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Japan Association for Language Teaching

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The Japan Association for Language Teaching (JALT) is a nonprofit, professional organization dedicated to the improvement of language teaching and learning in Japan. It provides a forum for the exchange of new ideas and techniques and offers a means of keeping informed about developments in the rapidly changing field of second and foreign language education. Established in 1976, JALT serves an international membership of approximately 3,000 language teachers. JALT has 32 JALT chapters and 32 special interest groups (SIGs) and is a founder of PAC (Pan-Asian Consortium), which is an association of language teacher organizations in Pacific Asia. PAC holds annual regional conferences and exchanges information among its member organizations. JALT is the Japan affiliate of International TESOL (Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages) and a branch of IATEFL (International Association of Teachers of English as a Foreign Language). JALT is also affiliated with many other international and domestic organizations.

JALT publishes *JALT Journal*, a semiannual research journal; *The Language Teacher*, a bimonthly periodical containing articles, teaching activities, reviews, and announcements about professional concerns; and the annual *JALT Postconference Publication*.

The JALT International Conference on Language Teaching and Learning and Educational Materials Exposition attracts some 2,000 participants annually and offers more than 600 papers, workshops, colloquia, and poster sessions. Each JALT chapter holds local meetings, and JALT's SIGs provide information and newsletters on specific areas of interest. JALT also sponsors special events such as workshops and conferences on specific themes and awards annual grants for research projects related to language teaching and learning.

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In This Issue

This issue contains one *Perspectives* article, two *Expositions* articles, and four book reviews.

Articles

The main articles in this issue combine to create a rather coherent narrative, advocating the importance of language education, education in general, and calling for dynamic approaches to teaching and learning to meet the challenges of language education in diverse settings. In the *Perspectives* article by **Hengzhi Hu** and **Harwati Hashim**, the authors consider the role of English-Medium Instruction (EMI) in higher education as EMI expands across the globe. They take stock of limitations and challenges learners might face with EMI in countries where English is not the primary language of study throughout compulsory education. The authors explore how Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) might be used to support EMI and introduce the concept of CLIL-ized EMI. The authors frame CLIL-ized EMI as a flexible approach that integrates language support into content instruction without requiring the full structural transformation associated with traditional CLIL. Rather than offering a prescriptive approach, the authors position CLIL-ized EMI as a context sensitive and dynamic approach that can be adapted to diverse situations.

The first *Expositions* article is an overview of Task-Based Language Teaching (TBLT) by none other than the prominent scholar and applied linguist, **Rod Ellis**. In this *Expositions* piece, Ellis shares insights into his professional life and motivation for moving away from Second Language Acquisition (SLA) and toward TBLT. Ellis responds to criticism toward and common misunderstandings about TBLT, and disentangles core principles of TBLT from task-supported teaching. Ellis defines ‘task’ in TBLT, explains how to measure performance and learning, and provides insight into sequencing tasks, dividing lessons into stages, incorporating explicit instruction, and dealing with individual differences in the classroom. Finally, Ellis highlights the importance of being able to adapt TBLT to different contexts to meet different student needs and levels and provides examples of how this might be achieved.

In the second *Expositions* article, Professor **Akira Machida** tackles the question of whether or not it is worth the investment to learn a

new language when large language models (LLMs) and generative AI can achieve many language tasks for us. Through the lens of Cognitive Linguistics, Machida explores theoretical affinities between Cognitive Linguistics and contemporary LLMs. Drawing on work from Usage-based approaches, construction grammar, connectionism, neuroscience, and more, this article further serves as a rich overview of cognitive linguistics and theories of language acquisition. Machida explains that if one views language simply as an instrumental tool, where communicative efficacy is the only goal, then perhaps AI solutions are sufficient. However, ultimately, Machida argues that foreign language learning offers an irreplicable intellectual and cultural value that AI technologies cannot replace, and that foreign language learning can be conceptualized as cognitive and humanistic development.

Reviews

In this issue, we are pleased to offer four book reviews. The first, by **Lachlan Jackson** is a critical review of *Social Justice in Language Education: Taking Action*, written by Albert Biel and Fabian Maria Esleben. In his review, Jackson provides background on the increased body of research challenging the notion that teaching is merely a neutral and technical endeavour, unrelated to politics and ethics, and that there is indeed a trend towards language teachers concerning themselves with a broader range of issues. While acknowledging that “The collection offers a predominantly Eurocentric (German) perspective,” Jackson asserts that “Japan-based readers will certainly discover numerous insightful commonalities (and contrasts) with their own teaching contexts upon which to reflect.” The second review, also of a critical examination of current practice in ELT, by **Zoya Erdevig**, deals with the issue of race in JPB Gerald’s *Antisocial Language Teaching: English and the Pervasive Pathology of Whiteness*. According to Erdevig, “While Gerald writes from the perspective of a U.S. scholar, his insights into whiteness, linguistic hierarchy, and inequity have global relevance, including in EFL contexts such as Japan, where native-speaker status often outweighs teaching qualifications.”

Emily MacFarlane is the author of our third review: *Professionalising English Language Teaching: Concepts and Reflections for Action in Teacher Education* by Andrzej Cirocki & Wolfgang Hallet. Echoing issues from the second review, namely that “Recent research has also highlighted concerns that there is a tendency in the ELT industry to prioritise commercial

considerations and native-speaker marketing over genuine pedagogical qualifications, thereby undermining professional standards”, MacFarlane explains the volume’s purpose, namely “to provide clear guidelines to help direct teachers, both experienced and otherwise, towards professional excellence”. However, she notes that while there was much helpful information in the book, she was hoping for more practical suggestions. In the end, she felt it was written more for seasoned researchers in such a way that may prove a little intimidating for early-career teachers. Last, but not least, our final review comes from **Greg Rouault** in which he evaluates *The Art of Intercultural Business Communication: A Competency-Based Approach* by Bertha Du-Babcock and Richard D. Babcock. While noting a number of shortcomings, Rouault concludes by saying that the authors, on balance, have succeeded in presenting a comprehensive framework integrating language, international business, and intercultural variables to explain how business communication operates in contexts and recommends this book to “researchers and thesis supervisors who have an established agenda investigating business communication theories and constructs,” as well as teachers of EMI courses in culture, management, and international relations. As always, we hope you will enjoy reading these reviews.

From the Editors

This issue of *JALT Journal* brings together theory grounded essays that cut to core issues in language, language learning, and education in general. As Professor Machida argues in his Expositions piece, learning a new language is more than just learning to communicate with people, it is learning new customs, cultures, traditions, and new ways of thinking. Despite ever-evolving tools that facilitate communication, the importance of language learning remains as consequential and enriching as ever. As English Medium Instruction (EMI) becomes more common at the university level in Japan, preparing new generations of learners to meet and profit from this challenge is important. Professor Ellis reminds us of how Task-Based Learning and Teaching (TBLT) can be leveraged to promote language learning and learning in general. A TBLT approach to language education may indeed help prepare English language learners for the transition into EMI. Likewise, EMI programs may draw on lessons from Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) approaches to education in the vein of Professor Hu and Hashim’s call for CLIL-ized EMI.

This issue is also the first issue to feature **Joe Geluso** as editor, **Paul Leeming** as associate editor, and **Robert Lowe** as assistant editor. In

addition, the editors have been in regular contact with **Mayumi Kashiwa** who has truly hit the ground running making valuable contributions as the new Japanese language editor. **Melodie Cook** and **Cameron Flinn** as the reviews editor and the production editor, respectively, continue their generous work to keep *JALT Journal* replete with reviews and in great looking condition. Thanks to everyone for their selfless contributions and keen eyes on detail. *JALT Journal* would not function without you. We hope readers enjoy the content of this issue and we thank you for reading *JALT Journal*.

— Joe Geluso, Editor

— Paul Leeming, Associate Editor

— Robert Lowe, Assistant Editor

Perspectives

Beyond Language Barriers: Rethinking the Role of CLIL-ized EMI in Shaping Higher Education

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As English-Medium Instruction (EMI) continues to expand across higher education systems worldwide, its limitations have become increasingly evident, particularly in its neglect of students' language development needs. In response, this article explores the concept of CLIL-ized EMI, a flexible pedagogical orientation that integrates language support into content instruction without requiring the full structural transformation associated with traditional CLIL. We conceptualize CLIL-ized EMI as a form of pedagogical negotiation driven by lecturers' localized responses to linguistic diversity, institutional constraints, and disciplinary priorities. It identifies key features of CLIL-ized EMI practice, analyzes the tensions that arise when language becomes part of content teaching, and highlights the emotional, cognitive, and institutional labor often rendered invisible. The article also outlines practical strategies for implementation and emphasizes the need for teacher awareness, pedagogical adaptation, and systemic support. Rather than offering a prescriptive model, it positions CLIL-ized EMI as a dynamic, context-sensitive response to the evolving demands of multilingual higher education—one that invites deeper reflection on what it means to teach, learn, and support disciplinary engagement through English.

