

書評

**Stephanie Ann Houghton and Kayoko Hashimoto
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The perception of the native speaker as the ideal language model, and by extension, the ideal language teacher has been debated for decades and has come to be widely rejected both sociologically (Davies, 2003) and pedagogically (see, for instance, May, 2014). In English language teaching (ELT), specifically, methodologies such as World Englishes (WE) and English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) have begun to flourish, particularly in light of the fact that the majority of English users globally are non-native speakers (Bloommaert, 2010). These approaches have engendered lively discussion regarding the ideologies behind them, particularly surrounding ownership of English and their pedagogical effectiveness. Despite these trends, *native-speakerism* continues to persist in Japan, both in the minds of the layman and in the field of foreign language education, from the institutional level to government policy.

Towards Post-Native-Speakerism: Dynamics and Shifts is an interesting contribution to the discussion of native-speakerism, and is somewhat unique in emphasizing teacher employment and discriminatory hiring practices in Japan, whereas much of the prior debate has focused on representations presented to learners, or inherent teacher traits, from a binary native/non-native perspective (e.g., Medgyes, 1992). Taking Holliday's definition of native-speakerism in ELT as a starting point, 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" (2006, p.385), this volume explores how native-speakerism is present both in ELT and in other language teaching (specifically Japanese as a foreign language). It is a novel contribution in that it compiles works from so-called 'native' and 'non-native' practitioners from a variety of perspectives, including a plurality of actors and voices through autoethnographic accounts and analyses of institutional and governmental policy. In this way it expands on prior accounts of native-speakerism in Japan (such as Houghton & Rivers, 2013).

The volume is organized into four parts. The first part, *Individual Teacher-Researcher*

Narratives Related to Workplace Experience and Language-Based Inclusion/Exclusion, is bookended by two autoethnographies, both by so-called non-native speakers of the target language (Ng, Chapter 1, and Nonaka, Chapter 3). Providing rich accounts of a diversity of experience, background, and location, these chapters demonstrate the futility of the binary labelling of teachers as native or non-native. This is an important perspective, as often the literature has focused on abstractions of native- and non-native-speakers, often failing to address the backgrounds of non-native speaking teachers, or portraying native-speakers as monolingual, ignoring diversity in both groups. Bouchard's Chapter 2 supplements these accounts deftly, providing an examination of how traces of native-speakerism in policy discourse interact with the beliefs and practice of junior high school English teachers – in which policy promotes the idea of “real English” being a domain of the native-speaker in contrast to “learner English” (and simultaneously, Japanese as “poor language learners”), on behalf of the Japanese.

Part two, *Japanese Native-Speakerism in Teaching Japanese as a Foreign Language* probes the native-speaker phenomenon in a context other than ELT. An important contribution is made by Hashimoto's Chapter 4, in which she delineates the three Japanese terms that represent facets of the English concept of *nativism*: 母語話者、母国語、ネイティブ. It then examines Japanese language native-speakerism through this lens, across a number of contexts, including perceptions of ‘non-native Japanese teachers’ in Hong Kong (Chapter 5: Nomura & Mochizuki), native-Japanese teachers in South Korea and Thailand (Chapter 6: Kadowaki), and also native/non-native interactions in the domestic medical profession (Chapter 7: Kusunoki). The delineation in terms makes for a genuinely interesting contribution to the literature, as, although the general results are not surprising – that native-speakerism persists in languages other than English, the Japanese terms help to illustrate how complex the concept of native-speakerism is, with its intertwined notions of nation, heritage, identity, and language.

