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About Korea TESOL

Korea TESOL (KOTESOL; Korea Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages) is a professional organization of teachers of English whose main goal is to assist its members in their professional development and to contribute to the improvement of English language teaching (ELT) in Korea. Korea TESOL also serves as a network for teachers to connect with others in the ELT community and as a source of information for ELT resource materials and events in Korea and abroad.

Korea TESOL is proud to be an Affiliate of TESOL (TESOL International Association), an international education association of almost 12,000 members with headquarters in Alexandria, Virginia, USA, as well as an Associate of IATEFL (International Association of Teachers of English as a Foreign Language), an international education association of over 4,000 members with headquarters in Canterbury, Kent, UK.

Korea TESOL had its beginnings in October 1992, when the Association of English Teachers in Korea (AETK) and the Korea Association of Teachers of English (KATE) agreed to unite. Korea TESOL is a not-for-profit organization established to promote scholarship, disseminate information, and facilitate cross-cultural understanding among persons associated with the teaching and learning of English in Korea. In pursuing these goals, Korea TESOL seeks to cooperate with other groups having similar concerns.

Korea TESOL is an independent national affiliate of a growing international movement of teachers, closely associated with not only TESOL and IATEFL but also with PAC (the Pan-Asian Consortium of Language Teaching Societies), consisting of JALT (Japan Association for Language Teaching), ThaiTESOL (Thailand TESOL), ETA-ROC (English Teachers Association of the Republic of China/Taiwan), FEELTA (Far Eastern English Language Teachers' Association, Russia), and PALT (Philippine Association for Language Teaching, Inc.). Korea TESOL is also associated with MELTA (Malaysian English Language Teaching Association), TEFLIN (Indonesia), CamTESOL (Cambodia), ELTAM/Mongolia TESOL, MAAL (Macau), HAAL (Hong Kong), ELTAI (India), and most recently with BELTA (Bangladesh English Language Teachers Association. Korea TESOL also has partnership arrangements with numerous domestic ELT associations.

The membership of Korea TESOL includes elementary school, middle school, high school, and university-level English teachers as well as teachers-in-training, administrators, researchers, materials writers, curriculum developers, and other interested individuals.

Korea TESOL has nine active chapters throughout the nation: Members of Korea TESOL are from all parts of Korea and many parts of the world, thus providing Korea TESOL members the benefits of a diverse, inclusive, and multicultural membership.

Korea TESOL holds an annual international conference, a national conference, workshops, and other professional development events, while its chapters hold monthly workshops, annual conferences, symposia, and networking events. Also organized within Korea TESOL are various SIGs (special interest groups) – e.g., Reflective Practice, Social Justice, Christian Teachers, Research, Women and Gender Equality, People-of-Color Teachers – which hold their own meetings and events.

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Korea TESOL Journal

The *Korea TESOL Journal* is a peer-reviewed journal, welcoming previously unpublished practical and scholarly articles on topics of significance to individuals concerned with the teaching of English as a foreign language. The Journal focuses on articles that are relevant and applicable to the Korean EFL context. Two issues of the Journal are published annually.

As the Journal is committed to publishing manuscripts that contribute to the application of theory to practice in our profession, submissions reporting relevant research and addressing implications and applications of this research to teaching in the Korean setting are particularly welcomed.

The Journal is also committed to the fostering of scholarship among Korea TESOL members and throughout Korea. As such, classroom-based papers, i.e., articles arising from genuine issues of the English language teaching classroom, are welcomed. The Journal aims to support all scholars by welcoming research from early-career researchers to senior academics.

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KOTESOL

Research Papers

Emotions, Well-Being, and Language Teacher Identity Development in an EFL Teacher Preparation Program

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Language teacher education is continually evolving to prepare educators for the ever-changing demands of the field, which mirror the realities faced around the world. In recent years, the need for professional development on emotions and well-being has become significant, but there is still much work to be done, especially in the field of language teacher education. The purpose of the present qualitative case study is to examine English as a foreign language (EFL) teachers' reactions and language teacher inquiry development while learning about emotions and well-being in their teacher preparation program. The two research questions guiding this inquiry are (a) What were participants' responses to emotions and well-being professional development in their teacher preparation program? and (2) How did emotions and well-being professional development affect their identity development as EFL teachers? In answering the first research question, participants responded positively to receiving teacher preparation in emotions and well-being in their language teacher preparation programs and their stories shed light on the centrality of emotions and well-being in language teaching and learning. In answering the second research question, data revealed that delving deeper into the topics of emotions and well-being during language teacher preparation programs resulted in participants engaging in language teacher work, even if unintentionally.

Keywords: emotions, well-being, language teacher identity, EFL, language teacher preparation

INTRODUCTION

In recent times, especially because of the COVID-19 pandemic, the field of language education has experienced an eruption of research and publications exploring emotions and well-being around the world (e.g., Gkonou et al., 2020; Mercer & Gregersen, 2020; Pentón Herrera et al., in press). Extant literature maintains that emotions are among the most empowering and motivating factors affecting teaching, learning, and professional development (Benesch, 2012; Karagianni & Papaefthymiou-Lytra, 2018; Richards, 2020). Similarly, research shows that teacher well-being plays a central role in student achievement, teacher effectiveness and performance, and the wellness of both students and teachers inside and outside classrooms (Corcoran & O'Flaherty, 2022; Mairitsch et al., 2021). Although this growing line of research is solidifying the significance of emotions and well-being in language teaching and learning, these two elements are often left unaddressed in language teacher preparation programs (Heineke & Vera, 2022), leaving pre-service teachers ill-prepared to meet the affective demands of life and work after graduation.

Against this backdrop, language teacher identity (LTI) work has also gained momentum in the field, especially after 2010 (Kayi-Aydar, 2019), reflecting its multiple, complex, shifting, and fluid nature. Further, studies have solidified the link between LTI and other areas of interest within language education, such as agency (e.g., Clarke, 2008), professional development (e.g., Canagarajah, 2012), transnational experiences (e.g., Solano-Campos, 2014; Yazan et al., 2022), and more recently, emotions and well-being (Anand, in press; Pentón Herrera et al., 2021; Siriwardana, in press). Although different understandings of LTI exist in the literature, we define it as the continuous process in which language teachers, who both self-position and are positioned by others (e.g., see Fallas-Escobar & Pentón Herrera, 2022), affiliate to different aspects of teaching in their lives. Thus, "teacher identity is related to factors such as one's ongoing contacts with fellow teachers and students as well as the tasks that one engages in, which can be said to constitute teaching" (Block, 2015, p. 13).

Increasingly, scholars have proposed and approached the exploration of LTI through ecological frameworks (De Costa & Norton, 2017; The Douglas Fir Group, 2016) to best understand how teachers negotiate the constraints and affordances in their specific contexts (Varghese et al., 2016). From this ecological viewpoint, scholars describe LTI as "produced and discursively constructed within hierarchically organized racial, gendered, linguistic, religious, and classed categories and processes within teachers' personal lives as well as in and through their teacher education programs, classrooms, schools, disciplines, and nation-states" (Varghese et al., 2016, p. 546). Research on LTI concludes that continual identity development and work are inextricable parts of teachers' learning, teaching, and growth (De Costa & Norton, 2017; Lindahl & Yazan, 2019; Yazan & Lindahl, 2020).

In these specific lines of research of (a) emotions, (b) well-being, and (c) LTI within language education, it is not uncommon to find publications that draw connections among them − even if unintentionally. For example, in a study exploring the kinds of emotions language teachers in the United States, Japan, and Austria face and their expression of emotional well-being, Talbot and Mercer (2018) found that participants employed different strategies to regulate undesired emotions, which promoted their well-being. Similarly, Song (2016), exploring how South Korean English as a foreign language (EFL) teachers' emotions affect their LTI transformation, found that language teachers' emotional responses to global and local shifts shape their identity construction and teaching practice. Lastly, in a collaborative autoethnography, Pentón Herrera et al. (2021) explored how the cultivation of calm and stillness influenced their well-being at the doctoral level. In their study, Pentón Herrera et al. (2021) found that engaging in well-being practices that promoted balance, including self-exploration, "also meant, inadvertently, engaging in identity work" (p. 135). These and other scholarly works reflect that emotions, well-being, and LTI are interconnected elements in language education, and as such, they should be explored in unison to gain a deeper understanding of how they affect and interact with one another.

Although research exists about teacher emotions and well-being, and LTI in teacher preparation programs (e.g., Dimitrieska, 2022; Gregersen et al., in press), at the time of writing this manuscript, scant publications examined EFL teachers' LTI development while enrolled in a teacher preparation course about emotions and well-being in Poland. Inspired by the paucity of research exploring the interconnected nature of emotions, well-being, and LTI development in language education, we propose this study. The purpose of the present qualitative case study (see Yin, 2017) is to examine participants' reactions and LTI development while learning about emotions and well-being in their teacher preparation program. Specifically, we looked at participants' beliefs about exploring the topics of emotions and well-being in a teacher preparation program and how this knowledge affected their perceived identities as EFL teachers. Thus, the following two research questions guided the study:

RQ1. What were participants' responses to emotions and well-being professional development in their teacher preparation program?
RQ2. How did emotions and well-being professional development affect their identity development as EFL teachers?

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Heeding the growing number of scholars proposing ecological frameworks to explore LTI, emotions, and well-being in language teacher education (i.e., De Costa & Norton, 2017; Jin et al., 2021; The Douglas Fir Group, 2016), we employ Bronfenbrenner's ecology of human development (1979) as the theoretical lens guiding this inquiry. This perspective allows us to approach the present study from the stance that human development is a progressive, ever-changing process that is affected by immediate and larger contexts and environments where people reside (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Further, an ecological lens also "captures the holistic interconnections between a teacher's professional and personal lives and recognizes the critical role played by contexts of foreign language education" (Jin et al., 2021, p. 19). Employing this ecological purview, we are primarily interested in exploring how the micro (i.e., individual, family, peers), meso (i.e., teaching context, neighborhood), and macro (i.e., laws, culture, society) levels influence participants' responses to emotions and well-being professional development in their teacher preparation program and LTI development.

For teachers, factors affecting their emotions, well-being, and LTI development often expand beyond professional settings, including their home and personal lives (Mercer, 2020). Mercer (2020) related this phenomenon to the development of EFL teachers and their well-being, noting that well-being − and by extension, healthy emotions and LTI development − should not rest solely as the responsibility of teachers. Institutions and organizations need to support EFL teachers' well-being by providing the time, space, and resources needed for teachers to build this capacity − whatever that may look like in their specific contexts. The different factors influencing EFL teacher wellness, healthy emotions, and LTI development are interdependent and can make a difference in the educators' personal and professional outcomes. For example, what happens within an EFL teacher's classroom with a student at the micro level is connected and can be determined by institutions at the macro level (Mercer, 2021). Thus, this study seeks to examine EFL teachers' reactions to emotions and well-being issues at the micro, meso, and macro levels (as presented in their teacher preparation program) knowing that the interrelatedness and varying levels of support at each level can also alter teachers' responses, professional practice, and LTI.

METHODS

The present qualitative case study (see Yin, 2017) aimed to examine participants' reactions and LTI development while learning about emotions and well-being in their teacher preparation program. Specifically, we looked at participants' beliefs about exploring the topics of emotions and well-being in the language teacher preparation program and how this knowledge affected their perceived identities as EFL teachers.

Participants and Context

This qualitative case study took place during a 15-week course at a higher education institution in Poland during the summer 2022 semester (January to June 2022). Information and data collected come from eight pre- and in-service teachers (*N* = 8) − all pursuing an MA in English studies − enrolled in a master-level course titled Emotions and Well-Being in English Language Learning and Teaching and taught by one of the authors of this manuscript. The course was taught entirely in English and its goal was to explore the effects emotions and well-being have on English language teaching and learning through narratives, interactive activities, and in-class conversations. Table 1 provides the pseudonyms and relevant information for each participant.

TABLE 1. Participant Pseudonyms and Relevant Information

Participant Number	Pseudonym	Country of Origin	Self-Identified Gender	Teaching Status
1	Dara	Poland	Female	In-service teacher
2	Kerem	Turkey	Male	In-service teacher
3	Elżbieta	Poland	Female	In-service teacher
4	Zoran	Kurdistan	Male	In-service teacher
5	Akin	Nigeria	Male	In-service teacher
6	Safet	Turkey	Male	Pre-service teacher
7	Lucía	Spain	Female	Pre-service teacher
8	Jakub	Poland	Male	Pre-service teacher

Data Collection and Analysis

The data selected for the purposes of the present study come from (a) weekly, in-class focus group conversations, (b) participants reflective journals, (c) researcher's field notes, and (d) unstructured, informal interviews. Every week, the class discussed specific topics related to emotions and/or well-being in English language teaching and learning. Topics of conversation in the classes included teachers' own emotions when teaching and learning English, emotional regulation strategies, assessment of their own well-being, social-emotional learning, and ecological factors affecting teachers' emotions and well-being in different contexts, to name a few. Similarly, prompts for the weekly, in-class focus group discussions sought to help students delve deeper into the topics of emotions and well-being and included prompts such as *How has your well-being and the well-being of your teacher-colleagues been a priority in your teaching environments*? and *How have you used your emotions as data to improve your emotional response in future events*? During those weekly, in-class focus group conversations, data were collected by recording the conversations in the researcher's field notes. Also, participants recorded their reactions to these weekly meetings in their reflective journals. In addition, unstructured, informal interviews occurred organically throughout the 15 weeks of class, usually before or after class, and were recorded in the researcher's field notes. All the data collected were in English.

During data analysis, all the data were printed out, organized by instrument (e.g., participants reflective journals), and analyzed inductively (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016) following three main stages. In the first stage, data were reduced by scanning the raw data several times to identify salient patterns and condense the texts. During the second stage, the condensed texts were assigned labels and descriptions to establish clear links between the data and the research questions. During the third stage, conclusions were drawn through a recursive process of moving back and forth between the emerging findings and available publications to ensure trustworthiness, measurability, and validity of the data (Azungah, 2018). Lastly, to provide an additional layer of reliability, validity, and triangulation, verification strategies were employed (Morse et al., 2002) where each of the authors of this manuscript took turns analyzing the data and findings − first individually, and then together − to check, confirm, make sure, and be certain that the results were accurate (Morse et al., 2002; Yin, 2017).

FINDINGS

In this section, we use the participants' narratives collected through the four aforementioned data sources to identify the most salient findings directly responding to the two research questions guiding this study. Generally speaking, all participants identified that emotions and well-being professional development in teacher preparation programs is beneficial for both teachers and students. In addition, data revealed that delving deeper into the topics of emotions and well-being during this course resulted in participants engaging in LTI work, even if unintentionally. To better delve into these salient findings, we divided this section into the three sub-sections below: (a) importance for teachers, (b) importance for students, and (c) engaging in LTI work.

Importance for Teachers

Participants agreed that courses in emotions and well-being are beneficial for teachers − especially novice teachers − as it prepares them for the emotional journey that is language teaching and learning. In one of the weekly, in-class focus group conversations, Dara shared, "In my personal opinion, language teacher preparation programs should address emotions and well-being.... I think such courses should be mandatory.... Potentially, introducing well-being and emotions in the early years of a teacher's career may prevent burnout in the future."

Jakub, taking a self-reflecting look as a pre-service teacher, also reported the potential benefit of including courses that focus on emotions and well-being in language teacher preparation programs. Jakub wrote in his reflective journal:

> As a relatively new teacher of English I must admit I have been prepared for certain situations in the teaching context during my BA [Bachelor of Arts] studies; however, there is work to be done. Subjects such as psychology and pedagogy were helpful, but it seems to me that if we had separate [courses] that would cover emotions and well-being, it would be even more valuable and beneficial because in the mentioned [courses] they were just covered in the BA program, so to say "additionally." [They were] never the main concern, but since emotions and well-being affect so many levels concerning the essence of being a student at school but also the teaching profession, such issues should be included in the preparation programs for teachers. [Jakub, reflective journal]

The statements from Dara and Jakub suggest that, although they are at different stages in their teacher life (Dara being an in-service teacher, and Jakub a pre-service teacher), they both perceive emotions and well-being as vital, ever-present concerns in language teaching and learning. However, they acknowledge that they have not previously received teacher preparation focusing specifically on the topics of emotions and well-being. The lack of professional development on emotions and well-being in language teacher preparation programs was not reserved to participants from Poland; it was also present in responses from participants who received teacher preparation and/or professional development in other countries, such as Lucía (Spain), Akin (Nigeria), Zoran (Kurdistan), Kerem (Turkey), and Safet (Turkey). The inattention toward emotions and well-being in language teacher preparation programs has been previously highlighted in the literature (Benesch, 2012; Johnson & Golombek, 2018; Mercer, 2021). Yet, to date, scant studies have explored how preparing language teachers on the topics of emotions and well-being affects their personal and professional lives.

While exploring the detrimental effects that not receiving professional development about emotions and well-being can have on new teachers and their students, Kerem shared this in a weekly, in-class focus group conversation:

> Nearly all of the preparation programs do not cover this crucial issue. Rather, they cover much theoretical knowledge and some practices that are done either in the schools via creating a classroom-like environment where other classmates act like they are children or in the school where you do your internship with the real students. Due to this issue, when I was in the university [in Turkey] having the internship in a school, I could not manage to handle my own thoughts, feelings, and emotions, especially with fear, apprehension, and the feeling of inability. Therefore, this affected my whole class lessons during the internship, and I could not properly interact with the students, which made them more anxious. [Kerem, focal group]

When Kerem disclosed this information, the class was exploring the topic of teacher emotions in language teaching and learning. His statement echoes previous publications asserting that "early career teachers are particularly vulnerable to the harmful effects of emotional labor of teaching because they are rarely prepared for it" (Molyneux, 2021, p. 43). In addition, teachers are seldom equipped "to handle the emotional labor of teaching during their vulnerable first years" (Molyneux, 2021, p. 43). Further expanding on the harmful effects that the lack of emotions and well-being professional development have on new language teachers, Zoran shared a short story following Kerem's comments about his first year of teaching in Turkey:

> After graduation, I was desperately looking for a job because my family needed me to contribute [financially]. I was ready to accept any offer without thinking of taking the emotional preparation into consideration. Finally, I was hired by an international school [in Kurdistan]. I started the job but within the first three months, I was unaware that I was stressing myself excessively in order to [meet] everybody's satisfaction − the school, the students, and the colleagues, above all, to satisfy myself, which was the hardest. In fact, I would blame myself for anything that would go wrong in the classroom and started feeling many negative emotions. My body could only endure three months until it reacted and I became emotionally and physically sick, without knowing what caused it or

> what was the sickness. Finally, I realized that it was all out of too much stress and pressure at the expense of my body. I wish I had received training about dealing with my emotions and taking care of myself in my teacher training so I did not have to go through this. I strongly believe language teacher preparation programs should address emotions and well-being. [Zoran, focus group]

Zoran's story is, sadly, the story of many new language teachers. Ecological factors at the micro, meso, and macro levels (Mercer, 2021; Pentón Herrera et al., in press) contribute to language teachers' episodes of burnout, which may lead to mental and physical breakdowns, and potential attrition (Sulis et al., 2022). As stated by Elżbieta in an unstructured, informal interview, "teacher preparation programs are mostly focused on methods of relaying information to students and this is not correct because it paints the picture of teaching and learning as happening in an emotional limbo devoid of any radical emotions." Language teaching and learning is, indeed, filled with "radical emotions" (as Elżbieta calls it), which, in turn, influence teacher well-being; however, the lack of attention these two topics receive in language teacher preparation affect both teachers' and students' emotions and well-being inside and outside the classroom (Pentón Herrera, 2020; Pentón Herrera & Martínez-Alba, 2021).

Importance for Students

Using their personal experiences as a site for exploration (see Yazan, 2018), participants also reflected on the effects that receiving professional development about emotions and well-being in language teaching has on language learners. In an unstructured, informal interview, Lucía disclosed that she was taking Polish classes, but her Polish teacher was not able to motivate her or keep her emotionally involved in learning the language, so Lucía dropped the class.

> I was taking Polish lessons a few months ago, but I felt so confused most of the time and each class was harder [more difficult], so I finally gave up. I think my teacher noticed it because I was asking her [questions] all the time but her answer[s] did not convince me. So, in that case, I think that teachers have to make an effort to make the students enjoy the class and not suffer. [Lucia, informal

interview]

From Lucía's statement, two important points are particularly salient in the context of this study. The first point is Lucía's recognition that teachers and teacher behavior have a vital effect in shaping language learners' motivation (or lack thereof), which aligns with recent publications (e.g., Dewaele et al., 2022). In Lucía's case, it seems like the Polish teacher became aware that she was confused and/or struggling in class, but the teacher's response and/or behavior "did not convince" Lucía, resulting in her feeling demotivated and leading to her dropping the class. The second point is Lucía's acknowledgment that teachers have the ability to "make the students enjoy the class and not suffer." In this quote, the contrast between *enjoyment* and *suffering* is particularly noteworthy and speaks directly to her experience as a language learner of Polish. Available research confirms that high levels of undesired emotions − such as anxiety and confusion − in the foreign language classroom make students suffer (see Liu & Hong, 2021). Thus, language teachers need appropriate preparation in emotions and well-being to help them recognize the symptoms, identify the causes, and implement strategies that mitigate or significantly reduce students' suffering in their learning environment.

A comment directly associated with Lucía's experience as a language learner of Polish comes from Elżbieta's reflective journal. In this particular entry, Elżbieta reflected on the culture of formal education in Poland and the place that emotions and well-being occupy (or not) in it. She wrote,

> Given the prevalent school system and parenting modes [in Poland], adults have problems managing their emotions and understanding their relationship with children. Offering teachers classes [about emotions and well-being] would not only prepare them for the realities and challenges of the school day-to-day but would also plant the seeds for healthier and more self-aware generations to come. [Elżbieta, reflective journal]

In this reflection, Elżbieta acknowledges the need to educate children in becoming emotionally intelligent individuals. *Emotional intelligence* is defined in the literature as individuals' "ability to know and manage their emotions, motivate themselves, recognize others' emotions, and handle relationships" (Pentón Herrera & Martínez-Alba, 2021, p. 7). Elżbieta explains that adults (including teachers) "have problems managing emotions and understanding their relationships," which might explain, for example, why Lucía's teacher was not able to deploy affective strategies (i.e., lowering the affective filter and promoting a risk-taking learning environment, etc.) to increase her enjoyment and lower her suffering in Polish class. Elżbieta's reflection closely resembles the written thoughts of two other classmates, Safet and Akin, who also recognized the necessity of emotional intelligence (EI) in language teaching to support students in the learning environment appropriately. Safet shared in his reflection journal, "Students must be able to regulate their emotions to be successful in life. For this reason, teachers have to possess this sort of skill [emotional intelligence] so that they [can] help students do the same thing." Similarly, Akin recorded in his reflection journal, "Receiving training about emotions and well-being is important because it helps teachers understand the psychological realities of both teachers and students in any learning environment. This training is important for me whether I teach here [Poland] or in Nigeria."

Emotional intelligence has become a topic of interest in recent years in the field of language education. Studies exploring the effects of emotional intelligence on language learners find that students who score higher levels of EI experience less undesired emotions, such as anxiety and stress, in the foreign language classroom and acquire higher levels of language proficiency (Dewaele et al., 2008; Shao et al., 2013). On the other hand, studies exploring the effects of emotional intelligence on language teachers assert that educators with higher EI attend to and are more empathetic toward their students' needs − including social-emotional needs − and are capable of deploying techniques that improve their and their students' well-being (Gkonou & Mercer, 2017; Shahivand & Moradkhani, 2019). However, research shedding light on how emotions and well-being professional development in language teacher preparation programs affect the EI of teachers and, consequently, the experience of language learners is scant. Thus, we encourage the scholarly community to delve deeper into this necessary topic of inquiry.

A similar, relevant point of how emotions and well-being teacher preparation influence language learners came from Kerem in a weekly, in-class focus group conversation. In this particular conversation, we were talking about how preparing language teachers about emotions and well-being directly shapes student–teacher relationships. Kerem shared,

> I am of the opinion that knowing about emotions and well-being provides both the learner and the teacher with an opportunity for positive student–teacher relationships. For example, while I was taking the teacher preparation program [in Turkey], since I did not know that the emotions and well-being of a student can have an effect on the motivation, the self-courage, and the participation, I did not give due importance to listen[ing] to the students' problems that they are having in their life or their mood in general. However, in time, by reading and learning more about this issue, I have realized that I did make some mistakes [while teaching in Turkey], yet I think if the preparation programs had covered these topics [emotions and well-being] earlier, I would have not [made] these mistakes. [Kerem, focal group]

In this reflection, Kerem recognized that building a reciprocal relationship of respect between teachers and students clearly involves the affective domain, that is, emotions, empathy, and caring. At the same time, Kerem regrets making mistakes early in his teaching career because he did not receive professional development on emotions and well-being, which shaped his teaching practice into one devoid of care for his "students' problems ... in ... life or their mood in general." The emotion of regret has been previously identified in the literature, and it is often connected to language teachers realizing that their past practices were not adequate due to different reasons (Mercer & Gregersen, 2020), such as not receiving appropriate professional development (e.g., Humphries, 2020; Tomlinson, 2018). Nonetheless, we could not find studies shedding light on the emotional and well-being toll connected to language teacher regret. Connected to this particular event, the researcher's journal had the following note recorded: "Kerem looks distraught sharing this story, we need to take a five-minute break." Certainly, the emotional and well-being toll of language teacher regret is an area that needs further exploration.

Engaging in LTI Work

Data also revealed that, during the 15 weeks, participants began to engage in identity work, more specifically in LTI work, although the word *identity* was not explicitly used in the participants' communication. Scholars suggest that exploring and recognizing one's emotions − and/or emotional struggles − allows language teachers to deepen their understanding between their teacher identity and their pedagogy (Song, 2022; Yazan & Peercy, 2018). At the same time, publications have proposed that delving deeper into one's well-being as a language teacher also means, inadvertently, engaging in identity work both personally and professionally (Nazari & Xodabande, in press; Pentón Herrera et al., 2021). The excerpt below comes from an unstructured, informal interview with Safet, who stayed after class to seek advice:

> Professor, our class today made me think and I want to ask you for your advice. I am currently dealing with some emotions that I don't know how to deal with and I wonder if you can share some books with me.... I am not asking about books about psychological self-help, but books about understanding our emotions better. I want to be a good role model for my students and show them that I can regulate my emotions so they can do the same.... I want to be a good teacher. [Safet, informal interview]

In this vignette, Safet was referring to a class where we talked about how the emotions and well-being of language teachers directly influence our practice. The information we discussed in this class and, more specifically, the final activity where we had a group conversation about this issue seemed to help Safet become more self-aware of the emotional struggles he was facing and how those struggles would affect his teaching practice and, by extension, his students. Thus, Safet sought advice to understand what he was feeling and learn how to regulate his emotions to serve as a role model for his students. Safet's actions show that as a human being and language teacher experiencing tensions, engaging in this type of conversation about emotions and well-being prompted him to reflect upon his moral values and responsibilities (i.e., wanting to be a role model for students) as well as his desire for being a "good teacher." Although Safet's tensions have been previously contextualized in the literature as practices of engaging in individual and LTI work (De Costa & Norton, 2017; Kind, 2015), further inquiry is needed into the effects of teacher development on emotions and well-being in the context of LTI.

Another participant who engaged in identity work was Akin. During the first weekly, in-class focus group conversation, Akin disclosed that he approaches the topics of emotions and well-being in English language teaching and learning differently from the other participants in the course because "I come from Nigeria, a country that was colonized by the British, and the effects of colonization still affect education institutions to this day." When asked if he would like to expand upon this comment, Akin replied by saying,

> Colonization has affected Nigerian society in all areas, including education. For example, the teacher–student relationship in schools is more akin to a slave–master relationship [i.e., the teacher is the master and students are the slaves] because students cannot truly express themselves in the classroom unless the teacher is absent. In this slave–master relationship, teachers do not care for students' emotions or well-being, they just care about students doing their work [learning and getting good grades]. When I was in school, teachers were uninterested in student criticism, and I had no genuine desire to learn [the English] language because I knew my teachers didn't truly care about me or any of us. But I want my students to have a different experience; I don't want to teach like my teachers taught me. [Akin, focal group]

There are two relevant points emanating from Akin's revelations. The first point is Akin's realization and recognition of the effect colonization had on Nigeria and, more directly, on his formal schooling during his formative years. The way he used the phrase "slave–master relationship" to describe how he felt in school and explain why emotions and well-being were not present in his education reflects Akin's awareness of his positionality (i.e., self-awareness) and his maturity level (i.e., emotional intelligence). At the same time (and the second point), he shows both personal and professional growth, stating, "I want my students to have a different experience; I don't want to teach like my teachers taught me." Throughout the 15 weeks, Akin's active input in class and written reflections suggested that engaging in explorations of emotions and well-being during this course allowed him to engage in explorations of decolonization simultaneously, affecting his individual and language teacher identities in the process.

The salient examples of Safet and Akin are reflective of the data collected throughout this project. During the course, participants increasingly became more aware of their emotions and sought advice on how to manage them. Also, they became aware that their own emotions and well-being as individuals and language teachers also affected their practice and their relationship with students. In many ways, the participants' actions throughout the course reflect that they had become increasingly self-aware and emotionally intelligent (Pentón Herrera & Martínez-Alba, 2021). Further, their candid comments and discussions also showed that they had become more empathetic toward their individual selves, their professional selves, and their present and future students. We encourage the academic community to expand upon this finding and continue exploring the intersection and relationship of emotions, well-being, and LTI within and beyond language teacher preparation programs.

Discussion and Final Thoughts

In this qualitative case study, we examined participants' reactions and LTI development while learning about emotions and well-being in a teacher preparation program in Poland. In answering the first research question, participants responded positively to receiving teacher preparation in emotions and well-being in their language teacher preparation programs, and their stories shed light on the centrality of emotions and well-being in language teaching and learning. Further, data revealed that participants identified how professional development on emotions and well-being in language teacher preparation programs is beneficial for both teachers and students. Moreover, participants agreed that courses on these topics are valuable for teachers − particularly novice teachers − because it prepares them to deal with the "radical emotions" (as Elżbieta stated) of teaching and learning, which can affect EFL teacher well-being (Gkonou et al., 2020). In answering the second research question, data revealed that delving deeper into the topics of emotions and well-being during language teacher preparation programs resulted in participants engaging in LTI work, even if unintentionally. The findings for the second research question align with available research proposing that delving deeper into one's well-being as a language teacher − whether in or beyond teacher professional development programs − also means, inadvertently, engaging in identity work (Nazari & Xodabande, in press; Pentón Herrera et al., 2021).

During the study, the participants also reflected on the negative effects that result from the lack of professional development on emotions and well-being in teacher preparation programs for language teachers around the world. The participants believed that having courses on emotions and well-being in language teacher preparation programs prepares them to understand themselves better and also plants the seeds for healthy, empathetic student–teacher relationships. Similarly, participants described the ways in which not having explicit teacher development courses on emotions and well-being, and more specifically, on strategies on how to successfully regulate them, negatively affected their physical, emotional, and psychological well-being inside and outside of the classroom as well as their teaching practice. By looking at the findings, it is then sensible to assume that EI is also connected to how EFL teachers respond to inner and outer obstacles they might encounter in their practices and life, which influences their overall emotions and well-being as individuals and professional educators.

Looking back at the theoretical framework (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), the outcomes from this study help provide deeper insights into the importance of framing conversations and research about emotions, well-being, and LTI at the micro, meso, and maso levels. For example, micro-level findings, like Safet's emotional tensions of regret due to not previously taking into consideration his students' mood or well-being in teaching or Zoran's story of how he became physically and emotionally ill early in his career due to self-imposed stress, reveal that these incidents are also connected to meso- and macro-level issues. In Safet's case, his teacher preparation program in Turkey did not prepare him to acknowledge issues of emotions and well-being in the EFL classroom (i.e., meso level), which is a common issue in language teacher preparation programs and policies around the world (i.e., macro level; Heineke & Vera, 2022; Mercer, 2021). On the other hand, in Zoran's case, the pressure to provide for his family and satisfy everyone in his community (i.e., meso level), reflects that issues of LTI, as well as emotional labor and well-being, are also connected to social norms and expectations (i.e., macro level; Benesch, 2012; Shin et al., 2021).

A particularly salient example of the effects of ecological interconnections among the issues of emotions, well-being, and LTI for students and teachers comes from Akin. Through Akin's narratives and data, we can see that LTI is, indeed, influenced by social and contextual factors (Nazari & Karimpour, 2022; Swearingen, 2019), and it directly shapes students' experiences and relationships with the language they are learning. In Akin's context of Nigeria, colonization (i.e., a macro-level issue) has actively shaped Nigerian teachers' identity construction and the perceived role of learners, turning teacher–student interactions in the classroom (i.e., micro level) into slave–master relationships (as Akin stated). This type of colonial interaction, in turn, shapes teachers' perceived LTI and practice, affecting the emotions and well-being of both teachers and students inside and outside the classroom, as shown in Akin's vignettes above. Findings suggest that the reproduction of unconscious biases emanating from colonialist practices is directly connected to LTI, emotions, and well-being for both students and learners, as previously stated in the literature (see Pentón Herrera, 2022). Although ecological concerns of colonization in EFL are beyond the purview of this particular study, we encourage scholars in the field to further explore how colonialist ideologies continue to persuade language teacher preparation and language teaching practices.

We would like to end this manuscript by restating that teacher education should continue to evolve to meet the needs of educators and their students. Through this study, we were able to contribute to the growing literature reporting on the need to offer professional development to language teachers on the issues of emotions, well-being, and LTI, as they directly influence their practice. The narratives shared by the EFL teachers in this study brought to light their highs and their lows, and it was clear that this type of professional development is both welcomed and beneficial for pre- and in-service language teachers. We recommend that EFL and language teacher education programs consider either developing courses that address issues of emotions, well-being, and LTI or embedding this information as a strand or theme throughout their courses. Further, we encourage the academic community to build on this study and continue exploring the effects of preparing language teachers on issues of emotions, well-being, and LTI in their teacher preparation programs.

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The Tensions Between English and Korean Language in Uzbek Students' Academic Experiences

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Traditionally, students wishing to study abroad have opted for higher education institutions (HEIs) in the West. Yet, in recent decades, other countries, particularly those where English is not readily used in society or on campus, have become increasingly attractive to international students. A good example of this is South Korea, which in its efforts to internationalize its universities has sought to balance the roles that both Korean and English languages play in the education of international students. In adopting qualitative methods, this study examined the linguistic experiences of one of these cohorts, namely, Uzbek students pursuing studies in South Korea. Findings revealed that while Uzbek students often worked to improve both their English and Korean languages skills, they struggled to harmonize the academic and social contexts in which one language might be deemed more beneficial or practical than the other. Pedagogical implications are discussed.

Keywords: higher education, linguaculture, South Korea, international Uzbek students, sociolinguistic adjustment

INTRODUCTION

Few countries have experienced such a meteoric rise to economic stardom as South Korea (hereinafter, Korea). From 1963 to 2010, this country averaged 7% real economic growth annually, with only two years of economic contraction (Noland, 2012). Fast forward to 2021, the country ranked fourth and tenth amongst Asia's and the world's largest economic powers, respectively (S. Korea's economy..., 2021).

In the early stages of this growth, talented Korean students often expatriated to pursue higher education studies, commonly to the US. In more recent decades, while Koreans have continued to stay abroad after the completion of their degrees, many have also returned home. As a strong economy, Korea has presented lucrative employment opportunities; this growth, in part, has helped pave the way for increased competition in the Korean academic labor market (Kim, 2010). Not surprisingly, this competition has played a pivotal role in the growing international recognition and prestige of the higher education institutions (HEIs) in Korea.

Korean universities currently offer quality education programs that attract not only Korean citizens but also foreign nationals, who now turn to Korea for educational and economic opportunities. The most prominent of these groups, statistically, are Chinese and Vietnamese people. During 2017 and 2018, more than 68,000 Chinese students studied in Korea, representing almost half of the international student population in Korea, while Vietnamese totaled almost 15,000 students (Chung, 2018). Plentiful research has chronicled the struggles that these students face in adapting to Korea (An et al., 2018; Kwon, 2013). More recently, other Asian countries represent a growing number of students who opt to study in Korea. Uzbek students are one of these groups, which in 2017, with nearly 3,000 students, represented the sixth largest group of international students in Korea (No. of foreign students ..., 2018).

