System 110 (2022) 102921

Contents lists available at ScienceDirect

System

journal homepage: www.elsevier.com/locate/system

Native speakers aren't perfect': Japanese English learners' identity transformation as English users

Mitsuyo Sakamoto *, Gavin Furukawa

Department of English Studies, Faculty of Foreign Studies, Sophia University, 7-1 Kioi-cho, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo, 102-8554, Japan

ARTICLE INFO

Keywords:
Japanese college students
Identity
Hegemony
English as a foreign language (EFL)
Case study

ABSTRACT

This case study explores two Japanese college English majors' second language identity formation in becoming confident English users via notions of adequation/distinction, authentication/denaturalization and authorization/illegitimation (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). The study is particularly unique in that perspectives of not one but two instructors teaching the same students were brought together in identifying these three dimensions of their students. Data were collected predominantly from an end-of-the year online interview, triangulated with other sources including questionnaires, writing samples, and reflection papers in the course of one academic year.

The analysis revealed how Japanese students can easily succumb to public mainstream hegemonic discourse in which returnee students (those with prolonged sojourn abroad) are glorified compared to those educated in Japan. The two students displayed such ideologies at the beginning of the year but then their identity transformed, gaining more confidence and improving their English skills. The major reasons that the students attributed for the shift were 1) exposure to returnee students; 2) exposure to other non-native English speakers; 3) creation of amicable class atmosphere, and surprisingly 4) demanding course content. The study illuminates how hegemonic language ideologies can be challenged in an EFL classroom.

1. Introduction

Teaching a foreign language to non-native speakers (NNSs), especially those who have never lived abroad, poses more than technical challenges of teaching grammar and vocabularies; rather, hegemonic attitudes prevalent among non-native speakers can be a grave impediment in acquiring the language. Benson et al. (2013) asks "what might constitute 'positive' development in regard to second language identity?" (p. 31). In discovering such "positive" development, we wished to document factors that give rise to positive redefinitions of English learner identity on the part of Japanese college students.

While there are many types of NNSs in Japan, in this paper a particular group of students are focused upon: *junjapa* ("pure Japanese"), a contentious term that positions students, who have never been abroad, within a particular Japanese ideology that expects them to be shy and quiet, as opposed to *kikokushijo* (returnees) who are often stereotyped as bold and outspoken (Sakamoto & Furukawa, 2022).

Canagarajah and Dovchin (2018) emphasizes the importance of achieving *internal goals*, internal changes entailed in language learning. This study focuses on the changes of two non-native English speakers who displayed positive shifts, that is, positive

* Corresponding author.
E-mail address: mitsuy-s@sophia.ac.jp (M. Sakamoto).

https://doi.org/10.1016/j.system.2022.102921
Received 1 February 2022; Received in revised form 27 July 2022; Accepted 13 September 2022
Available online 21 September 2022
0346-251X/© 2022 Elsevier Ltd. All rights reserved.

redefinition of their English learner/user identities, in their performance in the course of the year, observed by two different English instructors teaching the same students. Unlike other studies which focus on collaborative reflections by two English educators on their own teaching (e.g., Miyahara & Fukao, 2022; Nagashima & Hunter, 2020), it collaboratively observes, makes sense, shares and reflects not about themselves but about the students.

Following Benson et al. (2013), we adopt a social view on identity formation that deems inner and outer selves affect each other and create our own sense of who we are (p. 2). A new identity created via second language (L2) can be understood as a complex, multidimensional construct that emerges in response to a new context afforded by L2 learning and use. That is, via second language learning, the L1 identity can be disrupted, challenged, negotiated, and reformulated (Block, 2007, p. 20).

For these reasons, there is an urgent need to improve English language education for the majority population in Japan: those who have never been abroad.

The research questions explored in this study are:

(1) Of the non-returnee students who excel in class, what changes do they notice at the beginning and at the end of the one-year course?
(2) According to the participants, what factors are found to be conducive to these changes?
(3) What pedagogical implications can be reached based on (2) and (3) above?

2. Literature review

Previous research about Japanese English learners have shown that many aspects attributed to Japanese cultural values and beliefs feature prominently in discussions about language learning. For example, by conducting a survey, Hinenoya and Gatbonton (2000) looked at beliefs and values of 108 adult Japanese English learners living in Montreal. While their findings can only point to overarching tendencies, they discovered that certain attributes (e.g., shyness, inwardness) and beliefs about belonging to a socio-linguistic group were claimed to affect participants' language learning outcome.

Additionally, many immigrants living abroad often feel in conflict with their surroundings. By conducting linguistic ethnographic research, Dovchin (2021) documented how translanguaging practices afforded safe spaces for 11 Mongolian immigrant women in Australia, focusing particularly on emotional safety. Her findings revealed the impact ESL professionals can have on the emotional well-being of their students (See also Gknonou et al., 2020).

These threats and concerns of English learners abroad are also sometimes faced by English as a foreign language (EFL) learners living in Japan. While English use in Japan often conveys some sort of "coolness" (Kubota, 2011, p. 118; Stewart & Miyahara, 2011, p. 73; Furukawa, 2015), it can also entail a sense of anxiety, threat to one's ego, and remoteness. Such feelings of distance and anxiety are important factors to consider for educators who seek to empower their students through their educational practices.

While this study does not focus on students' linguistic practices *per se*, we wished to discover how our students, despite being immersed in an English language space fraught with anxiety, threat, and fear, come to establish and embrace a comfortable, personal English user identity. Furthermore, we wished to see if our pedagogical approaches have any impact on the students, and if so, how they came to have positive effects as deemed by our learners. That is, how our participants' understanding of their own linguistic citizenship (i.e., language learners being stakeholders in their own language learning, for which not the language itself but individual voices are emphasized) emerged (Jaspers, 2019). By documenting and addressing the linguistic reality perceived by those who normally remain in the periphery – in this paper the *junjapa* students who appear silent and non-participatory/non-committed – it is hoped that their experiences are made visible and acknowledged, increasing their opportunities for democratic participation in language teaching-related policy and decision making (Jaspers, 2019, p. 93).

3. Theoretical framework

3.1. Individual and surroundings in identity formation

In further exploring L2 identity, while realizing differences, we particularly focus on the similarities between our participants, what Bucholtz and Hall (2005) describes as *adequation* (p. 599). Through adequation, individuals construct their relationships with others as being either in-group or out-group. In the case of the out-group construction, the term *distinction* is usually applied. This process is part of the *tactics of intersubjectivity* (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004, p. 370) which was designed to provide a systematic approach to the study of identity based on theories of positionality and emergence.