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英語を媒介とする教育 (English-Medium Instruction: EMI) が世界各地の高等教育機関で拡大を続ける中、その限界も次第に明らかになってきている。特に、学生の言語発達のニーズが十分に考慮されていない点は深刻である。本稿では、従来型の内容言語統合型学習 (Content and Language Integrated Learning: CLIL) に伴う制度的な全面改革を必ずしも必要とせず、内容指導の中に言語的支援を柔軟に組み込むCLIL化されたEMI (CLIL-ized EMI) という概念を取り上げ、その教育的可能性を探る。CLIL-ized EMIは、講師が言語的多様性、制度的制約、学問分野ごとの優先事項に応じて行う教育的な交渉の一形態として位置づけられる。本稿は、CLIL-ized EMIの実践に見られる主要な特徴を明らかにし、言語が内容教育の一部として扱われる際に生じる緊張関係を分析する。また、こうした実践においてしばしば見過ごされがちな感情的・認知的・制度的な労働にも焦点を当てる。さらに、CLIL-ized EMIの具体的な導入方略を提示するとともに、教師の意識、教授法の柔軟な調整、そして制度的支援の重要性を強調する。本稿が提示するのは、処方的な教育モデルではなく、多言語化が進む高等教育の現場において、教育者が文脈に応じて動的かつ柔軟に対応する一つのアプローチである。英語を通じて専門的な内容に取り組みとはどういうことなのか——教えること、学ぶこと、支援することの意味を、改めて問い直す契機となるだろう。

Keywords: CLIL; CLIL-ized EMI; content learning; EMI; higher education

The firm establishment of English as the world's dominant lingua franca has accelerated the internationalization of higher education. Universities across the globe are increasingly adopting English-Medium Instruction (EMI) not only as a method for content delivery but as a strategic tool to attract diverse, global talent and enhance their international standing (Kling & Del Corona, 2020). This surge in EMI adoption reflects a drive toward global competitiveness and the pursuit of multicultural student communities. However, it also raises pressing questions about inclusivity and engagement for non-native English-speaking students. Despite the benefits, traditional EMI often focuses on content mastery, with minimal attention given to students' language needs, which can present significant barriers to their comprehension and full participation (Lasagabaster, 2022; Richards & Pun, 2022).

Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) offers a potential response by integrating language learning with content instruction in a more intentional manner (Coyle & Meyer, 2021). Through a CLIL-ized EMI framework, language support becomes an integral part of content learning, aiming to create a more inclusive and adaptive approach for higher education. In this article, we conceptualize CLIL-ized EMI not as a wholesale adoption of CLIL principles, but as a pragmatic, retrofitted model that emerges organically within EMI environments—often in response to students' language-related challenges and lecturers' pedagogical awareness. Rather than treating CLIL-ized EMI as a fixed methodology, we argue

for its recognition as an evolving orientation shaped by contextual realities, institutional affordances, and educator agency.

CLIL, EMI, and CLIL-ized EMI: Key Differences Explained

The distinction between CLIL and EMI is essential yet often misunderstood. CLIL is defined as a “dual-focused educational approach in which an additional language is used for the learning and teaching of both content and language,” with each aspect (i.e., content and language) deliberately intertwined, “even if the emphasis is greater on one or the other at a given time” (Coyle et al., 2010, p. 1). This approach is intentional in its dual objectives (Carrio-Pastor, 2021) and offers structured language support (Carlins & Siripol, 2024) designed to foster both subject-specific knowledge and linguistic proficiency, particularly beneficial in second/foreign language (L2) education. By contrast, EMI refers specifically to “the use of the English language to teach academic subjects, other than English itself” (Dafouz & Gray, 2022, p. 163). EMI is content-focused, with an emphasis on delivering academic content through English, without structured language instruction or support. This lack of language support can place additional cognitive and linguistic burdens on students, particularly those who are not native English speakers (Alkhateeb & Alhawsawi, 2023; Tien, 2023), often limiting their engagement and comprehension.

The tendency in literature to conflate CLIL and EMI stems from their shared use of content-based and communicative approaches in multilingual education (Carrio-Pastor, 2021). Yet, this simplification overlooks the core aims that differentiate them. CLIL is sometimes misinterpreted as a broad term encompassing “any teaching of a non-language subject ... through the medium of a second or foreign language” (Abdujabborova & Sadirova, 2020, p. 32). However, CLIL’s defining feature is its deliberate integration of language instruction with content learning, distinguishing it from EMI, where content mastery takes precedence and language development is left to incidental acquisition. This difference underscores the divergent goals of each approach, with CLIL focusing on bilingual competency while EMI prioritizes content delivery in English.

CLIL-ized EMI emerges as a hybrid model that bridges these two approaches by embedding CLIL’s language support within EMI’s content-focused framework. In this model, language learning strategies are integrated into content delivery to enhance both subject mastery and language proficiency (Hu, 2023; Moncada-Comas & Block, 2021), addressing a key limitation of traditional EMI. While EMI may improve students’ English

skills incidentally, as observed in various studies (Nyoni et al., 2023; Paris et al., 2022; Syamsuddin & Rut, 2024), CLIL-ized EMI introduces a shift from implicit language learning to explicit, purposeful language instruction, meaning that language development is not a secondary byproduct but an intentional component woven into the learning process.

Here, an important question arises: since CLIL-ized EMI incorporates both content and language learning, can it reasonably be considered a form of dual-focused CLIL? While this assumption may appear reasonable at first glance, it overlooks important pedagogical, institutional, and ideological distinctions. Both CLIL and CLIL-ized EMI share the ambition to foster subject knowledge and language development, yet the balance, structure, and institutional intentionality that define these goals differ significantly. CLIL, as originally conceptualized by Coyle et al. (2010) and developed by subsequent scholars (Dalton-Puffer & Nikula, 2014; Dzulkurnain et al., 2024; Klewitz, 2021), is underpinned by a principled integration of content and language objectives from the outset. It is not simply about delivering content in an L2, but about designing instruction in which language learning is systematically planned, scaffolded, assessed, and theorized as co-equal to content learning.

By contrast, CLIL-ized EMI originates from a reverse trajectory: it begins from an EMI foundation, where language learning is typically incidental or marginal (Alkhateeb & Alhawsawi, 2023), and gradually incorporates selective CLIL-inspired strategies in response to learner needs. It is, in effect, a retrofitted model, adapting language-sensitive practices into an existing EMI framework rather than rebuilding that framework around bilingual objectives. Thus, while CLIL-ized EMI may borrow techniques from CLIL (e.g., scaffolding vocabulary, visual aids, modeling academic discourse) (Hu et al., 2025), it does not reconstruct the learning ecology to align with CLIL's dual-focus philosophy. This fundamental distinction is pedagogically consequential.

Moreover, CLIL-ized EMI reflects a contextual compromise, particularly in higher education systems where full CLIL implementation is impractical. In many Asian or Global South universities, lecturers are content experts, often trained in monolingual or traditional disciplinary traditions, and lack professional development in applied linguistics or L2 pedagogy (Kavak & Kırkgöz, 2023; Muttaqin, 2022). Institutional incentives, moreover, often reward disciplinary teaching in English, not language-aware instruction (Simie & McKinley, 2024). In such contexts, requiring lecturers to adopt CLIL wholesale would be unrealistic, as it would require them to reconcep-

tualize their teaching philosophy, acquire expertise in language pedagogy, and collaborate across departments—tasks that demand time, resources, and structural support that are often unavailable. Instead, CLIL-ized EMI offers a pedagogically informed but institutionally feasible middle ground: it encourages content lecturers to incorporate language-sensitive strategies (e.g., rephrasing complex terms, using visual scaffolds, or highlighting academic discourse features) into their teaching without requiring structural transformation or shared teaching responsibilities. While not achieving the full dual-focus integration of CLIL, this approach mitigates the cognitive and linguistic challenges students face in EMI and represents a pragmatic step toward more inclusive and effective bilingual education. Rather than viewing CLIL-ized EMI as an incomplete version of CLIL, it should be recognized as a locally adapted response to systemic constraints (Hu, 2023), with its own logic, potential, and limitations.

Therefore, reducing CLIL-ized EMI to a diluted version of CLIL risks obscuring its pragmatic innovations. The two models differ not merely in degree but in design logic, institutional embedding, and pedagogical priority. Acknowledging this distinction allows us to critically assess the affordances and constraints of CLIL-ized EMI on its own terms, and to develop context-sensitive strategies that do not overpromise the transformative potential of CLIL when key conditions are absent. Recognizing CLIL-ized EMI as a hybrid and adaptive paradigm thus expands rather than dilutes the conceptual space between EMI and CLIL.

Unlocking the Potential of CLIL-ized EMI in Higher Education

To reiterate, non-native English-speaking students frequently encounter linguistic challenges in traditional EMI settings, which can limit their comprehension and engagement (Lasagabaster, 2022; Richards & Pun, 2022), especially when complex academic concepts are taught solely in English. CLIL-ized EMI addresses these barriers by embedding structured language support directly within content instruction and allows students to engage with material without being restricted by language proficiency gaps. This dual-focus approach enables students to understand subject matter while simultaneously advancing their English skills, resulting in a more inclusive, comprehensive educational experience. By alleviating the cognitive strain typically associated with learning new content in an L2 (Roussel et al., 2022), CLIL-ized EMI enhances students' connection to course material, boosting both their academic performance and their confidence in using English as a medium of instruction.

