacular medium" which has taken on a derogatory sense probably since colonial times in India when the British started categorising major Indian languages as vernacular (see Mishra, 2020). This widely-used terminology is discriminatory and pushes local and regional languages to the margins. The other issue to contend with is a pedagogical one. Learning French becomes easier if one has prior knowledge of English, given that both languages share some commonalities. In this process, those not comfortable with English are left behind in the race. They either do not opt to learn a foreign language, and even if they do, they find themselves at a disadvantage as compared to the English language speakers who advance faster. This approach also raises issues of inclusivity through the language framework.

This initial lead-in helps foreground the teacher narratives that follow in the second half of this narrative account. I shall now present my research design before moving on to a brief exposition of the sociolinguistic fabric of Mumbai city, of the notion of multilingualism itself, and finally to the teacher narratives themselves.

The Research Design—Looking Closely at Narrative Enquiry

It has been my concern to address the role of languages other than the target language, in this case, teaching French in Mumbai. This is inextricably linked to the teacher as a person, his or her beliefs, their journey with languages, perceptions relating to language, and the relationship between being, negotiating between languages, and teaching one of them. How do they perceive languages? As porous, non-water-tight, breathing freely, and developing in a healthy language ecology, or as individually separate entities that do not engage with each other?

I rely upon the narratives of six teachers teaching French in the city of Mumbai to understand their perspectives about the language they teach, the languages they and their students know, and the convergent space which is the classroom. These teachers (all of them women purely by coincidence) whose age range is between 34–60, speak about their lived experiences, their relationship with languages, and French language teaching. Some of these teachers were born and raised in Mumbai, and some came into the city later. All of them know and use several languages in their daily lives. They have grown up with some languages, adopted some others along the way, and share a varied relationship with these languages. The teachers work in diverse settings—school, college, university—and their professional experience ranges from 10 to 36 years.

I prefer the word discussion rather than interview as it sets the stage for narration; interviews implicitly set a hierarchy and thereby a barrier. What are the languages the teachers know and use? Do they use these languages in the French class? How did they learn French? What determines their instructional practice? Can they draw upon the languages of the learners and their own to teach French? Through these and other questions, I intend to explore the language biographies of these teachers, their linguistic repertoires, and the interrelationship between languages, teaching, knowledge creation through the multilingual frame, and the multilingual identity. The main frames of discussion include the biographical dimension of the teachers dealing with multiple languages, their own language learning trajectory, and finally their role and experience with multilingualism within the French language classroom.

In discussing in depth with these teachers, I hoped to establish a free-flowing chain of thought where they would speak without inhibitions and without succumbing to the pressure of giving the "right or correct answers." What I am interested in here is the possibility of looking closely at teacher narratives and how this impacts their classroom approaches towards language teaching. In doing so, I wish to establish a "dialogic relation" between the interviewer and the interviewee so that the free flow of thoughts and ideas is generated without obstacles and the participants speak willingly and freely of their journeys. I have known some of these participants for several years, and this personal relationship made it easy for them to speak without inhibitions. All the semi-structured discussions took place over the telephone due to the pandemic crisis.

In undertaking a narrative enquiry methodology, I wish first to understand the "languaged lives" (Ellis, 2016) of French language teachers. As I said earlier, most Indians use two or more languages in their daily lives. Therefore French language teachers also navigate between multiple languages—home languages (for not always is just one spoken at home), languages at work, languages at the marketplace and so on. The workplace may restrict them to one language at an official level, usually English. However, the other languages they deal with and the relationship with all of these contributes to a language teacher identity that I hope to comprehend through the narratives. Before I proceed, I would like to dwell briefly on the notion of multilingualism and the sociolinguistic fabric of Mumbai, which frames my study.

The Sociolinguistic Context of Mumbai City

In order to understand this study it is imperative to throw light, albeit briefly, on the sociolinguistic fabric of India and the city of Mumbai. The Indian constitution recognises 22 scheduled languages (officially recognised in the 8th schedule of the Indian constitution). Besides the scheduled languages, as many as 99 non-scheduled languages with several dialects under each of these languages are also mentioned in the constitution. Indian sociolinguist Pandit (1972) provides the classic and much quoted example of the Indian multilingual mosaic.

> A Gujarati spice merchant in Bombay uses Kathiawadi (a dialect of Gujarati), with his family, Marathi (the local language) in the vegetable market, Kachi and Konkani in trading circles, Hindi or Hindustani with the milkman and at the train station, and even English on formal occasions. Such a person may not be highly educated or well versed in linguistic rules but knows enough to be able to use the language(s) for his purposes. (p. 79)

This exemplary situation of a linguistically heterogeneous Mumbai (as Bombay is known today), holds true even today. It is further complicated by frequent code switching and

varieties of Hinglish (mix of Hindi and English in colloquial usage) in formal and informal discourse that have found a place in the current linguistic reality of the city.

English has a strong presence in India and its educational system, alongside Hindi, both of which are recognised as official languages, not to mention the regional official languages of the different states in India. English dominates as the language of higher education, although it still remains a language of urban and metropolitan areas. The hegemony of English in the hierarchy of languages is undisputed, often creating a secondary position for regional languages that I have mentioned before.

Urban multilingualism has been described as "a crisscrossing network of many different languages co-existing in the same space" (Siemund et al., 2013, p. 4), and this resonates with Mumbai, one of the most culturally and linguistically diverse cities of the world. Vertovec (2007) refers to a "super-diversity" (in an European context of migration), which has been readily adapted into a "linguistic superdiversity" (Duarte & Gogolin, 2013). In a context such as Mumbai, the dynamic and complex interplay of languages can lend itself to the concept of a superdiversity of languages. As the city grew into a financial stronghold and cinema capital of the country, the diversity of its populace was enriched. This brought in a plethora of languages and cultures especially palpable in Mumbai's ethnolinguistic enclaves, which are interesting spaces in themselves (Chik et al., 2018). Today this diversity has grown multifold, adding to its complexity of cultures and languages. As King and Carson (2016) argue, the city space is a "test bed" for an exploration and understanding of society and its cultures. In this context, the city of Mumbai is my space for exploring the multilingualism of its French language teachers.

How Do We Understand Multilingualism Today?

In this section, I will briefly discuss my understanding of multilingualism throughout this narrative account, which is central to its interpretation. The above example given by Pandit (preceding section) in the 1970s already points towards a broad understanding of individual multilingualism (the European discourse prefers the distinction multilingualism to mean a societal phenomenon and plurilingualism, referring to an individual's linguistic repertoire). Pandit's trader is a multilingual individual, possessing many languages at his disposal that he comfortably uses as per convenience to communicate (Pandit, 1972).

Conventional understanding today of the term multilingualism has changed in recent years with the upsurge of a large body of research in this field (Makoni & Pennycook, 2012; Wei, 2018 amongst others). Multilingualism can no longer be understood in the restricted sense of two monolingualisms meeting in a commonplace, but language itself is reconceptualised as a "multilingual, multimodal and multisensory meaning-making resource" (Otheguy et al., 2019, p. 27). In the context of language-rich Mumbai as in the larger context of India, it would be diminishing to consider multilingualism in any other form. Languages commonly meet in daily social and professional lives. Hybrid sentences such as the following are very common in Mumbai in daily communication, as well as in public spaces on signs, for example: "*Pets ikde allowed nahi*" (Marathi-English: Pets are not allowed here), "*chatpata taste*" (Hindi-English: referring to a taste that only an Indian would know precisely—tangy and hot at the same time). These examples present language as a complex yet spontaneous network of communicative and affective elements. It is this specific nature of Indian multilingualism that is its natural pluralism and that extends continuously through the country, which researchers called "organic pluralism" (Khubchandani, 1997, p. 98)—a non-competitive, interconnected language space within a society. Mumbai is perhaps one of the best examples of this interconnectedness and language synergy in India. We may recall here the interesting notion of "multilingual franca," proposed by Makoni and Pennycook

(2012), and which is not far removed from Pandit's trader, who today could still be the emblematic resident of Mumbai city. Following this overview of multilingualism, I seek to see how this interplay between languages translates into the foreign language classroom.

Through Their Lens: Teacher Narratives

Having now laid out the background, I move to the core of the narrative account, which is the teacher narratives. In the following subsections, I present a partial reconstruction of the discussions that I had with the teachers. Subsequently, I shall proceed to an analysis and understanding of the narratives. Six French language teachers spoke through their personal experiences, their beliefs and their relationship with the languages they know and they use in their social, personal, and professional lives. The discussions with the teachers were mostly in English to facilitate integration into the narrative accounts. However, at times, some teachers used some French in our discussions.

Growing Up With Languages

In talking with the teachers, my intention was to understand the different languages that they negotiated growing up and in their daily lives. I use pseudonyms for the teachers, to keep close to the genre of the narrative account and to introduce a personal human touch to what the teachers share about themselves and their narratives. The teachers that participated in the study are Heena, Hetal, Natasha, Neeti, Rabia, and Sanjeevani. I will provide a brief background of these teachers that will help the reader relate better to them.

Heena's (57 years old) home language is Hindi, and she has an affinity towards English. She migrated to Mumbai after her marriage. Hetal (46 years old) grew up in Mumbai, and worked in another profession before eventually becoming a French teacher. Her home language is Gujarati. Natasha (56 years old) grew up in the state of Gujarat and, like Heena, moved to Mumbai after her marriage. She eventually became a French teacher in a school. Her home languages are Gujarati and English. Neeti (36 years old), native to Mumbai, speaks Gujarati at home, and teaches French in a school. Rabia (60 years old), also a native of Mumbai, grew up speaking Hindi and English and feels connected to the Urdu language. She teaches university students. Sanjeevani (34 years old) works in a school. She is native to Mumbai and her home language is Marathi.

It is obvious that the teachers grew up naturally negotiating multiple languages in their daily lives. Sanjeevani is very conscious of her Marathi roots and the strong presence of the language at home, safeguarded through intergenerational communication and through literature in print.

> *We speak Marathi at home. Hindi of course was always around us and then we watched Hindi movies! And we picked up colloquial Hindi and regularly used it with our friends. All my education was in English. Sometimes we speak in English at home. When we visited my grandparents or my elderly relatives, we only spoke in Marathi and that continues even today. I learnt to read and write Marathi as we learnt it in school and then at home, there were always Marathi books around at home, Marathi newspapers and all that you know.* (Sanjeevani).

Natasha and Heena are also eager to point out the different languages present at different points in their lives. Natasha identifies language shifts due to geographical mobility and how she embraced a new language Marathi without any perceived resistance.

> *When growing up, we always spoke Gujarati at home. At school we learnt English. And with neighbours we spoke in Gujarati. Later, when I moved to Mumbai, I spoke Hindi, and now a*

> *smattering of Marathi, which I understand well but do not speak as well. Much later in my life I learnt French and I continued with it. Between my husband and I we use Gujarati and English.* (Natasha)

> *We spoke Hindi growing up. And English was always present as it was the medium of learning in school and then the reading culture at home. Hence I read a lot in English. And French came in later in school. I pursued it as it fascinated me.* (Heena)

However it was the conscious reliving of their language identity through their narratives that brought this awareness of the importance of languages in their lives to the fore.

The Journey with Learning

Another theme that emerged as I helped teachers relive their language learning experiences, was the place of French in conjunction with other languages in their personal and linguistic space. Hetal, for example, recalled learning French after she had already graduated:

> *I started learning French rather late in my life. I was working in an office before and then got tired of it and explored French. I continued learning. Once I achieved a good level in the language, I felt eager to start teaching and got an opportunity to teach in a school. Thus I began teaching. I like teaching French. I am happy I can speak Gujarati, English, French, Hindi and Marathi. I find myself connected with languages. Somewhere it's satisfying to deal with languages, and to speak it. My family thinks I am obsessed with French, though!* (Hetal)

Speaking multiple languages and using them for different purposes reveals the interconnectedness of these languages within the socio-professional language ecology of these teachers. Hetal uses adjectives such as "connected," "satisfying," and "obsessed" that display her attachment to languages. The choice of language use, though varied, is not random and is often determined by the context and the usefulness of language as we see in the quotes below. Heena, while retracing her language learning journey, expresses positive feelings and takes pride in being a language teacher and the power of expression.

> *I began learning at school, then in college, and thus began my journey. I speak Hindi at home and a good bit of English. Of course business outside the house is in English or Hindi, and at work I teach in French and English. I feel proud actually that I can be a language teacher, happy to work with languages. I do not know how to express it correctly but it makes you feel nice.* (Heena)

Rabia "cherishes" the aesthetic dimension that French has given her through its literature and cultural depth.

> *I got the opportunity to learn French in school. I loved the language and continued and here I am with thirty six years of teaching experience behind me, at college, at university. I was always fond of literature. I have a Masters in English literature and French literature. Going deeper into the language, I discovered literature in the original, which is not the same thing as reading the translated work. I discovered French songs, French paintings and how the language had spread over so many countries. I cherish my association with English and French, and of course, Hindi and Urdu which are so close to me on a daily basis. Such closeness to language gives me a certain dimension to your personality, to your aesthetics.* (Rabia).

Neeti, urged into reflection by her narrative, clearly enjoys her transaction with multiple languages.

> *Gujarati is my first language. I share a bond with this language. We speak it at home, with my parents. Of course, English is always there, ever-present! I have never really thought about this*

in detail, but as you ask me, it is quite interesting, to be dealing with so many languages all in one go! Hindi, Marathi, Gujarati, and of course French. My Marathi is not so good, I manage though! I do enjoy it. (Neeti).

However, one element that clearly emerges is that the learning process of languages is marked by the use of English, and of learning language "the correct way," as the observations from Heena and Sanjeevani below show.

When I learnt in the seventies, we did not learn how to speak. It was more of written work, stress on writing, on correct grammar of French, the right spelling, the correct verbs etc. Now there is a need more than ever to communicate. So one needs to modify according to that. (Heena).

We worked so hard on our conjugation of verbs, we had a very sincere approach to learning the language. We did not only crave for the marks. The teacher would explain the grammar well and we worked well on the grammar. That has given me a strong base today. We learnt English, though that was the medium of instruction. In Marathi and Hindi classes also we used English though we wrote in Hindi and Marathi. The teachers were very good in explanations. We did a lot of writing work. The English teacher taught in English, the Marathi and Hindi teachers used some Hindi and Marathi in class but explanations were in English, so that everyone could follow easily. (Sanjeevani).

Both Heena and Sanjeevani touch upon the "correctness" of language learning and the importance of the written competence prevalent in their learning years. Heena's narrative clearly brings out the change that she perceives in society over a period of time and how language learning needs to adapt to a more communicative approach, In contrast, Sanjeevani does not explicitly touch upon this element, although her narrative reveals the compartmentalisation between languages in the learning process.

Teaching French

I now focus on the role of language in the professional space and lives of these teachers. I am interested in knowing how they handle the multiple languages of the classroom, the teaching techniques they employ to tap the multilingual resources of their students, the struggles and challenges they may encounter in this process. I see the same enthusiasm and proximity with languages as a motivating factor for these teachers. Natasha is well aware of the challenges within the classroom that make a communicative approach difficult.

I like teaching, communicating with students. I always wanted to be a teacher, to learn not just to read and write but to speak French as well. Therefore when I began teaching, I wanted to communicate this ability to the students. But you see inside the classroom it becomes difficult. There are 45 students of varying levels. And in 50 minutes, we have to complete the task and leave the room. We cannot achieve everything. (Natasha)

Neeti echoes Natasha's views, but makes her best efforts under such circumstances.

How is it possible to teach spoken French fluently to the students? Many are not interested. Many find it difficult to understand. This is the challenge and I enjoy it. (Neeti)

Rabia's use of English as a medium for teaching French is the same as Neeti's. English, above all, performs the important function of bringing clarity and understanding in the classroom.

I like to teach, I like being a teacher (...). I learnt with detailed explanations of grammar. That's how my grammar base is strong. One cannot explain all this in French to young thirteen and

> *fourteen year olds. The base has to be reinforced, and they have to perform well in the exams. Therefore, we have to explain the same through English.* (Rabia)

All the teachers deal with a class that is linguistically heterogeneous in terms of languages present within, with English being the medium of instruction. The presence of several languages in class often comes through in the teacher narratives as the weakest link in the learning process in the eyes of the teachers—it is a hindrance to the right accent, or the reason for code-switching. While there are multiple languages present in the classroom in the student repertoire, the teachers do not treat them as a resource or an advantage.

For Neeti, the stress is on "mastering" a language correctly and achieving target language proficiency.

> *I constantly encourage my students to speak in French. They do resort to English in the class all the time or chat in their own languages—some of them. I have told them not to do so many times, but do they listen? Many are not interested in really mastering the language. They want to get good scores. They want to tell everyone, they have learnt the language, but how well they learn it is another thing altogether. Actually they do not always want to master languages. What's the use of improperly learning a language? But nowadays I notice—see, how they speak English? Half the sentence in English and one half in Hindi or using Hindi words in between to connect sentences. Can you believe it?* (Neeti)

Rabia is very conscious of straightening out accents that occur because of other languages that the learners have in their repertoires.

> *When I teach, I do use English as a medium of communication. Sometimes, I recognise the language they speak at home in their French accent or even their English accent. I try to correct it, but somewhere it lingers on. It is difficult to get rid of that. I keep telling them—don't speak in Hindi in class, pay attention to your French pronunciation.* (Rabia)

Heena brings out the "messy" part of knowing many languages and mixing them up and is deeply concerned about the lack of desire to learn "perfectly."

> *Half-baked learning has become the norm. Even their English is full of mistakes. Their Hindi, it's all a mix of many things—including English and what not. Whenever they get a chance, they are chatting with their friends in Hindi, or sometimes Marathi or Gujarati, you know they make friends with others who speak their language. So no one is concerned about learning correctly, learning perfectly.* (Heena)

Sanjeevani echoes Heena's views and, although she draws examples from other languages, she does not perceive it as a resource, but rather as the root cause for the imperfections in learning the target language.

> *It is important for the students to learn to speak in French—at least a little bit. I do try. But I have to resort to English, how will they understand otherwise. Sometimes to correct their pronunciation, I give examples from Hindi or Marathi. For example—parent. They mispronounce it in French. Then I tell them, it's like "paapdi" or "chaat"... But the main problem is there is confusion between the languages they already know and French. So they mix up pronunciations. That's a very big problem. And when they write also, it's the same issue. All the languages get mixed up and it becomes a mess. That's why in class I tell them, concentrate on your French!* (Sanjeevani)

Hetal is honest in confessing that she has never reflected on integrating the other languages towards teaching French, although she is well aware of the presence of many languages in class.

Yes I do know most of my students speak at least three or four languages—I have students who speak Tamil, Kannada, Bengali, Gujarati, Tulu etc at home. Of course, all of them speak English, Hindi. Sometimes good Marathi also. Sometimes you hear them chat in Hindi in the class and English is omnipresent. I haven't really tried using their languages to explain or teach French. I find some time to speak in French though this component does not count for much in the exams. (Hetal)

Natasha is the only teacher who refers to a positive multilingual element—her experience with idiomatic expressions in different languages and comparing it with French expressions.

Once we were having a discussion in class on idiomatic expressions. And students came up with interesting expressions in Hindi, Marathi, Gujarati etc—the languages they know or speak at home. It was very nice to compare these expressions, some which are common, others which are not. (Natasha)

Rabia brings in other languages in class but is apologetic about it, and is quick to add that she does not want to "make it a habit." Neeti too has a tone of regret about using another language (English) while teaching French and underlines that it is more out of compulsion (to facilitate understanding) than choice.

Sometimes I write the pronunciation in Hindi on the board, it helps, but I don't do it often. Only sometimes. I don't want to make it a habit. I stick to French and English by and large. But there are also limitations. I do not have much time in class. (Rabia)

You have to explain the grammar and other difficult concepts in English. Only then everyone understands. (Neeti)

Others, like Sanjeevani, who do take the help of local languages while teaching seem to have difficulty accepting that this can be a useful and meaningful strategy for target language proficiency.

Discussion

By virtue of their retrospective character, narratives encourage a reflective thought process. The narrative extracts that we have looked at in the previous section reveal teacher beliefs at a personal, social, and professional level.

At a personal level, the teachers I talked with are conscious of their multilingual identity. They recognise their strong multilingual repertoires, through the pleasant personal experiences that they narrate and an evident proximity with different languages. This allows us to understand how they negotiate between languages and view themselves as users of these languages. They move effortlessly between their many Indian languages and a foreign language that is French. In this process, they construct a "hybrid" identity as a foreign language teacher. By this I refer to a distinct sense of identity of one negotiating between, and inhabiting languages, and also occupying these many spaces simultaneously—one that is local and rooted in home languages and cultures, the other emerging from the foreign language and culture and the resultant third space, to borrow from Bhabha (1994), mediated by the presence and knowledge of the foreign language.

However, I notice that this positive sense of identity does not percolate favourably within the classroom. The narratives regarding classroom practices and events often embody the notion of "monolingual superiority." A language, if we know one, should be well mastered. The presence of other languages in a person's life even with varying levels of mastery, though acknowledged, is neither perceived nor understood as a strength. While the teacher

narratives reveal the variety of languages and acknowledge that variety, the celebration of the multilingualism of learners or even perceiving that as a distinct advantage is absent in how they articulate their views. In fact, some teachers are even critical of improper use of language, imperfections and code switching. Only one teacher, Natasha, makes an allusion to a positive inclusion of languages present in the class. She stands out as an example of someone who has moved beyond the "looking down" upon local languages, and has succeeded in de-normalising the stigmatising hierarchy. Although she did not outline in her comments any particular reason for her significantly different methodology, I sensed that she had a humanistic approach concerning languages, especially while referring to her activity involving other languages as "interesting" and "nice to compare." This reminds me of Agnihotri's (2014) observation that language conceptualised as multilinguality is "constitutive of being human" (p. 364). One has to first begin by accepting the other, and this means accepting their language(s) too. This idea helps conceptualise multilingualism differently. Natasha, in this case, seems to be naturally sensitive toward the languages present around her, that her learners have, and is sensitised to this useful strategy.

It is evident that if teachers are not averse to the languages present in class, they are struggling with the multilingualism that they are confronted with. Here, three aspects come to the fore. Firstly, the learning beliefs of teachers, which are fashioned by their own learning experience, give them a strong sense of mastering a language correctly. In this scheme of things, one is empowered with knowledge only when one achieves perfection in it. The second is the inherent hierarchy of languages that is present in society and education, and to which they are not immune. Therefore, mobilising languages other than English in the French classroom is frowned upon, and thus it is left to the margins or spoken about with hesitation or apology. This is also the reason for the underlying sense of guilt in using languages such as Hindi or Marathi to teach, even though the teachers do find it useful in their pedagogy. The only language that can disrupt this process is English by virtue of its implicit superiority. This discriminating hierarchy has been normalised in the lives of the teachers and naturally trickles into their pedagogical practices. The third aspect is a lack of awareness about multilingualism. The flexibility and movement that exist between languages at a societal level evaporate when it comes to the language classroom that is described here. Even if some teachers are not hostile to languages other than English and French, they are clearly unaware about integrating a multilingual approach in class, and even about understanding multilingualism through a larger prism.

By and large, the narratives reveal that we are dealing with a notion of multilingualism that translates as "two or more monolinguals in one body" (Creese & Blackledge, 2010, p. 105). Teachers are directed towards a bilingual approach (English-French/French-English) largely because of their beliefs being fashioned by their own learning experiences. It is an embodiment of the internalisation of the language hierarchy and the monolingual approach by the teachers. Despite alluding to bilingualism and multilingualism as guidelines, government policies do not distinguish between a fluid multilingualism in class and a rigid framework of educational norms. The National Education Policy (NEP) of 2020 in India, at the very onset, declares that one of its key objectives is "promoting multilingualism and the power of language in teaching and learning" (Government of India Ministry of Human Resource Development, p. 5). The policy additionally recognises bilingualism as a focus area for teaching: "Teachers will be encouraged to use a bilingual approach, including bilingual teaching-learning materials, with those students whose home language may be different from the medium of instruction" (p. 13). Moreover, India has long embraced the "three language policy" and the NEP 2020 further clarifies that at least two of these languages will be native to India besides making space for foreign languages in the educational system.

So it is clear that languages enjoy a place of importance in educational policy. However, the challenges start from this point onwards as languages that exist alongside each other, but rarely co-exist, rarely "speak" to each other. This additionally contributes to a general old-world notion of a largely "monolingual multilingualism." Knowing many languages imperfectly is neither a disadvantage nor an inconvenience. In fact it should be viewed as linguistic capital, a strength which is also dynamically shifting—like the imperfect English spoken by the youth of Mumbai, which one of the teachers explicitly mentions critically.

The hegemonic presence of English is also clear. While it is an important language, there is no bridge between English and the other languages in these contexts. This "language isolation" also weakens the multilingualism of both teacher and learner, and does not translate into enriching classroom pedagogy for foreign language learning. The two seem strangely divorced. Use of other languages besides English seems unnecessary, and, even if productive, remains in the margins. Here is where language and curriculum specific policies, such as the National Curriculum Framework (National Council of Educational Research and Training, 2005), and the National Focus Group report on the teaching of Indian languages (National Focus Group on Teaching of Indian Languages, 2006), could help. These policies clearly recognise multilingualism as linked to the identity of the learner, and advocate it as a classroom strategy by the language teacher. But this has to percolate to the teachers on the ground, as the multilingual repertoire of both the teacher and the learner are underexplored or practically neglected.

Concluding Remarks

Narratives are a fundamentally "inward" element for those narrating. However, the first-hand accounts help the researcher apprehend the stories (Busch, 2017, p. 52) from an external perspective. Therefore, I have attempted to make meaning of the narratives and the teacher trajectories. Upon reading and re-reading of the narrative transcripts, three lines of thinking were strongly visible: the "one strong language" phenomenon, the sense of guilt in using other languages to teach the target language (in this case French), and lastly, the lack of understanding of the importance of multilingual repertoires in the teaching environment.

Multilingual teachers enjoy a complex and complete toolset at their disposal, which allows them to negotiate different languages for teaching, and, as Busch (2017) puts it, create a "space for potentialities" (p. 57). The conventional pedagogy in use can change only if teachers are made aware of ways of harnessing the languages at their disposal within their teaching framework. There is also a need for informed recognition of the strengths of a multilingual teacher and their multilingual lives that merit attention. Merely having positive beliefs regarding languages does not necessarily lead to adopting a multilingual pedagogy (Haukas, 2016). In this regard, I perceive teacher educational programmes that make them aware of educational policies advocating multilingualism along with a practical class approach to be a solid way of engaging foreign language teachers with multilingualism and incorporating a multilingual pedagogy. Research shows that there is a strong correlation between teacher self-perceived proficiency and their plurilingual awareness (Otwinowska, 2014). To make a teacher engage better with the languages of the class, she needs to be aware of them.

Coming back to my own personal narrative with which I started this narrative account, I had always imagined that I was an incomplete foreign language teacher, rather than a perfect multilingual teacher. It took years of experience, reading, and scholarship to make myself aware of the merits of my multilingual self within the classroom, to fully understand the potential of multilingualism, and to challenge the phenomenon of the two solitudes

(Cummins, 2008)—putting languages into watertight areas that do not interact with each other, which is further reinforced through the evaluation patterns in education. There was always a recognition of the "right grammar phrase," the correct conjugation, the correct spelling and so on. This made the notion of the "right and correct version" the only way of engaging with learning. Moreover, language learning within the institutional framework is highly compartmentalized, offering little or no give-and-take between languages. Therefore, in my opinion, it will take much more than mere teacher education to bring about a change. While teacher training could certainly provide the needed technical solutions for integrating a multilingual approach, the problem is located at a wider sociocultural and sociopolitical level. Therefore, it will also take experience to live and relish one's "languaged self," and the understanding of one's multilingual identity as a reckoning force. A change of consciousness, and questioning the deeply rooted hierarchy of languages, is called for. Of course, ways to enable this force within the teaching-learning framework will have to be created. It will also take the same understanding from concerned stakeholders—institutions, associations, learners and their families, and decision makers. Finally, it would only be an advantage if such diversity could be harnessed for foreign language teaching and learning.

If a language classroom, as Pennycook (2006) explains, is a "transcultural contact zone" (p. 30), then it is incumbent on language teachers to negotiate this richness and reassert the local in the global (Canagarajah, 2005). This in turn could also stimulate a meaningful student-oriented and student-led pedagogy, especially in a linguistically heterogeneous class environment such as in Mumbai. But in order to do so, teachers will have to first unpack their own beliefs concerning multilingualism and confront them.

This study propels me to further expand the boundaries of narratives and encourage teachers to write down their stories with a particular focus on multilingualism. For a future research study, a focus group discussion on multilingualism wherein these narratives could be shared and deliberated upon, could probably be an interesting way of engaging with a pedagogy of multilingualism for foreign language teaching. Eventually, this could be a starting point for reconfiguring classroom pedagogies. There is an urgent need to articulate strategies that allow for L1s to enter L2 spaces. This would help in not just challenging the existing language hegemony, but also making additive bilingualism or multilingualism a viable paradigm in the Indian context. In other words, this could help create a non-guilt multilingual approach in foreign language classrooms where teachers feel empowered to call upon the languages of the learners. In such an approach, the presence of home and first languages would serve as a foothold and not as a hindrance as the narratives in this research reveal. This process could further help to validate learners' linguistic identities and linguistic capital in multilingual settings (Cummins, 2007) such as Mumbai.

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NARRATIVE ACCOUNT

Reconciling with English: An Autobiography to Ruminate Over the Different Meanings That English Has for Us

Akiko Nakayama, Hiroshima University <akknkym@gmail.com>

In this narrative account, I will present the stories of how two women, Jina and I, relate with language learning. Jina is a Korean woman studying at a Japanese university. In the Japanese context, most of the students from East Asia are fluent in either Japanese or English, but she could communicate in both fluently. Moreover, she had invested heavily in English voluntarily. Why did she invest in English in a non-English speaking country? This is the start of this research. The second story is my own story, which emerged as I tried to understand Jina's story reflectively. Although we grew up in different places and times, I was able to reflect on the common life goals of both of us as women, the freedoms we have gained through language learning/use, and what learning English means to us. By moving back and forth between Jina's and my stories, and re-telling and reliving my story, it became clear that language learning is tied to the feminine realm, especially for me. I will discuss how we both had a common goal of living independently in this modern society, and that in order to achieve this goal, we formed two sides of the same coin, me refusing to learn English and Jina actively accepting it.

このナラティブ・アカウントでは，ジナと私という2人の女性が言語学習とどのように関わってきたかを紹介する。ジナは日本の大学で学ぶ韓国人女性である。日本のコンテクストでは，東アジア出身の学生のほとんどが日本語と英語のいずれかに流暢であるが，彼女には両方の言語で流暢にコミュニケーションをとる能力があった。彼女は日本語が流暢であるにもかかわらず英語に大きな投資をしていた。なぜ英語　ではない日本に　て英語なのか。これがこの研究の始まりである。二つ目のストーリーは，ジナのストーリーをリフレクシブに理解しようとする中で生まれた私のストーリーである。私は，生まれたところも育った時代もジナとは異なっていたが，二人のストーリーの間を行き　し，自分のストーリーを語り直すことによって，私たちに共通する女性としての人生の目標，言語学習及び使用によって得た自由，さらに私たちにとって英語学習はどのような意味を持つのかを考察した。それにより，言語学習は，とりわけ私にとって女性の領域に結びついていることが明らかになった。また，私たちは二人ともこの近代社会の中で自立して生きるという共通の目標を持っており，この課題を達成するために，言語，特に英語学習に　して私は拒否を，ジナはそれを積極的に受け入れるというコインの裏と表のような態度を持っていたことが明らかになった。

본고에서는 두 여성이 언어학습과 어떻게 관련되어 있는지에 대한 스토리를 소개한다. 첫 번째 여성은 일본 대학에서 유학 중인 한국인 진아다. 진아는 일본어가 유창함에도 불구하고 영어에 많은 투자를 했다. 그녀는 왜 일본까지 와서 영어를 중시하는가, 라는 의문이 이 연구를 시작하게 했다. 두 번째 여성은 진아의 스토리를 자기성찰적으로 이해하려는 중에 발견한 나 자신이다. 나는 진아과 다른 나라, 다른 시대를 살아왔지만, 우리 각각의 스토리를 오가며 내 자신의 스토리를 다시 말하고 기억을 돌이켜봄으로써 우리에게 공통되는 인생의 목표, 언어학습과 사용을 통해 획득한 자유, 나아가 우리에게 영어 학습은 어떤 의미를 갖는지에 대해 고찰했다. 그 결과, 언어학습이 나에게는 여성의 영역에 매여 있었음을 알 수 있었다. 또한 우리는 현대 사회에서 자립하여 살아간다는 공통의 목표를 가지고 있으며, 이 과제를 달성하기 위하여 언어학습에 대해 나는 거부의 태도를 취한 반면, 진아는 적극적으로 수용하는 태도를 취하여 동전의 양면과 같은 태도였음을 알 수 있었다.

Keywords

English hegemony, autobiography, gender, identity, researcher reflexivity, language learning purposes

英語のヘゲモニー，オートバイオグラフィ，ジェンダー，アイデンティテイ，研究者のリフレクシビティ，言語学習の目的

영어 헤게모니, 자전적 글쓰기, 성차, 아이덴티티, 연구자의 자기성찰, 언어 학습의 목표

Prologue

The hegemony of English is having a significant impact on our lives in the East Asian context (Park, 2009; Seargeant, 2009). Japanese universities have created many English-mediated programs to attract international students (Ninomiya et al., 2009) and pressured researchers to present their research in English regardless of their field of study. I have been involved with international students in Japan for more than 20 years as a Japanese language teacher, and during that time I have sensed the influence of English on the students I have met. In

the past, there were two different kinds of international student groups, one using English and the other using Japanese (Simic et al., 2006). It was rare to meet a student from East Asia who was fluent in both English and Japanese. However, in the past ten years or so, I have occasionally met international students from East Asia who can speak both Japanese and English fluently even at a university located in a small town. Jina (a pseudonym) is one of these examples. She was an international student from South Korea, studying at Dream Field University (also a pseudonym, and hereafter DFU) in West Japan, who majored in social science as an undergraduate. Although she was fluent in Japanese, she preferred to speak in English and actively interacted with English-speaking international students. Jina went to a Baltic country for an English-medium program as an exchange student for one year. Why was English so important even when she was in Japan, a non-English-speaking country? Had the advantages of learning Japanese already disappeared? Jina made me realize the hegemony of English and made me reconsider what the purpose of learning a foreign language is when it loses economic merits. In this autobiographical narrative, I would like to look back on the language learning processes of two East Asian women, Jina and me, using our life stories, and reflect on what language learning has meant to us as learners.

This narrative account also has another purpose, which is my private goal (Maxwell, 2013). I want to construct my new English writing self (Canagarajah, 2002) by reconciling myself with the period in my life when I did not like studying English. While studying for my doctoral dissertation, I was amazed by the volume and the width of the field related to Second Language Acquisition (SLA) written in English. I wished I could join this group sometime in the future. It was my "imagined community" (Kanno & Norton, 2003). But once I started writing in English, I stopped writing and asked myself, "Why do I want to write in English?" I felt I had to understand why I had so little interest in studying English. There were several previous studies that depicted Japanese women who invested in the language for the purpose of escaping their lives in Japan (McMahill,1997; Yoshimoto, 2008). For some girls, English could be a tool for emancipation from conservative, patriarchal Japanese society; however, it did not seem like I fit in those cases. But that does not mean I was satisfied with the current gender inequality situation in Japan. It is as if I had gone through the struggle to construct a different identity and self to find my own voice, as many language learners have done (Canagarajah, 2002; Morita, 2004; Taniguchi, 2013). When I initially started writing about Jina, I had not recognized my ambivalent feelings toward English entangled with my gendered life story, as well as my mother's and my grandmother's. Understanding my feelings toward English shed light on my life story from a different angle, and therefore changed the view I had about Jina and other women.

To achieve these multiple goals, I will share my semi-autobiography that has emerged from reflexively inquiring into Jina's language learning experiences. Why did she invest in English so much? What did her experiences using Japanese mean to her? Why did I not like studying English? I have moved back and forth between Jina's stories and mine, and through comparison and contrast, I was able to retell and relive (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000) my stories which I wrote in Japanese in the past (Nakayama, 2016b). Jina and I were both not only multilingual in Korean, English, and Japanese, but also sailing in this modern competitive world as women heading towards the accomplishment of our missions of independence. I could find a new meaning in our different attitudes to language learning by connecting them with our mission. In addition, both of us experienced the construction of our new L2 selves, which entailed freedom from our native cultures, albeit in different languages and different environments. However, both of us felt uncomfortable using L2, Japanese for Jina, and English for me. It was suggested that the feelings and emotions of L2 experiences are good or bad, generated from the transaction with the society and the learner (Block, 2007;

Duff, 2019). This transaction is unique to each learner because it is related to their personal history.

This narrative account proceeds in the following order. I start with my story. As I mentioned above, in order to write this semi-autobiography in English, I need to look back at my own history. I first share how I recognized the value of English, but ultimately kept it away from me because it was a role assigned to women (Kobayashi, 2015). I continue with Jina's story. Following the memory of my encounter with Jina, I retell her experience of "total freedom" with English as a lingua franca (ELF), which happened in a rural Turkish town where she visited as a volunteer teacher. This prompted me to recall my experience of using ELF in Korea and learning/using Korean. For me, speaking Korean in an L2 environment helped me to feel free from my native Japanese culture to some extent, but this was not the case for Jina when she spoke Japanese in her first study abroad experience at a large private university in Tokyo. In the final part of this narrative account, I will explore the meaning of learning English for Jina. Jina was trying to put on English armor in order to survive in this society. Isn't that the flip side to why I kept away from learning English in high school? Understanding the common mission that Jina and I shared helped me to change my view of women who invest in language learning, which had been difficult for me to understand for so long. Through this series of small stories, I want the reader to understand the insight of learning/using English and other languages in the East Asian context. I hope I can convey our truth of being multilingual women.

My Story: Two Faces That English Has

First Encounters with English

It was the time when my family and I were living in a small *danchi*, the unattractive public housing provided by the Japanese government. A number of same-size buildings were standing in a row on the top of the hill, and in the summer, pink flowers of bamboo peach would bloom for a long time. We moved to this *danchi* in Osaka from Yokohama, near Tokyo, because my father quit his job and started his own business. Due to this, my mother quit her desirable highly skilled government work to save their marriage. Despite this, she was enthusiastic about her new missions: the education of her three daughters and the management of the household. We, the three sisters, or at least me, were happy, even though we did not have much money. I am the eldest and was about to start elementary school at the time. I was pleased that our mother was at home now and I could spend time with my father when he came back early. I will never forget the taste of the sweet coffee milk he bought for us on the way back from the public bath. We were poor but enjoyed a stable nuclear family life in the *danchi*.

One day, my mother bought a luxurious English self-study set for us. It included about ten thick books written in English with a few pictures, finger puppets or plastic toy vehicles, cassette tapes, and a set of picture story cards. The cards depicted a story with images, and the cassette tapes read out the plot in English and Japanese. It was designed for children to play and learn native English by themselves. At least it was supposed to be. My sister and I started with the picture story cards. We flipped through them, listening to the audiotapes. They told the story of a boy who visited a magic kingdom suffering from the pollution caused by the king of darkness. In the magic kingdom, everybody spoke English. A black parrot—bilingual in English and Japanese—served as a translator and helped the boy. We imitated and laughed at the native English pronunciation because it was so different from the way we spoke Japanese. The parrot prompted the boy to say, "I beg your pardon?" to the English speaking trees, and ants were marching, saying "left, right, left, right." "What are you doing? 何をしているのだ![Nani o shite iru noda]," the king of darkness roared in English and Japanese.

We were very young, and we indulged ourselves in this interesting story. Even though we did not have opportunities to use those English phrases in everyday life, we could still memorize them easily. My mother looked happy and satisfied with her purchase as she watched us giggling while listening and repeating the phrases. "The pronunciation of 'a' in 'black' is between Japanese 'あ' [a] and 'え' [e]." Sometimes my father showed off his knowledge on what we were studying. My mother said, "My daughters' pronunciation is much better than mine. I cannot pronounce it. It is absolutely necessary for them to start learning a language when they are young." However, the story cards were the only part of the set we used. We were supposed to use the books and other finger puppets to learn family names and other basic words, but it was no fun at all with only English. My mother was busy taking care of my youngest sister and it was too time-consuming for her to read the instructions and teach us how to play. Later in our lives, she financially invested a lot in our education, and the English study set turned out to be a waste of money. The nice storage case it came in occupied a large space in our small apartment.

It was unclear why my mother invested in such an expensive English-studying set for us. No foreigners lived in our area and otherwise she was very careful about our family's everyday expenses. She sewed almost all of our clothes and we did not go away on any overnight trips. In my memory, my mother and father sometimes were talking about an Englishman. My mother's voice sounded pleasant when she was talking about him, and I could guess the time with the foreigner was not bad for her. Later, when I was in middle school, I had a chance to ask my mother who this Englishman was. According to her, he was my father's private English teacher. These days, when I recall this vague memory of mine, I see her telling me that my father's company hired this teacher for him. My father once had been a brilliant and promising businessman in an excellent company. Sometimes my father had invited the teacher to dinner with my mother. About my father, I asked my mother, "Why would he take English lessons? Wasn't it expensive?" My mother replied, "Your father was called a future CEO in the company. Speaking good English would be a necessary skill for him as the CEO, I guess." I was amazed by my father's unknown past and connected the word "promising" with English. After this conversation, I took the English studying set out from the closet and tried to listen to the tapes again that did not have any Japanese translation, but it was too hard for me.

Mission to Be Independent

"Look at the new news anchor in the show! She looks so intelligent, and it seems that she is fluent in English," my grandmother said excitedly at the dinner table one day. All of my family, except my father, sat around the low table at the center of the cluttered but cozy tatami living room and had dinner prepared by my mother. My father usually came back late and had dinner alone. When I was nine, we moved to Nara, where my mother had grown up and started living with my grandmother. The house was attached to my grandmother's shop, which she had started from scratch and made into the biggest one in the small town. She was like a mother goddess. After she lost her husband at the age of 33, she quit her teaching job and started her own shop. She worked day and night, bought a house, and sent all of her kids to university. My mother was the oldest among her siblings, so she had a strong bond with my grandmother. For a while her assistants lived with her but after all got married, my grandmother was alone in the house. Somehow, my family ended up moving in and living with her. My poor father agreed to live there but had to spend more than two hours commuting every day, and so spent less time with us.

After we moved to my grandmother's house, my life changed a lot. My mother, who made decisions about our education, sent us to many different after-school activities including piano lessons, calligraphy, painting, a ski camp in winter, and a swimming course in summer. In addition, she started monitoring our school grades. My grandmother believed it was important to get an education and a strong will was necessary to survive in society, especially for girls. She kept repeating a family motto from my great-grandfather: "Girls need to get a skill to live by themselves." When he was working in a factory, he saw young female workers being forced to work under bad conditions and decided to educate his daughters. He did not want his daughters to end up like those factory girls. He pushed his daughters, including my grandmother, to get a skill—and she eventually became a teacher. My great-grandfather's motto became part of my grandmother's history, and she passed it on to us. In addition to all this, there was competition among families who lived nearby over whose children were academically successful. Back then, even though my mother was busy campaigning for the local government to provide better educational facilities, she was still a full-time homemaker. She found the time to monitor our studies. I constantly felt the pressure from her for good grades, something I had never felt in the small *danchi* in Osaka.

My grandmother held power in our family in many ways, one of which was by controlling the only television set in the house. She liked NHK—*Nippon Housou Kyoukai* [Japan Broadcasting Corporation]—and did not let us watch any other channel at dinner time. Her favorite television personalities included women anchors on the 7 o'clock NHK news show. Most of them were young, charming, graduates of famous universities in Japan, and they were fluent in English. I remember they were called *kikoku-shijo* [returnees], who had grown up abroad because of their parents' jobs. I looked at their long black hair (mine was very short) and admired them, but there was no way I could be like them.

Ambivalent Feeling Toward English

English came to mean something different to me; it was not only a symbol of success, but also an emblem of being female. Even if the young female anchor on the NHK news show was talented, she always sat next to an older, unappealing man, nodding her head benignly without expressing herself. I wanted to have "my" things to say, not to read something other people wrote. I was a girl who had a desire to rise in the world as much as my competitive friends in middle school. My mother, who still had a hard time giving up her attachment to her previous job, used to tell me "Girls must be three times as excellent and useful as boys to pass the job exam, at least it used to be like that." I felt anger and fear facing that reality, and she encouraged me to fight against the obstacles which stood in my way just because I am a woman.

I studied very hard to enter the best high school in our area. After that I could relax somewhat, freeing myself from the pressure to enter a good high school. I remember two English teachers. The elder one had such a strong Japanese accent in English, it sounded like a cat meowing. The younger one, who had studied in the U.S. for a year, taught us some tips on pronunciation and how to improve our listening. But overall I was not so interested in English. At that time, I devoted a good deal of my energy to high school athletic club activities. Often when I was in English class, I fell asleep. I also hated learning new words and grammar that required repetition and took time. I thought everything worth reading was translated into Japanese, and I would be fluent if I had a chance to stay in an "English native-speaker" country for a year or so. "Why is it necessary to study English?" I was naïve and did not know the reality of language learning.[1] At the same time, like others from our young

1. Research about studying abroad indicates it has positive outcomes for language learning, but the individual differences are big (Kinginger, 2015). You can find a couple of unhappy cases in Block (2007).

generation (Kobayashi, 2002; Takahashi, 2013; Yoshimoto, 2008), I longed for the world outside Japan. So, blind to my own English ability, I even begged my father to pay for me to study in the United States for a year.

This was all happening in the 1980s, a time when the world was amazed at Japan' economic success and called it No. 1. This discourse affected me. I was very proud of Japanese culture and loved the old artifacts of Nara, which was the first capital of the country. On the contrary, I resented the dominant position of European culture. I perceived the people who worshiped the products, fashion, and customs from Europe and America as frivolous and sometimes even despised them, including one of my girl classmates. Today, I still wonder where this malicious feeling came from, however I remember the classmate used to tell me she wanted to go to Tokyo to major in European languages in university, because those languages were just cool. I thought she was the type of person who volunteered to be a manager for the high school baseball team. They were never out front putting themselves on the line as players. Instead, they worked hard in the background for the male players. It seemed like my classmate friend did not mind being positioned in that—female—realm. I wanted to live for myself in society, not for someone else. For me, English was not a vehicle that would take me in that direction.

For me, English was associated with social success and decent jobs. That is why my father took private lessons and the TV anchors were fluent in English. But at the same time, speaking English or any foreign language well was also considered something that women were good at and in the domain of women (Schmenk, 2004). On the one hand, I wanted to get a respected job and interact with people from all over the world, but on the other hand, I had an aversion to being labeled as a woman.

Jina's Story

The First Time I Met Her

Another way the hegemony of English has impacted me has been the declining Japanese learning and teaching in South Korea as a result of it. I taught Japanese there in the 1990s just before the peak of Japanese language education in South Korea (The Japan Foundation, 2020). At that time both university students and working adults, regardless of their specialties, were learning Japanese to get a job or a promotion. Since being able to speak Japanese was also a promise of employment, I did not question why so many Koreans studied the language, and why I taught it in this former colony of Japan. When I started researching language issues in Korea in the 2010s, I was stunned by the decline of Japanese language education in the country. Many students and teachers told me that Japanese language skills were no longer enough to get a job, so students were eager to study English, even if they had majored in Japanese (Nakayama, 2016a). If language learning does not promise future wealth or economic benefits as linguistic instrumentalism does (Kubota, 2011) then, what is its purpose? When I was facing the social economic realities surrounding Japanese teaching, I met Jina.

The first time I met Jina was at an orientation for international students. I remember she was wearing somewhat showy clothes, and her Japanese was fluent. She asked staff members some questions after the session. It was unusual to see that kind of active—even slightly aggressive—city girl in DFU. She was enthusiastic and looked thrilled to start her new life in DFU. Soon after the orientation, Jina joined an international students' club that I sometimes helped. She was older than her Japanese peers and took great initiative in the club activities. She was a kind of scary, older sister. She was also involved in other activities, including

working as an interpreter/translator for the local government. It seemed she was always busy trying to achieve something—like a tuna fish that would die if it stopped swimming.

I knew that Jina spoke excellent English. First, she did not take Japanese classes for international students. Instead, she took English classes with other Japanese students. She also emceed in English at the parties for international students. She seemed confident in her English. She told me she wanted to work in international business using her English and Japanese skills. So, I was not surprised when I learnt that she was going to study at a university in a Baltic country that provided courses in English for a year. It was easy to guess that she longed for the “big world” away from this small town where our university was.

Complete Freedom Provided by English as a Lingua Franca

When Jina returned from studying abroad, we met by chance in front of the main gate. “What? Are you home already? How was your study abroad experience?” I asked her. She looked good and seemed not to have changed much, but I noticed she was wearing sneakers, whereas earlier she always wore high heels. At that time, I was interviewing international students for my research. I asked Jina for an interview about her experiences while she was abroad for a year, and she immediately accepted. But I had to wait several months to have interview sessions with her. Before the first interview, I explained to her the purpose of the research, the procedure of the data collection, and ethical matters. I managed to have three interview sessions, in October, February, and March of Jina’s senior year. I chose my office for interviews so we could talk in a quiet atmosphere while having tea and snacks together. We spoke in Japanese most of the time, except some Korean words here and there. After the interviews, we went out for a late lunch or a walk around the campus. I jotted down the conversations and how she looked in my field notebook. The recorded interviews were transcribed, sorted by event, and rearranged to create Jina’s story. I later sent Jina’s story to her after she graduated and returned to Korea, and asked her to check the contents. The story of Jina used in this narrative account is constructed from those original interviews.

In the interviews, I asked her about her experiences using Japanese and English when she was studying abroad. Her best experience using English, she told me, happened during her summer vacation. It was a long one, so she looked for a part-time job abroad and ended up working as a volunteer, teaching English in a village in rural Turkey. She said she experienced “complete freedom” there. Her students welcomed her, and even invited her for dinner. Jina felt their “love” in communication without words. Her peer volunteer teachers in the village came from all over the world, including Taiwan, Spain, France, Serbia, and Francophone Canada. They were from many age groups and had different occupations in their home countries; some had just graduated from high school, and others were teachers in their countries. She recounted her experiences to me.

> **Jina:** Everyone was equal, and you could feel perfect equality. Everyone spoke a little bit of English, which was the common language. That was the environment where we became friends, so I did not have to be somebody different from my own self. It was not necessary to pretend that I was somebody who could do something or that I was a tough person. It was not necessary to feel pressure to achieve something. (I could feel) complete freedom. It did not really matter if you had money or not and it was not necessary to pretend you had money or a good character. In such an environment, personalities were different from person to person. Especially in Japan, there is such a thing as a good personality. I think it is the same in Korea. A particular type of character is considered good.

Akiko: Good character?

Jina: Yes, the expression "She's a good girl" is an especially good example. It decides, to some extent, a particular personality is a good one. But um… how can I explain that when you use English, the bias or *omoikomi* / 思い込み [belief] got weaker. Especially when non-native English speakers from different countries got together, there was no right answer for the character. … So, I did not need to be good. I could be the way I was. That experience was precious to me because I could feel freedom, not worrying about anything. I could not be freer ever at that time. (From the first interview)

When I heard Jina's story, the first thought that struck me was the different positions English and Japanese had in the world. The Japan Foundation announced there were more than three million Japanese language learners outside Japan in 2018 (The Japan Foundation, 2020). However, I cannot imagine a volunteer Japanese language class run in a Turkish village by non-native Japanese-speaking teachers from all over the world. For Jina, English was literally a tool to communicate with people from across the globe. By using it, she felt she could escape cultural norms that had bound her. Why could only English, not Japanese, or Korean, provide her with the opportunity to escape the cultural norms and make her feel free?

As Kubota (2011) points out, speaking good English does not guarantee being an excellent international businessperson. However, the assumption has increased the number of serious English learners, and the more people learn it, the more firmly English becomes the international language. This phenomenon covers many places in the world, and it gave Jina a chance to escape the cultural norms of the person she thought she had to be in South Korea and Japan—her Japanese and Korean selves. She came to realize how much Japanese or Korean selves were not her own. I was amazed that, in this story, how people from all over the world—the volunteers—claimed ownership of English (Norton, 1997) by teaching it as a foreign language. Based on the terms she was using, "not necessary to pretend that I was somebody," Jina could be a resident in the land of nowhere, and its official language was English.

The second thought I had was a feeling of envy. I had married an American I met in Korea when I was teaching Japanese there. Why could I not have such a feeling in English? When I visited my in-laws in the US, even though they all welcomed me, I sometimes felt odd because most of the time I was the only one who was not white and not a native speaker of English. When I was holding my first baby in their home, visitors occasionally thought I was a babysitter. Once, at a restaurant where we all went for a meal, one of the waitresses looked at me briefly as if she had found someone who did not fit there. I felt marginalized in the US outside of the family.