Identity work using adequation or distinction is a common tactic for many people in different situations. In a recent examination of young Hmong-Americans, Ito (2021) has shown how a young generation 1.5 woman draws upon these tactics to both position herself as educated and yet resists positioning by others as being white because of her accent (pp. 349–350). The young woman faced criticism from others in her own community because they felt that she didn't sound the same when speaking English, but as she points out in her discourse, she sees her accent as indexing education, and that education is not a white-only trait.

Furthermore, students also take up *authentication/denaturalization* which are marks of authenticity and fakeness, often by connecting to specific practices or qualities that are associated with specific groups. A clear example of this can be seen in how language policies draw upon notions of ethnic identity and authenticity to create contrast or differentiation with new speakers of a language (Zavala, 2020, pp. 104–106). Sauntson's (2016) research shows how students can also use the idea of authentication to accept certain teachers who showed their authentic ally status towards queer youths in schools in comparison to others whose status as allies may be

questioned (pp. 23–24).

Our students also drew upon tactics of *authorization/illegitimation* which included the ability to make judgments (Thissen, 2015, p. 204) and an understanding of identity formation as a result of structural power relations. As an example, a recent study by Mackenzie (2021) has shown how some people draw upon different kinds of authorization to deal with oppressive ideologies, such as moral stigmas against single mothers (p. 9). Such positioning occurs within the discourse of these individuals within their interactions with others. In a similar way, a language learner's identity emerges (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, pp. 587–591) in discourse, reflecting the situatedness in their becoming who they are (Benson et al., 2013, p. 17). Identity formation is deemed as "*the social positioning of self and other*" (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, p. 586, italics in the original), making identity not an individual, solitary creation but that of dynamic collaboration. Moreover, identity formation is partial and contingent upon time and space because identity is inherently relational (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, p. 605).

However, learners are not mere passive individuals shaped solely by their surroundings, but rather their agency, a social phenomenon exercised within the confines of societal power structures, is also operationalized (Benson et al., 2013; Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, p. 606). In contrast to envisioning agency as "an individual (or collective) capacity for self-awareness and self-determination: decision-making, ability to enact or resist change, and take responsibility for actions" (Carson, 2012, p. 48), agency is envisioned as an enacted, distributed phenomenon, a co-construction or joint activity (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, p. 606). Therefore, within their narratives we can realize how the peers, instructors, teaching materials, classroom and so forth impact their agency, which in turn affects their performance.

3.2. Learner confidence

According to MacIntyre et al. (1998), L2 self-confidence "corresponds to the overall belief in being able to communicate in the L2 in an adaptive and efficient manner" (MacIntyre et al., 1998, p. 551). The belief that English language learners (ELLs) had to adhere to a native-like English variety, the so-called native speaker syndrome (Kachru, 2005, p. 90) can negatively affect foreign language learning. English imperialism (Philipson, 1992; 2009) is still prevalent in Japanese society, instilling hegemonic ideologies among Japanese English learners and spreading it to society (Sakamoto, 2018). However, according to Canagarajah and Dovchin (2018), purposeful, political linguistic practice that defies the norm, what they refer to as resistance, is possible.

3.3. Roles of narratives

It has been argued that, in order to thoroughly investigate the connection between L2 teaching and learning, a qualitative approach that tries to uncover learner's understanding and experiences is necessary (Nassaji, 2015, p. 129). Specifically, individual stories are deemed to be an important source for social change that defy normative structural power relations. Kramsch (2021) notes how "narrative provides a bridge between representation and action through the way it constructs the space of the possible" (p. 74; See also Dornyei, 2020). Narratives shape our understanding of the social world, giving rise to particular identities and culture (Brockmeier & Carbaugh, 2001). Furthermore, individual narratives can eventually accrue in creating larger cultures, traditions, or world versions (Bruner, 1991, p. 19). The insights and thus possibilities afforded by narratives can be a "quintessential tool of symbolic power" (Kramsch, 2021, p. 74) that can challenge illegitimation and denaturalization (e.g., English language learners having been labeled as 'deficient' or 'non-native-like') and nurture authentication and authorization (e.g., endorsed as a legitimate language community member) (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004).

4. Materials and methods

4.1. Context of the study

The context of this study is based upon the researchers' work within the field of English education in Japan. English has been taught in Japanese junior high schools since 1890 (Braine, 2010, p. 26), but with increasing global competition, the Japanese government has begun to offer English in Japanese elementary schools since 2011 (MEXT, 2009). Japan has been trying for years to improve the quality of English teaching in Japan, and subsequently increase the communicative competence among its students (Sakamoto, 2012). Their incentive to do so is stated as follows:

> In order to promote the establishment of an educational environment which corresponds to globalization from the elementary to lower/upper secondary education stage, MEXT is working to enhance English education substantially throughout elementary to lower/secondary school upon strengthening English education in elementary school in addition to further advancing English education in lower/upper secondary school. Timed with the 2020 Tokyo Olympics, in order for the full-scale development of new English education in Japan, MEXT will incrementally promote educational reform from FY2014 including constructing the necessary frameworks based on this plan. (MEXT, 2014, n.p.)

One language policy attempt instigated by the government was to explore the effectiveness of moving away from the grammar translation method to a more communicative approach by having 169 schools in Japan to adopt such an approach. These innovative schools were referred to as *Super English High Schools*, or at times called *SEL-Hi* (MEXT, n. d.a). The policy's overall success led to the promulgation of a communicative approach across the nation.

Another attempt was to begin English education from elementary school as opposed to the traditional grade 7 start. The

communicative teaching approach that adhered to English use as much as possible and the implementation of elementary English language education in all public schools in 2011 were met with contempt and anxiety on the part of Japanese educators (Sakamoto, 2012). However, with several amendments along the way (e.g., English as an official elementary school *subject* rather than an *activity*, which was the label upon its inception), the movement triggered changes in high school English and university entrance exams, addressing English knowledge from a more holistic perspective. Besides tests that predominantly concentrated on reading comprehension and grammatical knowledge, speaking and listening sections have been added in some places.

Less emphasis is also made in envisioning the native speaker norm to be the language paragon. Instead, a plurilingual approach that appreciates Japanese English varieties and focuses more on communicativeness rather than grammatical accuracy have come to be emphasized.