A common thread in the experiences of international students in Korea pertains to the predominant role that English can play in their lives, despite the fact that English is not widely spoken in any particular sphere of society. While several recent studies have examined the challenges faced by these newcomers to Korea, many of these studies have examined variables related to cultural adjustment (Choi & Kim, 2014; Kim et al., 2009) rather than the interplay between the languages international students have at their disposal. Further, these studies tend to regard Uzbek students within the larger region of Central Asia rather than as an individual group.

The purpose of this study was, therefore, to investigate the linguistic challenges Uzbek students experience as they adapt to their new academic communities in Korea. This study also heeds the call to further examine the role of regional centers and the diverse experiences of international students from different countries (Jon et al., 2014), particularly since our understanding of international students' perceptions and experiences of studying in Korea is modest at best (Alemu & Cordier, 2017).

Literature Review

Since the 1960s, Korea's economic, political, cultural, and artistic achievements have been almost unprecedented (Tudor, 2012). Early on, investment in industries such as steel, machinery, electronics, and shipbuilding facilitated this boom. More recently, Korea's internationalization efforts have thrived owing to the government's decision to open its capital markets to foreigners by joining the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). Additionally, its achievement of a stable democracy has played an important role in positioning Korea in the international arena (Mun & Moon, 2016).

Up until the 1980s, Korea leaned towards the expatriation of Korean nationals for education (Byun & Kim, 2011). Yet, Korea began to recognize the importance of increasing the prestige of its own universities. In its quest to strengthen its knowledge-based economy and technological innovation, Korea has, since the mid-1990s, worked to develop world-class universities (WCUs), particularly as higher education has become more global (Byun et al., 2014). One purpose of the development of WCUs has been to elevate the quality of education and research to the levels of global standards (Jang & Kim, 2013), which in turn has aided Korea in its efforts to increase its international stature (Kang, 2015). Korea has achieved this by establishing a number of projects, including the Study Korea project, established in 2004, to increase the number of foreign students in Korea, and the World Class University project, initiated in 2009, to recruit esteemed scholars from abroad and to improve the standing of Korea's universities in international rankings (Kang, 2015). The Brain Korea 21 Project, which aims to establish Korea as a top-10 country for academic research, has also proved successful. These endeavors have been brought to fruition via the implementation of several academic reforms, including mandatory English instruction, foreign professorships, and an increase in publications in internationally renowned academic journals (Country rankings, 2022).

Yet, as the demand for international education increases, host institutions have begun to expand beyond the traditional destinations of English-speaking and Western European countries; non-English speaking countries such as Korea have emerged as contenders to host international students (Jon et al., 2014).

The benefits of recruiting these students are numerous. For instance, Korea has been able to offset its decline in domestic enrollment, in large part due to a declining birth rate, as well as decrease brain drain by providing Koreans with a global knowledge network on their home soil (Byun & Kim, 2011). Internationalization also has the potential to fulfill the Korean government's desire to strengthen ties with international trading partners (Alemu & Cordier, 2017). Specifically, foreign students have the potential to become "ambassadors" for Korea, who in the long-run can act as liaisons in the development of international business and trade relationships (Byun & Kim, 2011). On paper, Korea's efforts have paid off handsomely, as Korea's top seven universities all rank within the top 200 universities worldwide (Best Universities in South Korea, 2020).

Although universities across the world have strived for internationalization, the efforts have not been without controversy. Specifically, internationalization efforts have spawned a novel situation that − as a result of the increasingly complex and diverse makeup of a campus's languages, communities, and cultures − has rendered the connection between "the language of instruction, a local host community, and a national culture and language" tenuous at best (Baker, 2016, p. 437). In short, a chasm exists between the development of policy and its execution. As Baker (2016) notes,

> Universities, although always international, are becoming increasingly multicultural and multilingual with very diverse student and staff bodies. This represents a challenge to the national orientation of universities over the last century and increases the need to adopt an international orientation. (p. 440)

The dilemma that Korea faces is the perception of higher education as "an economic commodity" (Byun & Kim, 2011, p. 468). For instance, as the Korean government's internationalization policy contributes to the increased international competitiveness of universities, much of the focus has been on quantitative measures, such as university rankings (Cho & Palmer, 2013). In one study, it was found that Korean professors felt internationalization policies largely disregarded the quality of courses taught in English, the academic capabilities of the foreign students accepted to the university, and the foreign professors who were offered faculty positions (Palmer & Cho, 2012). These findings are in line with similar worldwide criticisms of internationalization, including inadequate English-medium instruction (Altbach & de Wit, 2018); international students' struggles with intercultural development (Lantz-Deaton, 2017); and challenges of incorporating intercultural communicative competence into institutional language policies, curricula design, and staff and faculty training (Strotmann & Kunschak, 2022).

Consequently, despite some successes in recruiting international students, true internationalization is often perceived to be in name only, as notions of ethnic nationalism are still embedded in university curricula as well as between interactions of Korean and international students (Moon, 2016). A potential attendant consequence is, as Moon (2016) contends, "discrimination towards foreign students, high levels of dissatisfaction among foreign students, and rising tensions between foreign and local students" (p. 93). Other unintended repercussions include the social and geographic isolation of international students on campus as well as the impression that the university offers little organized support for international students (Palmer & Cho, 2012). What results is a paradox: Though Korea continues to make strides in achieving its goal of increasing its universities competitiveness on the world stage, it often does so at the expense of its international students, despite the positive role they play in the universities' success.

One particular challenge faced by international students in Korea pertains to language, namely the role that both English and Korean play in these students' efforts to adapt to the new social and academic communities. In recent decades, HEIs in Korea have undergone immense structural changes in order to accommodate the increased presence and function of English, particularly in regard to the transcontinental mobility of students and the burgeoning role of English in research and instruction (Byun & Kim, 2011). In this sense, the role of English "serves to demonstrate that a given institution readily provides access to a global space" (Choi et al., 2019, p. 2). However, at the same time, English has yet to carve out a consequential space for itself in any sector of society. And while international students may be required to provide

English examination scores as part of their application, the predominant language across campuses is still Korean. Thus, though many international students may consider their usage of English to be as a lingua franca, Korean students − in part, because their international experience is limited to the classroom or the campus − consider themselves to be English as a foreign language (EFL) learners (Kim et al., 2014). Further, although it is undoubtedly beneficial for international students to learn the Korean language, requiring Korean language proficiency for students poses a quandary for recruitment efforts, as Korean language programs are not common in other countries (Palmer & Cho, 2012). This lack of clarity can potentially disorient international students as they attempt to determine which contexts favor a particular language.

An example of this predicament can be seen in the classroom, as several universities have adopted EMI, or English-medium instruction. Briefly defined, EMI refers to "the use of the English language to teach academic subjects (other than English itself) in countries or jurisdictions where the first language of the majority of the population is not English" (Macaro et al., 2018, p. 37). In theory, the implementation of EMI aligns with a university's desire to internationalize, as the number of English-medium courses offered and the proportion of international faculty and students affect international university rankings (Cho, 2012). Potential classroom benefits of EMI include improvement in students' English language proficiency (Kang, 2012) as well as the establishment of an environment in which international students and Korean students can interact and collaborate using a common language (Kim et al., 2014). Further, the enhancement of English-language skills in tandem with content knowledge can better prepare students for diverse workplaces (Kim, 2017).

Practical application of EMI, however, is not without its drawbacks. For instance, while one potential positive outcome of EMI is the opportunity for Korean students to improve their English by communicating with international students, especially those who have limited Korean language skills or deem it an unnecessary language to master (Jon et al., 2014), a concomitant adverse effect can also ensue, namely, the frustration of international students who struggle to find Korean students with advanced English skills. Moreover, EMI can cause undue strain for Korean students and professors alike, an attendant consequence of which is reduced classroom interaction due to limited

English ability and inadequate EMI teaching methods (Kim, 2017). Other challenges pertain to a decline in learning outcomes, as linguistic comprehension issues can compromise students' acquisition of content (Cho, 2012).

In sum, as universities endeavor to internationalize their campuses, a host of challenges accompanies progress. In the case of Korea, these challenges should come as no surprise, as Korea continues to internationalize rapidly. In 2013 and 2014, Korea's international student population was roughly 85,000, which ranked 12th globally, and third in Asia behind China and Japan (Alemu & Cordier, 2017). Considering the continuous efforts of Korean universities to internationalize and the swift pace at which they try to accomplish it, the purpose of this study was to investigate the linguistic challenges of studying at a Korean university as perceived through the eyes of Uzbek nationals, currently the sixth largest group of international students in Korea. Specifically, this study aimed to examine the dynamic role that the Korean and English languages play as Uzbek students attempt to acclimate to their new academic environs.

METHOD

Chonnam National University

The study took place at Chonnam National University (hereinafter, CNU), a national public university located in Gwangju, Korea. In the spring semester of 2019, there were 27,049 undergraduate and 5,260 graduate students enrolled in the university. As of April 1, 2020, CNU had 835 foreign undergraduate and graduate students (Chonnam National University [Principal University]: Public Disclosure Information, [n.d.]). Of those students, 370 were from Uzbekistan, constituting the largest group of foreign students at CNU for Spring Semester 2020 (Chonnam National University [Principal University]: Status of Foreign Students [University], [n.d.]). Enrollment criteria for foreign students are based on scholastic and linguistic ability. Regarding the latter, applicants must demonstrate language proficiency either in the Korean language (TOPIK Level 3, or the equivalent through CNU's Language Education Center) or in the English language (a TOEFL score of 550 [CBT 210, IBT 80] or the equivalent score on IELTS [5.5], TEPS [550], or TOEIC [700]). Before attending classes, students must either complete TOPIK Level 4 or study the Korean language for a year at CNU's sister campus in Yeosu. Each department's web page elucidates whether a program's courses are taught in Korean or English. Majors such as business administration and English language and literature tend to have a higher selection of English-only classes compared to other programs, namely, the STEM courses.

Recruitment Methods

Recruitment for the study began in the spring of 2020. Undergraduate Uzbek nationals who were currently enrolled in or recently graduated from CNU were contacted via email. Snowball sampling (Check & Schutt, 2012) was adopted to recruit additional participants. Fifteen students agreed to participate in the study. The participants, all males, completed a written survey (see Appendix); surveys

TABLE 1. Characteristics of Participants

Participant	Age	Study Year	Years in Korea	Major
1	25	Master's Degree	5	Business Administration, English Language and Literature
2	24	4th	3	Business Administration
3	25	4th	4	Economics
4	21	3rd	2	Business Administration
5	21	3rd	2	Economics
6	21	2nd	1	Business Administration
7	21	3rd	3	Business Administration
8	20	2nd	1	Business Administration
9	21	2nd	1	Business Administration
10	22	2nd	2	Business Administration
11	24	2nd	2	English Language and Literature
12	24	3rd	2	Business Administration
13	24	3rd	2	Business Administration
14	22	3rd	2	English Language and Literature
15	21	2nd	2	Electrical Engineering

were completed between June and September of 2020. Five of these participants agreed to take part in a follow-up Skype interview; these interviews were conducted between August and September 2020 and ranged in length from 21 to 45 minutes. See Table 1 for participant details.

Data Collection and Analysis

This study, which employed qualitative methods, had as its data sources 15 surveys and 5 interviews. The survey, which was distributed to participants via email in an MS Word file, included three sections: basic background information (e.g., languages spoken, major, reasons for studying in Korea); issues related either to the Korean or English language; and issues related to Korean academic culture. Aside from the questions that asked for background information (e.g., gender, major), all questions were semi-structured.

To conduct data analysis, the researchers began by analyzing the surveys independently. Initial coding (Charmaz, 2008) entailed highlighting text or inserting memos in the survey margins pertaining to the participants' language-related struggles in adapting to Korea. This process yielded provisional categories (Saldaña, 2013). The next stage, axial coding, entailed reconfiguring the first-cycle categories by re-reading these data several times and attempting to establish and define the properties of categories (Charmaz, 2014). Selective coding followed, which involved determining the frequency and significance of the axial coding themes. Upon completion of these three stages, the two researchers cross-checked the individual codes of their axial coding (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Category disambiguation was conducted either to discard themes in which agreement could not be reached, or to clarify or reconcile similar interpretations.

The interviews also consisted of semi-structured questions. Specifically, the authors used the themes derived from the surveys as a means to jump-start conversation during the interview. The interviews also aided the authors to gain clarity or additional detail from a participant's survey responses. Finally, the interviews provided an outlet for the participants to speak more freely or at greater length than was possible in the survey.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Because the driving force behind this study was to better understand the linguistic perceptions and experiences of Uzbek international students as they navigated myriad social and academic struggles in Korean higher education, it was vital to choose a theoretical framework that placed language, namely, the participants' use of language within a global context, at the fore. For this reason, Risager's (2005) framework of linguaculture was chosen.

Linguaculture builds on Agar's (1994) languaculture, a concept that combines language and culture among native and non-native users of the same language, paying particular attention to "rich points" in intercultural communication, or events in which communication goes awry, yet provides individuals the opportunity to become aware of cultural differences (Risager, 2005, 2014). Risager (2005) builds on Agar's concept by focusing on its role within the realm of migration and globalization. In recent decades, it has become clear that traditional models of language teaching and learning have become antiquated, in light of the shifting landscapes of language and culture in connection with increased mobility and social networks in the digital age (Risager, 2010). Notions of transnationality and transculturality have played no small role in what Risager calls "the retreat of the national" (Risager, 2010, p. 3); in other words, national structures occupy a less prominent role, as they are subsumed by larger global networks and processes.

On campuses or in classrooms, Risager (2005) suggests a redefinition of language and culture, one that moves beyond the national paradigm and rather incorporates perspectives of transnationalism and globalism. Implications for the pedagogy of language and culture include the notion that languages are no longer necessarily restricted to specific geographic regions, as the contexts and the manner in which languages are used have changed drastically (Plough, 2018). Given this dynamic nature, the languages of a given context − regardless of their societal status or whether they are spoken as a first or additional language − are in a state of competition with one another (Risager, 2005). Consequently, as individuals simultaneously navigate multiple transnational networks, cultural contexts, and discourse communities, they carry their linguacultures with them (Plough, 2018). In this sense, the philosophical underpinnings of linguaculture align with the Uzbek participants of this study, who spoke multiple languages (Uzbek, Russian, English, Korean) and used these languages to negotiate different social and academic contexts.

Results

Initial data analysis revealed that our study's participants experienced several dilemmas that have already been well-documented, such as acculturative stress and adaptation (Park & Noh, 2018). More nuanced data analysis affirmed, however, that many participants' struggles across a variety of contexts were intertwined with language. In the following sections, we therefore report on the types of linguistic issues our participants experienced, the contexts in which they occurred, and whether they pertained to English, Korean, or both.

Pre-arrival Discord

Even before the participants arrived in Korea, the prospect of linguistic tension had begun to surface. When asked why they had chosen to study in Korea, participants offered a host of responses, the most common of which were quality of education (10 of 15, or 67%) and affordability of education (60%). Opportunity also emerged as a theme, such as the opportunity to travel, to learn about Korean technology or the success of Korean businesses, or for professional opportunities upon returning to Uzbekistan.

What is notable in these responses is that few participants, according to survey results, came to Korea to learn the Korean language. While some participants specifically mentioned Korea − for instance, four participants mentioned a desire to learn about Korean culture − only one of the 15 participants explicitly stated that a reason for studying in Korea was to learn the Korean language. The more common inclination (40%), namely, to study abroad in a general sense, eclipsed any preoccupation with a particular destination (e.g., Korea). As one participant remarked, "I never did have a plan or dream to study in non-English speaking countries in my childhood. However, as time passed, I understood that the benefits of studying in countries where English is rarely spoken do also exist."

Participants' ancillary interest in learning Korean was also likely accommodated by CNU's admission requirements for particular programs. For instance, though international students must achieve Korean language proficiency after having been admitted to the university, it is English proficiency that must be demonstrated via scores on internationally administered exams as part of the application process. Further, with the exception of electrical engineering, all of the programs listed in Table 1 offer English-medium course instruction and assessment. These programs are also advertised in English on CNU's website.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, several participants voiced their pre-arrival expectations regarding the role that the English language would play in their lives once they were in Korea. Three participants noted that they were under the impression that all Koreans could speak English well. As one remarked, "I thought that knowing English was enough for me to communicate with people." Another participant alluded to the importance of learning Korean, but only in passing: "Before coming to Korea I was thinking about learning basic Korean. But people told me Korean society is good at English." In sum, despite the fact that participants were planning to study in Korea, a country whose national language is Korean, the English language figured prominently into their perceptions of how they would manage their lives.

Expectation Versus Reality

Because the participants in this study often arrived with relatively strong English skills, coupled with the fact that their English proficiency facilitated their acceptance to CNU, they expected to be able to put their English language skills into immediate and frequent use in Korea. These expectations fell into two camps: using English explicitly in their coursework, as they had enrolled in English-medium programs; and using English as a bridge to learn the Korean language.

On many occasions, these perceptions were realized. On the whole, the role of English in academics factored significantly into the participants' responses. Twelve of the participants (80%), emphasized the importance of English either generally in academics or specifically within English-medium courses. Within the classroom, participants asserted that their ability to comprehend classroom lectures and engage meaningfully with their coursework assignments was due in large part to their English abilities.

Yet expectations and reality did not always align. For instance, four participants alleged that they struggled to understand or communicate with professors. A common theme that arose was professors' tendency to read English directly from PowerPoint slides rather than engage students in more natural English-medium interactions. Participants also claimed that professors would, on occasion, revert to Korean to clarify technical concepts. Further, while participants suggested that English-medium instruction amongst Korean professors was largely satisfactory, about 10% of the professors allegedly struggled with English. For instance, participants noted that the professors' pace of speaking was often slower, which over a full semester, could mean that not all course materials would be covered. Finally, participants claimed that professors may grapple with the need to field questions in English from an array of international students.

A divergence between expectation and reality also occurred as the participants expected to use English as a vehicle for learning about Korean language and integrating into Korean society. For instance, one theme that emerged was participants' struggles to connect with Korean undergraduates via English, either for social or academic reasons. As one participant noted, many of the Korean students have "a very low rate of English speaking ability, which made me so frustrated." This frustration also extended to participants' efforts to learn Korean. As one lamented, "I spent my first year learning Korean after coming here. It was terrible, because the textbook was in Korean."

At the same time, however, several participants converted these obstacles into learning opportunities. The participant with the engineering major, for instance, mentioned that English helped him to understand engineering concepts that were difficult for him to comprehend in Korean. Another participant found a silver lining with regard to some of his professors' struggles with English-medium instruction, remarking, "A big difference was in English language skill of some Korean professors. However, it was one of the big benefits for our Korean language learnings as we were obliged to speak more Korean in classes."

A Delicate Balance of Context, and a Hope for Change

As students struggled to weigh their expectations with reality, an attendant theme emerged, namely, the challenge of balancing the use of Korean and English depending on the context. Within the classroom, English skills were pivotal. Twelve participants noted that English helped them to comprehend lectures and to do their coursework, such as presentations and collaborative work (comparatively, only six participants mentioned that English helped them in everyday life). Participants also alleged that English helped them to attain higher scores and participate more actively in class. According to one participant, "Although I am not an advanced English speaker, English becomes my native language while studying because everything is in English ranging from lessons to assignments and presentations."

Concurrently, despite the impact English has, the relevance of Korean is also far-reaching. For international students at CNU, Korean competency on TOPIK Level 4 is obligatory in order to enroll in courses, even if the courses are English-medium courses. Advanced levels of Korean are also required for students who opt to take Korean-medium courses. Yet, the focus of the CNU Korean courses leans more towards general Korean rather than academic Korean. Consequently, general knowledge of Korean may not necessarily help students who take English-medium courses in which professors occasionally revert to Korean to clarify technical concepts. Another dilemma with learning the Korean language is compounded by the fact that many international students do not plan on staying in Korea or using Korean to any meaningful degree after graduation. Several participants duly noted that learning Korean for only a handful of courses does not make sense in the long run.

Owing to these in-class challenges, participants often navigated their academic and linguistic landscapes by consulting professors outside of class hours. As one participant declared, "Usually what I do when I take Korean classes is I talk with the professor and I get them to understand my situation. I ask if they are okay if I take the exams and homework assignments in English." He continued, "If they are okay, then I take that course. If not, I take another course. Usually, I take courses from professors that are good in English. Either way, it's not possible for me to understand the lectures in Korean." Beyond the classroom, Korean and English also intertwined. For instance, CNU's online portal for course registration is in Korean. According to several participants, one challenge with the portal pertains to determining whether courses were core courses or electives.

In general, participants seemed torn regarding the importance of the Korean language. For instance, one participant who focused on the incongruity of the English and Korean languages noted the following: "It's Korea, yes, but it's an international university, I think. Not all people come here to stay. They just come here to take experience and learn Korean experience and then go to their country. So, they don't have to learn Korean." However, at the same time, this sentiment was juxtaposed by several participants who felt that learning Korean was essential. Nearly half of the participants (7 of 15), in fact, explicitly mentioned that Uzbeks need to learn more about Korean culture and improve their Korean language skills. Eight of the participants also positively acknowledged their reliance on (and enjoyment of) CNU's Korean language courses to help them learn Korean. As one participant observed,

> [International students] should learn basic Korean. I think they are learning Korean before they come. But, still, I can see a lot of international Uzbek students, they only know English. And they think it's enough, but it's not. So, I don't think [learning Korean] is a choice.

Discussion and Conclusions

A common thread that emerged from this study's data analysis pertained to the role that language played in the participants' academic and social lives. Yet the linguistic dilemmas the students faced were not black-and-white; it was not a simple matter of participants choosing one language over another based on a particular context. Rather, the role of language was nuanced, thus obliging participants to negotiate scenarios in which both Korean and English intertwined. We, therefore, discuss in this section the linguistic complexities participants faced as they navigated an academic world inhabited by multiple languages. Specifically, by utilizing Risager's (2005) linguaculture framework, we consider the linguistic struggles our participants faced as they relate to the transnational contexts in which they occurred.

As noted earlier, few participants stated explicitly that they chose to study in Korea to learn the Korean language; rather, a desire to study abroad in general was mentioned. This is telling, because while language played a role, it was the role of English as a bridge to studying abroad, rather than the mother tongue of any particular country. These sentiments do not imply that the Uzbek students had no interest in learning Korean, merely that other considerations (e.g., quality of education, affordability, and professional opportunity) factored more definitively into their decision-making process. In a way, this makes sense − after all, international students are often accepted to university, in part, because of their scores on English-language exams; further, they expect that most, if not all, of their courses will be in English. It is therefore understandable that they may question, at least initially, the need for Korean or conclude that solid English language skills will suffice.

Choi and Kim (2014) examined how Central Asian students studying in Korea adjusted to their academic work and constructed meaning of the university's internationalization policy. They noted that upon arrival in Korea, "Central Asian students' language proficiencies are adequate for taking classes taught in English. Hence, as far as language goes, most of the students view being sufficiently fluent in English is the key to achieving academic success" (p. 99). The findings of our study seem to suggest this, too. However, there is a difference between what our participants "believe is key" versus the reality of testing it out; namely, our participants seemed to struggle to ascertain situations in which English versus Korean would or would not function for them. Recent research (e.g., Ahmad & Buchanan, 2016) suggests that an increasing number of Asian students opt to study in neighboring Asian countries. By studying in non-English-speaking countries such as Korea, these students face additional linguistic challenges, as English plays a minimal role in society. Further, citizens of these countries have not attained particularly high levels of English language competence. Our participants also encountered several situations in which the high level of their English competence was rendered trivial, because the interlocutors with whom they engaged exhibited a low level of English. The linguistic preconceptions of our participants thus align with the claim that one consequence of prioritizing English in higher education is the devaluation of other foreign languages (Phillipson, 2015; Wilkinson & Gabriëls, 2021). Though Korean in this context is technically not "foreign," as it is the national language of Korea, international students may arguably see this differently.

Once on campus, participants also experienced a variety of linguistic dilemmas. Our finding that participants' struggles to connect with Korean students via English − both to form friendships and as a bridge to learn Korean − mirrors the findings of Moon's (2016) study, which found that international students expressed frustration at Korean students' unwillingness (or perhaps inability) to speak in English. Within the classroom, our participants alleged that their English language skills were critical to their success, which ties to the Kim et al. (2014) study, which found that Korean students exhibited low confidence in EMI courses and that the requirement of English significantly affected their achievement. International students, on the other hand, had a low tolerance for the use of Korean in EMI courses and were also frustrated at the lack of interaction in EMI courses.

The linguistic dilemmas of the participants also extended to classroom interactions with professors. Many participants pointed out, perhaps fairly, that their professors struggled with English, which has been shown to be a common phenomenon. In Choi and Kim's (2014) study, for instance, several international students alleged that professors would switch from English to Korean during lectures, and also on occasion provide supplementary explanations in Korean to ease the cognitive burden of Korean students, which simultaneously alienated many international students. In this regard, a highlight of this study is not that the participants encountered similar dilemmas in the classroom, but how they negotiated them. For example, as noted earlier, one participant used his developing Korean language skills to reconcile the predicaments some of his professors encountered in teaching in English. Similarly, in a linguistic reversal, another participant mentioned that he would propose to his professors in Korean-medium courses that his assignments and assessments be offered in English. These incidents provide evidence of the complex interlacing of Korean and English in the participants' academic lives. Yet, they simultaneously illustrate the Uzbek students' efforts of achieving a balance in which the students recognize the need to recalibrate their linguistic expectations in order to adjust to the academic community of which they are trying to become members.

The purpose of this study was to examine the linguistic hurdles that international students faced, in this case undergraduate Uzbek students, while studying at a Korean university. Findings revealed that the English language monopolized participants' conceptions prior to living in Korea. Upon arrival, however, participants needed to find a balance between the contexts and frequency with which Korean and English would be necessary.

Developed countries where English is not a first or national language are increasingly becoming desirable destinations of higher education for international students. Nevertheless, it is still common for English to play a pivotal role in these students' lives abroad, both in everyday and academic usage. This is unique to contexts like Korea; unlike in the U.S. or Australia, where English can be prevalent in both everyday life and academic contexts, the Korean context straddles two languages. International students must therefore not only develop proficiency in these languages, but better understand how these languages factor into their lives.

In higher education, it is vital for all participants − not just international students − to be cognizant of linguistic and cultural variation in communication and learning, and how this variation can lead to different understandings. This notion is particularly important because, as Baker (2016) asserts, "intercultural exchanges do not by themselves guarantee growth in intercultural awareness" (p. 438). Students must also engage meaningfully with appropriate support, evaluation, and reflection. Traditionally, efforts towards internationalization have centered on foreign students adapting to the language and culture of the host country rather than the reconfiguration of a higher education environment to critically develop a more contemporary international and transcultural campus. In this regard, the experiences of the participants in this study reflect several critical implications of Risager's (2005) linguaculture framework: first, that in the digital age, language resides not in a geographical region but within a dynamic worldwide network; and second, that the target language (whatever that may be) requires of its participants an awareness of its complex multilingual and multicultural functions.

Based on the findings of this study, we feel that a stronger and more transparent bridge is needed to help international students (in this case, Uzbek students) and Korean students and faculty better understand the complex and varied roles that the Korean and English languages play in helping international students situate themselves in a new academic culture, utilizing both languages to enhance opportunities for success. Other studies have recommended policy changes to improve intercultural communication such as intercultural training for students, faculty, and staff and the establishment of environments that can foster intercultural interaction (Choi & Kim, 2014). However, considering the linguistic bent of this study's findings, what we would recommend is an increase in intercultural training via more strategic language instruction in both

Korean and English, using these languages as a bridge towards the vision of improved intercultural communication.

A first recommendation would entail improved efforts on the part of CNU (and universities in general) to better delineate for students what aspects of their lives (both off and on campus) might require English versus Korean. For instance, English might be useful in several courses, but Korean is vital in both everyday life and several facets on campus, such as navigating the university's online course registration portal. To this end, CNU could offer a hybrid language-orientation workshop that offers both Korean language instruction and university basics simultaneously.

A second recommendation pertains to CNU's Korean language course offerings. While many of the participants in this study lauded CNU's Korean language courses, there is clearly still room for improvement based on the linguistic dilemmas the participants faced. We, thus, recommend that Korean language courses not only continue to increase in difficulty for students but do so strategically; in other words, the Korean courses could provide insight into the various contexts, both within and outside of the classroom or campus, in which students might use Korean. Further, these courses could integrate core cultural concepts pertaining to Korean academics as well as specialized cross-curricular Korean terms and concepts that apply to all study programs.

To be clear, it is not solely the responsibility of the university to rectify these issues. We reiterate that it is the responsibility of both international students and the university to bridge any perceived linguistic gaps. Though the Uzbek participants had their share of concerns regarding what the university could be doing better, they also clearly voiced improvements that they themselves are responsible for. In short, many of the participants seem to think that the solution is for the international students themselves to change, but the university plays no small role in helping them achieve this.

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APPENDIX

Written Survey

Basic Information

Age:
Gender:
Major:
Year in program (*1st year*, *2nd year*, *graduate school*, *etc.*):
    If you have graduated, when did you graduate?:
Number of years in Korea:
Languages spoken:

Background Questions

1. Why did you choose to study in Korea?
2. Why did you choose not to study in Uzbekistan?
3. What expectations did you have before beginning your university education in Korea?
4. How has reality differed from those expectations?

Issues Related to Language

5. What linguistic challenges have you faced in learning the Korean language?
6. What types of assistance (e.g., internet, Korean students, Korean professors, language classes) do you use to help you with Korean?
7. What role, if any, does the English language play in your academic studies or social life?
8. Many of CNU's courses are offered in English. How does your English language ability help you (or not help you) in class?

Issues Related to Korean Academic Culture

9. Which aspects of Korean academic culture have been easy to adapt to? Why?
10. Which aspects of Korean academic culture have been difficult to adapt to? Why?
11. How do you cope with these difficulties? What organizations or people do you rely on for guidance?
12. What changes do you think <u>the university could make</u> to help Uzbek

students (and other international students) adapt more easily to university life in Korea?

13. What changes do you think Uzbek students could make to help themselves (and other international students) adapt more easily to university life in Korea?
14. What extracurricular activities (connected to the university) are you involved in? If you are not involved in any, why not? What activities are you interested in?
15. How often do you interact with Korean students? If you interact with Korean students, what is the purpose of the interactions (e.g., friendship, group projects in class, etc.)?
16. Are there any other issues that factor into your adaptation to Korea (social, academic, linguistic, etc.)?

Native-Speakerism in Japan: How Systemic Prejudice Impacts English Education Policy and Practice

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Throughout many countries found in the "expanding circle," there exists a form of linguistic racism known as native-speakerism, which privileges or discriminates against foreign language teachers based on their being or not being a native speaker of a particular language. This study critically examines the role that native-speakerism has played and continues to play on English language teaching (ELT) in Japan through a careful analysis of the literature surrounding native-speakerism. Through establishing the significant effects native-speakerism has had on a nation's educational practices and policy, as well as on hiring practices and policies in private language schools and tertiary education institutions, the study aims to shine a light on the detrimental effect that native-speakerism has on ELT within Japan and, to a lesser extent, Korea. It also suggests means through which native-speakerism can be combated, not only in the context of Japan but also in any context affected by native-speakerism.

Keywords: Japan, Korea, native-speakerism, linguistic imperialism

INTRODUCTION

Under the current global neoliberal economy, great emphasis is placed on the development of human capital, particularly on the cultivation of English communication abilities, which are "deemed part of the essential competence to survive in this unstable and yet globalized workforce" (Kubota, 2015, p. viii). However, not all English is held to be equal, and there is an extreme reverence and deference shown to native speakers of the language, in particular, those born in Great Britain and America. This has resulted in the persuasive ideology known as *native-speakerism*, which involves the preferential treatment of, and the ceding of authority and linguistic ownership to, “inner-circle” native speakers of English. As this paper will demonstrate, native-speakerism continues to have a dramatic influence on the policies and practices of English pedagogy in Japan, just as it has had on nearby countries such as Korea, Singapore, and China.

Background

The historical diffusion of English throughout the world is, perhaps, best captured by Kachru’s (1985) three circles of English model, which presents the distribution of English as three concentric circles: (a) the *inner circle*, or those countries traditionally seen as the sociolinguistic base of English, for example, the UK and the US; (b) the *outer circle*, which are countries with colonial ties to the former British Empire, including India, Hong Kong, and Singapore; and (c) the *expanding circle*, which demarcates those countries with no socio-historical or colonial links towards Anglospheric expansionism, such as Japan, Korea, Brazil, and Russia.

The spread of English from the inner through to the expanding circle is fueled by the principles of the neoliberal “free” market, which emphasizes an individual’s responsibility to develop their human capital, that is, skills and knowledge that will give them a competitive edge in the current knowledge economy (Keeley, 2007; Smith, 2021). The mastery of English, the only hyper-centralized global language (Samuell & Smith, 2020), is viewed as particularly advantageous. This mastery facilitates and, indeed, gates access to prestigious credentials, employment opportunities, and social mobility (Ferguson et al., 2011). The everyday discourse surrounding English’s proliferation presents it as purely “natural, neutral, and beneficial” (Pennycook, 1994, p. 8), devoid of socio-political dimensions. However, there is a growing awareness that this naive interpretation ignores “the relationships between English and unequal distributions and flows of wealth, resources, culture, and knowledge” (Pennycook, 1994, p. 24).

The socio-political dimensions inherent in language pedagogy was famously critiqued by Phillipson (1992), who introduced the concept of *linguistic imperialism*, more specifically, English linguistic imperialism, which delineates how “the dominance of English is asserted and maintained by the establishment and continuous reconstitution of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages" (Phillipson, 1992, p. 47). From this viewpoint, the inner circle, or dominant Anglophonic countries, ensures their hegemonic position by imposing Anglo-centric economic, educational, and cultural models and norms on the outer and expanding circles, or those countries where English is a second or foreign language, respectively. In consequence, these structures reinforce the position of English within the global linguistic market, privileging members of inner circle countries with increased cultural and linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1991). Phillipson identifies several fundamental tenets undergirding the privileged positioning of English in the global linguistic market and its teaching methodology, namely, that English is best taught monolingually; native speakers make the best teachers; the earlier English is taught, the better; the more English is taught, the better; and the use of other languages results in decreased standards of English.

Native-Speakerism and the Native Speaker − Non-native Speaker Divide

While linguistic imperialism provides insight into power inequality in ELT on a macro level, its focus on the global milieu suggests that it has "tended to reduce human relations to a reflection of the political economy" (Pennycook, 1994, p. 54). To refocus on issues at a more local level, Holliday (2005, 2009) examined power inequality arising from what he termed *native-speakerism*, perhaps most comprehensively defined by Houghton and Rivers (2014) as follows:

> Native-speakerism is prejudice, stereotyping, and/or discrimination, typically by or against foreign language teachers, on the basis of either being or not being perceived and categorized as a native speaker of a particular language, which can form part of a larger complex of interconnected prejudices including ethnocentrism, racism, and sexism. Its endorsement positions individuals from certain language groups as being innately superior to individuals from other language groups. (p. 14)

The entrenched conviction that native speakers "represent a 'Western Culture' from which spring the ideals both of English and of the methodology for teaching it" (Holliday, 2005, p. 6) has led to the global dissemination of educational texts and materials based on the latest inner circle methodology, regardless of context or culture. Indeed, native speakers "have been assured that this [methodology] is the correct one, and that their role is to adapt it to their learners, or their learners to it" (Kumaravadivelu, 2006, p. 20). However, these methodologies and materials inherently hold up the cultural beliefs, learning styles, and pronunciation and accents of inner circle countries as the normative standards to be embraced and emulated. Holliday (2005), in particular, refers to communicative language teaching, arguing that the underlying assumptions behind concepts such as "learner-centeredness" and "learner autonomy" prescribe and generally underestimate what learners from outer and expanding circles are able or unable to do, presuming a deficiency requiring correction on behalf of the learner, which "encourages teachers to be crusaders in their quest to *change* their students into 'better' thinkers and 'learners'" (p. 80).

The role native-speakerism plays in ELT is not confined to dictating the best practices and methodologies for English education and attempting to awaken learners to inner circle cultural beliefs but has also resulted in the marginalization of non-native educators, not only by native speakers but by non-native students, institutions, and educators themselves. This is clearly evidenced in unequal working conditions and opportunities. Despite the vast majority of teachers of English (conservatively estimated at around 80% [Canagarajah, 2005]) not holding native speaker status, a substantial number of employees list "nativeness" as a prerequisite to employment or hold non-native speakers to more stringent requirements (Clark & Paran, 2007; Ruecker, 2011; Selvi, 2010). Remuneration is also staggeringly disproportionate, with native teachers receiving vastly higher salaries than their non-native counterparts (Doan, 2014; Jeon & Lee, 2006).