Is this the only reason I do not like speaking English? Have I ever used English as a lingua franca?

My Story in Korea

Being an Ornament

After I got my master's degree in history, I ended up going to Korea to teach Japanese. I went there because I failed to get into the Ph.D. program I wanted to join, and this happened just as I got my master's. Since I had not prepared what to do beyond studying at education, teaching Japanese was the only chance I had to get a job immediately after graduation. I felt relieved to get such a position at a university, so I did not complain that the university was in the countryside, and I would be the only Japanese in the entire town.

In my first year in Korea, there was a sort of unofficial exclusive foreigner club. Most of the time, the host was an old English teacher, and the other members were a Russian couple, a Spanish couple, a French teacher, a Chinese teacher, and me. We seven were the only non-Korean workers at the university. I joined the party when I was invited even though I quietly sat there without any clue about what they were saying. Also, Korean women who were the wives of wealthy families sometimes joined us. As far as I remember, they were students of the English teacher, and they would occasionally invite all of us to a picnic or for a meal in an expensive restaurant. “Why do they want to invite foreigners?” I felt like I had become an ornament (Levy, 2011) for rich Korean ladies, because I could not see the reason they wanted to invite us, especially me. It seemed like being friends with us had symbolic value. At the party without them, we talked about how strange Korean customs were. At the time, it was not long after Korea’s democratization, and it was quite different from the Korea of today. To me, the relationship between the foreign teachers and the rich Korean ladies was strange. I felt uncomfortable to be around it, even though my loneliness in Korea was alleviated to some extent by the parties.

Rethinking the reason I was uneasy at the club, I felt it was more than because my English was not so good or that I was unfamiliar with European customs. Japan had occupied Korea until the end of World War II. Most of the Japanese who settled in Korea in the colonial period did not learn any Korean and despised their traditions. The first thing I decided to do in Korea was learn Korean because I did not want to be the same kind of person as the Japanese before the war. When I was speaking English in the club and being positioned as an ornament for Korean ladies, I felt like I was a new version of a pre-war colonial settler. That was not the position I wanted to take. After the English teacher retired, the foreigners’ club did not meet up so often and the university stopped treating us as precious guests anymore. Instead, the university authorities started hiring more English teachers and treating foreign language teachers like teaching labor.

The Freedom Provided by Korean

I could not feel free like Jina when I was using English in Korea, although I felt I was able to jump away from Japanese norms when I was using Korean in Korea.

My diligent work studying Korean was rewarded. I enjoyed speaking Korean with my students. First, we were almost the same age, and some of the boys were even older than me because they had to do military service. They treated me half as a teacher and half as a friend, and supported and protected me in many ways, as I did not understand Korean customs. Second, I found that they were good at making jokes. We laughed together, went out for drinks and karaoke parties, and talked in coffee shops after class. I was so happy that I was accepted by my students and other Korean people that I met. Then, I found I was to some degree different from what I was in Japan. I was less timid about joking around in Korean than I was in Japanese. I even used my female position to make jokes. Also, I was fearless when it came to asking questions of anyone—which was very different from how I acted in Japan. To some extent, I was not the same “me” in Korea as in Japan. In other words, I was able to create a new self outside of my Japanese one.

I have often wondered why I could be like that. One possible reason is that my attributes and affiliations as a native Japanese speaker and a young female university professor in terms of cultural resources (Bourdieu, 1993; Norton, 2013) had different values in Korean and Japanese society. If I made a mistake due to my ignorance of Korean language or culture, nobody would scold me. Every time I spoke Korean, they praised me as if I was totally fluent. I had access to the things that Koreans sought. Among the Korean housewives I met at the

Korean music class I took, Japanese products, including rice cookers or tea pots, were very popular. Maybe because I was right in front of them, Japanese products became a topic of conversation. I was treated differently in Korea than in Japan, and in response I acted differently.

My generally happy experience in Korea influenced my teaching after I returned to Japan. I have always wished for my students to be happy when they speak Japanese, especially outside the classroom. But when I reconsidered my story and Jina's, another purpose of foreign language learning emerged; to give learners a chance to break free from the norms of their native language and culture. Jina felt free while using English as a lingua franca, whereas I felt free when I was surrounded by native speakers of Korean. We can see it is not the prerogative of English alone to give learners such a chance. By learning a foreign language, learners can create a new self that is different from their native-language self (Pavlenko, 2004). What makes us free is not which language we learn, but with whom, when, and in what kind of community we use it. That relates to identity and personal history and how learners perceive themselves.

However, Jina's experience with using Japanese in Japan was quite different from my experience of using Korean in Korea. Actually, Jina had a hard time when she came to Japan for the first time as a student at a big private university in Tokyo. This experience could explain why Jina could be free in English but not in Japanese.

Jina's Story in Japan

Jina in Tokyo

In our interviews, Jina shared a lot of her background with me. Before she joined DFU, she attended a university in Tokyo for a year where she struggled to gain full acceptance from her peers.

> **Jina:** That university is quite big, and international students are not rare. (...) Unless they become almost Japanese, I mean, unless they make contact in the Japanese student style, the students do not take their international counterparts seriously. Japanese students do not want to change their style much for international students. They do not have any sense of consideration for international students. So, to make Japanese friends, I have to be like them. (From the first interview)

What Jina felt at her university in Tokyo was the pressure to speak and act like a Japanese student. Jina felt that she would not be able to make friends with Japanese people if she did not remove all traces of her being an international student. As a Japanese language teacher, I was shocked that she felt constrained to "act and behave like a Japanese person," especially when compared to the "complete freedom" she felt when she was in Turkey and when compared to the jolly self that I had constructed in Korea. It is difficult to find out the real reason why Jina felt the barriers of Japanese youth culture in Tokyo. Is it because the youth in Tokyo are not interested in getting to know people from different cultures and backgrounds? Or is it because people in Tokyo are too busy? In contrast, I did not have to be 100% bound by Korean norms. Sometimes I wanted to be like the Koreans around me, but I never felt the need to erase my Japanese identity, and that was just not possible anyway.

In Tokyo, Jina was trying to find the way to make her life fruitful, so she joined a student association to promote the connection between students in different departments. Fortunately, she met a Japanese student who had lived in Brazil for a couple of years. He took her to different places for the association's work. His communication style was not "typical Japanese" and was relatively easy for Jina. Other members of the association did not treat Jina coldly

or rudely but they did not know how to interact with her. She felt that they treated her as a "Gaijin" (foreigner) and kept their distance. Even now, she feels "inhibited" when using Japanese.

> **Jina:** So when you speak Japanese to a Japanese person, you need to be nicer, more considerate, use polite language, and when you are talking with your teachers, you need to use honorifics to be respectful. Maybe my Japanese ability is not quite good enough yet, and I do not have the skills to be able to control everything, or maybe that's the problem. When I am speaking Korean, I have to use honorifics, but I guess I can handle it to the best of my ability. I do not have to worry about using language. I can trust myself that I am polite enough to the teacher, but not in Japanese. (From the second interview)

Jina does not have complete confidence in her ability in English and Japanese. It is difficult for her to change the way she speaks depending on the context of the situation. However, she believes "basically, it's not necessary to worry about it," in English but it is necessary in Japanese. Jina assumed the reason she feels a strong constraint in Japanese is partly because of her personality. "I'm pretty good at following some kind of rules to some extent," she told me.

Jina's English Learning History

Unfortunately, the Great East Japan earthquake occurred around the time Jina finished her freshman year in Tokyo, and she was forced to immediately return to Korea. It took two years for her to come back to Japan as a DFU student due to the economic difficulties her family faced. I asked her what she did during the two years. Jina told me that for 10 days of a month, she worked to make some money, but for the rest, she was studying English near her home in the library. She also joined the English-studying club, which was run by a church. Why was she studying English? Wasn't she planning to return to Japan? Didn't she have a hard time communicating with her peers at the university in Tokyo? She explained to me without any hesitation:

> **Akiko:** Why did you study English? What did you want to do after improving your English?
>
> **Jina:** It is not to say what I wanted to do, but it is an essential skill.
>
> **Akiko:** Essential? What does that mean?
>
> **Jina:** Like getting a job after school, I think...I felt at that moment that English was an essential skill to be a part of society—*shakai hito ni naru* / 社会人になる[shakai hito ni naru]. (From the first interview)

Jina told me her story and her relationship with English. It had played a big role in her younger days and was also related to Korean "English studying fever" (Park, 2009). When she was young, her parents, especially her mother, gave her many home study programs. She studied Chinese characters, math, and English. I was surprised when she said in the interview that she used to be obedient to her parents. Because of her efforts when she was young, she did not have any problems getting good grades especially in English and Japanese in middle school. At the same time, she wanted to leave her parents, partly because their quarrels were severe.

Jina: My parents fought a lot, and the house was not at peace until junior high school… and I hated them anyway. In junior high school, I hated my parents and wanted to leave home, and that's all I could think about. (From the first interview)

When Jina heard that an elite foreign language high school had a boarding facility and she had a chance to live there, she instantly decided to take the entrance exam and applied for the test. She passed and moved out of her parents' home.

Akiko: Did you go to a foreign language high school because they had a dormitory? Then, it was not like you were interested in a foreign country or anything until then.

Jina: Not at all.

Akiko: You didn't particularly like to study English?

Jina: No, I didn't. (From the first interview)

Life in the foreign language high school, however, was rather tough for Jina. The students were very good in English. For example, some of them had grown up in the US and lived there for many years. Even though Jina kept studying from six in the morning to midnight, she still could not catch up with the returnees. Her pride in her English ability fell apart, so she ended up making no effort to study it. Even without studying, Jina's score in English on national exams far surpassed that of the average Korean high school students.

After listening to her high school story, I realized that her investment in English was related to the self she lost in her high school. She needed to study English to regain confidence and control over her life. In this sense, Jina may have felt the same mission of independence as I did when I was young. In her journey to be a grown up with no one to protect her, perhaps Jina thought that English would give her a way to survive and have her abilities recognized by society. In this way, English was a protective shield for her in society.

Jina After Studying Abroad

It was June in her senior year when she visited my office. She suddenly started confessing that she did not know what she wanted to do after graduation. I was a bit confused because she had been talking about getting involved with international business. I asked her about that. She told me that she did not think about what she really wanted to do because she used to worry about what other people thought of her. Trying to be involved in international business was what other people thought cool. I do not remember how this conversation ended. The next time she visited my office, she asked me to help her prepare for the entrance exam for graduate school to be a Japanese–Korean translator. Until I finished writing her story in this narrative account, I did not realize that her experience in Turkey might have had some impact on the change in her plans for the future. The experience of total freedom might give her the chance to reflect on her life.

At her graduation ceremony, her mother and grandmother from Korea participated. Jina's father could not come because he had some duty on his business. Jina showed me her picture with a cute red *han-bok* [Korean traditional cloth], which was a gift from her grandmother. She was smiling in the picture with her mother and grandmother.

Last time I met her, she told me she is teaching English and Japanese as a part time teacher in Seoul, at the same time, she is working as an actress. I cannot tell you what place English,

Japanese, possibly other languages will take in her life from now on. The journey of her life continues.

Epilogue

My attempt to retell my story in order to understand Jina's story has had a number of outcomes which related to me as a woman and as a teacher. The first was that I was able to connect my language learning history, especially English, with my mission to be independent. This is a mission that has carried me from my childhood to now. My reluctance to study English was strongly linked not only to my ability, but also to gendered linguistic ideologies. After retelling our stories, I can realize now the mission is possibly shared by not only Jina and me, but also other women, like the wealthy Korean women who were hovering around us or my high school friend who loved to learn Western languages. Thus, language learning, even the rejection of it, is strongly connected to the question of how women live their lives. Secondly, I was able to reconsider the purposes that people have in learning languages. The personal language use experiences that Jina had with English as a lingua franca and that I had with Korean encouraged us to construct our new selves. Just as I became more outgoing in Korea and Jina changed from high heels to sneakers, language learning could free learners from the constraints of cultural norms to some extent. I have not yet come to a conclusion on how to teach language as a language teacher, because learning a language always involves learning grammatical pragmatic rules made by someone else (Bakhtin, 1981; Barfield, personal communication, April 21, 2021). However, I have been able to reaffirm the value of language learning through this narrative account, and that will guide me in my classes.

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NARRATIVE ACCOUNT

Evolving Journeys of Multilingual Teachers of English in Japan

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In this narrative account I document a deeply personal transformative journey through which I attempt to reconcile my multilingual identity with my identity as a non-native English speaking teacher (NNEST), and develop a new and more liberating identity as a multilingual teacher of English. In discussions with four other foreign NNESTs in Japan, we reflected on what our NNEST status represents for us in Japan, the contributions we can make to our learners' linguistic and intercultural development, and how we can bring multilingualism and multiculturalism into our classrooms. These three areas of reflection represent for us important stages in the journey towards incorporating the multilingual turn for learner development into our teaching practices. However, as this narrative account is focused mainly on our experiences as teachers, further exploration is necessary to find ways of fostering multilingual identities for learners themselves.

本稿は、英語を母国語としない教師（NNEST）のアイデンティティと多言語的アイデンティティを調和させ、多言語の英語教師としての新しいより解放的なアイデンティティへと化させていく私の旅を記する。日本在住の4人の外国人NNESTとの議論を通して、NNESTとして活動する私たちの立場が日本でどのような意味を持つのか、学習者の言語的・異文化的発達にどう貢献できるのか、そしてどのようにして多言語主義と多文化主義を教育現場に導入できるのかを探究した。これらの3つの考察は、学習者の発達を促すべく多言語的転回を教育実に取り入れるための第一であると考えている。一方、本稿のナラティブアカウントは、主に教師としてのに焦点をてているため、学習者自身の多言語アイデンティティを育む方法を見つけるためには、さらなる探求が必要である。

Acest studiu narativ reprezintă o încercare de a documenta o călătorie transformațională de reconciliere a identității mele multilingve cu identitatea mea de profesor de limbă engleză ne-vorbitor nativ. Această reconciliere ar putea rezulta într-o identitate nouă și într-un fel eliberatoare ca profesor multilingv de limba engleză. În cadrul discuțiilor cu alți patru profesori ne-vorbitori nativi străini din Japonia, am reflectat asupra a ceea ce reprezintă pentru noi statutul nostru de profesori ne-vorbitori nativi în Japonia, asupra contribuțiilor pe care le putem face pentru dezvoltarea lingvistică și interculturală a studenților noștri și asupra modului în care putem aduce multilingvismul și multiculturalismul în orele noastre. Aceste trei subiecte de reflecție reprezintă primii pași către încorporarea schimbării multilingve pentru dezvoltarea studenților în practicile noastre pedagogice. Cu toate acestea, deoarece acest studiu narativ se concentrează în principal pe experiențele noastre ca profesori, este necesară o explorare mai aprofundată pentru a găsi modalități de a promova identități multilingve și pentru studenți.

Keywords

multilingual identity, non-native English speaking teacher (NNEST), multilingual teacher, transformative journey, multilingual turn for learner development

多言語的アイデンティティ, 英語を母国語としない教師（NNEST), 多言語教師, 変革の旅, 学習者の発達における多言語的転回

identitate multilingvă, profesor de engleza ne-vorbitor nativ, profesor multilingv, călătorie transformațională, schimbarea multilingvă pentru dezvoltarea studenților

C: I think at that point it started to become like part of me.

O: So that's when you feel you became multilingual?

C: Yeah, when it starts to affect a little your identity, I think that was the starting point for me.

(Excerpt from my interview with Clara)

Multilingualism and multiculturalism are an integral part of my life, so when I became involved with this issue of the Learner Development Journal, I was particularly inspired by the main theme of the multilingual turn for learner development. This

was because of its focus on "the dynamic, hybrid, and transnational linguistic repertoires of multilingual (often migrant) speakers" (May, 2014, p. 1). This resonated very much with my lived reality as a multilingual immigrant in Japan, although not quite so much with my teaching practices. For a while now I have been struggling to reconcile my multilingual identity with my identity as a non-native English speaking teacher (NNEST). On the one hand, in my everyday personal life, I constantly switch between four languages. I use English, Spanish, and to a lesser extent Japanese at home with my family; I use Japanese as I go about life in Japanese society; and I speak Romanian with my family back in my home country of Romania. In my professional life, on the other hand, I use English almost exclusively, but I have often come up against what my NNEST status means both for how I am perceived by other professionals in the field, in particular native speaking English teachers (NESTs), and also for how I see myself.

As I started working on this narrative account, my personal multilingual identity and my NNEST professional identity felt not only completely separate, but in many ways irreconcilable. I have always felt that when I walk into a classroom, I must assume my English teacher persona, and abide by ideologies of professionalism which may be rooted in native-speakerism (Holliday, 2006) and which often include English-only policies. Moreover, I have always thought that sharing my full multilingual usage with my students would be inconceivable.

In many ways, this narrative account has turned out to be an exploratory journey for me, a journey influenced by the multilingual turn in language education and how it is shaped by social, pedagogical, and practical factors (Conteh & Meier, 2014). Another important voice in changing and shaping my self-perception as a language teacher was Raees Calafato through his review on research conducted with NNESTs, which proposed a paradigm shift in the way these teachers are viewed (Calafato, 2019). He suggests the perception should shift from seeing NNESTs as non-native speakers of the language they teach (with all the implied deficiencies as speakers and as teachers of that language) to recognizing them as multilingual teachers. This paradigm shift goes even further in that it provides a way to "move beyond the native speaker / non-native speaker debate and instead focus on the potential abilities and skills of multilingual teachers" (Calafato, 2019, p. 3).

My journey was also guided by the journeys of four other foreign NNESTs living and teaching in Japan, with whom I conducted semi-structured interviews. Through these interviews, I hoped to co-construct narratives of multilingual NNESTs experiences by adding my own reflections to theirs (Block, 2000). Foreign NNESTs are not very common in Japan for various reasons, including an ingrained belief in Japanese society that native speakers make far superior role-models for language learners (Tsuneyoshi, 2013), which mirrors a similar belief held more widely in Asia (Braine, 2010). That is why I have used my personal connections and relationships to approach the four participants: Maria, Clara, Nicolas, and Mona. Apart from one, these are pseudonyms I will be using throughout this narrative account based on the participants' wishes, in order to protect their identity. I have also refrained from mentioning their countries of origin for precisely the same reason: Given the scarcity of foreign NNESTs in Japan, some of the participants felt they could be easily identified by the mere mention of their home country. I will, however, discuss their linguistic repertoires later in this narrative account, as the languages they speak are an integral part of their identities as multilingual teachers.

Language teacher identity is a concept that is notoriously hard to define (Barkhuizen, 2017). Throughout this narrative account, I would like to keep in mind two aspects that I find particularly relevant. The first such aspect is the fact that language teacher identities are both internal (within each individual teacher) and external (pertaining to the social context

in which the teacher exists); the other is that language teacher identities are continuously evolving, as "they are constructed discursively in social interaction" (Barkhuizen, 2017, p. 8). Based on my own experiences and on the insights gained from interviewing the four participants, in this narrative account I trace my journey of reconciling multilingual identities with the NNEST identity, and thus developing new and more complex multilingual teacher identities.

I begin by describing in detail my own multilingual background, as well as those of the four participants, and then I focus on three main areas that emerged from the interviews: our status and experiences as foreign NNESTs in Japan, what we feel we can contribute to the development of our learners, and how we approach the multilingual turn for learner development in our own classrooms.

Personal Narrative: Becoming Multilingual

I remember lying in bed just before drifting to sleep and feeling utterly mentally exhausted after what had after all been just a normal day. I had attended a few Japanese language lessons in the morning and then spent the afternoon and evening with my new friends—international students from around the world, all of us enrolled in a one-year intensive Japanese program in Osaka, and living in dormitories on the university campus. At the time, I had just arrived in Japan from my home country of Romania in order to attend university, and I was adjusting to my new multilingual reality. I used Japanese in my classes at university, English was the lingua franca when communicating with other international students in my program, I still spoke Romanian with my Romanian classmates and my family, and I was starting to use Spanish to more easily communicate with my new Latin American friends.

Until recently, I considered that particular time in Osaka when I was using several languages concurrently to be the beginning of my multilingual identity. However, as I learned about the early 20th-century work of John Dewey on "continuity," which he sees as "the notion that experiences grow out of other experiences, and experiences lead to further experiences" (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 2), I realized that far from being a beginning, these experiences were merely a continuation of the multilingual environment of my childhood and teenage years in Romania.

I was raised in a region in Romania where Hungarian and German communities are part of the fabric of society and from my earliest infancy, close family friends would switch between Romanian and Hungarian or German on a daily basis. My mother, a teacher of English and French, taught me English (and to a lesser extent French, which I also learned in school) from early childhood, and I was also exposed to significant amounts of English media on Romanian TV. During my elementary school years, Romania transitioned from a communist regime to a more democratic one, which brought with it a greater degree of openness towards the west. One way this openness manifested itself was the introduction of European TV channels into Romanian households. Within about two years of this, my childhood friends and I were using fluent Italian, which we all acquired exclusively from watching TV, to communicate on the playground.

Another language I had been interested in from early childhood was Japanese. When I was in elementary school, I came across a collection of Japanese folk tales translated into Romanian and it quickly became one of my favorite books. It also inspired a lifelong interest in the Japanese language and culture, so when an opportunity came up during my teenage years to learn Japanese as an extracurricular activity, I jumped at the chance. I eventually moved to Japan as a foreign student to complete my BA and later my MA at Japanese universities. For over seven years, I was part of the community of foreign students in Japan,

which could be described as super-diverse (Vertovec, 2007), with many countries in the world represented. My closest friends during this time were Latin American, South African, Hungarian, Bulgarian, Welsh, and of course Japanese. English and Japanese were the most common lingua francas used in this community, and all foreign students switched between these and other linguistic varieties in their repertoires.

Even as my own multilayered identities as a multilingual speaker were evolving, the concept of native-speakerism (Holliday, 2006) was a very strong influence on how I saw myself as an English speaker and later as an English teacher. Despite the fact that I was a fully proficient speaker of English, I took every small error or mistake as proof that I was in fact not a native speaker, which I saw as the ultimate goal of my lifelong efforts as a learner of English. Only in the last five to ten years have I become "free," so to speak, from the pressure of my aspiration to become a native-like English speaker, which I had acutely felt for basically my entire experience as an English learner in Romania. This freedom has come about through being exposed to research on the evolution of the multilingual turn in language education (see for example Conteh & Meier, 2014; May, 2014) and the questioning of monolingual bias and the native speaker norm in language teaching (Ortega, 2014).

Participants' Journeys to Multilingual Identities

Before going into the main themes that emerged from our discussions, I would like to briefly introduce the four multilingual teachers participating in this research project. All direct quotes from the interviews are represented in italics, and I have decided to use different colors for each of the four participants:

- Maria – purple
- Clara – blue
- Nicolas – green
- Mona – red

To understand their diverse multilingual backgrounds, I first asked how they acquired the languages in their repertoires. Then, I invited them to talk about their multilingual 'awakening', that is the time they first started to think of themselves as multilinguals. Finally, I explored with them their current linguistic environments and patterns of language use. A detailed account for each of the four teachers follows, as I believe their multilingual backgrounds are a crucial aspect of their teacher identity and their attitudes in relation to the multilingual turn in the language classroom.

Maria

Maria is originally from a Latin American country, where she grew up speaking Spanish. From the age of five, she lived with her family in Belgium for a few years, and she acquired French there *in a natural environment*, without actually studying it as a second language. She feels that:

> *having learned a second language at such a young age helped me acquire other languages with relative ease.*

She goes on to mention that she also acquired English *in a natural way* by watching movies, as well as listening to music and figuring out the lyrics as a teenager. This meant that when she took an English proficiency test around the age of fifteen, her level was intermediate to advanced. She had a brief stay in Japan at the age of seventeen, which was when she started

using English for communicative purposes and also studying Japanese, which she continued once she returned to her home country. Later, she moved to Japan permanently and studied Japanese during her graduate studies.

Maria spoke in detail about how she feels about her command of English and Japanese:

> *I feel that I can communicate in English but I do not feel entirely free when I use it. At this point, after 16 years of living in Japan, I feel I have the same level of handicap both in Japanese and in English. I can use both of them freely to a certain extent, but I cannot use either of them as I can use my native language.*

For Maria, multilingual usage is separated by people, as well as by situations. Her current daily linguistic environment includes Spanish which she uses at home and also at work when she teaches it, English for her job mostly, and Japanese at home with her family and in the wider Japanese society.

> *I would say it's like 50% Japanese, 30% English, and 20% Spanish, and that changes according to the subject that I am teaching. I use Spanish less than before at home.*

When I asked her how she feels about her multilingual day to day life, the first thing she mentioned was missing Spanish, although she does not feel she has lost any ability to use Spanish. About the other two languages in her repertoire, Maria commented:

> *With Japanese and English I feel the same level of 'foreign-ness'. I feel pretty comfortable in both of them but I don't feel either of them is my natural environment.*

Clara

Clara is originally from an Eastern European country and grew up speaking the language of her home country as her first language. She started learning English with a private tutor from six years old through to the end of high school. As part of her formal education, she studied a multitude of languages other than English: Russian from fifth grade to eighth grade, Spanish and Japanese in high school, and German in university. However, Clara said:

> *I don't remember actually using any of these languages.*

She does talk about using some English during international summer tennis tournaments in her childhood, but she was feeling shy about her English abilities. Her Japanese teacher also created some chances for her to use her Japanese, for example by inviting other Japanese speakers to class, but there were not many such opportunities.

When Clara first came to Japan for one year, it was a turning point for her multilingual development. She was in an advanced Japanese class, but struggled very much because she had only learned *textbook Japanese, very polite, very correct Japanese*, which did not help her to make Japanese friends. At the same time, she used English with the other foreign students in her program because everyone was more confident in their English skills. After this one year, she returned to her home country and she remembers:

> *I really wanted to use the English and the Japanese all the time. It was that something was missing. I was actively looking for opportunities to use the languages. I think at that point it started to become like part of me.*

Clara added that she considers this to be the starting point of her multilingual identity.

Currently, Clara uses four languages on a daily basis: English with her husband and at work, Japanese with the administrative staff at work and in Japanese society, and her native

language with her children (but also Japanese with her elder son). The fourth language is Spanish, which she understands because her husband uses it with their children. This linguistic environment is normal for her, and she feels that it is a natural progression of the environment she experienced in graduate school in Japan, where she was surrounded by friends from all over the world.

> *Being surrounded by such a multicultural environment, it becomes the norm. Maybe at the beginning I was confused by the languages, but right now, no problem.*

Nicolas

Nicolas is a native Spanish speaker and was born in a Latin American country. From the age of two until he was six years old, his family lived in Canada, where he attended an English-speaking nursery. At the time, he was more proficient in English than in Spanish, and he talks about learning the alphabet in English rather than Spanish, which influences him to this day.

> *Back home, when I was in elementary school and I needed to look for something in the dictionary, I would say the a, b, c in English.*

In Canada he was also exposed to French in the wider community, but not to the same extent as English.

Nicolas maintained his English after returning to his home country at the age of six, partly through the efforts of his mother who made sure to provide books, as well as tutors and after-school programs in English. During his teenage years, he was also influenced by English language movies and music, and especially computer role-playing games:

> *Believe it or not, I learned most of my grammar and most of my English through role-playing games on PC. Back then, [...] if you needed a character to eat, [...] you needed to write "eat blah blah blah".*

Later Nicolas moved to Japan to attend graduate school. In preparation for this, he studied Japanese for three months before leaving his home country. Because he studied cultural anthropology, he was fascinated by cultures far from his own, and he feels that both his Japanese language ability and his cultural understanding of Japan developed most when he started teaching English in Japan.

> *When I came to Japan, I had no Japanese [...] Teaching to Japanese [people] is what really allowed me to understand Japanese culture. It made me understand more their mindset.*

When I asked him about his multilingual identity, Nicolas explained he considered himself to be multilingual when he returned from Canada in his childhood, and he believes that the environment he was in played an important role in his identity realization:

> *In a place where everyone was speaking Spanish, I saw myself as different.*

But he also talked about his years in graduate school in similar terms, as a time of great change in his identity development:

> *Those two years formed me in a way. I saw the world in a different way.*

Mona

Mona is originally from the Middle East and Farsi is her mother tongue. She started learning English from the age of twelve in an English institution and continued throughout her

teenage years. After that, she also studied French and at the time could speak a little of the language. However, in her early 20s she moved to Japan and started learning Japanese so she says she forgot her French.

At the moment, Mona uses three languages as part of her daily linguistic environment: Farsi, English and Japanese. She uses Farsi at home with her family, although she occasionally mixes some Japanese words when speaking with her children who are attending Japanese school. She uses English at work and Japanese for communication with Japanese friends and her children's teachers.

I asked Mona how she feels about her daily linguistic environment and she talked about how it is natural for her to switch languages now. However, she said it was confusing for her at first, when she would use Farsi words in her English medium language classes or words from other languages in Japanese. She went on to say:

> *But this is happening very rarely these days. Most of the time it's getting like switching between things [languages] automatically.*

She did mention that there is a difference between using her native language and the other languages in her repertoire. It is quite tiring for her when she needs to use English or Japanese all day, especially for academic work, but this does not happen with Farsi.

For Mona, moving to Japan was also an inflection point in her identity, and she sees it as the moment she became multilingual:

> *When we came here I needed to use English or Japanese for communication and then I think little by little [I realized my life was multilingual].*

Even though Maria, Clara, Nicolas, and Mona come from different parts of the world, there are numerous parallels between their multilingual experiences. One fascinating insight that I gained from all four teachers was the fact that the realization of their multilingualism came at times of change, and only after it had already started becoming a lived reality for them. This resonated with me as well because of my own experience of using several varieties in my linguistic repertoire at the same time when I moved to Japan, which I believe brought about my 'multilingual awakening'.

Being Foreign NNESTs in Japan

Following these stories of multilingualism and evolution, I would like to move on to discuss the three main themes that emerged from my interviews with Maria, Clara, Nicolas and Mona, namely, how we see ourselves as NNESTs in Japan, what we believe we can bring to our learners' linguistic and cultural development, and how we grapple with reconciling our multilingual lives with our teaching approaches and beliefs for the classroom.

At this point, more information about how the interviews with the four participants were conducted is in order. For each of the four interviews (which took place over Zoom and lasted between 40 and 60 minutes), I was guided by the idea of co-constructing narratives of NNEST experiences in Japan by adding my own experiences and reflections to theirs. In this approach, I was influenced by Block's (2000) conceptualization of interviews as "co-constructed," so that "interview data are seen not as reflections of underlying memory but as voices adopted by research participants in response to the researcher's prompts and questions" (p. 759). I also wanted to explore my relationship as a researcher with the participants in my research through an approach based on Martin-Jones et al. (2017), who showed that the identities of the researcher and participants can and should no longer be considered in fixed, binary terms, especially in the case of multilingualism research.

As a first step in bridging the gap between the multilingual reality of our private lives and the as of yet inescapable categorization as NNESTs in the English teaching profession in Japan, it is necessary to acknowledge and record the experiences that we have had throughout our teaching careers.

Before I move on to describing these experiences, however, I would like to take a moment to discuss why I believe it is important to provide a medium for the voices of foreign national NNESTs in Japan to be heard. Despite the fact that NNESTs are believed to make up about 80% of all English teachers around the world (Braine, 2010), they have had very little visibility in the field of TESOL until relatively recently (Kamhi-Stein, 2016). The influence of native-speakerism, defined by Holliday (2006) 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" (p. 385), is still undeniable. The traces of linguistic imperialism (Phillipson, 1992) in Asia and in Japan (Braine, 2010) are still clear in the field of second language education. On the other hand, within the Japanese context in particular, there have been attempts to redefine native-speakerism to also include the discrimination faced by NESTs in terms of employment conditions in Japan (Houghton & Rivers, 2013b). However, different contributions in the same volume edited by Houghton and Rivers (2013a) show that the ELT labor market in Japan is "dichotomized as Japanese/non-Japanese" (Hayes, 2013, p. 132) and also that "the vast majority of foreign English teachers in Japan can be assumed to be native speakers" (Geluso, 2013, p. 94). This means that non-Japanese, non-native English speakers are virtually invisible as English language teachers in Japan.

Focusing on the stories of such teachers could not only create a more inclusive working environment in the ELT field in Japan, but also constitute a first step towards moving beyond the NEST/NNEST dichotomy and seeing most language teachers as multilingual teachers. Unsurprisingly, the four teachers I interviewed had much to share with me, so I have separated this longer section into two subsections, the first dealing with our experiences as NNESTs in Japan, and the second with our self-perceptions as multilingual NNESTs.

Experiences as NNESTs in Japan

During my interviews with the four NNESTs one of the topics that we covered extensively was the discrimination we experienced when applying for various English teaching positions in Japan. In my case for example, in my early career, I had to constantly justify my qualifications as an English teacher in Japan. In one instance, I worked very hard to convince the owner of a small English conversation school to hire me as a part-time English teacher. One of her first questions during my interview was why she should hire a Romanian for the position. I felt it was my job to impress upon her that, as a non-native speaker who had acquired English in a similar fashion to the students in her school (i.e., in an EFL context), I was in fact much better qualified for the position than the NESTs with no formal training she had already employed. There were other instances in my later career when, despite the fact that I had earned an MA in sociolinguistics and language education, and had become a certified TESOL instructor, various administrators and office staff at different Japanese universities questioned my ability to effectively teach English based solely on my Romanian nationality and my "non-native speaker" status.

During our conversations, Maria, Clara, and Mona talked about both systemic discrimination against them as NNESTs and examples of students having discriminatory attitudes. In terms of systemic discrimination, Mona reported a similar experience to mine. At one university, following a successful job interview she was contacted by the administration

by email with concerns about her non-native English speaker status. They asked for proof of her English proficiency, but the faculty member in charge of coordinating the program intervened on her behalf and the issue was resolved.

Clara talked about a different type of systemic discrimination, namely, how English teaching jobs are advertised in Japan. She said about her current job:

> *It was advertised initially for native speakers so I thought: I'm not going to bother applying.*

Maria, on the other hand, mentioned that she has noticed that recently there are fewer jobs advertised exclusively for NESTs.

Maria had a very interesting take on this issue of systemic discrimination in the workplace because she also had the experience of working as an English teacher in her home country before coming to Japan. She described the situation there as being very similar to Japan in that, in certain schools, not very qualified NESTs have much better working conditions and pay than qualified local NNESTs. Maria feels that in Japan, NESTs with the same qualifications as her have a better chance to get a teaching job.

> *I think it's connected to a larger system of discrimination. Should it change? Absolutely! Should there be a better understanding of how English is not owned by native speakers but it's already a global tool that anyone has access to? Yes, sure!*

Although she thinks that there should be systemic change in English language teaching in Japan, she does not feel that individual NNESTs can bring about change on their own.

Another topic that came up in our conversations was exactly how salient our status as NNESTs in Japan is for our careers. When Maria and I talked about how we might be different from NESTs in Japan, she said:

> *The difference is more important for us than it is for everybody else.*

Clara talked about being the only foreign NNEST in the department at one university, but also about how at a different university she was part of a very diverse group of English teachers originating from India, Nepal, the Netherlands, or Uzbekistan.

Another point of discussion with the participants concerned how they feel their NNEST status influences their students. Maria mentioned that at the beginning of her teaching career, she did not feel as accepted by some of her Japanese students, especially those who had lived abroad.

> *I remember that one of them asked me: where is your accent from? And I said: well, where do you think it's from? And she said: anywhere but not native. So that made also a distinction: you can't pass for a native speaker. [...] I recognize there is less acceptance of the non-native English speaker as an English teacher.*

Mona, on the other hand, talked about a certain lack of awareness in her students :

> *I think most of my students don't really see me as a native or non-native. They are not really paying attention to this, my background, compared to faculty members and administrative staff who are labeling teachers as native versus non-native.*

Clara also mentioned how many of her students forget she is not a native speaker of English by the end of the course, and she relayed an instance when a student was actually shocked to hear that as a non-native speaker herself, Clara could understand his struggles with learning English.

Here, I believe it is worth observing that the teachers I interviewed thought more readily of negative experiences related to their status as NNESTs in Japan. This is something that struck

me when reading Canagarajah's (2017) reflections on teacher identity, where he talks about his students' negative reactions to him as an NNEST. To me, this shows a still prevalent belief that native speakers make for superior teachers of languages, as well as the persistence, and perhaps ubiquity of discriminatory practices in the ELT field in Japan and elsewhere. This may go some way towards explaining the difficulties of moving beyond the NEST / NNEST dichotomy and towards reconceptualizing language teachers as multilingual teachers.

Self-Perceptions

Closely reflecting enduring trends in the literature on language learning and teaching (see for example Medgyes, 1994; Moussu & Llurda, 2008; Marr & English, 2019), the very question of what makes a native speaker of English or a non-native speaker of English turned out to be a difficult one in the conversations I had with the four participants. We discussed how we see ourselves and in some instances how we came to terms with our non-native speaker of English status.

We all consider ourselves non-native speakers of English, but when we discussed what this means for us personally, Mona began by saying:

> *This is a very interesting and difficult at the same time question. This is really hard to talk about.*

Nicolas had a more nuanced take on his non-native speaker of English status:

> *I'm not native but that's debatable because my native language is Spanish, but my first language was English.*

On the other hand, Clara talked about a complex she always had:

> *I will always be a non-native speaker of English. It would be presumptuous of me to say otherwise. [...] This was a complex that probably I had. I consider myself a non-native speaker. I'm very aware that I sometimes make mistakes, I don't find the right words or the context.*

Maria had an interesting take on the same complex when we talked about our aspirations to become native-like in our use of English:

> *It is part of a colonial complex of never being as good as the colonizers.*

Such issues related to the self-perceived inadequacy of NNESTs as English speakers have been extensively reported in the literature (see for example Braine, 2010; Marr & English, 2019). Even though there is much advocacy for the abolition of the native speaker norm, that does not make these issues any less real and present in the lives and professional careers of NNESTs.

Nevertheless, the NNESTs I interviewed seemed to make attempts to reclaim the term non-native speaker. A similar attempt is discussed by Kamhi-Stein (2016) who argues that non-native speakers themselves have begun to stop seeing non-nativeness as a negative attribute. Moreover, as far back as the 1990s, Kramsch (1997) questioned the very need for non-native speakers to aspire to become native-like: "Why should they disregard their unique multilingual perspective on the foreign language and on its literature and culture to emulate the idealized monolingual speaker?" (p. 359). This particular quote from Kramsch (1997) struck me as particularly important because, during the same time in the mid-1990s, I remember feeling great pressure (mostly self-imposed) to become indistinguishable from a native speaker of English. During our interview, Maria also talked a lot about how she was focused on achieving *perfect pronunciation* in English when she was younger, but now that she recognizes the diversity in accents, she has

become free from the struggle of having to have a perfect accent.

I described earlier how I also began to feel that I have finally become free from the pressure of aspiring to become a native speaker of English through my involvement with research on the multilingual turn in learner development. Could this freedom be an initial step towards a different awareness of our teacher identities, one that moves us forward on the journey towards seeing ourselves as multilingual teachers?

Influencing Our Learners' Development

The debate over what NESTs and NNESTs can bring to the classroom and thus contribute to the development of their learners has been an enduring one in the literature. On the one hand, NESTs have traditionally been seen as authorities on the language (Canagarajah, 1999), the best models for students (Marr & English, 2019) and purveyors of culture (Medgyes, 1994). However, Braine (2010) and Kramsch (1997), among many others, have questioned this perceived superiority of native speakers of English as English teachers. Indeed, Moussu and Llurda (2008) pointed out that "many so-called NSs can be far less intelligible in global settings than well-educated proficient speakers of a second language" (p. 318). Also, Seidlhofer (1999) makes a further argument for the ability of NNESTs to bring something to the language classroom that NESTs can not. She uses a beautiful journey metaphor to make her point: "native speakers know the destination, but not the terrain that has been crossed to get there; they themselves have not travelled the same route" (Seidlhofer, 1999, p. 238).

Although this NEST versus NNEST debate continues in the academic literature, there are also many attempts to move past it and focus instead on what multilingual language teachers can contribute to the development of their learners (Calafato, 2019). The issue of what we can bring to our students' language learning journeys is one that came up in my discussions with Maria, Clara, Nicolas, and Mona as well. We discussed a shared sense of identity as English language learners that we have with our students, our abilities to make ourselves more easily understood in English, and the wealth of language learning strategies we can share with our learners.

I often see myself in my students; I can identify with their dread at being faced with a "wall of text" in English, and with their puzzling over what can seem like nonsensical English grammar or spelling rules. Both Mona and Maria seemed to share these exact feelings. Mona said about her students:

> *I have studied English as a second language like them, so I can understand. [...] They are connected with this feeling and they get encouraged, I think. [...] Sometimes I see that my friends who are from English speaking countries, they might not fully understand when students ask them questions about grammar and vocabulary.*

Maria said:

> *It was always easier for me to teach Japanese people, because I have also been a student. [...] I went through the process of not being able to speak English to actually being able to communicate in English. So I guess that being a non-native English teacher helped me kind of understand, or be close, or have some sort of identity with the students in that sense.*

Nicolas goes even further in an attempt to describe what a language teacher should be:

> *To be a language teacher, you yourself must have gone through the process of learning a completely foreign language. [...] If you don't have that experience, you can only teach your students 25% of what it means to learn a language.*

In our conversations, comments from students about how easy it is to understand us speaking English when compared to NESTs often came up. In a course end survey I administered to my own students, they commented about my use of English in the class:

> *She is good at putting in other words, so I can understand difficult words. She often cares about our reaction, and change expression depending on our level of understanding. Without her additional explanation, I could not do my best for our assignment.*

Clara also talked about her ability to make herself understood as an advantage in the classroom.

> *I imagine that for a native speaker it's a bit more difficult to adjust the language they speak, but I usually do it; I'm very conscious about it. I try to speak slowly, use easier words; I don't switch immediately to Japanese, I always try to adjust my language first. I've had no complaints from students. They are quite happy that I try to make myself understood. I don't just go there, talk and leave.*

Maria told me about comments she received from students that her English was easy to understand, but she had a very interesting and rather different reaction to those comments, especially in her early career:

> *I remember many of my Japanese students at the time saying: wow, your English is very easy to understand, which I always took as not a real compliment. Not a back-handed compliment, but it meant that my pronunciation was not exactly like native speakers' pronunciation. It's okay, but I always felt that [sigh] it's easy to understand because it's not the real thing.*

One of the more practical contributions we have all felt that we can make to our students' development as language learners is sharing our language learning strategies. We often get questions from students about the best ways to learn English, and we can bring up our personal language learning experiences to help them with that. Clara put it very succinctly:

> *Because you yourself are a second language learner, you have experience and you can tell them: 'this is what I used to do'.*

Maria spoke in detail about some of the language learning strategies she shares with her students:

> *I remember specifically once when I was teaching listening skills to one group and I told them what I used to do when I used to take tests: I used to take notes in Spanish because it's what comes out faster. So you listen and you take notes in Spanish and then you either write or speak based on those notes. [...] And I told my students to do that, just take notes in Japanese. I remember one student said this is what she wanted to hear but her native teachers have always taught her to take notes in English because you're listening in English and you must write in English and she said this [Maria's advice] was a life saver. [...] It was something I could say because I had the experience of learning the language.*

Nicolas went beyond individual strategies and explained that he incorporates teaching strategic competence in his classes. He gave an example of a Japanese Youtuber whose videos he uses in his classes to illustrate this concept for his students and show them that finding a way to communicate is the most important thing when learning a language. In her videos, this particular Japanese Youtuber explains movies in English, and Nicolas says that despite her *very broken English*, she:

> *has a very high strategic competence. It's the ability of finding a way of overcoming your difficulties with vocabulary and grammar and still get through your message.*

However, when Nicolas shared these videos with an NEST colleague, their reaction was:

I couldn't go through that video. I just couldn't stand how she was destroying my language.

Nicolas describes this colleague as someone who speaks no Japanese and whose attitude of expecting Japanese learners to perfectly speak *their language* is not only counterproductive, but also the very opposite of what a multilingual teacher might bring to the classroom.

A concept that I believe summarizes very well the influences that we as multilingual NNESTs can have on our learners' development is that of "language awareness," which Calafato (2019) describes as "explicit knowledge about and conscious perception of language, its structure and vocabulary, its teaching and learning, as well as its use in social and cultural contexts" (p. 4). The enhanced language awareness that NNESTs have by virtue of their multilingualism is what allows us to better guide our students on their own journeys towards multilingualism.

Engaging With the Multilingual Turn and Becoming Multilingual Teachers

For myself and for the other NNESTs I interviewed, living a multilingual life and constantly switching between languages is a normal part of our day-to-day experiences. However, reconciling our multilingual identities with our English language teaching practices has been much more difficult. When considering introducing a multilingual turn in the English language classroom, one would think that multilingual teachers would be the ideal vehicles for this turn, but this has not necessarily been our collective experience in Japan. During our conversations on multilingualism in our classes, the participants and I first discussed how we deal with the still common "English only" mandates. We also touched upon how we use Japanese in our classrooms and how we raise our students' awareness of the variety of English accents, which I see as initial attempts at introducing the multilingual turn into our classrooms. Another very interesting point brought up by the participants was the fact that often multiculturalism is even more important than multilingualism and that our own multilingual and multicultural backgrounds make us uniquely qualified to expose our Japanese students to various aspects of multiculturalism.

One of the first issues that came up in our discussions of multilingualism in the classroom was that of the mandatory English only policies still prevalent at many Japanese universities. Despite the fact that these policies are a manifestation of native-speakerism (Auerbach, 1993) and linguistic imperialism (Phillipson, 1992), all of us seem to have internalized this idea. Mona, for example, talked about how, before she started teaching English in Japan, she was convinced that using only English in the English language classroom was the best approach because this was how she learned English in her home country. Maria had an even stronger internalized feeling about the English only mandate:

I use words in Japanese, [...] but I know it's kind of a taboo, like many people don't want to do that, many people think that you should never use words from another language in a sentence in another language, but I don't necessarily feel it's a bad thing to do, so I do it all the time.

Notwithstanding the fact that we are expected to follow English only policies, all the teachers I interviewed not only reported using Japanese in their English classes, but in some cases, how their Japanese ability actually gives them an advantage over teachers who cannot speak the L1 of Japanese students. Maria talked about using Japanese words that cannot be translated into English like for example *ganbaru* (do one's best). Mona shared how she switches to Japanese in low level classes when students do not understand directions, but she made sure to emphasize that she does not translate for students but merely helps them understand and move on with the lesson. She describes her use of Japanese as:

using some words that can make me feel more connected to the students.

Clara talked about using Japanese not only when lower level students need it, but also for administrative purposes in the classroom, such as when she gives students deadlines or explains important assignments. When I asked her how this use of Japanese changes her class, she mentioned:

> *I had many students write in their final evaluations that they loved it that I used Japanese, because it makes it easier to understand.*

In my own case, I use Japanese in my classroom for all the purposes described above, and I also use it for what I call "entertainment purposes." I often use certain phrases in the more colloquial Kansai dialect of Japanese (like *nande ya nen* / なんでやねん [how come] or *sou nan ya* / そうなんや [is that so]) to break the tension or create some levity in the classroom. Moreover, I make more extensive use of my students' L1 by encouraging them to use it in the planning stages of projects. Almost invariably, this proves to be extremely beneficial for students, not only by improving the quality of their final projects, but also in terms of generating target language. During a recent project I conducted, for example, a group of students were discussing in Japanese how they might respond to other groups' presentations, and they came up with an impressive list of possibilities during a three-minute exchange conducted mainly in Japanese: "*Great! Brilliant! Amazing! That's an interesting answer. That makes sense. That's a good idea. Wow, I want to try that too! I will challenge that some day!*" Had they not been able to use Japanese, I do not believe they would have been as successful at generating quite as many useful English expressions.

Another interesting aspect of incorporating multilingual use into our classrooms is raising Japanese students' awareness of World Englishes (Kirkpatrick, 2007) and the variety of English accents used by English speakers around the world. Mona described a content class she taught in which one of the topics covered was the difference between native and non-native English, and she summarized the students' opinions about the topic:

> *They were really aware about different kinds of Englishes, not only accents or this kind of surface level. [...] Students are probably more ready to be more open in terms of communication with people from different backgrounds, different accents, different kinds of English as a lingua franca, compared to what we are seeing from the other side, which is how teachers are being recruited or what kind of teachers are being hired.*

Maria talked about being asked to teach an English pronunciation class, but she explained:

> *I am very much against pronunciation classes because I think they are just encouraging this idea that there is one correct pronunciation, when there is not even an agreement among native speakers of what is a good pronunciation.*

This is why she was very happy to be able to use that opportunity to introduce her students to many different English accents (Indian, Australian, Brazilian). Her students' first reaction was that the speakers' English was terrible, and that they were not native speakers, so the students were very surprised to learn about the existence of World Englishes. Nicolas also talked about how he deals with what he terms his Japanese students' *obsession with perfect pronunciation*. He explained that he gives his students the statistics on how many people around the world speak English as a first language or as an additional language, and he also teaches them about the variety of English accents even among native speakers. Nicolas says raising this awareness in his Japanese students is very important, not only because they gain confidence when they learn they are in fact among the majority of people who speak English as an additional language, but also because he wants to impress upon his students that:

> *There is no such thing as perfect English, even for native speakers. [...] When they graduate, most of the people they are going to speak with are not native speakers.*

Finally, when asked about multilingualism in their classes, some of the participants pointed out how, even if they do not necessarily use other languages frequently, the aspects of multiculturalism that they bring to the classroom are often more important. Clara, for example, talked about how her multilingual background and experiences play a bigger role in her intercultural communication courses than in her English communication classes. In these courses, she says she can give examples of her own cultural misunderstandings and she can put more of an emphasis on multiculturalism. Nicolas in particular focuses on bringing multiculturalism into his classes:

> *I do not think there is such a thing as multilingualism AND multiculturalism. They are both the same thing. Language and culture are an indivisible unit. I can say that because I come from a multicultural background. [...] Even if I were to teach only grammar, [...] I am still teaching culture.*

In my conversations with the participants, I made sure to ask them how they introduce themselves to students they meet for the first time, because I wanted to know how they feel their very presence in the classroom influences their students. In my own case, I often give my students a set of statements about myself and ask them to guess which ones are true or false. I always include a statement about me being from a non-English-speaking country because I want students to begin questioning their assumptions about who their English teachers should be. Maria mentioned that she used to not tell her students that she is from Latin America, but she does not do that anymore:

> *The first time I taught, I remember trying to hide it, and I don't do that anymore. [...] Because I wanted to be taken seriously, but I was very young and inexperienced and I thought that would matter. [...] But I feel I have the confidence now to say where I am from and to say that I am not a native speaker.*

Mona explained that when she tells her students she is from the Middle East, not only do they want to know more about that, but:

> *Students are ready to accept the multilingual identity or background of their teachers.*

Nicolas concluded our interview with these words, which are very similar to the self-realizations of multilingual teachers reported by Calafato (2019).

> *This is what we, multicultural language teachers can bring to the table. It has nothing to do with being native or not. [...] It has to do with whether you yourself have had a multicultural background that you can use as an asset in the classroom.*

I see this reflection as the perfect encapsulation of our shifting identity towards embracing our multilingualism and also the ways we can engage with the multilingual turn for learner development to help our students become more accepting of language diversity and the use of different languages in the classroom.

Final Thoughts and Future Directions

As I bring this narrative account to a close, I wish I could say that I have a clear destination in mind for my journey of evolution from NNEST to multilingual teacher, but alas, I do not. I can, however, say that my multilingual identity and my professional identity as an English teacher no longer seem quite so irreconcilable. Sharing my experiences as an NNEST

with other NNESTs in Japan, as well as reflecting with them about what our presence in the classroom means for our students, and about ways to make multilingualism and multiculturalism an integral part of our teaching and learning, has been transformative for me. Acknowledging who we are and how we got here as multilingual speakers and English teachers, as well as accepting and maybe even letting go of ingrained assumptions, are all necessary steps in the journey towards a fully fledged multilingual teacher identity.

I am, however, left with more puzzles to ponder, but I feel they have become more conscious for me as I work on thinking them through. As this narrative account has focused on teacher identities and practices, one of the main remaining puzzles is what multilingual teachers can do to encourage learners to work multilingually through classroom practices around using languages in combination. Another puzzle relates to how multilingual teachers can help learners develop their own multilingual identities within an interconnected, multilingual, and multicultural world, by opening their eyes to the value of multilingual practices. Resolving these puzzles might mean more than just encouraging students to make free use of their L1 as part of their English language development, because it involves bringing down ingrained norms, both institutional and ideological, about appropriate language use, language ownership, and discourses of power.