The third part, *Post-Native-Speakerism: Multilingual Perspectives and Globalization*, consists of three chapters. Derivry-Plard (Chapter 8), beginning with the advent of philology as a field in 19th-century Germany, delivers a succinct historical background to native-speakerism in both linguistics and language teaching, in order to contextualize the appeal for a post-native-speakerist pedagogy, whereas Kunshack (Chapter 9) expertly tackles the same issue from a present-day international perspective. Finally, Heimlich offers ‘Singapore Schools Outside Singapore’ as an example of how (self-)colonialist Anglocentric native-speakerism may be supplanted by an identification with Singaporeans (in his chapter) as owners of a localized English, even across

geographical boundaries, an idea that resonates with Bloommaert's concept of *mobile linguistic resources* (2010), although here it is in reference to schools rather than individuals. Part three thus concisely sums up the previous research on native-speakerism and prepares the stage for the proposal of a post-native-speakerist pedagogy. Although Kunshack points out that "while post-native-speakerist pedagogy is an important step towards a critical, inclusive, interlocutor-oriented approach to language learning, it will be hard to implement on a wider scale without institutional or even national support" (p. 150).

Unfortunately, the final part, *Post-Native-Speakerism in English Language Education*, falls short of the volume's lofty goal, to "probe for a post-native-speakerist future" (blurb, back cover), in that it fails to deliver a cohesive picture of what that future should be, at least in terms convincing enough for those stakeholders content with the native-speakerism paradigm. Chapter 11 (Glasgow), on team teaching, gives an outline of interaction between policy documents that presupposes native-speaking assistant language teachers and local Japanese teachers' roles, although makes no proposal for a post-native-speakerist team teaching. Similarly, while both Hino's and Grazzi's chapters (12 and 13, respectively) offer laudable examples of ELF practice, neither address the underlying linguistic competencies that the practices are intended to foster in their learners.

Given that proponents of the native-speakerist paradigm tend to view language as knowledge to acquire, and therefore the (monolingual) native speaker as the authority on that knowledge in the Chomskyan sense (i.e., the view of the native as the ideal speaker-listener), thereby neglecting the sociolinguistic realities of language use, the tail end of this book fails to provide sufficient justification for a post-native-speakerist paradigm that might generate "institutional or even national support." A greater emphasis on plurilinguistic competencies (Coste, Moore & Zarate, 2009), and their interaction with discrete linguistic competencies, as championed by the CEFR (briefly mentioned in Chapter 8), and pluralistic pedagogies (for example, Candelier et. al, 2013), or on how the realities of bilingualism can inform education (e.g. Grosjean, 2008), would help to make the book more convincing to those who view movements such as ELF as simply the introduction of sociolinguistic content in the language classroom, divorced from the 'real business' of learning the target language.

Overall, through its plurality of voices and perspectives, the volume offers a valuable contribution to a topic that has curiously been dominated by the very binary idea of native/non-native that it criticizes. In terms of language policy, it successfully identifies issues in representations at the macro-level, although it fails to deliver anything pedagogically or politically substantial to be put in its place. Perhaps its greatest omission is that of practice at the micro-level. Language policy does not

only exist in government or institutional documents, but manifests in language practice itself. Ignoring actual teacher practice thus leads to an ideological view of “what people think should be done” (Spolsky, 2004, p.14). While the book examines the interaction of teacher beliefs regarding native-speakerism and their practice, it does not present any concrete solutions to teachers operating within the native-speakerist paradigm to overcome the perpetuation of native-speakerist representations in the classroom. This is unfortunate, especially since the focus of the volume is Japan, a traditionally monolingual nation whose language education practitioners are often bound by native-speaker ideals (Houghton & Rivers, 2013). As classroom practice is where most individual learners will develop conceptualizations of foreign language (trickle-down representations that are a combination of macro- and meso-level policy as enacted by the micro-level policy actor, their teacher), it is unfortunate that no concrete suggestions are given to those practitioners.

Nevertheless, the volume does lay the building blocks to the post-native-speakerist future that it longs for, and is an important work in its contextualization of native-speakerism, particularly through examinations of native-speakerism in contexts *other* than ELT, which has tended to dominate the literature. It is thus of informative value to both practitioners and policymakers, particularly in the Japanese context, although more work will be required to outline a framework for the competencies that a post-native-speakerist pedagogy seeks to develop in its learners, before widespread understanding and adoption by institutional and governmental policymakers is likely.

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