The potential of CLIL-ized EMI extends beyond improving individual student outcomes—it also legitimizes and empowers EMI teachers who seek to embrace or acknowledge their role as language facilitators. Studies by Kamal et al. (2024) and Tien (2023) reveal that many EMI teachers hesitate to provide language support, fearing that doing so might conflict with institutional and governmental mandates focused solely on content delivery in English. CLIL-ized EMI offers a structured framework that not only encourages but authorizes the integration of language-oriented strategies within content instruction, effectively addressing these concerns. By seamlessly embedding language support into content delivery, this approach allows teachers to meet students' linguistic needs confidently, without deviating from EMI's core educational objectives.

With structured language support rationalized by CLIL-ized EMI, classroom dynamics can evolve into a more interactive and engaged environment. Unlike traditional EMI settings, where teachers often act as the primary source of knowledge and students remain passive due to language barriers (Kamal et al., 2024; Webster & Herington, 2021), CLIL-ized EMI redefines learning as a shared responsibility. Here, teachers go beyond content delivery, actively equipping students with the linguistic tools necessary to express ideas and participate meaningfully. Research shows that students who are less active in EMI classrooms often face challenges, not because of weak content knowledge, but due to insufficient English proficiency to convey their understanding effectively (Brown et al., 2022; Tien, 2023). By embedding language support within content instruction, CLIL-ized EMI empowers students to take ownership of their learning. This integrated approach fosters open communication and enables fluid exchanges between students and teachers, as well as among peers. Consequently, the classroom becomes a collaborative space for inquiry and problem-solving, essential to content mastery (Kettler et al., 2021), where students confidently engage with both the material and each other.

Ultimately, CLIL-ized EMI enriches the learning environment by fostering a sense of community that encourages all students, regardless of language proficiency, to contribute meaningfully to the academic and social fabric of the class. This approach enables equitable participation, where language skills serve not as a barrier but as a bridge for students to share their knowledge and perspectives. As a result, CLIL-ized EMI advances inclusive education as a fundamental element of global higher education (Killick & Foster, 2021). By valuing language abilities as assets within the classroom, CLIL-ized EMI promotes collaborative learning and establishes a globally-

mind space where content mastery and language development progress hand in hand. This model reinforces the notion that higher education should be accessible and empowering for all students, thereby creating an internationalized education system that is truly inclusive and transformative (Boughey et al., 2021).

Potential Strategies and Challenges of Implementing CLIL-ized EMI

We believe the sustainable implementation of CLIL-ized EMI in higher education hinges on three interrelated dimensions: the cultivation of teacher awareness, the development of effective classroom-level practices, and the provision of institutional and policy support.

Teacher Awareness and Disposition

Lecturers' recognition of students' language-related difficulties and their willingness to respond to these challenges are foundational to CLIL-ized EMI, as previous research underscores the importance of nurturing pedagogical dispositions that view language support as integral to subject learning, particularly in linguistically diverse EMI contexts (Kavak & Kırkgöz, 2023; Muttaqin, 2022). However, many content lecturers still operate within paradigms that separate disciplinary knowledge from linguistic mediation (Hu & Hashim, 2025; Moncada-Comas & Block, 2021). This conceptual divide can limit their perceived responsibility for addressing students' language needs (Meng & Yang, 2021). To encourage more inclusive teaching identities, universities can facilitate reflective practice through interdisciplinary forums, teaching-focused seminars, and communities of practice that bring together language and content experts. By promoting awareness of how language structures disciplinary thinking (Syamsuddin & Rut, 2024), institutions can help lecturers see language not as a separate entity, but as constitutive of academic knowledge itself.

Classroom-Level Implementation

Once lecturers recognize the linguistic demands of EMI, the next challenge lies in translating that awareness into feasible instructional strategies. Even in the absence of institutional mandates, meaningful language support can be woven into content instruction. Pre-teaching vocabulary, modeling sentence structures, offering bilingual scaffolds, and adjusting

assessment rubrics to include discourse features all constitute viable strategies for integrating content and language.

Nonetheless, practical barriers often arise. Lecturers may lack confidence in their ability to provide language support (Prabjandee & Nilpirom, 2022), particularly when they are not trained in L2 teaching. Moreover, some students experience cognitive overload when simultaneously confronted with unfamiliar content and linguistic forms (Hu & Hashim, 2025). Addressing these challenges requires a careful recalibration of instructional design. Scaffolding techniques should be tailored to the discipline (Coyle & Meyer, 2021), with attention to sequencing tasks and gradually increasing linguistic complexity (Alimjanova & Nosirova, 2022). Language support should not be additive or remedial but embedded into the epistemic practices of the subject. Small-group discussions, guided writing tasks, and dual-language materials can ease the cognitive burden while maintaining academic rigor.

Pedagogical innovation can also be supported through collaborative planning and co-teaching models (Carlins & Siripol, 2024), especially in large or high-stakes courses. Language specialists can assist content lecturers in identifying key discourse features and developing discipline-appropriate language outcomes (Custodio-Espinar & López-Hernández, 2021). Importantly, lecturers must be assured that supporting students' English development does not dilute content instruction but enhances students' ability to access and express disciplinary knowledge more effectively.

Institutional and Policy Support

While individual agency plays a crucial role in initiating CLIL-ized EMI, broader institutional and policy frameworks are essential for scaling and sustaining such efforts. One recurring issue can be the invisibility of language-sensitive teaching in institutional reward structures (Hu & Hashim, 2025). Efforts to embed language support into EMI courses are often regarded as extra, unrecognized labor, particularly in research-intensive environments where teaching is secondary to publication metrics (Boughey et al., 2021).

To address this, institutions should revisit their definitions of teaching excellence to include pedagogical practices that support linguistic inclusion (Webster & Herington, 2021). Recognition can take many forms: teaching awards, reduced teaching loads for innovation, inclusion of language-integrated syllabi in promotion dossiers, or dedicated funding for materials

development. When pedagogical labor is acknowledged and rewarded, lecturers are more likely to invest sustained effort in refining their practice.

Another critical issue lies in the lack of alignment at the curricular and policy levels. EMI syllabi often emphasize English as the medium of instruction but rarely specify—and in some cases even prohibit—explicit goals for students' language development (Alkhateeb & Alhawsawi, 2023; Tien, 2023). This omission results in uneven implementation and places the burden of interpretation entirely on individual lecturers. To foster coherent CLIL-ized EMI practices, program-level documents should articulate dual objectives—disciplinary mastery and academic language proficiency—and provide guidance on how these can be achieved. Assessment practices should also evolve to reflect these dual goals, recognizing language as both a medium and an outcome of disciplinary engagement.

Finally, national and institutional policies that frame EMI primarily as a vehicle for internationalization may inadvertently marginalize the importance of language pedagogy (Ascher & Pichery, 2023). Rather than viewing language support as a remedial intervention, policy narratives must shift toward recognizing CLIL-ized EMI as a strategic approach to inclusivity, quality assurance, and academic equity. Such a shift requires coordinated advocacy from educators, researchers, and university leaders, who can make the case that language-aware pedagogy is not at odds with internationalization, but foundational to its meaningful realization.

What's Next for CLIL-ized EMI?

As CLIL-ized EMI continues to take root in diverse higher education systems, its future lies not in replicating existing models but in reimagining what it means to teach and learn disciplinary knowledge through an L2 in contextually responsive ways. This reimagination calls for renewed engagement with epistemological, pedagogical, and ethical questions surrounding the nature of language, content, and their entanglement in multilingual academic settings.

One urgent task is to conceptually refine CLIL-ized EMI as a pedagogical paradigm in its own right. Although the term is gaining visibility in policy and practice, it risks becoming diluted if not theoretically sharpened (Hu, 2023). Without clear definitions and boundaries, it may come to signify any form of incidental language support within EMI, thus losing its analytical precision and pedagogical distinctiveness. To prevent this, future scholarship must examine what pedagogical principles, instructional routines, and learning objectives uniquely define CLIL-ized EMI. What does meaningful

integration of language and content entail in practice, without allowing one to overshadow or subsume the other? How can we articulate defining principles that preserve the flexibility and responsiveness of CLIL-ized EMI to local contexts, rather than constrain them?

Another area demanding further exploration is the epistemic impact of CLIL-ized EMI on how knowledge is constructed, represented, and negotiated. Language does not serve merely as a conduit for pre-existing content; it mediates the processes by which disciplinary meanings are made (Coyle & Meyer, 2021). In CLIL-ized EMI settings, where language scaffolding accompanies content teaching, students may begin to engage differently with academic genres, conceptual hierarchies, or disciplinary logics. Particularly in abstract or technical fields, what affordances and constraints does this dual focus introduce for students' epistemic access? How can lecturers balance linguistic simplification with the need to preserve conceptual rigor?