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NARRATIVE ACCOUNT

Reflections on Co-Teaching Multilingual University-Level Language and Communication Courses

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In this narrative account, we reflect on our experiences of co-teaching multilingual university-level language and communication courses at the University of Jyväskylä, Finland. Finnish and Swedish are official languages in Finland, and most students also learn English at school. In our university, all three languages are currently taught within the same multilingual course. The courses are planned collaboratively and, as phenomenon-based multilingual courses, they cover areas such as academic literacy, multilingual interaction, and research communication. In practice, "…students may read academic articles in English, write a summary in Finnish, and deliver a presentation or have a group discussion in Swedish within the same module" (Jalkanen & Nikula, 2020, p. 119). We review the background to setting up these courses, and dialogically reflect on our joint involvement in planning, co-teaching, and developing multilingual academic courses.

このナラティブ・アカウントでは，フィンランドのユヴァスキュラ大学において高等教育レベルの多言語及びコミュニケーションコースを共同で教えたを振り返る。フィンラン語とスウェーデン語はどちらもフィンランドの公用語であり，また，多くの学生は学校教育の中で英語を学ぶ。現在，ユバスキュラ大学ではこれら3つの言語は一つの多言語コースで教えられている。このコースは，現象ベースの多言語コースにとして共同で計画され，アカデミックリテラシーや多言語インターアクション，リサーチコミュニケーションといった分野を含む。実際には「学生は一つのモデュールで，学術的な論文を英語でみ，要約をフィンランド語で書き，プレゼンテーションやグループディスカッションをスウェーデン語で行うことがある」（Jalkanen & Nikula, 2020, p. 119）。本稿では，まずこれらのコースの導入に至った　緯を振り返り，コースの計画，共同授業そして多言語的なアカデミックコースの構築に携わった筆者らのを，話的なアプローチを通じてリフレクションを行う。

Tässä narratiivisessa kuvauksessa tarkastelemme kokemuksiamme yliopistotason monikielisten viestintä- ja kieliopintojen opettamisesta useamman opettajan yhteisillä opintojaksoilla Jyväskylän yliopistossa. Suomen viralliset kielet ovat suomi ja ruotsi, ja useimmat oppivat englantia ensimmäisenä vieraana kielenä koulussa. Jyväskylän yliopiston viestintä- ja kieliopinnoissa nämä kolme kieltä sisältyvät samaan monikieliseen opintojaksoon. Opintojaksot suunnitellaan yhdessä ilmiöpohjaisiksi monikielisiksi opintojaksoiksi, joita ovat esim. akateemisen lukutaidon, monikielisen vuorovaikutuksen ja tutkimusviestinnän opintojaksot. Käytännössä "…opiskelijat saattavat lukea akateemisia tekstejä englanniksi, kirjoittaa niistä tiivistelmän suomeksi ja pitää esitelmän tai keskustella ryhmissä ruotsiksi saman moduulin aikana" (Jalkanen & Nikula 2020, p. 119). Tarkastelemme näiden opintojaksojen aloittamisen taustaa ja pohdimme dialogisesti yhteistyötä monikielisten akateemisten kurssien suunnittelussa, yhdessä opettamisessa ja kehittämisessä.

Keywords

co-teaching, university teaching, multilingual teaching, language repertoires, narrative account
共同授業，高等教育，多言語教育，言語レパートリー，ナラティブ・アカウント
yhteisopetus, yliopisto-opetus, monikielinen opetus, kielirepertuaarit, narratiivinen kertomus

> *It is my first day co-teaching in a multilingual classroom. I feel a little nervous, since I am not sure I remember very well when it is my turn to speak or how the whole situation is going to work with three teachers. The speech communication teacher starts the session in Finnish. I introduce myself briefly in English, and the course continues again in Finnish. When it's my turn, I use English again to talk about academic literacies. The students do not even look surprised when the language changes, and they present their views fluently in English. After we are done, the written communication teacher continues in Finnish. We continue the same way through the whole session. Other teachers pitch in if they have something helpful to add and I do the same for them.*

This initial episode describes our feelings during our first class of teaching a restructured communication and language course, and in this narrative account we, Riitta Kelly and Jussi Jussila, will continue the story by reflecting on our experiences of this new way of planning and teaching university-level communication and language courses for the Bachelor's level students in the University of Jyväskylä, Finland. We both work in the Centre for Multilingual Academic Communication (Movi), which arranges discipline-specific communication and language courses for students of all faculties, as well as exchange students' language courses and support courses open to all students. Riitta has been working in Movi since 2002, teaching mainly discipline-specific English courses for students of all faculties, exchange students' courses, and support courses. Jussi started as a Japanese teacher in Movi in 2016, teaching basic courses in Japanese, and more recently he has also been teaching English for students from various faculties. This new way of teaching, where teachers of different languages cooperate to plan and teach the same course, occasionally co-teaching in the same class, was both exciting and challenging for both of us.

In this narrative account we focus on our reflections on what we have experienced in taking part in planning and teaching these courses, focusing on multilingualism and its role in the process. Our purpose in writing a narrative account is to gain a better understanding of the planning and teaching of these courses. In our reflection, we will share our puzzles and draw out questions raised by this novel way of arranging courses.

The Context and the New "UVK" System

Given that the new system of restructured communication and language courses, (in Finnish "uusiutuvat viestintä- ja kieliopinnot," UVK for short) differs in many ways in comparison to the old one, in order to make our narrative account easier to understand, we will begin with a short introduction to the institutional background and present some reasons as to why the change was seen as necessary.

The University of Jyväskylä is located in Central Finland and it has six faculties and some 14,000 students (University of Jyväskylä, n.d.). Each degree at the University of Jyväskylä includes compulsory language studies following the requirements set by the faculty. Most of the time these studies include courses in speech communication and written communication in Finnish (a national language), studies in Swedish (a national language), and in one foreign language at least, which often is English. These degree-specific courses are taught by Movi.

Each faculty has its own language requirements: There are differences both in the amount of courses and the languages required. For example, students from the Jyväskylä School of Business and Economics (JSBE) study Finnish, Swedish, and two foreign languages, and students from the Faculty of Mathematics take Finnish, Swedish, and one foreign language (The Centre for Multilingual Academic Communication, 2021a; 2021b). English is the most popular first foreign language. Other options include German, French, Spanish, Russian and Japanese, among others. Depending on the student's major, there are 8-20 language-related

European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System (ECTS) credits included in the degree. Currently there are two different systems in force: the language-specific course system where languages are taught in separate courses, and the new system of restructured communication and language courses. In the UVK system, one course can include several languages depending on the focus of the course. Our new students follow the new system, whilst those students who are at the later stage of their studies finish their communication and language studies by taking language-specific courses.

The differences between the restructured communication and language courses (UVK) and language-specific courses are substantial. Even though we both had previous teaching experience, it took us a while to get a coherent picture of how the new UVK courses should be run. So, let us continue by explaining the basic principles of the new system.

Teaching English—as well as other languages—for academic purposes is a demanding task. It is important to take into account the general level of English that the students are likely to have (in Finland B2 in CEFR), and to consider the best ways to teach them the necessary content. Thinking about the current situation, Jalkanen and Nikula (2020) have observed that instead of learning languages separately, the emphasis has moved "to approaching language as a means of participation in disciplinary knowledge production and literacy practices" (p. 114). Thus, language and communication teaching also needs to change to reflect the changing needs of university students. Taalas and Laakso (2019) consider expertise in the light of recent research, pointing out that "expertise is seen as relational referring to the capacity to work with other practitioners in transdisciplinary contexts that are often multilingual, multicultural and multimodal. One feature common to all these contexts is that they are in constant transition." In their view, developing the capabilities and competences that enable students to cope and work in changing contexts is of vital importance.

The guiding principle of the new system is not to offer the students a course in a foreign language but to help them to work within a "study module, in which communication and language studies are integrated with major and minor subject studies, supporting them and enhancing students' academic skills" (The Centre for Multilingual Academic Communication, n.d.). The goal is thus to create courses, which "consist of phenomenon-based courses (academic literacy, multilingual interaction, research communication) where several languages (Finnish, English, Swedish, etc.) are used based on the objectives of the degree" (The Centre for Multilingual Academic Communication, n.d.). Symeonidis and Schwarz (2016) summarize phenomenon-based teaching as something that "invites us to break the boundaries of traditional subject teaching and move toward interdisciplinary explorations of phenomena" (p. 43). Jalkanen (2017) notes that dynamic multilingualism is a key element in the process. In practice, an English teacher will teach some part of the content through English whilst a Swedish teacher would teach another part through Swedish, and the Finnish teacher in Finnish. Occasionally the classes can be shared so that there may be for example three teachers present, and then each of them would use the language they normally use for teaching. However, the teachers can also switch between languages themselves.

In an interview (personal communication, January 29, 2021) that Riitta carried out with Peppi Taalas, the director of Movi, Taalas stated that the course renewal process was started in 2013, when it was noticed that the communication and language studies offered to students were not necessarily the best match in relation to their studies and future professions. Taalas further explained that it was difficult for students to get to the courses when they needed them, because the groups were full, and if they got into the course but missed classes, it was hard to keep up. The courses lasted 6–8 weeks so it was difficult to see the students' progress. Also, it was also not clear to the teachers of different languages what other teachers were teaching, and thus some course contents overlapped.

In our interview, Taalas summarized the goals of the UVK system as follows:

- moving from isolated languages to multilingual repertoires
- moving away from a 6–8 week module structure into a 3-year timeline
- better alignment with subject studies
- discipline-specific needs and literacies
- development of 21st century skills, employability, global citizenship skills (collaboration, creativity, digital literacy, multiculturalism, agency...) embedded in the modes of working and made visible in the learning outcomes and assessment.

To start to achieve these goals, all the compulsory discipline-specific Bachelor's level communication and language courses were combined into a continuum where teachers of different languages worked together to plan and carry out courses that were targeted to meet the students' needs at the right time. Taalas and Laakso (2019) summarize the new way of thinking in this process: "The development work aimed at bringing together different languages, as well as combining content and language expertise in the curriculum design." Representatives of Movi (then Language Centre), subject departments, and faculties planned the courses in close cooperation, and the development work was carried out in stages so that all of the university's six faculties were included in the new system by 2020.

In the same interview Taalas (2021) observes that the pedagogical design is based on Wiggins and McTighe's (2005) backward design, where first the desired results are identified, then acceptable evidence is determined and finally learning experiences and instructions are planned. She explains that the theoretical framework behind the new courses is based on three core elements: language and literacy (e.g., Blackledge & Creese, 2014; Piller, 2016), expertise and learning (e.g., Edwards, 2011), and educational change (e.g., Fullan, 2001, 2011; Hargreaves, 2003).

To be specific, planning was undertaken a year before a particular course was intended to run, to give participants enough time to consider the content carefully. The first stage in the planning with each faculty involved members of the respective faculty, the Movi pedagogical leadership, and senior Movi teachers. Taking into account the faculty's wishes, a team of Movi teachers next planned the content of the course, including the allocation of hours per language so as best to benefit the students of the major subject in question. The decisions were based on how many credit units in total each faculty had reserved for language studies and the relation of different languages in the previous model of language studies. Eventually, collaborative decisions were made after discussions on what were the best pedagogical choices for each team.

In practice, the teachers of different languages looked at the course from a skills-based perspective and considered together which language would be best to teach a particular topic. This meant, for example, that in the first session of the course the students might meet an English teacher and a Finnish speech communication teacher, but in the second session they might meet a Swedish teacher instead. During the first session all the teachers, as well as the overall course concept, were introduced to the students. Then, throughout the course, different teachers would teach their individual parts, sometimes co-teaching when that seemed a good choice.

The first pilot courses for the new system were started in 2014, and the last were launched in the autumn of 2020. Most faculties have three courses in three consecutive years: The first-year course focuses on academic literacies, the second-year course on multilingual interaction, and the third-year course concentrates on research communication.

Table 1. *Example Music and Arts Course Schedule*

Class focus	Course task	Teachers and languages
Class 1 Course introduction		1. **Finnish written communication** 2. **Finnish speech communication** 3. **English** 4. **Swedish**
Class 2 Swedish introduction		1. **Swedish**
Class 3 Group communication	Concept analysis instructions	1. **Finnish speech communication** 2. **Finnish written communication**
Class 4 Reading strategies		1. **English**
Class 5 References Information search (academic databases)	Finding articles for concept analysis	1. **English**
Class 6 Writing as a process	Concept analysis	1. **Finnish written communication**
Class 7 Using references	Concept analysis, group presentation	1. **Finnish written communication**
Class 8 Peer-feedback Reading texts (Swedish texts)	Concept analysis, group presentation	1. **Finnish written communication** 2. **Finnish speech communication**
Class 9 Field-specific vocabulary		1. **English**
Class 10 Working with texts (writing as a process) Peer-feedback	Concept analysis	1. **Finnish written communication**
Class 11 Working on texts (group work)	Concept analysis	1. **Finnish written communication**
Class 12 Using (the Swedish) sources	Concept analysis	1. **Swedish**
Class 13 Activities related to field-specific vocabulary		1. **English**
Class 14 Activities related to field-specific vocabulary		1. **English**
Class 15 Presentation skills Critical reflection	Group presentation	1. **English**
Class 16 Teacher feedback on written task (concept analysis)	Concept analysis	1. **Finnish written communication**
Class 17 Group task in English: presenting an article Peer- and teacher feedback	Group presentation	1. **English**
Class 18 Group task in English: presenting an article Peer- and teacher feedback	Group presentation	1. **English**
Class 19 Course wrap-up Feedback		1. **Finnish written communication** 2. **Finnish speech communication** 3. **English**

To give a concrete example of what our UVK teaching looks like, let us briefly introduce a course schedule for the first-year students in music and arts. This includes the general themes discussed in different sessions, but not detailed task instructions or deadlines. Rather, it gives an understanding of the overall course progression. In the last column in Table 1, it is possible to see which teachers are responsible for which sessions.

There are various ways of organizing a course schedule, and this particular course includes two 90-minute sessions per week. On the left hand side you can see which session is in question and next to it, the focus of the session. The main tasks in this course include a concept analysis written in Finnish and a group presentation in English. The concept analysis is based on several articles in English and one in Swedish. The group presentation is based on one of the articles in English, and students are asked to summarize the main points of the text and include their own critical points of view. On the right hand side of Table 1 you can see the teachers and the languages present in the class.

Now that we have described how the new UVK system works, we will position ourselves as planners and teachers of these courses in the context of narrative inquiry.

Teachers as Narrators in a Multilingual Context of Change

For both of us, co-teaching in a multilingual team was a new experience. Our first UVK course was Academic Literacies for students from the Jyväskylä School of Business and Economics (JSBE) in 2018/2019. In addition, Jussi has since taken part in planning and teaching the Academic Literacies course for IT students, and Riitta has been teaching in Academic Literacies and Multilingual Interaction for Psychology students, as well as planning and teaching Academic Literacies and Multilingual Interaction for Music and IT students. Our narrative account is based on our experiences of working with these courses.

Co-teaching with teachers of different languages offers various points of view to discuss. When searching for a research topic, Pitkänen-Huhta (2019) points out that teamwork, cross-fertilization (in the sense of new ideas being born from unexpected combinations), and self-reflection are useful angles to research a topic. Teamwork and cross-fertilization are an integral part of teaching UVK courses, whilst self-reflection is important when considering the teaching process and its outcome. Pitkänen-Huhta (2019) also emphasises that, in an increasingly multilingual environment, classroom practices and multilingualism in relation to learning materials should be considered. Given that teaching university-level communication and language courses including multiple languages by teachers who are originally teachers of different languages is a relatively new concept, we wanted to consider our first impressions of this type of teaching and see how our understanding and views have developed over the first years of teaching.

Writing a narrative account offers us opportunities for self-reflection and here we want to consider questions such as how do we work as a team, why are we using a certain language in a certain context, who gets to teach what, why, and in which language, how much individual freedom each teacher has, and how to motivate students to use different languages in class. Our reflection includes only our perspectives as teachers; although we would have liked to include student voices, we do not have the permission to share student feedback here.

Narrative inquiry seemed like a suitable approach for considering our views on the new way of teaching communication and language. According to Clandinin and Connelly (2000), narrative inquiry focuses on experiences in the sense that it is trying to understand and make meaning of experiences. They also mention that reflection is a central tool in maintaining "an educative sense of critique and growth" (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 87) about one's experience. As teachers, we want to benefit from reflection in order to gain a clearer

understanding of what we do and why we do it. However, Pavlenko (2007) warns us against "treating accounts as facts" (p. 168), and thus we would also like to point out that the topics discussed describe our understanding and interpretation of the teaching situations. The points we discuss reflect our views alone and cannot be used to generalize the issues further.

In our writing, we see connections to Dewey's concepts of *situation*, *continuity*, and *interaction* that Clandinin and Connelly (2000) highlight in their discussion of a three-dimensional narrative inquiry space. For them, the term *situation* has to do with place; *continuation* includes past, present, and future; and *interaction* encompasses that which is personal and social. As Clandinin and Connelly (2000) point out, any inquiry can be seen through four dimensions: *inward* and *outward*, and *backward* and *forward*. *Inward* has to do with feelings, hopes and moral disposition, whereas *outward* relates to the environment, and *backward* and *forward* have to do with the temporal constructions of past, present and future. These all play a role in our interpretation here.

Even though narratives can be written (e.g., Barcelos, 2008), oral (e.g., Cotterall, 2008), visual (e.g., Kalaja et al., 2008), or geared towards users of visual languages (Kelly, 2009), for us writing is the form of communication that comes most naturally, and that is why we chose to use writing as the medium of communication. In this text we write dialogically, taking turns to reflect on the topics that we see as meaningful in relation to our UVK teaching. Our aim in writing a narrative account is to gain a better understanding through joint reflection of how planning and teaching a multilingual course with a complicated structure works, and see what kind of puzzles we come across whilst writing. Following Barkhuizen's (2014) categorization, our joint text can be seen as an autobiographical case study, but since there are two of us, our text includes multiple narratives. Barkhuizen (2014) furthermore points out that narrative inquiry has often brought into consideration the themes of identity, context, and affect. Given that our narratives only cover a relatively short period of time and are not introspective in the sense of identity search, our focus is mainly on the teaching environment and our way of working there—on experience and context.

Reflections on Our Initial Teaching Experiences: What is Going on Here?

Next, we continue with a reflective dialogue about our initial experiences of teaching these new multilingual courses.

Riitta: My first impressions of teaching students of Jyväskylä School of Business and Economics (JSBE) were a little confused. I had no previous experience of teaching multilingual courses with teachers of four different subjects, and I was not quite sure what was going on. It felt a little bit like jumping onto a moving train, and try as they might, the other teachers did not have enough time to explain the whole concept to a newcomer. In the end this situation led to long conversations with various people responsible for the project. It was challenging getting an understanding of the big picture. The materials I was using had been prepared by another teacher, and that made the jump both easier and more difficult—easier, because I did not have to prepare my own materials but also more difficult, because I had to adjust my way of teaching to a different mindset. I had been used to having more time to get to know the students, play games, have free discussions about different topics and to be able to do all this in English. Hence, I was also surprised how little English there was included in the course—I had got used to working with a certain amount of hours in English only, and now the hours allotted to the course had to be shared between teachers of other languages as well.

Jussi: Similarly, it took me a while to understand the idea of the new system, but once I understood what it was about I immediately thought that it seemed efficient and useful from the student's perspective, having recently graduated from the university myself. I felt that I personally would have benefited more from this system, and I was happy to be a part of this change. To give an example, when I was a student, I postponed my compulsory Swedish course until the very last moment, and finally completing it was difficult as I had not properly studied Swedish in years. Also, when I started writing my thesis, I felt that I was still lacking in many important areas related to the research process and especially academic writing. The courses that I was now teaching in the UVK system seemed to better support the students' path through their studies, as they offered timely support in many areas at once, for example, Swedish, English, and academic reading and writing skills.

From a teacher's perspective, the courses and materials seemed thoroughly planned, having been designed by a group of teachers from different language groups. I was also happy to learn from my colleagues outside of my own language group, some of whom I had not even properly talked with before. On the other hand, having three or more teachers teaching a relatively short course meant having fewer hours together with the students for each teacher. The overall feeling for me in the beginning was thus a bit fragmented, as I felt that I was only responsible for my own small part, and I had the feeling of not knowing my students as well as on the traditional courses. However, this was partly due to my lack of experience at the time, as gaining more experience in planning and teaching the courses, and seeing the same students in not just one, but two courses, has already helped to resolve the issue a little.

Multilingualism in Practice

We both have direct experiences of multilingualism in our lives and education. We continue by exploring our views on using different languages in the classroom and provide examples of our experiences.

Riitta: Multilingualism is something that has come naturally for me, since there have always been several languages in use in my family. My parents' shared language is Finnish sign language, but they always used Finnish with us children. My husband is English so our own family is multilingual as well. Given that I have got used to switching languages all the time in my personal life, changing languages in the classroom has not been a problem for me as such. The traditional courses have been monolingual in English, but now the situation has become more flexible, so it is accepted that students use Finnish or other languages in class. Trying to gain a holistic understanding of how the students view the multilingual teaching scheme and the quick change of languages in the class is not so simple, since we see them only for a little while and then it is the other teachers' turn to teach them. Since most of our students come from a monolingual Finnish-speaking background, it would be interesting to hear how this works in practice for them.

Jussi: I have also always seen multilingualism as a part of natural communication, possibly because I come from a bilingual area in Finland, where I got used to hearing and seeing Swedish and Finnish mixed daily. In class, I have never seen a student visibly surprised by teachers switching languages. The students quickly get the idea and naturally switch from Finnish to English and back when needed. However, I don't know if this happens as readily with Swedish, as I have not yet taught a class with

teachers teaching in Swedish. It seems to me that this type of teaching and studying resembles real-life situations more than forcing everyone to stick to one language in a way that seemed unnatural in earlier English-only classes. In certain situations, the students are still required to use, for example, Swedish or English to pass their course assignments, but situations like discussions, asking questions, and preparing for assignments, often tend to become more multilingual.

Riitta: I think it is interesting that you highlight the naturalness of multilingual communication, and that gives you a good starting point as a teacher to be a part of a multilingual classroom. Another point to consider is which languages we use in the class ourselves. I lecture in English, but maybe because of my multilingual background, I tend to reply to them in the same language they have used to ask me a question. If I am teaching something complicated like how to work the library system, then I will always do that in Finnish because I think it is unreasonable to expect the students to use that kind of vocabulary in English whilst navigating a complicated library system at the same time. The point is in learning a skill and not getting hampered by difficulties with the language.

When we have had more than one teacher in class, we have not actually decided on a language policy beforehand. The Finnish teachers have used Finnish and I have used English in lecturing, but both of us have used Finnish when answering questions in Finnish. When it comes to Finnish teachers I have worked with in these courses, there has been quite a lot of variation as to whether they have wanted to use Finnish only or whether they have ventured out to use other languages as well.

Jussi: That is an interesting point to mention, as I am used to something else. In a class where I act as an English teacher, I usually answer in English when I am asked a question in Finnish. I think that mostly the students are able to understand my answer even when they are not able to ask the question in English. However, I too have switched to Finnish when I have clearly felt that the individual student does not understand me, and it is in the situation more important to understand what I am saying than to practice using English. Sometimes in situations where I want to discuss an assignment with a student or a group in private, I have also used Finnish instead of English, as I have felt that the students have been able to discuss in a more relaxed atmosphere, and so get a little deeper in their reflections.

To further comment on the language policies in class, a Finnish speech communication teacher once taught an entire lesson with me in English spontaneously, only mixing Finnish in with some key words and phrases. This was without us agreeing on anything about the languages used in class. I thought that it was a great way of demonstrating to the students the way languages can be used to communicate and encouraging the students to do the same.

Planning in Multilingual Teams

As we mentioned earlier, planning in multilingual teams is a major part of the process of developing each course. Planning together can get quite complicated in comparison to one person planning and teaching a monolingual course. Next, we will share our reflections about this aspect of our work.

Riitta: Being part of a planning team has helped me a lot in getting an understanding of the big picture. It has also made it easier for me to see the common elements. Even though I enjoy planning by myself, I have noticed that with others it is both more fun and more challenging, especially if we do not all share the same vision about the course. However, the teachers' personal preferences may cause complications if, for example, two teachers of the same language have the same session to teach to different groups but don't agree on when the materials need to be ready.

Jussi: For me too, it has been a useful experience to develop ideas in a team of teachers from different fields. Immediate feedback is given and the ideas are developed and refined further together. I believe that being a new teacher had a positive effect on my view of the process, as I also got the opportunity to learn from many experienced teachers, which is something that I wanted to do in the first place.

Riitta: It has been really fruitful to talk about things together with teachers of different languages. We have been able to look at what it is that a student needs to know and figure out which language is the best to use in teaching it: the focus should be on the students and their needs, not on what the teachers want to teach. Working together with other teachers has sharpened this focus.

Also, some of our teams are genuinely multilingual so that there are other mother tongues at play besides Finnish and Swedish, and that has given us a chance to see how we as teachers work in a multilingual meeting situation.

Jussi: To continue thinking about the multilingual teacher teams, at some point we were also tasked to consciously decide how to use different languages in planning and working within the teams. Even before this, I thought that the teams were naturally able to use a combination of English and Finnish in the meetings to make sure that everyone was able to participate regardless of their language skills. Also, after spending meeting after meeting in multilingual teams where most teachers switch from Finnish to English and back when needed, it seems only natural that we now offer the same possibility to the students.

The natural consequence, and at least at first, a downside, of having several teachers plan and teach the courses is that much more time and effort has to be spent on meetings, planning and scheduling, when compared to traditional teaching. Still, after seeing the benefits of having professionals from several language groups planning the courses together, to me it feels like something that we should be doing. After using a great amount of time on planning and improving the courses with other teachers and hearing their feedback and ideas, the idea of completely independent planning seems more prone to problems for me.

Riitta: Yes, I agree that planning and scheduling has been time-consuming. If you have 3 or 4 teachers in the same course, having more groups means that you might have to add another four teachers, and trying to get scheduling done with eight people who all have their different teaching responsibilities can get quite complicated quite quickly. Trying to follow the departments' wishes for scheduling whilst keeping the amount of teachers in each teaching team reasonable can become a challenging balancing act.

The autumn of 2020 has been particularly complicated as COVID-19 has meant that most of the planning has had to be carried out in Zoom, and that has brought extra complications to the process. Even though a lot of time has been saved because we have not needed to travel anywhere to meet, the amount of Zoom sessions per day in addition to our teaching has made it quite tiring at times.

The Next Steps

In our continuing dialogue we evaluate our experiences until now, as well as consider what works and what needs to be developed further. We first look at the current situation, then the planning, and finally discuss future scenarios.

Riitta: I have a better understanding of the current situation, but I am not sure this is going smoothly just yet. I now know how to run the course, but to have an in-depth understanding of why certain things are taught in a particular way takes some thinking. Teaching using another teacher's materials (such as slides) is challenging, both in terms of the time that I can spend on a certain task and also in terms of explaining the background of the task for the students. However, teaching the same module for the second time has certainly helped me to get a better idea of how long things take and what the students can get out of a particular task. We are meant to use the same core tasks in each course, but making some small changes, for example in smaller tasks, has got things to work out more smoothly. If I could start this type of teaching all over again, what I would do differently is to try to get a clear understanding of the big picture first.

Jussi: In my experience, the courses are useful for the students, but in fact they can seem clearer for the students than for the teachers in the beginning. The students seemed to catch the ideas faster than I did when I started teaching the courses. I suppose that this was because the students had been taught by many teachers on the course, probably giving the students a clearer picture of the course as a whole. Having taught and worked on these courses more now, I too have a better idea of not only what I am doing, but also what other teachers are doing, both on the course and in general at the university. Getting to know all three courses in the UVK curriculum has also helped me in understanding the big picture of the system. To summarize, I think that for a new teacher the system might require some time to get used to, whereas for the students this is not an issue at all.

Riitta: If I think about planning from the point of view of what works and what needs to be developed, in my view it has been afforded enough time so that we really can carry out discussions on what we are teaching and why. This is of course something that we do when we plan new curricula, but our vision needs to be sharper when planning in a team, and we need to have solid reasons why we are doing something in a certain language.

Occasionally it is not quite clear whose responsibility certain tasks related to planning are, and having several new UVK courses starting at the same time means that the sheer number of meetings is high. Now the administration has clarified roles for different members of the teams, so that some teachers take on more responsibility for planning, pedagogical development, and administrative duties, and also get compensated for it. We now have one or two teachers in each course whose responsibility it is to help with the administration and keep an eye on the roles that colleagues play in different course teams, so the system is now working in a more organized manner.

Jussi: In addition to having resources for planning, having teachers from not only the English team, but also speech communication, written communication, Swedish, Japanese, German, and so on, in the planning team has been helpful when coming up with and refining ideas and pedagogy. Being able to rely on several individuals and personalities has been, in my experience, perhaps one of the most useful tools in designing courses. I have had to question my own methods and ways of thinking often, and have been offered support and ideas that I had not thought of before.

Riitta: If I think about moving to the future, and what works and what needs to be developed in the UVK system, then I think this is a question that should also be given to the students to answer. Despite shared learning outcomes, individually planned courses can have quite a lot of different elements. Since in UKV courses the idea is to use common materials, that means that students in different groups of the same course will receive the same information. For students who study the same major subject, the courses are more standardised, but to the teachers who teach in many teams, but are not part of a planning team, it is not necessarily clear where the language coverage differences between courses come from.

I miss getting to know the students better, but I have not found a solution to that yet. Not being able to meet them constantly makes it harder to remember them individually. Grading has become easier in the sense that now all the courses are pass/fail instead of the old system, where we gave numbers on a scale of 1–5. Even though students sometimes miss numbered grades, I would keep the pass/fail system because we are trying to teach them skills which can be further honed and do not need to be mastered perfectly yet.

Jussi: The UVK courses are constantly developed based on feedback from the teachers, students, and faculties. The teams that I have been a part of have all held regular meetings before and after the courses to develop them further, which I see as positive. In my opinion, having several experts plan and teach together can support students' learning processes by offering them different perspectives on the course content. The teachers will at times, whether intentionally or not, partly overlap with each other in their teaching, which I think can also benefit the students.

Nevertheless, for me, losing certain individual freedom as a teacher to make choices has taken some time to get used to, as I have had to get used to following the same content, timetable, and using shared materials with other teachers. However, I think that the issue for me was mostly in understanding which parts of the course are fixed and which parts can still be done in an individual way.

Also, in my experience, having two to four teachers teach a course can result in some teachers feeling more distant from the students, as there is a limited amount of time to spend with them, especially compared to a regular course with only one teacher. Perhaps this issue is something that we will need to focus on more in the future.

To summarize, it has been interesting to notice during this process of discussing our teaching that on the whole, after our initial experiences with the system, we both felt similarly about how it works and what kind of things we believe could be developed further. Despite the differences in our age and teaching experience, we both shared roughly the same viewpoint when it comes to UVK teaching. We both see planning as an important part of the development work that should be given adequate time. Considering that there are fewer hours per teacher in comparison to the traditional course system, we have also noticed that we do not get to know the students as well as we have been used to. We noticed some slight differences, too. For example, for Jussi it took a little longer to get used to the idea of using similar teaching materials. He was also more likely to navigate through them in his own individual manner. When it came to planning, though, Riitta had been more used to planning on her own, whereas for Jussi planning as a part of a team was how he started teaching.

Revisiting our Story in Terms of Narrative Inquiry

As Clandinin and Connelly (2000) have pointed out, any inquiry can be seen through four dimensions. These are *inward* and *outward*, and *backward* and *forward*: *Inward* has to do with

feelings, hopes, and moral disposition, whereas *outward* relates to the environment, and *backward* and *forward* have to do with the temporal constructions of past, present, and future. Next, we will summarize our experiences based on these four perspectives.

Inward

Riitta: Personally, I feel there is hope on the horizon. The first years have taught me a lot about this way of teaching and helped me to see what works and what does not.

Jussi: The only way is forward, and I think that the change towards a more multilingual approach to teaching and studying will take us a step forward and point us to new directions. Change will often present new kinds of problems on the way, but I believe it is a necessary part of the process.

Outward

Riitta: The environment for this type of working is supportive and inclusive, especially for those who are part of the planning team. The structures of planning and teaching are still developing, in response to changing circumstances. I like it that planning is an ongoing process, and that we discuss and change things where needed, based on the student and teacher feedback.

Jussi: The environment is more challenging as one has to continuously negotiate with other teachers about most content and pedagogy concerning the courses. On the other hand, the support from peers can also be reassuring and helpful, as there is no fear of being left alone to deal with the challenges and decisions that each course involves.

Both planning and teaching the courses seem to be becoming more multilingual, as teachers of different languages are working together more than before. To me it seems that this has, and will, probably change the attitudes and ways of using languages for both the teachers and the students towards a more flexible use of their linguistic repertoires.

Backward

Riitta: We could learn a lot about the experiences of other teaching and planning teams. Even though not everything that other teams have done can be repeated, becoming more aware of their ways of working and what has worked well for them could provide food for thought for our teams as well (and hopefully prevent us from re-inventing the wheel).

Jussi: I also believe that generally improving methods of sharing experiences, ideas, and practical matters such as assignment types between language groups and teachers more efficiently and openly will improve the quality of teaching overall in our organisation.

Forward

Riitta: Looking forward, what is helpful is that the structures are so fluid. There is room to think and rethink the teaching situations in terms of the needs of the students. The situation with COVID-19 has brought new challenges, as teachers need to be prepared for different ways of organizing teaching, including making online options available for students. This has also had an effect on shared planning, as well as on course

content. Doing some things takes more time online, and may cause some elements to be left out.

Jussi: The work done this far in the UVK is a great basis for improvement and further change in the future, especially as more and more teachers are now joining the courses and their planning teams. As constant development of the courses and pedagogy is encouraged and embedded in the system, I am positive that the courses will support students' needs even better in the future.

Representing and Exploring Our Practices in This Narrative Account

Working on this narrative account has helped us to discuss issues and understand both ourselves and each other better as teachers. It has given us an opportunity to process different puzzles in a dialogical manner, which would not have been so easy to do in a traditional research article. Even though the teachers of the course have discussion sessions after the courses have been run, they tend to be based on factual information and what needs to be done next, and there is very little time for personal professional reflection. Writing this narrative account has forced us to stop and consider different issues from our own individual points of view. Our writing process has proved to be multilingual, too, in that we have written everything in English since the beginning, but then discussed the points together in Finnish. The four dimensions suggested by Clandinin and Connelly (2000) proved to be helpful in assessing the situation, and the new ideas from considering those dimensions could be taken into account when planning the courses further. We fully understand that these considerations reflect the views of two teachers only. We also see it as important that students' voices could be represented in order to get a more comprehensive picture of how the UVK courses work. However, looking at our first experiences of co-teaching multilingual communication and language courses, we could sum up our views as follows:

Riitta: On the whole, I would say that there are several opportunities included in the system, but it's up to teachers to make sure they are realized. However, instead of claiming that too many cooks spoil the broth, I would say that there is every opportunity for the situation being quite the opposite—instead of too many cooks spoiling the broth, I would say the more, the merrier!

Jussi: The courses take place at the right time in the students' undergraduate studies and they aim to support their academic needs, tailored to each faculty. In my opinion then, this change, however potentially time-consuming and challenging at first for teachers, will benefit both students and teachers.

The process of writing the narrative account has also provided us with new questions, issues, and puzzles to consider, some of which are:

- Should we discuss and have a joint language policy in the classroom for teachers for pedagogical reasons?
- How could we find a good compromise when it comes to arranging scheduling so that we take into account the departments' wishes but manage to keep the number of teachers in each teaching team sensible? Now most departments prefer very similar teaching times, which causes overlap, and the need for new teachers grows.
- We do not get to know the students as well as in a language-specific course, because

there are fewer sessions per teacher. In a language-specific course we might see the students once or twice a week, whereas in a UVK course we might have several weeks in between seeing the students.

- How could we better take into account those students who need extra support in class and how could we better spot them? Given that the students have less contact with an individual teacher, it is easy for the teacher to overlook those students who do not ask for help by themselves.

Even though we may not yet have answers to the previous questions, we would like to conclude our narrative account with the following reflections:

Jussi: Writing the narrative account has given me a chance to stop and reflect on multilingualism, and provided a theoretical framework within which to further consider various issues related to it. Writing has helped me to see the value and purpose of multilingual elements in our teaching that I have been doing for years, but have never properly looked at from a theoretical perspective before. I have also been able to describe and analyze certain issues in the current system and understand where in practice it is possible for me to improve. In the end, writing a narrative account has been a comfortable way to explore the issues for me, as I have been able to use my own voice and dialogue to reflect on the issues.

Riitta: For me, too, the most difficult, but at the same time also the most useful part has been that I have been forced to stop and think about what it is that I am doing and why. Especially during this study year marked by COVID-19, the focus of various meetings with other teachers has been on how to get things done. Writing this narrative account has given me a perspective to what we are doing as teachers, and it has helped me to consider various points in teaching and planning. The analysis has similarly provided me with a framework and a place to locate myself on the map. At the same time it has highlighted to me how much this type of teaching is— and very much should be—a work in progress, developing over time.

Author Bios

Riitta Kelly teaches English at the Centre for Multilingual Academic Communication (Movi), and is a PhD candidate in Applied Linguistics at the University of Jyväskylä. Her current research interests include university students' learner beliefs, Japanese exchange students' linguistic repertoires, and topics in educational technology.

Riitta Kelly opettaa englantia Monikielisen akateemisen viestinnän keskuksessa (Movi) Jyväskylän yliopistossa, jossa hän on myös soveltavan kielitieteen jatko-opiskelija. Hänen tutkimusintresseihinsä kuuluvat yliopisto-opiskelijoiden oppimiskäsitykset, japanilaisten vaihto-opiskelijoiden kielirepertuaarit sekä koulutusteknologiaan liittyvät aiheet.

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Review Process

This paper was open-reviewed by Katherine Thornton, Simla Course, and Tim Ashwell. (*Contributors have the option of open or blind review.*)

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The Learner Development Journal Issue 5: Engaging with the Multilingual Turn for Learner Development: Practices, Issues, Discourses, and Theorisations

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NARRATIVE ACCOUNT

Exploring Understandings of Multilingualism in a Social Learning Space: A Duoethnographic Account

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As learning environments, self-access centers can provide opportunities for multilingual learning practices beyond the classroom. However, factors such as language policy or affective barriers can hinder efforts to foster such development. In this narrative account, two learning advisors in a self-access center at a Japanese university reflect on their endeavors to develop a space for multilingual learning. They employ duoethnography in order to juxtapose their experiences and their reflections on student interview data. Through this process, the authors reconsider the effects that definitions of multilingualism have on perceptions of such environments, while also reflecting on what kind of culture is necessary in multilingualism-supportive social learning spaces. The duoethnographic methodology facilitates the authors' realizations of how their beliefs and perceptions of the multilingual space evolved. This inquiry has implications for promoting multilingual learning, particularly in self-access settings, and illustrates the potential for duoethnography as a means for collaborative reflective practice in promoting multilingual learner development.

学習環境としてセルフアクセスセンターは教室外の多言語での学習実践の機会を提供している。しかしながら，言語ポリシーや情意的な障壁等が学習の発展を妨げる要因になり得る。本稿では，日本の大学のセルフアクセスセンターに勤務する2人のラーニングアドバイザーが，多言語学習空間の発展への自身らの奮励を省みる。学生からのインタビューのデータを取り入れながら，経験と内省を並列するためにデュオエスノグラフィーを用いる。この過程を通して，著者は多言語主義の定義が学習環境への認識に与える影響を再考するとともに，多言語を支援する社会的学習空間に必要な文化とは何か考察する。デュオエスノグラフィー手法によって，著者は自身らの多言語空間に関する信念や理解がどのように形作られてきたか，認識を深める。本稿では，とりわけセルフアクセスにおける多言語学習推進の実践的影響と，多言語学習者ディベロップメントを促す協同リフレクティブ・プラクティスの手段としてのデュオエスノグラフィーの可能性を論じる。

Como ambientes de aprendizagem, os centros de autoacesso podem fornecer oportunidades para prticas de aprendizagem multilngue para alm da sala de aula. No entanto, fatores como polticas lingusticas ou barreiras afetivas podem prejudicar os esforos para promover tais prticas. Neste relato narrativo, dois conselheiros linguageiros em um centro de autoacesso em uma universidade japonesa refletem sobre seus esforos para promover um espao de aprendizagem multilngue. Eles empregam a duoetnografia para justapor suas experincias e reflexões sobre os dados gerados por meio de entrevistas com alunos. Por meio deste processo, os autores reconsideram os efeitos que as definições de multilinguismo tm nas percepes de tais ambientes, enquanto tambm refletem sobre que tipo de cultura necessria em espaos sociais de aprendizagem que apoiem o multilinguismo. A metodologia duoetnográfica facilita as percepes dos autores de como suas crenas e percepes do espao multilngue evoluram. Esta investigao tem implicæs para a promoo da aprendizagem multilngue, particularmente em ambientes de auto-acesso, e ilustra o potencial da duoetnografia como um meio para a prática reflexiva colaborativa na promoção do desenvolvimento do aluno multilíngue.

Keywords

duoethnography, self-access, translanguaging space, social learning, reflective practice

デュオエスノグラフィー，セルフアクセス，トランスランゲージング・スペース，社会的学習，リフレクティブ・プラクティス

duoetnografia, autoacesso, espaço de translinguagem, aprendizagem social, prática reflexiva

We, the authors, are interested in multilingualism in language learning due to our backgrounds: Isra as a lifelong multilingual, with parents who thrived speaking a second language, and Yuri as someone born in Japan, exposed to Japanese English education, and whose thoughts on multilingualism have been transforming since she started to work as an educator. While we have maintained hope that education in Japan can follow the global trend towards accepting multilingual education of languages besides English, research has revealed some disheartening truths. These include Kubota's (2018) noting of the dominance of American or British English in textbooks used in Japan to the exclusion of other varieties, and Yamazaki's (2013) findings that only 14% of Japanese secondary schools teach foreign languages other than English. As learning advisors in a self-access center at a Japanese university, we have felt that the self-access context might offer opportunities to support learners' multilingual understandings and practices, but we have wondered how we might provide such support while facing potential unseen barriers such as language policy or membership in either formal or informal communities. This narrative account documents our attempts to resolve these queries. Employing duoethnography as reflective practice, we juxtapose our reflections on interview data and our experiences, with the aim of gaining new understandings. These discoveries can inform our subsequent practices and have implications for multilingual support in language learning spaces.

We first introduce ourselves, as our backgrounds strongly affect our narrative, and then describe our context and specific key concepts that influenced our research. A description of our inquiry process follows. We next present our major themes and the reflective dialogues that comprise the core of our duoethnography, exploring different conceptualizations of multilingualism (and their effects) in our center, and questioning how we can establish a multilingual environment and culture. Finally, we conclude by summarizing our personal discoveries from the dialogues and suggesting how our account might benefit other multilingual learning environments or practitioners interested in duoethnography.

Introducing Ourselves

Isra

In my career, my beliefs regarding language use have gradually evolved. Before joining the Self-Access Learning Center (SALC), I had primarily taught in Japanese public schools as an Assistant Language Teacher (ALT). There, I often encountered the presumably unassailable principles that the L1 should be avoided in L2 learning and that native speakers were the ideal model for learners. For instance, I was advised by Japanese colleagues to avoid using Japanese in front of students. These notions were easy to internalize; they sounded reasonable and protected my position. Similarly, when I first learned about the SALC, the English-only policy at that time seemed sensible and corresponded with some of the SLA theory I learned about in graduate school; in contrast, the SALC's later multilingual policy felt as though it was potentially exempting students from having to use English. All along, however, I frequently noted, in schools and in the SALC, the learning that occurred through multilingual negotiation.

Additionally, as a Thai American (and learner of Japanese), I have instinctively used translanguaging practices (García & Wei, 2014) my entire life: At home, I naturally replied in English to my parents' Thai, to my friends' frequent amusement. Conversation with my siblings or other Thai Americans commonly included Thai words scattered among the English, when there was no equivalent word or out of convenience (e.g., "This shop is *phaaeng* [expensive]!") Indeed, when I started reading about multilingualism and translanguaging, Canagarajah's (2011a, 2011b) description of multilingual users drawing from all available

linguistic resources and jumping between languages was immediately familiar. These practices, along with growing up in a bilingual, multicultural environment, shaped my perspective on the usage of multiple languages. Perceiving these languages as all contributing to my identity, rather than keeping them separate, is instinctive. Now, I question why we would limit learners' access to those resources and opportunities to define their identities. Contemplating these aspects of my background sparked my enthusiasm for how this inquiry could help our students, especially in using SALC facilities multilingually to serve their learning.

Yuri

As an undergraduate learner of English, I benefited from the English-only policy in the SALC. The learning environment immersed me in English, which helped me develop my skills while living in Japan. Additionally, one of my English teachers in the first year introduced me to Kachru's three circles model of World Englishes (1985). It was an eye-opening experience for me, because I had thought English was only for people who speak it as their native or first language (the so-called inner circle). Understanding the diversity of Englishes had a positive impact on learning English together with my peers in the SALC. When I looked back on my experiences, the English-only policy in the center was a friendly reminder for me to communicate with anyone in the SALC without bias or prejudice.

In my career as an educator, I have encountered the dominance of native-speakerism in English education in Japan. I had to compare myself to native English-speaking teachers constantly while working in the same field. I had never had such feelings as a college student; learning English had been an exploration of myself to discover a new self. In contrast, I often feel pressure to use English professionally to prove my worth at work. In the SALC, my current workplace, I have seen many students with strong native-speakerist beliefs, such as "My goal is to be able to communicate with native speakers of English." They tend to think communicating with native speakers is the only way to improve their speaking. I often ask them in English, "English is not my first language, but do you still want to talk to me in English?" In many cases, they seem confused and cannot respond to my question. Conversations such as this have made me consider how I can support students' language learning, including challenging their beliefs, not only as a learning advisor, but also as a learner with a similar background as theirs. Moreover, in line with the recent multilingual turn for learner development, I believe it is important for the SALC to provide scaffolding for learners' multilingual learning. I hope this duoethnographic account, with our different backgrounds, can lead us in a new direction in order to design a multilingual space in the SALC.

Context

The SALC at Kanda University of International Studies serves a student population of about 4,000, all studying a foreign language (students major in Chinese, English, Indonesian, Korean, Portuguese, Spanish, Thai, or Vietnamese) or international communication. The SALC opened in 2001 and currently occupies a purpose-built two-story facility.

Within the SALC there are several forms of support for learners' English use. The more structured forms of support are located on the all-English second floor and include the *conversation desk*, where students can book one-to-one sessions to practice speaking with an English lecturer, and the *Yellow Sofas*, where students can practice conversation with lecturers on duty and fellow students. These lecturers are usually, but not exclusively, native English speakers from countries in Kachru's (1985) inner circle. The first floor of the SALC has less structured support and is largely devoted to areas for students to work in groups. The SALC also has a team of learning advisors, including the authors, whose work mainly focuses on

nurturing students' autonomous learning, rather than language support.

Upon moving to the current facility in 2017, the SALC shifted from an English-only stance to a hybrid policy (see Figure 1). The first floor of the building is multilingual, in that all languages, including Japanese, may be used, while the second floor remains English-only. SALC advisors and staff mainly use English on both floors. Some reasons behind the change included emphasizing our support of learners of all languages, and making the facility more welcoming for students of all majors. Another benefit was the freedom to use other languages in support of target-language learning. In practice, however, many users appear to interpret the multilingual policy merely as permission to use Japanese while socializing. This tendency has made the multilingual area as much of a de facto student commons as it is a self-access center.

Figure 1. Language Policy in the SALC Brochure

It bears mentioning that the university has another self-access facility, the Multilingual Communication Center (MULC), with separate areas for each of the university's seven non-English language majors. Each area's design resembles traditional architecture in the language's country of origin. Although the MULC does support multiple languages, the explicit specialization and demarcation of the areas within mean it attracts a more specific user population than the SALC and users tend to stay in their own departments' respective areas. We had also anecdotally heard that in certain areas, while Japanese was allowed, English was discouraged. Even though the MULC was a multilingual center, we perceived the SALC's potential for encouraging actual multilingual practices on campus between students from all departments.

The situation in the SALC made us consider how SALC practitioners (i.e., learning advisors and administrative staff) could create a multilingual learning environment and support users in becoming multilingual learners. We ourselves, as advisors, often use both Japanese and English during advising sessions with individual learners. However, we hoped that we could encourage such practices on a larger scale. In order to create a supportive, comfortable environment, we established a space within the multilingual area, the English Speaking Practice Area (ESPA). In conceiving the space, we were inspired by Wei's (2011) concept of *translanguaging spaces*: social spaces where multilingual users may combine their histories, beliefs, and abilities "into one coordinated and meaningful performance, and [make] it into a lived experience" (p. 1223). Due to the multilingual policy, students can use Japanese or any other language in the ESPA; we hoped, however, that any other language use would be in support of their English speaking (and not, for instance, chatting completely in another language; for details, see Wongsarnpigoon & Imamura, 2020a).

After creating the ESPA, we soon realized that learners needed additional scaffolding to use the space for L2 speaking practice. As such, we started holding weekly drop-in conversation sessions, during which we, the authors, were present in the ESPA. Students could come and talk about any topic, using any linguistic resources in their repertoire. Although we have not explicitly discussed translanguaging during these sessions, we ourselves use and thus implicitly endorse translanguaging practices (mainly in English and Japanese). We also supported a small group of SALC *Peer Advisors* (PAs), student staff that advise fellow students, in holding a regular collaborative learning event known as TACO (short for "Talking Activity and Collaborate with Others") Tuesday in the ESPA, where interested students could discuss relevant issues with their peers, such as time management or job hunting. Other events or student displays in the space were encouraged as well.

Defining Terminology in Our Context

Translanguaging

Yuri first encountered and developed an interest in translanguaging when she read Cenoz and Gorter (2015). They indicated the importance of how speakers use their linguistic repertoires in multilingual practices, including translanguaging, in research on multilingualism. García (2009) defined translanguaging as "multiple discursive practices in which bilinguals engage in order to make sense of their bilingual worlds" (p. 45), referring to how multilingual individuals can use any available linguistic resources, including their first or other known languages, in communication. Cenoz and Gorter's (2015) work and the idea of translanguaging inspired Yuri to start researching multilingual use in the SALC.

These ideas helped us realize that translanguaging is part of our daily practices within the SALC; we use English, Japanese, and other languages to communicate with colleagues and students. We also translanguage in advising sessions, mainly when learners struggle to express themselves in English. As learning advisors focus on supporting learners through reflective dialogue, translanguaging often helps us build rapport and create a safe space for reflection. This mirrors the positive aspects of translanguaging practices noted by Adamson and Fujimoto-Adamson (2012) in their SALC.

Translanguaging also occurs between learners, for example in learner-led communities in the SALC, where learners naturally use translanguaging for communication (Thornton, 2020). Yuri wanted to know more about this peer-to-peer translanguaging; she and a community leader conducted observations in order to investigate translanguaging in the community (Kanai & Imamura, 2019). They found that the participants effectively used translanguaging to ensure smooth communication. Additionally, although Adamson and Fujimoto-Adamson (2012) described learners feeling guilty about not using their L2 exclusively, Kanai and Imamura's participants did not express similar feelings towards translanguaging (Imamura, 2019). Expanding the research on multilingual spaces and learning in the SALC, we have recently investigated learners' attitudes towards the use of multiple languages in language learning in the SALC's multilingual areas (Wongsarnpigoon & Imamura, 2020a, 2020b).

Multilingual Turn in Self-Access

Beyond the practices within our SALC, the broader multilingual turn (May, 2014) has also had effects on self-access contexts. We felt that language policy was one way to promote multilingual practices in such environments. Thornton (2020), however, in a study of user perceptions of language policy at two SALCs, found that while policy can provide an environment for target-language use, it could also affect students' perceptions of

multilingual use. Learners at a center with an explicit "no Japanese" policy were more opposed to L1 use there, and Thornton suggested that users of a center with a more flexible stance were more open to discussion of translanguaging. While Thornton (2018) examined SALC practitioners' preferences regarding language policy, there is little research on the application of SALC practitioners' insights towards a multilingual policy and/or self-access space. We hope our ongoing research, including this account, will contribute to the continuing exploration of the multilingual turn in SALCs.

Data Collection and Analysis

When Yuri approached Isra about co-writing this narrative account, she had become interested in duoethnography's potential for building a narrative after reading research such as Hooper and Iijima (2019) on native-speakerism. Duoethnography is a qualitative research method in which "researchers of difference juxtapose their life histories to provide multiple understandings of the world" (Norris & Sawyer, 2012, p. 9). After further exploration, we became intrigued by how duoethnography emphasizes the emergence of new understandings through the co-examination of how our histories influenced us and led us here. In previous research (Wongsarnpigoon & Imamura, 2020b), we agreed that our presence might influence students, as well as spaces in the SALC. Therefore, we felt that duoethnography was ideal for investigating, through dialogue, how our views (as SALC practitioners) towards our multilingual learning space have developed over time.