However, despite these important changes, Japanese society still succumbs to hegemonic discourses (Sakamoto, 2012; Seargeant, 2009, 2013; Kubota, 2019), with a particular racialized motif of the white, anglo, and Inner Circle (Li, 2020, pp. 238–239). Indeed, neoliberal ideologies have permeated in Japanese society, increasing desirability for English competence (Block, 2012; Holborow, 2012). In recent years, MEXT has implemented their Global 30 (MEXT, n.d.b) and Go Global Japan Project (Go Global Japan, n. d.) which aims at Japanese universities offering courses in English and attracting and accommodating more international students. Many Japanese companies have also been fastidious about their employees' English competence, and several of them have mandated English use at work and have incorporated English proficiency as one of the criteria for promotion (Seargeant, 2009; Sakamoto, 2012). For this reason, despite significant progress being made in terms of Japanese ELLs' English proficiency, many still lack confidence in identifying themselves as competent English users (Sakamoto & Furukawa, 2022). As language teachers, we feel disconcerted and at times helpless in learning how entrenched these negative dispositions are in our students.

4.2. Participants

Tetsuya and Karin (both pseudonyms) were two students who were selected out of 23 freshmen cohorts for analysis. The class is one of three streamed classes, alpha (α), beta (β) and gamma (γ). Alpha caters to mostly returnee students, gamma to largely non-returnee students, and beta to both kinds of students. Our participants belong to Class beta, consisting of two male and 21 female students majoring in English language at an urban Japanese university. In class, based on the answers provided by students in the student profile sheet, there were ten who have sojourned abroad (returnees), one international student, and 13 non-returnees. Via monthly meetings between the two teachers (See section 4.3 below for details), Tetsuya and Karin were unanimously noted to be exemplary in their overall progress. At the end of the academic year, after the classes ended and grades were submitted, the two students were invited for a focus-group interview.

4.3. Data sources and analysis

Data collection took place from April 2019 to May 2020.[1] First, a student profile sheet was distributed to the students in April 2019, collecting information on their previous English learning experiences, sojourns abroad, languages they know, and interests they have. In the course of the academic year the students were followed in two required courses: English Skills (ES) that took place twice a week and English Composition (EC) once a week, each class lasting 100 minutes. While EC concentrated on improving English writing, ES addressed all four language skills, hence students were assigned tasks such as presentations and debates in addition to writing. In both ES and EC classes, the instructors encouraged collaborative work in pairs or groups, affording many opportunities in which their identities could be presented to and negotiated with each other (Cummins, 2001, 2021; Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, pp. 587–591).

In this study, a collaborative, constructivist approach is adopted, in which the two instructors readily and frequently engaged in active dialogues that explored their own pedagogical stance and their students' learning (See Mason & Hagan, 2019 for a similar approach). Students' writings, including their reflective pieces, were shared among the ES and EC teachers, and they debriefed monthly in the fall semester. These verbal exchanges were recorded, transcribed, coded and analyzed, first separately by each researcher in the form of analytic memos, then compared for triangulation. Any discrepancies were discussed and addressed accordingly (either modified, both interpretations kept, or one of the two interpretations retained) to explore and capture how the two teachers envisioned the progress of the two students. The two students Tetsuya and Karin were invited to attend a year-end focus group online interview with the two instructors, which lasted for an hour and a half, to confirm if the instructors' interpretations were correct and to further understand the themes that emerged. The students chose to be interviewed in English, but at times switched to Japanese when they felt more comfortable using their first language. Lastly, upon completion of our first draft of the manuscript, it was shared with our participants for member checking. This served as a form of triangulation to confirm that our interpretations are in line with their experiences.[2]

5. Findings

The two non-returnee students, Tetsuya and Karin, were found to show similar traits throughout the year. They were both quiet and

[1] The Japanese academic school year begins in April and ends in March, with classes ending in January for universities. In this study, classes were given in class face-to-face till the end of January 2020, unaffected by COVID-19, but the final interview had to be postponed and conducted online.

[2] The feedback from the member checking is further discussed later in Section 6.

shy, unwilling to volunteer to speak up in class, but diligent and attentive. The two instructors were first concerned about their minimal in-class participation. Yet, the two impressed the instructors with their more involved attitude by the end of the year. Through their narratives we discovered how their perception towards returnees evolved during the year, perceiving them initially as people distinct from them who are endowed with high English skills. However, by interacting with them, they came to embrace a more nuanced outlook towards *kikokushijo*. Likewise, their appreciation towards English evolved too, initially perceiving it as a language which called for a native-speaker-like mastery, but then coming to see it as a lingua franca that connected them to other English speakers. However, we came to realize that this evolution was neither smooth nor linear. Their yearning for native-like oral fluency was nevertheless strongly influenced by raciolinguistic ideologies (Rosa & Flores, 2017) prevalent in Japanese society in which they are entrenched. Here, we share their narratives to show their initial unconfident state to their evolved, confident self.

5.1. Initial impressions of returnees

Tetsuya seemed to be a motivated, diligent student to begin with. At the beginning of the academic year in April 2019, he had noted how he wished to become a hotel concierge in the future and he deemed English skills to be vital to achieve his dream. In his profile sheet, he wrote:

> I want to become a concierge of a top quality hotel. To achieve this dream, English skills are necessary. Also, I believe cultural viewpoint is required when a concierge provide high quality service, so I want to study about multiculture through the study of North America.

This is an important remark, as he envisions English as a vital tool to be a concierge serving clients from around the world who may not necessarily be English speakers. He also believes that English will provide a window to have more multicultural viewpoints.

He began participating quietly in both classes, usually sitting at the back to remain inconspicuous. He was soft spoken and hardly volunteered to share his views. However, his meek attitude began to change in the course of the year. Indeed, the two teachers were beginning to notice the change in Tetsuya at the beginning of the second semester:

5.1.1. Extract 1: (October 31, 2019) EC = Composition instructor; ES = Skills instructor

001	EC: Yeah, but it's such an interesting thing. Cause Tetsuya's
002	interesting case like
003	ES: He is.
004	EC: He varies between being very shy and then all of a sudden and then
005	other times very open. Yeah, I guess he's one of those that like, some days, I
006	feel like he's doing great in my class at other times, I feel like he just is
007	trying to not be noticed.