Native-speakerism is further reflected in students' perceptions of non-native teachers as being less qualified and less linguistically competent than their native counterparts (Lippi-Green, 1997; Ma, 2012) and of non-standard accents as being of lower status (Dalton-Puffer et al., 2003). More alarmingly, this sense of linguistic inferiority is often shared and internalized by non-native teachers themselves, who perceive native teachers as being better teachers based purely on their nativeness and familiarity with the language (Aneja, 2016; Floris, 2013; Llurda & Huguet, 2003). This inferiority in the face of the native teacher's linguistic capital can lead to anxiety and linguistic insecurity, resulting in a reluctance to present ideas and ceding authority to the native speaker on issues such as curriculum development and teaching methodology (Hwang & Yim, 2019; Tsui & Bunton, 2000). Llurda (2009) goes as far as to compare the situation to Stockholm Syndrome, stating that non-native-speaking English teachers "have accepted formulations, proposals, and attitudes that relegate them to mere spectators and at times executioners of [native speaker] norms" (p. 2).

It should be noted that while native-speakerism tends to result in the preferential treatment of native speakers, native speakers themselves can suffer from discrimination as, in particular educational contexts, they are perceived as being merely cultural ambassadors and entertainers, and therefore not taken seriously as educational professionals (Houghton & Rivers, 2013).

The Fallacy Behind the Native Speaker − Non-native Speaker Divide

Despite the cultural and linguistic capital tied to native speaker status, many hold that the concept of a native speaker is spurious, that is, a purely social, not linguistic construct (Brutt-Griffler & Samimy, 2001; Davies, 2003) based on fallacious assumptions about language ownership and authenticity. While standardized norms of English are commonly tied to the United Kingdom and the United States, the appropriation of English throughout the outer and expanding circles has resulted in an array of legitimate varieties of English. These varieties have been altered at the lexical and grammatical levels to suit the purposes of the given context and are no longer dependent on the norms prescribed by inner circle countries (Chaung, 2002; Holliday, 2009; Widdowson, 1994). Ergo, ownership of a language should not be granted by virtue of the place of birth but instead may be claimed if a speaker can access the material and symbolic resources associated with knowing the language (Norton, 1997).

The view of native speakers being inherently superior pedagogically speaking has found no support in current research. Even in areas such as pronunciation, where a strong belief that native speakers provide the overriding model has been documented (Chen, 2008; Lasgabaster & Sierra, 2002), the nativeness of the teacher has been shown to have no significant impact on the students' improvement in comprehensibility and accent (Levis et al., 2016). In fact, it has been argued that the best possible model for students is non-native speakers proficient in English who share an L1 with the students (Jenkins, 2016), and that holding up a native speaker as an aspirational model potentially causes psychological distress and erroneous feelings of inferiority, which hinders language development (Fujiwara, 2017). Yet, despite the lack of evidence of there being any pedagogical merit to the native-speaker-as-teacher model and that the very concept of a native speaker itself has been found to have no linguistic basis, native-speakerism has had, and continues to have, a profound impact on ELT throughout the world, particularly within Northeast Asia.

The Perception of English in Japan

The English educational policies and practices in Japan, similar to those found in Korea, reflect the ideological impact of linguistic imperialism (Samuell & Smith, 2020; Smith, 2018). The Japanese perception of English as being necessary to compete on the global scale can be tied back to the Meiji Era, when the country was forced to open itself to international trade and communication by U.S. Commodore Matthew Perry. This left interpreters and translators scrambling to acquire the English skills to forge better relations, get more favorable treaties, and gain access to the resources and knowledge possessed by the technologically superior West (Masons & Caiger, 1997).

Since then, the cultural capital associated with English has only increased, which is reflective of the burgeoning emphasis on globalization and the belief that learning English brings with it significant advantages in the job market and transnational mobility (Kubota, 2011a; Smith, 2021; Tollefson, 2000). This belief persists, even though English skills are not necessarily reflected in upward career mobility (Kubota, 2011a), and the reality that English education, while being touted as a tool to improve one's social position in the meritocratic society of countries such as Japan and Korea, actually works to reinforce dominant class structures (Smith, 2019, 2021).

Advertising throughout Japan positions English as being "the agent of change in people's lives" (Seargeant, 2009, p. 45), that is, offering a better lifestyle, freedom, and independence, as well as financial security and career mobility. It is mainly portrayed as a powerful tool for self-realization and personal fulfilment for women, as it is advertised in many magazines as a means of "reinventing and empowering one's womanhood, as a women's indispensable weapon to cope in chauvinistic Japan" (Piller & Takahashi, 2006, p. 64).

This belief in the utility of English is bolstered by the increasing emphasis the business sector places on human capital in general and communicative competence in particular. Nippon Keidanren (Japan Business Foundation), which has historically wielded a significant political influence, has been pushing for educational reform to focus on improving English linguistic capabilities in order to boost the global competitiveness of Japan. In particular, they stated that "English competency should be regarded not as special skills but as the ability that all employees need to maintain at a certain level" (as cited in Kubota, 2011b, p. 250). Notice the focus is on English competency specifically; other forms of bilingualism or multilingualism are believed to have little value as linguistic capital (Kubota, 2002).

The increased focus on globalization and English capabilities in the business sectors has created drastic hiring and business policy changes. As measured by TOEIC and other English proficiency tests, it has become quite common for English proficiency to be used to gatekeep applicants from hiring and promotion. Some companies provide training in English to employees either during or after working hours. For example, Fujitsu, a large electronics firm, requires employees to learn English and take a national proficiency test to demonstrate their ability (Honna & Takeshita, 1998). Companies such as the e-commerce juggernaut Rakuten and global clothing brand UNIQLO have gone so far as to institutionalize the language, declaring it the official language of the company in order to conduct daily operations solely in English (Kubota, 2013). These factors have led to radical shifts in educational policies by the Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology (MEXT) and the booming business of English education in the private sector through language schools known as *eikaiwa*, both of which reflect an underlying privilege of and prejudice against native speakers.

Japanese Education Policy

The ever-increasing linguistic capital associated with English is reflected in the continuous educational reforms and stringent goals set by MEXT regarding English education in the Japanese school system. In 2003, MEXT published a document entitled *Regarding the establishment of an action plan to cultivate "Japanese with English abilities,"* which essentially reiterated the need for citizens to develop better English skills, with the then education minister stating:

> For children living in the 21st century, it is essential for them to acquire communication abilities in English as a common international language. In addition, English abilities are important in terms of linking our country with the rest of the world, obtaining the world's understanding and trust, enhancing our international presence and further developing our nation. (MEXT, 2003, para. 3)

This statement was made in relation to the educational reforms proposed by MEXT in *A strategic plan to cultivate "Japanese with English abilities,"* published one year prior. These reforms involved introducing compulsory foreign language education to elementary schools, which, while not directly specifying the language has to be English, assumes the foreign language introduced will be English, making it a de facto compulsory subject. Educational reforms in 2011 have removed any ambiguities from the situation, and English education has become mandatory in the final years of elementary schools, which drastically reduces the opportunities for students to learn foreign languages aside from English. The plan also laid out the expectations of English proficiency for junior high school and senior high school graduates and English teachers themselves. These proficiencies were explicitly related to the STEP test, a Japanese test provided by a corporation backed by MEXT. The action plan further advocated for all Japanese people to "aim at achieving a level of English commensurate with average world standards based on objective indicators such as STEP, TOEFL, and TOEIC." (MEXT, 2003, section 1, para. 1)

The policy reform also calls for the rejection of grammar- or translation-based teaching and instead advocates a move to a communicative-based approach to English education. In line with this, MEXT established the goal that "the majority of an English class will be conducted in English" (MEXT, 2003, section 2.1, para. 1), which negates the benefits of having a teacher who can engage with the student in their L1. To aid Japanese teachers in engaging classes in English discourse and to act as models for students to emulate, foreign nationals who are proficient speakers of English are dispatched to schools around Japan. These teachers are referred to as assistant language teachers (ALTs) and are not necessarily from inner circle countries, though they typically are. MEXT's policy reasserts the importance of nativeness, as it states,

> A native speaker of English provides a valuable opportunity for students to learn living English and familiarize themselves with foreign languages and cultures. To have one's English understood by a native speaker, increases the students' joy and motivation for English learning. In this way, the use of a native speaker of English has great meaning. (MEXT, 2003, section 2.2, para. 3)

Hashimoto, in her breakdown of the problems inherent in the Japanese policy (2009), points out that while the English translation of the original *ikiteru English* as living English may suggest the meaning of being actively and currently used, the connotation in Japanese is one of authentic, genuine English. This illuminates the underlying assumption that "nativeness" brings with it ownership and authenticity.

The Japan Exchange and Teaching Program and the Hiring of ALTs

For many years, most ALTs were recruited through the Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) Program established in 1987 (McCrostie, 2017). This program is coordinated by the Council of Local Authorities for International Relations (CLAIR). Specifically, it aims to employ young, newly graduated citizens of a limited, select group of eligible countries. The only requirement set by CLAIR for applicants to the program is that they hold a bachelor's degree in any discipline. There is no need for any teaching experience or qualifications. The percentage of ALT teachers with a qualified background in education or pedagogy is estimated to be 15 percent or less (Browne, 2008).

Prior to 2013, the JET Programme only recruited native speakers in the language to be taught. However, this requirement has been relaxed to being "adept in contemporary standard pronunciation, rhythm, and intonation in the designated language" (JET Programme, 2021a, item 6), of which evidence is required for applicants outside of the inner circle.

However, the preference for inner circle participants, particularly those from the United States, is still clearly evidenced in the employment figures. The first year of the program saw the hiring of 813 ALTs, all of whom came from inner circle countries (Honna & Takeshita, 1998). While the program has expanded dramatically over the years and now includes ALTs hired as teachers of languages other than English, over 85% of ALTs employed in 2019 came from inner circle countries, predominantly from the United States (JET Programme, 2021b).

In 1999, a law restricting the types of work dispatch companies can provide employees for was deregulated. Since then, many schools have turned to private language companies to provide ALTs instead of utilizing the JET Programme (San Jose & Piquero-Ballesca, 2010). These companies employ many ALTs from countries outside the inner circle. However, privately employed ALTs are typically paid far less than their JET counterparts, sometimes earning as much as a million yen (or approximately $10,000 US) less per annum (Flynn, 2011). Furthermore, many of these private companies restrict their official working week to 29.5 hours, which standardly reflects only teaching time and does not include commuting time, class preparation time, or breaks between classes. This allows employers to evade enrolling employees into the Japanese Social Insurance program, Shakai Hoken, which means that employees are forced to pay for health insurance themselves and are without any form of unemployment insurance or pension

Native-Speakerism in the *Eikaiwa* System

One of the largest industries in Japan is the provision of English education by commercial English language schools, which are known as *eikaiwa*. The increasing desire for English and the value of its linguistic capital has fueled a boom in the industry, and it has now become worth approximately 3 billion dollars a year (U.S. Commercial Service, 2015). This boom has been described as "a commercialized activity built on the commodification of English, whiteness, Western culture and native speakers constructed as superior, cool, exotic, or desirable" (Kubota, 2011, p. 486). Most students who attend eikaiwa do so to be taught by and converse with native speakers (Kavanagh, 2011). Their expectations of the characteristics of a native speaker are very narrowly defined, going beyond citizenship and place of birth to ethnicity.

The very marketing of eikaiwa is tied to the image of the white

Caucasian male as the iconic native speaker (Bailey, 2006; Seargeant, 2009). Eikaiwa chains promote the idea that you will be given access to native speakers by attending their classes, and their advertising typically anchors this image to ethnicity. Often their hiring practices also reflect this preference, with one eikaiwa going as far as blatantly advertising for teachers with "blond hair, blue or green eyes" ("English School Condemned...," 2007). Having unabashedly endorsed these expectations, it should come as little surprise to hear the extent of outright racism that exists in eikaiwas on behalf of students and their refusal to be taught by teachers that do not conform to their preconceived notion of nativeness. Lowe and Pinner (2016) related a time where their colleague, a British-born woman of Indian descent, had their student leave at first sight of them to demand a "real" English speaker. Instances like these are, unfortunately, far from being isolated events.

Native-Speakerism at the Tertiary Level

Native-speakerism is also heavily found at the university level within Japan. On a policy level, the belief that English-only classrooms are the optimal learning environment is found throughout institutions in Japan. The insistence on classes being conducted in that manner dominates many institutions in Japan, even when Japanese teachers strongly feel their classes would be enhanced by using the L1 (Klevber, 2000; McMillan & Rivers, 2011; Schmidt, 1995). With regard to hiring practices, a study by Hayes (2013) found that requirements of formal qualifications are often relaxed for native speakers and that "in general, a master's degree in any subject would be sufficient" (p. 137).

It was also noted that there were few expectations for foreign teachers to have any Japanese language capabilities. This limits the amount of administrative work they can do, which makes it a situation described as a "remarkable indulgence accorded to white academics and intellectuals" (Lie, 2001, p. 173). Such an indulgence was not extended to non-Japanese teachers who did not fit into the prevailing native speaker ideology. Such teachers were particularly disadvantaged, as they "receiv[ed] desk rejections when it could not be conceptualized how they might conform to the Japanese/'other' bifurcations that assumed 'others' to be native speakers of English." (Hayes, 2013, pp. 145–146). Above and beyond the preferential treatment of inner circle native speakers, it has been suggested that tertiary institutes in Japan show a bias for hiring applicants, both native and non-native, with qualifications from inner circle institutes, also known as the "center qualification bias" (Lowe, 2015).

Native-Speakerism and Language Insecurity

Several studies have highlighted the high level of language anxiety suffered by Japanese students when required to speak English (Burden, 2004; Hashimoto, 2002; Kondo & Yang, 2003; Suzuki, 2017). This anxiety is shared by Japanese teachers, who feel a great deal of anxiety about their own language competence when teaching with native ALTs (Crooks, 2001; Tajino & Tajino, 2000). The common cause here is the fear of negative evaluation of their speaking ability and a lack of confidence in their communication ability. These reasons are inexorably linked to the perception of English as being owned by members of inner circle countries and the evaluation of the Japanese accent and Japanese English as being incorrect and not native-like.

The preference for inner circle accents in Japan has been well documented, and the familiarity with and prestige given to these accents has resulted in a devaluing of other varieties of accents (Matsuura et al., 1994, 1995). This has resulted, in particular, in a negative view of Japanese English and the Japanese accent, which is seen as "incorrect" and "incomprehensible" (Matsuda, 2003). When surveyed about their view of the Japanese accent, students responded with opinions such as "I hate it. It's not cool" (Matsuda, 2003, p. 10) and "I don't want to speak like that" (Matusda, 2003, p. 11).

Native-speakerism policies have also resulted in negative feelings in both Japanese teachers and students trying to achieve the goal of an English-only classroom. Teachers interviewed in Klevberg's (2000) study admitted to turning to their L1 to explain complicated grammar and vocabulary, establish rapport, and help struggling students. However, despite completing these goals, the teachers reported feelings of guilt, shame, and laziness for relying on their L1. These feelings were mirrored by students unable to live up to the English-only policy, who reported feeling guilt and disappointment when they used their L1 in the classroom (Rivers, 2011).

Prejudice Against Native Speakers

While native-speakerism in Japan does privilege speakers from inner circle countries, as it does in Korea and other countries throughout Asia, there is an undercurrent of prejudice towards them in the policies and hiring practices. An analysis of the guidelines set by MEXT (Hashimoto, 2013) demonstrates the suggestion that native speakers are perceived purely as assistants, not teachers, and exist to be utilized by the Japanese teacher, just as any other classroom resource, such as a CD player, would be. A view that is often reinforced by the treatment of ALTs, who, studies have found, are frequently under-used and seem more as guests from abroad or walking tape recorders than equals who are fully capable of contributing to the communicative classroom (Aspinall, 2006; Tajino, 2002; Tajino & Tajino, 2000). Browne (2008) and Hashimoto (2013) went so far as to suggest that educational qualifications in ALTs are deliberately not sought after to prevent any sense of equality with or threat to the authority of the Japanese teacher. The extent of the underutilization of ALTs is highlighted in MEXT's statistics. In 2019, MEXT reported that while ALTs were utilized in approximately 63.7% of elementary English classes, they were used only in 34.6% of junior high school classes and 19.9% of senior high school classes (MEXT, 2020).

The view of native speakers as replaceable resources of value only for their nativeness is reflected in the short-term employment practices in Japan. Rather than seeking to invest in and develop long-term employees, a large majority of corporations and institutions put upper limits on the length of a native speaker's employment, who are typically signed to one-year renewable contracts. The JET Programme utilizes just such a yearly contract, where they allow contracts to be renewed twice for a total of three years, although teachers of "exceptionally high standards" may be permitted to renew their contract twice more, allowing a maximum of five years (JET Programme, 2021c). This disposable treatment is echoed in tertiary institutions (Hayes, 2013), where despite being privileged in terms of less strict hiring practices, native speakers are often limited to contract and part-time positions, with little scope for advancement to tenured positions.

Native-Speakerism in the Korean Context

While this paper has fundamentally focused on native-speakerism in the Japanese context, it should be noted that the situation within Japan is far from unique, and native-speakerism can be found in contexts throughout the outer and expanding circles. This is evident in the Korean context, in which the practices and policies very much parallel those in Japan. It can be seen that in Korea, as in Japan, the hegemonic structures and ideological beliefs exemplify linguistic imperialism (Samuell & Smith, 2020; Smith, 2018). These structures and beliefs that glorify English and reinforce its position as a dominant language in the Korean context have led to a similar situation as in Japan, where systematic native-speakerism has been demonstrated to adversely affect ELT and the ELT community.

Just as in Japan, there is a preference within Korea for English education based on the norms of inner circle countries, particularly in regards to American English norms. There is a deeply entrenched perception of the linguistic ownership and authority of native speakers within the Korean mindset, especially in terms of native speakers being the only "correct" model of pronunciation (Ahn et al., 2020). This desire to adhere to American English norms goes so deep as to hamper education, as these benchmarks are "overemphasized as the only appropriate and accurate way of using and speaking English" (Ahn, 2011, p. 700).

One unfortunate ramification of holding up native speakers as exemplars of correct English is the questioning of self-worth, at least in terms of linguistic competence, on behalf of non-native teachers in Korea. This feeling of inadequacy can lead to suffering from a permanent sense of linguistic insecurity and demoralization in the face of the superior linguistic capital held by native speakers (Park, 2009; Hwang & Yim, 2019). This is perhaps worsened by the elitism displayed by many native-speaking teachers within Korea, who bear a self-righteous belief not only in the superiority of their linguistic capabilities, but seemingly also in their supposed cultural superiority. This can result in native speaker "saviorism," where native-speaking teachers perceive themselves through a heroic light, believing they are the only ones who can provide students with the English competence required to partake in the social, cultural, and economic benefits of globalization (Jenks & Lee, 2019).

Native-speakerism in Korea is also reflected within hiring practices. The English Program in Korea (EPIK) is very similar to its Japanese counterpart, the JET Programme, in that it is the government-affiliated program designed to place foreign teachers in English classrooms throughout Korea. A comparison of both programs has revealed similar problems, one major one being their hiring practices focused on predominantly citizens of inner circle countries (Ahn et al., 1998; Jeon & Lee, 2006). This preference for hiring native speakers in Korea extends to online recruitment. The ideal applicant is commonly painted as a native speaker from a list of inner circle countries, ideally Caucasian, and inexperienced (Ruecker & Ives, 2014).

Similar to the Japanese context, there is evidence that while native-speakerism often privileges native speakers in Korea, it has led to discrimination as well. While their inherent linguistic capital empowers native speakers over non-native speakers, the worth of native teachers in Korea is often seen purely in terms of their linguistic capital, while ignoring other cultural capital that teachers may possess. This brands native speakers as "unqualified and incompetent teachers who lack proper institutional cultural capital" (Hwang & Kim, 2019, p. 15).

Combatting Native-Speakerism

To disrupt and dismantle the hegemonic power structures enforced by native-speakerism, Kumaravadivelu (2016) has called for the subaltern community to act to create what he terms "a grammar of decoloniality," which consists of designing context-specific instructional strategies, preparing teaching materials suited to the context, and restructuring existing teacher education programs to develop teachers into producers of pedagogic knowledge and material. However, as worthwhile as such a goal may be, it remains a long-term process. In the immediate future, the focus needs to be placed on raising awareness in Japan of the varieties of English that exist throughout the world, the legitimacy of these varieties, and in particular, how Japanese English is not incorrect English, but a unique variety that Japanese speakers should take pride in speaking rather than trying to emulate inner circle varieties.

Training sessions designed to raise such an awareness have been held in Japan with mixed results. Honna and Takeshita (1998) reported great success, stating that "once Japanese teachers and students of English discover what possibilities this international language can give them, they gradually come to understand the concept of English as a multifunctional language with varied forms and develop confidence in Japanese varieties of English" (p. 128). However, Suzuki's (2011) research with trainee teachers found that, despite teachers seeming to obtain a deeper appreciation of the varieties of English through awareness training, they stated they would not introduce non-standard varieties into their classrooms, as they felt these varieties were confusing and incorrect. Suzuki attributed this to a single training session being unable to overturn the "deeply ingrained beliefs that there is a single useful form of English for international communication, standard English, i.e., American and British English" (p. 151).

In order to fight against the dominance of inner circle Englishes, it is vital for educators and creators of pedagogical materials to introduce non-standard varieties of English into classrooms, teaching materials, and teacher training as early as possible. Stimulating awareness of and pride in Japanese English from an early age could go a long way to establish ownership of the language and disabuse learners of the notion that the native speaker has any inherent authority based on their birthplace or ethnicity.

Conclusions and Suggestions for Future Research

The extent of the impact native-speakerism has had and continues to have on English education policies and practices in Japan and throughout Asia is clear to see. It has not only dramatically shaped educational policy and teaching practices, but is also the cause of discriminatory hiring practices and remuneration imbalances. Furthermore, the perceptions and educational practices that arise from native-speakerism may significantly hamper student motivation and language acquisition and be a primary source of language anxiety. It falls upon the educators, policymakers, and other parties involved in English pedagogy worldwide to actively work to combat the systematic privileging and discrimination that arises from native-speakerism. While the dismantling of the power imbalances inherent in the hegemonic structures and the restructuring of educational policies, methods, and materials to be more context-specific should be the ultimate goal, working to raise awareness in teachers and students is not only achievable in the short-term, but may exert a dramatic effect on reshaping perceptions and prejudices inherent in the ELT community.

In order to determine the viability of such an approach, there is a pressing need for further research into the effects of awareness-raising training. Recent research into the impact of a single training session for trainee teachers has shown mixed results. However, the effects of multiple training sessions, whether these effects alter behavior and perceptions in the long-term, what the effects would be with more established teachers, and how training sessions would impact students are all areas deserving of careful study. Given the insidious effects native-speakerism has had and continues to have on ELT, working to address it is of crucial importance. Raising awareness and appreciation of other varieties of English should go a long way to combat native-speakerism's influence and help students and teachers realize their potential and take action to claim ownership of English.

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Teachers and Their Professional Associations

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This study explores the case of KOTESOL and other teacher organizations around the globe, particularly in EFL settings (emerging circles of English): how a teachers' association can support teachers, what teachers seek from their professional societies, and how teachers can support organizations that support teachers. Combining the scholarly literature, contacts with other TESOL-type teacher associations, and pilot surveys of members and stakeholders in ELT around the world provide invaluable insights often missed in narrower perspectives.

Keywords: language teacher association, support, community of practice, professional society

INTRODUCTION

Many teach in isolation. As "Master of the Classroom," there may be little empathy from other classroom participants and school administrators, and input from fellow teachers may be infrequent or even unwelcomed. This can be even truer in settings where foreign teachers work with minimal support and face language barriers. Thus, many teachers look beyond the walls of their school for pedagogical, scholarly, and socio-emotional support. While the teachers' lounge, local pub, or community sports club may meet needs for socialization and casual discussions on classroom matters − which we might refer to as "little 'a' association" (see Dickey, 2014) − it is generally left to scholarly/professional/academic societies ("big 'A' associations") to address pedagogical, scholarly, and yes, many socio-emotional needs of teachers. Korea TESOL (KOTESOL) summarizes this mutual support system under the phrase “teachers helping teachers” (http://koreatesol.org). These “communities of practice” for language teachers come in many forms, with various aims and objectives; surveying the wider scope of language teacher associations (LTAs) is the focus in this preliminary study. I ask teachers, look in the literature, and check some of the claims and services of various teacher-societies, to see how well we, as LTAs, do. How do KOTESOL members’ views align with the roles commonly defined for LTAs? This preliminary study on members and their societies builds upon previous studies by other researchers and is part of an ongoing series of studies on language teacher associations by this researcher.

Professionals and Their (Professional and Academic) Societies

Locally trained and licensed professionals have needs, and numerous local agencies and societies are available to address these needs. For licensed professionals, membership in a licensing or regulatory organization may be compulsory − examples include lawyers, doctors, and licensed accountants (Lamb, 2012). Other licensed professionals may not be required to join a professional society, but these groups exist for purposes of continuing professional education as well as fun conventions. Teachers may join societies catering to their teaching subject; there may be multiple (and competing) groups across local, state, and national, and even international boundaries. Some may focus more towards scholarly advancement, while others have more pedagogical orientations. Similarly, groups may target narrower sub-fields − in the English subject area, we can find groups specializing in grammar, in the teaching of literature, in the study of Hamlet, as well as cross-disciplinary fields such as Chomskyan linguistics, psycholinguistics, language testing, or media-assisted language learning. Teacher associations may also be focused on labor matters (essentially, labor unions) and/or principally oriented to public policy issues reaching beyond the classroom − but these groups are largely beyond the scope of this study.

We might wish to differentiate “scholarly societies” from academic and professional societies or associations, as well as distinguishing these from licensing authorities and government-led training agencies. Distinctions may not be clear-cut, but considerations could include a focus on “advancing the science,” “advancing the profession,” “protecting those outside the field,” and “protecting those within the field” (see

American Speech Language Hearing Association [n.d.] for a simple chart that helps clarify some of the distinctions between labor unions and professional associations). For simplicity's sake, we will observe that scholarly or "learned" societies are principally oriented towards the advancement of studies specific to their field (often through their own journal and convention; see Fitzpatrick [2012], Willinsky [2005]), professional societies are mainly driven by the needs and wants of their members as practitioners (and this may include continuing professional development), and the term "academic societies" both fills the gap in the continuum between scholarly and professional societies, and serves as a catch-all label for all these. No differentiation is made here between the labels "society," "association," and "organization," though frequently the label "society" is assigned to "scholarly" communities, perhaps less-so for professional groups.

The various professional/academic/scholarly societies may offer a variety of services and benefits to members and other stakeholders, based on what they perceive as demand from members and prospective members and their self-imposed "mission," to the degree limited by organizational resources. Those resource limitations may include finance, labor from paid staff and volunteers, and time, activity, or facility constraints imposed by sponsors, governmental bodies, or employers. Similarly, as Ginsburg (1972) noted, there may be challenges if the society's leadership does not represent as broad a spectrum of the membership as possible.

Teachers of foreign languages face some social and professional constraints that may be quite different from other professionals, and from scholars protected in those "ivory towers" of lore. Teachers of English in foreign settings where English is not a mainstream language are one example, but teachers of Korean in Vietnam, for example, face many of the same issues. These teachers may feel outcast in their own teaching setting, if the foreign language is seen as somehow a "less legitimate" subject or has been imposed by authorities without great popular support. Such "second-class citizenship" may be no less true of "local teachers" (so-called "non-native speakers of the language") as well as any foreign teachers brought in as "native-speaker teachers."

Teachers (and Their Needs) Differ

We can consider various classes of teachers (a rough typology) with somewhat differing needs that might be addressed through teacher associations. Here we will use the case of the English teacher.

Types of English Teachers (A rough typology)

Ⅰ. Local teachers of mainstream subject – in the United States, for example, teachers of English language arts, literature, or “skills” (e.g., composition).

Ⅱ. Local teachers of English serving foreign students with limited English proficiency (e.g., ESL in the United States). These teachers may be bilingual with proficiency in the learners’ home language (Type IIa) or not proficient in learner’s L1 (Type IIb).

Ⅲ. Foreign “non-native speaker of English” ESL teachers in Kachru’s (1985) “inner circle” who may “feel ‘invisible’” (Kamhi-Stein, 2016, p. 180) despite holding higher degrees in language teaching areas. These teachers may be bilingual with proficiency in the learners’ home language (Type IIIa) or not proficient in the learner’s L1 (Type IIIb).

Ⅳ. Local teachers of English in a society where English is in common use (Kachru’s “outer circle,” e.g., Singapore). These may serve in substantially the same roles as Types I or II (or both).

Ⅴ. Foreign teachers of English in a society where English is in common use (Kachru’s “outer circle”), possibly serving in roles similar to Type IV.

Ⅵ. Local teachers of English in a society where English is not widely adopted (Kachru’s “expanding circle,” e.g., Korea). These may be less proficient users of English or fully proficient.

Ⅶ. Foreign teachers of English in a society where English is not widely adopted (Kachru’s “expanding circle,” e.g., Korea).

Ⅷ. Controversially, some would add a type often labeled as “backpacker teachers,” foreigners who travel the globe with minimal or no formal qualification to teach beyond a passport, color of their skin, or a perception by learners that the traveler speaks English well enough to teach. Most often these “backpacker teachers” work in settings for teacher types V and VII.

Of course, the value of such a descriptive typology is limited, as many teaching situations may be difficult to classify and distinctions may be minor. The above also does not reflect various other identities and affinities of teachers – race, nationality, gender, scholarly sub-fields of interest, etc. (Although Kachru’s classic 1985 descriptors were intended merely to contrast a so-called "native-speaker" as a linguistic-referent model, and cannot capture all the nuances of numerous distinctive social settings [Proshina, 2019], it has nevertheless been a widely adopted model (see Moussu & Llurda, 2008), which assists in discussing the types listed above.) In each of these typological classes, we find teachers seeking support and collegiality, as well as scholarly insights and the opportunity to share their own, across various sub-fields (19th century British literature, for example), and/or pedagogical know-how, or simply the chance to share a sense of home. There will also be fervent advocates for societal or pedagogical change seeking platforms to advance their cause (policy advocates), as well as those demanding improvements in labor conditions or compensation (see more in Lamb, 2012, p. 295).

What is important here is that these various "types" of teachers may have very different needs, wants, and expectations of a teachers' association.

Members/Stakeholders

In English teaching societies, one consideration must always be the stakeholders − in fact, some might even argue that stakeholders are the key orientation in professional societies (for more on stakeholders' role, see Donaldson & Preston, 1995). While some organizations may orient strongly to teachers, we should also consider non-instructional staff, administrators and researchers (Pennington & Hoekje, 2014), and para-professional teaching assistants. However, defining stakeholders may not be so easy, even when the society limits its focus to "members." Potential stakeholders may include the following:

Stakeholders in a Professional Society

- current (paid) members
- former members
- prospective members
- quasi-professionals (less than "professional" qualifications)
- licensing bodies
- employers
- educational institutions (pre-service and in-service training organizations)
- renowned scholars of the field

- sponsors/advertisers
- service recipients (students, patients)
- supporters (immediate family and caregivers, friends) as well as current, past, or interested funding agencies
- the media

Current members may be paid members, or memberships offered at no charge. We might also question whether these were “voluntary,” “involuntary,” or “nonvoluntary” memberships: involuntary members are those who unknowingly or unintentionally become a member, such as when membership is included in registration fees for an event (and cannot be easily excluded from that fee); whereas nonvoluntary members are forced to become members, such as to present at a conference or to gain requisite professional licensure or educational credits. Some professional bodies may offer various tiers of membership with differing levels of benefits, while, alternatively, the duration of membership (1-year, 2-year, lifetime, etc.) may not vary benefits during the term of paid membership.

Members may sense a belonging to under-represented or unidentified sectors within the profession, perhaps based on first language, race/ethnicity, workplace, or licensure. How well organizations identify and actively represent such sectors may be an important aspect in how organizations serve teachers and how teachers may serve the organization.

Prospective members, students, or retired professionals may have differing interests − does a discounted membership fee impact their rights to vote, which benefits they receive, or how they should be represented? Complimentary or unpaid memberships may similarly be considered in a manner different from current (paid) members.

It may also be important to recognize that many LTAs “often do not represent the larger mass of teachers” (Kirkham, 2015, as cited in Paran, 2016, p. 133), and this being the case, one should question how well, or even whether, the LTA should “speak for teachers.” Wright (2021) points out that it is no less important to recognize what we do not know about the members, in terms of demographic information, and those who have not become members but fall within the class of persons who might become members; hence, Mahboob and England (2018) call for LTAs to look more closely at their members and the needs of various types of members.

Finally, the services and benefits offered by a professional society may be dependent on the resources of the organization − both economic resources and personnel. Stakeholders' needs are important, but volunteers make up the bulk of the labor in most teacher associations, which means the availability of time and talent are both of great importance and a significant challenge (Elsheikh & Effiong, 2018, p. 81−82; Nobre, 2011; Rahman & Shahabuddin, 2018, p. 181). Many volunteers may be willing to work towards one service or benefit, but not towards another (e.g., work on local "chapter" events but not on similar "national-level" activities).

Literature on Teacher Associations

Not a lot of research has been done on language teacher associations (LTAs). Twelve years ago, Aubrey and Coombe (2010, para. 10) noted an "alarming paucity" of study on LTAs in general, and since then, Stewart and Miyahara (2016) have observed that there is little research or clarity on LTAs, and Motteram (2016) has found that little has been done in describing membership identity in an LTA. Rather than immediately diving into the TESOL associations question, perhaps we should begin our investigation more generally, with diverse professional and scholarly societies, before returning to the limited literature on language teacher associations.

The Role of Professional/Scholarly Societies

Scholarly and professional societies have a long history: the Royal Institution of Naval Architects was formed in 1860, with objectives to promote the art and science of naval architecture (Blakeley, 2017, p. 13); while on the other side of the Atlantic, the American Society of Civil Engineers (1852), American Chemical Society (1876), American Mathematical Society (1888), and American Physical Society (1899) all claim well over 100 years of activity (National Academy of Sciences, 2005). Even 300 years of history have been claimed (Kieft et al., 2013), or in special cases such as the Académie Française, over 360 years (Wheeler, 2018, p. 5). Similarly, questions on the role of professional societies are hardly new (see Calhoun, 1963; Fink, 1979). Norton Ginsburg identified the problem of the lack of research on "mission" for scholarly societies in the early 1970s, one which is no less valid for academic and professional societies:

> There have been few attempts to examine the fundamental postulates that provide a *raison d'etre* for such an organization, which would make it responsive to the changing environments within which it finds itself, and which provide parameters along which an appraisal of its functions, present and future, can best be undertaken. (Ginsburg, 1972, p. 1)

Some leaders and members of such groups would argue that the society should "stick to science" (LaFranzo, 2022, p. 53) while others point to an evolving role for professional groups (Wu, 2019), such as "moving the needle" in employment/tenure standards (Fennessy et al., 2018), i.e., changing the focus from output to impact (Sponberg, 2019). Professional associations' greatest challenge − and perhaps a force for change − may be simply "staying relevant in a competitive digital age, where information is at everyone's fingertips, and we can immediately communicate with almost anyone, anywhere" (Brazil, 2016, Advocacy and Influence, para. 10).