Equally important is the affective and relational dimension of CLIL-ized EMI. Teaching and learning in an L2 is not a neutral process—it often evokes emotional and identity-related struggles (Moncada-Comas & Block, 2021), including fear of judgment, loss of voice, or feelings of inadequacy. At the same time, CLIL-ized EMI may foster a more empathetic, dialogic classroom culture, where language becomes a shared resource rather than a barrier (Custodio-Espinar & López-Hernández, 2021). What emotional labor does this model demand from both students and lecturers? How can institutions offer the recognition, time, and relational space needed to support this form of pedagogy? Are new academic identities being shaped around the role of the lecturer as both disciplinary expert and linguistic mediator?

Finally, CLIL-ized EMI raises critical questions about linguistic equity in internationalized education. As English continues to dominate global academic discourse, it risks entrenching monolingual norms and displacing local languages and knowledges (Kling & Del Corona, 2020). While CLIL-ized EMI offers a more inclusive model than traditional EMI, it still operates within the logic of EMI. Can it be reimaged in ways that affirm multilingualism, rather than merely accommodate it? How might it support the development of plural language repertoires, including academic literacy in students' first or heritage languages?

These questions mark the beginning of a deeper intellectual journey. The future of CLIL-ized EMI will not be determined by implementation strategies alone, but by sustained theoretical inquiry and ethical reflection—engagements that remain sensitive to the linguistic, cultural, and

institutional complexities of higher education worldwide (Richards & Pun, 2022). What models of scholarship and collaboration are needed to sustain this critical momentum?

Concluding Remarks

CLIL-ized EMI is not merely a pedagogical strategy but a reorientation of how language, knowledge, and participation are negotiated in internationalized higher education. Its significance extends beyond improving comprehension or performance; it disrupts conventional boundaries between content and language, challenges institutional assumptions, and invites more democratic modes of teaching and learning.

As this model continues to evolve, its sustainability depends on ongoing dialogue, critical reflexivity, and pedagogical humility. Rather than imposing rigid formulas, CLIL-ized EMI requires educators to remain attentive to context, to adapt practices in response to students' lived realities, and to recognize language as central to meaning-making, not peripheral. Such responsiveness affirms the value of linguistic diversity and acknowledges the uneven terrain students and teachers must navigate in EMI classrooms.

To move forward, institutions need to foster an academic culture that embraces linguistic integration as a core component of disciplinary teaching. This involves professional learning structures that legitimize language-sensitive pedagogy, curriculum frameworks that accommodate dual learning objectives, and leadership that recognizes inclusive language practices as essential to quality education.

In its most generative form, CLIL-ized EMI is not a compromise between content and language, but an opportunity to reimagine how global universities can cultivate inclusive, dialogic, and critically engaged learning spaces—ones where linguistic complexity is seen not as a barrier to overcome but as a resource to be nurtured.

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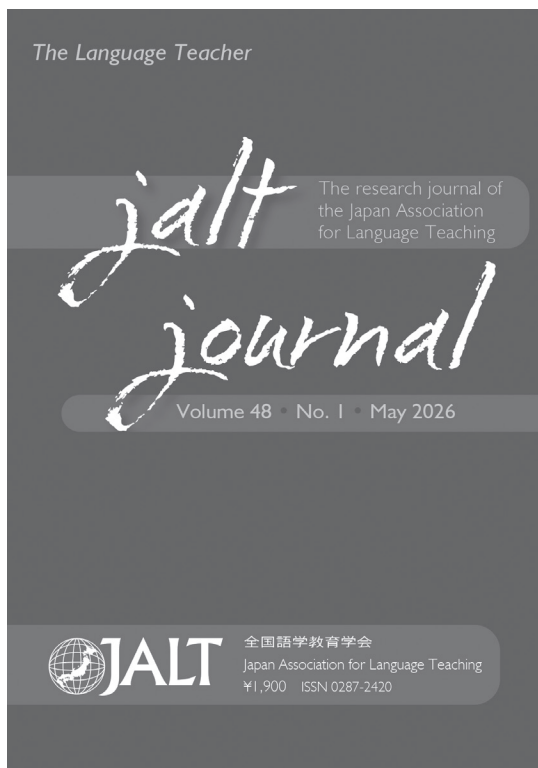
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Expositions

Task-Based Language Teaching

Rod Ellis

Curtin University

This article presents a comprehensive overview of Task-Based Language Teaching (TBLT), tracing the author's professional evolution from Second Language Acquisition (SLA) research to a dedicated focus on this pedagogical approach. Motivated by a desire for practical application and a response to the limitations of traditional structural methods observed in contexts like Japan, TBLT is defined as an approach where the "task" is the central unit of syllabus design and lesson planning. The article delineates core principles distinguishing TBLT from task-supported teaching, including the primacy of meaning, the absence of prior explicit instruction, and the integral role of focus on form. It confronts common misunderstandings about TBLT before addressing significant "real issues" necessary for its advancement. These include defining a task, measuring performance and learning, sequencing tasks, utilising lesson stages, integrating explicit instruction, and accommodating individual differences. The discussion advocates for a flexible, context-sensitive implementation of TBLT, potentially through hybrid curricula, and underscores the need for longitudinal research and teacher education to consolidate its theoretical foundations with classroom practice.

本稿はタスクベースの言語教育(TBLT)の包括的概説を提示し、著者の専門的發展を第二言語習得(SLA)研究からこの教育手法への専念に至る経緯を辿る。実践的応用への意欲と、日本などの文脈で観察された伝統的な文法・構造中心の教授法の限界への対応を動機として、TBLTは「タスク」をシラバス設計と授業計画の中心的単位とするアプローチと定義される。本稿では、意味の優先性、事前の明示的指導を前提としない点、フォーカス・オン・フォーム(focus on form)の不可欠な役割など、タスク支援型指導(task-supported teaching)とTBLTを区別する中核的原則を明確化する。TBLTに関する一般的な誤解を整理した後、その発展に不可欠な「実践上の課題」に取り組む。これには、タスクの定義、遂行(performance)と学習の測定、

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タスクの順序付け、授業段階の活用、明示的指導の統合、個人差への対応が含まれる。議論では、ハイブリッドカリキュラム (hybrid curriculum) などを通じた柔軟で文脈に応じたTBLTの実施を提唱し、その理論的基盤を教室実践と統合するために、縦断的研究と教員教育の必要性を強調している。

Keywords: hybrid curricula; key issues; task-based language teaching; task-supported language teaching

Background

Much of my professional life as an applied linguist has focused on second language acquisition (SLA). More recently, however, I have moved away from SLA to focus on task-based language teaching (TBLT). I would like to start my exposition of TBLT by explaining why. My interest in SLA was never really theoretical. It was motivated by my background as a teacher and teacher educator as I took on board Evelyn Hatch's shrewd comment that if we know how learners learn we will be better placed to create the instructional conditions that would facilitate learning. SLA for me was always "applied SLA" and the obvious application was to language teaching. I think it true to say that this was what originally motivated most contributors to the field of SLA. Recently, however, SLA and applied linguistics in general have developed other goals in response to the "social turn" that Block (2003) called for. To my mind "turn" has turned into a "swamp," with key conferences such as the American Association of Applied Linguistics annual conference prioritising social rights and marginalizing applied linguistics for language teaching. I acknowledge the need to address social equity (and inequity) but regret the loss of focus on what I still consider the area where SLA and applied linguistics can have a practical—as opposed to ideological—impact. I have moved sideways from SLA to focus on task-based language teaching, an approach to language teaching that I, along with Michael Long and many others, think is most likely to benefit the countless students faced with learning a second language (L2) in an instructional context.

My interest in TBLT originated in my work in SLA but it was also motivated by the time I spent in Japan from August 1989 to June 1993. I was struck by the fact that after many years of studying English at school, the students whom I met were often unable to hold even a simple conversation. I recall that the first doctoral dissertation I supervised found that up to 90% of the talking time in English lessons in high schools was conducted in Japanese, the result of a structural approach to teaching that treated

language as a set of facts to be studied and learned explicitly. The situation in Japan has probably improved in part because of a move away from the structural approach to communicative language teaching (CLT). TBLT, however, is much more communicative than CLT, which as manifested in current textbooks is simply an improved form of structural language teaching. TBLT offers students opportunities to learn a language through and for communicating and, crucially, motivates them to take advantage of these opportunities. In various small ways I like to think that I have contributed to the fostering of TBLT in Japan and in other Asian countries.

What is TBLT?

TBLT has a relatively short life. It originated in a seminal article that Michael Long wrote in 1985 although tasks had figured in language pedagogy as a means for developing fluency some time before that (e.g., Revell, 1979). Since then, interest in TBLT has grown exponentially with two biannual conferences devoted to it (including one in Japan), a book series addressing various aspects of TBLT published by John Benjamins, and a number of state-of-the-art books reviewing the theory, research and pedagogical options that comprise TBLT (e.g., Bygate & Samuda, 2008; Ellis, 2003; Long, 2015).