As learning advisors, we support learners' reflections through dialogue, so the duoethnographic approach was naturally appealing. We were interested in how, as reflective practice, it allowed us to "tell [our] own stories together, building community and collective voice as it emphasize[d] the value of dialogue and difference through inquiry" (Sawyer, 2020, p. xv). Furthermore, we were drawn to Lawrence and Lowe's (2020) descriptions of duoethnography for reflection in English language teaching, particularly how the collaborative aspect offers new perspectives unavailable in solitary reflective practice. Thus, we felt that duoethnography could be a means for us to tackle our questions by juxtaposing our experiences.

Sawyer and Norris (2013) have suggested that duoethnographic dialogues can be spurred by artifacts (e.g., texts or images). We had already been conducting internal research on the ESPA space in hopes of improving it and the SALC environment. We had planned to interview students for that investigation but realized that the interview data was also a valuable artifact. Our dialogues would be not only about our own experiences, but also our reflections on the students' perceptions.

In January 2020, we held semi-structured one-to-one interviews with four students that had participated in events in the ESPA and three SALC PAs that had co-organized the TACO Tuesday events. The interviews contained nine questions for the participants and 15 for the organizers, and lasted approximately 1 hour each. Interviews were mainly conducted in English, but both interviewers and interviewees used Japanese sometimes to clarify the questions and answers.

After transcribing the interviews, we focused on two student participants, "Ken" and "Hinako" (pseudonyms), as they were both active, regular event participants. We also used data from the three PAs ("Hiro," "Kumi," and "Akina"). We reread the transcripts separately to find relevant themes which stood out. Following Sawyer and Norris (2013), we used the interview data as artifacts to spark reflections. In several meetings held online via Zoom, we discussed and compared what we noticed in the interviews. The transcripts from these meetings served, in subsequent meetings, as texts upon which to further reflect, in a

recursive fashion. Following the principles of duoethnography (Norris & Sawyer, 2012; Sawyer & Norris, 2013), this was done with the aim of uncovering new perspectives on our previous reflection or discover themes hidden within. The meetings were recorded and transcribed, and we both analyzed the transcriptions in order to discover major themes that arose in our dialogues. This process provided a perspective that neither of us would have been able to find through individual analysis.

Through the reflective and analytical process, we hoped to gain insight into the following questions. As is common in duoethnography (Sawyer & Norris, 2013), the questions emerged during the dialogical process rather than starting out fully formed prior to our inquiry:

- How are multilingualism and the multilingual spaces perceived by the users?
- What would an effective multilingual learning environment be like?
- What is our role in establishing such an environment?

Participants

Student Participants

Interviews with two regular participants of ESPA events provided a starting point for our discussions.

"Ken" was majoring in Chinese and had just finished his first year of university at the time of the interview. Ken had participated in TACO Tuesday events multiple times and had regularly met with learning advisors (other than us) and peer advisors. His peer advisor, the co-organizer of TACO Tuesday, recommended that he attend the event.

The second participant, "Hinako," was a third-year student in the Indonesian department when Yuri interviewed her. She regularly joined the ESPA conversation gatherings we hosted. She had been frequently using other SALC services, such as the conversation desk, for improving her speaking skills.

Event Organizers

Three SALC PAs also participated in our interviews. PAs are students that are particularly motivated, autonomous learners and that have undergone training to support peers in their language learning and college lives (Curry & Watkins, 2016). Their primary roles are conducting one-to-one advising sessions with fellow students and offering social learning opportunities in the SALC. They started organizing TACO Tuesday events in July 2019 in order to encourage students to practice speaking English in the ESPA, and to promote the peer advising service.

"Hiro," a third-year student in the English Department, often used the SALC to socialize with friends, participate in events, and organize (along with fellow PA Akina) one of the learning communities, which are groups led by and comprised of learners who share their interests while using their target language(s) in the SALC (Mynard et al., 2020).

"Kumi" had already completed her B.A. in International Communication at the university in 2014 and was attending additional classes in order to become an English teacher. As an undergraduate, she had actively utilized the previous SALC with her friends. Because she came to the university only for attending classes, however, she did not use the SALC other than for organizing TACO Tuesday events or for conducting advising sessions.

"Akina" was a third-year student in the English Department. She organized a learning community with Hiro and enjoyed communicating with fellow students in the community. Among the three PAs we interviewed, Akina expressed the least confidence in her speaking

skills. She also admitted being uncomfortable speaking during TACO Tuesday events, saying, "The topics are difficult for me ... and I feel [a] little pressure to speak English."

Themes and Reflection

Several themes and topics emerged from the review of our transcripts. We retroactively adopted these themes as the questions we would ponder in this narrative account: how multilingualism and the multilingual spaces are perceived by students, what the nature of a more supportive multilingual environment might be, and what our role might be in creating it. The following dialogues resulted from our addressing those questions and are organized into themes: how students perceived multilingualism within our SALC, how we might counter potential effects of the language policies, and the creation of a multilingual environment.

For each theme, we first present a summary of relevant student interview data, followed by extracts from our dialogues, in which we reflected on both the students' views and our own experiences. Following Sawyer and Norris's (2013) principles of duoethnography, rather than reporting our dialogues completely verbatim as they happened, the narratives presented here have been edited and constructed from parts of various conversations.

Students' Conceptualizations of Multilingualism

There was little consensus in the students' views on multilingual environments or the SALC's multilingual space. When asked what the multilingual space meant to him, Ken did not directly emphasize language use: "We don't care like races, or genders, or age, and of course, languages.... We can just talk [with] ... and respect each other." There was some contradiction in Ken's beliefs. While he sought collaboration with his peers, he did not associate with students who learned while socializing, such as users of the SALC's first floor or of the MULC, which he disliked because "it [was] noisy from other languages' area[s]." Additionally, he felt that even when Japanese could be used, English should be used as much as possible. This belief may be connected to his dissatisfaction with his classmates in English courses: "They speak Japanese in class ... that's made me disappointed, [and] bored."

Hinako viewed multilingual spaces as spaces where people could speak Japanese freely. That is, the SALC's first floor was a multilingual space except for the ESPA, which she considered an "English space." Interestingly, the MULC was also a multilingual space to her "because most people use Japanese." Apparently it was not the availability of different languages but rather the freedom to use Japanese that affected her concept of "multilingual." When Yuri implicitly broached the topic of translanguaging by asking her about using Japanese to support her use of other languages, Hinako related having done so, but stated, "Actually, I don't want to use Japanese. But sometimes ... I can't come up with the vocabulary that I want to say." Like Ken, although she felt a multilingual environment allowed her to use Japanese, she preferred not to.

The PAs also exhibited varying views on multilingual spaces and even different levels of awareness of the space and language policies. Kumi seemed unaware of the reasons for the multilingual space and preferred to view the entire SALC as an English space: "For me, the SALC is only English. I know that the first floor is not only English but also other languages, but ... on the first floor and the second floor, I tried to use English only." Her belief could be because she had only ever used the previous English-only SALC facility as an undergraduate student. Akina, when asked what "multilingual space" meant to her, hesitantly described a place for "all languages" without specifically referring to any spaces within the SALC: "A multilingual space is for practicing languages including English, Japanese, and other languages like Thai?" Hiro had a more nuanced view:

> *The first floor [of the SALC] is a multilingual space can accept all the languages, like the MULC.... So I think the first floor is a multilingual space like Japanese, English, whatever is fine.... Maybe the SALC officially sets the rule, but ... actually the reality is a monolingual space. Almost [all] Japanese, sometimes English.*

Hiro had a clearer definition, although he, like other students, only mentioned Japanese and English. He also pointedly identified the discrepancy between the ideal and the reality of the SALC.

Dialogue

Isra The students, even the PAs, didn't really have a concept of [a multilingual space]. Maybe they haven't thought about it, or they don't really know the reason for having it.

Yuri Especially Kumi, she didn't know much about the new SALC. Maybe she wasn't aware of the multilingual language policy.

Isra Akina just said, "The multilingual space is for all languages," but that's just kind of the literal meaning of multilingual, right? They don't really have an image of what that means. It's just *mojidōri* / 文字通り [the literal meaning].

Yuri *Tagengo ne. Ippai gengo.* / 多言語ね。いっぱい言語。[Multiple languages, right? Many languages.] [*laughs*] But Kumi's answer is quite interesting: [*reading aloud*] "People can enjoy language study, any language, and hearing their culture."

Isra So she did make the connection with language and culture.

The idea of this language–culture connection surfaced again later and became a key part of our further dialogues below. We next discussed Ken's opinions on language use in the space, which perhaps reflected a biased understanding of multilingualism. He had said, "If we are allowed to speak Japanese, of course, we are Japanese, so we tend to depend on speaking Japanese.... So as for multilingual spaces, we have to try not to use our mother language."

Isra We saw this idea in the students' understanding of multilingualism: how Ken believes we *can* use Japanese [on the first floor of the SALC], but we should speak English as much as possible. He was really against using Japanese at all.

Yuri That might come from his high school experience: He said his teacher only used English, and he thought it was pretty good, right? So, maybe he thinks when you speak English, or in English classes, you should use English only.

Isra Right. Ken said about his teacher, "He speaks English well, like [a] native speaker.... He's so cool, I want to become like him." We see that in schools and how they position those kinds of teachers, right? When I worked in [secondary] schools, sometimes the idea was, "*Daredare* [so-and-so] *Sensei* is a good teacher because their class is all in English, or because their English is so good."

I used to think like that when I started teaching. If any teachers taught classes entirely in English, it was impressive, and I'd think, "Maybe they're really innovative English teachers." That's not the reason that they were good teachers. Often they *were*, but it wasn't *because* of that.

Yuri Yeah. Also that's not multilingual.

Isra I think Ken's understanding of multilingualism is kind of like how the university or [the PR department] positions the first floor, and that affects what students believe multilingualism means. In promotional materials or on-campus tours, it's not,

"Practice using any language here," it's a reassurance: "Don't worry, Japanese is okay here." [To them] multilingualism means "you can use Japanese," so when you compare it—Ah, so that's it! If you think of multilingualism as "you can use Japanese," and you believe "English only" is the best, then multilingualism becomes a step down from "English only," right? It's like you're using Japanese as a crutch. It really *should* be like, "English only" is fine, but multilingualism is another option. It's not that one is better than the other. But that's how students have been taught to look at it.

Yuri Maybe. That's how the university attracts students. Unlike other students, open campus events at KUIS had a big impact on me. When I set foot in the SALC for the first time, it made me feel like it was a perfect place to acquire English.

Isra That kind of presentation has an impact. Even we do it sometimes. When I show [first-year] classes around the SALC, I'll say, "Okay, ready? We're going to the second floor, so now it's English only." We've made that separation explicit. But it's not that one is better, right?

Yuri Right. In open campus events for high school students, I normally introduce myself by saying, "I'm Japanese, so of course I can use Japanese, but on the second floor, let's challenge ourselves." So all of this made me think that we need to show our students a basic definition of multilingualism. But at the same time, maybe we need to create our own new definition in our center: What multilingualism means in our context.

Isra That's a good point. Maybe that's one reason why the first floor is just kind of undefined, because we don't have a clear definition. If the policy is *chuutohanpa* / 中途半端 [half-baked], people will just think, "Okay, it means we can speak Japanese."

Yuri Yeah! Suddenly, I just came up with one idea: Maybe we can show a brief definition of multilingualism in the ESPA. *De* [then], we can say "*Tagengo area to wa* [a multilingual area means] the space where you can do so-and-so … so let's experience it in the ESPA."

It's kind of like *fureai hiroba* / ふれあい広場 at the zoo, where you can actually interact with some small animals. So, the ESPA would be kind of a *fureai hiroba*, where students can try a multilingual setting.

Isra I understand what you mean. But we don't want people to feel like, "I'm an animal on display." [*laughs*] But we can think about what that definition is, and why they would want to experience that multilingual environment. Maybe we could raise awareness of translanguaging. Maybe they're not aware how much they already use it in real life, or they need to see examples of a true multilingual environment.

Yuri Do you think we can say translanguaging practice is a communicative strategy? Baker (2006) says that, right? He and others argue that the use of L1 is effective in language learning.

Isra Right. When we talk about "translanguaging," it's related to the culture and identity of multilinguals (García & Wei, 2014)—people who grew up using multiple languages or use them in their everyday lives. That might be hard for students to internalize. But if we introduce it as a communicative strategy, maybe they'll identify with it more. Maybe for some, multilingualism is so far removed that they haven't thought about it. Ken used Hawaii as an example of a foreign language environment [where his teacher immersed himself]. But actually, Hawaii is really multilingual. So maybe showing examples of real multilingual people or environments.

Yuri Right. We need to raise awareness of multilingual settings. I think we can try two different approaches to introduce a multilingual policy: deductive and inductive. One is deciding the definition of the multilingual policy and providing some examples or

activities. The other might be providing some activities first, then elicit in learners an awareness of the multilingual policy. Maybe we can try the second one.

Isra Hiro mentioned these kind of things, like awareness-raising events and advertising what the ESPA is. I think it's a good idea because it goes well with these ideas, like the question of how we make the environment.

Through our dialogue, we had found that some of the difficulties in promoting multilingual use in the SALC were connected to users' understanding of the multilingual area. We realized our participants' understandings, in turn, were tied to how the dual language policies were presented, as well as by larger-scale beliefs supporting a monolingual, all-English ideal.

Countering Potential Biases

In this second theme, we moved on to other inadvertent effects of the language policies on our participants' perception of SALC spaces and how we might counter such biases.

The PA Hiro realized the potential pressure that a language policy could cause in the ESPA: "[Students] may feel pressure..., so we have to emphasize that ESPA is not an English-only space, [but an] English and Japanese bilingual space." These risks of causing anxiety or violating students' autonomy are ideas we have struggled with in our SALC (e.g., in determining our non-directive stance on enforcing the language policy).

Akina was less concerned with the languages used by other students than with the kind of environment she sought for using English:

Akina Atmosphere is very important ... if the area is more strict, I couldn't get something in English.... Friendly is important.

Yuri How about the language use? You don't mind if they use Japanese or their first language?

Akina Yeah, it doesn't matter.

This belief may clarify Akina's unfavorable perceptions about the atmosphere in TACO Tuesday events: "The topic was a little difficult for me because I have to think more deeply." Serious discussion topics may have hampered her from feeling that the atmosphere was friendly.

Dialogue

While discussing what environment might make students want to use English more, Yuri mentioned Akina's preferences for a welcoming environment, which prompted us to consider how attempts to support all users could affect perceptions of the area. Hiro had suggested that one possible way to attract users was to "set a Yellow Sofa at ESPA.... [English lecturers] can be in ESPA." We reacted to this idea by sharing our experiences of how native-speakerism can sometimes be manifested inconspicuously:

Yuri One of Hiro's ideas was to move one of the Yellow Sofas to the ESPA. But that's what we're concerned about: Students might think, "Oh, this is a 'beginner space,' and if you get some confidence, then you can go upstairs." It might send out that kind of message.

Isra We don't want there to be a hierarchy, right?

Yuri No, because that creates the idea that "only English" is better than translanguaging. It's not like that. They are two different things. That kind of "English-only" ideology or belief creates, to an extent, a mindset like, "I can acquire English when I go abroad. If I'm fully in the English environment, I'll be able to speak perfectly."

Isra But that's kind of the message that the university gives: If you're in all-English classes and in this environment, you're going to learn English better.

In my first year here, I was talking with [a colleague] who was really disappointed that the English lecturers were almost all American or British. I didn't totally agree then, because my views were influenced by a former professor of mine. The professor didn't explicitly say teachers should be native speakers, but it was more like, "If the goal is for students to speak and communicate accurately, you want them to learn accurate English. And if the teacher doesn't speak comprehensibly, then …" I think you can fill in the blank. I had also just left my ALT job, where there was definitely that kind of native-speakerist bias, and I was still working through how I felt. But now I think [the colleague] had the right idea.

Yuri I totally agree with you. As a learner of English, I think the all-English environment is not a bad thing. But students, stakeholders, or even teachers, we need to accept more diversity. The all-English environment does not mean you can only communicate with native speakers of English, and we shouldn't make a power balance between native and non-native speakers. When I was a student, sometimes my friends envied me because I often hung out with American friends. For me, if I can practice talking in English, anyone is fine, but some people have a strong preference for who they want to talk to. So, when they learn a language, they want to learn from a native speaker of their target language. I think many people believe in the notion of "one people, one language, one nation" (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997, p. 201). People also judge whether they themselves are multilingual speakers or not based on how many languages they feel confident using.

Realizing the extent to which English-only beliefs could affect their perception of SALC spaces, we wanted to avoid inadvertently representing the multilingual space as a location for those who were not "good enough" for the English-only space. Thus, we again considered how to make the ESPA a supportive space without it feeling like a remedial space. We continue contemplating that environment in the following section.

A Multilingual Environment

The above ideas, improving the space and the features of a multilingual space or English-encouraging environment, brought us to our next theme, the multilingual environment. We reflected on what such an environment might actually look like, what its culture might be, and what our roles might be in its establishment. Some elements from the interviews, included below, identified some features of the environment and inspired our dialogues on the theme.

Ken appreciated the ESPA as a venue for collaboration with others and pursuing the camaraderie that he perceived among students from other departments: "I want [to] study with the people who are high [abilities] like English department … they are making groups regardless of gender, so I'm so [envious]" (His allusion to gender may refer to the low number of male students in his department). Ken saw events such as TACO Tuesday as opportunities to interact, as "trying … to participate in the group, more with fun.… Of course

we have to speak English, but … for me it's more like practice for attend the group." The SALC was a place where Ken could not only use English, but also hone skills that he valued.

Hinako appreciated that the ESPA allowed her to interact with faculty. Although she actively communicated with peers in our ESPA conversation sessions, she asserted that a major reason for her attendance was to communicate with us. Compared to the 15-minute sessions at the conversation desk, she said, "In the ESPA, I can use English a lot. And it is not limited.… It's very … *kichou na jikan* /貴重な時間 [a precious time]." The presence of people (us) with whom she wanted to talk was apparently predominant in her image of the ESPA environment.

In contrast with Ken and Hinako's desire to interact in English, in Akina's case, the atmosphere was crucial when using English. She preferred to continue using the ESPA for events "because [it] is a quite relaxing space," and she had highly valued "friendly environment[s]."

The students had described various features which they appreciated in the ESPA environment, and these ideas inspired our discussions. In particular, we considered their implications for the multilingual space and our role in creating and maintaining it.

Dialogue: Multilingual Culture

Entering this excerpt, we had been pondering the culture of the MULC, the university's other multilingual center. This led Yuri to reflect on her initial concept behind the ESPA.

Yuri In the interview data, the image of ESPA came up. In Ken's interview, he talked about his image of multilingual cultures, including things like gender or age. I didn't really think about that when I created the ESPA. All I thought of then was only the language, but of course, languages have their own culture. That means a multilingual space also needs to have a multilingual culture.

Isra So when you first thought of the ESPA, you were trying to create a space just for facilitating language production?

Yuri Yeah, because all the data I got (Imamura, 2018) was about language use, and also anxiety. It was more about psychological factors that prevented students from using English on the first floor. So my focus was more on language use.

But Ken mentioned gender and races. You've told me before about the Thai space [in the MULC] and how the relationship between [the Thai professor] and her students is like family. So I thought maybe the Thai space creates that kind of environment, and it helps the students to feel safe, relaxed, or welcomed. So maybe, for the ESPA, we can also look at the kind of culture we create. That's also connected to what Akina mentioned: For her, whether or not a space is friendly is more important than the language used there. And that's a part of the space's culture, right? But I don't know how that kind of welcoming environment relates to the multilingual space.

Isra It does relate to anxiety, and therefore to language, right? When you say your original idea was making the ESPA for production, it reminds me of what you've told me before: When you were a student, basically it was the atmosphere of the old SALC which motivated you to use it?

Yuri Yeah. When I was a student, the SALC was a kind of space to challenge myself as a language learner. For some students, the environment was not really comfortable, but

I liked it. So thinking about the culture in the multilingual space, that made me think: What kind of culture is there in the English-only space?

Isra Because we can establish the ESPA's culture by contrasting with it, right? Do we have that kind of environment that represents a challenge for students now? The Yellow Sofas might.

Yuri It depends. Some students appreciate that challenging environment.

Isra Is that the kind of multilingual environment we want? One that's *not* challenging, but more like a welcoming space?

Yuri Yeah. Also, as you mentioned, in contrast with the English-only environment, maybe the multilingual space can accept more diversity?

Isra That would be ideal.

I like that you were thinking about the original concept behind the ESPA, because I was also wondering: Have our thoughts about it changed since we started? For me, when ESPA started, my idea was similar to yours, not necessarily a multilingual space, but an environment where students can go if they want to use English but they're not ready to go to the second floor. But as we've continued talking about this, I think it can be *more* than just a speaking area. Now we're thinking about how it can affect their thinking about language or multilingualism, or even native-speakerism, right?

This excerpt represented a significant realization for both of us. By considering the culture we preferred, we began actively discussing the potential for the ESPA beyond providing a space for speaking practice.

Dialogue: Making a Multilingual Environment

Yuri So my question is, how can we make a multilingual environment in the ESPA?

Isra It could be something visual to set it apart, like signs or posters, without being superficial. But look at the MULC. It might seem superficial at first, but Wright (2019) wrote about this idea: The visual atmosphere of the Thai area sets the *initial* environment. It gets people in, but really what keeps them there is the community and the person-to-person interaction.

Yuri I thought about how one of the self-access centers we've visited displayed lots of student voices on the wall. Maybe we can get some student voices or messages about using different languages or the space itself, and we can display their messages in the ESPA, maybe in different languages. That might create the ESPA's culture or identity.

Isra Right. That's one thing we both noticed about [other centers], is that you can see students' voices and personalities.

Previously, you mentioned that when you were a student, the look of the SALC represented a challenge for you.

Yuri A challenge in a good way. Not only people, but also the space itself motivated me. The furniture was kind of Western-style, not like a typical classroom in Japan, and also many resources were imported from other countries. That kind of environment motivated me to use English, as well. Also, I could meet different people, like teachers, learning advisors, and my friends whenever I went there. I used the SALC to interact with people in English, and that was my motivation to continue learning English and using the SALC.

Isra So actually, it *was* people, also! People *were* important.

These dialogues, along with Yuri's reflection, helped us realize that addressing physical features was not the only measure we had to consider. Our reflections on both the interview data and Yuri's experiences showed that people were also a necessary factor in establishing the environment we sought.

Discussion and Conclusion

In this narrative, we have examined these issues: how our students saw multilingualism and the multilingual spaces, what kind of multilingual learning environment was desirable, and our roles in establishing this environment. Evincing the benefits of duoethnography, the dialogic process of co-constructing this narrative revealed several themes, which provided each of us new understandings about the issues we had pondered. We first each present especially revelations, before moving on to general discussion of our themes and next steps.

Isra

Something particularly compelling to me was our realization that within our SALC and also the university, there is no one clear definition of "multilingualism." SALC practitioners, students, administration, and stakeholders draw from different definitions or lack one at all. In turn, although our hybrid policy was intended to be more inclusive, this vagueness may have contributed to an inadvertent hierarchy between the spaces in the SALC and actually discouraged multilingual use among students. Also meaningful was how through contrasting my experiences with Yuri's, I noticed the change in my perceptions of the ESPA. Before this inquiry, my beliefs mirrored the way in which our language policy had reinforced monolingual biases: Using the all-English space was something students should strive for, and if they could not, the first floor was a preliminary step. Now, though, I see the potential of the ESPA as its own unique space, not just as an elementary version of other ones.

Yuri

Throughout this duoethnographic account, I noticed my thoughts towards multilingualism in the SALC have evolved greatly. My original purpose for creating the ESPA was to support students who lacked the confidence to use the English-only area. However, I started questioning the unexpected and complex power balance between English-only and multilingual spaces and believing that the multilingual space should be free from such hierarchy between languages. Besides, the Japanese term 多言語主義 / *tagengoshugi* [multilingualism] might convey the message that the knowledge of multiple languages is superior because of the meaning of *-shugi* [-ism] in Japanese. It might encourage another type of monolingualism in multiple languages. Perhaps we should stop using the terms "multilingualism" and "*tangegoshugi*" to avoid confusion and find other ways to encourage multilingual practices in our SALC.

Realizations and Implications

In writing this account, we each came to personally meaningful realizations and noticed individual changes in ourselves. Other shared discoveries, however, also arose. Through this duoethnography, we discovered an identity for the ESPA, beyond being a place for students lacking the confidence to use the English-only area. It can be a venue for actual multilingual use and collaboration between the space's users—among students, but also between students and faculty. Similarly, in our discussions and attempts to improve the ESPA as a multilingual space, we initially focused on physical aspects such as furniture layout, decor, or

conversation-starting tools. We realized, however, that what mattered more was a welcoming culture spread through human support. Our participants valued various factors in a learning environment: language (Hinako), collaboration (Ken), and friendliness (Akina). Such factors are all key in creating the kind of culture we are seeking. As we each realized, our definitions (and those used in our center) of "multilingualism" and a multilingual culture should account for more than just named languages as sociopolitical or linguistic constructs. This evolution in our understandings will help us as we continue improving the ESPA and the SALC environment.

The coronavirus pandemic disrupted face-to-face interactions in the SALC during the 2020–21 academic year, but the ESPA events continued online, through Zoom. While we only address the physical SALC space in this account, we continued our reflective discussions in order to compare our experiences and perceptions of the online environment. Although we lack the space to present these later dialogues, they allowed us to contrast our perspectives with those on the physical SALC and in doing so, provided valuable deeper insight. We hope to continue developing our duoethnography, covering both the virtual and physical spaces.

Our themes here are merely the understandings which we took away from our dialogues and are not meant to be prescriptive conclusions. Norris and Sawyer (2012) stress that duoethnographies' readers are "future partner[s] in inquiry, not [recipients] of newfound wisdom" (p. 22). While our reflections stem from our specific context, we hope that readers have gained their own insights, which are just as meaningful as ours.

Still, we offer some recommendations for practice in similar contexts. First, as we realized, any language policy and its presentation should include clear definitions and rationale, in order to ensure that all parties understand the situation. We also hope that we have demonstrated the benefits of examining the effects of language policy on learning environments or user perceptions. Next, those interested in supporting multilingual development in learners can also benefit from reflection on the culture necessary for such development in a particular context. Finally, as duoethnography is still developing as a means of inquiry, we did not know of many other similar inquiries using the methodology in this way. We hope that readers are inspired by duoethnography's potential for engaging in reflective practice while incorporating qualitative data.

Although much remains uncertain as we return after the pandemic, we will continue investigating the issues discussed here. We may have unresolved questions, but the gradual reopening of facilities can provide opportunities to open our discussions to others and consider meaningful measures we can take. While there are lingering issues about the recognition of the multilingual turn in our context, our inquiry helped us envision the potential position of the SALC and ESPA in affecting learners' multilingual practice and consequently the part we can play. We conclude with this attempt to encapsulate our roles in the multilingual space:

Yuri Do you think we can call ourselves "curators"?

Isra Are we curators of the multilingual space? Or are we managing it?

Yuri For me, "managing" implies a power relationship.

Isra So it's not what you want. If you think of "curating" a museum or exhibit, then we would be picking and choosing what goes in there, right? Is it like being a gardener? [*laughing*] Like we're cultivating a multilingual environment? Like we're watering—

Yuri I like the word "gardener." *Niwashi-tte koto desho* / 庭師ってことでしょ？ [A gardener, right?] I like it!

Isra And the multilingual users are like our flowers. Until they bloom—

Yuri We never know what kind of flowers that we're raising.

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NARRATIVE ACCOUNT

Narrative Inquiry: Learning to Walk on Shifting Sands

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With its potential to illuminate both the processes of learning and their connections with various aspects of context (ranging from the personal to the sociopolitical) in which learning takes place, the research approach of narrative inquiry has, in recent years, been attracting more attention from educational researchers. However, relatively little work has been done to explore the ways in which narrative texts emerge as the result of a process of co-construction between participants and researchers. Extending the work carried out in my doctoral study, which focused on stories of learning French in Hong Kong, in this paper I describe how I reconstructed the narrative account of one participant ("IC") with two colleagues from *The Learner Development Journal* (Issue 5) who discussed and responded to my writing of this narrative account in six online meetings over a period of one year. I then reflect on the value of this reconstruction process, covering the additional insights gained into IC's narrative as well as more general reflections on the nature and value of narrative inquiry as a tool for educational research and learner development.

学習のプロセスと，学習が行われているコンテクストにおける様々な側面（個人的なものから社会政治的なものまで）との関連性の両方を明らかにする可能性を秘めたナラティブ・インクワイアリーは，近年，教育研究者の間で注目を集めている研究手法である。しかし，参加者と研究者の共同作業の結果として，どのようにナラティブ・テキストが生まれてくるのかを探る研究は，これまでほとんど行われていない。本稿では，香港でのフランス語学習の物語に焦点を当てた私の博士課程での研究を発展させ，一人の参加者（IC）のナラティブ・アカウントを，Learner Development Journal（第5号）の2人の同僚と共に再構築した手法を説明する。再構築のプロセスとして，1年間にわたって6回のオンラインミーティングを行い，議論した。このプロセスの価値を省察し，ICの物語から得られた新たな洞察と，教育研究や学習者ディベロップメントのツールとしてのナラティブ・インクワイアリーの性質と価値に関する考察を行う。

En raison de son potentiel à éclairer à la fois les processus d'apprentissage et leurs liens avec divers aspects du contexte (allant du personnel au sociopolitique) dans lequel l'apprentissage s'inscrit, l'approche de recherche des récits de vie intéresse les chercheurs en éducation. Néanmoins, relativement peu de travaux ont été menés pour explorer la manière dont les textes narratifs émergent à la suite d'un processus de co-construction entre les participants et les chercheurs. Comme prolongement du travail réalisé pour mon étude doctorale qui portait sur des récits d'apprentissage du français à Hong Kong, je décris dans cet article comment j'ai reconstitué le récit d'une participante ("IC") avec deux collègues du *Learner Development Journal* Issue 5 au cours de six réunions en ligne sur une période d'un an. Je réfléchis ensuite à l'intérêt d'un tel processus, m'intéressant à ce qui a émergé de nouveau en lien avec le récit d'IC et en réfléchissant plus généralement à la nature et à l'intérêt des récits de vie en tant qu'outil de recherche pédagogique et de développement de l'apprenant.

Keywords

narrative inquiry, French learning, narrative co-construction, learner development

ナラティブ・インクワイアリー，フランス語学習，ナラティブを用いた共同構築，学習者ディベロップメント

récits de vie, apprentissage du français, co-construction narrative, développement de l'apprenant

IC was one of the four participants in my doctoral study on the topic of French learning in Hong Kong (de Beaufort, 2019; see also de Beaufort, 2021). This study used the approach of narrative inquiry (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Connelly & Clandinin, 1990; Clandinin, 2013) to produce an account of the participants' experiences. What I intend to do in this paper is to focus on one participant, IC, firstly to reconstruct IC's narrative, drawing on the additional perspectives of two readers from our *Learner Development Journal Issue 5* (LDJ5) group, and

secondly to reflect on the insights gained from this process of reconstruction. Clandinin and Connelly (2000) present readers as the third pillar of narrative inquiry, the two others being the inquiree (IC) and the inquirer (me). I am interested in exploring what can be learned from taking such an approach, especially with two readers who, at the start of this process, knew nothing about IC and little about the Hong Kong context.

What I also wish to do is to take some distance from a process I have been deeply involved with for several years. The process of data collection and inquiry lasted from the spring of 2014 to the summer of 2018 with IC, and formally ended in May 2019 when I submitted the completed version of my thesis. My participation in the LDJ5 project is thus also a way for me to deal with a frustration I experienced during my doctoral study, namely that I did not have the opportunity to discuss with others the connections between IC's life and her engagement with learning French. Occasionally, I had wondered if my interpretation of the meaning of French for her was plausible (Polkinghorne, 1995, p. 18; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, pp. 184–185) and trustworthy (Barkhuizen et al., 2014, p. 90). Asking two outsiders to give me their views about the meaning of French for IC would be useful for me as a researcher, French teacher, and French speaker working in Hong Kong.

More generally, the theme of multilingual learner development in LDJ5 is of great interest for me. Hong Kong is a fitting place to study multilingualism; it is a territory with two official languages (English and Chinese),[1] and the education policy is one of biliteracy and trilingualism (Cantonese, Mandarin, and English). In addition, people like the participants in my study might have studied or been in contact with regional dialects or additional languages such as French. I myself am originally from France although I have lived outside France for more than 25 years, mainly in Asia (China, South Korea, and Macau) and in Hong Kong where I have resided since 2005. Professionally, I am a language teacher (French and English). At home, I mostly use English with my British husband. Apart from French and English, I speak a little Mandarin, having lived in Mainland China for about five years. I also have some familiarity with German, Hebrew, Korean and Italian from my school years or from my travels.

Organisation of This Narrative Account

This narrative account is organised as follows. I first provide some introductory background about IC and briefly introduce the concept of co-construction which led to IC's narrative. This is followed by a summary of my interpretation of the role of French and other languages in IC's life, drawn from my original doctoral study. Moving on to the reconstruction process I undertook with my two LDJ5 readers, which constitutes the heart of this paper, I first introduce the three questions I asked my readers. These formed the basis for discussion in our six Zoom meetings, which lasted between 1.5 and 2 hours and took place between March 2020 and March 2021. These meetings also served to exchange ideas on the process of narrative inquiry and to reflect on ourselves as researchers and participants in the LDJ5 project. After presenting my colleagues' responses to my three specific questions, I then summarise my overall reflections on these interactions, covering both the insights gained into the narrative inquiry process and the possible applications of narrative inquiry in education.

1. Article 9 of the Basic Law of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China stipulates the co-official language status of English alongside Chinese. However, as Poon (2010, p. 7) notes, "Chinese" is "ill-defined" but in Hong Kong it is usually taken to mean written Modern Standard Chinese and spoken Cantonese. Poon further explains that "[t]he spoken form of Modern Standard Chinese is Putonghua (or Mandarin), which is the national language in Mainland China and Taiwan. The written form of Cantonese is not accepted as standard written Chinese used in formal writing because Modern Standard Chinese is unanimously accepted as the only written form used in Mainland China, Taiwan, Hong Kong and overseas Chinese communities." (Poon, 2007, p. 7)

In what follows, I include hyperlinks in various places. These are intended to give the reader the opportunity to access the text in the way and order s/he wishes, thus allowing for a deeper reading of this exploration. The hyperlinks are numbered for convenience of reference and there is no specific order in which to access them. Although there is no obligation to click on any of the hyperlinks, I recommend reading PDF1, which concerns IC's experience of learning French and is the narrative I initially asked my two readers to read.

Introducing IC

IC was born in Hong Kong in a Cantonese-speaking family. Her father migrated to Hong Kong from China's Guangdong province at a young age, after the Chinese Civil War, and her mother comes from Macau. IC speaks the three main languages of Hong Kong (i.e., Cantonese, Mandarin, and English) as well as knowing some French and some Japanese. I first met IC during the academic year of 2006–2007, when she took two beginner French courses with me at a Hong Kong university. When I started my study in 2014, she was 27 years old. It took roughly four years—from the spring of 2014 to September 2018—for her stories of learning French to cohere into the narrative I presented at the end of my doctoral study and that I revisit here with my two LDJ colleagues.

I chose IC for this collaborative reconstruction for the same reasons as I included her in my doctoral study report. Among the other participants, she was the most able to verbalize her experiences in a detailed manner whilst demonstrating sustained curiosity about the inquiry. Every time we met, she asked about the progress of the study and her interest stimulated the self-reflection process and led to deep and interesting exchanges during the interviews. As the inquiry progressed, I came to realise that IC was gradually finding her own purpose for participating in the study, for example by enabling her to better understand her experiences and emotions during a transitional phase in Hong Kong's history. In other words, IC's example seems useful not only because of the content of the interviews, but also because her case deepens our understanding of participants' involvement in narrative inquiry and illustrates its power to transform (Barkhuizen, 2011, p. 397; Barkhuizen, 2009) and empower (Clandinin interviewed in O'Donoghue, 2012; McKenna, 2017). The transformational potential of narrative inquiry makes it highly relevant to considerations of multilingual learner development.

The Co-construction Process with IC

Narrative co-construction means that narratives emerge as a result of complex interactions between human actors and their environment. The researcher does not, and cannot, simply "step back." Clandinin notes that narrative inquiry must begin by questioning one's assumptions and reflecting about the complexity in himself/herself as a condition to understand the complexities in others (Clandinin interviewed in McKenna, 2017; Clandinin, 2013, p. 36). This is to say that narrative inquiry starts with a process of becoming "wakeful" about all the narratives that shape us as people and researchers: "You cannot be wakeful to someone else if you are not wakeful to yourself" (Clandinin, interviewed in McKenna, 2017).

Acknowledging co-construction thus means that the observer becomes "part of what is viewed rather than separate from it" (Charmaz, 2000, p. 524, cited in Shkedi, 2005, p. 5; see also Clandinin, 2013, p. 24). During the inquiry process, whilst participants are reliving and telling their stories, the narrative inquirer is drawn into recalling and reliving past experiences and as s/he does so, new perspectives emerge. It is in this space where two experiences and two lives interconnect that a narrative text emerges, as was the case with IC and me. In noting this,

I refer to the principle of "verisimilitude" in narrative accounts (Polkinghorne, 1988, p. 161). Verisimilitude includes, as one of its aspects, that the reporting of stories should "resonate with the experience of the researcher" (Webster & Mertova, 2007, p. 99).

My Interpretation of the Role of French and Other Languages in IC's Life

The main overall insight of my doctoral study of learning French in Hong Kong was that French could be characterised as an affordance for identity construction. French, along with other languages in the participants' lives, can be seen as a symbolic tool to exercise agency and resist being positioned in a certain way. Even with what would, in conventional terms, be described as a limited level of proficiency, IC uses and appropriates aspects of French to agentively and creatively perform individual acts of resistance "in the interstices of power" laid bare in an otherwise constricting and normative environment (Barfield, 2019, p. 128; see also Pennycook, 2010, p. 129). This is also to say that languages are a way for IC to "assemble" herself according to what is important to her (Rampton, 2006, p. 12) (click on PDF2).

Linking between the micro level of individual practices and the macro level of group identities and political structures, French also appeared in IC's story as a way to symbolically re-assert Hong Kong's identity as a multilingual and multicultural city at a time of severe political crisis.

To clarify, I started meeting participants for my doctoral study in the spring of 2014. The autumn of 2014 will be remembered as a significant moment in Hong Kong's history, as Hong Kong people, and especially a large number of youth (university and secondary students) assembled in the central districts of Hong Kong and paralyzed the heart of the city, including the financial and business districts for a period of about four months. This protest movement, known as the Umbrella Movement, gave voice to Hong Kong people's wish to hold elections for their Chief Executive, the highest post of political power in this territory of about 7 million people. A significant portion of the Hong Kong population felt that it was time to push for this basic democratic right, as progress towards this goal had been promised in the agreement made between China and the U.K. in 1997.

Not surprisingly, the crisis brought about many tensions in Hong Kong society and ignited passionate debates about Hong Kong's identity. IC's concern for Hong Kong's future and its ability to retain what she saw as its distinctive identity dominated many of the stories she shared with me at the time of the inquiry. At the same time, she expressed her concern about her own ability as an individual to make choices and live the life that she wanted to (click on PDF3).

My LDJ5 Colleagues' Responses to IC's Narrative

As already mentioned, during the original study I did not have the opportunity to reflect on my inquiry with another narrative inquiry researcher. Several times during my study, I felt the need to discuss the connections I had started to make between the various levels of context (personal, institutional and socio-political; see Barkhuizen, 2016, p. 663) and IC's accounts of learning French. Amongst the questions I asked myself was whether it would be possible for somebody with less firsthand knowledge of the Hong Kong context to understand my interpretation of the meaning of French in IC's life. Thus I was curious to find out how much of my co-construction experience would resonate with new readers.

I asked my two LDJ5 colleagues—our team of three making up one of the response communities as part of the LDJ5 project—to read IC's final research text in the doctoral study

(click on PDF1) and to answer three questions. The questions and the responses from Reader A and Reader B are presented below in verbatim form so that the readers of this paper can "hear" the comments without interference from me. I then discuss the comments in the following section.

1. Does this text make sense to you, or do you feel you need more information to come to the conclusions I have come to?

Reader A: I get IC's sense of unease and foreboding, and the unsettledness that she feels both in Hong Kong and living outside Hong Kong—of floating life, so to speak.

One of your conclusions is that "one of the main roles of French (as well as other languages and cultures, particularly English) was to symbolically re-assert Hong Kong's identity as a multilingual and multicultural city at a time of severe political crisis." I would also take that as re-asserting her own identity as a multilingual and multicultural rights-conscious / rights-custodial HK citizen person at a time of severe political crisis. In other words, it may be important to extend the articulation of "multilingual and multicultural" to include civil, social, political rights, and language rights—that she has particular freedoms in her own life and in her work not to be a slave to others, but rather to be interdependent and autonomous in the exercise of her rights, responsibilities, and freedoms.

Reader B: I remember you wrote somewhere something like an interview excerpt with IC, Britain occupied a small village and made HK, then Britain left, and now mainland China came to hold HK. When I read this, I had an impression that IC had a strong sense of history. I assume being multilingual is an essential part of her HK identity, as you mentioned. I guess the political agenda that affected her identity would not be only the current one, but also a historical one. It seems like the story of French is popping up a little bit suddenly for me.

One thing I don't understand is why IC doesn't appreciate Hong Kong culture. She says Hong Kong culture is not sophisticated. Even though she had a great pride for the Hong Kong identity as a cosmopolitan, why could she not have the same pride for the Hong Kong culture? Even that is exactly the symbol of a mixture of diversity. What is the time span between interviews? Is there any chance that the change of political situation during the period affects IC's perception of HK culture and her identity?

2. Do any of IC's experiences resonate with you?

Reader A: Very much so. The struggle to localise myself in other lands resonates very strongly with me. I'm struck by how IC decides to return to HK and make her life there to re-establish/re-create her sense of belonging, of "non-fractured" living, if you will, but risks even greater fracturation socio-politically. I feel in contrast an ongoing sense of dis-location in my life in Japan. I am here, but I am not of here.

Reader B: Yes, the experiences both you and IC had marginalized when you were using English in Britain and Kibbutz resonates with my experiences in the US and Korea. The difference between you/IC and me is I ran away from being in the situation which threatens me, but you stayed.

3. How likely is it that IC's experiences would resonate with learners in your culture?

Reader A: I think so, for students who may have returned or were born into mixed home environments and live multilingually with different languages, or live with a diverse linguistic repertoire in Japanese (including the use of non-standard varieties of Japanese). IC's story, from one perspective, is one of return migration, and how migration leaves individuals—especially the first generation—fractured about where they belong or desire to belong.

Reader B: One thing it is interesting to me is the lack of *genchi* / 現地 [the place the language is used]. One of my students conducted a small interview project in which she asked the university students who are taking a second foreign language course even though it is not compulsory. She found a couple of participants told their desire like "I want to go to ××, and use the language." In IC's story, I could see the point [that IC is not particularly interested in visiting France]. I am wondering why.

Insights Gained from My LDJ5 Colleagues

Insight 1: IC's Narrative Resonates with a Wider Audience

One outcome of the process of reconstruction is that it has confirmed that readers living in and coming from other cultures could identify with IC's narrative, even though they may have had relatively limited knowledge of Hong Kong. Reader A shared this comment about what it meant to be multicultural and multilingual:

> I wonder if this is the contested condition of groups who are positioned as minorities in disproportionate power imbalances as much as it is a normal state of affairs for societies that espouse multilingual policies as part of their imagined community. One can imagine a similar claim being made in terms of officially multilingual societies?

I reflected that although it might be true that IC's situation was similar to the position of any minorities living in a dominant culture (in our LDJ group, we talked about dialects and minorities in Japan), I nevertheless believe there are still distinctive aspects in different stories.

For IC, the representation of herself as multilingual and multicultural was important for her in a very personal way as well as a social way. First, even though her links with the French language were tenuous (she said she had half-forgotten it) and even though she had notions of French culture which lay mostly in her imagination (for example, she said: *'it's[French culture] just a creation... a perception'*), these connections gave her a feeling of being more accomplished not only because other Hong Kong people would look at her differently, but also because she was aware that learning languages would transform her general outlook on life:

> *IC: They [Hong Kong people] will be impressed that you can speak a third language, they will keep giving you some French to ask you to translate it, they may ask you is Agnes b. pronounced as Agnes b...*
>
> *IC: ...people who are able to speak different language are having a broader sense in looking at things because language...making you look at things differently*

And she wanted her audience (me, to start with, and other people who would come to read her narrative account) to appreciate this accomplishment, perhaps partly because she came from a family which did not have the same cosmopolitan outlook. In the inquiry, she talked

at length about a trip to London with her sister, who had rarely mixed with foreigners as she had. She described to me with many details the differences she had noticed between her sister and herself during that trip, for example:

> *IC: So last year... because I had a business trip in London so she [her sister] travelled with me which is her first time to go to London, Paris and Amsterdam and... I can feel that euh... she has a less exposure internationally than me*

From multiple opportunities to interact with people from different cultures, IC was gradually observing changes in the way she thought about things, and she became proud of the doors this opened in her mind:

> *IC: I'm not a Chinese traditional person yeah... ...I'm quite o-p-e-n (said slowly) in terms of thoughts yeah... positively I'm opened to change*

> *IC: When you step up outside you can see the reality differently*

Moving from the personal to the social, she repeatedly talked about the multicultural character of Hong Kong society in trying to explain the uniqueness that Hong Kong identity entails, as well as to emphasize its complexities (click on PDF 4). For example, a part of Hong Kong's identity is inextricably linked to its past as a British colony, and this is still inscribed in an official document, the much-prized BNO (British National Overseas) passport:

> *IC: I get a BNO passport that means I'm born in Hong Kong before 1997, which is still under the colony of Britain. And...those local people like me will regard having a BNO passport is a real Hong Kongese more than getting a Hong Kong passport*

Emphasising the multicultural character of Hong Kong is currently to be understood in the light of the ongoing socio-political tensions in Hong Kong. Reader A reflected that reinforcing Hong Kong's multicultural identity appeared to be a way for IC to "recreate and reproduce a cultural, socio-political and linguistic alternative to the threat of/growing domination of China."

However, more than emphasising one's multiculturality as a way to differentiate oneself or claim space as a minority in a culturally dominant environment (as suggested by Reader A), I see IC's recurring narrative of multiculturality as an urgent cry for help, a need to convince others (mainly me, and other readers of her narrative) and to inform the world of the situation in Hong Kong:

> *IC: I want those non-Hong Kongese people to understand so for example I have friends from France, Taiwan, Britain, somewhere else, I want them to know what exactly is happening in Hong Kong*

Having said this, it could also be that I am influenced today by what has been happening in Hong Kong since I concluded the study. In 2019, the political tensions in Hong Kong escalated and led to decisive intervention by Beijing in the form of a national security law, which Hong Kongers are still learning to live with today. In other words, my reconstruction of IC's narrative is influenced by my having experienced some of the events in Hong Kong since the end of the original study, as elaborated in the next section.

Insight 2: The Changeable Nature of Narrative Texts Reflects the Changeable Nature of Lived Experience

An important insight gained from the feedback I received from my LDJ5 colleagues is that interpretations of others' experiences vary according to what is happening in one's life at the

moment of reading, as suggested by Reader A:

> I'm writing this a couple of days after president Trump has declared publicly his intention to suppress the vote in the USA, and the 75th anniversary of the end of Second World War (or "defeat of Japan" according to some media sources). Sombre images and memorials to the devastating loss of life and wanton destructiveness of industrialised warfare in WW2. And then there's the pandemic, and all the impacts that it is having and will continue to have, not to mention the climate crisis, and whatever litany of crises we might wish to focus on.... I get IC's sense of unease and foreboding, and the unsettledness that she feels both in Hong Kong and living outside Hong Kong—of floating life, so to speak.

Reader A's comments suggest that his perception of unease and conflict in IC's narrative was heightened by media accounts of events taking place elsewhere in the world at the time (click on PDF5). This is to say that the construction, reconstruction and interpretation or re-interpretation of narratives always depends on perceptions of the surrounding environment at the time of writing or reading the narratives. Just as the researcher has one set of experiences and perceptions, readers can find their own set of resonances in a narrative. This does not mean that the original version was unreliable or in need of improvement, but rather that narrative texts are inherently changeable and never finalised (Clandinin & Rosiek, 2007, p. 13; Connelly & Clandinin, 1995, p. 9).

The changeable nature of narrative texts also means that it is not only the result (the text) that matters, but also the process of deep reflection that the construction of the text triggers. As Clandinin repeatedly notes, taking part in narrative inquiry should be a form of empowerment for the participants, especially those who feel marginalised or are not usually listened to (see Clandinin being interviewed by O'Donoghue, 2012, and McKenna, 2017). Regarding the specific benefit of narrative texts for readers, Clandinin and Connelly (2000, p. 42) also note the "vicarious testing of life possibilities" that these texts inspire as they offer the power to imagine oneself differently.

Insight 3: New Perspectives on IC's Comments about Hong Kong Culture

During the inquiry with IC, I had the recurrent impression that she had an unshakable attachment and love for Hong Kong. Thus, I found it interesting that Reader B picked up on IC's parallel harsh criticism of her culture, which I had noted but not fully analysed or understood. Getting Readers A and B's perspectives helped me understand IC's apparent criticism better. Reader A's comments below helped me revisit the connection between IC's remarks and the wider socio-political context in Hong Kong:

Reader A: As I was reading through again, I questioned why IC should find it so hard to see "home-written" / "locally produced" HK literature and/or arts as being sophisticated or prestigious. That perhaps points to a cultural struggle of re-adjustment and re-appropriation to re-locate herself within a Hong Kong world of reference and resonance at the time of such political tension and confrontation with the PRC. My own understanding of this tension is that the Basic Law runs until 2047, so, for the young generation now and people of IC's age everyone who is resistant to the PRC's take-over of HK, they are already experiencing within their lifetimes—and which they would face in any case (no matter the democracy protests and political moves happening now)—and are seeing a fundamental and intensifying realignment of their region as a political and economic entity, but also of their everyday lives and lifeworlds towards the PRC. So, at a deeper level, while IC struggles to locate her cultural identity as Hong Konger in terms of literature and the arts at the same level as French culture

(or British or European), she is also struggling to locate an identity free of [...] the PRC. A post-colonial dilemma as colonisation by the PRC grows?

Reader A's perception echoes that of other observers of the situation in Hong Kong. Although the central demand of the 2014 protest movement—known as the Umbrella Movement—was for a greater say in the election of the region's chief executive, the movement was also symptomatic of the deep level of anxiety in Hong Kong regarding its identity at this juncture of its history:

> The Umbrella Movement and all the protest movements that came before it were never just about the immediate issue at hand—whether the universal suffrage or the protection of heritage buildings or support for democracy in Mainland China. These protests have always had at their core anxiety about Hong Kong's identity. (Dapiran, 2017, p. 108)

Dapiran's view is that Hong Kongers have never had a free rein in determining their identity, and continue to be subject to external forces (British colonialism in the past, and assimilation into a homogenising "greater China" today).

Thus, IC's impatience regarding Hong Kong culture's lack of self-awareness (she suggested that it lacked creativity and confidence and was only able to copy other cultures) can be understood as a prompt from IC for Hong Kong to embrace its unique identity. In his account of Hong Kong culture at the time of the return of sovereignty to China, Abbas (1997) noted that one of the effects of colonialism was that Hong Kong "did not realise it could have a culture" (p. 6), but he also suggested that Hong Kong was experiencing the emergence of "some original and yet untheorized" form of culture (p. 7). IC's struggle to locate Hong Kong culture does indeed appear to be part of a continuing crisis of post-colonial identity, but also one which contains the possibility of recovering what has always been there but is somehow hidden (click on PDF6). This is an interesting new insight for me, which again points to the inherently changeable and multidimensional nature of narrative texts.

Reflections on the Process of Revisiting IC's Narrative With Two Readers

As already mentioned, my aim in participating in the LDJ5 initiative was to revisit IC's narrative and, using my two readers' feedback, to reflect back on the more general process of narrative inquiry. My reflections were in two main areas, the first relating to the "truth" value (Foucault, 1980) of research texts and the second more concerned with the effects of such texts and their associated conditions of production.