Even prior to the global Covid pandemic, professional societies' memberships were falling, and continue to fall (Mahboob & England, 2018, p. 33, discussing TESOL International; Roscoe, 2021, analyzing data from the Wiley membership survey of 2021). The future of such organizations, therefore, is dependent on correctly identifying their role. Previous discussions on the role of these societies have suggested the following:

- "guardian" of professionalism and society (Alred, 2002)
- intermediary between government and society, a delegate of governmental functions (Alred, 2002)
- improving the public perception and appreciation for the profession (Wu, 2019)
- establishing technical standards (Fink, 1979, p. 779)
- identifying special expertise and competence of particular members (Fink, 1979, p. 778)
- influencing the standard of excellence, standards of ethics, chartering/registering (licensing) (Fink, 1979, p. 779)
- quality assurance, including accreditation of training program/

facilities, credentialing of provider, standards and ethical principles, continuing education, and peer review of professional services (Chestnut et al., 1988, p. 13)
- certification and credentialing to increase, and attest to, membership knowledge and skills, to inform members of latest regulations, technologies, products, and trends (Schierhorn, 2017)
- promoting career advancement opportunities and/or supporting entrepreneurship in the field (Wu, 2019)
- "grade" of member" – e.g., advancing through to the Fellow grade, which is conferred as a mark of special competence and distinction (Fink, 1979, p. 778)
- prizes and medals for outstanding scientific or technical achievement (Fink, 1979, p. 778)
- promoting well-being, avoidance of burnout of members (Rinne et al., 2021)
- advancing advocacy efforts with government and other thought leaders (Wu, 2019)
- participating in the legislative process for the benefit of members (Association of Professional Societies in East Africa, n.d.)
- advocating for patients (Beck, 2011, p. 107)
- developing leaders where there is no clear path of formal education and career advancement (Schierhorn, 2017)
- community-building, mentoring, networking, and affirmation for under-represented groups in professions (e.g., women) through affinity groups (Hein et al, 2016)
- increasing inter-society collaboration for progress and prosperity (Wu, 2019))
- encouraging/supporting profession diversity (Morris & Washington, 2017/2018)
- providing a forum for mediation and conciliation for members (Association of Professional Societies in East Africa, n.d.).

While quite an extensive listing, it is interesting that not included in the above, and seldom mentioned in the scholarly discussions of scholarly societies, are the perhaps too-obvious roles of producing conferences (conventions, meetings), and producing or sponsoring scholarly journals (and/or magazines, newsletters, etc., whether print or online).

The idea of "post-nominal letters" (Welding Institute, n.d.), such as is common in certain fields of science and engineering, seems of little relevance to language teachers (but note the attempt by The British Institute of English Language Teaching, circa 1999–2000).

Language Teacher Associations

The past ten years have seen increasing numbers of studies on various aspects of LTA leadership or functions (e.g., Smith & Kuchah, 2013; Thorkelson, 2016; Dickey, 2019), and several excellent collections, such as Elsheikh et al. (2018) and *ELT Journal's* Volume 70(2), Special issue: Focus on teacher associations (2016). These studies point to the needs for further, and more exhaustive, studies on organizations that are as yet still not well understood.

Paran (2016) approves of Lamb's (2012) description of LTAs:

> networks of professionals, run by and for professionals, focused mainly on support for members, with knowledge exchange and development as well as representation of members' views as their defining functions. (p. 128)

We may discover some of the approaches that an English teachers' association may take from the nature of the publications they produce: obviously, "publication" would be one of the services offered to stakeholders in the profession. In addition to the refereed classroom-teacher oriented *TESOL Journal* and the scholarly *TESOL Quarterly*, both of which are produced professionally by Wiley but managed in some part by TESOL International Association, various newsletters, blogs, and a "bulletin" are produced within TESOL International by volunteers supported by paid staff. In addition to these serial publications, topical books are produced in fields of pedagogy (e.g., DelliCarpini & Alonso, 2013; Healey et al., 2019; Vorholt, 2018), professional standards (TESOL, 2002, 2006, 2008, 2018), and advocacy (Linville & Whiting, 2022). IATEFL has provided support materials for language teacher associations, offering guidelines and tips through publications developed by IATEFL members and published through the British Council, including areas of events and conferences (Gómez, 2011) and quite a large list of other possibilities suggested in Falcao and Szesztay (2006, pp. 31–35):

- Meetings to share individual experiences as well as to discuss specific problems people may have encountered as language teachers
- Meetings to make the most of potentially useful visitors (e.g., specialists visiting a local institution or coming to the area to take part in a major conference)
- Meetings to exchange materials among members (e.g., books, videos, cassettes)
- Meetings to discuss the current literature in the field
- Meetings to discuss individual or group research projects that are being developed or are already being conducted by members
- Series of workshops on a given topic
- Announcements/calendar of upcoming regional events of interest to teachers
- Workshops or roundtable discussions to prepare and/or evaluate teaching materials, workplans, syllabuses, tests and examinations, curricula, educational policies, and so on, perhaps with a view to preparing a position statement
- Presentations and/or discussions of published materials by materials writers, publishers, book distributors, etc.
- Group viewings and/or discussions of audio/video programs (live television, live or recorded online/satellite transmissions of seminars, discussions, presentations)
- Weekend or holiday get-togethers to practice using the target language, through language immersion (with or without the involvement of native speakers, or special guest visitors)
- Promoting cultural events such as theatre, films, videos, etc., in the local community
- Mentoring and peer-coaching partner matching systems
- Team research
- Study tours, or more informal group visits, to a country where the target language is a native one
- Exchange programs with colleagues in such countries
- Information exchange arrangements with other associations
- Purely social events such as dances, barbecues, parties, dinners, to promote good social relationships, within and around the membership
- Mounting local, state, national, and/or international conferences, seminars, etc.

- Disseminating information about events and activities through reports, newsletters, audiocassettes, videos, internet webpages, etc.
- Promoting research through the public presentation of individual or joint projects
- Affiliating officially with regional, national, and international associations
- Initiating contact and the exchange of information with informal associations
- Providing the incentive for the creation of informal associations
- Creating theatre groups to present plays in the target language
- Creating and maintaining a teacher resource center
- Promoting and administering exchange programs for teachers with institutions in countries where the target language is spoken
- Promoting and administering scholarship schemes, perhaps mediating between individual members and foreign agencies to provide scholarships
- Learner-focused activities and events, advising and consultation, and formal representation on policymaking bodies

Thorkelson (2016, p. 72) summarizes Oliphant's (2001) benefits of joining a teacher's group as follows:

- Greater awareness of the profession and associated problems
- Motivation to renew their focus on learning and teaching
- Better teaching through exchanges of ideas and greater involvement
- Benefits for students from more professionally knowledgeable and motivated teachers
- Joy of sharing ideas and experiences with other teachers
- Connection to others, which helps them overcome loneliness and isolation
- New ways of thinking
- Empowerment as part of confidence and growing expertise

Motteram's (2016) findings of member-reported benefits from their IATEFL membership, as indicated in a 2011 survey, included the following:

- Attending the annual conference

- Knowledge development
- Community (building community)
- Networking
- Continuing professional development
- Personal development
- Demonstrating professionalism

In contrast to benefits, Thorkelson's (2016, pp. 84–85) survey of KOTESOL members pointed to some member priorities:

- KOTESOL remain active in professional development for teachers (94.6%)
- provide a quality international conference (91.28%)
- be open to everyone (90.63%)
- be respected as an academic organization (88.79%)
- be transparent in what it does and how it does it (86.6%)
- foster cross-cultural understanding (80.16%)
- maintain close relationships with international organizations like TESOL (78.16%) and domestic organizations as well (73.87)
- KOTESOL to be a respected academic organization (88.79%), only 60% responded that offering research opportunities and grants were something the organization should be doing.

While these studies overlap in many areas, they also offer some different directions to consider. Some items might be added to a professional CV, others are more personal or less specific (networking, connections), and some are rather vague or aspirational.

The role of advocacy may be challenging for some LTAs. As Motteram (2016, p. 151) points out, many LTAs face legal restrictions in advocacy due to their status as a registered charity. Nunan (2001), however, argued that advocacy is a critical criterion for professionalism.

METHOD

As a preliminary study, breadth was preferred to depth, and fewer research assets were invested in collecting original data. Two methodological techniques were piloted. The literature survey above is an important foundational component of this research, complemented by a quick (73-hour) Facebook "poll" (survey) in the KOTESOL Facebook group (approximately 3,800 group members as of April 12, 2022) and an email survey to more than 200 language teacher associations across the globe (conducted March–April, 2022).

The Facebook poll initially presented eight choices for selection of "the three most important services a teacher association should provide members/society." Facebook users could add additional options; one option was added by a user ("vetted work opportunities"). Most of those enrolled in the KOTESOL Facebook group are, or were previously, teaching English in Korea, though some teach in other lands. All would be construed to be language teachers with affinity to KOTESOL, hence, stakeholders of one type or another, though many of these group enrollees have never been dues-paying members of KOTESOL.

The list of language teacher associations across the globe used to send the email survey has been compiled over nearly four years from various lists, include TESOL International Association affiliates, IATEFL associates, and groups found through internet searches or offered by other researchers (see Dickey 2019, p. 7). The aim for this contact list, in general, was to include one large TESOL-type teacher association for each major geopolitical sector: states and provinces in the US, Canada, Australia, and Germany, and national organizations in most other countries, although there are cases where two or even three organizations are included for a given geographic unit. More than 110 of these organizations have responded to one or more requests for information in the past three years. Responses to this study's question were coded into thematic units and quantified across the data set of responses, i.e., thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke 2006). The researcher used the topical areas described by Falcao and Szesztay (2006) to initialize potential theme areas, but considering the small data set, these were consolidated. (As Braun & Clarke [2006, p. 80] observe, the language "themes emerged from the data" suggest removal of any suggestion of coder bias, which of course cannot be ruled out when the researchers themselves determine which themes have "emerged.") Possibilities added to that list were publications of various types, and advocacy on general policies and advocacy for teacher rights and for learners. Other themes were added as they did in fact "emerge" from the text, confirming other literature, i.e., "setting standards."

ANALYSIS

The Quick Facebook Poll was available for only 73 hours in the KOTESOL Facebook Group (https://www.facebook.com/groups/kotesol). Although the group has roughly 3,800 participants, the poll was shared with only 766 (poll reach) during that time, thus 56 responses represents a 7.3% response rate, which must be considered as "poor" in a closed group where many of the members are familiar with others.

TABLE 1. Quick Facebook Poll (Survey)

Question: What are the 3 most important services a teacher association should provide members/society? Tick no more than three, please. (This is part of a research project, I appreciate your inputs [*sic*]).

Response Items	Number of Respondents	Percentage of Responses
Workshops (local)	44	31.4
Conferences/seminars/symposia	32	22.9
Ideas sharing / mentoring	30	21.4
Professional/scholarly publications	13	9.3
Socialization	8	5.7
Advocacy for relevant public policy	6	4.3
Labor representation (union)	4	2.9
Discounts in services beyond the society itself (bookstores, etc.)	2	1.4
Vetted work opportunities	1	0.7
Total Responses	140	100

Note. Respondents = 56.

The preferences and relative ranking for one service over another may be peculiar to the respondents, who are mostly members and participants of Korea TESOL (KOTESOL) and JALT (Japan Association for Language Teaching). These organizations are particularly active at the local chapter level, with many monthly meetings (outside of the Covid era, but even, to a lesser extent during the pandemic, in online sessions). A total of 140 responses from 56 respondents indicates that some respondents chose fewer than three options. One respondent asked for a clarification on "socialization," which was clarified as something between teachers. (Slightly after this data collection, another respondent commented on the possible confusion between "networking" and how society impacts individuals, in terms of the item "socialization.") "Ideas sharing / mentoring" may have been an erroneous conflation of distinct concepts. As noted above, one respondent chose to add one option.

Email responses ("data items," per Braun & Clarke, 2006) were received from nine teacher organizations by April 13, 2022. These were the following:

- BELTA (Bangladesh)
- English Language Teachers' Association of Mongolia (ELTAM)
- TEFLIN (Indonesia)
- English Language Teachers Association of Nigeria (ELTAN)
- Society of Niger English Language Teachers (SNELT)
- Peru TESOL Association
- TESL Canada
- ELT Ireland
- TESOLANZ (New Zealand)

Unfortunately, no responses were received from any of the US states, except one that requested I pull such information from the organization's website.

First-level thematic coding based on close use of the original text produced 26 or 27 themes or topic areas relating to "How your teachers' organization supports teachers" and eight or nine for "how teachers support organizations that support teachers" (one response was unclear in whether it was supporting teachers or supporting organizations: "buying membership cards"). These were then consolidated for Table 2, but the original themes and counts are included.

TABLE 2. Themes from Teacher Association Email Survey

Question: If you were asked to state in one paragraph "How your teachers' organization supports teachers, and how teachers support organizations that support teachers," what would be the best response for your teachers' organization?

LTA Supports Teachers

Thematic Instances (Total organizations reporting each in parentheses)	**Total LTAs Reporting**
Conferences (3), Seminars (4), Workshops & training (4) Regular ELT events (2)	7
Advocacy	4
Publication (1), Journal (1), Newsletter (1), Publishing books & chapters (1)	3
Scholarships (2), Grants to attend our conference (1), Project grants (1)	3
Teacher certification (1), In-service training (1)	2
Networking (2), Exchanging ideas & sharing experiences (1)	2
Relay news / dissemination (2)	2
Library / resource center (2)	2
Cooperation amongst TESL organizations, government, others (2)	2
Standards setting (1)	1
Visibility of cause/students/teachers/organization (1)	1
Research projects (1)	1
Curriculum / materials development (1)	1
Nurtures teachers (1)	1
Research informed professional learning & development (1)	1
Supplemental health insurance for members (1)	1
Total Instances	34

Teachers Support LTA

Thematic Instances (Total organizations reporting each)	**Total LTAs Reporting**
Participation / attendance	5
Organize / deliver events (2)	2
Volunteer (2)	2
Dues (1)	1
Other payment (1)	1
Support from their institution (1)	1
Promote the TA	1
Membership makes association a stakeholder for other agencies to deal with (1)	1
Nothing (1)	1
Total Instances	15

Note. Non-duplicate instances, where the same theme appeared more than once in a response, only the first instance is reported.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The wide variety of possible services discussed in the literature appears to be substantiated in the email survey and partially supported by the Facebook poll. As Roscoe (2020) pointed out for scholarly societies, “there is no unifying set of benefits or services that will be appreciated by all members” (p. 29). This appears to suggest that a future teachers survey should provide more diverse options for selection − perhaps in a ranking or weighted response system − yet the challenges of potentially tainting responses by suggestion makes this a significant intellectual exercise. Similarly for a teacher association survey (as with any survey), nuance in questions is critical. As one example, how far do we segmentalize themes such as *conferences*, *seminars*, *workshops*, *training*, *in-service programs*, *local meetings*, and *events*, where workshops or “talks” or trainings may be a part of a larger program? Similarly, the challenge of publications, where journals, newsletters, blogs, periodic emails, books, book chapters, and other informative materials are disseminated in scholarly, academic, or “teacherly” (less academic) genres. In a report to the KOTESOL National Council in December 2021, National Membership Committee Chair Lindsay Herron pointed to some of the membership benefits of greater and lesser interest to current members. A more comprehensive yet specific survey, such as that done by Skarlicki et al. (2000) with the Canadian Psychology Association, may be a point of reference for an improved survey of teachers (in this study, data from a survey sent to current, former, and nonmember professionals enabled researchers to correctly identify respondents as current versus former members, and current versus never-been members).

The results of this preliminary survey are relatively unsurprising, but fruitful, nonetheless. There appears to be some mismatch between demand and offerings at both the KOTESOL and international levels. Yes, conferences, seminars, and symposia, as well as workshops, are in demand from teachers and popular services from LTAs: for teachers, 22.9% and 31.4%, respectively, while for LTAs, seven out of nine reported offering these (77.7%). Mentoring and idea-sharing was requested by 22.9% of teachers, and two of nine LTAs mentioned this (22.2%). Only 9.3% of teacher respondents selected professional publications in their top three services, while three of nine organizations mentioned publications (33.3%). On the other hand, four of nine LTAs

(44.4%) reported activity in advocacy, while only 4.3% of teachers sought this. There also appears to be a need for LTAs to publicize their needs for volunteer assistance more effectively − busy teachers may need some type of tangible professional or social reward to become involved.

A deeper dive into teacher demographics might present trends and explain variances between teachers and LTAs. One possibility is that LTA leaders are less representative of their memberships due to expectations that more senior and more highly educated teachers take leadership roles (Dickey, 2018, p. 280). This might account for some mismatches between members and organizations, if leaders do not "see" the needs, wants, and wishes of the broader teaching community. Scholarly journals may be seen by senior leaders as essential to the organization but considered less useful by classroom teachers. Purposeful turnover of leadership, and the specific aim to incorporate various demographics in the leadership of the organization, may be one path towards more substantive representation (Dickey, 2018) and a better fit between organization and members.

Academic associations appear to be struggling with the costs, lost income, and staffing challenges in publishing, online conferencing, and the widespread availability of free or inexpensive professional development options through other (online) resources, thereby devaluing the traditional benefits of paid memberships. While we cannot project with any certainty the future public health constraints on face-to-face gatherings of teaching professionals, further studies may help point towards increased online or hybrid conferences. Various other services may become increasingly important, and it is critical that language teaching associations become more aware of stakeholder expectations. Stakeholders' input is an additional area where organizations should invest some research assets.

In a nutshell, LTAs need to do a better job of acquiring information from members and stakeholders (including non-members and former members), analyzing it effectively, and then modifying services to address shortfalls. The European Union's General Data Protection Regulations (GDPR, https://gdpr-info.eu/) and similar regulations in many jurisdictions make this type of study increasingly difficult.

Website study of language teacher associations is also a possible future research area. On the other hand, the statements posted in organizational websites may be aspirational themes rather than statements of actual performance, thus a survey questionnaire of leaders, such as that initiated in the present study, may be more appropriate. It must be recognized that open-ended requests for information, such as conducted in this study, can seem daunting, and get pushed to the bottom of overly busy leaders' work piles. One possibility may be through the "affiliates meeting" at a TESOL or IATEFL convention. It can also challenge the researcher when numerous responses are received, pushing the boundaries between narrative analysis (Riessman, 1993), content analysis (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005), or qualitative content analysis (Morgan, 1993), where meaning is drawn from the individual text, and thematic analysis, where meaning is drawn across texts (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Limitations

The findings of this study should be recognized as only suggestive. This was a preliminary investigation to explore parameters for further research, with small response rates in time-limited surveys. The envisioned deeper study should reconsider the options for "important" (or "desired"?) language teacher association services; for example, "continuing professional development" is probably an overly broad generalization that includes a number of other selections and fails to specify some distinguishable sub-elements, such as professional certificates (or "badges"?), and should extend the reach of the survey as well as offer some demographic detail of the respondents: We might expect that PhD holders have different expectations compared to relatively untrained novice teachers, and long-term members may see things differently from non-members or new members.

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A Contrastive Analysis of Korean and English

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This paper offers a contrastive linguistic analysis of Korean and English. An analysis of the Korean sound system is difficult due to conflicting interpretations, romanizations, and IPA symbols used by different Korean scholars and authorities. Detailed reasons and implications for this are given, and then a detailed, accurate analysis of the Korean sound system, syllabic and accentual word structures, and suprasegmental features are given along with contrasting features of English for each area covered. The descriptions and IPA transcriptions are what an L1 speaker would hear without any threat of ambiguity with the aim of providing a reference and resource for ESL teachers in a Korean context, English learners of Korean, or Korean learners and teachers of English. The analysis was done by consulting dictionaries, research articles, online resources, in-service teachers, Korean–English bilinguals, and interpretations from the researcher's own experience as an ESL teacher and Korean language learner. Common problems for Korean learners of English are addressed, and techniques and strategies for overcoming pronunciation problems are offered.

Keywords: contrastive analysis of English and Korean, Korean IPA, Korean word structures, Korean suprasegmental features, Korean phonology

INTRODUCTION

This paper aims to offer an in-depth analysis of the Korean language, along with a comparison to English. It is presented from an ESL/EFL perspective, with views, analyses, and descriptions being most beneficial for L1 English speakers, English learners of Korean, and

Korean learners and teachers of English (Korean teachers of Korean may find benefit from this perspective, too). The Korean sound system, syllabic and accentual word structures, and suprasegmental features will be covered, with each area offering comparisons to English along the way. The analysis will be followed by a description of problems that Korean language learners may have when learning English as well as techniques that can be used to overcome these problems, both from a classroom perspective and the perspective of an independent language learner.

PART 1: SOUND SYSTEM ANALYSIS AND DESCRIPTION

Part 1 aims to provide a simple description of all the sounds that can be found in the Korean language and to explain these and contrast them with the sounds of the English language. First, the Korean vowels will be analyzed, then the consonants. Comparisons to English will be contained within each section as the Korean language is explained, which will be followed by a separate discussion comparing some additional differences between the two languages, including which sounds in the Korean language are not found in English and vice versa.

The Difficulties of Analyzing the Korean Sound System

It must be noted that even among Korean linguists, scholars, and publishers, there is no definitive agreement on the correct phonetic spelling and distinction for each Korean letter. This is due to differences in dialects; pronunciations between men, woman, old and young; sound changes due to placement; the potential ambiguity of the IPA (particularly when combined with the influence of the romanization of the Korean alphabet); generational shifts; and simply a case of prescriptive use being upheld by puritans while descriptive resources pull further away. Due to confusion, inconsistencies, and the need to eliminate misunderstood special characters to make way for more accurate spellings that represent the language, yet are clearly not English, a revised romanization of Korean was released in July 2000 (Korean Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 2000). This system allows for mostly accurate pronunciation for those who understand it, but the ongoing influence of older systems, combined with inconsistencies in IPA transcription, have led to difficulties in pinning down the correct representations of the Korean sound system. Furthermore, Korean native speakers emphasize tenseness when using consonants but make no tense/lax distinction when using vowels (the opposite of English), which can lead to imperceptibility between sounds even among Koreans (such as between "ae"/ㅐ and "e"/ㅔ, which often require Koreans to ask for clarification among each other when dictating). This can lead to situations when asking about sound equivalents becomes impossible (asking a native Korean speaker whether ㅐ is closer to /ɛ/ or /eɪ/ will likely result in confusion, as most hear them as the same sound).

To analyze the Korean sound system for this paper, popular Korean dictionaries, Korean native speakers and teachers, and the works of Guwhang (2018), Ha et al. (2009), Cho and Park (2006), Cho (2016), and Cho and Whitman (2019) were consulted, and the excellent Korean Wiki Project (2014) and IPA Transcription of Korean (n.d.) sites were used as further resources. A simple comparison of popular resources, the works of authorities, and the existing literature offer many examples of the difficulties that linguistics face. For example, ㅐ can be found transcribed as /ɛ/, /eɪ/, /e/ and /æ/, all of which are different sounds. This can be further compounded by /e/ and /ɛ/ being used interchangeably in dictionaries and most ESL course resources, yet some US publications make /e/ the equivalent of /eɪ/, with at least one Korean resource romanizing this /e/ as "ay," indicating being influenced by this trend, yet others do not do so. In the case of /æ/, as in English "h**a**t," this was likely used because the correct sound is an amalgamation of "a" and "e" (the sound produced in the middle when pronouncing /æ/ and /ɛ/ quickly one after the other) and is romanized as such ("ae"), which has perhaps led to a belief that "ae" = /æ/, though they are completely different. Added to this is the fact that many academic publications make use of their own take on the IPA symbols without listing Hangeul characters alongside them, so it becomes unclear which characters they may be referring to and which symbols among authors are equivalent. Some other examples that have been found include the Korean characters 외 and ㅇ both being transcribed as /ø/, yet the Korean sounds are as far apart as possible ("we" as in "**we**dding" and "ng" as in "so**ng**," respectively), and some authors including /l/ and /ʤ/ as equivalents for ㄹ and ㅈ, respectively, yet others say the /l/ and /ʤ/ sounds do not exist in the Korean language.

Clearly, determining the correct sounds to do an accurate analysis of

Korean is a challenging task, and including every nuance, perspective, dialect, and variation is beyond the scope of this paper. The aim of this project is, therefore, to offer an up-to-date analysis of descriptive sounds in the Korean language, with descriptions and IPA transcriptions being what an L1 speaker would hear without any threat of ambiguity, and what an English speaker could produce to be judged as having good pronunciation. This will be done by retaining information that is consistent within the literature and by leaning on majority agreements for unclear elements, along with obtaining confirmation from Korean speakers (including teachers of the language). A further factor is the author of the paper − while I am not an expert in the Korean language by any means, I do have a good ear for it and the ability to offer a correct example of Korean pronunciation and to explain the best equivalents for English speakers.

As this paper deals with a contrastive analysis between Korean and English, English equivalents will be used when needed to explain correct sounds. Where it is more useful to explain using romanization, this will be placed in (parentheses), while IPA spellings will be placed in the traditional /forward slash/ notation. Finally, to prevent confusion and adhere to the IPA that can be found in TESOL courses around the world, as well as transcriptions in English learners' dictionaries, /ɛ/ and /e/ will be treated as equivalents, referring to the sound in "h**ea**d" (therefore, /e/ will no longer be used − although it is acknowledged that the real difference between these sounds is a close-mid and open-mid distinction), with /eɪ/ being a separate sound (as in "r**ai**n"). Finally, /i/ and /ɪ/ will also be considered interchangeable, as almost all of the literature makes use of the /i/ symbol.

Korean Vowels

The Korean language is generally considered to have 10 vowels, 2 semivowels, and 11 diphthongs. Among the literature, as few as 7 or 8 vowels can be found (listed as monophthongs), with vowels such as ㅟ ("we") and ㅚ ("oe") being listed as diphthongs. These are traditionally known as "pure vowels," but they have undergone diphthongization by younger generations and have slightly changed in pronunciation (Cho & Whitman, 2019), thus creating variations in how they are categorized. This paper will retain the "pure" distinction, as is done by the Korean Ministry of Culture and Tourism (2000), although they now refer to them as “simple vowels.” The semivowels are sometimes listed as being part of rising diphthongs rather than separate sounds, but they will be listed here separately for clarification, particularly as they are made up of two sounds that will be familiar to English speakers (/w/ and /j/), and this will make the diphthongs easier to understand and pronounce.

As with English, vowels can be categorized according to mouth and tongue position (i.e., closed/closed-mid/open-mid/open and front/ central/back) and lip rounding (i.e., rounded/unrounded). They will be listed with these distinctions, along with IPA spelling and romanized spelling.

TABLE 1. Simple Korean Vowels

Korean	IPA	Roman	Mouth, Tongue, Lip Position
ㅏ	/ɐ/	a	open-mid, front, unrounded
ㅓ	/ɒ/	eo	open-mid, back, unrounded
ㅗ	/o̞/	o	closed-mid, back, rounded
ㅜ	/ʊ/	u/oo	closed, back, rounded
ㅡ	/ɯ/	eu	closed, central/back, unrounded
ㅣ	/i/	i/ee	closed, front, unrounded
ㅐ	/ɛ:/	ae	open-mid, front, unrounded
ㅔ	/ɛ/	e	close-mid, front, unrounded
ㅚ	/wɛ/	oe/we	close-mid, front, unrounded
ㅟ	/wi/	wi	close, front, unrounded

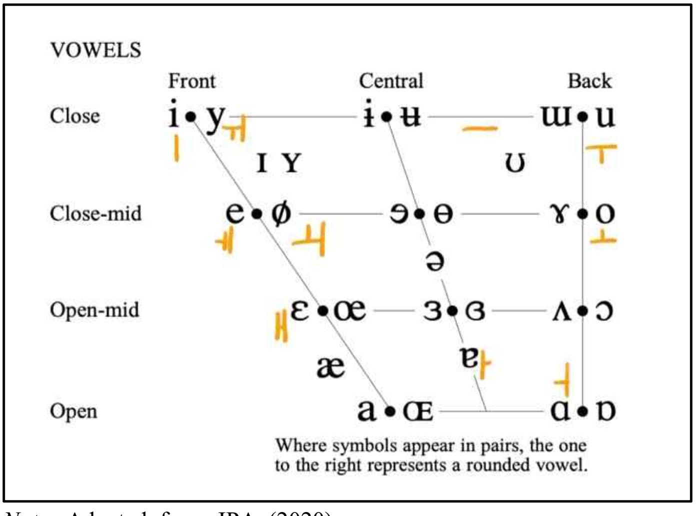
The prescriptive norm from many sources state that the IPA for ㅓ is /ʌ/, with some saying that the more rounded /ʌ̹/ is correct, but neither of these seem to be the right sound. The correct sound, especially when mimicked by a speaker of English, is far closer to /ɒ/. For example, the Korean currency, 원 (/wɒn/), is romanized as “won” and not “wun.” “I have one hundred Korean *wun*,” when pronounced with a clear /ʌ/ sounds unnatural, but the two may sound like the same sound to a Korean L1 speaker when spoken quickly. The lack of tense/lax distinction in Korean makes /ɒ/ and /ʌ/ almost impossible to differentiate among native speakers, but when pronounced clearly by an English speaker, /ɒ/ will always sound more natural and “correct,” with /ʌ/ being clearly off. Therefore, /ɒ/ has been chosen as the correct, descriptive symbol for use here.

The lack of tense/lax distinction is illustrated again by the romanized spellings of ㅜ (“u”/“oo”) and ㅣ (“i”/“ee”), as they can both be pronounced as /ʊ,u:/ and /i/i:/ in Korean without any issues. /ʊ/ and /i/ are chosen as the correct pronunciations, as they are the starting point, and lengthening makes little difference.

Finally, ㅚ still retains the romanized spelling of “oe,” which likely stems from this word being pronounced as /ø/ by older speakers, but the pronunciation is outdated (Shin, 2012), and the /wɛ/ pronunciation is the accepted one here. In the same way, ㅟ also has more outdated pronunciations (/ɥi/ and /y/), but these are closer to /wi/ and not linked to any variations in spelling.

Although Korean vowels are not as fine-grained as English vowels when it comes to their exact tongue positioning, Figure 1 shows a good representation of where each vowel would land on the IPA 2020 vowel chart, based on an analysis of multiple resources.

FIGURE 1. Korean Vowel Positioning



Note. Adapted from IPA (2020).

Semivowels

Korean has two semivowels, the labial glide /w/ and the palatal glide /j/. These semivowels combine with the simple vowels above to form diphthongs. The simple vowels ㅚ /wɛ/ and ㅟ /wi/ also contain the semivowel /w/, which is why they are sometimes classified as diphthongs. More examples of this, along with the /j/ sound, will be seen in the next section.

Diphthongs

TABLE 2: Korean Diphthongs

Korean	ㅑ	ㅕ	ㅛ	ㅠ	ㅒ	ㅖ	ㅘ	ㅙ	ㅝ	ㅞ	ㅢ
IPA	/jɐ/	/jɒ/	/jo̞/	/jʊ/	/jɛː/	/jɛ/	/wɐ/	/wɛː/	/wɒ/	/wɛ/	/ɯi/
Roman	ya	yeo	yo	yu	yae	ye	wa	wi	weo	we	ui/eui

It can be noted that ㅞ and ㅚ have the exact same sound in modern Korean (/wɛ/) − as mentioned. This is because ㅞ is no longer pronounced as /ø/ by the majority of speakers, but the difference is still present in the romanized spelling conventions ("we"/"oe").

As can be seen, all Korean diphthongs (apart from ㅢ) are created by combining a glide with a vowel. This is the exact opposite of English, which typically creates diphthongs that contain a vowel followed by a glide sound. A further contrastive analysis between English and Korean can be found below in the section Further Comparisons Between the Sounds of Korean and English.

Korean Consonants

There are 19 Korean consonants, with each being linked to a dominant sound, but some have differing sounds depending on placement. This difference in sound means that certain symbols have more than one roman variant (e.g., ㄱ can be "g" or "k"), which should be used in specific scenarios ("k" is generally used when a ㄱ is at the end of a word), but this leads to mistakes in pronunciation by English speakers when "g" and "k" are used interchangeably. Unlike English, voicing is not an important consideration in the Korean language (Ha et al., 2009), with an emphasis instead being placed on the tense/lax quality of characters (here, tenseness refers to a more forceful release of air, and therefore a harsher, louder sound, and these characters are sometimes referred to as "hard" consonants) and aspiration (releasing a sound with some air but not forcefully, thus resulting in a "throaty" sound that continues into the vowel).

A lax consonant is shown without diacritics, while tense consonants have many related diacritics (p*, p͈, p’). This paper will use two small lines beneath a letter (/p͈/) to indicate a tense consonant. To indicate an aspirated consonant, the superscript “ʰ” is used (e.g., pʰ). From an English perspective, it may be useful to know the voicing, so the equivalent voicing for each Korean letter is listed alongside these distinctions where possible. Additionally, the manner of articulation is listed, and consonants are presented according to natural class.

Bilabial Consonants

TABLE 3. Korean Bilabial Consonants

Korean	IPA	Roman	Manner	Voicing	Example
ㅂ	/b/	b/p	stop	voiced	보다 /bo̞dɐ/
ㅃ	/p͈/	pp	stop	voiceless	기쁘다 /gip͈ɯdɐ/
ㅍ	/pʰ/	p	stop	voiceless	펴다 /pʰ jɒdɐ/
ㅁ	/m/	m	nasal	voiced	마음 /mɐɯm/

The ability to spell ㅂ in roman letters as both “p” and “b” hint at the lack of distinction between some Korean characters and why voicing is not emphasized, i.e., one letter is seemingly between voiced and voiceless. The distinction here is that words are spelled with “p” if the is after a vowel and with “b” if it is before, but the pronunciation does not change to a clear /p/ in this case. One would be just as easily understood using either, but the “correct” pronunciation is still closer to /b/. When in the final position of a consonant cluster, ㅂ creates the unreleased stop, /p̄/, which cannot generally be distinguished as a pure “b” or “p,” but explains the spelling convention.

Alveolar Consonants

TABLE 4. Korean Alveolar Consonants

Korean	IPA	Roman	Manner	Voicing	Example
ㄷ	/d/	d/t	stop	voiceless	동 /do̞ŋ/
ㄸ	/t͈/	tt	stop	voiceless	딸기 /t͈ɐlgi/
ㅌ	/tʰ/	t	stop	voiceless	타다 /tʰɐdɐ/
ㄴ	/n/	n	nasal	voiced	어머니 /ɒmɒni/
ㄹ	/ɾ/	r	tap	voiced	라면 /ɾɐmjɒn/

As with ㅂ above, ㄷ offers another example of how romanization may cause confusion. Once again, the pattern is that ㄷ is romanized with a “d” if it is before a vowel, and with a “t” after, although the official pronunciation is /d/. When in the final position of a syllable, it may sound like a /t/, so this IPA symbol is sometimes also given to ㄷ. It could be argued that /t/ is a feature of Korean, but the real sound being produced is the unreleased stop, /t̚/, which is naturally produced when ㄷ, ㅅ, ㅈ, ㅊ, and ㅌ are in the final position.

Also, it can be noted that ㄹ is listed here as an alveolar consonant and also as a postalveolar below. Among the resources and literature, this is one of the most contested sounds with some resources seeing it as an equivalent to /r, l/ glides, but neither is the actual sound (and all do seem to admit that it is not quite these sounds). From word to word, it sounds closer to /r/ or /l/ (with /l/ being closer overall), but the correct sound seems to be /ɾ/ when it is the initial sound, and /ɭ/ in other cases, although exceptions do exist and an L1 speaker could use either in most cases and still be perfectly understood. It is no wonder that Korean speakers are known for struggling to differentiate between /r/ and /l/ when learning English.

Postalveolar Consonants

Table 5. Korean Postaveolar Consonants

Korean	IPA	Roman	Manner	Voicing	Example
ㅅ	**/sʰ/**	s	fricative	voiceless	신라 /sʰiɭɭɐ/
ㅆ	/s͈/	ss	fricative	voiceless	씀씀이 /s͈ɯms͈ɯmi/
ㄹ	/ɭ/	l	approximant	voiced	솔잎 /sʰo̞ɭip̚/
ㅈ	/dʑ/	j	affricate	voiceless	조국 /dʑo̞gʊk̚/
ㅉ	/t͈ɕ/	jj	affricate	voiceless	짜다 /t͈ɕɐdɐ/
ㅊ	/tɕʰ/	ch	affricate	voiceless	고추 /go̞tɕʰʊ/

As mentioned, ㄹ is categorized here a second time. This letter is actually a retroflex lateral approximant, but listed here, as it can also be classified as a postalveolar that is not palatalized. The Korean Ministry of Culture and Tourism (2000) lists /l/ as being a suitable pronunciation, but it is debatable if this sound exists in Korean (and if used in words containing /ɾ/, pronunciation would sound off).

With words such as 소리 /sʰo̞ɾi/ (“sori”), if ㅅ is pronounced as the English /s/, the difference is almost imperceptible, while the same is true, to a lesser extent, for /ʃ/ with certain words. If these sounds are substituted, it is unlikely to cause any confusion at all, prompting some learner dictionaries and guides to use these symbols. They are, however, not correct IPA symbols to use (and will sometimes result in incorrect pronunciation), so they will not be officially counted here. However, like /l/, it does seem to be debatable as to whether /s/ and /ʃ/ exist in the Korean language or not.