In this extract we can see how instructors negotiate positions of students based on reported observations from class. The composition instructor EC positions Tetsuya as distinct from the other students through the use of the descriptor *interesting*. This positioning is reinforced by the skills teacher ES in line 3. The qualities that EC uses to position Tetsuya this way come to light in lines 4 to 7 as he constructs the student as moving between extremes of shyness and openness. The change described in this extract did not come abruptly but rather gradually, having him revert back to his shy self on some days while more outspoken and engaged on others. Increasingly Tetsuya began to display a more assertive, confident self in class and in his writings. When Tetsuya was asked in a written survey from the Composition class if he considered himself to be a returnee,[3] he remarked as follows:

5.1.2. Extract 2 (survey, October 2, 2019)

> No (I do not consider myself as a returnee) because I've never lived in another countries. They spent their childhood in other countries so I think they are used to the cultures of both Japanese and the countries. Also, I feel they're very fluent in English but some of those who have lived in other countries from long time (ago) are not very good at Japanese.

In this second extract we can see that Tetsuya is now positioning himself in different ways. By first positioning himself distinct from the category of returnees, he simultaneously positions himself as adequated to the category of non-returnee. This reflexive adequation can be further seen in the rest of the extract, as Tetsuya describes this other group first with the somewhat neutral statement of being used to two cultures, lumping all non-Japanese cultures into one single group. This is then followed by another description of returnees as being fluent in English but not in Japanese. At the monthly instructors' meeting, the instructor EC commented on Tetsuya's response

[3] Their returnee/non-returnee status was asked in the student profile sheet for ES, but it was asked again in the interview by EC to confirm their answers.

as a 'very nuanced' one (October 31, 2019). That is, while Tetsuya seems to have a positive outlook on returnees, his last comment, 'are not good at Japanese' manifests a somewhat 'balanced' view towards the returnees, noting both positive and negative aspects of being one. He reflected in the end-of-the year online interview how he thought at the beginning of the year:

5.1.3. Extract 3: (online interview, May 15, 2020)

001	Tetsuya: Um. At the first time of the class, I was, like, I was afraid of
002	different students around me as I have no experience living abroad, or
003	like English. I have never been to an English- environment? So I was,
004	like, nervous? But after some classes I tried to speak in classes so I
005	feel that uh improved, improvement of the first year.

In Extract 3 we see how distinction is described as a source of anxiety for some students like Tetsuya. He explains how the other students were a source of fear because of his attitude towards English or his lack of experience with living abroad. For Tetsuya, the fact that he has never lived abroad (line 2) was an immediate disqualifier to be a good English user. Karin echoes this sentiment in her final end-of-the year reflection paper:

5.1.4. Extract 4 (final reflection paper, January 20, 2020) (original in Japanese; English translation provided by the researchers)

> I have never lived nor studied abroad, and instead was admitted into the department by passing an exam, I have no confidence in my English ability whatsoever, and I was very anxious as to whether I can keep up with the β class.

Her response is rather ironic, as the entrance exam to be admitted into the department is known to be quite competitive for non-returnees,[4] only taking in the best students. This fact does not however seem to pacify her anxiety. In this paper, Karin is illegitimating herself, and making herself distinct by declaring her only reason for getting into the department was through passing the exam. For both Tetsuya and Karin, the underlying assumption is that an L2 immersive environment is directly linked to L2 proficiency.

As for their in-class behavior, Karin displayed similar traits as those of Tetsuya. She was a quiet, shy student who seemed to be afraid to actively participate in class. In her final personal response, she noted how she had hardly any chance to orally engage in English prior to entering the university. This fueled her anxiety:

5.1.5. Extract 5 (final reflection paper, January 20, 2020) (original in Japanese)

> Since speaking in particular was not taken up in class, I really felt anxious at first to speak in front of others, since English did not come naturally to me. However, my English was not so bad as to impede my performance in class, and realizing that returnees too did not have perfect English abilities, I came to desire to improve along with them.

Much like Tetsuya, she came to realize the struggles returnees were experiencing, and began to reconstruct a more nuanced image of returnees. She does so in Extract 5 through denaturalizing the category of returnee. She explains how coming to the understanding that they do not have perfect English led to a new type of adequation where they were able to work together. This was echoed in her later interview with the teachers.

5.1.6. Extract 6: (online interview, May 15, 2020)

001	K: … That, um, at first, I was very nervous at my environment as other
002	students, because other students, I thought other students had enough
003	experience of abroad.

Again, like Tetsuya, her initial assumption was that those who have resided abroad are superior in their command in English, and the fact that she hasn't lived overseas automatically led to low self-evaluation.

5.2. Reconstructing the image of returnees

However, again, interacting with returnees allowed her to appreciate what they were going through while acknowledging strengths she had as an English user. While admitting that they were intimidating at first, Karin explains how the returnee students were less frightening as the year progressed:

[4] Returnees are given a separate exam which includes different content and fewer items compared to non-returnee exam.

5.2.1. Extract 7: (online interview, May 15, 2020)

001	K: but after that I noticed that my speaking skills are not good, but
002	some skills are not bad, I noticed. So, I could get a little confidence
003	about that.
004	. . .
005	ES: Many of your classmates in β class were returnees. Were they
006	intimidating?
007	K: Mm.
008	ES: Were they scary?
009	T/K: Mm. No.
010	ES: No? Why do you think so?
011	K: My image of returnees was that they have the perfect speaking
012	skills or perfect English skills? But it's not always correct. We have
013	some, um, uh. They didn't speak naturally sometimes, so I feel they
014	are the same as me.

Realizing the commonalities between her and the returnee classmates (line 12–14) led to a reassurance that they were in a safe, non-judgmental space. This denaturalization of the returnee identity served to counter the linguistic anxiety brought about by the stereotype of returnees as perfect English speakers. By interacting with each other, they discovered that they were in an amicable, respectful relationship. In the final year-end survey, Karin noted how her classmates helped increase her confidence, especially in English writing. She wrote, "My friends told that my paper was easy to understand and I was glad to hear that". Assurance and praise from others significantly affected her performance.

ES also asked Tetsuya for the reason for the change:

5.2.2. Extract 8: (online interview, May 15, 2020)

001	ES: What gave you that courage?
002	EC: Yeah.
003	ES: What triggered you to change? To change your attitude?
004	T: Um. By talking to other students made me, like, positive? Like,
005	not everybody has experience of overseas. So, I. Um. I feel it's okay
006	to, um, like make mistakes and, talking is the best way. Like,
007	speaking is a good way to improve my English? So, I think it's the
008	reason that I changed.

Here, there is no mention of those who have resided overseas, but rather his attention shifts to those who are like him, who have never lived abroad. By doing this, Tetsuya is able to shift from distinction to adequation as he realizes that he is not alone. We can see that in his narratives there has been a shift from loneliness to belonging, a shift emblematic of the adequation/distinction dichotomy (for a detailed discussion on adequation, belonging and distinction, see Bucholtz & Hall, 2004, 2005). This assured a safe space for him to practice and improve his English.