Long, in his 1985 article, argued that language programmes should be based on an analysis of the target tasks that a given group of learners need to master to become proficient communicators. This has become the commonly held view about TBLT but in various publications (e.g., Ellis, 2003, 2018, 2021), I have argued that in contexts such as Japan, where most learners will never need to perform target tasks in a foreign language, a needs analysis approach is not relevant. With the exception of learners who have clearly identifiable occupational or educational needs, it makes little sense to base a TBLT course on dubious target tasks. A different approach is needed to identify task content, which I spell out later. I have argued that TBLT is not monolithic and that it can take various forms in different instructional contexts. There are options in both how to design a TBLT course and in how it can be implemented.

This raises the question, however, as to what these different forms of TBLT have in common that would justify claiming that it constitutes an “approach” to language teaching. Any approach needs to be founded on a clear set of principles that define it and that underlie the design and implementation of language programmes based on it. The principles that I see as common to all versions of TBLT are as follows:

1. The Primacy of “Task”

“Task” is the central construct. It constitutes the unit that informs the design of a syllabus. It also constitutes the unit around which individual lessons are built. Lesson planning begins with a task. It is important there is a clear definition of a task (Ellis, 2003, 2018). Table 1 is based on the four aspects that can distinguish a task from an exercise. In a later section of this article, I consider problems with such a definition.

Table 1

Distinguishing a Task and an Exercise

Aspect	Task	Exercise
What is the purpose?	The workplan is intended to ensure that learners are primarily concerned with comprehending and/or producing messages for a communicative purpose (i.e., there is primary focus on meaning-making).	The workplan is designed to focus learners' attention on the need to use language correctly (i.e., there is a primary focus on form).
What is the nature of the gap?	The workplan is designed in such a way as to incorporate a communicative gap which creates a need to convey information, to reason, or to express an opinion.	The workplan requires learners to fill in linguistic gaps or select from linguistic forms provided to complete ready-made texts.
Linguistic resources	The workplan requires learners to draw mainly on their existing linguistic and their non-linguistic resources (e.g., gestures; facial expressions) for comprehension and production.	The workplan requires only limited use of learners' own linguistic knowledge.
What is the outcome?	The workplan specifies the outcome of the task. Thus, task accomplishment can be assessed in terms of whether the communicative outcome is achieved.	Accomplishment of an exercise is assessed entirely in terms of whether learners have used the correct linguistic forms.

Tasks have various forms, but a key distinction is between focused and unfocused tasks. Focused tasks are designed to elicit a specific target feature (usually a grammatical structure). Unfocused tasks simply engage learners in comprehending or producing language in order to achieve a communicative outcome. Both focused and unfocused tasks must satisfy a basic set of criteria that define a task as explained in Table 1.

2. The Stages of a Task-Based Lesson

All versions of TBLT acknowledge three stages in a task-based lesson: the pre-task stage, the main-task stage, and the post-task stage. However, not every lesson will include all three stages. Minimally, a lesson can just consist of the performance of a main task.

3. No Prior Explicit Language Teaching

This is the case for focused as well as unfocused tasks. Even if a task is set up to elicit the use of a specific grammatical structure, students do not receive any pre-teaching of that structure and are not told that they should try to use it. A focused task may hopefully involve the natural use of the target structure, but how it is performed depends on what the learners make of it; they may or may not attempt use of the target structure.

4. Focus on Form

By form I mean any aspect of language—pronunciation, vocabulary, grammar, discourse. In unfocused tasks, focus on form will be directed at whatever problems arise as students perform the task. In focused tasks, focus on form will primarily address the linguistic target of the task. There are differences in how proponents of TBLT think focus on form should fit in. For Long (1991) it needs to occur within the performance of a task, for example by teachers (or learners) reacting to linguistic problems experienced while struggling to communicate. For Skehan (2014), the ideal site for focus on form is the pre-task planning that occurs before the task is performed. For Willis (1996), it should be reserved for the post-task stage to avoid distracting students from focusing on communicating in the main task stage. For me, focus on form can occur usefully at any stage of a lesson. As I said, TBLT is not monolithic; there are options. But in all versions of TBLT there is focus on form.

5. Explicit Post-Task Work on Language Problems

A task-based lesson does not have to include a post-task stage. But all proponents of TBLT recognise the utility of a post-task stage. This need not involve explicit work on language problems, but it does afford an opportunity for students to engage not just in “noticing” but also “understanding” their language problems. Explicit work can take many forms. For example, Lau et al. (2024) asked students to complete error logs addressing the errors in a writing task that a teacher had corrected. Even direct, explicit instruction has a place in the post-task stage.

It is important to make a clear distinction between task-based and task-supported language teaching (TSLT). TBLT and TSLT are distinct in two related and fundamental ways:

- In TBLT, “task” serves as the unit for designing a syllabus. In TSLT, a syllabus is constructed around a set of linguistic units to be taught and learned, and “task” is simply a pedagogic device for achieving this. TBLT can involve both unfocused and focused tasks; in TSLT there are only focused tasks.
- In a TBLT lesson, there is no prior explicit teaching of any language; a TSLT lesson starts with the explicit presentation of the linguistic target(s) of the lesson.

These differences are also reflected in different theoretical positions. TBLT is based on a cognitive view of language acquisition as holistic, gradual, and learner-determined; TSLT is based on a skill-learning view of language development, where the learning of specific bits of language proceeds from a declarative to procedural and automatic stages (DeKeyser, 1998). TBLT aims to provide opportunities for incidental learning through “language use” (i.e., where communicative intent is primary); TSLT aims to provide opportunities for intentional learning and automatization through “practice” where attention is focused on the mastery of language. It is these theoretical differences, reflected in programme and lesson design, that distinguish TBLT and TSLT. TSLT is the approach we typically find in course books that claim to be “communicative.”

Misunderstandings About TBLT

In an article I published in 2009 called *Task-based Language Teaching: Sorting out the Misunderstandings*, I attempted to respond to a number of critiques of TBLT advanced by teachers, teacher educators, and applied

linguists (e.g., Bruton, 2005; Sheen, 1994, 2006). Long (2016) also tackled what he called “issues” with TBLT in an article entitled *In Defense of Tasks and TBLT: Non-Issues and Real Issues*. My own and Long’s article illustrate the opposition that TBLT has aroused in some quarters.

The alleged problems relating to the practice of TBLT, which both Ellis and Long address, deserve careful consideration but most of them are also based on false premises—namely, that TBLT only involves output-based tasks, that tasks inevitably lead to restricted peer-peer interaction, that tasks cannot be performed until learners first have been taught some language, that grammar and vocabulary are neglected, that TBLT is only about “natural learning” (i.e., there is no attention to form), and that the teacher’s role is limited to that of managing the performance of tasks. The defence of TBLT that Long and Ellis mounted against these allegations is based not only on arguments but also on evidence cited from research that has investigated TBLT. The pedagogic validity of any approach to language teaching must ultimately rest on the strength of evidence from research.¹ If TBLT is to be challenged then critiques need to be evidence-based and not just by asserting it is “a new orthodoxy” where “there is a disconnect between scholarly proponents and classroom practitioners” (Hadley, 2013, p. 194).

The Importance of “Context”

Does the instructional context determine which approach—TBLT or a structural approach—is needed? Is TBLT only suited to “acquisition rich” contexts (i.e., contexts where there is opportunity for learning naturally through communicative exposure), or is it also suited to foreign language contexts where learning opportunities are largely limited to the classroom? Both Ellis (2009) and Long (2016) addressed this issue. Ellis (2009) tackled Swan’s (2005) claim that TBLT is only suited to “acquisition environments” (i.e., contexts where the target language is widely used outside of the classroom) by arguing that TBLT is in fact more relevant if learners have no opportunity to experience communicative language use outside of the classroom. Long (2016) responded to Bruton’s (2002) opinion that TBLT will not work in three-hours-per-week foreign language situations in this way:

Inadequate instructional time and lack of L2 exposure outside the classroom are real problems for all kinds of language teaching, not just TBLT, and not just in foreign language

settings. The question is how best to utilize what time there is. (p. 26)

The strength of TBLT lies in the fact that it offers more opportunities for communicative exposure and use than the structural approach that Swan and similar critics favour. It is, however, not possible to ignore context. There is plenty of evidence to show that teachers do experience difficulty in both understanding and implementing TBLT, especially in contexts in Asia. Several commentators (Butler, 2011; Littlewood, 2007, 2014) have pointed to the conflicts that exist in Asia between TBLT and culturally embedded traditional teaching approaches.² Would teachers be more successful with a structural approach, for example TSLT, than with TBLT? Long (2015) acknowledged that TBLT might struggle to take footing in such contexts and suggested that TSLT might serve as a lead-in to a task-based approach. I have offered a different solution by arguing for a “hybrid curriculum” (Ellis, 2019). The hybrid curriculum consists of two components—a task-based component and a structural component—which I argue should be kept separate rather than interwoven as is attempted in so many published course books. The psycholinguistic rationale for the hybrid curriculum drew on the distinction between implicit and explicit knowledge and the role played by the latter in facilitating processes—such as “noticing”—involved in acquiring the former (Ellis, 1994). There is an educational rationale for a hybrid approach, too; including a structural approach that figures alongside a task-based one caters for both older learners who are more likely to rely on explicit language learning and learners who are faced with traditional language tests.