Finally, the letter ㅈ, is also under contention (multiple possible pronunciations can be found), and while it sounds like an English “j,” the academic literature says that /ʤ/ is not found in the Korean language. This seems highly unlikely. Whether due to language evolution or a prescriptive/descriptive gap, from speaking to native Koreans and consulting blogs and forums, many seem to be of the opinion that /ʤ/ is the correct sound for ㅈ, and it is all but guaranteed that no one would notice any type of error if a non-native speaker pronounced this letter as /ʤ/. Even so, for this paper, /dʑ/ was chosen, as it is the most “correct” sound among all options, and it satisfies both the literature as well as the layman.

TABLE 6. Korean Velar Consonants

Korean	IPA	Roman	Manner	Voicing	Example
ㄱ	/g/	g/k	stop	voiced	고기 /go̞gi/
ㄲ	/k͈/	kk	stop	voiceless	꼬리 /k͈o̞ɾi/
ㅋ	/ kʰ/	k	stop	voiceless	컴컴하다/kʰɒmkʰɒmɦɐdɐ/
ㅇ	/ŋ/	ng	nasal	voiced	사랑 /sʰɐɾɐŋ/

Velar Consonants

As with ㅂand ㄷ, linking two roman letters to ㄱ can cause some confusion and incorrect pronunciation among Korean learners relying on romanized spelling. Once again, the spelling can be explained by placement: When in the final position of a consonant cluster, ㄱ creates the unreleased stop, /k̚/, which isn’t a clear /k/ or /g/, but does explain the spelling system. In this case, however, the sound does sound more like as a /k/ (unlike the bilabial and alveolar explained above, which are almost interchangeable with their variants), so it could be argued that /k/

should be classified as a sound in the Korean language. If the /k/ is pronounced too harshly, however, the word sounds unnatural, so it is not included in this paper, with the correct /k̚/ description being noted instead.

Glottal Consonants

TABLE 7. Korean Glottal Consonants

Korean	IPA	Roman	Manner	Voicing	Example
ㅎ	/h/ /ɦ/	h	glide fricative	voiceless voiced	호랑이 /hoɾɐŋi/ 사회 /sʰɐɦwɛ/

In most cases, ㅎ is the equivalent of English "h," but when coming after a vowel not in the final position of a syllable, a new sound is given: The ㅎ becomes the fricative, voiced glottal /ɦ/.

Further Comparisons Between Korean and English Sounds

As mentioned, there is no tense/lax distinction in Korean vowels, whereas in English, this distinction exists and enables lengthened and corresponding vowels that can be placed in minimal pairs with clear divisions (e.g., /eɪ/ and /ɛ/; /u:/ and /ʊ/), while this is not a feature of Korean. Therefore, it is quite difficult to differentiate between two close/back, close/front, or close/close-mid combinations in Korean, but the distinction is made easier in English. In fact, the Korean ㅜ ranges over the whole close/back area, and the ㅣ covers the whole close/front area, while English has multiple sounds covering these regions (Cho & Park, 2006). This difference in vowel systems means that Korean has some vowels not found in English (/ɐ/, /o̞/, /ɯ/, /ɛ:/, and /ø/), which seem to be "in between" set vowel points on the IPA vowel graph from an English speaker's perspective. English vowels that are not found in Korean are /ɜ:/, /ə/, /ɔ:/, /æ/, and /ɑ:/ (this paper sees /ʌ/ as not existing also, but this is debatable).

Also mentioned is that diphthongs in Korean are formed a little differently from the vowel + glide seen in English. Taken further, English diphthongs combine two sounds, both of which can be heard clearly if they are worded out slowly (e.g., /ɑ/ + /ɪ/ = /aɪ/), but Korean has a unique system where entirely new sounds not linked to existing consonants (/w/ and /j/) are used to create the diphthongs.

In terms of consonants, Korean has fewer, and labiodental or interdental sounds are not part of the sound system. Therefore, the English sounds /f/, /v/, /Θ/, and /ð/ do not exist in Korean. Other sounds that do not exist in Korean but do exist in English are /z/, /ʒ/, /ʧ/, /r/, and /ʃ/. /l/ and /ʤ/ may also be included in this list, but as described in the section on Korean consonants, there is a case to be made that these sounds may have found their way into the Korean language and can function as acceptable pronunciations for ㅅ, ㄹ, and ㅈ, respectively. Even so, the sounds listed in this paper are the correct ones, and if a clear line must be drawn, it is ultimately "correct" to say that these sounds are not a real feature of Korean. They are sometimes possibly present, and likely only due to the many foreign loanwords that are now part of the Korean language (Ha et al., 2009) but are not yet officially accepted additions. They also cannot always be relied on to reach the correct pronunciation with all words.

Another difference is that lax Korean consonants in word-final positions become unreleased stops, but a release is possible when consonants are in the word-final position in English. Furthermore, Korean consonants are characterized according to tenseness (tense or lax) and aspiration (apart from a few nasals, liquids, and glides); voicing is not a recognized part of the sound system. This distinction enables the creation of minimal triplets, such as ㄱ/ㄲ/ㅋ (/g/, /k͈/, /kʰ/), which cannot be done with English consonants. The aspirated versions of characters give us a few sounds in the Korean language that do not exist in English: /kʰ/, /tʰ/, /t͈/, /tɕ͈/, /k͈/, and /s͈/. Other sounds that are in Korean but not typically found in English include /dʑ/, /tɕʰ/, /ɾ/, and /ɭ/.

Part 2: Analysis of Syllabic and Accentual Word Structures

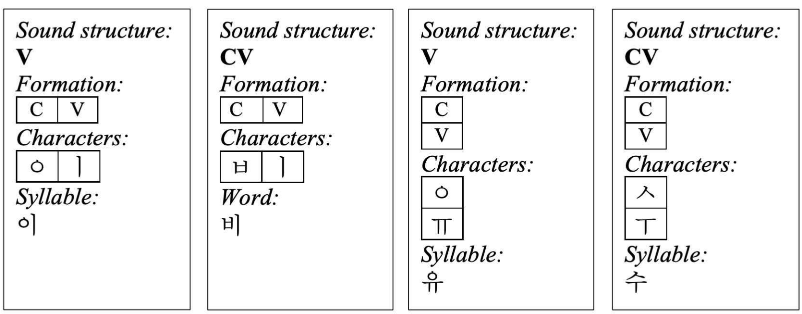
Part 2 focuses on how syllables are organized within the Korean language as well as the pronunciation changes that take place when separate sounds are combined to create words, while simultaneously comparing the similarities and differences in these areas between Korean and English.

Syllabic Structures

Syllables in Korean are created by combining two to four vowels and consonant characters in specific clusters or blocks. These blocks of Korean characters result in each syllable being able to take on only the V (vowel), VC (vowel-consonant), CV (consonant-vowel), and CVC (consonant-vowel-consonant) sound structures. This is quite different from English, which has the capacity to form the V, VC, VCC CV, CCV, CCCV, CVCCC, and CVCCCC sound structures (Aslam & Kak, 2007). The structure of written Korean syllables, and how they together enable the sound patterns listed above, can be represented using blocks. Examples are given in Figures 2 and 3.

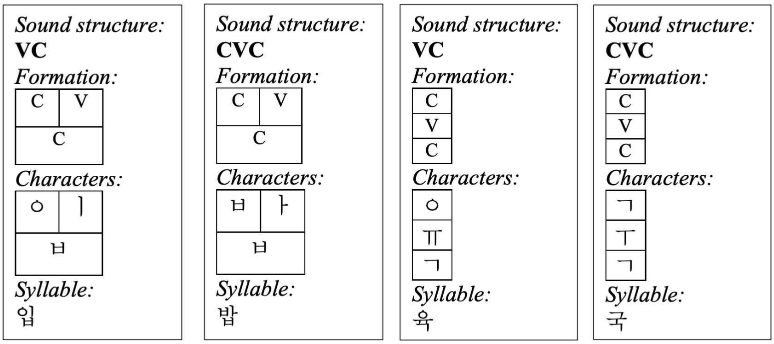
A minimum of two characters are required to make a syllable, and these are placed left to right, or top to bottom. Note that every Korean word is spelled with an initial consonant. Even a V syllable is written with the "ㅇ" consonant character in the initial position (when in this position, it is silent).

FIGURE 2. Two-Character Korean Syllables with Example Characters and Words



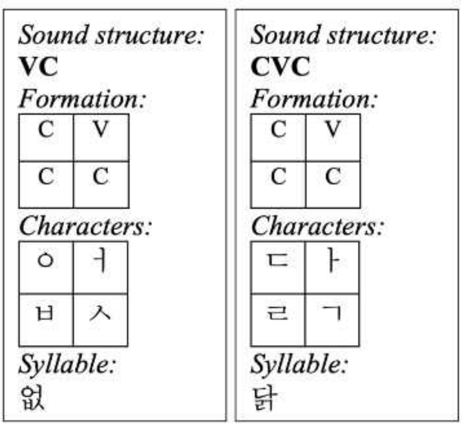
Syllables are also commonly created by combining three characters, which are ordered from left to right then down, or from top to bottom when the characters are stacked one on top of the other (with none alongside). Three characters are needed to make VC and CVC syllables. Note that three characters together seem to make a CV sound in the case of 의 ("ui"), 위 ("we") and외 ("oe"), but these are not actually different characters that have been combined. They are all independent, single characters and can form words by stacking another character below them (such as 원), placing them in the same group as in Figure 3.

FIGURE 3. Three-Character Korean Syllables with Example Characters and Words



Finally, syllables can be made up of four characters, all ending in double consonants. This, however, does not result in a VCC or CVCC sound pattern, as only one of the final consonant characters is pronounced or the last consonant character's pronunciation is transferred to the next syllable. These syllables also produce VC and CVC sound patterns. These characters are ordered from top left to right, then bottom left to right.

FIGURE 4. Four-Character Korean Syllables with Example Characters and Words



Further Comparisons Between Syllables of Korean and English

As can be seen above, Korean consonant sounds stand alone. There are no syllables that contain two consonant sounds next to each other; a verb will always be separating each consonant sound. What's more, when there are two or more consonant characters in a Korean syllable, the syllable can never end with a vowel sound.

This is completely different from English, where consonant clusters are common, such as in *bridge* (CCVC, /brɪdʒ/), *strange* (CCCVCC, /streɪndʒ/), *texts* (CVCCCC, /teksts/) and in many other examples. These clusters also mean that it is possible to have multiple letters in a syllable and still end in a vowel sound in English, as is demonstrated by *spa* (CCV, /spɑː/) and *stray* (CCCV, /streɪ/). Syllables, of course, do not function in isolation, and just as with English, each syllable may be pronounced differently depending on what comes before or after it in a word. Accentual features, and the rules that propagate them, will be looked at next.

Accentual Word Structures

To analyze Korean accentual word structures, first, timing will be covered and then unique features of Korean sound combinations within and between syllables that determine pronunciation. This will be divided according to Korean pronunciation rules that cause modification and are ordered based on a modification and interpretation of rules provided by Kim et al. (2018): modifications of final consonants, modifications brought about by the character ㅎ, how and when consonants are tensed, palatalization, liquidization, and cases of insertion. Each section will also include a brief comparative analysis with the English language.

Do Korean Words Contain Stress?

Korean is a syllable-timed language, which means that each syllable in the word is generally pronounced with the same stress and timing, i.e., the spoken length of a word depends on the number of syllables contained within the word. This is different from stress-timed languages, such as English, where each word has a syllable that receives the main stress, while the other syllables are either not stressed or take on minor stress; the spoken length of a word is dependent on the number of stressed syllables (Avery & Ehrlich, 2012). This also means that each syllable within Korean words can be lengthened or shortened with no change in meaning (i.e., the word might sound strange, but it will still be understood), whereas in English if an incorrect syllable receives the major stress, the word may not be understood (even though all the separate sounds are correct) or may take on a new meaning entirely.

For example, the word *acorn* in English is pronounced /eɪkɔ:n/ (British English pronunciation), with the stress on the initial syllable. If the stress is placed on the second syllable, the word sounds like "a corn" /eɪ kɔ:n/, which completely changes the meaning. The same item in Korean, 도토리, is pronounced /do̹tʰo̹ɾi/ with equal stress on each syllable. It does not become a different, misunderstood word if any of the syllables are shortened or lengthened − it always retains the same meaning. Creating weak forms by placing no stress on a syllable (i.e., replacing o̹ with a schwa) is not a feature of the language. Doing this doesn't create a stress error − it is an L1 transfer issue, as it is inserting foreign sounds into the language.

Final Consonants

When Korean syllables end in a consonant, only seven sounds are possible (Kim et al., 2017. These are the unreleased stops, /p̚/ (for syllables ending with ㅂ and ㅍ), /t̚/ (for syllables ending with ㄷ, ㅅ, ㅈ, ㅊ, and ㅌ) and /k̚/ (for syllables ending with ㄱ and ㅋ), the nasals /m/ (ㅁ), /n/ (ㄴ), and /ŋ/ (ㅇ), and the approximant /l̪/ (ㄹ). If, however, the final consonant is followed by a syllable that begins with a vowel sound, then the original sound of the character is retained, but the consonant sound moves into the syllable-initial position of the silent ㅇ (as mentioned earlier, all single vowels are paired with a silent syllable-initial ㅇ). As an example, 눈이, which looks like /nʊn-i/ undergoes a consonant transfer (눈이 → 누니) and is pronounced /nʊ-ni/.

When words end in a double consonant, only one of the consonants is pronounced. The general rule is that the first consonant is pronounced for the endings ㄳ, ㄵ, ㄶ, ㄼ, ㄾ, ㅀ, and ㅄ, and the second consonant is pronounced for ㄺ, ㄻ, and ㄿ (following the same final consonant rules as above). Once again, transfer takes place if the following syllable begins with a vowel sound, but in this case, the first consonant remains pronounced, and the sound of the second consonant moves into the ㅇ position of the following syllable. For example, 읊으면 (a conjugation of 읊다, with conjunction added), following the general rule above, looks to be pronounced as /ɯp̚ɯmjɒn/, but because of the transfer that takes place (읊으면→ 을프면), the real pronunciation is /ɯl̢pɯmjɒn/.

There are some clear differences between the pronunciation of English and Korean final consonants. In Korean, it is not possible to end a syllable with a released stop, whereas the small puff of air that is released with these plosives is possible at the end of syllables in English. This gives English the addition of released /p/, /t/, /k/, /d/, and /g/ sounds at the end of syllables. On top of this, /z/, /ʒ/, /ʧ/, /r/, /ʃ/, /l/, and /ʤ/ can also be found at the end of English syllables, whereas in Korean, they are, of course, not found, as they don't exist in the language.

It is interesting to note that, like in Korean, English plosives also become unreleased stops depending on their position in a sentence, but whereas this becomes the case at the end of syllables in Korean, this happens mid-syllable (before the vowel) in English. An example of this is in the difference between the /p/ pronunciation in "pie" and "spy" (as noted by Avery & Ehrlich, 2012).

The Effect of ㅎ on Aspiration

ㅎ (/h/ or /ɦ/, see the section above on glottal consonants), when word-initial, is pronounced as (/h/), but in other positions, it usually combines with other sounds or can be left out entirely with no detectable change in meaning. When it is in final-consonant position before ㄱ (/g/), ㄷ (/d/), ㅈ (/dʑ/), and ㅂ (/b/), or comes after these sounds when they are in the final-consonant position, then it combines with these sounds to create their aspirated counterparts, ㅋ (/k^h/), ㅌ (/t^h/), ㅊ (/tɕ^h/), and ㅍ (/p^h/), respectively. For example, 어떻게 is pronounced as 어떠케 (/ɒt̤ɒk^{h}ɛ/), 넣다 is pronounced as 너타 (nɒt^{h}ɐ/), and 입학 is pronounced as 이팍 (/ip^{h}ɐk̚/).

When speaking quickly, these combined sounds tend to be the natural result, as moving from one obstruent to another creates a stop and then a burst of air. The following sound rides this burst from the beginning, creating an aspirated consonant. Another way to look at it is simplification of pronunciation by turning two sounds from the same natural class into a single sound. The production of aspirated consonants is identical to how English voiceless stops become aspirated when coming immediately before a stressed vowel (e.g., cot /k^{h}ɒt/), as each example above results in the same rule (giving us a third explanation). The difference is that final-consonant rules must first be understood to create the correct consonant to receive the aspiration when speaking Korean.

The Disappearing ㅎ

The Korean ㅎ, in almost all positions not listed above, is either silent or can be treated as silent. When followed by a vowel or the nasal ㄴ (/n/), it is not pronounced (낳아요 is pronounced as 나아요 /nɐ-ɐjo̞/, and 않는 is pronounced as 안는 /ɐn-nɯn/), and when in the final-consonant position of a double consonant, the transfer rule takes effect as if the ㅎ does not exist (for example, 잃었어요 does not become 일혔어요 /iɭhɒs͈ɐjo̞/ but rather 이렀어요 /iɭɒs͈ɐjo̞/). When the ㅎ comes after liquids, glides, and the other nasals, it should be pronounced, but most Korean speakers seem to pronounce it weakly or not at all (Kim et al., 2017), so pronouncing 은행 as /ɯnhɛːŋ/ or /ɯnɛːŋ/ would both be acceptable. This indicates that the Korean /h/ or /ɦ/, unless word-initial, is becoming silent. This is also the case in some dialects of English, and all dialects have examples such as in the words *ghost*, *ghetto*, *vehicle*, and *rhyme*. One difference, however, is that the silent "h" can be in a word-initial position in English, but this is never the case in Korean.

Another difference highlighted by the silent Korean ㅎ is that it often enables a Korean syllable ending in a vowel to be followed by a syllable beginning with another vowel. This is a common feature of Korean, and not linked just to a silent "h," but it is mentioned here, as this is where it has first been demonstrated in this paper. Two pure vowels alongside each other are not often found in English, although it is possible, proven by the word *gooey* /guːi/. What is not found in English, however, are two of the exact same vowels next to each other, which is possible in Korean (e.g., 낳아요 /nɐɐjo̞/).

Increasing Tenseness

In situations where no ㅎ is involved, seven of the possible eight final-consonant sounds (i.e., /p̚/, /t̚/, /k̚/, /m/, /n/, and /ɭ/), when followed by a syllable beginning with ㄱ (/g/), ㄷ (/d/), ㅂ (/b/), ㅅ (/sʰ/), or ㅈ (/dʑ/), usually cause these sounds to be pronounced as their tensed counterparts, that is, ㄲ (/k͈/), ㄸ (/t͈/), ㅃ (/p͈/), ㅆ (/s͈/), and ㅉ (/tɕ͈/), respectively. Examples are 듣기 (pronounced as 듣끼 /dɯt̚k͈i/), 식당 (pronounced as 식땅 /sʰik̚dɐŋ/), and 할수록 (pronounced as 할쑤록 /hɐɭs͈ ʊɾo̞k͈/). For the character ㅅ, it also takes on a tensed pronunciation when preceded by a vowel sound, sometime created by the silent ㅎ (e.g., 좋습니다 is pronounced as 조씁니다 /dʑo̞s͈ɯp̚nidɐ/).

In short, this means that when unreleased stops, nasals (apart from /ŋ/), and glides in final-consonant position are followed by a syllable beginning with an obstruent, they increase the tenseness of the obstruent. As with most languages, there are exceptions, and sometimes a word class (e.g., noun vs adjective) or a pause before or after syllables will alter the pronunciation. In English, a direct comparison with tensed letters is not possible, as these sounds are not in the English language, but we can say that when equivalent syllables follow each other, there is no change in the obstruent. For example, the /n/ in *indeed* does not change the pronunciation of the /d/ at the beginning of the second syllable.

Palatalization

When alveolars are pronounced further back in the mouth, closer to the hard palate, it is called palatalization (Avery & Ehrlich, 2012). This happens in Korean when the final-consonant unreleased stop /t̄/ is combined with an initial /i/ sound (이), or with 히, as the ㅎ becomes silent, leaving only the vowel. When these sounds combine, the /t̄/ moves to the initial position of the following symbol and becomes the alveolo-palatal affricate, ㅊ (/tɕʰ/) or ㅈ(/dʑ/). The choice of which is created depends on the Korean character involved, even though they have the same sound in final-consonant position. ㄷ+이 becomes 지, ㄷ+히 becomes 치, and ㅌ+이 becomes 치. For example, 같이, is pronounced as 가치 /gɐtɕʰi/, while 맏이 is pronounced as 마지 /mɐdʑi/.

This palatalization also happens in English, when alveolars /t/ and /d/ (and to a lesser extent, /s/ and /z/) combine with /j/, but not within single words. It takes place at the suprasegmental level, in sentences wherein one word ends with an alveolar and the next begins with a /j/ sound, with variations depending on the dialect. An example is the sentence "Woul**d** **y**ou mind?" (/wʊdʒu: maɪnd/).

Nasalization

In Korean, all final consonant stops become nasalized when followed by an initial nasal sound in the following syllable (which must be ㄴ /n/ or ㅁ /m/, as the initial ㅇ /ŋ/ is always silent). The sound that these stops take on depends on their place of articulation. The velar unreleased stop k̄ becomes the velar nasal /ŋ/, the alveolar final stop /t̄/ becomes the alveolar nasal /n/, and the bilabial unreleased stop /p̄/ becomes the bilabial nasal /m/. Therefore, 작년 is pronounced as 장년 (/dʑɐŋnjɒn/), 긁나다 is pronounced as근나다 (/gɯnnɐdɐ/), and 덮는 is pronounced as 덤는 (/dɒmnɯn/).

If nasals are already in the final consonant position, there are also instances when the following initial syllable sound is nasalized. If an initial ㄹ (/ɾ/) comes after ㅇ (/ŋ/) or ㅁ (/m/), it is pronounced ㄴ (/n/), so a word such as 정류장 is pronounced as 정뉴장 (/dʑɒŋnjʊdʑɐŋ/). When ㄹ is in a word-initial position, it also becomes nasalized and is pronounced as /n/ if followed by an unreleased stop, /k̚/ or /p̚./ In this case, double nasalization takes place, as the /n/ pronunciation of ㄹ has a reverse effect on these stops, causing them to follow the rules above and be pronounced as /ŋ/ and /m/, respectively (making 대학로 to be pronunced as 대항노 /dɛ:ɦɐŋno̞/).

This complete transformation of consonants into nasals is unique to Korean when making a comparison to English, but nasalization does take place in English. When vowels are followed by nasals, they become nasalized, such as the /æ/ in the word *man* (/mæn/) or more clearly, the /h/ in /əhə/, but these are subtle variations and a type of assimilation or "co-articulation" (Examples of Nazalization in English, n.d.), and nowhere near as distinct as in the Korean examples given above.

This section once again highlights another unique difference in Korean, in that two identical nasals can follow one another with both being pronounced (as in the example above, /gɯnnɐgo̞/. This is not restricted to nasalization but again is listed here, as it is the first time it has appeared in this paper. When two nasals are next to each other in Korean, they do not simply blend into one but can be clearly distinct from similar words. As an example, there is an area of Seoul named Hannam (한남동 /hɐn-nɐm/) as well as a satellite city of Seoul named Hanam (하남 /hɐ-nɐm/), and while it may initially sound like the same word to English speakers, the /n/ must be lengthened over two syllables, and Korean speakers can clearly hear the difference between the two. Two identical consonants back-to-back, separately pronounced, are not a feature of English.

Liquidization

When the nasal ㄴ (/n/) meets the approximant ㄹ (/l̠/) at the joining of two syllables, no matter which is the final consonant and which is the initial consonant of the following syllable, the ㄴ is liquidized, and both sounds are pronounced as /l̠/. For example, 관리비 is pronounced as 괄

리비 /gwɐɭ-ɭibi/. When ㄹ is alone as a final consonant, it is pronounced /ɭ/, when alone as an initial consonant, it is pronounced /ɾ/, but when a final consonant and initial consonant of two joined syllables are both ㄹ, they are always both pronounced as /ɭ/. Moving between an alveolar and palatal tongue position while maintaining an element of nasalization (the Korean ㄹ is somewhere between /r/ and /l/ with a hint of nasalization), and the reverse, can be awkward; the sounds somewhat blend into each other in such a way that the end of one sound cuts off the beginning of the next with a short stop (in either direction). Therefore, liquidization enables a smoother pronunciation and also a more distinctive, clear sound between the two options, the ㄹ.

There is no equivalent example of liquidization in English, likely because the English /r/ and /l/ are more distinct sounds that are pronounced at the front of the mouth without any palatalization, making for much easier transitions between nasals and approximants.

/n/ and /ɭ/ Insertion

The insertion of the nasal /n/ follows very similar rules to instances of nasalization, with the difference being that sounds are not (only) transformed but a new nasal is inserted into the place of the silent consonant ㅇ. This happens whenever a nasal or unreleased stop in final-consonant position is followed by a syllable beginning with 야 (/jɐ/), 여 (/jɒ/), 요 (/jo̞/), 유 (/jʊ/), or 이 (/i/). Therefore, a word such as 강남역 will have /n/ inserted into the silent ㅇ and be pronounced as 강남녁 /gɐŋnɐmnjɒk̚/.

According to Kim et al. (2018), this same process takes place when ㄹ in final-consonant position is followed by a syllable beginning with 야 (/jɐ/), 여 (/jɒ/), 요 (/jo̞/), 유 (/jʊ/), or 이 (/i/), and then the liquidization rule is added onto this, as the inserted ㄴ then finds itself preceded by a consonant-final ㄹ, causing it to be liquidized (할일 → 할닐 → 할릴 /hɐɭiɭ/). A less convoluted way of looking at this, however, is to forget about the ㄴ and say that /ɭ/ insertion takes place (할일 → 할릴 /hɐɭiɭ/).

From this section, we can say that, in Korean, insertion almost always takes place when nasals, unreleased stops, and approximants are combined with the palatal glide semivowel /j/ (exceptions exist, mainly in the case of /jɛ:/ and /jɛ/). Since Korean contains only seven final consonant sounds, and this includes all of them, we can summarize this further and say that, except for /jɛ:/and /jɛ/, mid-word semivowels are preceded by the insertion of /n/ or /ɭ/.

English is more tolerant of stops and released final consonants taking place between syllables (such as in the word *vocabulary* /vəˈkæbjələri/), likely because such stops would impede the flow of a syllable-timed language such as Korean, yet work without any issue in a stress-timed language such as English (emphasizing and stopping a syllable, creating a difference in the length of adjacent syllables, sounds normal in English, whereas a more even flow is required in Korean).

Even so, a similarity can be pointed out in that insertion often takes place in English to improve the rhythm of words, generally in the form of placing semivowels before vowels, and more often than not before /u:/ and shwa sounds (e.g., /ɪntəvju:/, /pɒpjələ(r)/). Arguably, the only Korean vowel sound that is exactly the same as an English vowel sound is ㅜ (/u:/), which is combined with /j/ to form the diphthong ㅠ (/ju:/), so this sound combination is very common in both languages.

PART 3: ANALYSIS OF SUPRASEGMENTAL FEATURES

In terms of a suprasegmental analysis of Korean from a casual language learning, acquisitional, and immersive viewpoint, Korean is rather simple. It is a syllable-timed language, with far less emphasis placed on stress and intonation than the constant, and precise, rises and falls of English. Of course, it has its own prosody and variations, but to understand and differentiate these elements, the literature delves into aspects such as somewhat abstract phonetic pitch levels, keys, registers, gliding tones, directional forms, inter-intonational contours, theories centered around the strict layer hypothesis, and more, while finding a lack of agreement on the suitability and effectiveness of phonetic cues, syntactically divided intonational phrasing, and semantics (Park, 1991) when trying to pin down the "melody" of Korean. As is common with Korean linguistics, even the existence of stress is controversial, with some authors claiming it does not exist at the word level, some saying that it exists depending on the syllable weight, and others saying that it only exists when within a sentence (Jun, 2005), placing it in the suprasegmental category.

The approaches and explanations of these papers are of little use to what interpreter and polyglot Kato Lomb (2011) termed the "average language learner," or a linguistic analysis from the perspective of a

TESOL student. As Seong (1995) said, Korean patterns and cues can sometimes only be perceived by a trained phonetician. What the literature does, however, conclude, through various complicated wording, is that what matters in Korean is sentence type, lengthening, and emphasis. In line with this analysis, a simplified approach will be taken that focuses on the clear differences that a Korean language learner would encounter on a daily basis, speaking a standard dialect, particularly in comparison to English rhythm, stress, and intonation. An amalgamation of the literature, experience with the language, and feedback from L1 speakers informs the brief analysis contained in this section.

Rhythm, Stress, and Intonation

Rhythm

Being a syllable-timed language, the amount of time it takes to say a sentence in Korean depends on the number of syllables in the sentence, as opposed to English, which determines rhythm and the time taken to say a sentence by the number of stressed syllables within a sentence (Avery & Ehrlich, 2012). Korean has a common, consistent pace throughout sentences, but this does not translate to a staccato-like rhythm; instead, the richness and nuance of a sentence is created through the use of gaps and lengthening.

In Korean, it is common to place gaps after conjunctions, prepositions, and discourse markers, and it is also possible to place gaps after sentence-initial subjects. For example, in the utterances below, a pause would be placed after the bolded words (for sentence-initial subjects, the gap is optional, as the sentence can sound natural with or without it):

Example 1
(저는) 밥을 먹을 거예요. **그리고 (저는)** 갈 거예요
(Jeoneun) babeul meokeul keoyeyo. **Geurigo** (jeoneun) galkeoeyo.
(I) am going to eat rice. **Then** (I'm) going to go.

Example 2
슈퍼**에서** 우유를 사주세요. **그리고** 계란도 사주세요.
Supeo**eseo** uyureul sajuseyo. **Geurigo** gyerando sajuseyo.
Please buy milk **at** the supermarket. **And** please buy eggs too.

The gaps placed after conjunctions can also contain a lengthening of the vowel in the final syllable of the word before the gap. Whether there is just a gap or if slight vowel lengthening takes place seems to make no difference, it just adds to the flow and digestibility of the language as it serves to emphasize key elements, subjects, and discourse markers, providing a quick introduction of sorts to the information that will follow. These "pre-gap" words can also be said to take sentence stress, but it is debatable and not as clear as in English. More on stress follows in upcoming sections.

Another reason why a gap is placed after the conjunction is that these types of words are combined with nouns and verbs to create new forms when combining clauses in natural, spoken Korean. Therefore, the more natural version of Example 1 would usually be spoken as in Example 3, with the conjunction forming part of the first clause. Another example of this can be seen in Example 4, where "or" (-거나) is melded into the phrase "watch a movie" (영화보-) placing the gap after the conjunction.

Example 3
(저는) 밥을 **먹고** 갈 거예요.
(Jeoneun) babeul **moekgo** geoeyo.
(I) will **eat** rice **then** go. (moekgo = eat then)

Example 4
수업이 끝나면 영화**보거나** 집에 갈 거예요.
Sueopi geutnamyeon yeongwhabo**geona** jibe geoeyo.
When the class ends, I will watch a movie **or** go home.

This is very different from English and highlights why Korean learners will commonly make the mistake of leaving gaps after conjunctions when speaking English. Leaving a gap after the *and* in "Please buy eggs **and** milk" in English sounds unnatural, but it is the natural place for a quick pause in Korean. Similarly, beginning a sentence with a noun, particularly when making a descriptive statement about the noun, will commonly result in a gap after the noun in Korean (see Examples 1, 3, and 5), which could sound quite strange in English. Discourse markers indicating time (e.g., today, last month, this week) are also followed by a gap or lengthening of the final vowel sound, creating sentences such as Example 6, which would break the flow of a sentence in English, but sound natural in Korean.

Example 5
예원은 미술 학원에 다녔어요.
Yewoneun misul hakweone danyeosseoyo.
Yewon attended an art academy.

Example 6
오늘은 과제를 할 거예요.
Oneuleun gwajereul hal keoeyo.
Today I will do an assignment.

In short, when comparing Korean to English, we can say that English rhythm is tightly linked to stressed words, with a consistent gap between these words, making each sentence a stage for these main components to stand out and rise above the rest. Conversely, Korean has an equal pace when it comes to pronouncing words, with rhythm being tightly linked to the gaps between words rather than the words themselves, with these gaps (along with the lengthening of vowels into these gaps) being used to point to where the main components lie.

Stress

Stress at the sentence level in Korean exists predominantly for one use: clarification. It can also be described as emphasis, but this does not mean to emphasize content words as in English, but rather in situations where it is necessary to bring clarity to an aspect of a sentence. In the example dialogue below, stress is placed on the emphasized part of the word for the sake of clarification.

A: 성수동에 갈 거예요.
(Seongsudonge gal koyeyo. / I'm going to Seongsu-dong.)
B: 상수동이요?
(Sangsudongiyo? / Sangsu-dong?)
A: 아뇨, **성수동**이요.
(Anyo, **Seongsudong**iyo./ No, **Seongsu-dong.**)

This is in no way unique to Korean, and perhaps just a feature of human language when repeating information, but it can be noted that the entire word requiring clarification can be repeated with stress, not just the misunderstood syllables. So, whereas English would see the emphasized word receiving stress, but that word still conforming to the rules of major and minor stress within the word, Korean allows for the entire word to be stressed within the sentence, with all syllables of the word receiving equal stress (pinpointing one syllable is possible, but either way is acceptable).

As mentioned, word stress in Korean is debatable, and it is more plausible to identify gaps and lengthened vowels, but it is possible to stress the words preceding these gaps and sound quite natural, and some do argue that these words contain stress (even if it is not as clear to identify as with English stress). Assuming that this stress exists, we can identify a difference in stress between English and Korean.

English has in place a system wherein content words are stressed and function words are not, whereas Korean does not make this distinction. As the stressed words preceding gaps can be conjunctions, prepositions, and pronouns (as subjects in sentence-initial position), it is possible for Korean function words to receive stress. This is often inevitable, as Korean function "words" are often not words at all, but rather take the form of word endings added to preceding content words (e.g., "영화 **보거나** 집에 갈 거예요" translates to "I'll **watch** a movie **or** go home." "Watch" and "or" have been combined into one utterance in the Korean sentence).

Even though these endings are not official words (nor are the combined utterances considered new "words," we can still say that the parts of the sentences that indicate function can receive stress. The rule is not a complete opposite of English, however, as proper nouns receive sentence stress in both languages, but it does highlight how different the two languages are when it comes to stress.

Intonation

Korean has patterns of pitch changes that can be summarized very simply, particularly from the perspective of English speakers who are used to the constant rises and falls of English intonation. In Korean, a rising pattern is used for questions, and a falling pattern is used for everything else. Apart from this, variations are contextual, such as an even tone being used for informal imperatives and suggestions, and continuation rises for lists. It is common for complex sentences to contain a rising then falling pattern, but the simple rule above combined with the gaps and lengthening explained in the rhythm section, will account for most explanations of suprasegmental pronunciation. Therefore, statements will be reflected as in Examples 7 and 8, while questions will have the pattern indicated in Examples 9 and 10.

Example 7: 밥을 먹을 거예요.
Babeul meokeul keoyeyo.
I am going to eat rice.

Example 8: 예원은 미술 학원에 다녔어요.
Yewoneun misul hakweone danyeosseoyo.
Yewon attended an art academy.

Example 9: 밥을 먹을 거예요?
Babeul meokeul keoyeyo?
Are you going to eat rice?

Example 10: 예원은 미술 학원에 다녔어요?
Yewoneun misul hakweone danyeosseoyo?
Did Yewon attend an art academy?

Notice that Examples 9 and 10 are exact repeats of Examples 7 and 8, but with question marks added. Intonation in Korean, therefore, can completely change the type of sentence, and without the correct rising pattern, a question may be misunderstood as a statement. Like English, Korean also has question words, such as 뭐 (mwo / "what"), 언제 (eonje / "when"), and 왜 (wae / "why"), which can reduce ambiguity (although questions in both languages will still sound unnatural without rising intonation). Also, in English it is also possible to ask questions by changing the intonation of statements, (e.g., You went yesterday?), but these questions are context specific, usually formulated as reactions or to confirm information, or are informal (e.g., Coffee?), whereas in Korean a new question (i.e., conversation starter) can be formulated using just the intonation of a phrase; these forms are standard and not overly casual.