5.3. English not as a mother tongue but as a lingua franca

Later on, Tetsuya also begins to discover that returnees were also learning English in the same space he was immersed in, and begins to reconstruct his image towards them:

5.3.1. Extract 9: (online interview, May 15, 2020)

001	T: … I was thinking that returnees were perfect English speakers, but
002	actually they are not. So.
003	ES: Why did you think they were perfect before?
004	T: I don't know. That was my image of returnees.
005	ES: Where did that image come from? Do you know?
006	T: Mmm. Because in my high school or junior high school, there was
007	no returnee or students from other countries, so. I thought. Like.
008	People who lived in other America or English-speaking countries
009	were perfect English speakers.

Prior to university entrance, Tetsuya knew no returnees (line 6–7). This lack of exposure to them gave rise to an *imagined* returnee with a perfect command in English (line 1; line 7–9). However, later having actual contacts with returnees, he managed to reconfigure his stereotype, establishing a more realistic, complex and nuanced image. Like Karin in her earlier data, Tetsuya was able to use his experiences to denaturalize the idea that returnees and non-returnees are distinct. Without exposure, Tetsuya explains how his

stereotype of returnees led to this initial unease.

Tetsuya's anxiety was further lessened by his interactions with an international exchange student who lived in his shared house:

5.3.2. Extract 10: (online interview, May 15, 2020)

001	T: Yeah. And last year I went to. Like, I was living in Tokyo with
002	people from other countries, like, share, sharing house.
003	ES: Oh.
004	EC: Okay.
005	T: Share house, so that's, that makes me more confident. That's one,
006	the other reason.
007	ES: Were they English speakers? English native speakers?
008	T: They. Uh, one of, I lived with six people and four of them are
009	from other countries. And one is from Mexico, but he speaks only,
010	uh, he speaks Spanish and English? So, I talked with him in English
011	and because I take Spanish, sometimes in Spanish.

One significant point here is that one of the international students he had consistent exposure to was a non-English speaker from Mexico (line 9). For both of them, English is their second language, their lingua franca (Seidlhofer, 2009). This led to two positive outcomes: first, Tetsuya was able to realize that not all English users are *native speakers* and communicativeness is an important element in English use. By speaking English to another non-native English speaker, Tetsuya was also able to further denaturalize the notions of which people speak and use English.

5.4. Back to square one: yearning for native-like oral fluency

Despite less adherence to native-like norms, we still quickly discovered how realization of communicative ability, as an important aspect in English learning, does not equate to the abandonment of yearning for native-like oral fluency.

5.4.1. Extract 11: (online interview, May 15, 2020) (underlined words were stressed)

001	ES: Both of you mention how <u>speaking</u> English, <u>speaking</u> seems to
002	be very important. It's emblematic of you being an English user, uh
003	but you said, both of you said you are not confident because your
004	speaking is not good, according to you. I think your speaking is great
005	but according to you it's not. If you were to improve your speaking
006	ability, do you think that would increase your confidence?
007	T/K: Yes.
008	ES: What could be done to do that? To improve your speaking skills,
009	what could be done, in your opinion?
010	T: I want more opportunities to speak English.

Karin particularly resonates with this sentiment:

5.4.2. Extract 12: (online interview, May 15, 2020)

001	K: I think I'm not good at speaking English, so I'm not good at
002	English speaking, talk.
003	ES: What about your other skills? I think your other skills, your
004	reading, writing, listening skills are excellent. You still think you are
005	not a good English user? Despite that you have very good reading, uh,
006	writing, listening skills?
007	K: Yes.
008	ES: You think speaking skill is <u>the most important</u> skill in English? Is
009	that what you are telling me?
010	K: I think so.

For them, oral proficiency is a visible skill attesting to native-like proficiency. It becomes the *index* (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Davies & Harré, 1990; Silverstein, 2003) through which one is authenticated into an English-speaking group. For Tetsuya, other language skills are something that can be cultivated on his own, and void of interactive value which often takes place in real contexts. It also becomes clear that being perceived by others as having these skills leads to authentication and adequation. Tetsuya explains:

*5.4.3. Extract 13: (online interview, May 15, 2020) *** = inaudible*

001	T: … Because speaking English is the most, like, um.
002	ES: Obvious?
003	T: Yeah, yeah. And I feel I can improve I could improve my writing
004	skill and other *** skills in your classes and that's really helpful and
005	it makes me more confident but outside class I feel speaking is the
006	most important, like when I am speaking with someone else.
007	ES: But your speaking is fine … You still don't feel confident?
008	T: Um, 70%.
009	ES: (laugh) 70%. That's interesting. Uh, why minus 30%?
010	T: Um, like compared to other skills for me, like writing skills and
011	reading skills, I can take time to read or write, but I need to take time
012	to think and it takes me time to speak sometime.
013	ES: So, spontaneity is a challenge. Yeah, I understand.

Writing and reading skills are often asynchronous and can be worked and reworked before presenting them to others (Hewings & Coffin, 2006; Sakamoto, 2018; Sakamoto & Honda, 2009). However, speaking is often synchronous and spontaneous, exerting pressure on its uses for immediate output (Sakamoto & Furukawa, 2022). Karin agrees that speaking ability represents one's overall English proficiency:

5.4.4. Extract 14: (online interview, May 15, 2020) (original in Japanese)

001	K: I think someone good at English is indeed someone who can
002	speak it, that's number one, it shows how it is actually used. (laugh)
003	ES: But a two-year-old native speaker can speak (the language)? But
004	cannot read and write. Don't you think reading and writing is more
005	difficult?
006	K: I feel reading and writing is done (alone) by myself
007	EC: Ah huh.
008	K: (I think) really speaking, to be deemed proficient in English by
009	others means speaking with others, that is most important. I've
010	always felt that it is cool

What's intriguing here is that she uses the ideological expression *cool* (line 10) to explain why she adamantly believes it is important to have a good oral English ability. The connection between this Japanese sense of 'cool' and English is prevalent throughout English-related media in Japan (Furukawa, 2015). For Karin, good oral ability is a display of good English performance. This display, being seen by others, serves again as the authentication and perhaps the authorization that allows one to position oneself as adequate in terms of English ability. Other skills are, to a large extent, silent skills which often remain unnoticed (Sakamoto & Honda, 2009), hence lacking validity and importance.