Moving Forward With TBLT

In this section I would like to address a number of what Long (2016) called “real issues” (i.e., issues that need to be addressed if TBLT is to move forward). These issues concern both language pedagogy and the research needed to support and inform TBLT.

1. Defining “Task”

This is a pedagogical issue that is fundamental for both research and the design of task-based courses. Defining a task remains problematic. Tasks can be more or less task-like. In other words, some workplans clearly satisfy the four criteria I have proposed for defining a task (i.e., there

is a primary focus on meaning, a gap, learners use their own linguistic resources, the outcome is communicative not purely linguistic—see Table 1) while other workplans may satisfy some but not all of these criteria.

The difficulty in deciding whether a particular workplan is a task is evident in recent attempts to conduct meta-analyses comparing the learning outcomes of task-based programmes and programmes that did not include tasks. Bryfonski et al. (2019) included 27 comparative studies in their meta-analysis, reporting an effect size of $d = 0.93$ in favour of TBLT. Boers et al. (2021), however, argued that many of the studies that Bryfonski et al. included did not serve the purpose of the meta-analysis. Among the reasons they gave was that what the authors of the primary studies claimed were “tasks” were in fact language-focused exercises. Boers et al. felt that commonly used descriptors of a “task” (such as in Ellis, 2003) were misunderstood. Xuan et al. (2022) attempted to address this problem by focusing on tasks in task-supported language teaching, reporting a much lower aggregated effect size ($g = 0.61$). Boers and Faez (2023) then critiqued this meta-analysis on the grounds that Xuan et al. had still failed to ensure that the task-supported instruction involved tasks, as understood in the TBLT literature. Boers and Faez used a slightly amended version of my own four criteria for a task to conduct a detailed examination of the 16 studies in Xuan et al., finding that only one study could be said to clearly involve tasks. They then identified a further 14 additional studies claiming to compare the learning outcomes of task-based or task-supported approaches and other instructional approaches, again finding that in most cases the so-called tasks were in fact more like exercises. Boers and Faez concluded that very often “there was a lack of clarity of what distinguished tasks from exercises” (p. 14) and that—as Erlam (2016) found—“it can be challenging to fully grasp the construct of “task” based on how it is presented in the scholarly literature” (p. 15).³

One final thought about the definition issue. Boers et al. (2021) elected to classify workplans as tasks if they manifested two or more of my four criteria. But are some criteria more important than others? Which of the four criteria need to be satisfied for a workplan to qualify minimally as a task? I have argued that “learners using their own linguistic resources” is the key one. Would it be possible to develop a scale of “taskness”? Then, there is another question: Does the degree of “taskness” of a workplan impact learners’ engagement and learning? These are questions for both researchers and practitioners that will need to be resolved in future.

2. Measuring Task Performance

Researchers have used two broad approaches for measuring task performance: (1) complexity, accuracy, linguistic variety, and fluency (CALF) and (2) behavioural, cognitive, affective, and social aspects of engagement. Earlier research used CALF, while recent research has turned to measures of engagement. There are pros and cons for both methods. I summarise these in Table 2. Researchers have a choice between the rigour of the well-developed CALF measures or the face validity (for language pedagogy) of the less well-developed engagement measures. I think it would be helpful if research studies utilised both ways of measuring task performance and investigated the relationships between them. For example, researchers could ask if learners who are more cognitively engaged are more likely to prioritise accuracy and complexity than fluency and conversely whether those learners who are more affectively engaged with a task prioritise fluency. There is an urgent need to validate measures of engagement by, for example, entering measures of the different constructs that comprise engagement into a confirmatory factor analysis—a procedure already well-attested in the case of CALF.

Table 2

Pros and Cons of CALF and Engagement Measures of Task Performance

	Pros	Cons
CALF	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Applicable to both oral and written tasks • Meta-analyses demonstrate the distinctiveness of the four aspects. • Measures of each aspect have been validated. • CALF has been linked to a developmental view of how L2 knowledge is acquired. • Easily measured using software. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rationale based entirely on SLA. • No attention to emotional aspect of performance. • Does not capture the collaborative nature of interaction. • Constructs not readily understood by teachers.

	Pros	Cons
Engagement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rationale draws on both educational and SLA perspectives. • Recognizes the importance of emotion in task performance. • Teachers recognize the validity of engagement as a measure of performance. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relevance to written performance remains unclear; research has focused on oral performance. • Existing measures only relevant to interactive tasks. • No agreement on how the four aspects can be measured. • Doubts about the separateness of the four aspects.

3. Measuring Language Learning

In Long's (2015) version of TBLT, learning can mean two things. First, it can mean mastery of the target task that a pedagogic task was designed to model and practice. If, for example, the target task involves making a hotel booking through a telephone call, learning could be measured by seeing whether learners can successfully make a booking given specific requirements (dates, number of days, room type, room costs etc.). The measure of learning in this case is the extent to which the learner's performance of an assessment task matches that of a competent speaker - often, but not necessarily, a native speaker.

Second, in all versions of TBLT, learning can mean the acquisition of the target language linguistic system. The most common way of measuring learning is through an experimental design involving pre- and post-tests. Where the pedagogic tasks are of the unfocused kind, learning (or perhaps "development" is a better word) can be investigated using changes in measures of CALF over time. Studies investigating task complexity have adopted this approach as have some longitudinal comparative studies of TBLT. The question asked in these studies is whether TBLT results in positive changes in CALF (i.e., greater complexity, accuracy, lexical variety and fluency) over time.

A different approach is needed for focused tasks, where learning can be measured in terms of whether the specific target linguistic features

(grammatical, lexical, or pronunciation) have been acquired as a result of performing tasks. This approach is viable in studies that involve a single task if the focus is on vocabulary learning (e.g., Ellis, 1995), but requires a longer sequence of tasks if the focus is grammar, which is acquired only gradually. Shintani's (2016) study, where the same focused tasks were performed nine times by young Japanese learners, is a good example of a longer-term study. Studies that investigate the learning of specific features need to be carefully designed with attention paid to the instruments used in pre- and post-tests. The effectiveness of task-based instruction cannot be measured using discrete-point tests as these do not tell us whether the instruction results in the procedural, implicit knowledge that TBLT is designed to foster. See Ellis et al. (2020) and Révész (2021) for discussions of how to design task-based studies investigating linguistic learning.

Another approach is needed to examine how the learning of specific linguistic forms takes place *within* the performance of a task. This calls for a qualitative analysis of learners' performance of tasks. Markee (2008) illustrated how what he called "learning-as-participation" occurs using a tracking methodology that involved (1) learning object tracking and (2) learning process tracking. The former involved identifying when a specific learning object (e.g., a lexical item or grammatical structure) first occurred in the interactions involving the same learner(s) as they performed a task. The latter involves showing "how and when participants orient to, and potentially incorporate, particular learning objects that occur in different speech events in their interactional repertoires" (p. 409). Ellis and Shintani (2014) provide an example of how this methodology was applied to the learning of two adjectives (*big* and *small*) by a group of Japanese children who were complete beginners.

All these approaches to investigating learning are relevant to task-based research. But they cannot be readily used by teachers. So what can teachers do to ascertain whether the tasks learners perform result in learning? One possibility is task repetition—comparing how learners perform the same task when it is repeated. Learners can be asked to audio-record their performances of the same task, prepare transcripts, and compare. Another way is to ask learners to keep a record of any new language they became aware of as they performed a task as in Slimani (1989). It is important that both learners and teachers feel that performing tasks leads to learning.

4. Evaluating Task-Based Language Teaching

What distinguishes an evaluation study from a research study is its goal; a research study is focused on testing or developing theoretical positions while an evaluation study involves “a more encompassing and more contextually relevant approach” (Norris, 2015, p. 28), and so is concerned with how processes and outcomes are influenced by the instructional environment.

Macro-evaluations are evaluations of complete TBLT programmes, while micro-evaluations are evaluations of specific tasks or lessons. A macro evaluation study addresses both accountability (i.e., showing how TBLT functions and under what circumstances and with what effects) and development (i.e., identifying how aspects of a particular implementation of TBLT might be improved in the same instructional context). The concern with development shifts the focus from a narrow concern with learning outcomes to insights about how particular tasks or programmes can be improved. Micro-evaluations can be conducted using action research (Burns, 2010), exploratory practice (Allwright, 2003) or evaluations of individual tasks. In all of these the burden of evaluating is placed on the teacher and learners rather than an outsider evaluator. I have favoured micro-evaluations (Ellis, 2015), which involve investigating whether individual tasks “work” by collecting student-based views about the task through post-task questionnaires, data on the actual performance of the task, and evidence of whether any learning had occurred. The problem with teacher-led micro-evaluation of a task is how to integrate it into the daily business of implementing TBLT, which, as Long (2016) and others have pointed out, places considerable demands on teachers. The value of teacher-led micro-evaluations is that they can provide teachers with valuable insights about TBLT that can feed into their practice. A good example of the value of teacher-led evaluation is Fujita and Shintani’s (2025) study of two task cycles that were part of an ESP programme for low proficiency Japanese students.