Returning to the gaps and pauses covered in the rhythm section, intonation can rise on the words preceding gaps, particularly coordinating conjunctions, and it can be heard more clearly in the case of conditionals (see Example 11). For these types of sentences, the initial phrase is rising and the phrases that follow have a falling pattern. These patterns are not always the same, however, and the rise takes place over the conjunction rather than the noun or verb it is attached to (so a transfer error may occur if an L1 English speaker were to raise intonation over the content word then let it drop through the conjunction). In many instances, these patters will sound more natural and can be identified to varying degrees, but the phenomenon of gaps and lengthening is far more consistent and results in natural speech. The similarity here is that the rising-then-falling intonation in English and Korean both take place before gaps in complex sentences, as the position of conjunctions in Korean and content words in English are generally in the same place (due to differing word order between the two languages: SOV for Korean, and SVO for English). The difference is in the philosophy of what these peaks point to. As mentioned above, English emphasizes the key information itself, while Korean emphasizes the signposts that guide one to the key information.

Example 11: 수업이 끝나면 영화보거나 집에 갈 거예요.
Sueopi geutnamyeon yeongwhabogeona jibe geoeyo.
When the class ends, I will watch a movie or go home.

In the case of informal suggestions and imperatives, such as (가자/gaja/let’s go), (자자/jaja/let’s sleep), and (앉자/anja/sit down), an even tone is used (see Example 12). This type of speaking is reserved for those who are much younger or who are more intimately known, in most cases, the appropriate word ending will be added to indicate level of formality, and this ending will give the sentence a falling tone.

Example 12: 가자.
Gaja.
Let’s go.

Sentence endings linked to formality, and therefore attitude towards the listener, are an indicator of the differences between English and Korean when it comes to expressing attitude through intonation. While changes in pitch variation are used to convey attitude in both English and Korean (and in just about any language), Korean has less pitch variation, and it is quite often the actual words used that express attitude. Accidentally expressing the wrong attitude through the incorrect pitch is not nearly as much of a problem in Korean as it has the potential to be in English, but the incorrect conjugation can easily express the wrong attitude. For example, if a student were to tell a teacher, "저는 높은 점수를 받을 만합니다" (Jeoneun nopeun jeomsureul badeul manhabnida) or "저는 높은 점수를 받을 만해" (Jeoneun nopeun jeomsureul badeul manhae), both have the exact same intonation and meaning (I deserve a higher grade), but the first sentence comes across as respectful due to the -합니다 ending, while the second comes across as disrespectful and rude due to the -해 ending. This would be the case regardless of facial expression, intention or if using what would be judged as a friendly tone in English.

This same issue is linked to stress (or the lack thereof, as covered in the section on stress) as in English it would be possible to say "That movie was <u>terrible</u>," placing stress on *terrible*, while also causing a higher peak then drop over this word – together this would make it clear that the movie was particularly terrible. The same sentence in Korean (그 영화는 끔찍했어요 / Geu yeongwhaneun geumjjikhaesseoyo) would not be able to express the same meaning as can be accomplished with stress and intonation in English. The natural approach for a Korean speaker would be to add a quantifier, as in "그 영화는 **정말** 끔찍했어요 / Geu yeongwhaneun **jeongmal** geumjjikhaesseoyo/ That movie was **really** terrible), with the option of placing extra stress on the quantifier, but the word making the meaning clear regardless.

Finally, a clear similarity between the intonation of English and Korean is found in the continuation rise. This is used predominantly for lists and in both languages each item on the list ends with a slight rise in intonation to indicate that the speaker has not yet finished speaking. Even though this is followed by a rise-fall on the final item in English and is closer to an even-fall pattern in Korean, it is clear that both languages make use of the continuation rise (see Example 13).

Example 13: 사과 한개, 배 세개, 바나나 한개 주세요.
Sagwa hangye, bae segye, banana hangye juseyo.
Please give me an apple, three pears and a banana.

A Note on Blending

Korean doesn't blend words within sentences to create new utterances in the clear way that English does. As mentioned in the liquidization section, when alveolars /t/ and /d/ (and to a lesser extent /s/ and /z/) combine with /j/ in sentences wherein one word ends with an alveolar and the next begins with a /j/ sound (e.g., "Woul**d** **y**ou mind?" /wʊd ju: maɪnd/), the words blend into a new form, "Wouldyou mind?" (/wʊdʒu: maɪnd/). In English, this creates what sounds like entirely different informal words, such as "wouldjou" or "wouldya." An even clearer example is when "want to" (/wɑ:nt tu:/) combines in sentences to form the informal "wanna" (/ˈwɑ:nə/).

In Korean, this type of blending does not take place at the suprasegmental level. The palatalization and liquidization that are applied between syllables within words do not apply between syllables of two connecting words. The words are pronounced separately, even though the speed of the utterance can make it seem like a different word has been created. A common example of this is in the phrase for saying goodbye "안녕히 계세요" (/ɐnjɒŋigʒɛsʰɛjo̞/), which often sounds like a muffled /ɐnjɒŋɛsʰɛjo̞/, but is actually just the same sounds spoken very quickly; no new word with a new informal spelling has been created.

A Summary of Prosody

Korean prosody is characterized by smaller peaks and falls than is typical of English, and a more constant pace that relies on gaps and lengthening to create variation and flow. The rising-falling patterns of English contrast with the rising *or* falling, simplified intonation of Korean, even though similarities can be found in areas such as rises at the end of clauses and in the way that lists of items are approached. Furthermore, whereas English relies on expression through changes in pitch, playing with syllables, and emphasizing keywords and bits of information, Korean relies more heavily on the entire sentence to create context for key elements and on the practical application of conjugation to express intent.

PART 4: COMMON PROBLEMS FOR KOREAN ENGLISH LEARNERS

This paper has illustrated that there are major differences between the sound systems, syllabic and accentual word structures, and suprasegmental features of Korean and English. Because of this, when native speakers of one of these languages try to learn the other, many common problems arise due to unfamiliarity and language transfer errors. Part 4 focuses on some common errors that can be found in the language of native Korean speakers when learning and speaking English. Based on the literature, along with experience, prominent problem areas are identified, drawn sequentially from the areas covered in Parts 1–3 (i.e., sounds, syllabic structure, and then suprasegmentals). This is followed by techniques and strategies that can be used to overcome these problems, seen from both the perspective of the classroom environment and from that of an independent language learner.

Common Problems with the English Sound System

/r/ vs /l/

One of the most common problems that can be identified is caused by a lack of /r/ and /l/ in Korean. Korean features the tap /ɾ/ and the approximate /ɭ/, with such a fine distinction between the two that they can sometimes be used interchangeably. This creates confusion in differentiating the sounds (the infamous example of "**r**ice" vs "**l**ice" can be given), particularly when it seems to be the case that Korean speakers are more likely to associate /ɾ/ with /l/, which can give an English speaker the impression that an attempt at /r/ is being made (Cho & Park, 2006). Therefore, the more urgent and common issue is in the differentiation of these sounds, and particularly in learning to pronounce /l/.

Fricatives

A second common problem is caused by the lack of fricatives in Korean. Because of this, when these sounds appear in English, they are often replaced by the nearest equivalent stop or affricate (sometimes these are not in the English language at all, such as /dʑ/ or /tɕ͈/), resulting in awkward pronunciation or an entirely different word. The following are some example replacements:

/f/ in *fight* by /p/	(/**f**aɪt/ > /**p**aɪt/)
/v/ in *vent* by /b/	(/**v**ɛnt/ > /**b**ɛnt/)
/Θ/ in *through* by /s/	(/Θru:/ > /**s**ru:/)
/ð/ in *these* by /d/	(/**ð**i:z/ > /**d**i:z/)
/z/ in *zeal* by /dʒ/ or /dʑ/	(/**z**i:l/ > /**dʑ**i:l/)
/ʒ/ in *measure* by /dʒ/ or /dʑ/	(/me**ʒə**(r)/ > (/med**ʒə**(r)/)

Vowel Pairs

A further problem comes in the form of differentiating between rounded and unrounded vowels, and tense and lax vowels, due to the lack of a tense/lax distinction in Korean, and fewer vowel sounds in general. Therefore, it is a problem for Korean speakers to differentiate between the sound pairs /ɒ/ and /ʌ/, /æ/ and /ɛ/, /ɪ/ and /i:/, /ʊ/ and /u:/, and /ɛ/ and /eə/, often substituting one for the other.

Semivowels Before Vowels

Korean diphthongs are created by combining the semivowels /y/ and /w/ with vowels. Where these semivowels combine with vowels in English words in combinations not found in the Korean diphthongs, we find errors in pronunciation among Korean English learners. Specifically, the combination of /y/ + /ɪ/ (e.g., *year*) and /w/ + /ʊ/ (e.g., *wood*) are not found in Korean. Even when the romanization of words calls for this combination, such as in 우리 (woori) or 이 (yi/lee), the "w" and the "y" are not pronounced. When this pattern appears in English, it is common for Korean speakers to omit the semivowel entirely and pronounce *year* (/jɪr/) as /ɪr/ and *wood* (/wʊd/) as /ʊd/. Apart from sounding unnatural, this leads to difficulties in differentiating between words such as *ear* and *year*, or *yeast* and *east*, and as Cho and Park (2006) point out, creates the error of pronouncing *the* as /ðɪ/ in front of *wood*, *year*, and *wool*.

Diphthongs

Finally, a problem can be found in the pronunciation of English diphthongs. Korean speakers learning English often pronounce these as two separate sounds – likely because Korean diphthongs are formed with a semivowel and a glide, while English diphthongs can be formed in reverse. This results in a separation of sounds so that one vowel is followed by a glide and vowel, creating two sounds where there should be one. In these cases, /ɪə/ is pronounced as /ɪɒ/, /eə/ is pronounced as /ɛɒ/, /aʊ/ is pronounced as /ɐʊ/, /eɪ/ is pronounced as /ɛɪ/, /aɪ/ is pronounced as /ɐɪ/, /ɔɪ/ is pronounced as /o̹ɪ/, and /ʊə/ is pronounced as /ʊɒ/. These problems with diphthongs can also be described as being caused by differences in syllabic structure between the two languages, as when spoken in context they usually lead to words that have syllables ending in semivowels or consonants not found in the final position of Korean syllables. Therefore, one syllable is broken into two to conform to the familiar Korean pattern, resulting in diphthongs being separated. Even so, it is listed here as a focus when learning English, requiring practice in how to make these single sounds.

Common Problems with English Syllabic Structures

Ending Syllables with Released Stops

In Korean, syllables cannot end with released stops, and /p̚/, /t̚/ and /k̚/ take the place of any bilabials, alveolars, and velars in coda position, respectively (see Final Consonants section). This creates some transfer errors when speaking English, leading to syllables normally pronounced with a released stop becoming unreleased, so words such as stop (/stɒp/), pot (/pɒt/), and sack (/sæk/) are pronounced /stɒp̚/, /pɒt̚/, and /sæk̚/. The unreleased stops in these examples make the final consonant difficult to hear, and to an English speaker, it may sound like the words being pronounced are "stob," "pod," and "sag." Furthermore, the sudden stop has the knock-on effect of making preceding vowels seem shorter, so a word such as shoot (/ʃu:t/), when pronounced with an unreleased stop (/ʃu:t̚/), could sound closer to should (/ʃʊd/).

An alternate error is that of epenthesis, in the case where the released stop is transferred to the initial position of a new, added syllable that combines the released stop with an /ɯ/ (if the epenthesis is less pronounced, shwa may be inserted instead). In this scenario, the examples "stop," "pot," and "sack" would be pronounced /stɒpɯ/, /pɒtɯ/, and /sækɯ/.

Ending Syllables with Fricatives and Affricates

Fricatives and affricates in coda position are a very common problem among Korean learners of English. As with the released stops listed above, these sounds are often transferred to a new syllable where they take an onset position and are combined with a vowel, creating an extra syllable that should not be there. Example words demonstrating how each of these sounds shift to a new syllable follow:

/v/	*love* /lʌv/	>	/lʌ**vɯ**/
/z/	*business* /bɪznəs/	>	/bɪ**zɯ**nəsɯ/
/f/	*half* /hæf/	>	/hæ**fɯ**/
/dʒ/	*George* /dʒɔ:dʒ/	>	/dʒɔ:**dʒɪ**/
/s/	*piece* /pi:s/	>	/pi:**sɯ**/
/ʃ/	*fish* /fɪʃ/	>	/fɪ**ʃɪ**/

Consonant Clusters

English consonant clusters provide a third example of where the use of epenthesis by Korean learners of English results in common errors. Consonant clusters are not a feature of the Korean language, but are common in English and are a challenge for Korean learners. When pronouncing these, a very common result is the insertion of the /ɯ/ vowel (or /ə/, if less pronounced) to break up the consonants and force them to conform to Korean syllabic structure. This happens when clusters are at the beginning or at the end of a syllable. The following are some examples of this vowel insertion:

straight /streɪt/	>	/sɯtɯreɪtə/
clean /kli:n/	>	/kɯli:n/
clasp /klɑ:sp/	>	/kɯlɑ:sɯpɯ/
frost /frɒst/	>	/fɯrɒsɯtɯ/

Word Stress

As mentioned above, Korean is a syllable-timed language with each syllable being given equal "stress" (i.e., no stress), and it is common for Korean speakers to pronounce English words in the same way, which sounds out of place and is sometimes difficult to understand in the stress-timed environment of English. Korean speakers tend to see English stress patterns as an "extra" rather than a vital feature (Cho & Park, 2006), perhaps because, in most cases, the word that is being said can still be understood when each syllable is pronounced equally, which is not the case if the incorrect syllable is stressed. Also, for words that change their meaning depending on stress (e.g., **con**vert vs con**vert**, **per**mit vs per**mit**, **pre**sent vs pre**sent**, **pro**duce vs pro**duce**, etc.), context will usually add clarity. Even so, a lack of correct stress when pronouncing English words reduces the communicability of those who demonstrate this transfer error in their language output.

Common Problems with English Suprasegmental Features

The impact of L1 Korean being syllable-timed on English output continues at the suprasegmental level. Just as Korean speakers do not always demonstrate correct word stress, a common problem may be the omission of clear main and minor sentence stress. The perception of the importance of this stress was discussed in the last section, and I would argue that Korean learners who demonstrate proficiency at word-level stress tend to have acceptable intonation skills as well. Having worked with many Korean English language learners, it is rare to come across a student whose intonation does not improve naturally as they improve their English level. Therefore, sentence stress has not been added as a separate section. Furthermore, as mentioned earlier, Korean features gaps and lengthening between clauses, slight rises and emphasis before these gaps, stress for emphasis, a rising intonation for questions, and a falling one for statements. When these features are transferred over to English, even with a different word order, they offset the staccato-like rhythm that may be expected to a sufficient degree. However, there is a problem that needs to be identified, and it is caused by the transfer of Korean language patterns to English, even among higher-level speakers: the insertion of gaps after conjunctions.

Gaps After Conjunctions

A common problem that Korean English learners display is that of breaking up the rhythm of sentences by leaving gaps after conjunctions. As a feature of Korean, it was covered in the rhythm section and applies to most conjunctions, as they are combined with the initial clause, creating a gap after the conjunction and before the second clause. When this is transferred to English, coordinating conjunctions take on undue stress and/or are pronounced as part of the initial clause, with an awkward gap coming after it. The following examples express a slight gap after the comma, some extra stress preceding the comma, or both:

I like apples but, I hate pears.
I searched the living room but, I couldn't find it.

He eats a lot and, he drinks too much.
I'm going to visit England, watch soccer and, see Big Ben.

Techniques and Strategies to Overcome Pronunciation Problems

From the Perspective of the Classroom

Phonology is an extremely complex area, with a seemingly infinite number of variations and combinations possible in any language. Understanding and practicing one sound repeatedly does not mean that the sound will easily be recognized and produced in all the possible lexical combinations in which it may appear. While much progress has been made to define the rules governing the sounds, syllabic structure, and suprasegmental structure of English, language rules are not always reliable (Smith, 2003), particularly when variations in dialects and shifts in modern language come into play. Because of this, pronunciation in the classroom should be tackled according to what is useful and relevant to students, focusing on those errors that arise among each class on a case-by-case basis, and planning more guided activities around common areas that are exhibited by a group of learners (i.e., not automatically covering all the areas that the group of learners *should* struggle with based on their L1).

All areas are of course to be covered, but not explicitly at first. Rather, they should be presented in communicative, functional contexts (Atar, 2018) with the class focusing on realistic, useful contexts, and variations in phonological areas being present so that learners can practice these areas holistically and the teacher has an opportunity to identify possible problem areas (which can then be taught explicitly).

The problems that Korean language learners often have when learning English, identified above, can all be summarized as either incorrectly pronouncing a specific sound, incorrectly pronouncing a word (i.e., incorrect word stress or inserting a sound that should not be there), or inserting a gap in the wrong place.

When these focus areas do arise, the techniques and strategies used within the classroom, and explained by various authors, seem to all contain the same core features. They too can be summarized: Show the student what they are physically doing wrong, show the student what they should physically do instead, use minimal pairs to practice confusing combinations (whether these is vowel pairs, consonant pairs, or alternate stress pairs, preferably in the context of sentences), and insert these into sentences of increasing complexity that contain as much repetition as possible (and use these sentences for drills, matching, comparison, and identification exercises).

When incorrectly pronouncing syllables and clusters, students should be shown how each articulator is used, along with the movement of air for the sound they are making, and then for the sound they are trying to make. The teacher should guide the student and allow them to feel and discover the sound, learning through what Underhill (2016) calls "muscular awareness." Repeating after the teacher mechanically may help the student to produce the same or a similar sound, but it will not help them to understand and discover the exact sound and to apply it later. Having detailed diagrams in the classroom of how sounds are produced is useful for this. Once the student understands and can produce the sound, they can practice identifying it between pairs and in sentences (written, so that they must pronounce and identify, and also through listening), and by saying the sounds in drills and communicative activities. If a student can produce the correct sound and word, slowly and carefully, gradually speeding up will then naturally cause the sounds and words to blend and sound more natural. Overall, it is a process of understanding, identifying, carefully producing, and then adding speed. This is at the core of any sound problem in the classroom.

When describing and demonstrating sounds, and getting students to practice and produce them, it is important for the teacher to use exaggerated mouth movements and to emphasize and extend sounds (Avery & Ehrlich, 2012), to provide an obvious example, and this should be combined with gestures and cues for all of these movements and concepts. This can include a gesture such as raising a finger to indicate stress, pulling down on one's jaw to emphasize a lowering of the jaw, using the hand as an imaginary tongue moving up and down, or as Avery and Ehrlich (2012) suggested, gesturing an elastic band being stretched and then loosened to indicate tense/lax distinctions. Teachers should find gestures that they are comfortable with and teach these to the students so that they can be used as fast cues to indicate what to do when errors arise.

If drills are used in the classroom (one of the most common techniques for pronunciation), mechanical repetition can be minimized if the teacher first says the sentence containing the sound, word, phrase, connected speech or whatever is being targeted out loud a few times, and the students listen without repeating. They first listen and process, and when they are eventually asked to repeat, they have an internal model of comparison by which to judge their output (Underhill, 2016).

Even the problem of gaps placed after conjunctions can be approached with the same core techniques mentioned above, with students listening and drilling, identifying where gaps should be in sentences, identifying correct and incorrect use of gaps between pairs of spoken sentences, and by doing communicative matching exercises such as having to compare clauses and find a partner in the classroom with a matching "and" or "but" clause, allowing contextual practice of how this conjunction should be said as part of the second clause. Another useful technique is using a "backwards build up" when drilling, gradually saying the last word, letter or cluster of an utterance and adding more and more with each repetition until the whole utterance has been completed (including correct pauses and stress), from back to front and finally the whole.

While these techniques can be used in a classroom setting, and it may be useful for students when exact errors can be pinpointed and dealt with, the complex, contextual nature of language requires a broader approach. One of the best things that a teacher can do to help a student overcome pronunciation problems is to teach the student about the importance of time spent with the language outside of the classroom and techniques that they can use on their own as independent language learners. This area will be detailed next.

From the Perspective of an Independent Language Learner

Krashen, when interviewed by Wang (2013), stated that more speaking does not result in better speaking, and intensive phonics training is too complex, devoid of the meaning needed for acquisition and, in his view, something to be rejected entirely. If one subscribes to the comprehension hypothesis, believing the multitude of case studies proving that speaking emerges as a result of listening and acquisition through high levels of comprehensible input, then it follows that improved pronunciation skills are the result of listening (Wang, 2013), with in-class corrections and drills having little impact until acquisition naturally advances. Truscott (2019) supports this by saying that any assimilation of language skills must be meaningful to have an effect, and corrections have very little impact in ultimate improvement and acquisition. Again, this indicates that in-class training and repetition can only go so far, and if a student really wishes to improve their pronunciation, they must start with listening in a meaningful immersive manner, so that sounds and patterns can be recognized, digested, and become familiar.

Moore (2020) classifies pronunciation and ear training as the fifth and sixth language skills (alongside listening, speaking, reading, and writing), with the improvement of these skills having a large impact on the advancement of the others. The trick is, therefore, to immerse oneself in stimulating listening content, gradually training one's ear and brain to comprehend the sound patterns of English, while using in-class pronunciation training, if used at all, to work on specific pronunciation errors that the student may have trouble with. The clear focus, however, is on the techniques and strategies the student uses in their own time to train their ear and further their overall acquisition, ultimately improving their pronunciation (along with all the other language skills). The basic answer to how this can be done is to watch *interesting* English movies, sitcoms, and online videos, listen to *enjoyable* English music, podcasts, radio, and audiobooks, and to read *engaging* English content (listening to an "inner voice" while reading is still useful, and reading has the great benefit of exposing a learner to a large amount of new vocabulary, at a slower pace). A caveat here, according to the input hypothesis, is that content should be comprehensible to have any effect (Wang, 2013), so content of a suitable level should be used, but there is still a benefit for ear training with less comprehensible input, as the intonation of the language will be present regardless.

Ultimately, the best approach for the learner seems to be to immerse oneself in more than one skill at a time to improve comprehensibility and receive more holistic input from multiple angles. Based on techniques used by previous students who managed to obtain excellent pronunciation skills, along with personal ideas motivated by the concepts written above, some specific strategies and techniques that can be used by Korean language learners when trying to overcome pronunciation problems follow:

1. Go over the written counterpart of the audio that will be used, look up unfamiliar words, and become accustomed to the meaning. Then, listen to the audio while reading the script. After this, listen once again without reading. This can be done with a number of audio-and-text combinations easily found online. Audiobooks can be paired with books, TED Talks with the

transcripts provided on the website (www.ted.com), movies and sitcoms with transcripts (these can be downloaded, or with some technical knowledge can be extracted from Netflix), and even YouTube videos and Netflix series can be watched with dual subtitles and built-in dictionaries using Chrome extensions (www.languagereactor.com).
2. Extract the audio from sitcoms, movies, and videos that have already been covered, place the MP3 files on an audio device or phone, and listen to them when commuting, walking around, or doing house chores. This will serve as passive immersion, yet with an element of familiarity, as the learner will be able to imagine the scene and context that they are already familiar with.
3. Shadowing. Using any natural dialogue from the movies, sitcoms, and videos mentioned above, or from a podcast or radio recording, the learner listens to a sentence and then mimics it. This is done again and again along with the audio recording, until the student's voice and the recoding overlap, with matching stress, speed, and intonation.
4. A simple technique for those who enjoy music is simply to sing along with the music. While songs are not always an accurate representation of spoken language, they are repetitive and fun, and singing along can help to improve pronunciation.

While the techniques used by independent language learners are preferable to approaching pronunciation training (and language learning in general) in the classroom alone, a student following these techniques will likely gain more benefit from a classroom environment as an experienced teacher will be able to pick up on minor mistakes and offer specific pronunciation training to the student alongside their immersion efforts. Since ear training is already being received, differences and techniques highlighted by the teacher will be easier to comprehend and assimilate. Ultimately, what the student does independently is most important, and the language learning classroom should be a supplement used for fine-tuning.

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Improving Proficiency in Fluency and Pronunciation in a Japanese Context

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As part of on an ongoing project to attain greater proficiency in English as a second language, this paper provides quantitative analyses to show that first-year students at a Japanese university (n = 11) can improve their fluency and, to a certain extent, pronunciation over the academic year. Through the practice and testing stages of timed-pair-practice (TPP), students were able to progress in speech production in terms of speed, pausing, and repair. However, despite the inclusion of prosodic training, pronunciation proved more elusive due to the wide range of prosodic features. Concentrating on pitch, duration, intensity, and rhythm, a modest acoustic alteration was observed with a reduction in duration of function words and that of the unstressed syllable of content words. It can be concluded that TPP was an effective tool, but more focused prosodic training is required to alter Japanese mora-timing. It can also be stated that due to similarities in regards to high school education, cultural linguistic factors, and pronunciation challenges, TPP and prosodic training could also become relevant additions in the conversational classroom in a Korean context.

Keywords: speech production, fluency, pronunciation, timed-pair-practice, prosodic training

INTRODUCTION

This research focused on fluency and pronunciation, as these aspects of spoken English proficiency would appear to be insufficiently taught at high school in Japan (Arimoto, 2005; Tominaga, 2011; Tsukamoto & Tsujikoa, 2013). Despite efforts by the government and institutions to raise performance, students still struggle to maintain simple conversation due to insufficient attention placed on communicative classes. In fact, Japan is rated fifty-fifth out of one hundred countries, is still one of the lowest among Asian countries (Educational Testing Service, 2019) for the past decade, and is categorized as being in the "low-proficiency" band (Education First, 2020). As a result, it was assumed that students had a "reasonable" grasp of English grammar and vocabulary. Instead, this paper draws close attention towards the areas of fluency and pronunciation in terms of prosody, as these aspects required drastic attention. This is of significance in the Korean EFL classrooms as well. It must be added that the findings provided in this paper could also easily relate to the Korean context in how to improve proficiency in speaking English in both fluency and pronunciation.

Fluency

For students in Japan to become more fluent, the speaker has to consider a wide range of factors, which can be bewildering to the non-native speaker. The issues stem from a variety of unresolved issues. First, cultural linguistic factors have adversely affected English communicative classes. These include efforts in maintaining hierarchical respect for their teacher and peers (Banks, 2016), a collective communication system (Hofstede et al., 2010), harmonious relationships within the class (Nisbett & Masuda 2003), avoiding shame in making mistakes in their second language abilities in front of others (Kawamura et al., 2006), and discouragement in conveying individual opinions (Ting-Toomey & Chung, 2005). Such cultural concerns have profoundly impacted the level of engagement by Japanese students in their English communicative classes. Second, there is an incredulous prioritization of direct translations methods of grammar (Steele & Zhang, 2016; Takahashi, 2010) and cramming of vocabulary lists at high school in preparation for the university entrance examinations (Butler, 2015; Butler & Iino, 2005; Jones, 2019; Løfsgaard, 2015; Steele & Zhang, 2016, Tahira, 2012; Tukahara, 2002). Schools understandably have to focus their limited resources on preparing students to pass these examinations rather than on communicative classes. However, it is important to add that there is also a shortage of teachers qualified to teach communicative English at a secondary-school level (*Japan Times*, 2019; Nakata, 2011). With little consideration to the methodology of natural second language acquisition nor the application of these aspects in real conversation in task-based learning, it is understandable why English education in Japan is ranked low, despite students studying a minimum of six years at regular school.

It is expected that L2 learners in general are less automatic in accessing their declarative knowledge of syntactic, lexical, and phonological rules than L1 speakers (Kormos, 2006). This is particularly so for Japanese students because of issues mentioned previously. Dysfluencies will understandably result, as L2 learners resort to pausing, slowing down their speech, or using filled pauses to maintain conversation (Tavakoli, 2011), due to slow conscious *serial processing* when bridging gaps in their linguistic knowledge (Tavakoli & Wright, 2019; Pipe & Tsushima, 2021a). With effective preparation, however, students should benefit from the timed-pair-practice (TPP) framework with its robust positive effects of repetition of tasks (Ahmadian & Tavakoli, 2011; Lambert et al., 2017; Sheppard & Ellis, 2018; Wang, 2014). In time, one should notice improvement in cognitive processing (Derwing et al., 2009; Segalowitz, 2003; Segalowitz & Freed, 2004) and faster reaction time in testing (e.g., Ammar, 2008; Lyster & Izquierdo, 2009) as students develop the notion of *parallel processing* (Kormos, 2006, Lambert et al., 2020; Skehan, 2014). In other words, through the repetitive processing of tasks (Lambert et al., 2017) or recursive conversations (Brown, 2014; Kindt & Bowyer, 2018), students will become more able not only in their competency in their spoken English (Bowyer, 2019) but also more focused on working on two stages of speech production (e.g., a more simultaneous application of the automation of encoding processes between vocabulary, lexis, and pronunciation or improvement in conceptualization [Lambert et al., 2017]). This shift from strenuous serial processing to a more efficient parallel processing can be captured by observing less frequent pausing, especially between-clausal boundaries (BCB), leading to a reduction in dysfluencies and less repair due to improved control over L2 knowledge (Kormos, 2006; Lambert et al., 2017; Saito et al., 2018; Skehan, 2016; Skehan & Shum, 2017; Tavakoli & Wright, 2019).

Prosody

Training in prosody has been provided to improve pronunciation of non-native students in order to improve their intelligibility when communicating with natives abroad (Ahangari et al., 2015; Mary &

Yegnanarayana, 2008; Vicsi & Szaszak, 2010). The production of the prosodic features, stress, and its rhythmic properties were the prime focus of attention in the students' pronunciation training. This lexical stress is indicated by such properties as changes in pitch (pitch accent), increased intensity/loudness (dynamic accent) (Fry, 1958), and full articulation of the vowel (qualitative accent), that is, duration and vowel quality (Monrad-Krohn, 1947). As Japanese is considered a pitch-accent language, tone is used to convey lexical meaning only (Beckman & Pierrehumbert, 1986; Kjeldgaard, 2016; Pitrelli, 1994; Venditti, 2005). English, however, has a prominence-lending function in which changes in pitch (also duration and intensity) are highly dependent on linguistic factors such as syntax, semantics, pragmatics, discourse structure, and attentional state (Venditti, 2005). Japanese, on the other hand, has little room for variability in distribution of accents in a Japanese utterance, and therefore, Japanese learners of English are most likely influenced by this pitch limitation, resulting in a more monotonous level of pitch. With more informed and focused pronunciation training, it was hoped that there should be a greater range and variation in pitch by altering pitch between stressed and unstressed syllables on content words and function words.

Lexical stress in English is realized, however, not only in pitch but also in duration and intensity of vowels (Kohler, 2009). Students, therefore, need to contend with pronouncing stressed syllables longer and louder than unstressed syllables (Ohata, 2004). Replicating such acoustic patterns is challenging for students as a result of the uniform phonetic property of moraic Japanese. Unlike spoken English, which alternates monosyllabic stress in the duration and intensity of content and function words (Grabe & Low, 2002; Mori et al., 2014), prosody in Japanese indicates little syllabic reduction in terms of duration and intensity. Japanese students have to appreciate the complexity of greater closed syllable structures in English (Dauer, 1983; Ramus et al., 1999), the occurrence of "foot-level shortening" in English (Huggins, 1975; Fowler, 1977) and the differing aspects in the manner and placement of articulation of clustered consonants, which affects the tense–lax nature of English pronunciation. Such stress is not observed in Japanese (Fowler, 1981). And although these contrasting aspects of prosody were dealt with in their pronunciation training, it takes effort and time for Japanese students to modify acoustic cues in their utterances to match typical English lexical stress, as they are clearly influenced by the mora-timing of their first language.

Finally, Japanese is *mora-timed*, in which isochrony is expected to exist in the unit of the mora (Hirata, 2013), that is, the length of an utterance relies on equally timed syllables or *mora*. English, on the other hand, is considered to be stress-timed, where the rhythmic recurrence, or *isochrony*, of stressed syllables are said to recur at equal time intervals (i.e., the length of an utterance depends more on the number of stresses within a perceived rhythm in the sentence). With greater attention on the above prosody (i.e., pitch, duration, and intensity), it was hoped that students would also produce traits of native-level rhythm patterns in their speech. Rhythm indices were used to analyze student performance in producing native-like rhythm, as previous research found that these measures were useful in characterizing non-native speakers' production of rhythm (Ordin & Polyanskaya, 2015; White & Mattys, 2007). By contrasting the fluctuation of paired syllables, one can measure the variance of rhythms produced in utterances (Gut, 2009; Li & Post, 2014; Ordin & Polyanskaya, 2015; White & Mattys, 2007).

Research Focus

To determine the effectiveness of the TPP framework and the success of its inclusion of the prosodic pronunciation training program, the present study focused on the following specific research questions:

RQ1. How did the speed, breakdown, and repair measures show student progress in their English fluency?

RQ2. How did the pitch, intensity, and duration acoustic measures, and the rhythm indices change in function and content words?

Methods

Participants

The participants in the research group (n = 11) were first-year students from a private university in Tokyo. Despite having a minimum of six years of learning, the CEFR levels of the research group (RG) ranged between upper-A1 (high beginner) and lower-B1 (intermediate).

Each student seemed motivated and understood the purpose of their weekly English classes as it was aimed at improving their communication skills prior to their six-month education at a university in Sydney. Their data were contrasted with a control group (CG) of Japanese students (n = 17) who attended a general English communication class that did not include instruction using TPP nor pronunciation training.

Timed-Pair-Practice Procedure

The students were required to prepare 20 questions on a topic chosen by themselves and a 250-word response to this topic. The aim was to provide topics that students genuinely had an interest in (Porter, 1999) so that they would be more motivated to invest their time and converse their ideas with their peers in the classroom. These students were then expected to ask these questions in pairs in the practice stage. After subsequent rounds, the students became able to ask more appropriate questions and maintain longer conversations. After sufficient practice, students were then evaluated in the testing stage in which two students, picked at random, would be asked to provide another conversation on the same topic chosen. Through these practice and testing rounds, it was hoped that students would develop greater fluency by spending less processing time on the formulation, articulation, and self-monitoring stages of these aspects of the spoken language.

Pronunciation Training

Training included micro- and macro-level activities. Micro-level activities refer to attention on word or sentence pronunciation in which tasks were directed towards noticing techniques from work produced by students. Such activities included making distinctions in types of stress of words, drills on sentence stress and chunking, shadowing on connected speech phrases and sentences, contrast analysis practice in stress of words and sentences, and eliciting techniques in TPP testing to further raise student awareness of the application of previously learned suprasegmental features. Macro-level activities refer to pronunciation of longer dialogues, including teacher audio recordings of student assignments with corrections to understand how to follow native rhythms, especially destressing lexical items (Wang et al., 2005). Online materials (https://iamsoundingenglish.com) were also developed to provide each student the option to practice shadowing of topics chosen by themselves at the questioning level, phrasal/sentence level, and paragraph level. It was hoped that the availability of these resources would encourage the student to subconsciously sub-vocalize their speech input and hopefully lead to improvement in comprehension, fluency, and pronunciation (Omar & Umehara, 2010).

Data Elicitation

To research fluency, students were tasked to produce a one-minute spontaneous monologue explaining what happened at the weekend. Students performed this weekly narrative production task but only 12 out of the 24 recordings were chosen in order to save time in data analysis. However, the data were then averaged into four quarters to provide a clear comparison with the control group.

To research pronunciation, students were asked to focus on reproducing a series of targeted sentences. Students were asked to complete this test six times over the academic year rather than twelve times so that they would not be affected by possible memorization of any of the targeted sentences. Reproducing targeted sentences would enable clearer comparative analysis of how these sentences are produced verbally by natives and non-natives. Each sentence had an alteration of stressed and unstressed syllables in content words and function words. By collecting the data, patterns should emerge as regards to pitch, duration, intensity, and rhythm made by students and native speakers.