5.4.5. Extract 15: (online interview, May 15, 2020)

001	ES: … Ah. Remember, you had to do lots of collaborative writing in
002	EC's or my class? You had to write together with someone else. Do
003	you remember? The compositions?
004	K: Yes.
005	ES: And at the time, you can show your grammar knowledge or your
006	vocabulary knowledge to the other person. Did that help in increasing
007	your confidence?
008	K: Yes, of course, it helped.

This implies that occasions to recognize and reward reading, writing, and perhaps listening skills are lacking and limited compared to speaking skills. This situation is exacerbated further as reading and writing skills are largely academic skills that are little used outside the classroom.

6. Discussion

In this paper, the two participants are focused upon as they exemplify students who managed to challenge and denaturalize hegemonic discourse, re-evaluate their English abilities and re-imagine and re-construct their identity as English learners. Both Tetsuya and Karin began the academic year as 'typical' non-returnee students, reluctant to actively participate in class (Hinenoya & Gatbonton, 2000, pp. 228–229; Sakamoto & Furukawa, 2022). However, in the course of the year, they displayed a significant shift in their performance. Specifically, we identified four main categories in this study that are related to a stronger, positive English user identity:

reconstructed image of returnees; the heavy assignment load; admiration towards oral fluency; and teacher acknowledgment.

The first important realization that they shared with us was that returnees were English learners as much as they were. They were no longer an intimidation but colleagues who were aspiring to become good English users, just like them. They still had admirable qualities such as fluency in the language, but at the same time, the non-returnees came to appreciate their own strengths in reading and writing skills. They were able to contribute and share their knowledge with others, and others did the same. As a unitary whole, they exerted their strengths and supplemented each other's weaknesses, revering each other.

This realization manifested in Extract 5, 8, and 10 led them to use English more freely, liberating themselves from native speaker syndrome (Kachru, 2005, p. 90). Communicating with each other to get tasks done became their utmost importance, as they were constantly bombarded with assignments. This was an unintended outcome on the part of the two instructors, who are both known to assign massive amounts of homework. However, the two meticulously configured what to assign when, providing necessary scaffolding as the students progressed. Large projects were broken down into numerous smaller assignments, which were designed so that the small bits eventually aggregated into a large one. The sole aim of the assignments was to elevate the students' English skills as much as possible in the course of the year, however, this necessitated the students to immediately form a cohesive and affable rapport. In a way they did not have the luxury of calibrating and passing judgment on each other's English performance: they had to get their meaning across and get the assignments done as quickly as possible. Given that they were often working in groups, any assignment which at first seemed insuperable became manageable. This, most importantly, in turn led to their feeling of achievement and confidence.

However, the academic year ended with some continued concerns. Indelible admiration towards native-like oral performance was difficult to eradicate and affected some students quite negatively (cf. Sakamoto & Furukawa, 2022). Native-speaker-like oral performance was adduced by the two students as an emblem, an index (Davies & Harré, 1990) that can signify linguistic fluency. In this sense, what Tetsuya and Karin displayed is not as strong as resistance (Canagarajah & Dovchin, 2018) in which purposeful, political linguistic practice is operationalized to defy the norm.

Given the importance placed on oral abilities, we might be tempted to argue for more oral practice in foreign language classrooms. However, this requires careful planning, as non-returnees are sensitive and self-conscious about their oral performance. Displaying one's oral ability is an act of making oneself vulnerable, possibly being exposed to a judgmental gaze. Just as young Hmong-American English speakers in Ito (2021) faced criticism from their own community for sounding too L1 English-like, our speakers have to deal with concerns about either not sounding native-like enough or too much, depending on the situation. In his narratives, Tetsuya noted how he felt comfortable to engage in oral communication with his Mexican housemate. He also contended how he felt less anxious after revealing to class that he was a non-returnee. By qualifying himself as such absolved himself to compete with returnees, allowing him to use English unfettered, at his own pace and at his own will. For Tetsuya, his interactions with his Mexican housemate were important *critical experiences* (Benson et al., 2013, p. 31) that marked a shift in his conceptualization of himself as an L2 user.

In this globalized world, some scholars argue that we should be less concerned with informal, native-speaker-like speech and rather concentrate more on English literacy skills that can be used to 'write back' or 'talk back' to the native English speakers, using literate English (i.e., an intellectual English variety with which English learners can actualize resistance to seek alternatives to the world proposed from Euro-centric perspectives; Wallace, 2002) to challenge and negotiate one's position ascribed by outsiders. While literate English is promising to advance English learning and usage on the part of non-native speakers, our study suggests that the informal genre is not otiose. Informal, fluent, idiomatic native-speaker-like speech is an emblem, a shibboleth for Inner Circle membership (Kachru, 1985). For Japanese students, impeccable English *literacy* skills alone are not sufficient. For this reason, we argue that there is a place to deliver multi-modal, multi-genre foreign language instructions that concentrate also on *oral* instruction, not only from a utilitarian, functional perspective but that from an ideological one that reflects students' concerns and desires (Motha & Lin, 2014).

Moreover, in EC's and ES's class, students were paired randomly and consistently, giving rise to a haphazard pairing. At times the students were paired with those who were similar to themselves; at other times, with someone very different. This on-and-off pairing allowed them to address different linguistic abilities which eventually led to comprehensive nurturing of all skills while not impinging on their confidence to the extent that it became irreparable. However, in implementing this approach, the students must come to trust and feel comfortable with each other. To actualize this, consistent and constant pairing is called for. Different pairing was always in place in every class, and the pairs were even changed during class. Students quickly came to familiarize with each other, creating a comfortable, supportive, cohesive class in which language practice became less intimidating, which in turn led to redefining identity as competent English users for our two participants.

Finally, when we shared our manuscript draft with Tetsuya and Karin, we realized how our views impacted their L2 self. This is what Tetsuya wrote in his comment:

> I enjoyed reading your paper a lot! It was interesting to read my experiences from your views and it was kind of weird that I am the subject of an academic English paper. Moreover, your paper motivated me to study harder. Thank you for choosing me for your paper.

If more opportunities can be made available for students that validate their efforts in learning the language, we feel that a positive impact can be made on their L2 identity.

7. Conclusion

Bruner (1991) noted how individual narratives can accrue in creating larger cultures, traditions, or world versions (p. 19). Of course, this study is only on two students in one particular class and we cannot generalize from this to say how common these discussions and social constructions are in Japanese society as a whole. Nevertheless, it still provides illuminating findings with respect to English teaching in an EFL classroom, possibly contributing to the formation of a larger narrative. First, we cannot underestimate the extent to which oral performance is deemed emblematic of language performance. It is an implacable, pernicious ideology which non-returnee students seem to be unable to relinquish. This obstinacy is difficult to eradicate; realizing that there is more to knowing a language seems to help very little (Sakamoto & Furukawa, 2022).