Macro- and micro-evaluation studies provide information about the difficulties teachers experience when introducing TBLT into their classrooms and how they set about addressing these difficulties. A general finding is that structural problems (i.e., problems that arise as a result of external requirements imposed on teachers) pose a major problem for TBLT. In many contexts, for example, the existence of traditional examinations and institutional assessments make it difficult for teachers to abandon well-practised structural approaches. This is one reason for my advocacy

of a hybrid curriculum that includes some traditional, structural-based teaching alongside TBLT.

5. Criteria for Task Sequencing

The importance of establishing criteria for sequencing tasks is one of the “real issues” that Long (2016) recognised. This is where the notion of “task complexity” is important. Tasks can be sequenced according to how inherently complex they are, with simpler tasks preceding more complex ones. For Long, the solution lay in identifying low-inference criteria for evaluating task complexity—for example, the amount of information to be processed in a task workplan or whether the task involved reasoning. He pointed to the large number of studies that have investigated task complexity, concluding that “the overall yield has been disappointing.” However, he felt that progress could be expected through more systematic and collaborative research. I am sceptical. Lin and Li’s (2025) meta-analysis of the methodological practices for investigating task complexity does not support Long’s confidence. They pointed out that “task complexity cannot be assumed, and evidence for task complexity independent from the outcome variable is crucial for the robustness and validity of the findings” (p. 35) and then noted that many studies have failed to provide such evidence. Their meta-analysis focused on studies based on Robinson’s (2011) Cognition Hypothesis and resource-directing variables (e.g., amount of information), resulting in 57 articles that satisfied the selection criteria, 35 of which addressed oral production. What emerged is that most of the studies investigated complexity in narrative monologic tasks where the variable under study was +/- reasoning. This is surprising given the importance that TBLT places on interaction and, while monologic tasks are convenient for research, they do not reflect the type of tasks common in course books (i.e., interactive tasks). The primary method for measuring production was CALF but there was little agreement about the specific measures used. It is difficult to be convinced that the studies investigating task complexity currently offer evidence of much use for sequencing tasks.

My own position is that the search for a set of design criteria for assessing task complexity is a fruitless exercise. I do not think that the task complexity of output-based tasks can be predicted in terms of a set of design features. My reasons for taking this position are as follows:

- As noted in Ellis et al. (2020), there is “no convincing and unified account of task complexity that is empirically grounded” (p. 359).
- The research indicates that while it may be possible to distinguish

very simple and very complex tasks, it is not possible to distinguish fine levels of task complexity.

- To a very large extent, how learners perform tasks is unpredictable.
- The same task can be successfully performed by learners at different developmental levels. What determines the complexity of the language produced in such tasks is not the design features of the tasks but what learners make of the tasks.
- Tasks are always conglomerates of design features and for this reason it makes little sense to isolate one or two specific features (e.g., +/- here-and-now; +/- number of elements) as a basis for investigating cognitive complexity. Tasks have to be investigated and graded as wholes.
- The cognitive demands that a task places on learners cannot be considered separately from how the task is implemented. In fact, the difficulty that learners experience with a task may be more dependent on the task conditions (+/- opportunity for pre-task planning) than on the design features of a task workplan.

In the case of input-based tasks, however, there are well-established ways for determining task complexity. In the case of tasks involving reading, readability formulas (e.g., Flesch-Kincaid; Dale-Chall) measure input in terms of word difficulty (i.e., word length, word frequency and morphological complexity) and sentence difficulty (i.e., sentence length and syntactic complexity), which are well-established measures of text complexity. Some measures (e.g., Coh-Metrix) also take the complexity of text structure into account. A similar approach can be taken to measure the complexity of oral input, where complexity is dependent on mean length of utterance, choice of lexis, and syntax. It is worth noting that some output-based task workplans often include substantial input so input complexity is also a factor here.

How to sequence tasks in a syllabus remains one of the very major issues for TBLT. If task complexity is not feasible, at least for output-based tasks, what can course designers do instead? Answering this question is crucial for TBLT to move forward.

6. The Pre- and Post-Task Stages of a Lesson

Researchers have by and large focused on the main-task stage of a lesson and have paid much less attention to the pre-task stage and even less to the post-task stage. There are some exceptions to this general claim - in

particular, the research on pre-task planning (see Ellis, 2005; Skehan, 2014) and the research that has investigated post-task repetition (e.g., Bygate & Samuda, 2008). There are also studies that have investigated delaying corrective feedback to the post-task stage—see Li et al. (2016) and Rolin-Ianziti (2010)—and studies investigating students' transcribing and analysing recordings of their own task performance (e.g., Stillwell et al., 2010).

Methodologists' accounts of TBLT vary in how they conceptualize a task-based lesson. Prabhu (1987) proposed a pre-task stage where the teacher rehearses a task with the students, a main-task stage where students complete a similar task on their own, and a marking stage where the teacher marks the students' work. The best known account of the structure of a task-based lesson can be found in Willis (1996). Willis's task-based framework consists of a pre-task stage that introduces the task, a task cycle (i.e., learners perform a task in pairs, plan how to report the task outcome, and then present their report to the whole class) and a post-task stage where there is a language focus.⁴ She pointed out that the three stages can be completed in a single lesson or spread over several lessons. Ellis (2003) also described a task-based lesson as involving three stages. It should be noted that tasks can figure in all three stages. One way of preparing the students for the main task is to perform a task with them—as in Prabhu's scheme—while input-based tasks can have a useful role introducing learners to the main output-based task. Similarly, the post-task stage can also involve a task as when repeating the task or performing a new task, for example, a writing task based on the performance of the oral main task. The point is that there is no fixed format for a task-based lesson. The format will change according to the goals of a lesson. Teachers need to be flexible and experiment with different formats.

While we know quite a lot about what happens when a task is performed under specific conditions, the narrow focus on the performance of the main task, at the expense of what takes place before and after, limits the practical relevance of the research. Ellis et al. (2020) noted that "it is likely that teachers will tread their own path, and approaches such as Willis, or any other set of proposals in task-based teaching, will have influence but will be adapted in any particular encounter" (p. 357). Bearing this in mind, I do not think that carefully designed experimental studies investigating the effects of specific pre-task or post-task methodological options on task performance or learning outcomes is the best way forward. Rather we need research that explores how teachers implement task-based teaching in

their own classrooms and how students respond. When do teachers choose to include a pre-task stage and/or a post-task stage? What options do they use in these stages and what are their reasons for doing so? These questions are best tackled through research that investigates what the pre- and post-task stages add to the performance of a task and language learning, perhaps using a micro-evaluation approach of the kind I suggested in Ellis (2015) (see above).

7. The Role of Explicit Instruction in TBLT

The reason why the research that has examined the effect of pre-task explicit instruction has not produced conclusive results is probably because of the well-known problems of conducting comparative method studies (see Ellis, 2012). We can ask, therefore, if it is worth continuing with studies comparing TBLT and TSLT. I think it is because without empirical evidence showing that TBLT can result in superior learning, the case for TBLT rests solely on theoretical grounds, which are open to dispute. I would make two points about the design of future comparative studies. The first is that they should be longitudinal along the lines of the studies by Shintani (2016) and Qi (2023). The second is that they need to measure learning broadly, looking not just at gains in accuracy in the use of specific linguistic feature over time but also at complexity, fluency and pragmatic aspects.

As I have already pointed out, there are other ways of including explicit instruction. Samuda (2013) incorporated explicit instruction mid-task when she observed that the students were not using the target structure. In this case, explicit instruction was effective in enabling students to use it when they resumed performing the task. Another possibility is to reserve explicit instruction to the post-task stage, which all proponents of TBLT recommend. But is post-task explicit instruction effective? Are positive effects evident in subsequent tasks? Chung and Révész (2025) investigated this in a study involving low-proficiency children in a series of lessons involving a pre-task stage (a reading activity), a main task stage (an interactive task ordering sentences and writing the end to a story), and a post-stage (where the experimental group received explicit instruction about the target structure, English 3rd person s, before performing another similar interactive task). Chung and Révész reported that overall, the group that did not receive explicit instruction produced more language-related episodes (LREs), but that there was only a small number of language-related episodes involving the target structure in both groups possibly

because the learners were not developmentally ready to handle this structure. Chung and Révész concluded that “the explicit instruction may have led participants to devote their cognitive resources to language form at the expense of communicative aspects of task performance” (p. 19). It is clearly important to investigate the effects of post-task explicit instruction and not take them for granted. TBLT could benefit from more research investigating both mid-task and post-task explicit instruction. We need a much better understanding of how and at what stage of a lesson explicit instruction is effective.