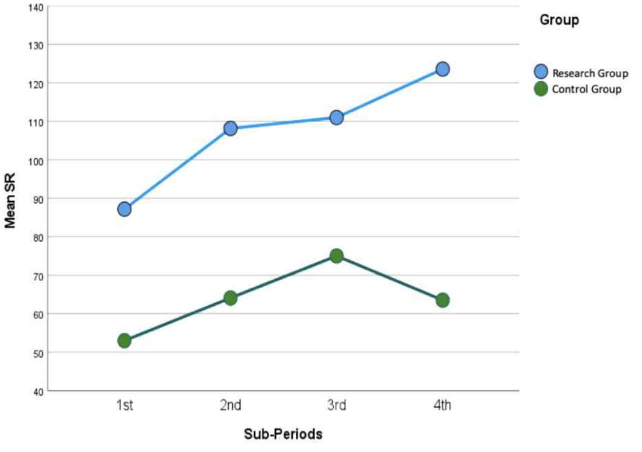
Results on Fluency and Prosody

Speed Performance (Fluency)

Looking at the speed of language output, the research group (RG) showed modest improvement in their speed in speech rate (SR), articulation rate (AR), mean length of run (MLoR), and phonation-time ratio (PhonRat) compared to the control group (CG).

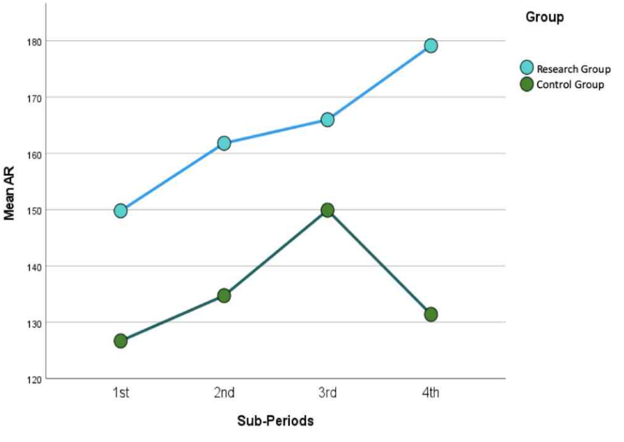
For the RG, SR significantly increased over the academic year, $F(5, 60) = 18.8$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2 = 0.94$, increasing constantly from 73.7 syllables/min. to 124.3 syllables/min. (an increase of 68.7%), which is a marked improvement when contrasted with the CG's mean average of 64.0 syllables/min. (see Figure 1).

FIGURE 1. Speech Rate Performance of the Research and Control Groups



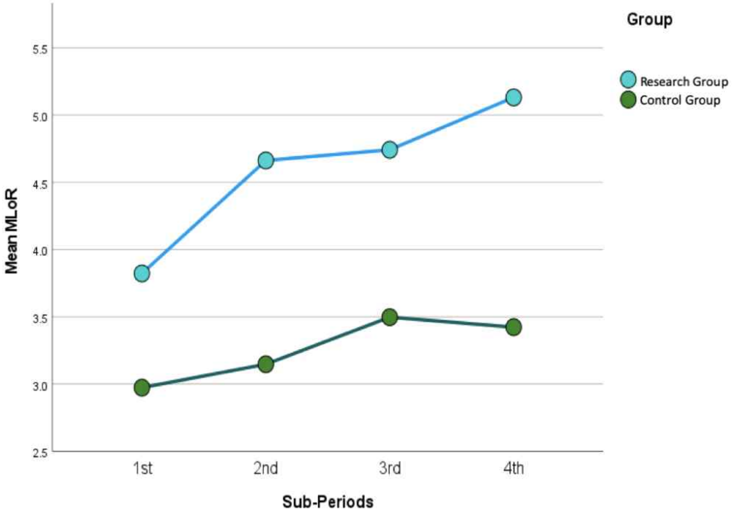
A pattern was also observed in AR as the RG significantly increased their rate, $F(5, 60) = 4.7$, $p = 0.001$, $\eta^2 = 0.28$, from 149.8 syllables/min. to 179.8 syllables/min. (an increase of 20.0%). Again, when compared to the results of the CG's mean average of 137.1 syllables/min., there was clear progress (see Figure 2).

FIGURE 2. Articulation Rate Performance of the Research and Control Groups



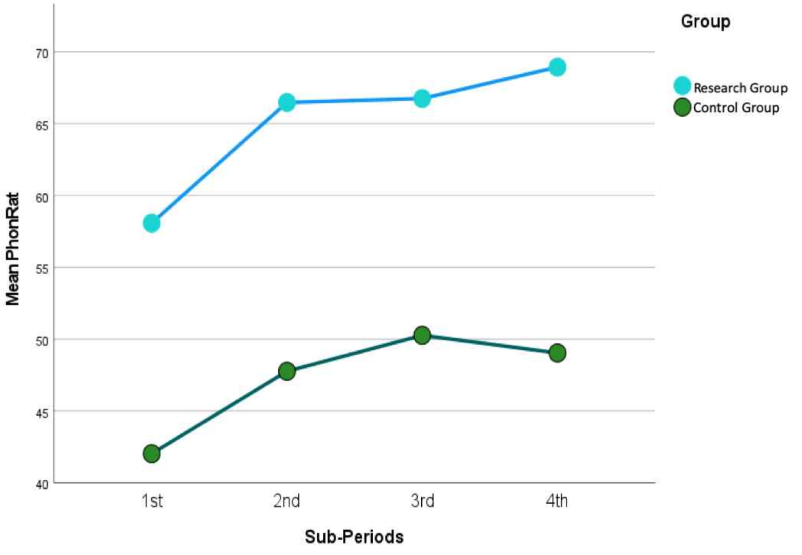
Focusing on the third speed measure, the MLoR, the RG provided lengthier runs with a significant increase, $F(2.9, 35.2) = 4.6$, $p = 0.009$, $\eta^2 = 0.28$, from 3.8 to 5.1 syllables/run (an increase of 34.2%), which outperformed the CG, which managed an average of 3.2 syllables/run (see Figure 3).

FIGURE 3. Mean Length of Run of the Research and Control Groups



The final speed measure looked at the percentage of speech production, and again, there was a significant improvement, $F(5, 60) = 13.0$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2 = 0.52$. The RG's PhonRat began at 57.7% and increased to 69.1% by the end of the semester (net increase of 19.8%). The CG, on the other hand, showed a considerably lower average PhonRat percentage averaging 46.7% (see Figure 4).

FIGURE 4. Phonation-Time Ratio of the Research and Control Groups



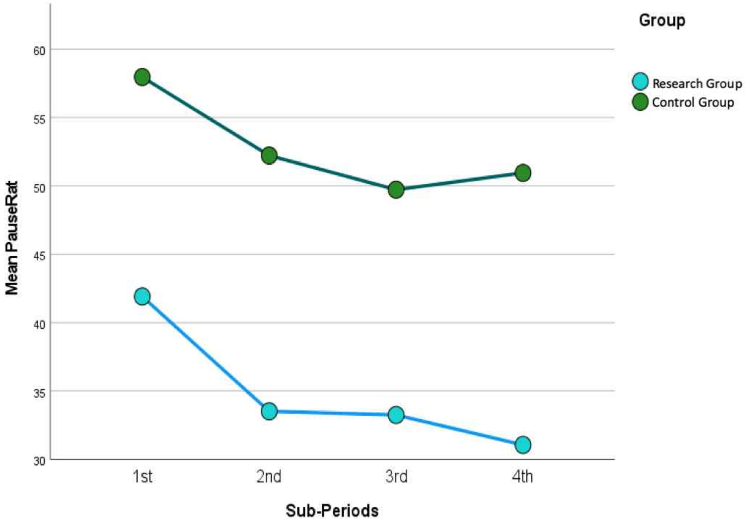
Pause Performance (Fluency)

Drawing attention towards pausing when attempting to produce language output, the RG showed modest improvement with a reduction in pausing overall, especially when compared to the CG. There was also a drop in pause rate (PR), pausing at both the non-clausal boundaries (NCB), and the between-clausal boundary (BCB).

Pause Rate

There was a significant improvement, $F(5, 60) = 13.0$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2 = 0.52$, in PauseRat by the RG. The amount of pausing at the beginning of the year was at 42.3%, but this mean average significantly fell to 30.9% by the final quarter (a decrease of 27.0%). The CG paused considerably more in the recorded data at an average PauseRat of 53.3% (see Figure 5).

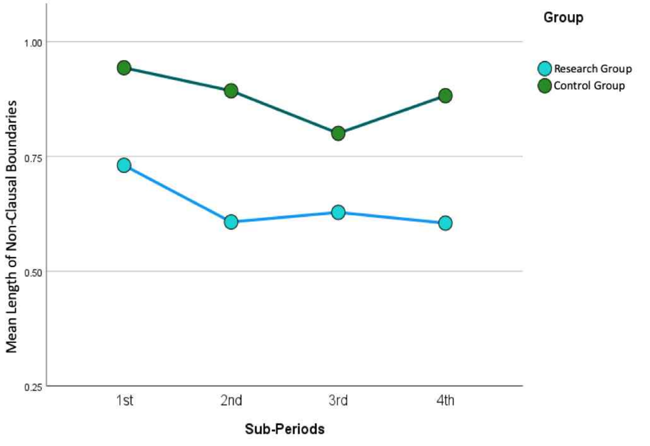
FIGURE 5. Pause Rate of the Research and Control Groups



Pauses at Non-Clausal Boundaries

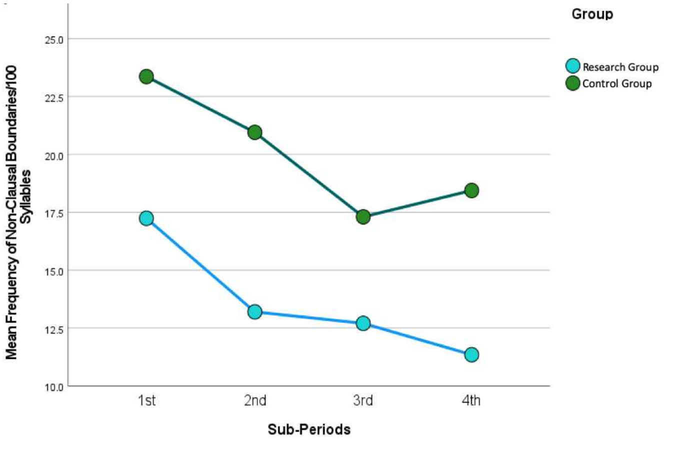
Looking at the mean length of pausing at the non-clausal boundaries (NCB), it would appear that the RG made overall progress with constant reduction in the mean length of NCB pausing, $F(5, 60) = 4.0$, $p = 0.003$, $\eta^2 = 0.25$, from 0.73 seconds in the first quarter to 0.61 seconds by the final quarter (a decrease of 16.4%), which seemed to show a clear movement away from the CG, with an average NCB pause duration of 0.88 seconds (see Figure 6).

FIGURE 6. Mean of Length of Non-Clausal Boundary Pausing of the Research and Control Groups



The results of the CG showed improvement over the year from 23.4 pauses/100 syllables to 18.3 pauses/100 syllables (a decrease of 21.8%). However, the RG significantly reduced the number of NCB pauses, $F(3.0, 36.1) = 6.8$, $p = 0.001$, $\eta^2 = 0.36$, from 17.3 pauses/100 syllables in the first quarter to 11.4 pauses/100 syllables by the final quarter, which was a decrease of 34.4% (see Figure 7).

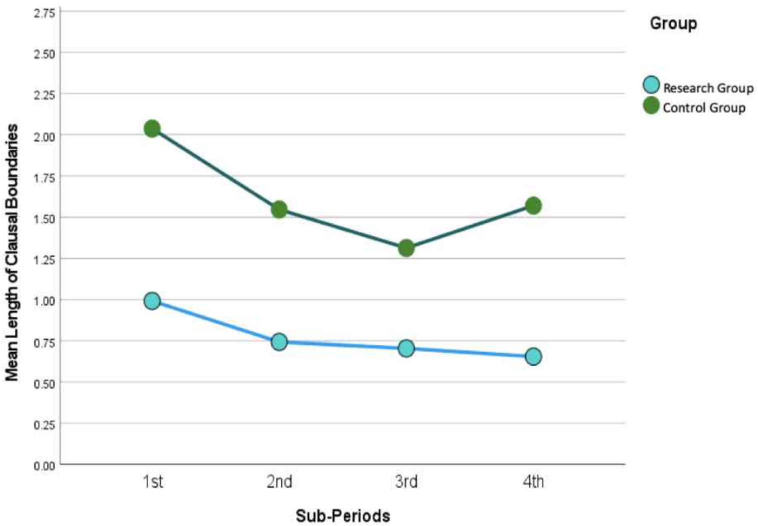
FIGURE 7. Frequency of Non-Clausal Boundary Pausing/100 Syllables of the Research and Control Groups



Pauses at Clausal Boundaries

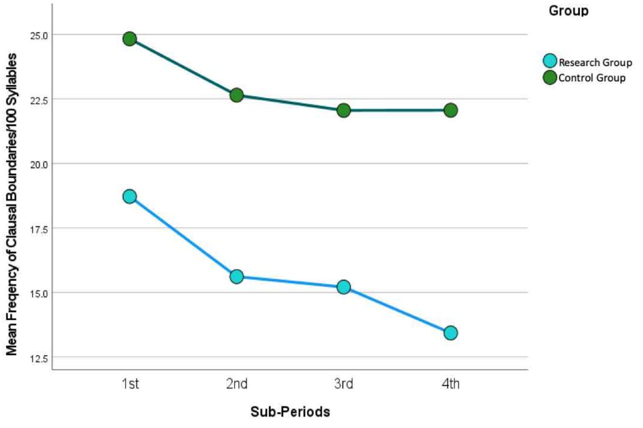
The mean length of pause at between-clausal boundaries (BCB) for the RG significantly decreased, $F(1.9, 22.0) = 13.0$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2 = 0.51$. In the first quarter, the mean length was 0.91 seconds and became 0.65 seconds by the final quarter (an overall decrease of 28.6%). This would indicate promising changes in length of pauses again while the CG showed a lengthier average mean of 1.63 seconds (see Figure 8).

FIGURE 8. Mean of Length of Between-Clausal Boundary Pausing of the Research and Control Groups



Regarding the frequency of BCB pauses, the RG showed progress in almost each test, starting at 18.7 pauses/100 syllables in the first quarter, falling to 13.4 pauses/100 syllables by the final quarter (an overall decrease of 28.3%). Although the overall decline was marginally significant, $F(2.6, 39.7) = 2.7$, $p = 0.07$, $\eta^2 = 0.18$, the RG outperformed the CG, which paused more often and improved only marginally over the year, with an average rate of 23.2 pauses/100 syllables (see Figure 9).

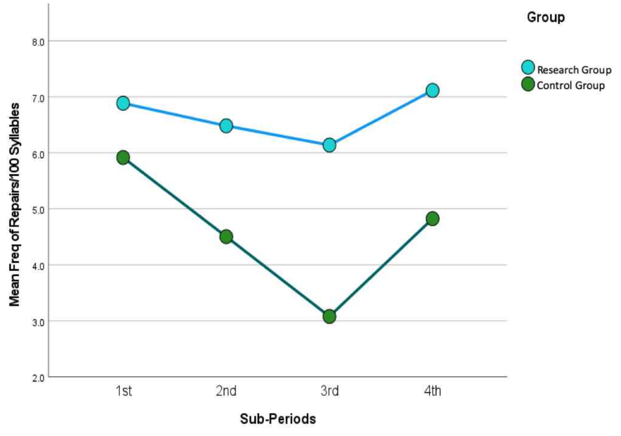
FIGURE 9. Mean of Frequency of Between-Clausal Boundary Pausing/100 Syllables of the Research and Control Groups



Repair Performance (Fluency)

Looking at the final fluency measure, the CG used repair to maintain their utterances on average 4.5 repairs/100 syllables, which was less than the RG, which averaged 6.7 repairs/100 syllables. This would indicate that students in the RG used more strategies in efforts to maintain their continuous monologue (see Figure 10).

FIGURE 10. Mean Frequency of Total Repairs/100 Syllables of the Research and Control Groups

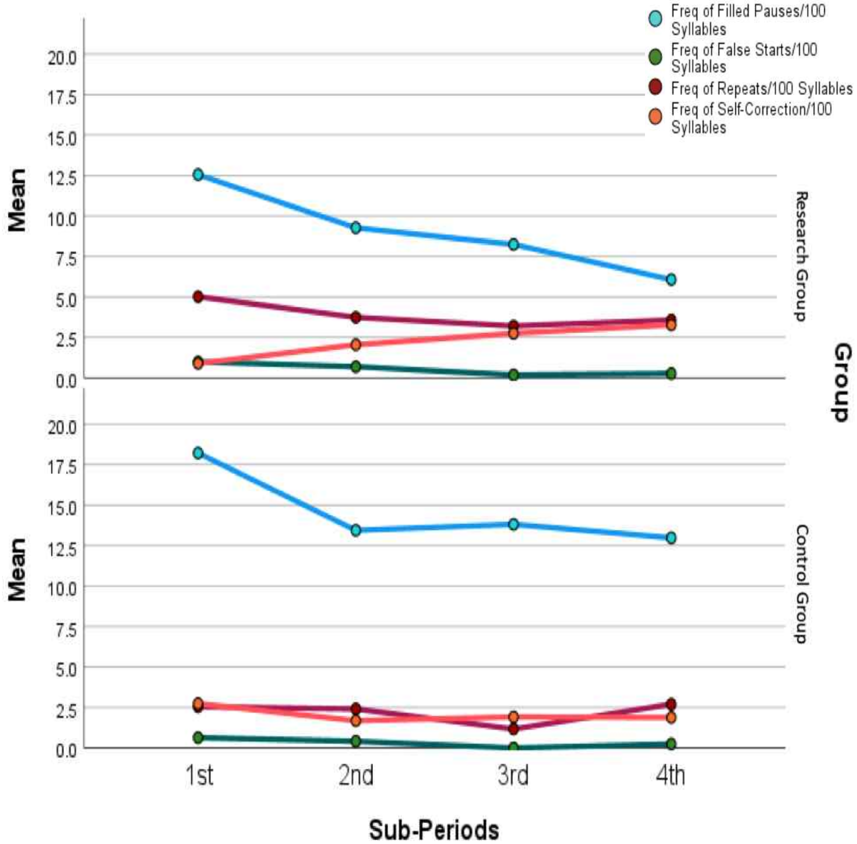


Looking closer at the repair strategies, one can see that there was a clear reduction in filled pauses by each group. In the initial test, the RG averaged 12.6 filled pauses/100 syllables, but this fell to 6.1 filled pauses/100 syllables by the end of the academic year (a decrease of 51.6%), although the decline was not statistically significant, $F(2.2, 26.3) = 2.19$, $p = 0.128$, $\eta^2 = 0.16$. The CG, on the other hand, managed a higher rate of 18.2 filled pauses/100 syllables initially, and this dropped to 13.0 filled pauses/100 syllables by the final quarter, a decrease of 28.6% (see Figure 11).

Concentrating on false starts and repeated words, there were minor changes over the academic year. Looking at false starts first, the RG averaged 0.53 false starts/100 syllables compared to the CG with 0.43 false starts/100 syllables. Turning attention towards repeated words, the RG used this strategy more often at 3.88 repeats/100 syllables, compared to the CG with 2.0 repeats/100 syllables. It can be concluded that these strategies were seldomly used (see Figure 11).

Self-correction would seem to indicate a more concerted effort by the RG to maintain their monologues. The CG used this strategy an average of 2.1 self-corrections/100 syllables, with little change throughout the year. The RG demonstrated greater use. Beginning the first quarter at 0.9 self-corrections/100 syllables, the RG consistently increased their reliance on this strategy to 3.3 self-corrections/100 syllables by the final quarter (see Figure 11).

FIGURE 11. Mean Frequency of Filled Pauses, False Starts, Repeats, and Self-Corrections/100 Syllables of the Research and Control Groups



Pitch (Prosody)

Across the six data points, it was hoped that students would develop a wider pitch range. However, despite the attention placed on this aspect of prosody, there was no clear evidence of progress made in pitch, with fluctuations for both content and function words.

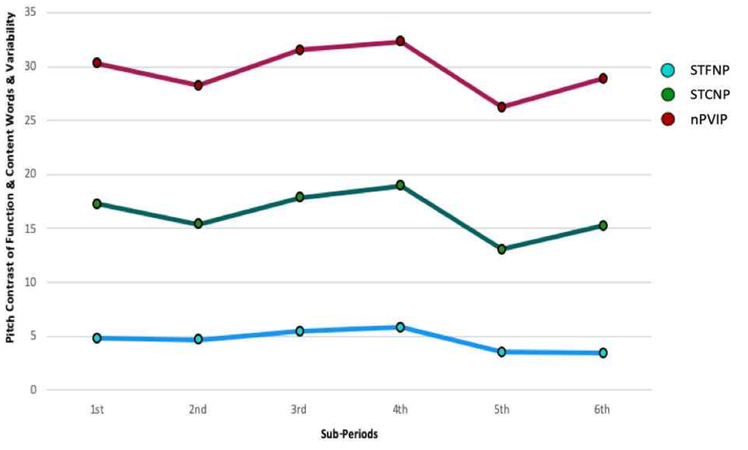
Focusing on function words, there appeared to be some progress made initially by the RG, with growing pitch contrasts of stressed vowels compared to unstressed vowels in function words (STFN-P), but this was not maintained and resulted in a net fall from 4.8 mel to 3.5

mel (a decrease of 27.1%). Compared to the CG, which averaged 0.9 mel, the RG appeared to have maintained a certain level.

Concentrating on the pitch of stressed vowels compared to unstressed vowels in content words, a similar pattern occurred. Although higher than the CG of 3.8 mel, there was in fact a slight overall reduction in the use of pitch contrasts of stressed vowels compared to unstressed vowels in content words (STCN-P) from 12.5 mel to 11.8 mel (a decrease of 5.5%).

Finally, in the analysis of the progress made in the variability of pitch among neighboring vowels, there was fluctuation in the pitch normalized pairwise variability (nPVI-V-P) for the RG, resulting in a slight increase overall from 13.0 to 13.7 over the period (an increase of 4.8%). This performance is higher than that of the CG at 9.2 (see Figure 12).

FIGURE 12. Contrast of Pitch Between Stressed and Unstressed Syllables in Content Words (STCN-P) and Function Words (STFN-P), and the Normalized Pairwise Variability of Pitch (nPVI-V-P) for the Research Group



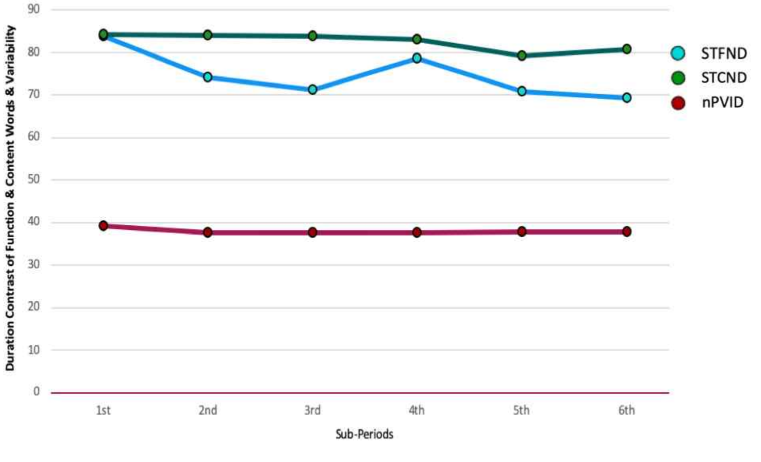
Duration (Prosody)

Unlike pitch, there was some positive change over the academic year in terms of duration. Concentrating on function words (STFN-D), there was a significant reduction by the RG for function words in the duration acoustic measure, $F(2, 24) = 8.6$, $p = 0.002$, $\eta^2 = 0.42$, from 83.9% to 69.3% (a deduction of 17.4%), which contrasted with the results of the CG of 83.8%. Again, despite these gains, a large gap remains to match the native level of 46.0%.

The data from the duration of content words (STCN-D) would indicate that progress had been made, although not significant, with a consistent reduction from 84.2% to 80.8% (a decrease of 4.0%). However, such alterations only reached a similar level to the CG of 80.7%.

Duration rhythm (nPVI-V-D), however, would seem to indicate the limits in training students to alter their duration. Compared to the CG of 39.1, the analysis of the variability of duration among neighboring vowels for the RG demonstrated insignificant negative changes from 39.2 to 37.7, a decrease in of 3.7% (see Figure 13).

FIGURE 13. Contrast of Duration Between Stressed and Unstressed Syllables in Content Words (STCN-D) and Function Words (STFN-D), and the Normalized Pairwise Variability of Pitch (nPVI-V-D) for the Research Group



Intensity (Prosody)

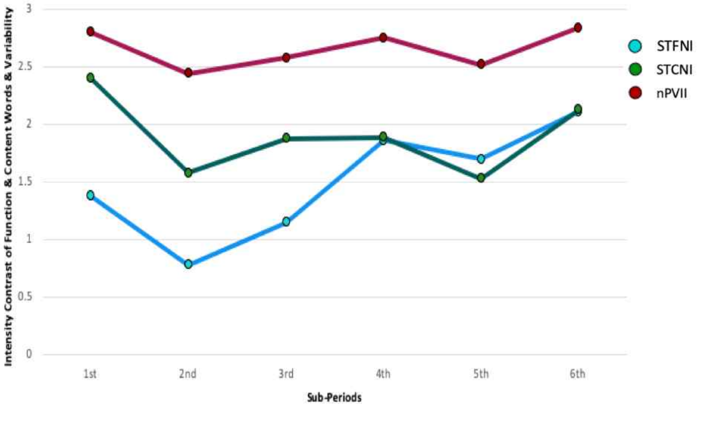
Drawing attention towards intensity, there was no evidence provided to suggest an alteration in intensity of function or content words. In fact, there would seem to have been a deterioration in this third aspect of stress.

There would at first appear to be no progress made by the RG on function words (STFN-I) until the final test. This group managed to demonstrate no significant trends, with the intensity ranging from 0.8 dB in the second test to 2.1 dB in the final test, but with a net increase (52.9%). The data analysis indicates a higher level than that of the CG at 0.6 dB.

Focusing on content words (STCN-I), the RG was unable to improve their performance in applying intensity to stressed syllables in content words. Again, there was in fact a reduction in this acoustic measure from 2.4 dB in the first test to 1.5 dB in the penultimate test, with some improvement to redeem overall performance of 2.1 dB (a decrease of 11.3%). This would indicate a lack of control by the RG to reduce the use of intensity on the unstressed syllable of content words. It was, however, notably lower than that of the CG, which recorded a level of 2.6 dB.

The pairwise variability of intensity (nPVI-V-I) would again seem to reflect this deterioration in intensity rhythm by the RG until the final test. Starting at 2.8, their index fell to an overall level of 2.5 by the fifth test, only to recover with an index score of 2.8 in the final test, resulting in a slight net increase (1.4%). However, the CG measured a higher rate of 2.9 (see Figure 14).

FIGURE 14. Contrast of Intensity Between Stressed and Unstressed Syllables in Content Words (STCN-I) and Function Words (STFN-I), and the Normalized Pairwise Variability of Pitch (nPVI-V-I) for the Research Group



Discussion

RQ1. How did the fluency measures show student progress in their English fluency?

The first research question examined whether utterance fluency improved over the semester. By applying this triad of fluency measures, the results clearly support the claim that as the RG developed confidence to express themselves with the successful integration of the TPP framework, they also progressed in fluency. Unsurprisingly, the RG's performance in all speed measures, SR, AR, MLoR, and PhonRat, improved. These results would be in line with expectations from a previous pilot paper (Pipe & Tsushima, 2021a), which indicated that as students gained more experience in the actual application of language in their paired classroom dialogues, they developed strategies to naturally process their linguistic resources in the formation, articulation, and self-monitoring stages. As a result, the RG students outperformed the CG in all categories due to the inclusion of TPP.

Drawing attention towards pausing, there was also clear improvement by the RG. Unlike the CG, the RG reduced the proportion of pausing in speech to 30.9%, considerably lower than at the beginning of the year (42.3%). With improved cognitive processing (Derwing, et al., 2009; Segalowitz, 2003; Segalowitz & Freed, 2004) and faster reaction time in the testing (e.g., Ammar, 2008; Lyster & Izquierdo, 2009), it resulted in less pausing. As a result, the net fall in PauseRat by the RG decreased by 27.0%.

Looking closer at pause length and frequency within the sentence, there was a reduction by 16.4% and 34.4%, respectively, in pausing at NCB by the RG. This would indicate that spoken output for the RG had become naturally less dysfluent (Nakatsuhara, 2014) due to the pause duration effects between prosodic boundaries in spontaneous speech (Choi, 2003; Ferreira, 1993; Horne et al., 1995). However, for there to be a shift from serial processing to more efficient parallel processing, one must observe less frequent pausing, especially in between-clausal boundaries (BCB) due to improved conceptualization (Lambert et al., 2017). Looking closer at pause location at BCB, there was noted improvement with a net decrease of 28.6% in the mean length of pause and a decrease of 28.3% in the mean frequency of pause. One can, therefore, conclude that these RG students were able to demonstrate more efficient parallel processing.

Although there was improvement in NCB and BCB, due to concerns regarding the operationalizing and reliable measuring of fluency (Housen et al., 2012), this paper also looked at repair. This would also capture the cognitive challenges students face in continuing their language production (i.e., issues of clarity within the message produced and the strategies used by the speaker to buffer their utterances when encoding a speech plan). As expected, the CG not only struggled to maintain their utterances but, due to limited ability in their English, possibly realized a lack of development in their lexical, grammatical, or phonological resources. This would seem to reflect the heavy reliance on filled pauses (15.5 filled pauses/100 syllables) while seldomly using self-correction (2.2 self-corrections/100 false starts (0.5 false starts/100 syllables), and repeats (1.2 repeats/100 syllables) to maintain their utterances. The RG, however, seemed to be more determined to stretch their linguistic resources to maintain their spoken monologues. This observation was reflected in the data, as this group relied less on filled pauses (decreased by 56.7%), false starts (decreased by 24.1%), and repeats (decreased by 22.2%) but showed a heavy surge in self-correction (increased by 300%). The RG seemed more prepared to commit themselves to their recorded monologues and make mistakes rather than pause. This would indicate that these students were very much aware of accuracy in an effort to develop their lexical, grammatical, or phonological resources and become more proficient, attaining a more accurate message when formulating their thoughts and opinions.

Overall, the data on repair would complement the data on speed and pausing. There was noticeable fluency in their spoken monologues with reductions in terms of speed, pause, and repair due to less strain in the cognitive demands of speech production (Derwing et al., 2009; Pipe & Tsushima, 2021a; Segalowitz, 2003; Segalowitz & Freed, 2004; Tavakoli et al., 2020). Compared to the RG, the CG's performance would reflect lower-leveled L2 speakers, as they were less fluent and dysfluent in their speak production (Kormos, 2006; Mora & Levkina, 2017; Pipe & Tsushima, 2021a; Segalowitz, 2010). On the other hand, students in the RG showed marked improvement in their English proficiency. Through effective preparation, practice, and testing in TPP, students were clearly re-orientated to conversational tasks. In fact, as they built strategies to maintain conversation through practice in TPP, they also started to gain confidence and became more proficient in exploring and experimenting in their spoken language discourse and thus less perturbed when challenged to express themselves − consequently becoming more apt by also producing lengthier and more complex sentences, which can only indicate greater proficiency in their English abilities. Development of these sociolinguistic and metacognitive habits were, therefore, reflected in the recorded data. One can, therefore, support the claim that there was improved fluency in spoken language, produced at an increasing speed with relative ease and less hesitation (Tavakoli et al., 2020).

RQ2. How did the pitch, intensity, and duration acoustic measures change in function and content words?

The second research question examined whether the prosodic aspects of pitch, duration, and intensity could be improved over the semester. By applying measures that determine differences between stressed and unstressed vowels of content and function words (STCN/STFN) and the normalized pairwise variability of vowels (nPVI-V), it was hoped that students could alter the use of acoustic cues relevant to English lexical stress by modifying aspects of prosody through classroom pronunciation training (Binghadeer, 2008; Couper, 2006; Nagamine, 2011; Tsushima, 2014). However, unlike fluency, there would seem to have been only slight alterations in acoustic cues. Despite drawing student attention towards developing phonological awareness of pitch, duration, and intensity at the lexical and sentence level, students in the RG only seemed to make significant improvement in duration of function words. Although the RG students made progress with fluency, they still seemed to be faced with difficulty in language processing efficiency, notedly in the phonological area − especially in regards to content words and overall rhythm. This would seem to reflect concerns about the challenges in teaching pronunciation despite the inclusion of prosody training (Gilakjani, 2016; Haghighi & Rahimy, 2017; Pipe & Tsushima, 2021b; Sadeghi & Heidar, 2016).

It must be stated that any achievement in prosody was made in a relatively short period of time. In fact, with varying pronunciation issues from students and the limitation of time, it is apparent that students did not have sufficient time to absorb specific features of pronunciation from the training despite careful consideration of when and what pronunciation features to introduce, as not all learners can equally benefit from the instruction (Tragant & Munoz, 2004). However, despite fluctuations in performance, there was often net improvement in duration and intensity. Fluctuations in progress could have resulted from cultural linguistic factors (Elliot, 1995; Marinova-Todd et al., 2000; Shively, 2008) or simply from being overwhelmed with second language acquisition in general (Tavakoli et al., 2020) in an effort to maintain fluency. When considering the amount of language processing expected, it is unsurprising for the L2 learners to be less automatic in accessing their declarative knowledge of phonological rules when also having to decode syntactic and lexical aspects of the second language (Kormos, 2006; Mora & Levkina, 2017). However, with increased fluency and clear development in the distribution of pausing to reflect a more natural level of speech processing and production with reduction in both NCB and BCB, one can foresee further improvement in student pronunciation later on in their prosody training as a result of efficient parallel processing between conceptualization of speech and formulation in lexical and grammatical encoding of speech (Lambert et al., 2020). Furthermore, greater parallel processing had a knock-on effect by reducing the strain on working memory resources and subsequently allowing students to use more cognitive resources for allocating attention to formulating linguistic forms accurately (Fukuta, 2016; Lambert et al., 2020). In fact, with continued improvement in the cognitive demands at the formulation stage (Tavakoli et al., 2020) through TPP (Pipe & Tsushima, 2021b), students will be in a much better position to receive further instruction and explore prosody further as they are less overwhelmed with other aspects of second language acquisition.

CONCLUSIONS

TPP shows huge potential in the classroom with little additional work required by the teacher. Following from the pilot papers by Pipe and Tsushima (2021a, b), the TPP framework invigorates students in their learning of English and encourages them to genuinely engage in their paired conversation to improve their proficiency in English. Most of the findings of this study have established a strong cause–effect relationship between the application of the TPP framework and improvement in fluency. Over a single term, it is manifest that students can become more fluent in their speech despite the challenges Japanese students face when conversing in English (Maeda, 2010).

Despite making progress with fluency, students appeared to still be faced with difficulty in language processing efficiency, notedly in phonological encoding of lexical items, which as a consequence, affected the pronunciation of content words and overall rhythm. Although there was improvement in certain aspects of prosody, most notedly in durability in function words, one can appreciate from these results that pronunciation is one of the most difficult skills in the learning and teaching of English language (Gilakjani, 2016; Sadeghi & Heidar, 2016; Haghighi & Rahimy, 2017) and why pronunciation training has been largely ignored by teachers (Breitkreutz et al., 2002; Macdonald, 2002). However, through explicit instruction, sufficient practice inside and outside the class, and more focused pragmatic feedback on specific prosodic features to fine-tune student pronunciation, students were better aware of their level of proficiency in regards to pronunciation as a result of their training. As a result, prosodic training as well as TPP should be a welcomed addition in the EFL classroom.

On a final note, due to particular similarities in culture and language learning, TPP and prosodic training could also be easily applied to the Korean context. Korea would seem to have comparable issues with high school education and university entrance examinations that do not reflect communicative testing (Jeffery, 2021). Similar to Japan, emphasis has been firmly based on grammar (Li, 1998), textbook orientation (Heo et al., 2018), rote learning (Dong, et al., 2008) and teacher-dominated classroom control (Park et al., 2009). Cultural linguistic factors would also seem to have adversely affected English communicative classes. Establishing a student-centered learning environment to enable a more natural acquisition of a second language would seem incongruent to the cultural norms in an Asian classroom (Butler, 2011; Durkin, 2008; Jeffery, 2021; Li, 1989; Simpson, 2008). Aspects such as active participation (Tudor, 2013), face saving (Simpson, 2008), avoidance of personal opinions to circumvent possible humiliation (Durkin, 2008), and interrupting the learning process (Heo et al., 2018; Park et al., 2009) are factors that can affect the level of participation in EFL classes in Korea. However, as with learners in Japan, the introduction of the TPP framework could re-orientate Korean students in cultivating their language resources by generating conversation from prepared questions made by themselves. As a result of the testing stage, Korean students could be pushed in the practice rounds for much meaning negotiation in order to maintain dialogues with their peers, but this will also develop their socio-interlanguage systems. TPP can, therefore, provide a suitable environment for students to stretch their spoken discourse, develop more confidence in expressing themselves, and encourage them to take more risks. The result of such effort will lead to improvements in their language competence and fluency.