However, the students' desire for native-like fluency should not be straightforwardly discouraged or dismissed (Motha & Lin, 2014). A continued effort on the part of educators is required to paint a more realistic and desirable image of English learners by introducing aspects of non-native English variety (e.g., World Englishes) in an EFL classroom (Matsuda, 2012). This effort needs to be ongoing, as one-time efforts have been reported to be far from sufficient in eradicating deep-rooted English imperialism and hegemonic ideologies (Philipson, 1992, 2009; Sakamoto, 2018).

At the same time, after coming in contact with returnees, Tetsuya and Karin's image of returnees was re-formulated, giving rise to a more nuanced notion. By learning more about them and by establishing rapport, anxiety felt by Tetsuya and Karin was reduced. Once a safe space for collaboration was established, they were immersed in a work-intense environment in which they were expected to contrive to finish their tasks presented in a piecemeal fashion, so that the students were given ample opportunities to attain a sense of achievement and eventually their confidence. This ongoing challenge and a sense of achievement, when accumulated, may become more sedimented, re-shaping one's identity. Bucholtz and Hall (2005) describes this phenomenon as "stances … build(ing) up into larger identity categories" (p. 595). Via continuously challenging tasks and reshaping of hegemonic discourses, Japanese English learners can cultivate new identities of competent English users. While English imperialism is ubiquitous and enmeshed in Japanese social fabric (Kubota, 2019; Seargeant, 2009, 2013), in-class practices can have an important impact on the way learners perceive themselves as English learners and users.

Authorship statement

All persons who meet authorship criteria are listed as authors, and all authors certify that they have participated sufficiently in the work to take public responsibility for the content, including participation in the concept, design, analysis, writing, or revision of the manuscript. Furthermore, each author certifies that this material has not been and will not be submitted to or published in any other publication before its appearance in *System*.

Authorship contributions

Category 1.

Conception and design of study: Mitsuyo Sakamoto; Gavin Furukawa; acquisition of data: Mitsuyo Sakamoto; Gavin Furukawa; analysis and/or interpretation of data: Mitsuyo Sakamoto; Gavin Furukawa.

Category 2.

Drafting the manuscript: Mitsuyo Sakamoto; Gavin Furukawa; revising the manuscript critically for important intellectual content: Mitsuyo Sakamoto; Gavin Furukawa.

Category 3.

Approval of the version of the manuscript to be published (the names of all authors must be listed):

Mitsuyo Sakamoto; Gavin Furukawa.

Acknowledgements

All persons who have made substantial contributions to the work reported in the manuscript (e.g., technical help, writing and editing assistance, general support), but who do not meet the criteria for authorship, are named in the Acknowledgements and have given us their written permission to be named. If we have not included an Acknowledgements, then that indicates that we have not received substantial contributions from non-authors.

References

Benson, P., Barkhuizen, G., Bodycott, P., & Brown, J. (2013). *Second language identity in narratives of study abroad*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Block, D. (2007). *Second language identities*. Continuum.

Block, D. (2012). Economising globalisation and identity in applied linguistics in neoliberal times. In D. Block, J. Gray, & M. Holborow (Eds.), *Neoliberalism and applied linguistics* (pp. 56–85). Routledge.

Braine, G. (2010). *Nonnative speaker English teachers: Research, pedagogy and professional growth*. Routledge.

Brockmeier, J., & Carbaugh, D. (Eds.). (2001). *Narrative and identity: Studies in autobiography, self and culture*. John Benjamins.

Bruner, J. (1991). The narrative construction of reality. *Critical Inquiry, 18*(1), 1–21.

Bucholtz, M., & Hall, K. (2004). Language and identity. In A. Duranti (Ed.), *A companion to linguistic anthropology* (pp. 369–394). Blackwell.

Bucholtz, M., & Hall, K. (2005). Identity and interaction: A sociocultural linguistic approach. *Discourse Studies, 7*(4–5), 585–614.