My first reflection is that there cannot be one "true" narrative that stands unconditionally above the others. There cannot be one "correct" narrative because interpretations are constantly changing according to the inquiree's perspective at the time of telling the story, the inquirer's perspective at the time of writing the narrative account of that story, or the reader's perspective upon reading the narrative, as already mentioned in the previous sections. In other words, narrative accounts and their interpretations are constantly shifting. Connelly and Clandinin (1990) remark that writing a narrative research account is a process of "continual unfolding" (p. 9). After the original narrative inquiry, a process of reconstruction takes place with each new audience as new perspectives arise by the mere fact of sharing a narrative, as suggested by the authors:

> I tell you a researcher's story. You tell me what you heard and what it meant to you. I hadn't thought of it this way, am transformed in some important way, and tell the story differently the next time I encounter an interested listener or talk again with my participant. (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990, p. 9)

However, the fact that narratives cannot be "fixed" does not mean that there are no ways to evaluate their effectiveness for the purpose at hand. The concepts of verisimilitude, plausibility and trustworthiness, and the involvement of additional readers (as in this study) are among the means that narrative inquirers can use to assess their accounts. Although narrative researchers often point out that narratives are constantly in flux, the need to produce a written narrative for consumption by others creates a necessary, if temporary, form of closure.

Another aspect of the impossibility of 'true' narratives arises from considering the different perspectives of readers. What happens when someone reads a narrative is that they are confronted with resonances and questions about their own experiences. Revisiting IC's narrative with my two LDJ5 colleagues enabled me to become aware that some of my actions which I had so far considered as being agentive—which in my mind were linked to notions of strength, confidence in oneself, and self-esteem (like a story I told to my colleagues of a volunteering experience in a kibbutz in Israel)—were in fact heavily constrained by my own psychological environment at the time (Barkhuizen, 2016, p. 663).

For IC, anger about the political situation in Hong Kong which she felt was pushing people out in spite of their attachment to their city was acutely felt and gave rise to feelings of despair and hopelessness, but her feelings connected to the macro socio-political context were equally strongly linked to a feeling of fear for herself. Re-reading IC's transcripts makes me think anew about what IC had meant when she described French children in the first interview:

> *IC: so there's again children playing [with] each other ... there's a forest like with a lot of trees, no buildings and yeah it's a big playground and they just run and with a lot of greenery and yeah it is what I perceived about "Oh how great French children can play in a big greenery forest... but we can't!" (laugh) yeah! that's what... that's what I perceive about French culture somehow*

I had wondered many times what IC was referring to when she mentioned the "big greenery forest." To me, who was born in a region of deep forests in France, a forest is at once a place of freedom and protection as well as a threatening and claustrophobic space in which one can get lost and hidden from view. What was IC trying to say? To me, her comment suggests envy for the freedom French children seemed to enjoy and which French culture seemed to embody, but it also suggests a feeling of entrapment, of not being able to achieve a life she had dreamed for herself.

The importance of perspective in narrative suggests, first of all, a wider implication for research, namely the impossibility of detached observation. Writing from a posthumanist perspective on the natural sciences, Barad (2007) encourages us to see that researchers' practices of thinking, observing, and theorizing are "practices of engagement with, and as part of, the world in which we have our being" (Barad, 2007, p. 133). Narrative inquiry replaces the "detached observer" of positivist science with a fully human researcher, engaged with equally human participants and readers. All of them bring their knowledge and experiences, their intellects and emotions, their prejudices and vulnerabilities to the processes of investigation and interpretation. The "narrative turn" in a range of disciplines (e.g., Polkinghorne, 1988, on the humanities) reflects the influence of philosophers such as Gadamer (1977), for whom understanding is made possible by the "fusion of horizons" involved in interaction and dialogue.

This also leads me to my second reflection, concerning the effects of research texts and their processes of construction. Narrative inquiry has the potential to help participants (researchers, learners and readers) develop as human beings by unsettling their perceptions and encouraging self-reflection. It reveals to them their own complexity, which increases

empathy and serves as a bulwark against forms of exclusion. In addition, through thinking more deeply about other people's life experience, we are brought to reconsider our own experience and standpoint, including what Gadamer (1977) refers to as "prejudices" (biases) and personal vulnerabilities. Although the process of recognising biases and vulnerabilities might be difficult and uncomfortable, it opens the way for researchers to become more ready to hear her/his participants' stories in their full complexity and with the least possible judgement and expectation. So although the results of narrative inquiry might be judged as fleeting by some, it has an important potential benefit for both the researcher and the researched: It forces them to recognize and value a more complex and hidden side of themselves and of each other.

Linked to this, one of the crucial values of narrative inquiry for education is that it provides learners with the opportunity to discover new aspects of themselves. This can have a range of benefits, some directly linked to learning but others related to the rest of their lives. It may help them to become more confident and knowledgeable, and to become more accepting of others through discovering their own complexities and contradictions. Conducting narrative inquiry has taught me that as a language teacher, I need to try and grasp this complexity, to give room to all the other "stuff" in my language learners' lives, and to see them as complex human beings rather than as just learners.

To conclude, the "shifting sands" of narrative inquiry may appear to be disconcerting for those accustomed to positivist concepts of detachment and objectivity. Narrative inquiry exposes multiple entanglements and perspectives, opens up individuals to themselves and to others' complexities and forces researchers to place themselves in the heart of the research process rather than above or beside it. But the path it reveals is a new and exciting one for all concerned, because it is a more meaningful and ultimately a more honest way of doing research.

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Review Process

This paper was open-reviewed by Melodie Cook, Akiko Takagi, and Dominic Edsall. (*Contributors have the option of open or blind review.*)

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NARRATIVE ACCOUNT

Re-interpreting University Students' Multilingual Lives: Connections, Questions, and Wider Issues in Society

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In this narrative account I explore how university students see their linguistic repertoires and what connections they make to wider issues in society. The site for this exploration is a weekly general education lecture course taught in Japanese and English on "Multilingual Issues in a Globalising World" at a university in Tokyo. The main tools of this exploration are language portraits and written reflections by four students, and later interviews with them about their portraits and reflections, as well as discussions with colleagues teaching the course, my "response community," and two reviewers for this issue of *The Learner Development Journal*. These different interactions lead to questions of linguistic privilege, discrimination, and oppression, as well as to a consideration that a critical stance towards the multilingual turn in learner development may need to take account of the deep-rooted historical and political impacts of imperialism and nationalism.

このナラティブアカウントでは，大学生が自身の言語レパートリーをどのように考えているのか，またそれを幅広い社会問題にどのように関連付けているのかを探求する。東京都の大学で，毎週日本語と英語で開講される「グローバル社会における多言語主義問題」という一般教養の講義で調査を行った。その講義を受講した4人の学生の言語ポートレートと振り返りを収集し，それらに関するインタビューを行った。また，「レスポンス・コミュニティ」として私と共に講義を担当する同僚，そして「The Learner Development Journal / 学習者ディベロ　ップメント研究部会誌」の本号の2人のレビュアーとも議論も行った。これらの異なる相互作用は，言語的特権，言語差別，言語的抑圧に関する問題に焦点を当てるとともに，学習者の発展における多言語的転回に対する批判的な姿勢は，帝国主義とナショナリズムの根深い歴史的・政治的な影響を考慮する必要があるかどうか考えることに至った。

ဤဇာတ်ကြောင်းပြန်ဖော်ပြချက်သည်တက္ကသိုလ်ကျောင်းသား/သူများကသူတို့၏ဘာသာစကားစုံအသုံးပြုနိုင်မှုအပေါ်အမြင်၊ဘာသာစုံစကားသုံးမှုအားလူမှုအသိုင်းအဝိုင်းတွင်ဖြစ်ပျက်နေသောကျယ်ပြန့် သောဘာသာစကားသုံးစွဲမှုပြဿနာများ နှင့်မည်သို့ သောဆက်စပ်မှုများပြုလုပ်ခြင်းနှင့် စပ်လျဉ်းသောလေ့လာမှုဖြစ်ပါသည်။ယခုလေ့လာမှုသည်အပတ်စဉ် သင်ကြားသော အထွေထွေ ပညာရေးပို့ ချချက် အတန်း"နိုင်ငံတကာ ဆက်နွယ် နေသော ကမ္ဘာကြီး (globalizing world)တွင် ဖြစ်ပွားနေသော ဘာသာစုံပြဿနာများ " တွင်ပြုလုပ်သော လေ့လာမှုဖြစ်သည်။ ဤလေ့လာမှုသည်ကျောင်းသား၄ယောက်ရေးဆွဲသောဘာသာစုံရုပ်ပုံများ၊ထိုကျောင်းသားများနှင့်တွေ့ဆုံမေးမြန်းဆွေးနွေးမှုများ နှင့်အတန်း အတွက် ရေးသားထားသော စာတမ်းများ၊ ထိုအတန်းအားအတူသင်ကြားနေသောဆရာ၊ဆရာမများနှင့် ကျွန်တော်၏ဆွေးနွေးဝိုင်းအဖွဲ့ ဝင်များနှင့် ဆွေးနွေးသော စကားဝိုင်းများ၊ The Learner Development Journal (သင်ယူသူ ဖွံ့ဖြိုးတိုးတက်မှုဂျာနယ်) သုံးသပ်သူများ၏ မှတ်ချက်နှင့် ဆွေးနွေးသုံးသပ်မှုများအပေါ်အခြေခံ၍ရေးသားထားပါသည်။ထိုအပြန်အလှန်သုံးသပ်ဆွေးနွေးမှုများသည်ဘာသာစကားခွဲခြားမှု၊ဖိနှိပ်မှု၊အခွင့်ထူးခံရယူမှုများ၊သင်ယူသူ(ကျောင်းသားများ)အား ဘာသာစုံ အသုံးပြုမှုသို့ပြောင်းလဲရာတွင် ကိုလိုနီဝါဒနှင့် အမျိုးသားရေး ဝါဒ၏သမိုင်းဆိုင်ရာနှင့် နိုင်ငံရေးဆိုင်ရာ နက်ရှိုင်းသော လွှမ်းမိုးမှုအား အလေးပေး စဉ်းစားရန် လိုအပ်ကြောင်း သိမြင်စေသည်။

Keywords

language portrait, linguistic repertoire, linguistic privilege, linguistic discrimination, linguistic oppression

言語ポートレート，言語レパートリー，言語的特権，言語差別，言語的抑圧

ဘာသာစကားသုံးစွဲမှု ရုပ်ပုံများ၊ ဘာသာစကားစုံ အသုံးပြုနိုင်မှု၊လူမှုအသိုင်းအဝိုင်းတွင်ဖြစ်ပွား နေသော ကျယ်ပြန့် သော ပြဿနာများ၊ ကိုလိုနီဝါဒနှင့် အမျိုးသားရေးဝါဒ၊ သင်ယူသူစမ်းစစ်သုံးသပ်ဖွံ့ ဖြိုးမှု ။

Starting Points

> "*When I was small, I resisted to use it (Korean) in public. Now it's my identity.*"—Kaori,[1] a mixed heritage student in Tokyo

In mid-February 2020 I meet up with my colleague Yoko to talk over the changes that are starting to take shape for the coming academic year in a general education course, *Multilingual Issues in a Globalising World*, that we co-coordinate and teach in the Faculty of Law at a university in Tokyo. Eight colleagues (from Politics, Law, and the Chinese, English, French, and German departments in the faculty) each teach two or three classes of this "rotation" course in a 14-week semester. Yoko herself is a specialist in south-east Asian politics and speaks Japanese, English, Indonesian Bahasa, and Thai fluently. My background is in applied linguistics, and in our lunchtime meeting I hope to share some initial thoughts from interviews that I had recently done with students about their linguistic repertoires. I start by mentioning what Kaori, one of the interviewees, had experienced. She had grown up in Tokyo, using Korean at home with her mother and Japanese with her father, but became reluctant to use Korean outside of the home. For several years Kaori had restricted her language use to Japanese in public, although she now sees using Korean as central to her identity. This leads me to recall some of the pressures that my son (born to my wife, his Burmese mother, and me, his British father) went through growing up trilingually in Japan with English and Japanese, together with some everyday family Burmese. He had a strong desire to be the same as his peers, but had a difficult period during elementary school where he felt ashamed of being different. That our son had mixed heritage and was fluent in Japanese and English was only ever acknowledged by one of his teachers in six years of elementary school. Otherwise his cultural and linguistic diversity was invisibilised.

I ask Yoko whether she has ever felt similar restrictions on her language use. She responds that language rights have long been a fundamental issue in her life. Born in Japan, she comes from Fukui prefecture, which she finds is not so familiar to many people: "Ah Fukushima!", "Ah Fukuoka!", others often say. When she moved to Tokyo to go to university, Yoko started realising how Tokyo-centric everything is, and since then questions of identity have come up for her throughout her adult life. Many students from local areas/outside Japan may think about that, Yoko ventured, but in Tokyo people are mostly unfamiliar with how language discrimination is experienced by minorities.

Had she felt positioned as provincial or unsophisticated? I ask. "Always!" but Yoko was good at adopting new languages and could switch between her local Fukui variety of Japanese and standard Japanese (which is based on the Tokyo variety). She remembers deciding—during her one-year at high school in the US—that she would purposefully use Fukui-ben when she came back from the US to Japan. At university in Tokyo as an undergraduate, Yoko had used standard Japanese most of the time, but would switch into Fukui-ben whenever she was with friends from Fukui. She still does this when she meets up with her high school generation for reunions: "It's *densenteki* / 伝染的 [contagious]," she remarks, using a term beginning to circulate in the mass media in early 2020.

Unlike Yoko, I have limited experience of using a non-standard variety of my main language, English. I grew up in a small commuter market town, Berkhamsted, in the green belt around London, using standard Southern British English (SBE). If I once had a local variety of Hertfordshire English when I was younger, it was soon standardised through family, school, mass media, and other middle-class language socialisation processes. As

1. Student and colleague names in this narrative account are aliases.

SBE became my natural (and beguilingly unmarked, prestigious) variety of educated British English, I acquired, without being aware, a certain linguistic privilege (Deguchi, 2020; McIntosh, 1988; Subtirelu, 2013). After working in Paris for 6 months in my late teens, I studied French and German language and literature at university, spending a year at Johannes-Gutenberg University of Mainz in (then West) Germany as an exchange student. By the time I graduated, I could use French and German more or less fluently, and still speak both languages with some degree of facility now—and often with different colleagues on the *Multilingual Issues in a Globalising World* (MIGW) course. As well as living and working in Japan, I have lived and taught in France, Spain, and the former Yugoslavia, so, together with my intermediate proficiency in Japanese, I speak some Serbo-Croat and Spanish, some phrases and expressions in Burmese, as well as a few words in many other languages. That is my multilingual self. Like Yoko, I know and use several different languages, and we have shared interests in languages, politics, and language issues in society.

We are talking a few weeks ahead of the declaration of the COVID-19 pandemic. While we have the sense that a multilingual consciousness is "gradually gaining foothold in Japanese society" (Shoji, 2019, p. 193), we also recognise that such advances are ideologically contested (Horner & Weber, 2018)—and that for people from minoritised communities, whether Japanese or non-Japanese, language discrimination frequently figures as a contentious issue in their lives (Gottlieb, 2006; Barfield, 2019). A month or so earlier Foreign Minister Taro Aso had once again announced that "*No other country but this one has lasted for as long as 2,000 years with one language, one ethnic group and one dynasty*" (Yamaguchi, 2020). Kaori and Yoko's experiences, and my family's too, both confirm and contradict the ideological sway that such monolingual myths still hold in Japan.

As Yoko and I talk further, we agree that for us a central part of education is for students to connect their personal experiences to issues in society, and move back and forth between issues in society and their own lives. It is also important for students to engage with questions of equality, discrimination, and social justice. We aim to nurture such critical awareness in the MIGW course, but we are never completely sure how that works for students. In the introductory lecture, for example, we look at the linguistic landscapes of global cities like Tokyo, Manchester (England), and Singapore, as well as introduce the concepts of linguistic repertoires and language portraits. Emphasising the impacts of nation-state building on language use, we delve into how languages and varieties (and their users) are socio-politically constructed. We also present historical perspectives on language standardization and linguistic diversity in Japan, including minority language communities and newcomer immigrant groups in Japanese society. Subsequent lectures in the course take a broad interdisciplinary focus on multilingual issues in different European and North American societal contexts (Canada, France, Germany, South Tyrol, Sweden) in the spring semester, and in various Asian societies (China, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, Myanmar, Taiwan, and Thailand) in the autumn. Questions to do with the impacts of colonialism, imagined national communities, global languages, multilingual education, language rights, and majority/minority relationships are constantly re-threaded through the course. To help students take up and engage with the many topics that come up over the course, they have pair discussions every 20 minutes or so, as well as write a weekly reflection about key issues that a lecture covers.[2] As for languages used in MIGW, roughly half of the lectures are given

2. The current guideline for the weekly reflection encourages students to write in more than one language: 総括を書く際は，日本語のみならず，可能な限り英語，またはその他の言語も使用してみてください。例えば，前半で日本語，後半で英語を使用する，あるいは日本語と英語を交互に切り替えながら書くなど，自身が書きやすいように工夫してください。もし日本語をメインで使用したい場合は，それでも結構ですが，英語またはその他の言語を使用することに挑戦してみてください。As you write your reflection, try to use Japanese, English, or other languages as much as possible. You decide. For example, you can try to write the first part in Japanese, and the second part in English, or you can switch from one language

in Japanese, with a quarter in English, and the remainder in both Japanese and English. At the end of either semester students choose a multilingual issue to research and write a short report in Japanese, English, or both languages.

Despite these efforts to make MIGW student-centred, it sometimes seems as if the issues covered in the course are at some distance from the students. What then can we do to understand and appreciate better the connections that the students themselves make, see, and develop, from their own languaged lives to different multilingual issues in a globalising world? Just as importantly, what can we do to help students make connections from the cases and issues that the course covers to their own lives? And what might we learn from the students in the process? These questions come up in the lunchtime discussion with Yoko in early 2020. They follow on from a new focus in the initial lecture in the 2019 autumn semester on showing and talking through example student language portraits (LPs), and then asking the students to produce their own, annotated with comments in Japanese, English, or both languages. Later, in January 2020, at the end of the autumn semester, I had interviewed a small group of students, including Kaori (the student mentioned above), about their LPs and linguistic repertoires to develop deeper understanding of their languaged lives and the diverse connections they made to wider issues in society. This led to further conversations with colleagues, as well as to other interviews with students about connections from cases and issues in the course to their own lives.

In this narrative account I would like to share the stories of four students taking the MIGW course and reflect on the responses of myself and others to their experiences and perspectives, particularly to do with issues of linguistic privilege, discrimination, and oppression that their stories illuminate. These three phenomena cluster around recurrent questions of language power and inequality, as well as linguistic restriction, choice, and access (Coulmas, 2018). I see "linguistic privilege" as referring to the material and immaterial advantages that an individual gains from acquiring (a) particular language(s), or a prestigious variety of (a) particular language(s) (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1986, 2015[3]). Advantages may include, for example, "easier access to social, political, and educational institutions, (and) access to an additional form of capital" (Subtirelu, 2013), as well as not being negatively evaluated because of accent (Lippi-Green, 1994; Gallagher-Guertsen, 2007). Thus, an individual growing up with the dominant, fully legitimated, standard language of a society will have greater educational, employment, and social opportunities than another person whose main language has low status and is not widely used within the same society. Second, I take "linguistic discrimination" as the unjust and prejudicial treatment that individuals experience based on the language(s) or variety of a language that they use (or do not use). Linguistic discrimination also includes unequal access to power and resources that individuals have on grounds of language (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1986, 2015). Language discrimination can be perpetrated intralingually, as well as interlingually: Individuals who have acquired a prestigious variety of a global language such as English, for example, may well have greater employment opportunities, just as those who do not have the standard variety of a particular language may often face prejudice and stigmatisation (Lippi-Green, 1994; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1986, 2015; Subtirelu, 2013). In contrast, I understand "linguistic oppression" as ongoing systematic marginalisation and eradication of (a) language(s) used by minorities within a particular state (Roche, 2019), ultimately leading to erasure. Language oppression has been defined as "the enforcement of language loss by physical, mental, social, and spiritual

to the other as you write. If you prefer to write mostly in Japanese, that is OK, but try to use some English (or another language) too.

3. Skutnabb-Kangas discusses this in her 1986 work, but the original publication in Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas (1986) is not readily accessible. The 2015 discussion by Skutnabb-Kangas can be retrieved online.

coercion" (Taff et al., 2018, p. 863). A case in point is "the destruction of the indigenous language, culture, and lifestyle" (Okazaki, 2019, p. 361) of the Ainu in Japan.

With questions of linguistic privilege, discrimination, and oppression emerging at different points in the stories further below, I will consider, in the final part of this narrative account, what this may entail for how we look at the multilingual turn in learner development. I continue by focusing on learners' language portraits and the connections that the four students make to wider issues in society.

Linguistic Repertoires and Language Portraits

I first became interested in language portraits in 2015 through a workshop that Alice Chik gave at the JALT international conference (Chik, 2015). A few months later during teacher education work that I was doing in Burma/Myanmar, my co-facilitator and I used different ways of doing language portraits with the teacher trainer participants. The language diversity that they brought into life in their language portraits was completely inspiring for us (Barfield & Morgan, 2016). Since then, through trial and experimentation, I have come to use different portraits as near-peer role models (Murphey, 1996, 1998) to help students imagine their own ways of representing their linguistic repertoires.

Linguistic repertoires are constituted of an array of linguistic, communicative, and semiotic resources. They are highly individualised, variable, dynamic, and mobile and can offer insights into "the peculiar biographical trajectory of the speaker" (Blommaert, 2008, p. 16). Users' repertoires include "concrete accents, language varieties, registers, genres, modalities such as writing" (Blommaert, 2010, p. 102) and "ways of using language in particular communicative settings and spheres of life, including the ideas that people have about such ways of using, their language ideologies" (Blommaert, 2010, p. 102). Importantly, the view of linguistic repertoires put forward by Blommaert and other researchers such as Busch (2012, 2015, 2017, 2018) is both intralingual and interlingual. It is not only a question of the different languages that individuals use, but also of the range of ways in which they use a particular language. In other words, exploring linguistic repertoires involves looking at individuals' language use, experiences, and beliefs both *within* and *across* languages.

One useful way to understand how individuals see their languaged lives is for them to visualize their linguistic repertoires through drawing language portraits (Kalaja et al., 2008; Pietikäinen et al., 2008; Krumm, 2010; Busch, 2012; heteroglossia.net, n.d.; Chik, 2014), and to share stories and experiences that emerge for them from reflecting on and talking about their portraits. While some researchers have also looked at how LPs can be multimodally extended through the use of video (Kusters & De Meulder, 2019), multiple drawings (Prasad, 2014b), personalised drawings created from digital photos (Farmer, 2012; Prasad, 2014a), and visual narratives (Melo-Pfeifer & Fidalgo Schmidt, 2014), it is striking that much LP research tends to take an interlingual view and give greater emphasis to users' experiences *with separate languages*. Yet, within individuals' experiences with their first languages, there are many potentially fertile connections to wider issues within the communities, networks, and societies that they are part of. For this very reason, in the MIGW course, we ask students to consider both intralingual and interlingual perspectives for their own language portraits.

Language portraits are most often created within a silhouette outline (heteroglossia.net, n.d.; Chik, Markose, & Alperstein, 2018). In the MIGW course, we have come to use a hybrid approach—somewhere between free-form and silhouette outlines—where we present several near-peer LPs (i.e., LPs produced by other learners close in age and experience to the students in question) as examples of how students might produce their own Language Portraits. Figure 1 shows one near-peer LP created by a MIGW student that we use to raise

students' awareness of their own linguistic repertoires and of possible ways to make their own language portraits.

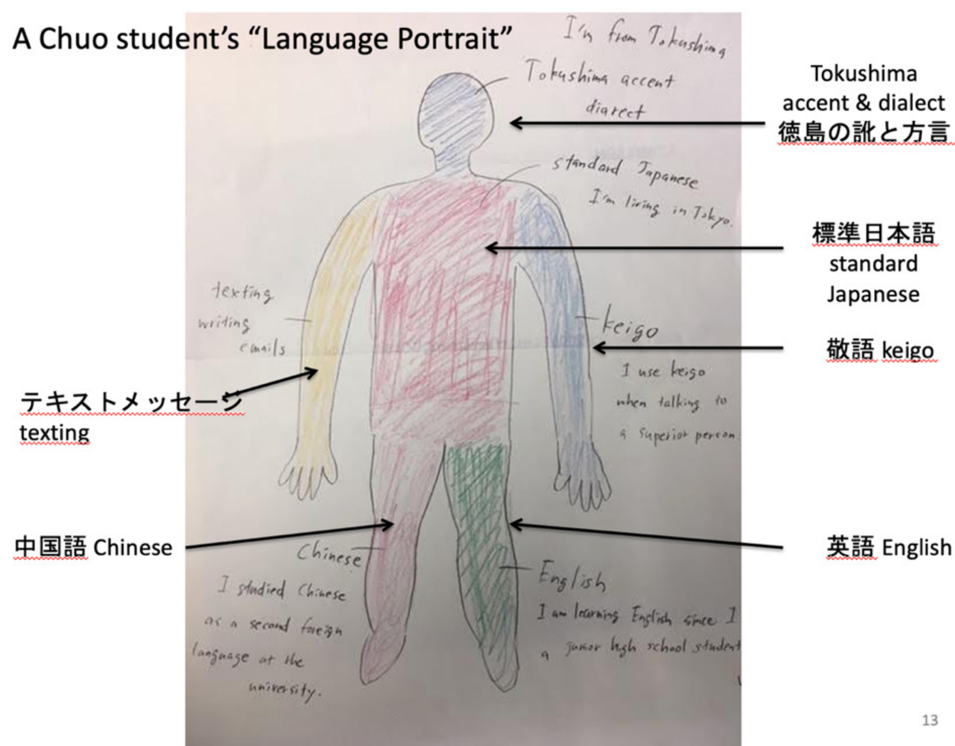

Figure 1. Near-peer Language Portrait Used in the Multilingual Issues Course[4]

The portrait illustrates how individuals can express a strong sense of their intralingual range. In this case the student highlights their Tokushima accent and dialect, standard Japanese, texting, and *keigo* (a polite and respectful register In Japanese, used according to age and status). The student also includes their use of Chinese and English. The upper body, arms, and head all represent the student's intralingual range in Japanese, with the Tokushima variety colouring the head and face. Other languages (Chinese and English) are shown in the student's legs and have less pictorial prominence. They are just one part of this individual's linguistic repertoire. Moreover, such a near-peer LP is immediately tangible for students and lets them imagine how they might draw their own LPs.

Language Portraits and Connections to Wider Issues in Society

In January 2020 I asked for interview volunteers from the autumn semester MIGW course and ended up interviewing six students about their original Language Portraits that they had made at the start of the autumn semester in late September. In these interviews I wanted to move beyond the experiential and probe what connections the students saw between their language portraits and wider issues in society. First, I invited the students to interpret and talk about their language portraits. Then, drawing on recent work done by Hatoss (2019) into unpacking monolingual ideologies, I asked the students to consider, based on their own experiences and understanding of multilingual issues in society, what they noticed as dominant language ideologies in Japan, and why people might have particular views towards others who speak or use language in different ways. I next guided each interviewee to place their A4 language portrait in the middle of an A3 sheet of paper and make notes around their

4. The figure shows a screenshot of a slide used in the opening lecture.

original portraits so as to extend their LPs to the wider societal perspectives that they noticed. The interviews concluded with a final discussion about what they had each noted. The interviews were carried out in English for the most part, with students free to use Japanese when they wanted or needed to. Each interview took 45-60 minutes. For reasons of space, I will limit the focus here to the original and extended LPs of two students, Kaori and Nanako, by providing an interpretative commentary of their language portraits and the extended connections towards issues in society that they each made.

Kaori's Language Portrait: Connections and Questions

Kaori grew up in Tokyo, and used Korean at home with her mother and Japanese with her father, but for a period of her life became reluctant to use Korean outside of the home. As she started talking about her LP (see Figure 2), she was quick to identify standard Japanese as her "*mother tongue*."

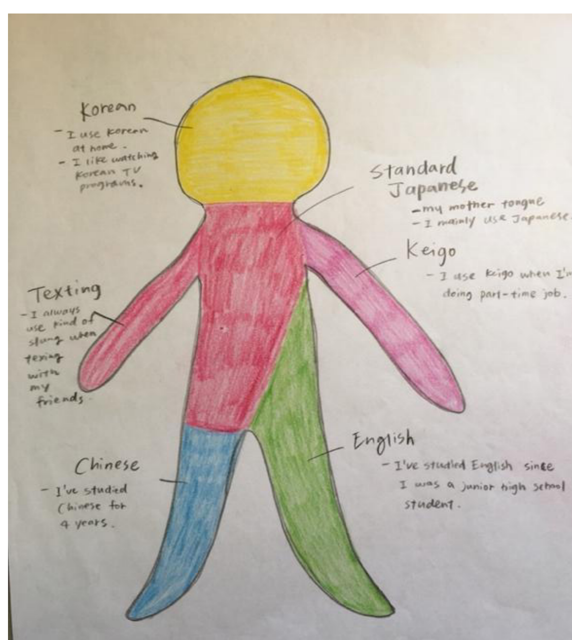

Figure 2. Kaori's Language Portrait

While her parents and siblings use standard Japanese at home, Kaori also stressed the importance of Korean in her life, which she referred to as her second language:

> *My second language is Korean. My mother is Korean so sometimes I use Korean at home and I like watching Korean TV programmes. Listening was from the beginning and I learnt grammar when I was six.*

Initially Kaori's mother spoke Korean to her and Kaori responded in Japanese. As a child she started reading in Japanese, and sometimes watched TV and videos in Korean. "*I have to use Japanese because I live in Japan, but I want to use Korean and sometimes I think in Korean*," Kaori said, adding "*My brain is Korean*" and that Korean is an unfinished project for her: "*I still have to learn writing or reading but I only think in Korean*." Nowadays Kaori sometimes uses Korean with her mother, other times Japanese.

Kaori has occasionally used Korean in her part-time job. When a Korean customer came to the furniture shop where she works, she tried to explain in Korean and the customer

was grateful to her. Kaori also talked about using *keigo* working at the cash register. As for university, Kaori uses colloquial Japanese with other students, and *keigo* with her teachers.

English and Chinese feature in Kaori's life too. When Kaori was 15 or 16, she went to the Philippines to study English for a few months. At the school she made Korean friends and still keeps in touch with them by Line (a popular messenger app in Japan):

> *Until I went to the Philippines, I didn't use Korean, except my mother, so I didn't have chance to Korean people but after when I got to the Philippines I got Korean friends and I tried to speak. ... I didn't think I could make them understood but I could and I got confidence.*

Unusually, Kaori also started learning Chinese at high school and had already been learning Chinese for four years. While she uses Korean in text messages with a friend ("*My Japanese friend can speak and write Korean, and we have the same hobby so sometimes we text in Korean*"), she did not feel that there were public spaces where she could use Chinese or Korean freely.

This internalised sense of restriction was a theme that Kaori elaborated in talking about her extended LP as shown in Figure 3. Kaori now identifies strongly with her Korean heritage. From her teen years onwards, this became a central part of how she sees herself.

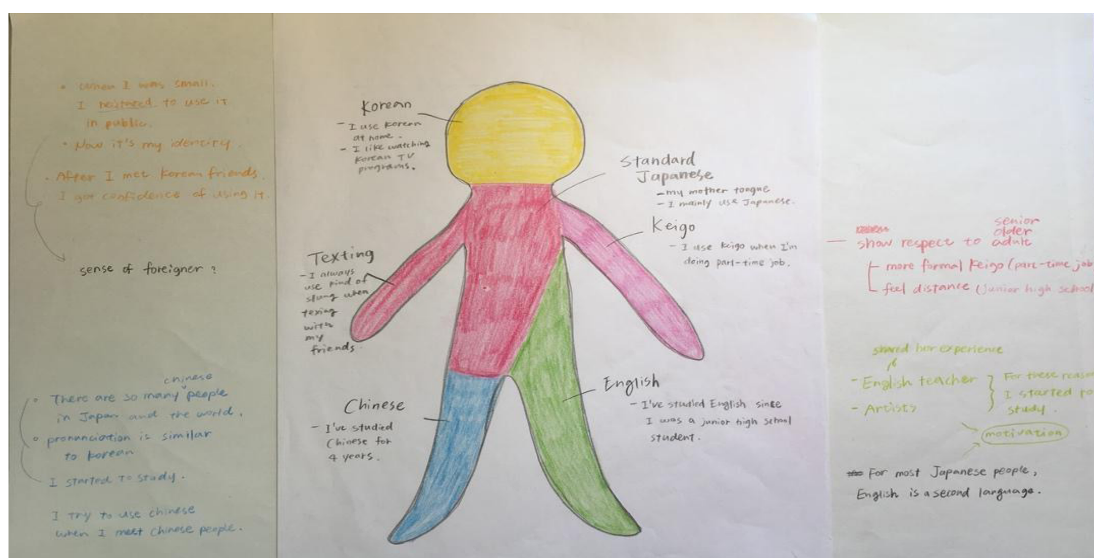

Figure 3. Kaori's Extended Language Portrait

At her junior high school there were no other mixed heritage or foreign children, and Kaori confided about her identity with her close friends only. As her name was Japanese, not even her teachers, apart from her homeroom teacher with whom she was particularly close, knew that Kaori had a diverse background. In contrast, at senior high school, many of her peers came from mixed backgrounds ("*there are many haafu*[5] *students like me*"), and this was when she started to accept and value her own diversity. Later, by making Korean friends in the Philippines, Kaori's confidence grew in using Korean and affirming her Korean identity.

Reflecting on the issues in wider society, Kaori observes that, for many Japanese, people

5. The term *haafu* [= half] is commonly used in Japan to refer to persons who have one Japanese and one non-Japanese parent.

who use different languages are "*just others*." She explains, "*They accept but 'sen o hiku* / 線を引く' [they draw a line]." Kaori illustrates this by imitating typical comments that might be made in response to people speaking different languages around them: "*nihonjin kadoka … gaikokujin dato gaikokugo shabetteru to … ahh nanka chigau* / 日本人かどうか…外国人だと、外国語喋ってると…あぁ 何か違う" [whether you are Japanese or not … if it's a foreigner speaking a foreign language … ahhh there's something different about this]. Kaori recalled that when she was smaller, she felt she should not use Korean in public spaces: *"When I was small, I thought I must not speak Korean in public space…"* If she were to use Korean in public, Kaori felt that she would not be seen as Japanese by others: *"… People think she's not Japanese …"* Her mother however had no such reservations about using Korean in public, and when she did, Kaori secretly whispered to herself, "*Don't speak, don't speak*." At that time of her life Kaori had a deeply felt need to be seen as normal, "*Yes, now it's my identity but at that time when I was small, I want to be normal child*." Normal meant being Japanese-speaking, and learning a "second language" meant English, as most people in Japan assume, Kaori noted.

Kaori also expressed the view that people can be fearful of minorities because of the *shogai* / 障害 [barriers or obstacles] that they may need to deal with if they recognise people as different from themselves. All the same, Kaori felt that societal norms are changing because people from minority groups and communities had become more open about expressing their identities as part of their own *kosei* / 個性 [individuality]. Although she now claims a more complex and diverse identity for herself, she still struggles to use Korean publicly in her daily life.

Nanako's Language Portrait: Connections and Questions

Nanako comes from Kansai, the region of Honshu that includes the cities of Kobe, Kyoto, Osaka, and Nara and that extends over seven prefectures.[6] In her LP (see Figure 4) Nanako highlights "Kansai-ben," the Kansai region variety of Japanese, at the top, with notes about *keigo* (a polite and respectful register in Japanese), standard Japanese, and Persian on her left, and English and Spanish on her right. Nanako begins by explaining that Kansai-ben is her main language and that she uses it for talking with her friends at university in Tokyo, no matter where they come from. She thinks in her head in Kansai-ben ("*Kansai-ben is the core of my speaking*"), and everyone in her family uses Kansai-ben, including her father, although he comes from Gifu prefecture. Nanako's home is a city in Shiga prefecture, and all through school from elementary school onwards she remembers everyone (children and adults) using Kansai-ben. School textbooks were written in standard Japanese, but Nanako read them with Kansai-ben intonation. So, Kansai-ben is at the centre of herself for Nanako.

Nanako started using *keigo* in club activities at junior high school when she joined the water-polo club. She spoke *keigo* with teachers and her seniors, and in turn as she became a senior, she expected the new juniors to use *keigo* with her. "*If I didn't speak keigo, people would dislike me*," she explained, as they would think she was not showing them respect: "*It's a Japanese way.*" She also uses standard Japanese when she does her part-time job as a swimming instructor at a fitness club. She does not want the children to get distracted by her Kansai-ben. Rather, she wants to be sure that they can understand clearly what she says. Nanako also opts for standard Japanese when she writes reports at university (adding that she would do so too if she were at university in Kansai) because universities use standard Japanese: "*I don't feel strange so much*."

Our conversation moves to how Nanako likes learning English. She started with English in her first year at elementary school. At that time she was not particularly interested in English,

6 These are Hyogo, Kyoto, Mie, Nara, Osaka, Shiga, and Wakayama prefectures.

but that changed at junior high school when she started learning grammar and vocabulary and doing translation. She realised she understood grammar and how to make sentences. She could also remember English words. Nanako's image of English was transformed as a result.

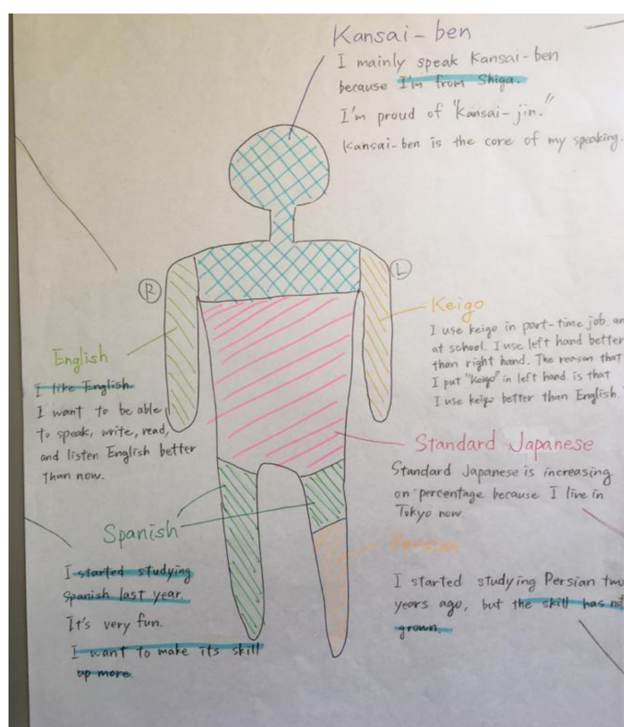

Figure 4. Nanako's Language Portrait

At university, Nanako decided to take Persian as her second foreign language. Originally Nanako had wanted to study Spanish, but she didn't get into the university where she hoped to do this, so she decided to take up Spanish in addition to Persian. She wanted to do something different from other people, she commented. Nanako started Spanish with *dokugaku* / 独学 [self-study] and then did a volunteer job where she could do some basic translating and interpreting for Mexican companies and retailers in Tokyo. Later, in the first semester of her third year, Nanako took a public lecture adult education class in Spanish at a university in central Tokyo.

When I ask Nanako about tensions she has experienced to do with language in her life, she mentions that sometimes her Kansai-ben way of speaking is not understood by other students. When this happens, she explains what she wants to say, but she doesn't feel any negative judgment from others about her use of Kansai-ben. What she does notice, though, is that others (for example, teachers in the MIGW course) tend to put a broad label of "minority language" or "minority variety" on Kansai-ben, whereas she sees a range of varieties within Kansai-ben across the different prefectures of Kansai. For Nanako, Shiga-ben, for example, is different from Kyoto-ben, and Osaka-ben is completely different from Shiga-ben too. She feels it is important that her minority variety is recognised as there are differences in culture too. So, for Nanako, *gengo no taiyousei* / 言語の多様性 [linguistic diversity] is very much connected to her sense of local identity. Yet, if such finer linguistic diversity is not recognised, her own identity is similarly neither seen nor recognised. It is not so much a question for Nanako that "*we are the same but different*," but rather that "*we are similar (but not the same).*"

In her extended portrait, Nanako places English in relation to what, in her view, are minority languages, Japanese, and dialects in Japan (on the left side of her extended portrait in Figure 5), commenting that they should be preserved because they embody regional culture.

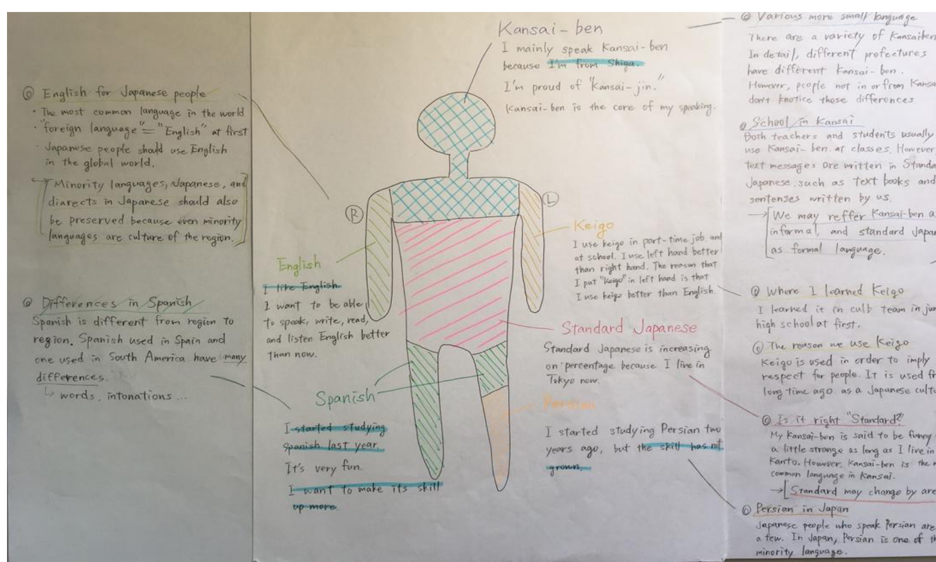

Figure 5. Nanako's Extended Language Portrait

Nanako also includes different varieties of Kansai-ben (in the top right corner), observing that Kansai-ben is used informally in schools between students and by teachers, and that standard Japanese is the formal variety in secondary education in Kansai. From the start of the interview when Nanako said, "*Kansai-ben is my main language*," she expresses a very strong sense of using language differently from the dominant Tokyo and standard Japanese norms at the ideological centre of multilingual issues in Japanese society.

Learning from Kaori and Nanako's Stories

Kaori and Nanako put forward detailed interpretations of their linguistic repertoires from both interlingual and intralingual perspectives. They each locate the language that they identify most strongly with in their head and shoulders (Korean for Kaori, and Kansai-ben for Nanako). Their portraits seem to point to an embodied language hierarchy in the top-down axis. In Kaori's case this goes from Korean to standard Japanese (with *keigo* and texting) to English, then Chinese, whereas in Nanako's case the hierarchy is configured with Kansai-ben at the top, then standard Japanese, with English and *keigo* in her arms, and Spanish in both legs, with Persian at the bottom of the hierarchy. It is also noticeable how personal relationships, particular domains, and specific places rather than wider societal conditions figure in their interpretations. Friendship networks play an important role for Kaori in finding her way to use Korean more freely, while Nanako's use of standard Japanese is largely confined to her work at the fitness club and report writing at university.

Kaori and Nanako have each faced language discrimination, but in differing ways. Kaori followed the monolingual norm in her surrounding environment and became ashamed of using Korean. Later, the external conditions changed for her in high school and during her stay in the Philippines where she could see, hear, and interact with others using different languages. Although she began using Korean again, this remains largely a home language for

her. Nanako, on the other hand, grew up using Kansai-ben within her family, at school, and in her social life. She could freely use Kansai-ben in her life. For Nanako, Kansai-ben seems to have a social, economic, and cultural prestige, as well as recognition, that is completely absent for Kaori in relation to Korean. At the same time Nanako is sensitive to others overwriting her own linguistic and cultural practices and imposing labels that mask her own diversity within a non-majority way of doing things.

It is noticeable that both Kaori and Nanako *themselves* see the wider issues largely in terms of practices that directly affect their lives rather than in relation to specific ideologies or wider social, political, or economic conditions, or systems within Japanese society. Their understandings come across as naturalised in that they are mostly focused on their experiential worlds. While this goes hand in hand with the personalised reflection that language portraits engender, it also results, in hindsight, from my asking the students to make written extensions outwards from their language portraits to dominant language ideologies in society, and to particular views that people may have about others who speak or use language in different ways. In terms of coming to appreciate and understand important language issues in Kaori and Nanako's immediate social worlds, this extending process was effective. Yet, this also made me aware that the process of connection and extension goes both ways—not only from how individuals relate their own experiences *outwards*, but also how they mediate external conditions and factors in society *inwards* to themselves (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). As these extensions were initially made through writing, it seemed well worth reconsidering the use of reflective writing in the course itself.

In turn this led to changes in the reflection tasks in the 2020 MGIW course. One of the key adjustments we made was to ask students (a) in Week 1 to make their language portraits together with a longer reflection in Japanese, English or both languages, and (b) in Week 12 to look back at Weeks 1-12 and write about three common issues that they saw across different lectures and cases in relation to their own lives and to changing conditions in society. For this second longer reflection the students were asked to use Japanese, English, or other languages as much as possible. I would like to look next at what these two longer reflective tasks led to for two other students, a year later at the end of the 2020 autumn semester.

Making Further Connections

Ji-woo and LiMing are both international students doing their undergraduate studies who took the 2020 MIGW course. In January 2021, after the end of classes, they volunteered to be interviewed about their language portraits and the connections that they had explored in their second longer reflections. The interviews were held in English and Japanese, video-recorded in Zoom, and lasted 45 minutes (Ji-woo) and 60 minutes (LiMing). I have reconstructed below two short narratives for Ji-woo and LiMing about their multilingual lives and the connections they made to wider issues in society.

LiMing's Story

LiMing was one of the few students who made a digital drawing of her language portrait (see Figure 6 below). She grew up with her grandparents in Shanghai, and the first language that she started using was Shanghainese (shown as purple hearts in her language portrait). From the age of 3 when she started going to kindergarten, LiMing started learning and using standard Mandarin or "Putonghua" (the reddish orange in her head, body, and upper legs), and continued to speak Shanghainese with the members of her family. When LiMing was six years old, Putonghua became the sole language in her school education apart from English, which she

began learning in the first grade (shown as turquoise in her arms). This continued for the next 9 years. Then in Years 10-12 LiMing went to an English-only "international" high school.

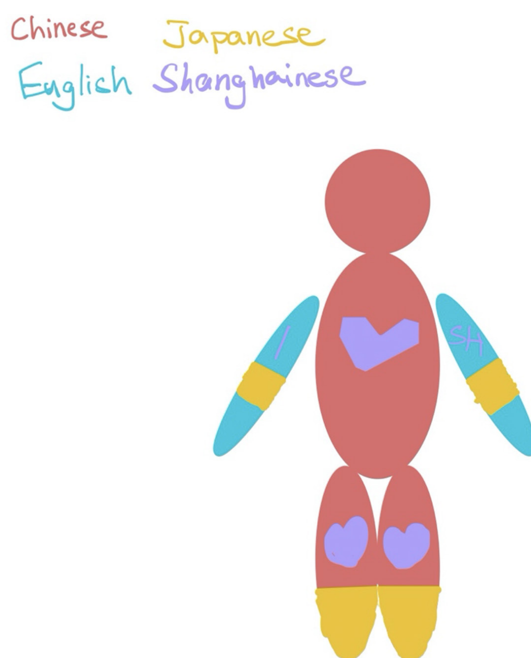

Figure 6. LiMing's Language Portrait

From the age of 3 LiMing also learnt Japanese by herself (the yellow part in the middle of her arms and lower legs) from watching Japanese anime. Until three years ago she could speak Japanese, but not read and write it. In preparation for university in Japan, she attended a language school in Kyoto for one year to learn Japanese grammar, reading, and writing. As we talk, she mentions that she is obsessed with a Japanese animated film these days, so she is writing fan fiction in Japanese and Chinese to capture the tone of the characters. LiMing understands and speaks some Korean from watching Korean TV variety shows. She also has some basic proficiency in Cantonese that she acquired from her grandmother, who comes from Guangdong province, in south China, bordering Hong Kong.

LiMing still uses Shanghainese with her family ("*I drew my heart with purple is because, I still think as a Shanghainese*"), and she speaks warmly of using this regional language and keeping close relationships with the older generation. As a Chinese citizen and as a Shanghainese she loves to speak in the Shanghai variety: "*The happiness that you find someone who can speak in some dialect outside of your country or hometown is beyond description.*" Yet, in the striking red orange of her language portrait, Putonghua has become the main language in her life and, together with English, it has displaced Shanghainese.

Language loss runs through LiMing's sense of wider societal changes. She is concerned with problems of communication between the older people and the young. The old have no need to shift from their local or regional language to Putonghua, whereas younger people who have learnt in school to use Putonghua as their main language have no need to speak local or regional languages. The two generations lack a common language. LiMing is also alert to the impact of the promotion of Putonghua (together with Standard Chinese characters) as the national lingua franca in China. Children in China now have to finish learning to read *pinyin* (the official romanised system for writing Putonghua) in pre-school so that they are ready to use standard Chinese from the very start of elementary schooling. LiMing sees these policies

as creating great pressure on young children in their education and on parents in talking with their children. Another effect is that the use of regional languages like Shanghainese is fast decreasing and their status has become devalued. "*All languages are equal …*," observes LiMing in a rueful tone. However, the priority given to English as the primary foreign language in China further restricts the use of regional and local languages, as well as access to other foreign languages within formal education.

Ji-woo's Story

Born and raised in Gyeongsang province in south-east Korea, Ji-woo sees standard Korean (green in her head, shoulders, and upper body in her language portrait) as the language that she uses most often.

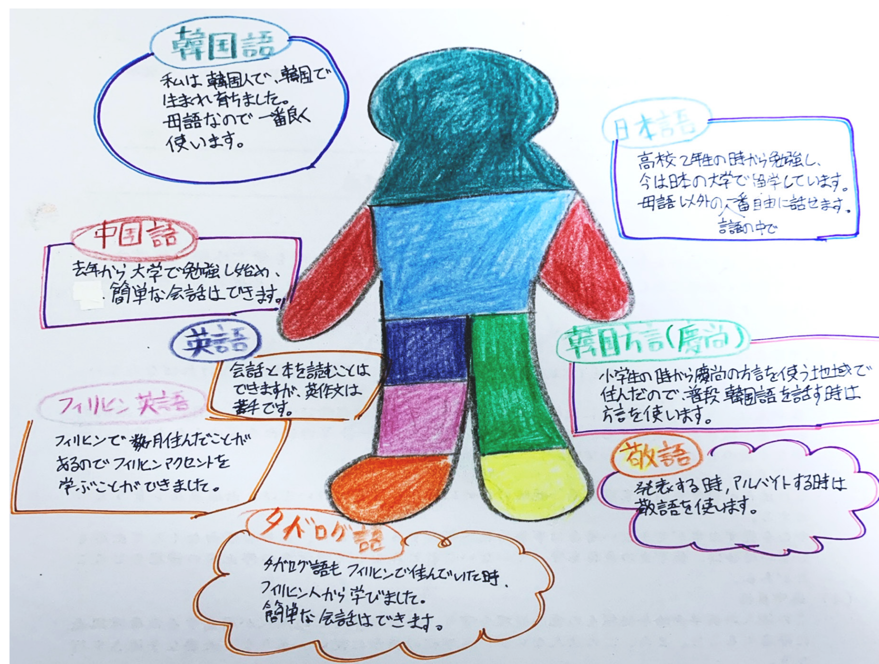

Figure 7. Ji-woo's Language Portrait

As Ji-woo grew up, the people around her spoke the Gyeongsang dialect of Korean (left leg, green), so she came to use this with family and friends. It was also the medium of instruction and interaction for all of her school years. At university standard Korean was the norm. Ji-woo felt that she stood out because of her Gyeongsang dialect, and she found it difficult to change to standard Korean. Although standard Korean is now the language that she thinks in, Ji-woo usually uses the Gyeongsang variety outside of university and with her family and friends in her local area.

Ji-woo started studying Japanese (body, light blue) in the 11th grade at high school. She found Japanese characters easy to learn, and much of the vocabulary was similar to Korean. Japanese is now the language that she speaks most fluently after Korean, commenting in Japanese: "*My Japanese is not as good as my Korean, but I can express my thoughts and feelings in Japanese now.*" Ji-woo also uses *keigo* (left leg, yellow) when she gives presentations at university or does her part-time job. She began learning Chinese (hands, red) at university in Japan and, now in her second year, she can have simple conversations. She speaks and reads English (right leg, purple), which she started learning in elementary school, but she doesn't feel so confident about writing in English. At age 12 Ji-woo lived in the Philippines for several

months where she learnt to speak English with a Philippine accent through talking with her Filipino friends (right leg, pink). She also learnt some basic Tagalog (right leg, orange) in the Philippines.