Furthermore, with the inclusion of focused and explicit instruction in pronunciation training, one can also foresee students being able to incorporate specific prosodic features in their paired conversations. It is well reported (e.g., Choi, 2007; Isaacs & Trofimovich, 2012; Jung & Oh, 2005; Lee, 2014) that prosody affects comprehensibility and intelligibility for Korean speakers of English. Furthermore, although Japanese and Korean differ greatly in pronunciation, they share similar challenges. As stress in Korean is less prominent than in English (Lee, 1999), Korean learners often speak English in a monotonous tone (Lee, 2001) due to Korean syllables being stressed long and loud (Lee 1999). Similar to Japanese students, greater attention towards vowel quality and stress, especially when dealing with the tense/lax distinction of vowels and the coda positioning of consonant clusters (Cho & Park, 2006), could lead to greater comprehensibility and intelligibility. The possibility of acoustic cues relevant to English lexical stress being modified through classroom instruction (Binghadeer, 2008; Couper, 2006; Nagamine, 2011; Tsushima, 2014) could also hold true for Korean students. However, the success in the application of prosody training will ultimately lie in how aware both students and teachers are in targeting particular English acoustic prosodic cues in their speech production, as this takes time, effort, and practice to modify.

AUTHOR CONTRIBUTIONS

The first author was in charge of running the English course, including the design and preparation of training materials and of writing the manuscript, while the second author was in charge of speech data management and analyses.

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APPENDIX

Fluency Measures

Qualitative data have been collected by investigating utterance fluency (Housen & Kuiken, 2009; Tavakoli & Skehan, 2005; Segalowitz, 2016). Speed had been evaluated by four key measures: speech rate (SR), articulation rate (AR), phonation-time ratio (PhonRat), and length of runs (MLoR) to provide more credible results (Tsushima, 2018; Valls-Ferrer & Mora, 2014).

Formulae for Speech Rate, Articulation Rate, Phonation-Time Ratio and Mean Length of Run

Speech Rate (SR) (syllables/min)	$\dfrac{\text{Total number of syllables produced from entire narrative}}{\text{The total time (in minutes) required to produce the speech sample}}$
Articulation Rate (AR) (syllables/min)	$\dfrac{\text{Total number of syllables produced from entire narrative}}{\text{The total time of speech sample excluding pause time of 300ms or above}}$
Phonation-time Ratio (PhonRat) (%)	$\dfrac{\text{Length of total pauses}}{\text{Time taken to produce the narrative}} \times 100$
Length of Runs (MLoR) (syllables/utterance)	Average mean of all syllables between pauses of 250ms or above $\dfrac{\text{Number of syllables in each utterance run}}{\text{Total utterances}}$

Pausing was measured by the pause rate (PR) to determine how speakers at lower proficiency levels rely on longer silent pauses to process and produce speech (Tavakoli et al., 2020), and by pause location within non-clausal boundaries (NCB) and between-clausal boundaries (BCB).

Pause-Time Ratio

Pause Ratio (PauseRat) (%)	$\dfrac{\text{Length of total pauses}}{\text{Time taken to produce the narrative}} \times 100$

Non-clausal and Between-Boundaries Formulae

	Non-Clausal Boundaries (NCN)	Between-Clausal Boundaries (BCB)
Mean Length (secs)	$\frac{\text{Total length of non-clausal pause}}{\text{Frequency of non-clausal pauses}}$	$\frac{\text{Total length of clausal pause}}{\text{Frequency of clausal pauses}}$
Frequency (per 100 syllables)	$\frac{\text{Total number of non-clausal pauses}}{\text{100-syllable utterance}}$	$\frac{\text{Total number of clausal pauses}}{\text{100-syllable utterance}}$

Repair had been analyzed by examining filled pauses (FP), which looks at set phases or sounds to maintain some output; false starts (FS) in which an utterance is attempted but either abandoned altogether or reformulated in some way (Foster et al., 2000); repeats (RR) where the speaker repeats previously produced speech (Maclay & Osgood, 1959); and self-correction (SC) by which the speaker identifies an error either during or immediately following production and stops to reformulate the speech (Levelt, 1989).

Filled Pauses, False Starts, and Repeats

Filled Pauses (FP) Frequency (per 100 syllables)	**False Starts (FS)** Frequency (per 100 syllables)	**Repeats (RR)** Frequency (per 100 syllables)	**Self-Corrections (SF)** Frequency (per 100 syllables)
$\frac{\text{Total no. of FP}}{\text{100-syllable utterance}}$	$\frac{\text{Total no. of FS}}{\text{100-syllable utterance}}$	$\frac{\text{Total no. of RR}}{\text{100-syllable utterance}}$	$\frac{\text{Total no of SF}}{\text{100-syllable utterance}}$

Prosody Measures

Qualitative data of prosody have been measured by analyzing the acoustic difference between stressed and unstressed syllables. This was achieved by focusing on pitch, duration, intensity, and rhythm.

Pitch alterations were measured by concentrating on unstressed vowels of content and function words that would result in an increase in pitch difference between stressed and unstressed syllables on content words (STCN-P) and function words (STFN-P).

Pitch

Pitch acoustic difference between stressed and unstressed vowels on content words (STCN-P)	Mean of all stressed vowels (*mel*) of content words – Mean of unstressed vowels (*mel*) of content words
Pitch acoustic difference between stressed and unstressed vowels on function words (STFN-P)	Mean of all stressed vowels (*mel*) of content words – Mean of unstressed vowels (*mel*) of function words

Duration was evaluated by looking at the total proportion of unstressed syllables compared to stressed syllables of content words as a percentage for content words (STCN-D) and function words (STFN-D).

Duration

Duration acoustic proportional difference between unstressed vowels and stressed on content words (STCN-D)	$\frac{\text{Unstressed vowel duration of content words}}{\text{Stressed vowel duration of content words}} \times 100$
Duration acoustic proportional difference between unstressed vowels on function words and stressed vowels on content words (STFN-D)	$\frac{\text{Unstressed vowel duration of function words}}{\text{Stressed vowel duration of content words}} \times 100$

Intensity, on the other hand, was evaluated by concentrating on acoustic differences of all the unstressed vowels of content words (STCN-I) and function words (STFN-I).

Intensity

Intensity acoustic difference between stressed and unstressed vowels on content words (STCN-I)	Mean of all stressed vowels (*dB*) of content words – Mean of unstressed vowels (*dB*) of content words
Intensity acoustic difference between stressed and unstressed vowels on function words (STFN-I)	Mean of all stressed vowels (*dB*) of content words – Mean of unstressed vowels (*dB*) of function words

Using a normalized–pairwise variability index of vowels in duration (nPVI-V-D), pitch (nPVI-V-P), and intensity (nPVI-V-P), rhythm indices of participants were calculated to determine and compare any improvement over the academic year (Pipe & Tsushima, 2021b).

Rhythm Indices

Duration (nPVI-V-D)	Average mean of all pair sets of: $\frac{\text{Durational difference measured in ms of adjacent vowel pair}}{\text{Mean duration measured in } ms \text{ of each vowel pair set}} \times 100$
Pitch (nPVI-V-P)	Average mean of all pair sets of: $\frac{\text{Pitch difference measured in mel of adjacent vowel pair}}{\text{Mean Pitch difference measured in } mel \text{ of each vowel pair set}} \times 100$
Intensity (nPVI-V-I)	Average mean of all pair sets of: $\frac{\text{Intensity difference measured in dB of adjacent vowel pair}}{\text{Mean Intensity difference measured in dB of each vowel pair set}} \times 100$

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Learning a Second Language Through Playing Video Games

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This article explores the effectiveness of using video games to learn a second language. Analysis was done from the perspective of Krashen's monitor model and a belief in the effectiveness of free voluntary reading and large amounts of comprehensible input. The literature analyzed includes studies from within and outside of the classroom, and looks at the cognitive benefits, social aspects, and the lexical profile of video games. Cases of success and failure are included, and the best and worst types of video games for language learning, with descriptions of necessary contexts, are identified. The best are story-driven, action, adventure, and role-playing games, while the worst are those that focus on pure entertainment, high levels of distraction, and simple actions. When used, video games should be self-selected by learners with an interest in this type of media, as many of the positives identified are negated if video games are forced into a learning environment as a simple replacement for ESL materials, and used in a rigid, classroom-centric manner. It was also found that MMOGs provide the opportunity for further input, and output, and offer easily accessible speech communities throughout and beyond the language acquisition process.

Keywords: video games, language acquisition, language input, Krashen's monitor model

INTRODUCTION

This article is inspired by Krashen's monitor model as well as his subsequent work on free voluntary reading (Krashen, 2003). Language acquisition is seen as needing lots of comprehensible input (reading and listening at a gradually more complex level), an emphasis on fluency (classroom-style learning leads to higher levels of monitoring, while acquisition is focused on fluency and a lower level of self-monitoring), and a safe and supportive naturalistic context that creates little anxiety, and therefore, a lowered affective filter (Krashen, 2003). This environment does not require lots of speaking, but an emphasis on input and content should be self-selected (ideally), absorbing material.

An ideal source of language learning material would therefore be something that is low-stress; self-selected; involves reading, listening, and a high level of interactivity; and is stimulating enough to “get lost in” and forget the stresses of study and performance that may hinder learning and motivation.

A single form of media that satisfies all these criteria are video games. The video game industry is booming, with a reported 2.7 billion gamers worldwide in 2020, represented by every demographic (Clement, 2021). Can this popular pastime be used to acquire language? What are the benefits and drawbacks? Many studies have been done to give answers to these questions, and this essay will borrow from these works to determine if video games are a good source of language learning content, seen from the perspective of Krashen’s monitor model.

What Does the Literature Say?

Video Games in the Classroom

An entire course focused on using video games to learn English, inside the classroom, was taught and analyzed by Baierschmidt (2014) at Kanda University in Japan. Students translated games, posted online reviews, created walkthroughs, and interacted with others on game forums. The course took the perspective that video games alone lacked scaffolding, and supplementary materials were needed to make video games a useful resource with specific target vocabulary and objectives. The research paper based on the course does say that a variety of language was learned, but the main emphasis was on the positive feedback the course obtained from students. I would argue that this does not illustrate the usefulness of video games for learning an L2, but rather the effectiveness of new and novel course design and how video game content can be adapted to take the place of a textbook. The class was not compulsory, so it is likely that those with an interest in video games signed up and were already primed to have a positive impression of the class. However, it doesn't remove the fact that video games helped with language learning, and when used in an educational setting, enhance the development of cooperation, scaffolding, and motivation (Klimova et al., 2017).

Another example of video games being taken into the L2 classroom was in a study done by Ebrahimzadeh and Alabi (2017) on high school students in Iran. Vocabulary from *Defense of the Ancients* (DotA), a very popular online game, was used, and 241 male students were divided into three groups: readers (who read the game's story), players (who played the game), and watchers (those who watched the players play). Readers were just using the game contents as a replacement for a textbook, as above, while players of course played (after receiving instructions and going over vocabulary that would be in the game), and watchers took an active role by trying to help the players. The study unfortunately gives very little insight into actual language performance but makes it clear that motivation increased all round. At the same time, motivational increases for those who read the game's story were not nearly as high as for those who played the game, again indicating that using the content of a game as a replacement for a textbook is not ideal.

Both of the studies above, while having positive results, indicate that using video games in a forced, compulsory setting would likely defeat the purpose of self-selected, voluntary, and stimulating activity − video games are not a panacea that can be inserted into any context with success. They do, however, reiterate that video games have some type of intrinsic motivational value and can be assumed to lower affective filters. Satisfaction with the learning context, teachers, and instruction boost motivation greatly (Ortega, 2009), aiding language acquisition, and video games seem to assist with this. However, what we really want to know is if video games can help L2 learners when self-selected and used naturalistically.

Video Games in the Real World

A useful study done by Cabraja (2016) combines both factors and provides a case for video games having a positive impact on L2 performance. He found that learners who spent more time playing video games in their free time performed better on receptive vocabulary tests in school, emphasizing that these positives were associated with games that involved teamwork and communication.

Moving away from the classroom entirely, in interviews conducted by Al-jifri and Elyas (2017), Saudi adults, who considered themselves proficient, self-taught English speakers, stated that they enjoyed playing video games to pass the time and played various RPGs, action, and adventure games where progression would involve understanding instructions in English. They would decipher meaning by using dictionaries or context. One student would play with a notebook, jotting down translations to common instructions as he played. All of the students played simply for the feeling of achievement when winning a game or winning a match, and without any specific externally enforced goals. Some memorable games mentioned by the players were *Silent Hill*, *Chrono Cross*, *Metal Gear Solid*, and *Grand Theft Auto* – all classic story-driven video games. Another point made by the students was that if they enjoyed a game, they would replay it a number of times – meaning repeated exposure to the language in the game and no need for translations on later playthroughs.

Why do learners such as these find video games to be a superior form of language learning material? Video games are like books in that they can contain long involved stories and as much text as a novel, and at the same time, can have cut scenes, graphics, and production values that rival movies. On top of this, they beat out the engagement value of both by being interactive (Rudis & Postic, 2018). This engagement involves direct as well as passive exposure to language in the game world and visual cues alongside new vocabulary. Rudis and Postic (2018) emphasize the interactivity of video games as a key factor: In order to achieve objectives, the player must understand what is going on, which is motivation for actively learning the presented vocabulary and phrases, as was demonstrated by the Saudi students mentioned previously. This was also demonstrated in the author's own study involving 96 children and their use of English (L2) in and from video games. Most of the children picked up language in video games due to the above factors, would mimic language used by memorable characters, and had a strong preference for (story-driven) action and adventure games.

Cognitive Benefits

Some "assumed" downsides are that too many video games can damage vision and that they are a lesser form of mental activity that detract children and learners from real learning and development. The research does not support these notions. It has been shown that gamers actually have improved vision with a higher ability to resolve more detail and pick out various levels of gray (Bavelier, 2012), particularly if action games are played. Other cognitive benefits found have been improved attention, tracking, multitasking, and task-solving. There are even indications that video games can be used to improve the visual-spatial and cross-modal temporal attention in dyslexia, prevent the onset of reading disorders in young children (Franceschini et al., 2013), and increase gray matter in brain areas crucial for spatial navigation, strategic planning, working memory, and motor performance (Kühn et al., 2014).

Learning a second language has been linked to the prevention of cognitive decline and Alzheimer's (Sandoiu, 2018), due in part, to the "task switching" that takes place as the brain cycles through different languages, and to improved plasticity as new concepts and associations are created for old images. If playing video games improves the very same functions that are used by the brain to cognitively process languages, then it can be assumed that video games could play a role in improving L2 learner's performance and rate of acquisition.

The Community Aspect

The use of games as a tool seems to focus on single-player interactions and the richness of the content and story produced by developers for that game, but MMOGs (massive multiplayer online games) involve interaction between players as the predominant form of interaction, with an emphasis on negotiation of meaning (due to collaboration, conflict, buying, selling, technical issues, and more). According to Ang and Zaphiris (2008), these online communities can be considered speech communities, and this is where the value in games lies for L2 learners, and not in single-player games designed for learning. In support of this notion, Horowitz (2019) found that college students in Puerto Rico, when playing these types of games, had a low level of anxiety and were able to practice their communication skills, increase their confidence, and greatly increase their willingness to communicate in the L2; this extended to contexts outside of the video game.

While the benefit of a low-stress speech community should not be understated, this aspect of MMOGs does not align with Krashen's monitor model and does not tell us if the game itself is useful as a form of input. Speaking is a result of acquisition, not a cause (Krashen, 2003), and other members of the online community may or may not offer an adequate form of input through their utterances. An online speech community provides confidence, membership of a club that may have the associations of speaking the L2, and possibly the opportunity to acquire some input, but it isn't necessarily an adequate input feature of video games any more than other speech communities. Therefore, the speech communities provided by MMOG's are a fantastic resource for output after the acquisition process but won't be listed as a feature of video games that specifically help with language acquisition.

The Lexical Profile of Video Games

While it seems that video games are engaging, motivational, potentially good for brain development, offer opportunities to build speech communities online, and may contain rich and engaging stories, how do they stack up in terms of lexical profile? Generally speaking, to be proficient in a language, students need to know 95% of the words in a text to be considered adequate, with 98% being seen as optimal. This represents 4,000 words (adequate) to 10,000 words (optimal) for written texts and 3,000 (adequate) to 5,000 (optimal) for spoken texts (Nation, 2006). To determine the word coverage required for video games in comparison, Rodgers and Heidt (2020) did an interesting study analyzing a corpus of games totaling over 5,000,000 words, gathered from ten popular video games representing a variety of genres. This included scripted language as well as language used in other areas of the game (such as menus and tutorials).

It was found that 5,000 words were required for adequate coverage, and 10, 000 words for optimal coverage, giving video games a lexical profile similar to books and much more demanding than spoken texts. When comparing potential for learning of lexical items between video games and TV (done by looking at previous findings on word frequency and how often words should reappear in a text to be classified as learnable), it was discovered that a story-driven game like *Grand Theft Auto 5* provided a learner with slightly more learnable vocabulary than a television series – in this instance, *Once Upon a Time* (Rodgers & Heidt, 2020).

While the student would need to know a significant amount of vocabulary already to take advantage of this rich text and reach optimal coverage levels, the authors of the study also noted that the interactivity, visual cues, and narrative story structure of games would enable a learner to make sense of the text more easily than if they were to approach a book or TV series with a similar lexical profile.

When the Game Doesn't Go to Plan

DeHaan et al. (2010) set up a study involving 80 undergraduate female students and a music-based video game involving physical dance moves and the repetition of song lyrics at the same time. Half of the group played the game, while the other half watched. The group watching the game acquired more new words than the players, and a majority of the vocabulary acquired by both groups was forgotten after two weeks − not a good sign for long-term acquisition.

An attempt was made by Anderson et al. (2008) to study a group of representative Taiwanese university students' language ability by using training tutorials for the U.S. Army (a first-person shooter game developed as the "official" U.S. Army video game and sometimes used for training) to teach vocabulary to one group and using the same vocabulary in a different format with a different group. No difference in test scores resulted. They then used the game itself to test listening ability and found that students found the concept of using a video game interesting but struggled to keep up with in-game dialogue, were not familiar with the subject content, and most of the female participants had significantly less interest in the game itself than the male students. A large amount of rich language exposure was involved but little acquisition took place.

Klimova et al. (2017), reviewing thousands of studies done between 2010 and 2016, also concluded that games are a fun form of language learning but do not help with long-term retention. They added that games may come with cultural conflicts, making them unsuitable for all learners, and that most studies done are short-term, so they do not tell us the true impact of games on the L2. It must however be made clear that Klimova et al. focused firmly on video games within the classroom environment (they don't highlight the distinction), even saying that they are only useful if a lot of pre-teaching and scaffolding is in place from a teacher before using them for language learning, which automatically eliminates this perspective from what we are looking for: using video games as a self-selected means of naturalistic, stimulating, low-stress input − not as a replacement for mandatory class materials.

Which Types of Video Games Are Best?

The literature so far makes it clear that not all types of video games are good for language learning, many studies don't differentiate between games produced specifically for education and those used purely for entertainment, and apart from increasing motivation, researchers do not state which aspects of video games actually help L2 learners to improve their proficiency. Also, much of the research done focuses on games as a learning tool, not on games as a form of input that helps L2 acquisition outside of the classroom.

Kronenberg (2017) tackled some of these issues by separating COTS (commercial off-the-shelf) games from educational ones and developing grading criteria for games according to motivation and flow, clearly defined and spaced goals, game skills and game mechanics, content, story and narrative, multimodality, agency, course integration and scaffolding, and financial, technical, and administrative considerations. While this is still viewed from a classroom-oriented perspective, based on CALL, it offers insights into which types of games offer the best form of L2 input for any learner who is interested in video games. Taken further, Shute et al. (2017) said that for video games to be useful learning tools, they must be those that test certain real-world competencies, such as causal reasoning, systems thinking, divergent thinking, exploration, investigation, and collaboration. We can therefore add that a game should be sufficiently challenging so that it makes use of various cognitive skills.

Using these criteria to select those factors that apply to all learners, we can say that the best types of games are those that increase motivation, ensure the player has a sufficiently challenging task to complete, involve gradual progression, are story-driven (providing rich content), and give the gamer the feeling that they have choice and can affect outcomes. These criteria align with MosaLingua's list of best games to use for language learning (Luca, n.d.), written by a gamer and L2 English speaker; from *Game of Thrones* to *Mass Effect* and *The Witcher*, all of the games are story-driven, immersive experiences that match the criteria borrowed from Korenberg (2017).

Applying the criteria to the cases listed where video games were not effective is revealing. In the case of deHaan et al.'s (2010) study, the music-based video game was perhaps motivating for the players, and there was a task to complete, but it was lacking in any form of story, gradual progression, or the ability to choose an outcome (even more so for those just watching). It was fun but not a good candidate for language learning. We can even assume that the lack of balance and emphasis on stimulation and fun works against the study, as the tasks involved were too distracting for the players to focus on any language use − they were more focused on making the correct physical movements.

Anderson et al.'s (2008) study of Taiwanese students has the same problems with game selection as the above, with even more emphasis on the importance of motivation. The students had no direct link or interest in the content of the game (related to the U.S. military) nor the type of game (first-person shooter), so motivation was lacking, the affective filter was probably raised, and while novelty carried the program through, a good context for language acquisition was missing. This also illustrates the importance of video games, like any form of media, needing to be self-selected so that students can truly engage and get lost in the media, much like free voluntary reading aims to get students so absorbed into a story that they don't realize they are learning (Krashen, 2003).

CONCLUSIONS

Can video games be used to learn an L2, particularly from the perspective of Krashen's monitor model? The simple answer is yes.

They provide a large amount of rich input, equal to that of other forms of media, while increasing learner motivation, reducing anxiety, and lowering the affective filter. They are also highly engaging, to the extent that they allow learners to forget about studying and use language in a more naturalistic manner in order to progress within the game. The best types of video games for language learning are story-driven, action, adventure, and role-playing games, while the worst are those that focus on pure entertainment, high levels of distraction, and simple actions.

Even so, video games are not a panacea and cannot be forced into a classroom setting, as it is unlikely that all students will find any particular game engaging, and the structure and pacing of a formal class environment negates the major benefits of video games as a source of input. They must be self-selected and interesting to the learner, and at the same time, must be used by a motivated learner who already has at least some interest in games and the willingness and patience to discover meanings and make progress. If used by someone with no interest in games or the subject matter, they will have no major benefits over any other type of non-engaging L2 content.

Therefore, video games are an excellent form of L2 input and can be used for language learning by those who have an interest in video games, and that is luckily a large proportion of the world population. Finally, once language is acquired, MMOGs have the added benefit of providing easily accessible speech communities for practicing output.

The Author

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Book Reviews

Review of *Reflecting on Leadership in Language Education*

Edited by Andy Curtis
Sheffield: Equinox (2022).
Pages: viii + 217. (ISBN: 978-1-80050-139-3, Paperback)

Reviewed by Robert J. Dickey

INTRODUCTION

Teachers are leaders in their classrooms, but what happens when you take the teacher out of the classroom? Andy Curtis' new book offers interesting thoughts for teachers who may be considering roles beyond the chalkface. This "edited compilation" (more on that below) is the latest in the Reflective Practice in Language Education series led by KOTESOL's own Thomas S. C. Farrell. Curtis offers a bridging of leadership and reflection: an important breakthrough for teachers who previously could only explore these topics in isolation. This innovative compilation by some of ELT's best known names ties three threads: ELT, leadership, and reflective practice. Yet, as important as their experiences are, the true value here is those thoughts you will generate through your own reflections as you read.

Leadership in language education (LiLE), and in education in general, is a well-established field of study. Management of language programs is as well, though conceptualizations of leadership and management (or administration) are known to overlap but differ (see Christison & Murray, 2009). A number of well-established books have been published by well-known leaders in the TESOL community, including Christison and Murray (2009), Christison and Stoller (1997), Tannacito (2013), White, Hockley, van der Horst Jansen, and Laughner (2008), and White, Martin, Stimson, and Hodge (1991). Many MATESOL programs include a course on leadership, while TESOL International and some other organizations offer certificates in TESOL

Leadership. Unsurprisingly, most ELT programs are led by former (or continuing) language teachers. One could well argue that, in the field of leadership in language education, not much more need be said, but Curtis' book brings a fresh and true-to-life perspective to the topic. This is not a coursebook to be studied, nor a collection of cases to be analyzed, but stories of personal experiences to be reflected upon, from ten recognized leaders in ELT.

Similarly, reflective practice is hardly a new aspect in teaching, though it is only now becoming widely accepted in the field of ELT. Nevertheless, reflection for practitioners in the field of education has principally been directed at classroom matters, so in this respect, the book breaks important new ground.

Summary of Contents

It would be difficult to summarize the materials in this work without first observing that it is somewhat different than a customary edited book, nor is it a sole-author book with a number of guest-written comments or vignettes. This is a compilation of extended responses by select ELT leaders to a survey, with responses sorted into topical chapters. Each topic is introduced by the editor, and responses are summarized ("recurring themes") and discussed prior to presentation of the ten respondents' own essays.

The four questions in this survey are presented on page 9:

Question One: Please give a brief summary of your first role as a leader in language education and where you are now professionally, in terms of leadership.

Question Two: What do you understand by the term "reflective practice"? What does RP mean to you? What do you think of when you hear or read the phrase "RP"?

Question Three: How do you engage in RP? What are some of the challenges you have faced when engaging in RP? How did/do you address/meet those challenges?

Question Four: Think of a leadership challenge you faced some time ago. Describe that challenge, how you met/coped with that challenge, and what advice you would give someone facing a similar challenge. Or, instead of giving advice, you can

> describe what you would do differently now, with the benefit of experience and hindsight, if you faced a similar challenge today.

Ten highly-experienced reflective teacher leaders (RTLs) respond to each of the four prompts; their short essay responses to these prompts comprise roughly 50% of the book's content. These RTLs are Neil Anderson, Rosa Aronson, Kathleen Bailey, Christel Broady, Okon Effiong, Deborah Healey, Leo Mercado, Rosemary Orlando, Marjorie Rosenberg, and Andy Curtis himself. That's four TESOL past-presidents, a TESOL president-elect (as of this writing), an IATEFL past-president, and a former TESOL executive director, along with all the other leadership experiences in language teacher associations and workplaces of this awesome tensome.

The book is comprised of five chapters plus an Introduction. The introductory chapter not only presents the topic and sources for the materials but, importantly, recognizes the book-readers' own approaches and experiences. Following the Introduction, the first four chapters each present the issue raised in the respective survey question, first through a summary of the issue, along with "Reflective Breaks" (prompts for the reader's own reflection on the issue), then the ten essay responses, each of which also may include Reflective Breaks. Chapter 5 "Recapping and Looking Forward" does just what it claims: reviewing the materials of the book and offering suggestions for readers' future growth.

Within each of the four main chapters, the format is similar, with an introduction prior to the RTLs' essays. For Chapters 1 through 3, the introductory section runs about five pages; in Chapter 4, it runs 15 pages. One aspect in these introductions is that a "recap" is offered of the essays that follow.

Each chapter concludes with references and contributor bio-sketches.

EVALUATION

There is lots to like in this book. Important thoughts are shared in reader-friendly language by experienced leaders on questions that affect many current and future leaders in ELT. The editor's analysis of these essays is straightforward and clear. The poignant Reflective Breaks make this more than a quick skim or treatise to be studied. Examples offered by Curtis in introductory remarks, leaning on classic English literature, will delight some readers while leaving others bemused: Robert Frost, Oscar Wilde, and T. S. Eliot, for example.

This is not a leadership primer. Prospective and current language education managers and leaders will find much value in this work but not as a sole source of information. “Leadership Types” or theories (transactional, transformational, servant, tradition, etc.) and processes in leadership are not the basis of Curtis’ work (though they were briefly mentioned in some essays). On the other hand, I would have to question whether retrospective thoughts are really the type of “reflection” that we look for in reflective practice as teachers and leaders. I prefer Farrell’s (2019) focus on reflection *as* action. Yes, several of the RTLs discussed the use of reflective journals and various other reflective tools such as are offered in Farrell’s (2004) *80 Reflection Breaks* and his (2022) *120 Activities*, so we would have to say the book title is itself accurate, but it doesn’t seem closely aligned with the other titles in the Reflective Practice in Language Education book series.

Depending on your own approach to reading and analyzing information, the presentation in the book may make you uncomfortable – it did me. Reflection is not a straight and common path! (Frost’s “Two Roads” apposite here.) Personally, I would have preferred less discussion prior to the essays, and summation only after the essays. But upon deeper consideration, while it was somewhat difficult to overcome my initial discomfort, that irritation, like sand in an oyster, probably pushed me to challenge my preferences, question my assumptions, read the essays more carefully, and consider the content more critically. Creating a pearl. Which really is the point of reflective practice, isn’t it?

THE REVIEWER

Robert J. Dickey has been teaching and investigating language teaching and learning since arriving in Korea in 1994. He holds advanced degrees in law and public administration, as well as an RSA Certificate in Teaching English as a Foreign Language to Adults (CTEFLA, now known as CELTA) and has completed the coursework for a master’s in English education. He is a frequent conference speaker and TESOL trainer, and has written more than 50 book reviews. ORCID: https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0974-2628; Email: robertjdickey@yahoo.com

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Lexical Grammar: Activities for Teaching Chunks and Exploring Patterns

By Leo Selivan
Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2018.
Pages: v + 233. (ISBN: 978-1-316-64475-1, Paperback)

Reviewed by James Kimball

INTRODUCTION

Grammar. Lexis. Are they the same? Different? Two sides of the same coin? Given that teachers and learners hold firm beliefs about how and when grammar should be taught (Lightbrown & Spada, 2013, p. 91), adding vocabulary to the equation only further obscures the debate. By and large, popular coursebooks with a structural syllabus give the impression that grammar and lexis can be taught and learned in a systematic, linear progression. And grammar references for teachers (Cowan, 2008; Parrot, 2010) also impart that same parts-of-speech security blanket. In looking at best-selling vocabulary books in Korea, the same holds for how vocabulary is presented to learners − in decontextualized word lists. Unfortunately, these pruned grammar and lexis exemplars in coursebooks belie the complexity of real-world use (Burton, 2020; Mishan, 2021).

Luckily, thanks to advances in corpus linguistics, we now know that grammar is deeply intertwined with lexis. Selivan sums it up neatly: “If the language we use is comprised of ready-made lexico-grammatical units, the boundary between what we have traditionally called ‘grammar’ and ‘vocabulary’ is somewhat blurred” (p. 3).

SUMMARY

Lexical Grammar is an addition to the Cambridge Handbooks for

Language Teachers series. As such, it is a rich resource of activities that have been tried and tested in the classroom. Think of it as a bank of 98 activities for practicing teachers, all of them useful for supplementing or exploiting traditional coursebook activities. Its subtitle, “Activities for Teaching Chunks and Exploring Patterns,” paints a more precise picture of what to expect between the covers. The book is practical in nature, as the author’s stated objective is “for making grammar teaching more lexical, and for making vocabulary practice more grammatical.”

A Question–Answer section forms the eleven-page introduction to orient readers to the topic. Activities follow straightaway. There are 98 activities divided into ten categories, with each activity offering concise instructions, a suitable learner level, the amount of time needed, and any necessary preparations. Next come step-by-step instructions on how to implement the activity with learners. And each activity closes with a brief rationale. To facilitate the activities, screenshots, graphs, and charts serve as concrete examples, too.

These are the ten categories:

1. Defining and identifying chunks (8)
2. Revising and recycling chunks (9)
3. Exploring text (8)
4. Chunks and listening (8)
5. From words to grammar (10)
6. From grammar to words (10)
7. Problematic structures (10)
8. Chunks in writing (11)
9. Adapting old classics (11)
10. Loving language (13)

Evaluation

This relatively new handbook is a welcome addition to my own library of ELT resources and has given me ideas for changing up my teaching practice. Moreover, it has given me new perspectives on what and how to present language to my learners. While I had been introduced to the Michael Lewis’ Lexical Approach in my past studies, hands-on experimentation with these activities has changed my lesson preparation procedures. This change in mindset is not so difficult once collocations, chunks, and patterns appear everywhere you look.

One aspect of *Lexical Grammar* that stands out is that the activities do not cater to only advanced-level learners. Some activities are designated for beginners, too. Those earmarked for higher-level students can be modified for other levels depending on how much scaffolding the teacher does. Generally speaking, the majority of activities cater to intermediate-level learners. What is more, the Preparation sections often offer alternatives or advice for modifying activities to meet the needs of higher or lower learners. Some activities also include different ideas under "Follow-up" or "Variations."

Another strong point is ease of use, how the activities are conveniently divided into categories. This makes finding and choosing activities easier. For a writing or listening class, simply open to those chapters and choose one that will work with your learners. This is not a resource book explaining ELT theory, so there is no need to read from cover to cover. Teachers needing quick suggestions for an activity to implement in class should look no further.

The lack of background information is both a feature and a bug. It should be pointed out that classroom practice is the focus of the book, not theory. This hands-on emphasis is a core feature of this Cambridge series. For busy teachers uninterested in a treatise on the academics of the lexical approach, *Lexical Grammar* is an ideal professional development opportunity. The bite-size Rationale sections are limited in depth but offer just enough of a primer to instruct. Teachers needing more grounding on chunks and collocation will need to refer to the References section and follow up there.

The big questions to resolve: How well do the activities work? Are they easy and efficient to implement in a real classroom? And are they grounded in theory? From my experience trying them out in class, the answer is yes. Mostly. For me, the litmus test is whether or not they incorporate form, meaning, and use (Nation, 2001; Richards, 2015). Indeed, the majority of activities are designed with usage-based language acquisition in mind (Thornbury, 2006). The only drawback I experienced was with the use of recommended third-party websites, which I sometimes found clunky and cumbersome to navigate. I would avoid using them in class with learners.

In closing, there is a lot to like about this book. It is undoubtedly a welcome and needed resource that promotes learning and autonomy for students and teachers alike. And it has the potential to change your teaching practice and students' learning outcomes.

THE REVIEWER

James Kimball holds an MSc in educational management in TESOL from Aston University, and his research interests include program evaluation and classroom dynamics. Taking part in teacher development activities has been a long-time interest. He is an assistant professor of English in the Liberal Arts Department of Semyung University in Korea. Email: ilejake@gmail.com

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Appendix

Korea TESOL Journal
General Information for Contributors

As an academic journal in the field of English language teaching (ELT), the *Korea TESOL Journal* welcomes the submission of manuscripts that meet the general criteria of significance and scientific excellence. Submissions should be of practical import, dealing with aspects of the Korean ELT context or directly applicable to it. As a journal that is dedicated to the nurturing of research among ELT practitioners, the Journal also welcomes quality submissions from the early-career researcher.

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3. Reviews. The Journal invites succinct, evaluative reviews of scholarly or professional books, or instructional-support resources (such as computer software, video or audio material, and tests). Reviews should provide a descriptive and evaluative summary and a brief discussion of the significance of the work in the context of current theory and practice. Submissions should generally be 800–1,200 words in length.

Manuscripts are accepted for peer review with the understanding that the same work has not been submitted elsewhere (i.e., not pending review or currently under review) and has not been previously published, online or in print. A statement confirming this should accompany submissions.

Manuscripts should follow APA style guidelines (*Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association*, 7th ed.), especially for in-text citations, reference items, tables, and figures. Submissions should be made with tables, figures, and other graphics included in the manuscript text (and upon request, as separate files). Graphic text must also follow APA style. All figures should be created in black and white, and graphs (pie graphs, bar graphs, etc.) must display distinctive shades or patterning for readability. Manuscripts should be submitted as MS Word (DOC or DOCx) files.

The *Korea TESOL Journal* accepts submissions for two issues annually.

Inquiries/manuscripts to: journal@koreatesol.org

For more information on submissions to the *Korea TESOL Journal*, including paper submission deadlines, evaluation criteria, and manuscript formatting requirements, visit:

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