Canagarajah, S., & Dovchin, S. (2018). The everyday politics of translingualism as a resistant practice. *International Journal of Multilingualism, 16*(2), 127–144. https://doi.org/10.1080/14790718.2019.1575833
Carson, L. (2012). The role of drama in task-based learning: Agency, identity and autonomy. *Scenario Journal for Drama and Theatre in Foreign and Second Language Education, 6*(2), 46–59.
Cummins, J. (2001). *Negotiating identities: Education for empowerment in a diverse society* (2nd ed.). CABE.
Cummins, J. (2021). *Rethinking the education of multilingual learners: A critical analysis of theoretical concepts. Multilingual Matters*.
Davies, B., & Harré, R. (1990). Positioning: The discursive production of selves. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour, 20*(1), 43–63.
Dornyei, Z. (2020). From integrative motivation to directed motivational currents: The evolution of the understanding of L2 motivation over three decades. In M. Lamb, K. Csizér, A. Henry, & S. Ryan (Eds.), *The Palgrave handbook of motivation for language learning* (pp. 39–69). Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-28380-3_3.
Dovchin, S. (2021). Translanguaging, emotionality, and English as a second language immigrants: Mongolian background women in Australia. *Tesol Quarterly, 55*(3). https://doi.org/10.1002/tesq.3015
Furukawa, G. (2015). Cool' English: Stylized native speaker English in Japanese television shows. *Multilingua, 34*(2), 265–291.
Gknonou, C., Dewaele, J.-M., & King, J. (Eds.). (2020). *The emotional rollercoaster of language teaching*. Multilingual Matters.
Go Global Japan (n.d.). What is "Go Global Japan"? http://go-global-japan.com/about/.
Hewings, A., & Coffin, C. (2006). Formative interaction in electronic written exchanges: Fostering feedback dialogue. In K. Hyland, & F. Hyland (Eds.), *Feedback in second language writing: Contexts and issues* (pp. 225–245). Cambridge University Press.
Hinenoya, K., & Gatbonton, E. (2000). Ethnocentrism, cultural traits, beliefs, and English proficiency: A Japanese sample. *The Modern Language Journal, 84*(2), 225–240.
Holborow, M. (2012). What is neoliberalism? Discourse, ideology and the real world. In D. Block, J. Gray, & M. Holborow (Eds.), *Neoliberalism and applied linguistics* (pp. 14–32). Routledge.
Ito, R. (2021). Not a white girl and speaking English with slang: Negotiating Hmong American identities in Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minnesota, USA. *Multilingua, 40*(3), 339–366. https://doi.org/10.1515/multi-2019-0082
Jaspers, J. (2019). Authority and morality in advocating heteroglossia. *Language, Culture and Society, 1*(1), 83–105.
Kachru, B. B. (1985). Standards, codification, and sociolinguistic realism: The English language in the outer circle. In R. Quirk, & H. Widdowson (Eds.), *English in the world: Teaching and learning the language and the literature* (pp. 11–30). Cambridge University Press.
Kachru, B. B. (2005). *Asian Englishes: Beyond the canon*. Hong Kong University Press.
Kramsch, C. (2021). *Language as symbolic power*. Cambridge University Press.
Kubota, R. (2011). Immigration, diversity and language education in Japan: Toward a glocal approach to teaching English. In P. Seargeant (Ed.), *English in Japan in the era of globalization* (pp. 101–122). Palgrave Macmillan.
Kubota, R. (2019). English in Japan. In P. Heinrich, & Y. Ohara (Eds.), *The Routledge handbook of Japanese sociolinguistics* (pp. 110–126). Routledge.
Li, W. (2020). Multilingual English users' linguistic innovation. *World Englishes, 39*, 236–248. https://doi.org/10.1111/weng.12457
MacIntyre, P. D., Clément, R., Dörnyei, Z., & Noels, K. A. (1998). Conceptualizing willingness to communicate in a L2: A situational model of L2 confidence and affiliation. *The Modern Language Journal, 82*(4), 545–562.
Mackenzie, J. (2021). 'I had to work through what people would think of me': Negotiating 'problematic single motherhood' as a solo or single adoptive mum. *Critical Discourse Studies*, 1–18. https://doi.org/10.1080/17405904.2021. 1997775
Mason, P., & Hagan, J. C. (2019). Framework for collaborative teaching: Strengths and challenges for a different service paradigm in Haiti. *Journal of Global Education and Research, 3*(1), 1–9. https://doi.org/10.5038/2577-509X.3.1.1034
Matsuda, A. (2012). Incorporating World Englishes in teaching English as an international language. *Tesol Quarterly, 37*(4), 719–729.
MEXT (n.d.b). Project for establishing university network for internationalization: Global 30. https://www.mext.go.jp/component/a_menu/education/detail/_icsFiles/afieldfile/2017/03/30/1383779_06.pdf.
MEXT. (2009). *Eigo kyouiku kaikaku sogo puran* [English language education reform plan] https://www.mext.go.jp/a_menu/hyouka/kekka/08100105/022.htm.
MEXT. (2014). *English education reform plan corresponding to globalization*. https://www.mext.go.jp/en/news/topics/detail/_icsFiles/afieldfile/2014/01/23/1343591_1.pdf.
MEXT. (n.d.a). Supa ingurisshu rangeji haisukuru SELHi ni tsuite [About super English high schools]. http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/shingi/chousa/shotou/082/shiryo/_icsFiles/afieldfile/2011/04/13/1302506_05.pdf.
Miyahara, M., & Fukao, A. (2022). Exploring the use of collaborative autoethnography as a tool for facilitating the development of researcher reflexivity. *System, 105*. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.system.2022.102751. January 29, 2022.
Motha, S., & Lin, A. (2014). 'Non-coercive rearrangements': Theorizing desire in TESOL. *Tesol Quarterly, 48*(2), 331–359.
Nagashima, Y., & Hunter, C. (2020). Critical ELT in Japan: A duoethnographic exploration of origins, identities, obstacles and concerns. In R. J. Lowe, & L. Lawrence (Eds.), *Duoethnography in English language teaching: Research, reflection and classroom application* (pp. 50–70). Multilingual Matters.
Nassaji, H. (2015). Qualitative and descriptive research: Data type versus data analysis. *Language Teaching Research, 19*(2), 129–132.
Philipson, R. (1992). *Linguistic imperialism*. Oxford University Press.
Philipson, R. (2009). *Linguistic imperialism continued*. Routledge.
Rosa, J., & Flores, N. (2017). Unsettling race and language: Toward a raciolinguistic perspective. *Language in Society, 46*, 621–647.
Sakamoto, M. (2012). Moving towards effective English language teaching in Japan: issues and challenges. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, 33*(4), 409–420.
Sakamoto, M. (2018). How effective is interactive learning? Investigating Japanese university students' language patterns in a collaborative writing task. *IAFOR Journal of Language Learning, 3*(2), 115–139.
Sakamoto, M., & Furukawa, G. (2022). (Re)imagining oneself as an English user: Identity formation of Japanese English learners. *Asian Englishes*. https://doi.org/10.1080/13488678.2021.1989547.
Sakamoto, M., & Honda, Y. (2009). *Homepage making and interaction: Effects of technology-driven collaborative task on social interaction and L2 writing, 44* pp. 71–100). Sophia University Bulletin of the Faculty of Foreign Studies.
Sauntson, H. (2016). Authenticating sexual diversity in school: Examining sociolinguistic constructions of young people's sexual identities. *Journal of Language, Identity and Education, 15*(1), 17–31. https://doi.org/10.1080/15348458.2016.1113812
Seargeant, P. (2009). The idea of English in Japan: Ideology and the evolution of a global language. *Multilingual Matters*.
Seargeant, P. (2013). Ideologies of nativism and linguistic globalization. In A. Houghton, & D. J. Rivers (Eds.), *Native-speakerism in Japan: Intergroup dynamics in foreign language education* (pp. 231–242). Multilingual Matters.
Seidlhofer, B. (2009). *Understanding English as a lingua franca*. Oxford University Press.
Silverstein, M. (2003). Indexical order and the dialects of sociolinguistic life. *Language & Communication, 23*, 193–229.
Stewart, A., & Miyahara, M. (2011). Parallel universes: Globalization and identity in Enlgish language teaching at a Japanese university. In P. Seargeant (Ed.), *English in Japan in the era of globalization* (pp. 60–79). Palgrave Macmillan.
Thissen, L. (2015). Because here we live in The Netherlands": Languagecultural politics of belonging in a supermarket. *Applied Linguistics Review, 6*(2), 195–216. https://doi.org/10.1515/applirev-2015-0010
Wallace, C. (2002). Local literacies and global literacy. In D. Block, & D. Cameron (Eds.), *Globalization and language teaching* (pp. 101–114). Routledge.
Zavala, V. (2020). Tactics of intersubjectivity and boundary construction in language policy: An Andean case. *Journal of Language, Identity and Education, 19*(2), 95–110. https://doi.org/10.1080/15348458.2019.1649982