Combining languages in writing is nothing new for Ji-woo. At high school her Japanese teachers asked her to keep a diary in Japanese, which she still does now in Japanese and Korean. In her high school English classes, for essay writing practices, she was asked to write the first half of the essay in Korean, and the second half in English. Ji-woo explains that the students were not allowed to use dictionaries, so she learnt to think by herself in English. She later prepared her applications for Japanese universities in Japanese and Korean.

Language conflict resolution, big and small, seems to underlie the connections that Ji-woo makes to the ever-increasing problems of communication with foreigners, the problems of language education in this global age, and the issues that minority languages speakers face from the spread of majority languages in national policies. She expresses concern that translation software has limitations for resolving communication problems between foreigners and different public and state actors (such as medical services, the police, and within the judicial system). Rather, bilingual staff should be hired so that the risk of linguistic misunderstandings can be lessened. With respect to the problems of language education, she recalls having classes in elementary school where both languages were spoken. This was a very positive experience for her, but much of her English education after that focused on English grammar and specialised reading for university entrance examinations. She lost interest, and now feels that foreign language education should put greater emphasis on practical speaking and writing.

The other issue that Ji-woo highlights is to do with the problems that minority language speakers face with the dominance of majority languages in national policies. She refers specifically to the "Jeju 4/3 Incident," which started on 3rd April 1948 on Jeju island, south of the Korean peninsula. In 1948 many islanders who used the Jeju language were massacred for political reasons. Ji-woo recounts: *After the incident, prejudice and discrimination against Jaeju language users became so serious that the use of Jaeju language was banned in public on Jaeju Island and classes were held in standard language in schools* (translated from Japanese). In 2010 UNESCO identified the Jeju language as a critically endangered language. Since then, according to Ji-woo, the government and the people of Jeju have engaged in various activities on social media and in textbook production in the Jeju language, Jejueo, to revitalise use of the language. Towards the end of talking about the Jeju case, Ji-woo relates it to the Ainu in Japan and the Hakka people in Taiwan, expressing the view that Jeju islanders' activism, government support, and international recognition could act as a positive model for other countries in Asia in protecting their own minority language communities.

Learning from LiMing's and Ji-woo's Stories

LiMing's and Ji-woo's stories bring into focus tensions between their individual language diversity and national(ist) integrationist policies and societal norms, within their families, and their experiences of formal education. Although LiMing's use of Shanghainese outside the family became restricted from very early on in her formal education, it remains central to her sense of local identity and connection. Similarly, Ji-woo needed to switch to standard Korean when she started her university studies in Korea, but has continued to use her Gyeongsang dialect with family and friends in her local area. At the same time LiMing and Ji-Woo's individual stories of local linguistic displacement are accompanied by their experiences of linguistic globalization, so to speak, in their acquisition and use of "gateway" languages, English and Japanese—languages that provide educational access for them. LiMing was able

to go to an English-medium international high school, and then master Japanese, so that she could do her undergraduate studies in Japan. Ji-woo, on the other hand, learnt Japanese as her second foreign language after English, gaining full proficiency in high school so that she could, like LiMing, migrate to Japan for her university education.

LiMing and Ji-woo each make connections from their own experiences of language change to wider issues of language loss and oppression in China and South Korea. In her own life LiMing faces huge generational differences in the way that the young and old use Shanghainese and Putonghua. She notices that this difference is becoming increasingly accentuated as the use of standard Mandarin is imposed at ever earlier ages for young children in China. On the other hand, Ji-woo looks beyond her direct experiences to issues of language oppression and endangerment for Jejueo users on Jeju island in post-war Korea. Ji-woo frames the Jeju 4/3 Incident within a historical national context; yet, the more distant impacts of pre-war Japanese colonisation and Jeju labour migration to Japan do not come into view.

Learning from LiMing and Ji-woo about these language shifts and conflicts in Shanghai and Jeju was an unexpected outcome of talking with them about their language portraits and their longer written reflections. Their stories spurred me to extend my own understanding of the language issues that they highlighted. I came to find out that from 1992 Shanghainese was banned in Shanghai schools, both in class and after class, and speakers were publicly scolded if they used it. Under the ban, Putonghua was imposed as the sole official language in class and at school (Xiaoru, 2012). Currently the official promotion of Putonghua is being challenged by a local movement to protect the use of Shanghainese in Shanghai, but the future is uncertain: "The government doesn't encourage people to use dialects in any situation...and there is no evidence that the government is really trying to preserve them at all," noted a local academic a few years ago (Boreham, 2016). The use of Shanghainese is under threat, as are many other local and regional varieties in China (Roche, 2019; Wong, 2019). LiMing's own language life directly touches on these wider effects of centralising language policy and linguistic oppression.

Completely unfamiliar with the Jeju 4/3 Incident, I decided to dig a little deeper. This led me to discover that between 1948-1954 forces of the US-backed South Korean government had brutally slaughtered 25% to 30% (25,000-30,000 people) of the Jeju population (Song, 2010). Before then, earlier in the 20th century, Jeju islanders had been recruited as industrial workers for Japan from 1914 onwards (Sunhui & Barclay, 2007), and by 1934 one in 4 of Jeju's population lived in Osaka (Southcott, 2013). In the Jeju community (known as "Little Jeju") that has long been established in Tsuruhashi in Osaka, many people, it seems, still speak the endangered Jejueo language (Southcott, 2015). Fast-forwarding to the 2000s, I then learnt that the Language Act for Jejueo Conservation and Promotion (revised in 2011) was enacted in 2007 in Korea, with an annual General Plan for Jejueo Conservation Education put into action a few years later (The Language of Jeju Island, 2017/2020). According to Shields (2019), there are now living on Jeju island under 10,000 people who have Jejueo as their main language. It is "only fluently spoken by an ever-shrinking group of people aged 75 and older" (Shields, 2019; see also Endangered Languages Project, n.d.). Notwithstanding this, Ji-woo identifies strongly with recent initiatives to revitalise the Jejueo language and relates this to the plight of the Ainu in Japan and Hakka in Taiwan.

The language portraits, experiences, and the wider connections that Ji-woo, Kaori, LiMing, and Nanako shared have formed a central part of this narrative account. These storied re-interpretations have let us see questions of linguistic privilege, discrimination, and oppression from a range of interesting perspectives. In the final part of this narrative account I would like to consider what we might take forward from their stories in reaching towards a critical view of the multilingual turn for learner development.

Moving Towards a Critical View of the Multilingual Turn for Learner Development?

Starting from a general concern with questions of linguistic privilege, discrimination, and oppression, I have, in this narrative account, tried to understand and appreciate better the connections that students make between their own languaged lives and different multilingual issues in society. This has involved exploring students' original and extended language portraits as well as longer written reflections by which the four students in this research have made more explicit connections between issues covered in the MIGW course and their own lives.

In their reflections, the students have moved back and forth between their languaged lives as individuals (micro level) and broader community/group (meso) level and nation/state (macro) level societal contexts. At all levels Ji-woo, Kaori, LiMing, and Nanako have encountered different norms, practices, pressures, and restrictions that not only regulate, but also legitimize—or de-legitimize—to differing and variable degrees the use of particular languages—and their users (Coulmas, 2018). LiMing indirectly questions the claim that all languages are equal, as she recalls the increasing restrictions that she faces in using Shanghainese; at the same time, her story highlights the educational privilege that using English has brought her. Ji-woo and Nanako similarly navigate linguistic inequality by switching between local and standard varieties of their national languages in their education and personal lives. In this respect it is striking how Kaori confronts linguistic discrimination in Japanese society as she tries to find spaces in which she can freely use Korean. Tellingly, she initially finds such spaces outside of Japan in the Philippines where she goes to study English for a few months. In these particular episodes all four students have the material means to make such choices and develop their linguistic capital for their advantage. They are, in this sense, socially and linguistically privileged.

The paradox of privilege is something that Elizabeth Bekes, one of the open reviewers of an earlier draft of this narrative account, took up. She observed how the students' direct experiences of linguistic discrimination enable them to develop more critical perspectives on language issues in their own lives and within wider society. "The really insightful details come from speakers who have either witnessed or have been at the receiving end of linguistic discrimination," commented Elizabeth. That said, she also questioned how other facets of the students' identities (including their socio-economic status and their university education in Tokyo) might help or hinder their understanding of multilingual issues—a point that Paul Collett, my other reviewer, raised and examined further. Paul suggested that the students' conceptions of language are differently affected by the multilingual linguistic landscapes that they move through in Tokyo, compared to the "much more monolingual, linguistically homogeneous landscapes" that students studying in provincial regions of Japan experience. For Paul, Kaori and Nanako's linguistic privilege, for example, is underlined by the relatively high status of their university, the access they have to learning multiple other languages such as Persian or Spanish, as well as the opportunities they enjoy for using in authentic situations the languages that they are learning.

So, as much as we have come to understand the intricacies of these students' languaged lives, it is important to acknowledge their relatively elevated socio-economic position and the access that this brings them. "Privilege is easy to understand if you think of it as a series of automatic doors that open quickly and easily as you walk towards your goal,"[7] notes

7. The original Japanese reads: 特権とは，ゴールに向かって歩き進むと次々と自動ドアがスーッと開いてくれるもの，と考えればわかりやすい。自動ドアは，人がその前に立つとセンサーが検知して開くが，社会ではマジョリティに対してドアが開きやすいしくみになっており，マイノリティに対しては自動ドアが開かないことも多い。[Tokken to wa, gōru ni mukatte aruki susumu to tsugitsugi to jidō doa ga sūtto aite kureru mono, to kangaereba wakari yasui. Jidō doa wa, hito ga sono mae ni tatsu to sensā ga kenchi shite hiraku ga, shakai dewa majoriti ni taishite doa ga hiraki yasui shikumi ni natte ori, mainoriti ni taishite wa jidō doa ga akanai koto mo ōi.] (Deguchi, 2020)

Deguchi (2020) in her analysis of majority privilege. Other doors, though noticed, remain shut for minorities. Kaori and Nanako's, as well as LiMing's and Ji-woo's, changing positions complicate this vivid picture. Under certain conditions they have majority access, and doors automatically open before them; under different circumstances, they are positioned as linguistic minorities, and particular doors remain firmly shut.

Through learning about how these four students, my MIGW colleagues, and my LDJ5 collaborators see their languaged lives, as well as reflecting on my own, I recognise again that linguistic privilege is reproduced and awarded within different social systems, historically, locally, and globally. Such privilege intersects with other forms of advantage—for example, educational, gendered, social, and racial—that benefit some and marginalise others (Subtirelu, 2013). From my own white, male, British, middle-class position such privilege is ultimately linked to the legacy and enduring impacts of British colonialism, and other colonial powers, including Japan, but I learnt little, if anything, about this in my formal education. Where colonial legacies were addressed, it was invariably about the mythical benefits of colonialism for the peoples that the imperial nation had enslaved (but see Tharoor, 2016, for an extended discussion of the myth of enlightened colonial despotism). A critical view was almost completely absent. McIntosh, a key scholar of white privilege, has written of the US education system that it "discourages students from recognizing systems of both discrimination and advantage, or privilege, and from seeing that our opportunities for choice are in part determined by the systems of power in our society" (McIntosh, 2009, p. 4). The same holds true for my own education as much as it does for the MIGW students of their education in Japan and other countries. McIntosh further argues that recognising systems of (linguistic) discrimination and privilege requires us to locate our individual experiences, beliefs, and values in relation to "many kinds of existing social, linguistic, cultural and political systems" (McIntosh, 2009, p. 6). We (learners, teachers, citizens) also need to learn to see "how our locations in those systems influence our experience and understanding of ourselves and the world" (McIntosh, 2009, p. 6), as well as to "recognize that systemic hierarchies have created discrimination and disempowerment, which all of us experience to a degree" (McIntosh, 2009, p. 6). This is not necessarily easy to do, but it is part of the necessary work that needs doing if we are to move closer to a critical understanding of our learners and ourselves as we engage with the multilingual turn for learner development. The multiple social, political, gender, racial, and historical perspectives and intersections that may be uncovered through learners' stories and our own offer one possible starting point for pursuing such an engagement.

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Review Process

This paper was open-reviewed by Elizabeth Bekes, Paul Collett, and Tanya McCarthy. (*Contributors have the option of open or blind review.*)

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PRACTICE-RELATED REVIEW

Book Review and Critical Dialogue about *The Making of Monolingual Japan: Language Ideology and Japanese Modernity* (Heinrich, 2012)

The Making of Monolingual Japan: *Language Ideology and Japanese Modernity*. Patrick Heinrich. Multilingual Matters, 2012. viii + 204 pp. ISBN 978-1-84769-656-4

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Head and Tsurii take Heinrich's book, *The Making of Monolingual Japan*, as a starting point for a critical dialogue in which they make connections between language ideology, native speakerism, and learner autonomy. Heinrich focuses on the historical development of the modern Japanese language after the Meiji Restoration in the late 19th century. He highlights the link between modernist language ideology of "one nation, one language," which originated in 18th-century Germany, and the Meiji era drive to create a unified Japanese language. Although not explicitly referring to an alternative multilingual ideology, Heinrich suggests that inequalities in modern Japan result from the monolingual language policy and that "power-based ideologies should be replaced with ideologies based on cultural liberty and solidarity" (p. 4). In their dialogue, Tsurii and Head discuss connections between monolingual ideology and native-speakerism. Finally they explore how this awareness impacts their practices as teachers who would like to foster learner autonomy.

The Making of Monolingual Japan (Heinrich, 2012) に基づき, 言語イデオロギー, ネイティブスピーカー信仰, 学習者の自律性を関連付けて, 批判的対話を行った。Heinrichは, 19世紀後半の明治維新後の近代日本語の歴史的発展に焦点をあて, 18世紀のドイツを起源とする「一国家に一言語」という現代主義的な言語イデオロギーと, 明治時代の日本語統一への動きとの関連性を議論している。代替となる多言語イデオロギーに関しては明確に述べていないが, Heinrichは現代日本の不平等は単一言語政策によるものであり,「権力に基づいたイデオロギーは文化的自由と結束に基づくイデオロギーに置き換えられるべきである」(p.4)と提唱している。本稿では, 単一言語（による指導)イデオロギーとネイティブスピーカー信仰の関係を議論する。そしてこの認識が, 学習者の自律性の育成を目標とする教師としての実践にどのように影響するのかを探る。

Head和Tsurii以Heinrich的《日本单语的形成》一书为起点，进行了批判性的对话，在对话中他们将语言意识形态，母语者主义和学习者自主性联系起来。海因里希关注的是1868年明治维新后现代日语的历史发展。他强调了起源于19世纪德国的 "一个国家，一种语言" 的现代主义语言意识形态与明治时代创造一种统一的日语的动力之间的联系。虽然没有明确提到另一种多语言意识形态，但海因里希提出，现代日本的不平等是由单一语言政策造成的，"基于权力的意识形态应该被基于文化自由和团结的意识形态所取代"（第4页）。在他们的对话中，Tsurii和Head讨论了单语意识形态和母语主义之间的联系。最后，他们探讨了这种意识如何影响他们作为希望促进学习者自主性的教师的实践。

Keywords

monolingual, native language, native speaker, language ideology, learner autonomy, native speakerism
単一言語, 母語, 母語話者, 言語イデオロギー, 学習者の自律性, ネイティブスピーカー信仰
单语的, 母语, 母语者, 意识形态, 学习者的自主性, 母语者主义

In this review, we take *The Making of Monolingual Japan* as a starting point for a critical dialogue in which we make connections between language ideology, native speakerism, and learner autonomy. At the start, we would like to note that, throughout this review, the terms "native (speaker)" and "non-native (speaker)" will be written with inverted commas, following Holliday's (2013) assertion that the categories are "constructed by ideologies and discourses ... and they are always 'so-called'" (pp. 19–20). We met while teaching at Momoyama Gakuin University in 2002–5 and, since 2019, we have corresponded occasionally about teaching-related matters. In 2019, Chie Tsurii was on sabbatical in England, pursuing research into the cultural impact of native-speakerism. Ellen Head (still in Japan) noticed a social media post by Chie, referring to a book called *Setsu Ei no susume* [*A Recommendation for Using Less English*] (Kimura, 2016) and we started to chat about native-speakerism. When *The Learner Development Journal* called for reviewers of *The Making of Monolingual Japan*, we decided to work on a joint review. After reading the book, Ellen sent some questions to Chie. Chie replied, we exchanged drafts, and discussed our ideas on Zoom. We also presented at the 2021 JALT PanSIG conference together. This review is the trace of a wide-ranging, multi-dimensional, ongoing discussion over the last 18 months. We hope readers will be stimulated to read Heinrich's book and think about his ideas. The table of contents is given below, followed by a summary of the book. We then proceed to our critical dialogue.

The Making of Monolingual Japan: Overview

This book is organized into the following nine chapters:

Chapter 1: Language Ideology as a Field of Enquiry
Chapter 2: The Call of Mori Arinori to Replace Japanese with English
Chapter 3: The Creation of a Modern Voice
Chapter 4: The Unification of Japanese
Chapter 5: The Linguistic Assimilation of the Ryukyuans and Ainu
Chapter 6: The Most Beautiful Language in the World
Chapter 7: Language Ideology as Self-fulfilling Prophecy
Chapter 8: Current Challenges to Modernist Language Ideology
Chapter 9: Language Ideology in 21st-century Japan.

The Making of Monolingual Japan is both a narrative of the history of the Japanese language since the Meiji era, and a discussion of language ideology. The first chapter and the final three chapters develop the thesis that monolingual, nationalist ideology is deleterious to equality, culture and education. Drawing on documents in Japanese by nineteenth and early twentieth century language reformers like Ueda Kazutoshi and many others, Heinrich describes how a unified national language came to be seen as necessary for modernization. The analytical framework is provided by a discussion of language ideology, which is a strong theme of the book. Heinrich holds that "power-based ideologies should be replaced with ideologies based on cultural liberty and solidarity" (p. 4).

In Chapter 1, after reviewing the study of language ideology, Heinrich aligns himself with Bourdieu (1991), by stating his intention to focus on "the difference between 'ideology brokers' and 'the linguistic margin'" (p. 18). He traces the development of monolingual ideology back to the writing of Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803), among others, who first claimed that the character and identity of a nation are formed by its language. These ideas were brought back to Japan by Ueda, after four years' study of comparative linguistics in Germany. Ueda was highly influential through publications such as "National Language

and the State" (p. 66) and the creation of the National Language Research Council. However the national language issue was hotly debated throughout the Meiji era (1868–1912).

Chapters 2 to 4 tell the story of the Japanese language, starting in 1872 with the proposal by Mori Arinori to replace Japanese with a simplified form of English (Chapter 2). The proposal was rejected, but it highlighted the need for linguistic standardization. One of the problems was that spoken and written Japanese were substantially different, with written Japanese relying on Chinese characters and there were many different genres of written Japanese. Chapter 3 details how the *Genbun itchi undo*[1] called for a "plain and unified" written Japanese to be based on spoken language. Chapter 4 deals with Ueda Kazutoshi, and the work of the National Research Council. The government appointed young Ueda in 1895. Fresh from studies in Germany, Ueda led a team of academics in cataloguing existing forms and making decisions about which forms to select and codify as the standard. *A Grammar of the Spoken Language* and *Supplement to the Grammar of the Spoken Language* were not published by the research council until 1917. In the process of creating a national language, the speech of the Tokyo elite became the base of standardization for both the spoken and written forms prescribed for school use. Regional diversity became non-standard, leading to the marginalization of all the non-Tokyo forms.

Chapters 5 and 6 describe how the distinctive languages of the Ryukyuan people of Okinawa and the Ainu people of Hokkaido were actively suppressed in the period that followed. The newly standardized "*kokugo*" (national language) became the language of schooling, and children were punished for using other varieties.

In Chapters 7 to 9, the picture is brought up to the present, with details of the linguistic and cultural losses in relation to Ryukyu and Ainu languages (Chapter 7) and the lack of language support for the various allochthonous minorities of Japan such as bilingual second-generation Korean-Japanese (Chapter 8). Heinrich suggests that the current lived experience of ethnic minorities results in a challenge to the official "common sense" ideology of a monolingual nation. In other words, as "native"-like fluency is no longer the prerogative of the genetically pure, monolingual ideology is stretched. At the institutional level, Heinrich points out that Japan has not been quick to respond to the challenge of providing multilingual schooling and equal cultural opportunities for the children of minorities such as those from Korea, China and Brazil. The last chapter of the book (Chapter 9) re-visits the theme of language ideology as it relates to applied linguistics and ends with an appeal for a fresh approach grounded in freedom of choice and support for diversity at the academic and political levels.

Critical Dialogue

The Language Ideology of Monolingualism

Ellen Heinrich frames the book with a detailed discussion of ideology. Why do you think he does this, rather than starting from the contemporary socio-cultural reality or the historical narrative?

Chie Heinrich writes, "The ideological nature of what are seen as common sense facts is hidden, and so it becomes unnecessary to draw explicit attention to the authority of the dominant ideology" (p.74). I think he wants to emphasize that ideology is important, even though we do not think about it every day. This is very true, I think; the more naturalized beliefs become, the more difficult it becomes to realize the assumption underlying them.

1 = Movement to unify the spoken and written language

Ellen I agree. It is often said that Japan is more homogeneous than other countries. While living in Osaka, I met people from the Korean and Brazilian communities. They were born in Japan, bilingual, but did not feel fully accepted as Japanese. It was much more difficult for them to enter university. Heinrich points out that the education system has devoted insufficient resources to the support of these communities. Although language support might be available for them to learn Japanese, I don't know if you could find the study of Portuguese or Korean as formal options in the public school system. The perception at the official level is that resources need to be devoted to Japanese language learning and English learning.

Chie This reminded me of the fallacies pointed out by Phillipson (1992) in his book *Linguistic Imperialism*. Fallacies discussed in Phillipson include, for example, "English is best taught monolingually," and "if other languages are used much, standards of English will drop." Such ideas are often mentioned in debates regarding English education. I feel they engender an uncritical, distorted perception of English language (teaching/learning) in Japan and often lead to unsatisfactory achievement in learning. I thought the monolingual nationalist ideology explored by Heinrich might reflect why such distorted views on English (learning/teaching) are so widespread.

Ellen According to Heinrich, "Ideologies give rise to a binary opposition, whereby the self and the familiar are assigned a positive value, while the other and the new are seen as negative" (p. 174). I can see how that could be negative for foreign language learning! Can you say more about the current situation as you see it?

Chie I also think that almost all the problems related to English language education stem directly or indirectly from native-speakerism, defined 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" (Holliday, 2006, p. 385). I have also researched how terms indicating *neitibu ネイティブ* [native] are used on social media. I feel the use of "native" / "non-native" can facilitate the binary division between they/we, and therefore superior/inferior.

Ellen It is interesting that these terms are widely used by the Japanese when talking about foreign language learning. Heinrich speculates that there might be a connection between Japan's monolingual ideology and ambivalence about learning foreign languages. He writes "A state and its inhabitants not valuing the linguistic and cultural plurality within…its borders cannot convincingly claim to be doing just that *[valuing plurality]* with regard to international languages" (p. 177).

Chie I find there is something in common between native-speakerism and monolingualism. In Heinrich, the process of Japan's creating itself as monolingual, "which required suppression of linguistic diversity" (p. 6) is described and discussed thoroughly. Although English language education in Japan itself is not dealt with directly in the book, the discussion on the making of monolingual Japan in this book is highly suggestive for deconstructing common perceptions of English and English education. I hope we can discuss this when we talk about relating the book to our practices as teachers.

The Historical Perspective

Ellen Let's focus on the historical part of the book now. The opening of Chapter 2 is worth quoting because it highlights the dramatic changes of the period:

> … in the early 1870s … all Japanese were required to take family names; women were prohibited to blacken their teeth; the first post offices were established; the practice of issuing licenses for domestic travel was ended; restrictions on marriages between feudal ranks were abolished; feudal domains were re-organized into prefectures; commoners were permitted to ride horses; the first daily newspapers appeared; school education was established; and the western calendar was adopted. (p. 21)

I was absolutely astonished that Mori Arinori had suggested English becoming the national language of Japan in 1872.

Chie Regarding the process of the unification of Japanese, the *Genbun itchi undo*, the linguistic assimilation of Ryukyuans and Ainu was surprising. As for the debates on whether the Japanese language should be replaced by another language, I was not surprised at all. I know this kind of debate often emerges recurrently, as we will discuss later. After reading Heinrich's book, I could understand why some of the linguistic ideologies about the English language observable nowadays in Japan have been created and where they have come from. Shall we start with the first aspect discussed in this book, the *Genbun itchi undo*?

Ellen Were you taught about this movement at college?

Chie At college? No. Regarding the history of Japanese language reform in the Meiji era, to be honest, I did not know (or was not taught) in detail. In state school education, I mean, at elementary school and junior high school, we were taught just that "There was a movement called '*Genbun itchi undo*'." That's it. No explanation of the process, the background, or the discussions held in that period was given. Of course, this varies from school to school, the curriculum of each school, and the teacher. But generally speaking, I feel many people have not been taught about his movement in detail.

Ellen Heinrich describes the different phases and groups involved: reformers, literary people, and linguists, each with differing priorities. With hindsight we know that the Japanese language as it was developed became more than adequate to the task of economic development! It's hard to take on the mindset of those nineteenth century reformers who were really facing the idea that their country might be taken over by Europeans or Americans because the Japanese language was insufficient to serve the task of economic progress. It seems the idea of adopting English as a national language may have come from an American physicist, Joseph Henry, who Mori Arinori corresponded with while he was in the USA. But other foreign experts such as Whitney, advised Mori to standardize Japanese instead of adopting English. There was an outcry against Mori and he was assassinated in 1889 although it was not directly related to the language issue. The process of standardization took over 40 years! I sometimes wonder why the reformers didn't just adopt hiragana syllabary for everything.

Chie The government attitude was ambivalent because linguistic simplification became associated with the *Jiyu minken undo* [Movement for Freedom and People's Rights]. So Heinrich says the *Genbun itchi undo* was actually repressed by the government for a while. Ueda Kazutoshi emerged as an important figure in establishing a National Language Research Council and its research priorities. He was a brilliant young man. He studied linguistics in Germany, where he was exposed to the ideology of linguistic nationalism. Ueda was a key figure in creating a national language policy.

From Kokugo to "Native-speakerized Nation"?

Ellen Ueda's work led to the creation of *kokugo* as a school subject in 1903. Heinrich says the aim was "the establishment of a spoken and written language variety that could be mastered by all" (p. 67). This involved promoting Japanese-derived words over Chinese ones, simplifying and standardizing *kanji*. Since spoken Japanese was included, the creation of *kokugo* [a national language] impacted the status of regional varieties in a negative way.

Chie As described by Heinrich, a deliberate and concerted effort was made for several decades both in the Ryukyu Islands and in Ainu Mosir, which means "a quiet ground of the human beings" (Akanko Ainu Kotan, n.d.), to create a national language ideology. In the book, regarding the assimilation of Ryukyuans, a variety of measures were taken to spread Japanese language throughout the Ryukyu islands during the 1880s. The reason was that the Japanese governors could not communicate with the local population. In addition to the measures taken to spread the use of the Japanese language, such as the establishment of a Conversation Training Centre with the responsibility of compiling a Japanese language textbook, the use of Ryukyuan languages was deliberately and manipulatively repressed, by, for instance, punishing Ryukyuan children for using their own languages in school by fixing a punishment tag [*hogen fuda*] to their wrist.

Ellen Heinrich's account of the assimilation of Ryukyuan languages is disturbing. He states that "linguistic data was made to fit the ideological framework" (p. 86), so that the Ryukyuan languages were made to appear to come from mainland Japanese, whereas they form a separate branch of Japonic languages. The account of "The Great Dialect Debate" in 1940 shows that there were several educationalists such as Yanagi Muneyoshi who argued strongly to defend the use of the Ryukyuan languages alongside "standard" Japanese, but the Department of Education of the time ignored their advice for political reasons.

Chie Heinrich also raises awareness of the problems in the process of the assimilation of people in Ainu Mosir. The use of Japanese in Hokkaido became mandatory with the start of compulsory school education in 1898. Assimilation took place more quickly because the schools taught that Ainu culture was inferior and the number of speakers of Ainu was small. These ideologies are now so naturalized that many people in Japan normally tend to think that Japan is a monolingual country. This naturalized uncritical ideology about language may create another one-nation-one-language ideology, which can often be seen in discourses about foreign (or, in most cases, English) language learning/education in Japan.

Ellen You used the phrase "native-speakerized nation" to encapsulate this idea when we discussed it before, didn't you? The idea of "one language, one nation" appears to have predominated in discourses about education since the time of those linguistic reforms. Yet, as Heinrich points out: "There are already many Japanese of mixed ethnic, cultural and linguistic heritage, and their numbers are growing year on year" (p. 169). He holds that "the newcomer immigrants present a new challenge to modernist ideology" (p. 170) because they provide living proof that genetic heritage and linguistic heritage are not the same. Heinrich identifies a source of alternative ideologies within these communities: "Counter-ideologies that value linguistic diversity in Japan and seek to support it, may be found too" (p. 171). For example, the idea that alternative languages should be cherished for their aesthetic value, which he calls "aesthetic multiculturalism" (p. 179) seems to be growing.

How Does This Impact Our Practices as Educators?

Ellen I see a connection between learner autonomy and a way of teaching which is orientated towards noticing and valuing diversity. On the other hand, a monolingual ideal will always tend to promote control by a central authority. If there is only one right way, then students have to listen to the teacher. Of course you can get trapped in a paradox where students say "I want you to teach me the one right way." So I suppose the question is, how do we talk to students who have been raised with these assumptions that Japan is monolingual, and perhaps with accompanying insecurities about the possibility of learning English?

Chie When introducing or talking about myself, I always explain myself, like "I am a Japanese user as my mother tongue, or the first language...," trying to make students aware that in Japan, and in the classroom, we do not assume that the Japanese language is the first language of all members in the society. By saying this, I expect all the students, including those who are using different languages with their family and in their community, feel comfortable.

Ellen I agree, it's important to be respectful and value the languages of all the members of the class. But it's occasionally necessary to challenge them as well, isn't it?

Chie I remember a student, when I was teaching at senior high school, more than 25 years ago, who told me, "I'm not going to America. That's why I don't need to learn English." I said, "You aren't going to America. That's exactly why you need to learn English to open your eyes."

Ellen That was a powerful intervention. As an expert speaker of both Japanese and English, you are a strong role-model for students and you are also able to make specific comparisons between languages. In the future I think pedagogy will embrace that kind of bilingual methodology again. Since becoming acquainted with the concept of mediation as a target in the new CEFR criteria (Council of Europe, 2018), I feel more comfortable than I used to with allowing Japanese in the classroom so long as it is purposeful and on-task.

Chie I often encounter students who seem to be made to believe that, for example, "when you are learning English, you should think in English, you do not have to rely on the Japanese translation" or "when speaking in English, we should change the way of thinking, not in the Japanese way, but the English way", then I tell them I think their English is good enough. As a user of both Japanese and English, we do not have to change our way of thinking. Thinking in their first language is sometimes very helpful. If we change our mindset, it is easy to learn and use English.

Ellen Interesting! Issues around language choice and the use of power in the classroom relate directly to autonomous learning. I want students to be able to make their own choices about when to use L1 as a resource but make them in a sensible way.

Chie Yes, while I was reading the book, I was thinking in the same way. I also feel some concern about university students' narrow value judgments about language. However, university students have been exposed to the common beliefs in society, and they are very susceptible to them. Their value judgments are a reflection of society. I have seen some posts on SNSs by Japanese lecturers and professors, lamenting that university students criticise their teacher's accent in Japanese in a harsh way in course evaluations. I mean, some Japanese university students object to the variety of *Japanese* spoken. I, myself, have heard/seen students saying/writing which variety of English is good or bad. For example, I often hear students say, "Because in Canada, they speak beautiful English, I want to go to Canada," or "His/Her English is not

good, because s/he has a strong accent." It seems many university students judge which English (variety) is good/bad, beautiful/not beautiful, or clear/unclear. They also believe that they should learn a normative, standard international English and that there is a right form of and correct pronunciation of English which they have to learn and follow. These beliefs lead to "native speakerism" in that students uncritically focus on normative standard English and believe that having an English-only classroom with *neitibu* ("native-speaker") teachers is the best way to be fluent in English.

Ellen I think such views show how teenagers reproduce the ideology they have learned. The teacher's role is to stimulate their reflection on their assumptions. At least they have noticed that there are varieties. We can build on that. For example, sometimes I teach a poem in Scots called "This is The Six O'Clock News" by Thom Leonard (2012). It challenges them linguistically and ideologically but it's also fun.

Chie This sounds like a good activity. I personally doubt that students, especially the first-year students at university, realise the fact that there are varieties in English. So I do not think students select one variety as their preference based on their knowledge on English varieties used in the world. As an example, when I ask students to read an article on varieties of English, summarise and write their reflection, many students write that they have never thought of Englishes used in other places except the so-called English-speaking countries. Many people talk about the difference in accents of speakers, in most cases with value-laden expressions. It is likely that they sense the difference based on what they have been exposed to, which they believe is right or beautiful.

Ellen As teachers, we have a responsibility to make sure students are exposed to materials in a variety of Englishes. Thanks to the influence of the CEFR, examining boards such as Cambridge Exams and Educational Testing Service (ETS) are beginning to make more of an effort to offer more diverse listening material. Changes are also happening in the curriculum in Japan, as the study of World Englishes becomes more accepted. In my college, "English as a Global language" is actually a subject of study in the second-year compulsory English modules and they discuss whether English has impacted other languages negatively.

Alternatives to Monolingual Ideology

Ellen So far we have discussed the things that we love about the book. However there were one or two areas which I wanted to raise questions about. I feel Heinrich does not acknowledge the extent to which the establishment has been influenced by an alternative multilingual ideology. Most people in Western academia nowadays would accept that intelligibility is more important than "native"-like pronunciation and criteria of the CEFR have been updated to reflect that.

> …the aim of language education is profoundly modified. It is no longer seen as simply to achieve 'mastery' of one or two, or even three languages, each taken in isolation, with the 'ideal native speaker' as the ultimate model. Instead, the aim is to develop a linguistic repertory, in which all linguistic abilities have a place. (Council of Europe, 2001, p. 5)

Heinrich does not really deal with the existence of an alternative multilingual ideology clearly although he does hint at it in the final chapter. But maybe this is not relevant to Japan.

Chie I agree with the idea that developing a plurilingual competence and the idea of a linguistic repertory is necessary. However, as I wrote in the very beginning, the distorted views of English and English language learning, that is, fallacies pointed out by Phillipson (1992), are so strong and deeply entrenched in Japanese society that it is extremely difficult to gear English education for the plurilingualism ideology.

Ellen Positive influences from outside can be seen in the way Japan finally acknowledged the Ainu language and culture in the Diet in 2008, after signing the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, 2007). Although the promotion of Ainu may be too late to maintain it as a living language, on a global scale there is support for other kinds of ideology, such as the developments in the CEFR mentioned above, or the indigenous language reclamation projects underway in Australia (e.g., First Languages Australia, n.d.; Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, n.d.). But Heinrich does not outline alternative, plurilingual ideologies in any detail, despite discussing theoretical aspects of ideology.

Chie It's not fair to expect him to include all the debates on ideology. The working definition which he takes of ideology suggests that he is primarily focusing on situations in which ideology is damaging to different minorities. "The study of language ideology investigates the origin and effect of beliefs about language structure and use, as well as ways in which those beliefs are promoted and spread beyond the social groups whose interests they serve." (p. 18)

Ellen You are right. I must say it wasn't an easy read! Here's an example of a sentence which I had to read several times: "Successfully transforming modernist language ideology will require all to depart from the view that Japan is multicultural and multilingual" (p. 80). To my mind, "depart from" means "go away from this view," but he means "start from this view." He uses "depart from" in this way earlier in the book too, but it is quite an unusual usage for me. I read the book twice and some parts more than twice, almost as if they were Zen *koans* (riddles or puzzles in Zen Buddhism).

Chie Zen koans… very good analogy. I think both social science research and Zen koans have something in common. I mean, both of them have something to do with how we perceive the world or our knowledge.

Ellen The other area I would like to see more of, is analysis of micro contexts in which the drama of language choice/power/suppression is played out. For example, Ohara and Mizukura (2020) connect a critique of ideology to a detailed account of translanguaging in a self-access centre and show how multilingual interactions were empowering for Japanese students who volunteered in the centre. Actually I wished the book were longer, and the discussions of ideology were grounded by more examples. Heinrich points out that our choice of what to research is a choice to reinforce or challenge prevailing ideologies. Holliday's idea of "small culture" (Holliday, 2021), Lowe's notions of "framing" (Lowe, 2021) seem to offer alternative ways of doing linguistic research which might serve the kind of "cultural liberty" which Heinrich writes about in the closing pages.

Chie Yes, I also prefer discussions and arguments made with examples in real life contexts. As Heinrich has been involved in promoting the study of the Ryukyuan languages, his investigation on the creation of linguistic uniformity in the process of modernization of Japan is convincing to me.

Ellen It's an extraordinary achievement in terms of making a coherent argument out of material, mostly sources in Japanese, spanning the arc of over a century and a variety of disciplines. I think *The Making of Monolingual Japan* will stimulate future scholars, and I hope someone translates it into Japanese. It deserves to be widely read.

Chie Let's hope it is influential! It's not only relevant to the Japanese language but to other contexts as well. His investigation of language ideologies can help us think about language education and policy at a global level.

Concluding Thoughts

Reading *The Making of Monolingual Japan* has given us new insights into the history of the Japanese language itself and deep-seated social attitudes in relation to both the Japanese language and foreign languages. The very idea that Japan was not originally monolingual was not something we had thought about deeply before. We would like to see students learning about this historical heritage, including the standardization of Japanese and the existence/erasure of linguistic diversity in Japan, in social studies or CLIL classes. The suppression of the Ryukyuan languages and the Ainu language made us very sad. The major issue which Heinrich raises at the end of the book is, how will the actual increasing linguistic diversity be accommodated at the official level, as we move towards a more multilingual Japan? We find that in Japanese academic circles, the presence of other languages in the community is still frequently framed in terms of the "problems" that the non-Japanese might be having due to their poor understanding of Japanese. Especially among the older generation of academics we can find the monolingual mindset which was characterized in Heinrich. In our dialogue we have developed the idea that monolingualism at a national level can go hand-in-hand with native-speakerism in the foreign language classroom. However, we have found it is possible in our own classrooms or teaching practices, to help students to gain confidence and self-acceptance by discussing native-speakerism and investigating various varieties of English. We try to show our aesthetic and cultural enjoyment of various forms of language, and, in certain contexts, embrace the mixing of languages in the classroom. This dialogue has been challenging and stimulating for us. We note that Japan often follows trends from abroad in applied linguistics, as in other matters. As the idea of the multilingual turn becomes incorporated into the linguistic repertoire globally, we are hopeful that it will find its place as a legitimate part of the Japanese linguistic landscape too.

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The Learner Development Journal Issue 5: Engaging with the Multilingual Turn for Learner Development: Practices, Issues, Discourses, and Theorisations

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Imagining Fair Language Policies: A Practice-related Review of Piller's (2016) *Linguistic Diversity and Social Justice*

Linguistic Diversity and Social Justice: An Introduction to Applied Sociolinguistics. Ingrid Piller. Oxford University Press, 2016. 283 pp. ISBN 978-0-19-993726-4

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Linguistic disadvantage is a global phenomenon produced by policies which connect languages to nation states. Japan is commonly (and erroneously) seen as a monolingual country, and native-speaker models are endorsed there for learning other languages. In this practice-related review, I contend that a shift to a multilingual perspective can create more harmonious learning spaces, and better achieve the Japanese government's aims and objectives for education. Using Linguistic Diversity and Social Justice to provide a global perspective on language issues, I explore themes such as language discrimination faced by migrants, and how schools tend to promote monolingual attitudes despite stated commitments to multilingualism. I then refocus these themes and apply them to my situation as a university educator and as a parent. I visualise what ideal multilingual education policies might look like. I argue that a greater focus on fostering participation by all students regardless of proficiency, and greater incorporation of minority cultures and languages into the syllabus would be beneficial. Future scholarly inquiry should examine the objectives of education systems in order to push for language policies that are inclusive.

言語的不利益は，言語と国家を結びつける政策によって生み出される世界的な現象である。日本は一般的に（誤りではあるのだが）単一言語国家だとみなされ，ネイティブスピーカーモデルが様々な言語を学ぶ上で支持されている。この実践的な書評では，多言語の視点に移行することで，より調和のとれた学習空間を創造し，日本政府の教育の目的や目標をよりよく達成することができると主張する。言語問題に対するグローバルな視点を提供するために，Linguistic Diversity and Social Justice を用いて，移民が直面する言語差別や，多言語主義へのコミットメントを表明しているにもかかわらず，学校が単一言語の態度を促進する傾向にあることなどのテーマを探る。そして，これらのテーマを再訪し，大学の教育者として，また親としての自身の状況に当てはめてみる。また，理想的な多言語教育政策とは何かを視覚化する。言語運用能力にかかわらず全ての学生への参加を促すことに一層の焦点を合わせること，そして少数派の文化や言語をより一層シラバスに組み込むことが有益であると主張する。今後の研究では，包括的な言語政策を推進するべく教育システムの目的を検討する必要がある。

Ko te ngoikoretanga reo he āhuatanga ā-ao i hua mai i ngā kaupapahere e tūhono ana i ngā reo ki ngā iwi whenua. Ko te kitenga whānui (me te hē hoki) o Hapani hei iwi reo tōtahi, ā, e whakamanatia ana ngā tauira kaikōrero-tangata whenua i reira mō te ako i ētahi atu reo. I roto i tēnei arotake whai pānga ki te mahi, e tohe ana au mā te hūnuku ki tētahi tirohanga reo maha ka hangaia pea ngā mokowā ako reretau ake, me te whakatutuki pai ake i ngā whāinga o te kāwanatanga Hapanihi mō te mātauranga. Mā te whakamahi i te Reo Kanorau me te Tika Pāpori hei whakarato i te tirohanga ā-ao ki ngā take reo, ka tūhura ahau i ngā kaupapa pēnei i te whakatoiharatanga reo e tūtakitia ana e ngā manene, me te tikanga i roto i ngā kura o te whakatairanga i ngā waiaro reo tōtahi ahakoa ngā pūmautanga whaikī ki te reo mahatanga. Kātahi au ka arotahi anō i ēnei kaupapa, ā, ka whakahāngai ki taku āhuatanga hei pouako mātauranga, ā, hei mātua hoki o ngā tamariki reorua. E whakakite ana ahau i te āhua o ngā kaupapahere mātauranga reo maha e wawatatia ana. E tohe ana ahau ka whai hua te aro nui ake ki te akiaki i te whakaurunga o ngā ākonga katoa ahakoa te matatau, me te whakauru kaha ake i ngā ahurea me ngā reo o ngā tokoiti ki roto i te marautanga. Me āta tirotiro ngā pakirehua mātauranga anamata i ngā whāinga o ngā pūnaha mātauranga, e whakahau ai mō ngā kaupapahere reo e noho whakauruuru ana.

Keywords

multilingual education, linguistic justice, language policy and planning, community engagement in schools, English education in Japan

多言語教育，言語的正義，言語政策と計画，学校におけるコミュニティ・エンゲージメント，日本の英語教育

mātauranga reo maha, tika reo, kaupapahere me te whakamahere reo, te whakaurunga hapori i ngā kura, te mātauranga Ingarihi i Hapani

There is a scholarly debate about language policies and pedagogical practices in language education which would benefit from being looked at in a different way. Policy makers and practitioners remain fixed in the mindset that connects a language to a nation state, thus prioritising native-speaker models as the (unattainable) embodiment of the language. As a result, activities in language classrooms are required to be performed only in the target language, and the use of other languages and dialects is viewed with disfavour. The multilingual turn is a movement towards understanding that languages are fluid and the purpose of using language is to negotiate social functions, and away from the nation-state mindset which fosters an inferiority complex in language learners and devalues their existing linguistic repertoires (May, 2014; Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997). In *Linguistic Diversity and Social Justice*, Ingrid Piller deconstructs the nation-state mindset and pushes for a greater understanding and acceptance of the multilingual turn and translanguaging practices in all aspects of social life, arguing that linguistic equality is a social justice issue.

Framing linguistic injustice as a big issue that affects everyone is timely. As Piller maintains throughout her narrative, there are problems with language policies at all levels: global, national, local and institutional. These policies and the attitudes attached to them are having a detrimental impact on people on a daily basis. The consequences of linguistic discrimination can be devastating, as exemplified by the suicide note left under Piller's door by her student who was expecting to fail a class. In this book, Piller shows that diversity is a social reality that exists already, and it needs to be accepted, understood, and promoted. In one part, Piller illustrates that the way people speak in Sydney in Australia, with code switching and using languages differently in different situations, means that the labels or names we have for languages are redundant and each person utilises their linguistic resources in unique ways. While it is widely seen as a homogeneous country, the same linguistic diversity as Sydney can be observed in Japan (Pennycook & Otsuji, 2015). Furthermore, it has been observed that the cultural heterogeneity of Japanese society is beyond the categories created to describe it (Tsuneyoshi, 2011). As I am a part of the linguistic and cultural diversity in Japan, Piller's interpretation of multilingual practices and their effects are of personal interest.

In this review, I respond to Piller's book in two ways. In the first section, I utilise a traditional book review format, giving the background to the book and its author before scrutinising the contents chapter by chapter and evaluating their relevance for the readership of this journal. In the second section, I share my personal response to the issues raised in the book. I reflect on my early career as a teacher and relate the issues raised by Piller to practices and policies in my work context, a language learning space in a university setting in Japan. I then draw on my positionality as a parent to consider English education in Japanese elementary schools. I ruminate on two puzzles: What appropriate policies for language learning spaces are, and how language activities in primary education in Japan could be more inclusive. In doing so, I attempt not to find definitive answers but to identify areas for further exploration and discussion.

An Overview of the Book

Linguistic Diversity and Social Justice is an absorbing selection of stories and voices from around the world, woven into an anthology that highlights the social consequences of a range of linguistic injustices. The fundamental argument presented is that linguistic disadvantage is systemic and a universal social issue. During her career, the author, Ingrid Piller, has researched bilingual education, multilingualism, language policy, and intercultural communication. Piller was born in Germany, and is currently professor of applied linguistics at Macquarie University in Sydney, Australia. She is the editor of the journal *Multilingua*, and, since 2009, has managed the *Language on the Move* portal which she co-founded with Kimie Takahashi. *Language on the Move* hosts a blog where researchers can disseminate their findings on topics related to multilingualism in short posts (Language on the Move, n.d.). Much of this book originates from Piller's blog posts.

Chapter 1, *Introduction*, details the notions of linguistic diversity and social justice, and Chapters 2 and 3 explore how multilingualism is conceptualised in society. In Chapter 2, *Linguistic Diversity and Stratification*, Piller explores hierarchies of languages and multilingual competence in different communities. She critiques the concept of contemporary superdiversity and looks at how national language policies help societies to allow themselves to be viewed as monolingual and monocultural. In Chapter 3, *The Subordination of Linguistic Diversity*, the theory behind Piller's understanding of social justice is explained, and the reader is encouraged to think beyond languages belonging to a territory or nation state; how language is used to make judgements against people, and segregation by language are also pertinent topics discussed here. This chapter offers useful insights for those whose jobs involve assessing people's language ability.

After the early chapters develop the concepts behind the issues, the middle chapters look at the barriers to and potential for linguistic diversity in various areas of life: Chapter 4 focuses on the workplace, Chapter 5 education, and Chapter 6 general participation in social life. Chapter 4, *Linguistic Diversity at Work*, largely addresses migration to Western, English-speaking countries, but it does question some widely-held beliefs about migrants in the workplace. Examples are given to show that statements such as, "migrants who cannot speak the language well are exploited," or "work is the best way to develop language proficiency" (Piller, 2016, p. 64), are overly simplistic and that the reality is far more nuanced. Piller suggests that it is not low language proficiency that diminishes access to jobs, but the ability to play language games to sell yourself in the right way, for example, by using humour.

Chapter 5, *Linguistic Diversity in Education*, is apposite for language educators in Japan: It describes issues surrounding immersion programmes, diagnosing language proficiency, and testing. The most compelling argument in Chapter 5 is that while schools often claim to value multilingualism, their true agenda is monolingual, "to maintain and perpetuate the socioeconomic order" (Piller, 2016, p. 99). The examples given of this "hidden curriculum" should be mandatory reading in training for language educators; they would help teachers to reflect on the difficulties that linguistically diverse students often face with teaching methods and materials.

Chapter 6, *Linguistic Diversity and Participation*, covers micro-aggressions towards study abroad sojourners, gender issues surrounding language, and discrimination across different ares of community life, and linguistic and cultural alientaion—for example that more Asian Americans reported experiencing prejudice based on their language choice rather than their race and that Polish mothers in London were able to join local parental networks but not access the professional opportunities they aspired to, finding themselves members of a lower socioeconomic group than they had been in their home country. The chapter could be

improved by extending the focus beyond participation through the dominant language in the target community. However, it provides detailed scrutiny of the lack of support for and isolation of women with low language proficiency, which is a global problem. Additionally, Piller questions whether the inclination for migrants to seek out home-country media is because they feel excluded, rather than nostalgic.

The closing chapters focus on the universal dimensions of multilingualism and social justice. Piller's understanding of social justice is that it transcends nation states, yet she is forced to deal with examples in Chapters 4 to 6 where justice is viewed by policy makers as a territorial entity. In Chapter 7, *Linguistic Diversity and Global Justice*, the focus moves to global justice, in which English as a global language is discussed in detail. Chapter 8, *Linguistic Justice*, then briefly explores linguistic privilege, examples of linguistically just communities in action, and the connection between globalisation and nationalism.

A strength of this book is that by having such a rich, varied and global scope, it addresses a broad range of issues surrounding linguistic justice across history that a book detailing a research project could not cover. It adds to existing literature on the multilingual turn by making connections across settings, communities, and cultures. As readers, we are enriched by engaging with the stories shared in *Linguistic Diversity and Social Justice* and comparing them to our own experiences.

However, in one section the narrative moves away from being empirical evidence-based scholarship. Although this book's stated aim is to look at linguistic diversity and injustice through comparison and exploring alternative situations, in the final chapter the notion of "perfect justice" is discussed. Studies that call for activism in the name of social justice have been criticised for being dangerously dogmatic rather than rigorously scientific (Pluckrose & Lindsay, 2020). However, struggles and fights are the means Piller suggests are necessary for achieving justice and promoting linguistic diversity. In spite of this, the examples of linguistic utopias given, Isfahan in early 17th-century Persia and the contemporary public libraries of Vienna, were created by authorities within existing systems. This call for revolution is a weakness in the argument, and the book would benefit from a more thorough and nuanced discussion on how linguistic diversity can be celebrated and promoted within existing social systems.

A Personal Response

I came across *Linguistic Diversity and Social Justice* while undertaking a research project into the language policy in the university self-access centre where I currently work. I had already been reading about Nancy Fraser's (2008) three-dimensional concept of justice, and Piller's use of it to frame an argument about multilingualism emboldened me to do the same. Fraser conceptualises social justice as requiring economic redistribution, cultural recognition and political representation. In education, this could mean to "strengthen schooling as a good in its own right, as well as in positional terms (redistribution), work with and value cultural difference (recognition) and accord students a voice (representation)" (Lingard & Keddie, 2013, p. 428). The multilingual shift has allowed language educators to better recognise linguistic injustices in their classrooms, but what Fraser first alluded to, and Piller builds on in this book, is the need to go beyond merely recognising differences. There needs to be a concerted and methodical approach by educators to empower students and reimagine pedagogy so that it suits all students' needs.

I am interested in the connection between language loss and culture (see Piller, 2016, p. 28), an interest stemming from a language change in my family around a century ago, and deepened by my experiences as an educator working with migrants and with English learners

in Japan struggling to develop an English-speaking identity. As a result, my teaching is informed with a desire to maintain and respect other languages. Existing knowledge is key to building knowledge in the target language. As a result, I was surprised by the prevalence of English-only policies, spaces, and activities in English education when I first came to work in Japan. I had anticipated that a shared first language would be utilised to learn English effectively. My previous teaching experience had been in New Zealand where I had believed communication in English was the only option because it was the one language that everyone shared. However, on reading Piller's book, I reflected on my early career and came to realise that the most successful interactions between students happened when they were able to draw on their knowledge and experiences using languages other than English. This realisation leads into the first of two puzzles on policies and practices in language learning based on issues in *Linguistic Diversity and Social Justice* that I explore in this section.

Puzzle 1: What is a Just Policy in a Language Learning Space?

My first teaching experience was working as an ESOL tutor for Te Wānanga o Aotearoa (TWoA) in Auckland, New Zealand. This was formative for my principles as an educator and researcher as it led me into exploring and valuing equity in education. TWoA is a Māori-led organisation which aims to share Māori knowledge and values (see Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, n.d.). Therefore, as well as teaching English, part of my duty was to share Māori stories, culture and language with students, and advocate honour and respect to all. The students I taught were long-term migrants to New Zealand who had already acquired permanent residency or passports, and the rationale of the course was to support migrants and provide them with the communication skills to lead a fruitful life and take a fuller part in their local community.

In order to take a fuller part in community life, students need to take full part in classroom activities. In the classroom, dialogue must be encouraged among students as equals, and value be given to the knowledge and opinions each person brings. This can be done by incorporating the idea of participatory parity. Participatory parity means a situation where all are given equal power, and everyone can act as peers (Fraser, 2008), which is far more effective in eradicating hierarchy than giving sympathy and other platitudes to marginalised people (Fraser & Honneth, 2003). In a typical class of mine at TWoA, over half of the class were Chinese and a third were Korean, meaning that the other members might be the only person from their country, or the only European, the only Muslim, or a Taiwanese person who did not identify as being Chinese. Creating mutual respect and understanding at TWoA was complex, and this complexity was amplified by me, the teacher, being the youngest person in the group, a substantial proportion of whom may have held Confucian values and beliefs, where age begets status.

One memorable success with this class at TWoA was when we focused on food and eating habits. This topic helped to create an environment where participatory parity and *kotahitanga* [group unity] could flourish (see Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, n.d.) and respect be inspired among students who had not previously found a way to connect. We explained how to make simple dishes from our home countries and for weeks after students were thanking each other for sharing recipes that their families had enjoyed. On reflection, I now realise that as well as successfully communicating in the target language, students had also communicated to their peers some of their own culture in both English and their own languages. For example, as well as sharing the English and Chinese word for spring onion, one student asked how to say it in Korean, Bulgarian and Japanese, building her relationship with classmates from different backgrounds in the process. Hence the classroom, at its most successful, was a productive,

vibrant and just space because different languages were used and accepted to develop community.

Learning spaces in Japan have tended to have English-only policies based on the belief that students have little opportunity to use the language elsewhere in their everyday lives (van der Walt, 2013). Perhaps this suggests that the way language learning in Japan has been understood does not incorporate community building or sharing one's own knowledge and culture, and therefore is a situation that requires some criticism because it is at odds with the aims and objectives of education in Japan, set down by the government. A stated aim of government policy is to cultivate individuals who participate in society, and one objective includes fostering "the value of respect for other countries and the desire to contribute to world peace and the development of the international community" (Basic Act on Education, 2006). English-only policies run counter to the fundamental principles of education in Japan because they suppress respect for countries and peoples deemed not to be English-speaking.

I work at a university in Japan, in an informal language learning space that recently changed from having an English-only policy to a multilingual approach. Research suggests that students there prefer to have an English-only area (Davies, 2018), yet their observed behaviour demonstrates that they inhabit a multilingual space (Imamura, 2018; Wongsarnpigoon & Imamura, 2020). I contend that students report a preference for a monolingual learning environment because they believe using English only will make them more proficient in that language; in other words, they feel that speaking only in English is what they ought to be doing.

Another explanation for why university English learners self-report a preference for a monolingual learning environment is that they are unaware both of their own multilingual practices and of the benefits of translanguaging. In my workplace, I often see people doing Spanish homework while sending a message to a friend using Japanese and having a conversation in English; when asked they usually say that they are just doing Spanish homework, which suggests a lack of awareness of their multilingual habitus. It is important that language educators raise awareness about translanguaging and encourage learners to embrace their multilingualism.

Based on the message in *Linguistic Diversity and Social Justice*, a just language policy in a language learning space would accept that all users of the space are diverse, and discourage thoughts that groups of users and the languages they use are homogeneous. The ethos of an ideal space would be to find, celebrate, and respect differences in those who visit and their language choices. In addition, a just policy would ensure that participation within the space is open to all, regardless of language proficiency, "acknowledg[ing] that everyone has the right to be heard and to be listened to" (Piller, 2016, p. 162). One criticism of English education in Japan is that the myth of native-speaker competence remains, exemplified by the exclusive use of Californian accents in school textbooks (Kubota, 2018), which perpetuates an inferiority complex in many students because they are led to believe that there is one correct way to speak English.

Puzzle 2: What is the Purpose of English in Primary Education in Japan?

Recently there has been a policy shift concerning foreign language instruction in Japanese primary schools. English instruction has been brought forward two years so that it is part of the curriculum from age eight and a formal assessed subject for students in their final two years of primary school (see Nemoto, 2018). As a parent of two young children, this is of great interest to me. Here I will describe the change in policy, then consider its justness based on my own observations and connect it to descriptions of policy in Piller's book, and finally imagine how a linguistically diverse language activities curriculum could be realised.

The previous curriculum's objective was to develop "the understanding of languages and cultures through various experiences, [and foster] a positive attitude toward communication" (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, 2009). There was no directive that this experience of language and culture should be English so there were opportunities built in to explore any language or culture, and to embrace the multilingual turn. The new curriculum is for English rather than "language activities," the rationale being that English is a required skill in the globalised world and a greater focus on English in the early years can help develop this (The Mainichi, 2017). However, I argue that the previous curriculum had more potential to prepare children for a globalised world than children learning English as a formal assessed subject two years earlier because there is more of a scope to generate and follow interests, rather than be forced into exploring English in a Californian accent (Kubota, 2018). If English were the right language choice, it might be more appropriate to look at English as a tool for communication in Asia and accept varieties of English using voices from the region.

I contend that compulsory foreign language education in Japan needs to look beyond English. It is important that prominent minority languages in Japan, such as Korean, Portuguese, Chinese, and Vietnamese, are promoted in the wider community rather than being viewed negatively (Kubota & McKay, 2009), and a presence in primary schools would be an effective way to achieve this. Languages and cultures could be brought into the primary classroom through engagement with the community, for example inviting members of minority groups to showcase arts or customs and share stories from their own lives. Additionally, a focus on culture rather than language proficiency can reduce the pressure on teachers and young learners.

There is a danger that focusing purely on English in foreign language activities in primary school will devalue minority languages and cultures. There is a precedent for this in Japan, where "invisible" Korean residents have been pressured to assimilate (Okano, 2011; Tsuneyoshi, 2011). There are similar cases of languages and cultures being marginalised in China, and I will explore this using the voice of a current student of mine, Saran (pseudonym) who comes from Inner Mongolia (see Baioud, 2020 for an overview of the situation there), in tandem with a case study from Piller's book of a person from a Russian-speaking minority. Saran is an ethnic Mongolian who, because she went to a Mandarin-speaking school, has not been able to develop full literacy in her own language. She states:

> When my father was young, he suffered a lot, lost many chances because he can not speak Chinese very fluently. So he hoped that if he sent me to the Han school, I could speak fluent Chinese and I would have many chances. And as my father hoped, now I can speak Chinese better than most Mongolian people. But on the other side, I lost my language. (Saran, personal communication, 25 September 2020).

She talks of a pressure for Chinese citizens to be able to speak fluent Mandarin, and found that the only opportunity she had to use Mongolian was at home. Wei Ru's story appears in Chapter 7, *Linguistic Diversity and Global Justice*. She grew up in a Russian-influenced area of China and had a high proficiency in Russian and Chinese. However, during her high school days the curriculum in China was changed to recognise only English proficiency for entry to mainstream higher education, the social capital of her Russian skill became worthless, and she was denied entry to a mainstream university and had to enroll in a *minzu* university, or a university for ethnic minorities. Due to language policy in China, Saran has lost access to her own culture, and Wei Ru has been denied access to participate in mainstream society. Similarly, school students in Japan should not be forced to assimilate in a way that alienates them from their heritage, nor should their otherness prevent them from the capacity to be successful within the Japanese system.

Piller issues two stark warnings about school language policies that could be applied to the primary curriculum in Japan: the "hidden" purpose of schooling is to maintain the status quo, and the promotion of English benefits only the urban elite. English functions as a gatekeeper in education (Price, 2014, as cited in Piller, 2016). Language should be used to promote communication and understanding, not neoliberal values. As parents and as educators, we need to see past the rhetoric of global skills in order to push for a curriculum that works to promote linguistic diversity and multilingualism, and is accessible to all.

One approach to create a multilingual curriculum flexible enough to suit the local needs of a particular location, classroom or student, while being stringent enough to become a national policy, would be a portfolio (Benson & Lamb, 2021). Students would be able to explore community or home languages and cultures of their choice and be assessed on their responses to this (done in the school language or visually if appropriate), rather than on acquiring set phrases in English. A portfolio would give students the right to, and ownership of, their language learning (Melo, 2021). It would have the potential of developing in students self-learning skills, independence, and an interest in their diverse community. In a primary school, there may be a need for the teacher to make some of the learning choices for the students. However, in my experience of developing and running a university class where all students were learning different things, but at the same time keeping reflective journals and talking with peers in a structured way (Stevenson & Davies, 2019; Edlin, 2018), having learners make different choices does not create extra work for students or teachers. This pedagogic approach is not novel in compulsory education in Japan: School students have previously been encouraged to keep personal records of their own learning (Nishioka, 2017), and *seikatsu tsuzurikata* / 生活綴方 [daily life writing] has been long employed to encourage students to reflect on their lives and communities, then share their perspectives with peers (Kawaji, 2017). A multilingual portfolio is a natural successor to previous teaching and learning styles in Japan, and it fits the government's objective of "developing individuals' abilities, cultivating creativity, and fostering a spirit of autonomy and independence" (Basic Act on Education, 2006). For minority and non-minority children alike, having a multilingual approach to language education that involves the local community has many benefits that exceed those given by learning stock phrases in English that are not directly connected to the lives of the individual learner or their community.

Concluding Thoughts

In this practice-related review, I first gave an overview of the themes in Piller (2016), and related them to learner development issues. I then examined two puzzles I developed based on the book and my experiences as an educator and a parent. From this examination, I propose that further exploration and discussion is required in the following areas:

- how language learning and practices in schools can be accepting of, and connect to, the the lives of all of the student body and diverse communities in the local area;
- how to produce appropriate local responses to local language issues, that fit in with the ethos of the school and education system; and
- how inclusive pedagogical practices which respect and promote multilingual knowledge can be further developed.

Through reflection and scrutiny on these three overarching themes of this review, educational practitioners can consider how to minimise linguistic disadvantage in their setting.

For those specifically interested in learner development issues in language education, I recommend reading Chapters 3, *The Subordination of Linguistic Diversity*, and Chapter 5, *Linguistic Diversity in Education*, of this book as essential reading. In these chapters examples are presented that show the danger of connecting language to territory and the problems that arise in education from a monolingual mindset. Chapter 7, *Linguistic Diversity and Global Justice*, develops these ideas further, focusing particularly on the English language, and will help English educators reflect on their own practices and policies. I contend that in Japan there needs to be an adjustment in the way language learning is talked about both by professionals and laypeople, in order that English learning becomes easily accessible for beginners, based on more realistic models and attainment goals.

Linguistic Diversity and Social Justice has encouraged me to think more deeply about language-learning policies in my work context, and the importance of raising awareness about being multilingual—and its benefits—to students. Issues raised have encouraged deeper reflection on the effects of language policies in tertiary and compulsory education in Japan. Future discussions, practitioner research, and scholarship should appraise the objectives of education in order to actively and appropriately shape and reflect society, and to examine how valuing minority languages and communities can be a part of a just curriculum.

Author Bio

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Huw Davies é conselheiro na aprendizagem de línguas na Kanda University of International Studies. Possui Mestrado em Educação pela Open University e atualmente é doutorando pela Lancaster University. Seu trabalho centra-se no desenvolvimento do aprendiz, tendo publicado artigos sobre estratégias de aprendizagem de línguas, autonomia do aprendiz, e desenvolvimento profissional do conselheiro.

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The Learner Development Journal Issue 5: Engaging with the Multilingual Turn for Learner Development: Practices, Issues, Discourses, and Theorisations

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Visually Tapping into the Lives of Learners: Review of Kalaja & Melo-Pfeifer's (2019) *Visualising Multilingual Lives: More Than Words*

Visualising Multilingual Lives: More Than Words. Paula Kalaja & Silvia Melo-Pfeifer (Eds.). Multilingual Matters, 2019. xx + 288 pp. ISBN 978-1-78892-259-3

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This practice-related review sets out to review *Visualising Multilingual Lives: More Than Words,* an edited book comprising empirical research papers which employ visual narratives in exploring multilingual lives. In this review, I adopt a practice-based stance by putting together my learning gains from the book and my personal encounters with multilingualism as a language education researcher, a language teacher, a teacher educator, a multilingual, and a parent to an emerging multilingual.

この実践的書評は，ビジュアル・ナラティブを用いて多言語生活を探求した実証的な研究論文から成る編集本Visualising Multilingual Lives: More Than Words の論評を目的とする。言語教育研究者，言語教師，教師教育者，多言語，そして新たに生まれた多言語の子を持つ親として，この本から得た学びと，多言語主義との個人的な出会いをまとめ，自身の実践に基づいた見地から述べる。

Bu uygulama temelli kitap kritigi, çokdilli yaşamları keşfetmede görsel öykülemeler kullanan deneysel araştırma çalışmaları içeren “Visualising multilingual lives: More than words” adlı kitabın kritiğini yapmayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu incelemede uygulamaya dayalı bir duruş benimsiyor ve incelemeyi, kitaptan öğrendiklerimi, bir dil eğitimi araştırmacısı, bir dil öğretmeni, bir öğretmen eğitmeni, bir çokdilli ve çokdilli yetiştiren bir ebeveyn olarak çokdillilikle kendi kişisel karşılaşmalarımı bir araya getirerek değerlendiriyorum.

Keywords
multilingualism, multilingual lives, visual narrative, visual data, visual research methods
多言語主義, 多言語生活, ビジュアル･ナラティブ, ビジュアル･データ, ビジュアル調査法
çokdillilik, çokdilli yaşamlar, görsel öykülemeler, görsel veri, görsel araştırma yöntemleri

I was very keen to get my hands on this book as soon as it was published. I was particularly interested in knowing more on how the editors and the authors imagined “multilingual lives” and how they employed “visual narratives” to navigate and understand multilingual lives. Multilingualism is often conceptualised as a linguistic, social or political entity instead of being contextualised as a lived experience, and visual methods are not commonly adopted in exploring multilingualism. Hence, the title of the book promised an innovative anthology and this proved to be so as I read it through.

The editors, Paula Kalaja and Silvia Melo-Pfeifer, describe the book as aimed at MA students, pre-service and in-service teachers, teacher educators, and researchers. I engage with multilingualism at professional, social and personal levels in my life as a language education researcher, language teacher, teacher educator, multilingual, and a parent to an emerging multilingual. Hence my reading of the book was informed by all my encounters

with multilingualism and also my experiences as both a producer and consumer of empirical research, and the book offered so much to learn. I would like to, therefore, organise my review in such a way as to reflect on what I learnt from this anthology. First, I will briefly present a rather clinical overview of the overall structure of the book. Then I will move on to a more detailed discussion of my learning gains, and finalise with my concluding comments.

The book consists of 15 chapters, thirteen of which are reports of original empirical research using visual narratives as research tools to explore multilingualism as experienced by individuals. The chapters are grouped into three main parts based on the contexts in which participants' experiences of multilingualism are tapped into. These are, respectively, the multilingual self, the multilingual learner, and the multilingual teacher education, each of which consists of four to five chapters. Part One, *The Multilingual Self,* is a collection of research studies investigating individuals' experience of being multilingual in formal and informal contexts at different stages of life and it consists of four chapters. The five chapters in Part Two, *The Multilingual Learner*, explore the experiences of foreign language learners in different contexts with a particular focus on the interaction of this undertaking with their identity construction. Part Three, *The Multilingual Teacher Education*, focuses on the identity construction of student teachers as multilinguals in professional teacher training contexts and consists of four chapters. The editors conclude the book with an analytical summary chapter which not only provides a comprehensive review of the research studies presented in the collection, but also offers insightful suggestions for taking research of this kind forward with a clear research agenda.

My key takeaways from the anthology can be grouped in three major themes: the potential of conceptualizing multilingualism within multilingual lives, the notion of visual narratives, and methodological strengths and weaknesses of visual narratives as reported by the authors and editors. I will now expand on these themes respectively.

Conceptualizing Multilingualism Within Multilingual Lives

The editors set out the anthology subscribing to the "multilingual turn" which they define as a counter paradigm to the traditional understanding of multilingualism where native speakerism is taken as the norm of language competence. They argue that multilinguals have a different set of language skills, such as translanguaging, which make them fundamentally different to monolinguals in the way they use languages. This makes any comparison between the two groups invalid. Their interest is, thus, not on multilinguals' language competence or development, but on how they operate as multilinguals in life, because multilinguals can acquire these language skills regardless of their proficiencies in their individual languages.

This separation they make between language development and operating as multilinguals made perfect sense to me based on my own language learning background. I learnt English as a foreign language at school from an early age in Turkey and became an English language teacher with first class honours, but it was only when I moved to England for a postgraduate degree that I realised how unprepared I was to use English in daily life. While I was doing very well in my academic studies, I was struggling with tasks such as ordering food on the phone and negotiating a bill with power suppliers. I was surprised at how this slipped through all the internationally recognised standardised proficiency tests that I had passed with high grades. This was my personal multilingual turn, as I only started to recognise myself as a multilingual when I started developing skills to use English in daily life. Since then, English has become my primary language both at work and at home and I have become more confident using English than my mother tongue on many occasions. I realised that terms such as language development and language proficiency fall short in explaining these shifts I went through in my language experience. This anthology addresses that gap.

Moreover, the editors and the authors focus on multilingualism as subjectively experienced by individuals. In the *Introduction,* the editors show particular interest in individuals' "positive and negative emotions, attitudes, beliefs, visions and identities" (Kalaja & Melo-Pfeifer, 2019, p. 1) regarding multilingualism. For me, such a shift in conceptualizing multilingualism has direct implications for teaching, learning, and assessing languages. Individuals' experiences with languages, as portrayed in the book, demonstrate that there are so many implicit aspects of people's connections with languages to which language education literature has been oblivious to. For instance, in Chapter 7, *Looking at Language through a Camera Lens*, Liss Kerstin Sylvén compares and contrasts two language learners' beliefs about English and Swedish. There are two student participants: One is a student who comes from a multilingual family background learning English through content and language integrated programme and the other one comes from a monolingual background and learns English as a foreign language. The researcher asks the students to take a number of photos every day during one week illustrating their first (Swedish) and second (English) languages. Through the thematic analysis of the photos and the interviews with the students Sylvén finds that while the former student perceives language as something to be used, the latter perceives it as something to be learnt. The findings suggest that the learners' repertoires of language experiences have an impact on their beliefs about languages. Such information is certainly of great importance to any language teacher who aims to collect data on their learners' language histories and needs prior to organising pedagogical objectives. In this particular research project, the researcher asked the students to take photos illustrating these two languages followed by a one to one discussion of those with the teacher. This could be easily adopted as a classroom activity by interested teacher-researchers. Indeed, the vast majority of visual data collection tools used in the anthology could easily be adopted in classroom research. I will go in further detail on the visual methods in the next section.

The Notion of Visual Narratives

As well as exploring multilingual lives, another common aspect of the research reports presented in the anthology is that they all adopt some kind of visual method(s) for gathering data. The editors choose the term "visual narratives" to describe the specific methodology they adopted. They define visual narratives as "visual materials produced by individuals" (Kalaja & Melo-Pfeifer, 2019, p. 276) and argue that visual methods enable capturing the complex nature of psychological aspects of language experience through multisemioticity when words alone fall short. They also suggest that this methodology is a good fit for their intentions to capture the subjectivity experienced by individuals through the stories told via these visual narratives.

Visual data has not been very popular in the field of language education until recently and the most common visual data have been drawings produced by participants. Although drawings are still the most common data across the chapters in the anthology, there are some other innovative visual tools adopted by some researchers. For instance, Sylvén (2019) in Chapter 7, as mentioned above, and Umino and Benson (2019) in Chapter 10, *Study Abroad in Pictures: Photographs as Data in Life-story Research*, asked their participants to take photos representing their connections with their languages. Ibrahim (2019) in Chapter 3, *Children's Multimodal Visual Narratives as Possible Sites of Identity Performance*, asked her young multilingual participants to bring objects (either a physical object, or drawings/descriptions of an object) representing their different languages to the interview. She treated those symbolic artefacts as an additional tool to questionnaires, children's writings and drawings. I found the visual narrative chosen by Paiva and Gomes Junior (2019) in Chapter 9, *Multimodal Language Learning Histories: Images Telling Stories*, quite innovative: They asked their participants to produce

multimodal language learning histories including sounds and images using a selection of digital tools. On the other hand, Pérez-Peitx et al. (2019) in Chapter 13, *Awareness of Plurilingual Competence in Teacher Education*, allowed more flexibility to their participants and asked them to produce visual narratives through either drawing or collage or photos.

Throughout the chapters, it becomes obvious that some visual data generation tools are more demanding than the others on the participants in terms of the time, means and skills they require; and some tools could be more appropriate for certain ages, language proficiencies, digital literacy levels and skills. However, they all seem to offer more interesting types of involvement in research for the participants in comparison to conventional methods such as interviews and surveys. These tools also seem to offer opportunities to capture and reflect on the dynamic process of interactions among multilinguals' multiple languages in daily life and in language classrooms. Hence, the majority of these tools could also be adopted as classroom tasks or projects by teachers to co-investigate their learners' experiences with languages.

Connecting to my practices, I used visuals and artefacts for different purposes in my teaching experience. I remember that it worked particularly well when I asked my adult ESOL students to bring visuals and artefacts to introduce their home language and culture. This task offered so many opportunities for communication and bonding in the classroom. As a researcher I have not yet used visual tools as data but going through the examples of the visual narratives throughout the anthology helped me realise their potential and inspired me to learn more about visual methodologies. I found Rose (2016) to be a good follow-up. The more I read about this emerging field, the more I am convinced that visual narratives will open up new horizons not only for my own research but also for the postgraduate research being conducted under my supervision.

Methodological Strengths and Weaknesses of Visual Narratives

Across the chapters in this anthology of work, visual narratives come across as a versatile methodology to explore individuals' personal experiences with, and feelings about languages. They can be adapted to different ages, skills and backgrounds of participants and different research contexts. They also seem to have an empowering impact on the participants even when they are in a linguistically, socially or politically disadvantaged position to express themselves verbally such as young individuals or people who are not competent in the language used by the researcher(s). The participants take a proactive role in shaping their own stories instead of passively answering (or reacting to) the questions directed by researchers. The most striking example of this is displayed in Chapter 4, *Integration as Portrayed in Visual Narratives by Young Refugees in Germany*, by Melo-Pfeifer and Schmidt (2019) in which they investigate the integration of 12 young refugees in Germany. The participants' proficiency was quite low in the researchers' language; thus, they were asked to produce two drawings to illustrate their current self and future self in a year's time. The researchers then conducted a combination of content and visual semiotic analysis to interpret the young refugees' drawings. The researchers claim that they brought down the language barrier and avoided the mediation of translation in this way. However, it is important to note that making meanings solely based on the drawings might well result in misinterpretation of these drawings. The majority of researchers in the anthology complement visual narratives with verbal narratives and strictly recommend doing that for future research since interpretation of visual data could turn out to be biased. The notion of visual narratives strives for subjectivity, but it is the subjectivity of the participant in telling their own story, not necessarily the subjectivity of the researcher in interpreting their participants' stories. It is perhaps this complexity of the analysis that holds visual data back from being used more widely by

researchers. The key take-away for me here is that visual narratives would benefit from data triangulation.

There is not an established route for analysing visual narratives and it is entirely up to the researcher how to handle such data. Qualitative content analysis is the most popular option for the researchers in the anthology, but the descriptions of actual procedures of data analysis were often thin or completely missing. This may well make it difficult for other researchers who are interested in replicating their studies in other settings.

Concluding Thoughts

Overall, the anthology offers a rich collection of studies tapping into multilingual lives through visual narratives. Conceptualizing and exploring multilingualism as multilingual lives has great potential in providing a new perspective in understanding the personal and emotional viewpoint of language users. Likewise, visual narratives seem to work fairly well as a methodology for this research agenda. The editors' proposed framework could be adopted in diverse research contexts, and would be particularly useful for exploratory practice in language classrooms.

On a personal note, this book has not only introduced me to the possibilities and potential of visual narratives in research into multilingualism, but also made me stop and think about my languages, their impact on my identity and life experience several times. For instance, when Italian-Australian Sophia in Chapter 2, *Becoming and Being Multilingual in Australia*, by Alice Chik, mentioned that she felt a sense of burden, shame, and guilt when she used Italian in Australia, I was reminded of my experiences of feeling uncomfortable using Turkish or Arabic in certain settings abroad. In the same chapter, Korean sojourner Jessica's voice resonated with me when she expressed her concerns about her children forgetting Korean. Visual narratives tap into a new wild world of often unspoken and unexplored emotions, visions and identities relating to languages and this makes the anthology intriguing and thought-provoking throughout.

Author Bio

My name is **Melike Bulut Albaba** and I am a lecturer in TESOL. I teach pre-service and in-service English language teachers and supervise postgraduate research. My main areas of expertise and research interests include language teacher cognition, teacher research, and educating multilinguals.

Ben **Melike Bulut Albaba**. Hizmet öncesi ve hizmet içi İngilizce öğretmenlerine ders veriyorum ve lisansüstü araştırmaları yönetiyorum. Ana uzmanlık alanlarım ve araştırma ilgi alanlarım arasında dil öğretmeni bilişi, öğretmen araştırması ve çok dillileri eğitmek yer almaktadır.

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The Learner Development Journal Issue 5: Engaging with the Multilingual Turn for Learner Development: Practices, Issues, Discourses, and Theorisations

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Title: A Learner's Review of Horner & Weber's (2018) *Introducing Multilingualism: A Social Approach*

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PRACTICE-RELATED REVIEW

A Learner's Review of Horner & Weber's (2018) *Introducing Multilingualism: A Social Approach*

Introducing Multilingualism: A Social Approach. Kristine Horner & Jean-Jacques Weber (2nd ed.). Routledge, 2018. xv + 308 pp. ISBN 978-1-138-24449-8

Reviewed by

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This review of *Introducing Multilingualism: A Social Approach* (Horner & Weber, 2018) looks at interconnections and interactions between language ideologies, dominant discourses, and language use in specific cases across a wide range of contexts. Among many different issues, the book covers the global spread of languages (including English), societal multilingualism, mother tongue education, discourses on migration, and multilingualism in new media. Horner and Weber present a stimulating introduction to multilingual issues in society in this global age. I wrote this review as an adult learner reading the book while completing a TESOL master's program, and I share revelations and discoveries made during the process of reading Horner and Weber and studying multilingualism. I conclude the review with my response to the book and some personal thoughts about my previously held beliefs and assumptions about certain language ideologies.

本稿は，幅広いコンテクストの具体的なケースにおける言語イデオロギー，支配的言説，言語使用の間の相互関連と相互作用に注目した書籍，Introducing multilingualism: A social approach (Horner & Weber, 2018) の書評である。様々な問題の中でも，本書は言語（英語を含む）の世界的な広がり，社会的な多言語主義，母語教育，移民に関する言説，そして新しいメディアにおける多言語主義を取り上げている。Horner & Weber は，このグローバル時代の社会における多言語問題について関心をかき立てる紹介をしている。この書評は，筆者がTESOL修士課程でこの本を読み一成人学習者の目線から書いたものである。Horner & Weberを読み，多言語主義を研究する過程で得た発見や気づきを共有する。最後に，この本に対する学習者個人としての反応と，特定の言語イデオロギーに関して以前から抱いていた信念や仮定についての個人的な考えを述べ，この書評を締めくくる。

Esta es una revisión de *Introducing multilingualism: A social approach* (Horner & Weber, 2018) que analiza las interconexiones e interacciones entre las ideologías lingüísticas, los discursos dominantes y el uso del lenguaje en casos específicos en una amplia gama de contextos. Entre muchos temas diferentes, el libro cubre la difusión mundial de idiomas (incluido el inglés), el multilingüismo social, la educación en la lengua materna, los discursos sobre la migración y el multilingüismo en los nuevos medios. Horner y Weber presentan una estimulante introducción a los problemas multilingües en la sociedad en esta era global. Escribí la reseña como estudiante adulto leyendo el libro mientras completaba un programa de maestría de TESOL. Aquí comparto revelaciones y descubrimientos hechos durante el proceso de lectura de Horner y Weber y el estudio del multilingüismo. Concluyo la reseña con mi respuesta al libro y algunos pensamientos personales sobre mis creencias y suposiciones previamente sostenidas sobre ciertas ideologías lingüísticas.

Keywords

multilingualism, adult learner, social approach, identity, language ideologies

多言語主義，成人学習者，社会的アプローチ，アイデンティティ，言語イデオロギー

multilingüismo, alumno adulto, enfoque social, identidad, ideologías lingüísticas

In a time that now feels like a different era, when *zoom* was a word used in comic books and not for online classes, I entered the TESOL master's program at Temple University Japan. I was pursuing a graduate degree for purely practical reasons: I wanted to learn how to teach English and then find a job somewhere in the Tokyo megalopolis. But as I progressed through

the program and was introduced to different theories about language acquisition and alternate definitions of language itself, I went through a de- and re-construction of my conceptions about the English language. I realized that I had been unaware of my own preconceptions about language, the "ideas and feelings, norms and values, which inform the way people think about languages" (p. 20). That process was helped along by Kristine Horner and Jean-Jacques Weber's *Introducing Multilingualism - A Social Approach*, which I read as a graduate student, and as a learner new to many of the issues that the authors cover.

Summary of the Book

Introducing Multilingualism is a six-part textbook which includes class activities, discussions, and chapter quizzes. It leads the reader to question assumptions about language, investigates the history and prejudices of named languages, and looks to a future where multilingualism is recognized as the norm, not the exception. (Although this questioning and investigation was reinforced by some of the readings in my master's program, *Introducing Multilingualism* was not one of my textbooks at Temple University. I was therefore glad to have the chance to read it for this review.) Language, peoples, and identity are all interconnected in the social approach that Horner and & Weber take in their introduction to multilingualism.

With this social approach, Horner & Weber offer a different view of multilingualism, together with many personal, educational and institutional responses to multilingualism. The social approach defines *language* and *multilingual* socially rather than linguistically or cognitively, by looking at how languages are used in society and the real world, rather than bounded within dictionaries and academic subjects. To introduce the social approach and guide the reader towards its use in the study of multilingualism, Horner & Weber divide *Introducing Multilingualism* into six parts, which I summarize below.

Part 1 (*Theoretical and Methodological Considerations*) introduces Horner & Weber's social approach to the study of multilingualism, and how they "question deeply held assumptions about language and multilingualism ... our 'language ideologies' " (p. 5). They encourage readers to do the same. Those language ideologies are enumerated as the hierarchy of languages, the standard language ideology, one nation-one language ideology, mother tongue ideology, and the ideology of purism. In my reading of this textbook, as a learner and a new student in the field of multilingualism, I did exactly as Horner & Weber encouraged me to do: I questioned my own assumptions.

Part 2 (*Multilingualism Within and Across Languages*) looks at so-called standard English, which is one of the language ideologies from Part 1, and "the fuzzy boundaries of named languages" (p. 37). This linguistic fuzziness suggests an intra- and inter-language continuum where *dialect* and *language* are just different words for the same sociolinguistic practice and, although there are conventionally named languages, there are no separate, bounded and distinct languages. Horner & Weber note: "What we learn in childhood is 'language,' and separately, as it were, we discover that the linguistic features we are learning are conventionally associated with a particular named language" (p. 37). This suggests that we each learn a personalized language first, and then learn to conform that language to a standardized named language later. That named language is just a theoretical construct, as nobody speaks the official language correctly at all times because language is "social action and practice" (p. 45). Living languages are wild and dynamic, impossible to contain, despite attempts to standardize them. Part 2 continues this exploration of sociolinguistic practice with discussions of African-American English, Caribbean 'Nation Language', Singaporean Singlish, and French youth languages. This part of the textbook also covers the global spread of English, the endangerment of so-called minority languages, and the attempts, both

successful and unsuccessful, at revitalization of those languages through national policies.

Part 3 (*Societal and Individual Multilingualism*) examines multilingualism on the societal, or national scale, in Ukraine, Switzerland, Singapore, Hong Kong, South Africa, and Nigeria, noting that "the distinction between officially monolingual and multilingual states is not a fixed binary opposition but a dynamic and shifting continuum" (p. 89). This continuum at the societal level is similar to the linguistic continua at the individual level, when a supposedly "monolingual" person is proficient with a range of social registers, idiomatic expressions or foreign loan words. In their examination of language and identity, Horner & Weber explain the essentialist concept of identity versus a social constructivist concept of identity by using the analogy of a peach versus an onion: "You believe in a 'true', 'deep' or 'real' self which, just like the stone in the middle of the peach, constitutes your core identity" (p. 107). In contrast, if "you see identity as more like an onion, then you believe in the possibility of having multiple and changing selves … and none of them forms an essential and fixed core" (p. 107). Some people see themselves as many-layered and ever-changing, and their linguistic identity includes translanguaging, code-switching and language crossing. Horner & Weber conclude that "most speakers in the world are multilingual to different degrees, and many of these multilingual speakers tend to mix their languages … multilingualism and translanguaging are the norm" (p. 117). The normalization of multilingualism, rather than monolingualism as the default norm, is a recurrent theme in *Introducing Multilingualism.*

Part 4 (*Multilingualism in Education and Other Institutional Sites*) discusses national or regional educational policies for multilingual school students, with case studies in Luxembourg, Catalonia and Basque Country demonstrating the advantage of a flexible approach over a fixed approach towards multilingual schooling. Horner & Weber comment: "Only flexible, local solutions can potentially meet all the children's linguistic needs in the best possible way" (p. 148). Concerning policies and approaches towards mother tongue education, Horner & Weber also look at South Africa as a case study and highlight three problems: Too many mother tongues represented in the classroom, policy-makers' arrogance in deciding that so-called minority languages should be kept, and the presumption that a student's mother tongue is the standard version of that language. To counter these problems, Horner & Weber propose "literacy bridges" (p. 166) based on common links between students' linguistic repertoires. In policies for heritage language education, Horner & Weber find a continuation of standard language ideology and purist ideology, as presented in Part 1 and discussed in more detail in the next section about critical analysis of discourses. There is a call to action for "teachers to break through the standard language ideology and to valorize all the different linguistic and cultural resources of all the children, including not only standard indiegnous or.immigrant languages, but also non-standard or ot fully standardized varieties" (p. 184). Horner & Weber promote a similarly flexible and non-ideological approach for multilingualism in other state and private institutions.

Part 5 (*Critical Analysis of Discourses*) looks at national discussions about immigration, language, integration policies, as well as concerns about social cohesion and "a deeper and more irrational fear of societal multilingualism and heterogeneity" (p. 207). This is a fear that in turn leads to language-testing for citizenship. Here Horner & Weber look at case studies in Luxembourg, Britain, and the United States, critiquing presentations of multilingualism in the media, where "monolingualism is the norm and multilingualism is exceptional, deviant, abnormal—either all good or all bad" (p. 227). Retrograde "English-only" advocates find multilingualism "all bad," but Horner & Weber find online attitudes and linguistic practices to be multilingual and accepting of differences in language proficiencies. The internet has limited multilingualism, with English being the dominant language, but, according to the authors, people online tend to use all their linguistic resources, borrowing, adapting and

transforming their language in response to contact with other languages. Beyond the internet, in brick-and-mortar urban streetscapes, the linguistic landscape is also often multilingual and multimodal, and Horner & Weber present methods of discourse analysis for linguists studying the languages used on street signs and shop billboards.

Part 6 (*Further Directions in the Study of Multilingualism*) puts the case for research into multilingualism as it relates to sign language, assessment practices, and gender. *Introducing Multilingualism* ends with a call for "the normalization of multilingualism" (p. 283) through an understanding that the world is linguistically diverse, multilingualism is ubiquitous, and people have complex repertoires of languages, dialects, and registers at their disposal.

Response to the Book, as a Learner

As mentioned in the introduction of this review, *Introducing Multilingualism* helped me to identify and examine language ideologies which have strongly influenced me. Horner & Weber focus on five ideologies in particular, which tend to reduce people's thoughts about languages to basic stereotypes. These ideologies are widespread, complicating our discussions about language. Below is my response, as an adult learner in the master's program at Temple University, to those five ideologies, including some of the lessons I learned by examining the stereotypes I had before reading this book and doing the master's program.

Hierarchy of Languages

An ideology about a Hierarchy of Languages puts language above dialect, and some named languages above others. I was unaware that "it is not possible to distinguish between language and dialect in purely linguistic terms" (p. 21). Horner & Weber dismantle the common argument that named languages aren't mutually intelligible, while dialects are, revealing that "named languages may be seen as socio-political constructs" (p. 21). This revelation about the false dichotomy between language and dialect, as well as the boundaries around named languages, allowed me to see all languages as interrelated, borrowing and lending from each other.

Standard Language

The Standard Language ideology is "the belief that languages are internally homogenous, bounded entities" (p. 21). I was dissuaded from this way of thinking early in the first semester in the master's program at Temple University, but this ideology is persuasive, because it is reinforced everywhere through what Horner & Weber call the *codification rituals* of dictionaries and textbooks and the *pedagogical rituals* in schools. There is some pushback to this ideology, but I feel that almost everyone believes there's a "correct" way to speak or write, even, or especially, among those people who are not correct. I understand this ideology deeply, because it was an unexamined assumption of mine, before the master's program. Learning to move beyond acceptance of World Englishes and non-standard dialects, and to celebrate all forms of this living language, was an important lesson from the TESOL program. The social approach taken by Horner & Weber shows language as a dynamic process, constructed and used by real people in the real world. Throughout my education, from kindergarten to graduate school, I was required to use standardized language for written assignments and subtly encouraged to do so in classroom discussions as well. I now realize that knowing and using so-called standard English allowed me to have the social privileges which many of us take for granted, as the seemingly "natural" benefits of being well educated. That education itself, and access to it, is one of those social privileges.

After thinking about the Standard Language ideology, I had a renewed thankfulness for the opportunity to study at Temple, as well as a newfound humility that my acceptance to the TESOL program was more contingent on my command of a standardized English than I had previously realized.

One Nation-One Language

The One Nation-One Language ideology is just what it sounds like, but when it is dissected by Horner & Weber as the belief that "language can be equated with territory" (p. 22), it shows itself to be absurd. It can also be dangerous, perhaps precisely because it is absurd. Horner & Weber observe: "Because it is so important to many people, they frequently develop ... a more general fear of linguistic and cultural heterogeneity, which is perceived as a threat not only to the national language but also to the national identity" (p. 23). Threats and general fear are often exploited by nationalist politicians, of course, but it is the origin of the so-called national language as a construct of the nation-state that allows this fear to be generated and exploited. The national language is designed to be a source of identity. As I was reading *Introducing Multilingualism*, I was enrolled in a course on Intercultural Communication. A Zoom discussion with my classmates who were teaching in Japanese high schools revealed a powerful state-level linking of language and identity that I was previously unaware of. I had assumed that students were going to *nihongo*/日本語 [Japanese language] class to study Japanese, but that's not the term that's used. Instead, students are going to *kokugo*/国語 [national language] class, where they study so-called standard Japanese, classic Japanese literature and also classic Chinese literature. The contents of these classes explore the multilingual and multinational history of the Japanese language, but naming them in this way reinforces the One Nation-One Language ideology.

Mother Tongue

This One Nation-One Language ideology is closely related to the Mother Tongue ideology, "the belief that speakers have one and only one 'mother tongue'" (p. 23). As the father of a child who speaks both better Japanese and better contemporary English than I do, this ideological prejudice never occurred to me, but I certainly did have the attitude that underlies this ideology: that monolingualism is the norm. It is not. And with Horner & Weber's expansion of the concept of multilingualism to include dialects, registers, borrowed and partial language, multilingualism is not only the norm, it is all there is. Monolingualism has become, and maybe always was, a theoretical concept that does not exist in the real world.

Purism

The ideology of Purism is similar to the Standard Language ideology, but it seems more focused on pronunciation and accent, as "the belief that only some speakers of the language have an accent (in particular lower-class people or learners of the language as a foreign language" (p. 25). Horner & Weber point out that a Purism ideology has "a powerful evaluative component" (p. 25) which may involve fears of a language dying out or becoming endangered. Racism, classism, cultural supremacism, and other ugly-isms all lurk beneath the surface of language purist ideology. It was a good reminder for me that we all have accents, not just in our second or third languages, but also in our first.

The cumulative effect of my reflections on these five ideologies was humbling. I realized that, previous to the master's program and reading *Introducing Multilingualism*, my unvoiced and unexamined assumptions were both arrogant and slightly ridiculous. American English

is not better than other varieties, standardized language is not more "correct," nations are not monolingual, children do not have a single mother tongue, and accent does not equal mispronunciation. All these observations might seem obvious now, but as a learner reading Horner & Weber's textbook, they led me to fresh revelations about my own beliefs and assumptions to do with certain language ideologies.

Conclusion

As a learner in the TESOL program, I used this book in a way that is probably different than the way a teacher would use it for an introductory class on multilingualism, but I believe the outcomes are roughly similar. When I finished reading, the easy assumptions and folk beliefs about language that I had held at the beginning were gone, not replaced with pat answers, but with more questions. The biggest of which was "How can I use this knowledge in the classroom?" As I move from the role of learner into the role of teacher, I am inspired by Horner & Weber's discussion of the polynomic approach, which they see as "a positive response to linguistic variation" (p. 77). They continue: "There is no single linguistic norm that is considered to be the only 'correct' one" (p. 77). The authors call polynomy an ideology, but it is far different than the five ideologies that I discussed earlier. As I begin my practice, I want to be the kind of teacher who fosters tolerance, celebrates language diversity, empowers students and makes the classroom experience different. The examination of my language ideologies, as a learner, was a big step towards making me better as a teacher.

Author Bio

Brennan Conaway: While writing this book review, Brennan Conaway completed the TESOL master's program at Temple University Japan and worked as a part-time instructor at Tokai University and Tokyo University of the Arts, where he researched the uses for the visual arts in EFL instruction. Currently, he continues at Tokai University's Shonan Campus and also continues to explore art and EFL. When he's not in the classroom, Brennan is either in the ocean, trying to surf, or in the studio, attempting to make some art.

コナウェイ・ブレナン。本書評を執筆する中，Temple University JapanでTESOL修士プログラムを修了し，東海大学と東京藝術大学で非常勤講師を務め，EFL指導における視覚芸術の活用を研究してきた。現在，東海大学湘南キャンパスで勤務し，芸術とEFLを探求し続ける。私生活では，海でサーフィンをするか，スタジオでアート作品を作成する。

Review Process

This paper was open-reviewed by Akiko Takagi and Tanya McCarthy. (*Contributors have the option of open or blind review.*)

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The Learner Development Journal Issue 5: Engaging with the Multilingual Turn for Learner Development: Practices, Issues, Discourses, and Theorisations

Author: Alison Stewart

Title: Exploratory and Critical Reading About the Multilingual Turn with Japanese Students: Review of Conteh & Meier (2014) and May (2014)

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Exploratory and Critical Reading About the Multilingual Turn with Japanese Students: Review of Conteh & Meier (2014) and May (2014)

The Multilingual Turn in Languages Education: Opportunities and Challenges. Jean Conteh & Gabriela Meier (Eds.). Multilingual Matters, 2014. xvi + 312 pp. ISBN 978-1-78309-222-2

The Multilingual Turn: Implications for SLA, TESOL and Bilingual Education. Stephen May (Ed.). Routledge, 2014. x + 230 pp. ISBN 978-0-415-53432-1

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This article is a review of two books on the multilingual turn, one an anthology of articles by prominent applied linguists (May, 2014c), the other a collection of recent studies exploring multilingualism in different geographic and educational contexts (Conteh & Meier, 2014). The review is practice-related to the extent that the two volumes were used as course books for a seminar course at a Japanese university and thus includes the students' reflections on the ideas they encountered in their reading. I have written the review as a narrative account of how the students' ideas developed over the two semesters, as evidenced by their posts in a course Moodle each week. I conclude the article with my own reflections on the challenge of promoting concepts of language and society that contradict current understandings in academia and in language education generally in Japan.

本稿は，多言語的転回に関する2冊の書籍の書評である。1冊は著名な応用言語学者らによる論文のアンソロジー（May,2014），もう1冊は異なる地理的･教育的コンテクストにおける多言語主義を探求する最近の研究を集めたものである（Conteh ＆ Meier，2014）。これらは日本の大学のセミナーコースで教科書として使用され，その点で本稿は実践に即しており，学生たちが書籍の中で出会ったアイデアについての考察を含んでいる。ムードルに毎週投稿された内容に基づき，2学期の間に学生たちの考えがどのように発展していったのかをナラテ ィブとして描写する。最後に，日本の学術界や言語教育の現場における現在の理解に相反する言語と社会に関する概念を推進することの難しさについて，私自身の考えを述べる。

本文是一篇就两本关于多语言转向书籍的评论概要。其中一本是著名应用语言学家的文章选集（May,2014），另一本是最近在不同地域和教育背景下探索多语言的研究集（Conteh & Meier,2014）。它是与实践相关的，因为这本书被用作日本大学研讨班课程教材，因此涵盖了学生对他们自身在阅读本书时遇到的想法和反思。这篇评论是以叙述方式写的，根据学生们每周提交至Moodle的文章，讲述了他们的思维在两个学期的课程中如何发展。最后，我总结并讨论了在日本学术界和语言教育界中，推广与当前理解相悖的语言和社会概念所具备的挑战和困难。

Keywords

multilingual turn, student reflections, language ideologies, SLA

多言語的転回, 学習者の内省, 言語イデオロギー, 第二言語習得

多语言转向，学生反映，语言意识形态，第二语言习得

During the 2020 academic year, my Language and Education seminar students in the Department of English Language and Cultures and I read two books with similar titles, *The Multilingual Turn: Implications for SLA, TESOL, and Bilingual Education*, edited by Stephen May (2014c), and *The Multilingual Turn in Languages Education: Opportunities and Challenges*, edited by Jean Conteh and Gabriela Meier (2014). Multilingualism has been relatively slow to catch on in Japan, where I work, and it is not something with which the

undergraduate and graduate students at my university are generally familiar, or regard as relevant in Japanese education. But insofar as Japan has changed and is changing to become a more diverse society, I believe that there is much to be gained from discussing the latest thinking, practices and research on multilingualism with my students, some of whom will be future English teachers in this country. As Joseph Lo Bianco observes in the foreword to Conteh and Meier's anthology:

We have often lived in social realities well before we can talk about them. Only slowly do we start to identify and name aspects of the setting we have inhabited, but as we do they take on the sharp edge of recognition that allows them to enter our consciousness (Lo Bianco, 2014, p. xv).

Over the past decade or so, I have followed the multilingual turn in my own reading and research (e.g., Block, 2008; Kramsch, 2010; Li, 2018; Makoni & Pennycook, 2012) and have tried to introduce the critical perspective it implies to my students in the hope that it will influence how they think about language and language education. In this practice-related review, I provide an overview of the two anthologies and describe how my students and I used them in our class. I then go on to discuss how our thinking about multilingualism evolved over the course of the year, especially in the context of language education, and to raise some of the questions and puzzles that emerged in the process. This discussion is illustrated by extracts from reflections that the students and I posted to a class Moodle each week.

Overview of the Books

Published in the same year (2014), the two books reflect and encapsulate a growing emphasis by applied linguists on diversity in language and language users. Both volumes emerged from discussions at international conferences (AAAL 2010 in the case of May, and BAAL 2011 in the case of Conteh and Meier). Whilst the two books share common perspectives on multilingualism, May's book is made up of chapters by well-established theorists in the field, whereas Conteh and Meier's anthology features research by newer researcher-practitioner voices in the field as well. A further contrast between the two is that the May volume is a collection of articles that present an explicit critique of mainstream research in Second Language Acquisition (SLA), while the Conteh and Meier chapters focus more sharply on multilingualism and multilingual approaches in languages education.

When I first read through the books, in preparation for the seminar, I noticed that the contributors to the book edited by May (namely, in the order in which they appear in the anthology, Stephen May, Lourdes Ortega, David Block, Suresh Canagarajah, Bonny Norton, Constant Leung, Ofelia Garcia and Nelson Flores, Wei Li, and Adrian Blackledge, Angela Creese, and Jaspreet Kaur Takhi), as key thinkers in the field of applied linguistics, were setting out their current positions on the nature of language in society. Whilst it was interesting to me to see how those positions, though broadly convergent, reflected different emphases, I was also attracted by the opportunity it gave me to consider the authors themselves and trace the development of their thinking over the past 20 years. There are, of course, other proponents of multilingualism, but I wanted the students to get a sense of who the key thinkers are in the field, and where their thinking regarding multilingualism has come from.

The volume edited by Conteh and Meier is a more diverse collection consisting of three parts: (a) societal perspectives on the multilingual turn in language(s) education, (b) perspectives on the multilingual turn in education, and (c) visions of the multilingual turn in pedagogy and practice. Consisting of new research, these articles, many of which are co-authored by new and established researchers, show multilingual practices in a variety of

contexts in education and around the world, in countries ranging from New Zealand to China to the Alsace region of France. What appealed to me in this volume was precisely this variety, and I hoped that the students would be interested in the different contexts too, as well as in the research methods and findings that are described.

Seminar Practice

The class for which I set the two volumes as required reading is an elective weekly seminar that is open to both graduate and undergraduate students in their third or fourth year. Although the course is listed in the university curriculum as a "seminar," it is quite unlike the *zemi*/ゼミナール [seminar], the two-year course that includes individual supervision toward a graduation thesis, which is typical in Japanese universities, including Gakushuin University, where I teach. The seminar described here is usually taken by graduate students who may be studying literature or linguistics under the supervision of my colleagues, and who have little or no knowledge of applied linguistics. Both undergraduate and graduate students are required to take courses across the four areas of study that we offer: English-language Cultures, Contemporary Studies, English Linguistics, and English Education. Graduate students and zemi students of English Linguistics, as well as students of English Education who have taken lectures in Second Language Acquisition, tend to be strongly invested in a traditional view of language and society that is challenged by proponents of the multilingual turn. This raises—or rather, reveals—ideological differences within the department that pose potential difficulties for the students and for my own relationship with my colleagues, as I shall go on to discuss.

In the first semester (though not the second), the four graduate students (Yuichi, Maki, Shota, and Michihisa) and three undergraduates (Akemi, Hirota, and Miho), who belong to the Department of English Language and Cultures in the Faculty of Letters, were joined by two outside students, one from the Faculty of International Social Studies (Ryutaro), the other a Chinese undergraduate student (Rin) who was auditing the course as an external student, and who was planning to take the university's entrance examination the following spring. The students' names have all been anonymised for this article. Of the nine students in the first semester, Ryutaro and Rin were the most "multilingual" in terms of their life experience, since Ryutaro was a returnee student who had spent several years in the United States, and Rin was aiming to pursue a degree in Japanese, her third language. None of the other students had spent more than a few months in another country.

Because of the COVID-19 pandemic, the class was conducted entirely on Zoom throughout the year. The language of presentation was English, although the students were free to speak in Japanese, if they wished, in small group discussions. Each week, the students read one chapter, or half a chapter, of the May volume as preparation for the class. In the class, I used PowerPoint to talk through the main points and to pose questions about the concepts and how they might relate to the students' lives, to language learning, and to the Japanese context, which the students discussed in Zoom breakout rooms and as a whole class.

In addition, in each semester three classes were led by the students themselves. Working in groups of three or pairs, they presented a chapter from the Conteh and Meier book, which they selected from the table of contents. In the first semester, the students presented Guangwei Hu and Sandra Lee McKay's *Multilingualism as Portrayed in a Chinese English Textbook*, Ken Cruickshank's *Exploring the -lingual Between Bi and Mono: Young People and Their Languages in an Australian Context*, and Andrea Young's *Looking Through the Language Lens: Monolingual Taint or Plurilingual Tint*, on language policy in the Alsace region of France. The chapters presented by the students in the second semester were Ofelia Garcia and Naomi Kano's

Translanguaging as Process and Pedagogy: Developing the English Writing of Japanese students in the US, Jean Conteh, Shila Begum, and Saiqa Riasat's *Multilingual Pedagogy in Primary Settings: From the Margins to the Mainstream*, and Enrica Piccardo and Joëlle Aden's *Plurilingualism and Empathy: Beyond Instrumental Language Learning*. For clarity, the schedule of the class is displayed in Appendix A. The students used PowerPoint to present their chapters, and were encouraged to follow my model of identifying issues or questions for discussion, which they did in breakout rooms. An example of a student PowerPoint is provided here.

After the class, the students and I continued discussion on Moodle in posts of up to 200 words, summarizing what was interesting to them in the discussions and sometimes raising new questions. These Moodle posts accounted for 30% of their grade (with 20% allotted for the group chapter presentation and the remaining 50% for an individual research proposal, class syllabus, or lesson activity that aimed to explore or apply a multilingual approach). In the narrative account that follows, I describe what I see as an important change in the reflections of some of the students, and a shift in my own thinking about reading these texts with them.

Interrogating the Monolingual Bias

We began quite slowly, taking three weeks to read the introduction (May, 2014b) and the first chapter by May (2014a). In this chapter, May sets out the basic premise behind the multilingual turn: That mainstream SLA and TESOL are underpinned by a flawed conception of speaker identity (i.e., native or nonnative speakers) and "a monolingual bias." As a first question, I asked the students to consider multilingual influences on the Japanese language, both in terms of the plethora of loan words and its complex writing system, which highlights foreign words with *katakana*. If languages, such as English and Japanese, are formed and changed by contact between different peoples, how about language speakers?

For only one of the students, the line of thinking taken by May in his chapter and by my questions was already familiar. Shota had been reading literature on World Englishes and had accepted the view that, since English is a global language, anyone who uses it in their life can be thought of as a legitimate speaker:

> *When we Japanese think about the speakers of English, we tend to imagine the English speakers in the countries, like the US and Britain. However, in other countries, like India, Kenya, Singapore, and Papua New Guinea, many people there also use English to communicate with someone, to watch the television, or to read books.* (Shota)

Similarly, where May introduces Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, field, and practice, and Bernstein's classification and framing to explain why SLA has continued to resist the multilingual turn, Shota was quick to see how "classification" could be used in a similar way to explain why Japanese education might also resist this kind of thinking. Standard English is an ideological construct, Shota argued, but "*...many Japanese people believe the existence of it because the entrance examination plays a vital role in 'evaluating rules'*." Despite efforts over the years to focus more on communicative competence, school English continues to be oriented towards university entrance exams, which in turn continue to prioritise accuracy (or luck) over fluency.

Yuichi and Ryutaro also were quick to grasp May's critique of SLA, and could see how a multilingual approach might have the potential to shape a more open, international, and engaged form of language education in Japan. Other students in the class were more ambivalent, however, reflecting some negative social attitudes toward multilingualism in education and society. Maki, for example, felt that a multilingual approach meant that schools should expose children to different English accents, but she had reservations about

promoting language education at an early age. Hirota, for his part, noted an antipathy toward multilingualism in Japan:

> *Some Japanese have considered multilingualism to be improper. Yuriko Koike who is the Governor of Tokyo, for example, has used a lot of "katakana" words, which was accused by members of the Tokyo Metropolitan Assembly.* (Hirota)

Moreover, another student, Michihisa, appeared to find it difficult to accept criticism of SLA, a subject he had recently entered the university to study after completing an undergraduate degree at a different university, and this is reflected in his continued attachment to SLA concepts:

> *I'm interested to language identity and language acquisition. How do we study to get closer to native speakers? But this question is a difficult task. Second Language Acquisition is affected by Krashen's theory. And, there are some problems in English education. English learners have interlanguage and fossilization. I need to adopt effective methods to teach.* (Michihisa)

I wondered how Michihisa's thinking, in particular, would be affected by reading the next chapter by Lourdes Ortega. Of all the contributors to this volume, Ortega is the one who has maintained her affiliation to the field of SLA. She admits the legitimacy of the charges laid against SLA of monolingual bias with its unrealistic and inequitable ideal of "native speaker" as the benchmark of linguistic achievement. Seeking to move beyond the impasse created by such key concepts, she advocates an approach that is informed by Usage-Based Linguistics, which prioritizes the role of experience in knowledge acquisition.

We spent two weeks reading and discussing Ortega's chapter. Michihisa's first Moodle post on this topic reveals that he was confused:

> *I don't have ideas instead of SLA class in this situation. Should they study other language or other subject? I don't know how to do. When I'll be teacher, I would find the answers. Experiences are so important.* (Michihisa)

Michihisa was not willing to reject staple SLA concepts, such as *native speaker*, *interlanguage* and *fossilization*, that he had studied as an undergraduate and around which he had articulated research questions that he wanted to pursue in his master's degree. This was an uncomfortable dilemma for me too. Do I have the right to impose views on him that might conflict with those he has invested in and that might be supported by his own supervisor?

As time went by, I noticed that the students were gradually taking on board the concepts and the vocabulary of the two books in their Moodle posts. They were also becoming more confident in their own stances and arguments. At the end of the first semester, we read David Block's chapter which argues for an expanded perspective on language. More than just a repertoire of all the linguistic resources we have accrued through our life experience, we communicate and understand meaning multimodally (through image, gaze, posture and so on). Language is not just a cognitive capacity, it is also "embodied," a phenomenon that is particularly fascinating in the case of multilinguals. The discussion of multimodality in the class was the liveliest yet. Yuichi contended that English speakers (he didn't specify which ones) gesture more with their hands than Japanese do. I disagreed, as it struck me as a stereotype, but maybe he has a point. This could be a topic for future exploration.

Multilingualism in Different Contexts

As I have mentioned, in addition to reading and discussing the chapters in May, the students worked in groups of three or in pairs on chapters they selected from Conteh and Meier.

The first group (Maki, Rin, and Hirota) presented Hu and McKay's analysis of a Chinese elementary school textbook. For Rin, who up until that point had been rather reticent and an infrequent contributor to the Moodle, this was an opportunity to come out of her shell. The textbook was one that she had used in her home city of Chongqing and she was able to show the class her own annotated copy. Maki, too, was able to connect with this chapter, as she had written her undergraduate thesis on junior high school textbooks in Japan. The main findings of the chapter, based on quantitative and qualitative analysis of the textbook, were that pedagogical practices, such as pair and group work, and cultural content tended to be Anglo-American. The students commented in their discussion that Japanese textbooks reflect comparatively more diversity. Shota remembers of his junior high school textbook,

> […] *it was composed of a lot of topics with full of diversity in the cultural differences around the world. But I don't think it's either good or bad, since I think English education on early stage as junior-high, should be simplified enough for the students to understand.* (Shota)

I wonder what to make of this comment: Does it imply a criticism of the promotion of multilingualism at the early stages of English education? Does Shota believe that the simplification of language required at this level means that cultural topics cannot be dealt with in any depth or accuracy? Given his critical outlook on Japan's adherence to the outdated "native speaker" ideal in English education in previous posts, I was surprised that he had come to the defence of Japanese textbooks in this way.

Cruickshank's chapter (*Exploring the -Lingual Between Bi and Mono: Young People and Their Languages in an Australian Context*) on the languages of young people in Australia presents case studies of Arabic, Cook Island, and Chinese community language schools. The findings support a critical view of language policy in New South Wales, since terms such as "heritage" and "background" do not account for the complex and dynamic identities of the students who attend these schools. Miho, who was one of the presenters of this chapter, found it hard to envisage the context that was described in the chapter:

> *I have never been to Australia, therefore I am not sure what difficulties peoples have and how they communicate and deal with those problems or troubles caused by some differences. But, through the research I did this time, people in each race use English with taking care of their first tongues. Japan is not the country like Australia, so I think visiting Australia is the most effective way to understand how they live together.* (Miho)

I feel that Cruickshank's main point—that the heritage schools are far more diverse than might be assumed—is missed by Miho, since she had been unaware that such schools existed in the first place. In our class discussion, I asked the students if they knew of any community schools in Tokyo, but they had no idea whether there were any or not. In retrospect, I could have asked them to find this out—a missed opportunity for mutual learning.

The final presentation in the first semester was of the chapter by Andrea Young (*Looking Through the Language Lens: Monolingual taint or plurilingual tint?*) on language education in the Alsace region of France, an area that used to belong to Germany and where many of the inhabitants are German speakers. Interviews with 46 head teachers shed light on their beliefs about bilingualism and raise concerns and questions over language education and citizenship in France. For the students in my class, this chapter provided an opportunity to consider monolingual ideology in Japan, something that half the members of the class appeared to take for granted and accept as natural.

Critiquing Multilingualism

In the second semester, Ryutaro and Rin did not rejoin the class, and I initially wondered whether their absence would have an adverse effect on the class, narrowing the range of experience and perspective in the group. I needn't have worried. Certainly, the group dynamic changed, but the class discussion and Moodle posts revealed that the remaining students were becoming more confident in making claims and arguing for their positions.

We started the semester with Canagarajah's chapter (*Theorizing a Competence for Translingual Practice at the Contact Zone*) which re-examines the notion of "competence" in the "translingual contact zone." In their first post this semester, I asked the students to comment on a table of conceptual "binaries" drawn up by Canagarajah, one of which was the dichotomy in SLA of *target language/interlanguage*. I was particularly interested in Michihisa's post. He starts by acknowledging that "*students should notice multilingual aspects of English, which in contrast to SLA*," since "*most of English speakers use it as second language or foreign language now*." But at the same time, the notion of "interlanguage" still has a role to play:

> *It is a unique language that only individual learners have. I think it is important. In my case I have it.* (Michihisa)

It could be argued that Michihisa fails to grasp the shared premise in the two books that language is communication, something that people do, rather than a static body of knowledge, something that people have. But this is Michihisa's felt reality. A similar insistence on the value of the concept of "interlanguage" is apparent also in Miho's post:

> *I would like to claim interlanguage should be seen more seriously in the world which co-existence is getting important.* (Miho)

For Miho, co-existence requires tolerance and respect towards people who may be at different stages of language development. Yuichi's post is still more insistent on the merit of "interlanguage":

> *Interlanguage is a really good word. We can allow students to make some mistakes and correct properly.* (Yuichi)

Contrary to the aims of the multilingual theorists we were reading, none of these students saw *interlanguage* in a negative light—in fact, quite the opposite. Michihisa viewed it in terms of his personal identity, Miho in terms of harmony in diverse societies, and Yuichi as a pedagogical concept. Thus, in different ways, they argued for the retention of a concept that the multilingual theorists in the two books we have used would like us to reject. For my part, I have gone along with the polemical stance taken by the authors of the two books, not only in accepting a multilingual turn, but also in rejecting SLA. The students, however, have resisted this either/or type of thinking. Judging from their posts, a multilingual turn need not entail throwing the baby out with the bathwater.

As the second semester progressed, I found that the students were responding to the chapters in ways that were critical of the Japanese education system, and pessimistic about its capacity to change. For example, responding to Bonny Norton's chapter, *Identity, Literacy, and the Multilingual Classroom*, which features four studies of multilingual literacy development of students in South Africa, Canada, Pakistan and Canada, Hirota points out that the goal of digital literacy in Japanese schools is not "*to join the world*" but rather to protect children from cybercrime.

Maki, too, was pessimistic about the potential for learning through digital practices: "*In Japanese junior high schools and high school, time is limited so it may be difficult to introduce*

technology." I wonder why she sees technology as something separate from other activities in school, rather than something that is integral to learning and development? Now a graduate student, Maki had taken the teaching licence course as an undergraduate and intends to work as a schoolteacher when she completes her master's degree. I hope that she takes inspiration from Norton's examples, but I suspect she may find herself constrained by the lack of technology and in-service training that she noticed when she was at school, and later as a teacher trainee during her practicum.

Looking Back

At the end of the academic year, as I look back over the Moodle posts and reflect on the discussions that we had in the class, I see that there was a qualitative shift in the nature of the posts between the first and second semesters. From some confusion and uncertainty, the students, particularly Michihisa, Miho, and Yuichi, became more assured not only in talking about multilingual concepts, but also in arguing for SLA concepts, which they saw as still relevant to Japanese society and education. I wonder how much the make-up of the class contributed to this shift. The participation in the first semester of Ryutaro and Rin, neither of whom had any prior experience of Applied Linguistics or English Education, helped to bring more diverse perspectives and opinions into the mix. But did their absence in the second semester make it easier for the remaining students to share and support their beliefs about SLA?

I can't answer that question. I can say that all the students commented in their final posts that they found it interesting to find out about the multilingual turn and relished the opportunity to talk about language and language learning in Japan's changing society. Only one of the students, Shota, came to the class with prior knowledge of critical linguistics and his understanding of language ideologies was enormously helpful in creating a shared discourse or repertoire for talking about multilingualism and SLA. I am especially grateful to him for his contribution. But I appreciate the persistence and openness to new ideas of all the students. In the final week, Yuichi and Shota presented Piccardo and Aden's chapter, *Plurilingualism and Empathy: Beyond Instrumental Language Learning*. The authors write:

One cannot simply "be plural" and find a way between cultures and languages without any support or scaffolding. Translanguaging and moving back and forth between cultures is a process acquired through the acceptance of others, the capacity to see oneself as another, and it requires the ability to change points of view about situation, the others and oneself. Changing a point of view leads to empathy, as we must put ourselves in someone else's place. (Piccardo & Aden, 2014, pp. 246–247)

In reading the volumes by May and by Conteh and Meier with my students, I have tried to put myself in their place, to understand their struggles with the concept of multilingualism, and to accept that there are considerable pressures on them to preserve the basic assumptions that underpin traditional SLA and linguistics. These are ideological pressures—the commonsense assumption that Japan is a homogeneous society, for example, but the students also face institutional and personal pressures from my colleagues who specialise in linguistics, or from the schools where many of them will go to work as teachers after graduation.

The effect of ideologies is to "erase" certain identities so that we don't think about certain people or groups, or perhaps don't even see them at all (Block, 2008). I hope that, through the experience of reading and reviewing the two books on multilingualism together, the students have started to look at Japan's society in a different way, and that they have started to appreciate that the ideas and examples we have examined are not solely "out there," but are relevant here in Japan too.

Author Bio

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スチュワート・アリソン。学習院大学（東京）の教授として，学部生や大学院生を対象に言語教育と多言語主義に関するセミナーを担当。主な研究テーマは，学習者オートノミー，学習者と教師のアイデンティティ，特に多様化する日本社会における社会的正義の問題との関連性を取り上げている。

Review Process

This paper was open-reviewed by Elizabeth Bekes, Colin Rundle, and Dominic Edsall. (*Contributors have the option of open or blind review.*)

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Appendix A

Language & Education Course Schedule

Spring Semester	Class content	Class leader(s)
5/12	Introduction: Introducing the Multilingual Turn (May)	Alison
5/19	What's new about Multilingualism? (May)	Alison
5/26	Disciplinary Fields (May)	Alison
6/2	LEAP: A multilingual resource in NZ (May)	Alison
6/9	Multilingualism in a Chinese Textbook (Hu & McKay)	Maki, Hirota, Rin
6/16	Limitations of SLA (Ortega)	Alison
6/23	Usage-Based Linguistics (Ortega)	Alison
6/30	Between bi- and mono-linguals: Australian context (Cruickshank)	Michihisa, Miho, Akemi
7/7	Moving beyond "lingualism": embodiment in SLA (Block)	Alison
7/14	Moving beyond "lingualism": multimodality in SLA (Block)	Alison
7/21	Looking through the language lens in Alsace (Young)	Ryutaro, Yuichi, Shota

Fall Semester	Class content	Class leader(s)
9/15	Theorising a competence for translingual practice in the contact zone (Canagarajah)	Alison
9/22	Performative competence (Canagarajah)	Alison
9/29	Identity, Literacy, and the Multilingual Classroom (Norton)	Alison
10/6	Multilingual education in Primary Settings (Conteh et al)	Hirota, Maki
10/13	(Leung) Communication and participatory involvement in linguistically diverse classrooms (Leung)	Alison
10/20	Communicative competence and participatory involvement (Leung)	Alison
11/10	Translanguaging pedagogy in the US (Garcia & Kono)	Miho, Akemi
11/17	Multilingualism and common core standards in the UK (Garcia & Flores)	Alison
11/24	Who's teaching whom? Co-Learning in Multilingual Classrooms (Wei Li)	Alison
12/1	Co-Learning in Multilingual Classrooms (Wei Li)	Alison
12/8	Beyond multilingualism: Heteroglossia (Blackledge, Creese & Takhi)	Alison
12/15	Pluralism and empathy (Piccardo & Aden)	Yuichi, Shota

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A Practitioners' Collaborative Review of *Researching Multilingualism: Critical and Ethnographic Perspectives* (Martin-Jones & Martin, 2017)

Researching Multilingualism: Critical and Ethnographic Perspectives. Marilyn Martin–Jones & Deidre Martin (Eds.). Routledge, 2017. xiv + 284 pp. ISBN 9780415748421

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In this jointly written review, we give an overview of the whole book before focusing on four chapters of particular interest to our lived experiences as multilinguals, language teachers or practitioner-researchers. The first part of this review explores the value of narrative analysis as a way to make sense of the struggles that transnationals face in living multilingually and multiculturally. We then focus on visual/multimodal approaches in combination with life-history inquiries to explore individuals' linguistic repertoires and their lived experiences of language. The third part looks at ideas for investigating the interplay between language ideologies and the way that languages are used in different institutional linguistic landscapes. Lastly, we take up the benefits of team ethnography for teacher-researchers in investigating multilingual issues together. We conclude by briefly considering the relevance of this research anthology to the multilingual turn for learner development.

この共同執筆による書評では，本書全体を概観した後，多言語，言語教師，実践研究者としての私たちの生きた経験から，特に興味深い4つの章に焦点を当てる。はじめに，トランスナショナルな人々が多言語・多文化の中で生活する上で直面する苦悩を理解する方法として，ナラティブ分析の価値を探る。次に，個人の言語レパートリーや生きた言語体験を探るために，ライフヒストリー調査と併用させたビジュアル／マルチモーダルなアプローチに注目する。続いて，言語イデオロギー間の相互関係と，異なる制度上の言語景観における言語の使用方法を調査するためのアイデアを検討する。最後に，教師兼研究者が共に多言語問題を調査する際のチームエスノグラフィーの利点を取り上げる。結論として，この研究アンソロジーと学習者ディベロップメントにおける多言語的転回との関連性を考察する。

En esta reseña escrita conjuntamente, ofrecemos un resumen de todo el libro antes de centrarnos en cuatro capítulos de especial interés para nuestras experiencias vividas como multilingües, profesores de idiomas o investigadores practicantes. La primera parte de esta reseña explora el valor del análisis narrativo como forma de dar sentido a las luchas a las que se enfrentan los transnacionales al vivir de forma multilingüe y multicultural. A continuación, nos centramos en los enfoques visuales/multimodales en combinación con las investigaciones sobre las historias de la vida para explorar los repertorios lingüísticos de los individuos y sus experiencias vividas con el lenguaje. En la tercera parte examinamos las ideas para investigar la interacción entre las ideologías lingüísticas y el modo en que se utilizan las lenguas en diferentes paisajes lingüísticos institucionales. Por último, abordamos las ventajas de la etnografía en equipo para los investigadores practicantes para investigar conjuntamente cuestiones multilingües. Concluimos considerando brevemente la relevancia de esta antología de investigación para el giro multilingüe en el desarrollo del alumno.

Keywords

lived multilingual experiences, transnational living, linguistic repertoires, institutional linguistic landscapes, team ethnography

生きた多言語経験, トランスナショナルな生活, 言語レパートリー, 制度的な言語的景観, チームエスノグラフィー

experiencias vividas como multilingües, vidas transnacionales, repertorios lingüísticos, paisajes lingüísticos institucionales, etnografía en equipo

Reviewing this particular volume on multilingualism research, with its focus on "addressing contemporary diversities, the globalized communicative order and the particular social and cultural conditions of our times" (p. i), has proved to be particularly illuminating for us not only as social participants and practitioner-researchers, but also as editors of Issue 5 of *The Learner Development Journal*. In this review, in addition to an overview of the whole book, each of the four authors focuses on one particular chapter that they find of personal and professional interest to their lived experiences as multilinguals, teachers, or researchers. Ahead of our reviews of those four chapters, we give a brief synopsis of the whole book. We conclude by briefly considering the relevance of this anthology to the multilingual turn in learner development.

Overview of the Book

In their introductory chapter to *Researching Multilingualism: Critical and Ethnographic Perspectives*, Marilyn Martin-Jones and Deirdre Martin trace the development of research in this field. They first focus on the foundational work of Hymes and Gumperz into language in social life from the 1960s, and then summarise new work in the 1980s and later that was driven by poststructuralist and critical theory perspectives. The editors also highlight the impact on multilingualism of far-reaching changes in the global political economy, particularly the development of new technologies and the increase in transnational population flows across the world from the 1990s onwards. These have created new diversities in social life and communication, around which Martin-Jones and Martin present the themes in this volume in the final part of the introduction:

- Researching trajectories, multilingual repertoires and identities (Chapters 2–5)
- Researching discourses, policies and practices on different scales (Chapters 6–8)
- Researching multilingual communication and multisemioticity online (Chapters 9–11)
- Multilingualism in research practice: voices, identities and research reflexivity (Chapters 12–15)
- Ethnographic monitoring and critical collaborative analysis for social change (Chapters 16–17).

We continue with a brief descriptive synopsis of the whole book apart from the four specific chapters (Chapters 2, 3, 8, and 13) that we have chosen to explore in greater detail later in this review.

The theme of Part 1 is "Researching Trajectories, Multilingual Repertoires and Identities." In Chapter 4, *The Risks and Gains of a Single Case Study*, Kamran Khan looks at research design questions around working with a single individual over 11 months—in this case, W, from Yemen—as he applied for citizenship in the UK. In Chapter 5, *Researching Student Mobility in Multilingual Switzerland*, Martina Zimmermann discusses the benefits of using a multi-sited approach in understanding students' changing language practices and ideologies as they move from one linguistic region to another in Switzerland to pursue their higher education.

Part 2 centres on "Researching Discourses, Policies and Practices on Different Scales." In Chapter 6, *Nexus Analysis as Scalar Ethnography for Educational Linguistics*, Francis Hult examines how researchers can explore the intersections between local practices and actions and "ideas circulating in society on wider scales" (p. 97). He argues that nexus analysis can enable researchers to map discourses and examine how they are reproduced and layered in single moments of social action across different scales (for example, micro, meso, macro). In Chapter 7, *Critical Ethnography of Language Policy: A Semi-confessional Tale*, David Cassel Johnson presents a reflexive account of the development of language planning, policy, and participation in two local school districts in the USA. To overcome discourses of marginalisation, Johnson advocates collaboration between multiple actors (teachers, administrators, students, parents, and university researchers) through "Educational Language Policy Engagement and Action Research" (ELPEAR).

Part 3 focuses on "Researching Multilingual Communication and Multisemioticity Online." In Chapter 9, *Methodologies for Researching Multilingual Online Texts and Practices*, David Barton and Carmen Lee discuss mixed research methods in three multilingualism online studies. These studies looked at young Hong Kongers' instant messaging practices and texts, the multilingual writing of active Flickr users, and the online and offline linguistic practices of university students in Hong Kong (including their "techno-linguistic biographies"), respectively. In Chapter 10, *Investigating Multilingualism and Multisemioticity as Communicative Resources in Social Media*, Sirpa Leppänen and Samu Kytolä identify "resemiotization" and "entextualisation" as key processes for understanding how discourse is multiplied and recirculated in digital social media "across boundaries of nations, ethnicities, languages, genres, and formats" (p. 158). They focus on two projects: the multilingual joking on Twitter of three professional Finnish footballers in one study, and, in the other, the multimodal literacy practices of online fans who re-work (= "shred") the lyrics and subtitles of famous rock and pop music videos, then share their parody videos in translocal fan communities. In Chapter 11, *Virtual Ethnographic Approaches to Researching Multilingualism Online*, Aoife Lenthan and Helen Kelly Holmes explore ways of observing over time multilingual features in the websites of transnational corporations. They also report on research into the development of a mobile translation app for Irish on Facebook, where online participation and observation, handwritten fieldwork diary entries, and screenshots all formed part of the virtual ethnography.

"Multilingualism in Research Practice: Voices, Identities and Research Reflexivity" is the theme of Part 4. In Chapter 12, *Reflexive Ethnographic Research Practice in Multilingual Contexts*, Marilyn Martin-Jones, Jane Andrews, and Deirdre Martin focus on reflexive quality in research practices. Among other issues, they cover working with interpreters, developing reflexive practices, building linguistic and cultural diversity in research teams, and creating collaborative field narratives. In Chapter 14, *Researching Children's Literacy Practices and Identities in Faith Settings: Multimodal Text-making and Talk About Text as Resources for Knowledge-building*, Vally Lytra, Eve Gregory, and Arani Ilankuberan discuss a multilingual and multicultural team's research into how children become literate through faith activities in different religious communities in London. Finally, in Chapter 15, *Multilingual Dynamics in the Research Process: Transcribing and Interpreting International Data*), Sabina Vakser discusses the complexities of deciding what and how to transcribe from multilingual interviews with a couple in Australia who, through their complex transmigratory histories, have Russian, English, German, and Yiddish in their languaged lives.

The two chapters in Part 5 address "Ethnographic Monitoring and Critical Collaborative Analysis for Social Change." In Chapter 16, *Countering Unequal Multilingualism through Ethnographic Monitoring*, Haley De Korne and Nancy Hornberger take up the issue of

"ethnographic monitoring" (originally proposed by Dell Hymes) as a paradigm for linking multilingualism research with working for social justice. From their work with indigenous communities in Mexico, Scandinavia, South Africa, and the Philippines, De Korne and Hornberger share examples of researchers forming alliances with local stakeholders to address linguistic inequalities. In the final chapter of the whole volume, Chapter 17, *Ethnographic Monitoring and the Study of Complexity*, Jef Van der Aa and Jan Blommaert argue that the ongoing "diversification of diversity" (p. 259) across society presents fundamental challenges for researchers in understanding "society's rapid and permanent change, its instability, unpredictability and complexity" (p. 260). They put forward the case for social-action oriented ethnographic research between academic researchers and social actors on a long-term qualitative basis. Illustrating their argument with a project at a family care centre in Antwerp, Belgium, Van der Aa and Blommaert emphasise that this kind of research entails positioning social actor participants as "organic intellectuals" who, in alliance with academic researchers, can produce new theoretical understandings, or "counterhegemonic knowledges aimed at achieving lasting social change" (p. 268). In other words, linguistic ethnography has an emancipatory responsibility: This, they conclude, is central to social-action oriented multilingualism research.

Personal Insights with Chapters 2, 3, 8, and 13

As mentioned earlier, certain chapters spoke directly to different areas of our lives. Oana Cusen reviews Chapter 2, *Narrative Analysis in Migrant and Transnational Contexts*, by Mike Baynham and Anna de Fina, as she found it to resonate with her own experiences as a transnational living in a multilingual environment in Japan. Riitta Kelly looks at Chapter 3, *Biographical Approaches to Research in Multilingual Settings: Exploring Linguistic Repertoires*, by Brigitta Busch, and makes connections to her own language portrait research with Japanese exchange students and with university students in Finland who use Finnish Sign Language as their first language. Next, Andy Barfield relates Chapter 8, *Investigating Visual Practices in Educational Settings: Schoolscapes, Language Ideologies and Organizational Cultures*, by Petteri Laihonen and Tamas Peter Szabo, to fieldwork with students into multilingual "scapes" in Tokyo during the COVID-19 pandemic. In the final review, Yuri Imamura highlights how Chapter 13, *Reflexivity in Team Ethnography: Using Researcher Vignettes*, by Angela Creese, Jaspreet Kaur Takhi, and Adrian Blackledge can help researchers and educators explore different stories in their lives and better support their students in the multilingual turn for learner development.

Oana Cusen - Chapter 2 *Narrative Analysis in Migrant and Transnational Contexts*

Chapter 2 in this volume by Mike Baynham and Anna de Fina, tracks the evolution of narrative analysis as a field of research. The authors point out that it started as a means to evaluate migrants' linguistic abilities through their narrative production and evolved into a more practice-oriented and ethnographic approach focused on "storytelling as a meaning-making practice" (p. 32). The authors begin by showing how a narrative turn in social sciences has paved the way for different types of narratives (including, but not limited to, biographical ones) to be the focus of narrative analysis in transnational and migratory contexts. The main part of this chapter focuses on two research areas: naturally occurring narratives in different institutional and other everyday contexts, and narratives as produced during research interviews. The authors draw on a wealth of studies involving multilingual, as well as transnational individuals and communities, to exemplify instances of co-constructed narratives as part of research interviews, narratives as identity work, and narratives as the site for power struggles.

Aside from the thought-provoking issues brought up in Chapter 2 of Researching Multilingualism in terms of research approaches to narrative analysis, this chapter also struck a deeply personal cord with me. I very much identified with the narratives of transnationals that Baynham and de Fina use throughout the chapter to illustrate the shift in narrative analysis, as I am an immigrant myself. I was born and I grew up in Romania, but I moved to Japan at the age of 19, to complete graduate studies at Japanese universities, and I have lived in Japan ever since. During this time, the transnational experience has shaped my identity in numerous ways, all of them intertwined with the evolution of my multilingual repertoire. This is the case with some of the transnationals reported on in Chapter 2, such as the Moroccan immigrants in the UK in Baynham's (2003) study, or the immigrants from El Salvador to the US in Carranza's (1998) study.

Chapter 2 also gives examples of narratives as the places for identity work done by transnationals. One such example is that of Ryoko, a flight attendant who refused to be positioned as a representative of Japan by a rude customer (Piller & Takahashi, 2013). In my own case, among the first instances of identity work happening after I relocated to Japan, was the realization that I was in fact a multilingual, something that I had never thought about myself when I lived in Romania, even though I used Romanian and English on a daily basis, was studying and using Japanese and to a somewhat lesser extent French, and had also acquired Italian and some Spanish from watching TV. However, once I arrived in Japan and became part of the community of international students, my identity shifted alongside with a shift in my L1 from Romanian to English (Kirkpatrick, 2007), which became the language I used (and continue to use) most often on a daily basis. I was also using Japanese much more often as I adapted to life in Japanese society, and around the same time, I started using Spanish with my Colombian boyfriend (now husband).

The issues of power struggles that transnationals have to face as they are seen as representatives of one culture living in another also resonated with me personally. I still vividly remember how, as my Japanese ability improved during my undergraduate years in a Japanese university, I started to be perceived as a proficient speaker by the university administrative staff and my professors. Thus, I moved beyond the stage experienced by many foreigners in Japan—the *nihongo wa jouzu desu ne* [your Japanese is so good] stage—when Japanese people compliment the Japanese spoken by foreigners based on the ability to form just a few rudimentary sentences. However, as my Japanese ability significantly improved, Japanese people I was interacting with began expecting my Japanese social pragmatics abilities to be on a par, even though these abilities require more time to develop. Thus I was considered too blunt and even rude during certain interactions in Japanese. One such example would be using the form … *shite kudasai* [please do] when asking office staff to help me with something. However, this form, although polite, it is more often used for requests from superiors, and so I should have used a form more appropriate to my status as a student, like *… shite itadakemasuka*, which is the approximate equivalent of [Would you be so kind as to do … for me?].

A phrase in Chapter 2 of *Researching Multilingualism* that made a strong impression on me was: "narratives as an essential site for the articulation of subordinate subjects' own voices" (p. 32). I firmly believe in the need to bring transnational migrants' own voices to the forefront, not only for the wealth of information and knowledge this could bring, but also as a means of making those migrants feel seen and validated. This is particularly important in Japan, where, despite some efforts to integrate immigrants (such as Korean, Chinese, or Brazilian communities) into society, much remains to be done, as the general public has almost no knowledge about the day to day struggles faced by such communities in Japan.

Riitta Kelly - Chapter 3 *Biographical Approaches to Research in Multilingual Settings: Exploring Linguistic Repertoires*

In Chapter 3, Brigitta Busch focuses on the exploration of linguistic repertoires, looking at the issue from various methodological points of view. In her view, "Biographical approaches based on the notions of lived experience of language and the linguistic repertoire seem particularly productive for multilingualism research" (p. 53). Busch highlights the use of multimodal methods which provide a creative way of gathering biographical information. Language portraits have become quite a popular way of gathering data and have been used for example in the form of participants either drawing themselves or mapping their languages and ways of speaking using a silhouette of a body to draw this information in. Busch emphasises the importance of the picture in relation to what participants say about their linguistic repertoires. Elements of the picture directly "structure the interpretation and reconstruction of the narrative in a way that differs from responses to interview questions organised around a participant's language biography" (p. 54). She also draws attention to the differences in the creation of the meaning: Narrations are linear structures, but the visual mode can "move one's vision toward the whole and towards the connections between the parts" (p. 55).

I got interested in language portraits whilst teaching English to Finnish university students, who use Finnish Sign Language (FinSL) as their first language (Kelly, 2009). Our university is the only one in Finland to offer Finnish Sign Language as a major subject. As their English teacher, I was hoping to learn more about how they see themselves as learners of English, and also hoped that using language portraits as a research method would be relevant to them as users of a visual language. I asked them to draw language portraits, which helped me a lot in understanding how they saw themselves as learners of English, and visualizing their practices seemed to come easily for them. I also gained insights into how they felt when thinking about learning English, and it was interesting to see how different elements such as motivation, the importance of informal learning, challenges, and teaching were emphasized in their drawings.

Whilst the language silhouettes have the potential to become powerful images, when the silhouettes are considered in connection with FinSL signers, they might also occasionally seem limiting (Kelly, 2021). When I asked two signers to work with a language silhouette instead of coming up with a free drawing, both of them had problems with the pre-drawn hands, which in the silhouette that I used were on the sides of the silhouette pointing down. One of the signers would have wanted to move the hands of the silhouette up to a position more natural for signers, whilst the other drew several additional hands to the silhouette to enable communication using various signed languages.

In addition to working with FinSL students, I continued to wonder whether this method would be useful also for users of other languages who might be more visually oriented than those using western scripts. As I also teach exchange students in our university, I have met many Japanese students and felt that I would like to understand their position as language learners and their linguistic repertoires better. Together with a colleague, Jussi Jussila, in our ongoing research we wanted to see if visual methods could be applied in finding out what kind of learner beliefs Japanese exchange students have. We asked them to draw two pictures, one using language silhouettes describing the languages in their lives, and the other a free drawing on how they see themselves as language learners. In addition, interviews in Japanese were carried out on, for example, what kind of challenges they have in learning English and what motivates them as learners. Combining these methods has offered us interesting insights in the views of Japanese exchange students as language learners. For example, the size and location of languages in the brain in one student's drawing shows the student's

first language, Japanese, literally coming first with a marking of number 1 and the Finnish language occupying only a small space in the brain. In another drawing, there are multiple languages located in the silhouette's head but only one has been located in the mouth, namely Japanese. Busch's work has provided an inspiring framework for us, and although these two extracts of Japanese exchange students' drawings are just examples of what can be seen in the drawings, we think that visual methods have a great deal of potential in helping us to understand better our students' biographies, as well as their learner beliefs.

Andy Barfield - Chapter 8 *Investigating Visual Practices in Educational Settings: Schoolscapes, Language Ideologies and Organizational Cultures*

In early 2020, with the Olympics in Tokyo on the summer horizon, my attention was drawn towards Petteri Laihonen and Tamas Peter Szabo's chapter. I started brainstorming ideas with my student assistant for doing some joint research into different "scapes" in Tokyo. I wanted to try different ways of doing research so that I could better support students in different classes and seminars in carrying out their own research into language issues in society. My student assistant was keen to help with such research too.

Chapter 8 was particularly useful for developing ideas. The authors look at investigating *schoolscapes*, or the linguistic landscapes in schools, their corridors, and classrooms, and different interactions within these places, through which language ideologies and organisational cultures are realised. They highlight particular innovative practices and approaches that others have tried. They report, for example, on fieldwork by Szabo into the schoolscapes in two state schools and two private schools in Budapest, Hungary, which explores how nation-state discourses are reproduced in texts, displays, and portraits within different classrooms and spaces. Szabo used the "walking tour methodology" whereby he took photos of the signs in one of the schools during an interview with a senior teacher as the teacher guided Szabo through the school and commented on "the choice of language, texts and other symbols on display" (pp. 126-127). Laihonen did similar fieldwork in a Hungarian minority school in Romania, and two other schools in Ukraine and in rural southern Slovakia, where Hungarian is the dominant language of instruction. In each case they adapted their fieldwork and research practices to the local site and kept a strong visual dimension to their investigations. The result is a thought-provoking reflective chapter which enables the reader to (re-)imagine how they might investigate particular "scapes" (educational, institutional, public, for example) in their own local contexts.

For doing fieldwork in 2020 in Tokyo our initial idea was to investigate from March onwards the linguistic landscapes of particular local areas and explore the multilingual provisions of different public institutions (e.g., city offices, schools, libraries, and so on). We hoped to try "language walking tours," perhaps using video to record what we noticed, as well as to conduct interviews with different public actors to develop a finer sense of changing official policies and stances towards multilingualism. Then COVID-19 happened, and the first lockdown in Tokyo. Our plans shifted to researching online and looking at particular *digital* scapes in the Tokyo area. To take one example, with a population of just over 298,000, Toshima-ku is one of the eight central administrative areas of Tokyo. Through its city website (Toshima City Office, 2021) we learn that the biggest groups of foreign-born residents are from China (12,414), Vietnam (2,688), Nepal (2,388), Korea (2,339), Myanmar (1,735), and Taiwan (1,114). Then comes the Philippines (549), the USA (412), France (253), and Thailand (253). Toshima-ku's foreign population totaled 25,651 in April 2021, or just under 9% of the ward's residents. It is striking that the city website provides information in English, Chinese, Korean, *as well as* Burmese, Nepali, and Vietnamese, and in plain Japanese, with furigana

characters added above Japanese script on pages to make reading easier for both Japanese and non-Japanese residents. Furthermore COVID-19 guidance and information are provided multilingually in Japanese, English, Chinese, Vietnamese, Burmese, and Nepali.

Although such "digital municipal-scapes" are certainly different from the schoolscapes that Laihonen & Szabo investigate in their chapter, exploring them helps us to begin to question what language ideologies regulate the digital use and display of languages by local government actors in Tokyo. Policies vary considerably within the city, and local authorities are left to decide their own multilingual provisions themselves despite some recent initiatives announced by the central government (Menju, 2019; Shoji, 2019). We are now beginning to explore these digital scapes in more detail, and in the near future, after pandemic restrictions ease, we hope to visit various city offices to understand better the language policies for these municipal-scapes, as well as the language ideologies behind them. Petteri Laihonen & Tamas Peter Szabo's chapter, a starting point, was completely absorbing. I thoroughly recommend their work to you.

Yuri Imamura - Chapter 13 *Reflexivity in Team Ethnography: Using Researcher Vignettes*

One of the important aspects of researching multilingualism is to understand different individuals who have various language repertoires and multicultural backgrounds. In Chapter 13, Creese et al. (2017) demonstrate team ethnography as a crucial research method which allows researchers to interpret different points of views and accept multivoicedness. In team ethnography, reflexivity is a key dimension to negotiate varying points of view as well as acknowledge the positions each team member embodies. Through the reflexive approach, researchers can enhance their self-reflection and collaboration with other researchers.

In this chapter, Creese et al. used team ethnography to reveal how teacher-researchers position themselves, as well as their participants, in their research field. They view researcher vignettes, a part of ethnography, as a means of reflective practice to clarify "how individuals engaged in the presentation of 'self' in the research process, and to understand interactional positioning within the team" (p. 204). In their research, they collected written vignettes from teacher-researchers investigating community-run language schools in the UK, Denmark, Finland, and the Netherlands. Two teacher-researchers (Takhi and Creese) visited a Panjabi school in Birmingham, England. They observed classes, kept field-notes, and collected audio-recordings during both class time and beyond the classroom. They also kept vignettes "to address teacher positionality, and to make visible field and team relationships" (p. 206). In the case study, it was shown that the two research vignettes from Takhi and Creese were shaped remarkably by social, political, and historical forces. For instance, Takhi mentioned her own experiences at primary school, where she learned Panjabi and felt the classroom was not "'our space'" (p. 208) because both teachers and students did not have the freedom to use the school building as they wished. These personal experiences, due to their relatable nature, were beneficial to form a good relationship with the participants (particularly children). On the other hand, the team needed to position themselves as both insiders and outsiders fluidly, which often led to their frustration at not being able to achieve same-level rapport with the participants at the Panjabi school.

This book chapter made me rethink how social forces, particularly educational and familial, have a large impact on my agency as an English user. In 2002 while I was in secondary school, the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology formulated a strategic plan to cultivate "Japanese with English Abilities" (「英語が使える日本人」の育成のための戦略構想 ["Eigo ga tsukaeru nihonjin" no ikusei notameno senryakukousou]), which emphasised English communication in schools. In order to achieve this, Japanese teachers were asked to offer communication activities in English in class, and assistant language teachers (ALTs)

from overseas often collaborated with them. In addition to this, the number of English conversation schools increased exponentially around the same time. Thus, it was natural for me to think of English as an important skill to acquire. The thought was also influenced by my mother too. She highly anticipated the era of English would come in the near future, and that I should be equipped to make my mark in this era of English. I would say without any doubts that I was exposed to an English-focused education from various layers of society. After finishing my MA in the UK, I started working as an English teacher in the primary sector and later as a language learning advisor and lecturer in higher education. I am one of the Japanese people who benefited from being able to use English. On the other hand, as an educator, I would like younger generations to see languages with broader consideration rather than focusing too much on just English, especially under the current multilingual turn. This complex feeling needs more discussion among educators who have similar backgrounds to mine for the future of foreign language education in Japan.

In this issue of the *Learner Development Journal*, my colleague and I (Wongsarnpigoon & Imamura, 2021) used duoethnography as a means of reflective practice related to a multilingual language space in a self-access centre. It was a meaningful experience for me because I had never reflected on my life trajectory with someone from a different cultural background as part of a research project. Creese et al.'s research was a large project in Europe, a context vastly different to my own. I believe that a multilingual team approach to researching multilingual education in East Asian contexts should be developed to discover potential areas of inquiry that teacher-researchers may face. Team ethnography can be an effective research method to reflexively consider our different stories and investigate some of the puzzles that we as researchers and educators face while supporting our students (the future generation) in understanding and participating fully in the multilingual turn.

Learner Development Perspectives

Researching Multilingualism: Critical and Ethnographic Perspectives provides a wide-ranging panorama of recent groundbreaking research into multilingual issues, and as such the book will be of primary interest to researchers and graduate students in the field of multilingual studies. In this practice-related review, we have attempted to draw parallels between particular cases of research presented in the book and our own histories, work, and identities as multilinguals, language teachers, and practitioner-researchers. We have found this thoroughly fascinating to discuss as we have developed this review.

So, what is the relevance of this research anthology to exploring the multilingual turn for learner development? Among the perspectives that *Researching Multilingualism* brings to the learner development table, so to speak, the following stand out for us: questions of agency, ethnography, identity, multimodality, narrative, online communication, power, researcher positionality, space, visual communication, and voice. These themes run through different contributions to this issue of *The Learner Development Journal*. They are, then, already being taken up in understanding the multilingual turn for learner development. From another vantage point, that of practitioner-researchers as social actors, reviewing *Researching Multilingualism: Critical and Ethnographic Perspectives* has helped us start to grasp new, more complex ways of exploring the changing multilingual social worlds that we and our learners are part of. We have also become more informed about doing multilingualism research in a socially engaged way. Here, new collaborations have started taking shape for future projects. We would like to express our appreciation to the editors and contributors of *Researching Multilingualism: Critical and Ethnographic Perspectives* for their stimulating work. We warmly recommend this volume to readers of *The Learner Development Journal*.

Author Bios

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Review Process

This paper was open-reviewed by Hugh Nicoll, Shu Hua Kao, and Tanya McCarthy.
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The Learner Development Journal Issue 5: Engaging with the Multilingual Turn for Learner Development: Practices, Issues, Discourses, and Theorisations

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COMMENTARY

Openness, Creativity, Collaboration and Narrativity Paving Our Road Towards Critical Multilingual Practices in the Classroom

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When asked to provide this commentary for Learner Development Journal (LDJ) Issue 5, *Engaging with the Multilingual Turn for Learner Development: Practices, Issues, Discourses, and Theorisations*, I felt privileged and intrigued. The call focusing on narrative accounts and practice-related reviews matched with my interest and needs as a university language teacher educator and researcher in applied linguistics. To me, in promoting multilingual teacher education and multilingual languages education, we need ideas and support from other members of the teacher community. This is important especially since tackling new paradigms necessitates challenging our habitual agency that often conveniently matches with our experiences and our students' expectations (Conteh & Meier, 2014; Dewey, 1983; Moate & Ruohotie-Lyhty, 2014).

In her review, Gabriella Meier (2017) defines the multilingual turn as part of a critical movement in education, and calls for students and teachers to reflect together to tackle the challenges of translating it into mainstream practice. This issue of the LDJ on multilingualism provides exactly this: reflective narrative accounts and practice-related reflective reviews of seminal work in multilingualism research, which all have the potential to help us as teachers and researchers to better address this complex phenomenon. Therefore, in my commentary, instead of referring to the content of the individual contributions separately, I aim at a reflective analysis of the contributors' conceptualizations of multilingual practices in the classrooms. In what follows, I will raise four important issues that, to me, seem to pave the way towards more multilingual and critical language education, and are also valid for multilingualism research. These are collaboration, openness, ethical consideration and creativity. At the end of my commentary, I will also reflect on the role of narratives in developing multilingual practices around the world.

Critical Multilingual Practices Are Collaborative

The importance of community support and collaboration is the first issue I want to raise. The articles of this collection demonstrate this from many different perspectives. The narrative account from Vasumathi Badrinathan shows the reverse side of collaboration, that of teacher isolation, where teachers have little opportunities for questioning their practices and learning from others. It also demonstrates how difficult it is for an individual to bridge the gap between theory and practice without support from a similar minded community. On the other hand, positive examples of the power of collaboration are also abundantly available. These collaborative practices take various forms. In their narrative accounts, Isra Wongsarnpigoon &

Yuri Imamura reflect together on their experiences in developing multilingualism-supportive social learning spaces in their university, Oana Cusen recounts her discussions with colleagues about the contribution they can make as non-native English speaking teachers (NNESTs) in Japan, and Lorraine de Beaufort describes her experience of reconstructing a piece of her data again with some colleagues for LDJ5 to gain new perspectives to the experiences of her research participant. These narrative accounts demonstrate the power of teachers thinking together and the possibilities for change that this collaboration offers for individuals and communities. Also the practice-related reviews by Andy Barfield, Oana Cusen, Riitta Kelly, & Yuri Imamura and by Ellen Head & Chie Tsurii demonstrate how texts can be discussed and elaborated together with colleagues for deeper understanding. Even more powerful is the possibility to observe each other in action and get ideas for one's own practices like in the narrative account from Jussi Jussila & Riitta Kelly. In addition, collaboration is not only possible among peers, but developing multilingual practices should also benefit from collaboration with our students, who, as multilingual individuals, have a lot to share, and without whom we cannot really succeed as Andy Barfield's narrative account demonstrates. Researchers also need to build a genuine collaboration with their research participants to be able to understand individual experiences.

Critical Multilingual Practices Are Based on Openness

The articles that are part of this collection demonstrate the role of openness in challenging and renegotiating critical multilingual practices. Openness is important in sharing our experiences and giving the space for all participants to express their sometimes conflicting perspectives. Many of the authors in this issue are open in sharing their own personal experiences in relation to multilingualism. For example, Brennan Conaway in his practice-related review, and Oana, Vasumathi and Akiko in their narrative accounts share a lot of their personal experiences that can help others to identify with their reflections.

Critical multilingual education cannot be about indoctrination, but about critical perspectives and practices that can be negotiated through open and democratic participation. The principle of democratic participation is particularly well demonstrated in the practice-related review by Alison Stewart where she recounts her experience of reading and discussing research on multilingualism with her students. Her review not only shows examples of good practices of dealing with these issues in a language classroom or teacher education, but her practices are also a good example of openness to student thinking, even when the teacher does not always share the students' views. Alison's practices, and the fact that her students feel free to express their differing opinions, show a genuine search for openness and trust in students' ability to think for themselves. Sometimes this might feel disappointing, since freedom always leads to unpredictable outcomes; However, I see it as the only possible way to go forward. Freedom of thought is also strongly visible in Isra's & Yuri's narrative account where student thinking is taken seriously and given a great value in enriching and challenging teachers' own thinking. In addition, we see the power of openness between colleagues in the narrative account by Riitta & Jussi, who share their sometimes difficult experiences of collaborative and multilingual teaching. In their case, open discussion about their doubts, and the ways to share work and collaborate with other teachers is a key to successful multilingual practices.

Critical Multilingual Practices Are Based on Careful Ethical Consideration and Creativity

The contributors also show the ways in which developing critical multilingual practices necessitates ethical consideration and sensitivity. At the heart of multilingualism is the need

for understanding each other's stories, and including multiple perspectives from research participants, students, or teachers (see the pieces by Akiko, Alison, Andy, Lorraine, and Vasumathi). In these texts, there are rich examples of how deeply multi(lingual) practices affect their identities and beliefs, and how deeply they are intertwined with other personal and social identities, as well as issues of power and injustice. Recognizing the importance of these experiences is the first step. In addition to this, we need a "concerted and methodical approach by educators to empower students and reimagine pedagogy," as Huw Davies points out in his practice-related review. In the search of new pedagogies, we need creativity.

The various contributors to this issue also show examples of such creativity in relation to at least one of the important puzzles of being a member of a multilingual working community and educational institute, namely the status and balance of multiple languages in multilingual institutional communication and teaching. The power positions visible in the "one-language-only" policy that Chie & Ellen, Andy, and Huw describe in relation to Japan as well ideologies of the right kind of language use can seriously hamper multilingual practices of educational communities. The narrative account by Isra & Yuri shows how teachers can experiment together and find ways to tackle this issue through creating a place for multilingualism-supportive social learning spaces in their university. Similarly, Riitta & Jussi provide a deeply practical and fair solution to this question by describing the development of multilingual practices in their work community. As they show, teaching languages together without a distinction between concepts such as foreign language, or native language, provides an example of the power of ethical consideration and creativity that is practical, doable, and resource wise. To me, these pieces of writing really show a way to go forward.

Narrativity Paves the Way Towards Critical Multilingual Practices

Finally, I want to raise an issue that might easily be considered as self-evident in relation to the genres of writing in LDJ5, but I still want to highlight the power of narratives in developing the theory and practice of multilingualism. I perceive narratives, narrative research, and the process of narration as important resources in developing critical multilingual practices. The contributions in this journal are all based on narrative approaches and provide rich, human resources for other teachers and researchers who are seeking ways to address these questions in their teaching. These narratives bind the societal to the personal and have the possibility not only to inform us, but also to move us and thus bring about deep developmental processes (see Kalaja & Ruohotie-Lyhty, 2019). As a personal example, the narrative account by Akiko about how multilingualism has, in her life and her research participant's, been connected to forming an identity as a woman touched me personally. In my own mind, although I am from a different cultural sphere, her account resonated strongly with my personal experience as a Finnish woman, raised by a mother who always highlighted the importance for a woman to experience the world and a father who considered a university degree and a steady government or municipal career the secure and desirable option for his three daughters. I realized Akiko's emotions were similar to mine when reading of her experiences as an exchange student in South Korea and comparing them to my exchange year in France. This insightful account helped me to discover my identity again in a more multifaceted way and understand my past from new perspectives. These kinds of learning experiences are also documented in many of the contributions to this issue, such as Melike Bulut Albaba's practice-related review of the book *Visualising Multilingual Lives: More Than Words.* I think this is what narratives can mean to us. When we listen to each other and share our stories, we create possibilities for emotionally and cognitively meaningful learning.

Conclusions

Meier writes in her 2017 paper that "the multilingual turn faces important challenges that hamper its translation into mainstream practice, namely popularly accepted monolingual norms and a lack of guidance for teachers" (Meier, 2017, p. 131). This is a basic dilemma that faces many of us trying to develop more sound educational practices for schools and teacher education. *Engaging with the Multilingual Turn for Learner Development: Practices, Issues, Discourses, and Theorisations,* however, is one significant step forward. It has the power to make us think about these issues and help us to bridge our own experiences with skilfully crafted narratives of multilingual human experience.

Author Bio

Maria Ruohotie-Lyhty is Senior Lecturer of Applied Linguistics at the University of Jyväskylä, Finland. She is responsible for the foreign language teacher education master's programme in the Department of Language and Communication Studies. Her research interests focus on identity, agency and emotions in language learning and teaching and in developing better language teacher education. She is a co-author of the book *Beliefs, Agency and Identity in Foreign Language Learning and Teaching* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2016) and has published widely in international applied linguistics and educational journals.

Maria Ruohotie-Lyhty on soveltavan kielitieteen yliopistonlehtori Jyväskylän yliopistossa ja toimii kielten aineenopettajakoulutusohjelman vastuuhenkilönä Kieli- ja viestintätieteiden laitoksella. Ruohotie-Lyhdyn tutkimuksen kohteena on identiteetin, toimijuuden ja tunteiden merkitys kielen oppimisessa, opettamisessa ja kielten opettajien koulutuksen kehittämisessä. Hän on yksi teoksen Beliefs, Agency and Identity in Foreign Language Learning and Teaching (Palgrave, 2016) kirjoittajista ja on julkaissut tutkimustaan laajasti soveltavan kielitieteen ja kasvatustieteen kansainvälisissä lehdissä.

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