8. Focus on Form

There is some confusion about what “focus on form” applies to. Long (2015) uses it with two rather different meanings. In one sense of the term, it is an *approach* (synonymous with TBLT), different both theoretically and methodologically from what Long calls “focus on forms” (synonymous with the “structural approach”) and “focus on meaning” (i.e., where attention is entirely focused on meaning). The second meaning of “focus on form” is *methodological*; it concerns the various strategies used to attract learners’ attention to form while learners are primarily focused on meaning. It is this latter sense of focus on form that I will address here.

The issue is when and how to focus learners’ attention on form in the performance of a task. There are different views. Willis (1996, 2021) proposes avoiding focus on form while students are performing a task but suggests the teacher can help students polish and correct their language when students are planning the report of their task performance that they will give to the whole class. Willis also advises against overt correction when students give their report unless their meaning is not clear. In contrast, Long (2015) views focus on form while a task is performed as an essential methodological principle of TBLT. He commented it “involves reactive use of a wide variety of pedagogic procedures to draw learners’ attention to linguistic problems in context” (p. 313). He recognises that these procedures can involve implicit reactive strategies (e.g., recasts) and more explicit types, including metalinguistic corrections. I have proposed a much broader view of focus on form (Ellis, 2016). I suggested that focus on form has a place in pre-task planning where learners are working out what to say or write and the language they need. In the main-task stage, teachers can utilize pre-emptive strategies aimed at preventing learners’ linguistic problems as well as reactive strategies for addressing them when they occur. I also suggested that it can occur in the post-task stage through, for

example, delayed corrective feedback. Most discussions of focus on form centre on oral tasks but focus on form also has a place in reading tasks through text enhancement strategies such as glossing and highlighting and in writing tasks when students are asked to revise their written texts after receiving corrective feedback.

These different views of focus on form raise a number of questions such as:

- When should focus on form occur?
- Are some types of focus on form more likely to induce noticing of linguistic form than others?
- Are some types of focus on form more likely to facilitate learning?
- Does focus on form contribute to implicit or explicit L2 knowledge?

If we take a pedagogical perspective and accept the basic premise of focus on form (i.e., the importance of drawing students' attention to form in the context of their attempts to communicate), it seems to me that teachers would do well to draw on a wide range of procedures while always considering the primacy of meaning-making, and to monitor the effectiveness of different procedures.

9. Accommodating Individual Differences

How learners differ in the performance of tasks requires investigating their engagement with the tasks—engagement is the key construct. Researchers and teachers, however, can tackle this issue in different ways. Researchers are likely to continue with an encapsulated approach, tackling the effect that specific IDs have on task-generated engagement. For example, they might investigate experimentally how task complexity affects learners' anxiety, whether this effect is reflected in how learners engage with a task, and whether engagement is related to learning. Teachers, in contrast, are likely to resist viewing learners as “discrete bundles of variables” (Tudor, 2001, p. 14) and lean towards a more holistic view of learners. Through experimenting with different kinds of tasks and keeping a record of learners' responses, they will be able to work out ways of accommodating tasks to individual learners.

There is one source of individual differences that teachers will immediately recognise as important—learners' language proficiency. Teachers struggle with how to accommodate differences in the language proficiency of students in the same class. In Ellis (2019), I suggested some strategies that teachers can use with learners of mixed proficiency. Perhaps the most

obvious way is to allow pre-task planning time for those students who are likely to find a particular task challenging. For input-based tasks, the teacher could prompt students to request clarification when they do not understand by providing them with formulaic expressions (e.g., “Can you please repeat?” or “What does X mean?”) for doing this. Learners could also receive training in how to make effective use of resources such as their L1 and access to artificial intelligence. Pairing students with mixed rather than similar levels of proficiency is more likely to result in the successful performance of a task, especially if the less proficient student plays the lead. Low proficiency students will also benefit from repeating the same task.

Investigating how learner differences affect task engagement is an aspect in need of further research. It can be pursued by researchers using experimental designs—see, for example, Li (2024) for a recent collection of studies—and by teachers using the kinds of qualitative approaches referred to earlier.

10. Preparing Teachers to do Task-Based Language Teaching

Although TBLT figures in some pre-service programmes, it is more likely to be found in in-service teacher courses, both short and intensive. Long (2016) identified in-service teacher education for TBLT as one of the real issues that need to be addressed. It is perhaps surprising that with a few notable exceptions (e.g., Bryfonski, 2024; East, 2012; Erlam, 2016; Van den Branden, 2006) and despite the growing literature on TBLT in general, there is still relatively little research investigating how teacher educators conduct introductory in-service courses for TBLT and even less about the effectiveness of the training.

My own work on teacher education for TBLT has helped me identify a guiding set of principles. These are:

- teacher educators should visit the site where TBLT is to be introduced and obtain full support from the site’s stakeholders (e.g., the headteacher and teaching staff).
- to develop teachers’ understanding of the key premises of TBLT a task-based rather than a transmission-based approach is needed.
- it is important to ensure teachers have a clear understanding of what a task is.
- teachers need to be engaged in the design of tasks for their own classrooms.

- teachers should be invited to identify problems that might impede the introduction of TBLT in their context and to consider ways of addressing them.
- where possible the teacher-education programme should provide insider mentoring in teachers' own classrooms.
- teachers should be shown how to carry out evaluations of tasks they have designed
- TBLT works most effectively when it involves teamwork.

However, the most carefully designed teacher preparation programme cannot guarantee successful implementation. Nor, perhaps, should full adoption be expected. Van den Branden (2006), evaluating the Flanders TBLT project, noted that “the implementation of task-based language teaching has not been a matter of all or nothing” and that, while teachers were generally successful in introducing TBLT they “did not abandon their old classroom practices altogether, but created their own personal blend with which they felt comfortable, found practicable and personally believed would have the greatest learning effects” (p. 248).

Conclusion

TBLT is an approach to language teaching that is supported by both second language acquisition theory and educational theory. It accords with what we currently know about how implicit L2 knowledge (the kind of knowledge that is essential for easy and effective communication) is acquired. It also accords with what we know of the importance of experiential learning that creates links with learners' lives and the outside world. However, it is still a work in progress, with many issues in need of enquiry and resolution.

TBLT has been subjected to considerable criticism. However, many of these criticisms are based on misconceptions of what TBLT involves. There remain, however, many “real” issues that need to be addressed if TBLT is to move forward and it is these that I have focused on in this chapter. Formal research has a role to play in helping to develop a clearer understanding of these issues and investigating solutions to problems. By and large the research to date has been quantitative, experimental and short term although there are several semi-longitudinal studies—for example, Michel et al. (2020) and Shintani (2016) (see Révész (2021) for making the case for more long-term studies). The way forward requires more such studies.

In addition, we need qualitative studies of whole task-based courses, examining how syllabuses were developed and how tasks were implemented. Teacher research has a role here as it can provide the insider perspective that is often lacking in formal research.

Notes

1. There is, of course, the important question of what kind of evidence and what kind of research is needed. By “research” I mean theory as well as empirical research. TBLT draws on a wide range of theoretical perspectives, including those taken from applied linguistics in general, second language acquisition research and educational research. By “evidence,” I include both the results of carefully designed experimental and qualitative studies and the insights gained from teachers practising TBLT in their own classrooms. In TBLT, theory and evidence need to be eclectic, contributed to by both outsiders and insiders.
2. The problems with TBLT in Asian contexts may be overstated. Lai (2015) warned against “essentialist statements about cultural inappropriateness of TBLT in Asia” (p. 14).
3. Boers and Faez (2023) concluded that “the field is not ripe yet for a meaningful meta-analysis of the relative effectiveness of either task-based or task-supported programs” (p. 1). The results of their careful questioning of meta-analyses of TBLT bear out my own reservations about the validity of meta-analyses involving all types of language instruction (Ellis, 2018b).
4. Willis (2021) provides a very helpful summary of the activities in each stage of the lesson along with an account of how her framework has evolved.

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Expositions

認知言語学から見た生成AIと外国語学習

Generative AI and Foreign Language Learning From a Cognitive Linguistics Perspective

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近年、生成AIおよびそれをういたLLM（大規模言語モデル）の発展により外国語学習の意義についての議論が活発になっている(大木他, 2025；李・青山, 2025; 隅田, 2022；瀧田・西島, 2019)。そこで、本論考では、認知言語学とLLMとの関係性およびそこから得られる帰結としての今後の外国語学習の方向性について考察を行う。結論として、外国語学習には、その言語共同体に固有の慣習的な世界の捉え方を学ぶという教養的側面があり、したがって、今後どれほどAIによる通訳機能が発達したとしても、外国語学習の意義が完全に失われることはない主張することになる。本論考では、日本で大多数を占める単一言語話者 (monolinguals) を想定して主に議論を進めるが、本論考の主張に従うならば、単一言語話者こそ外国語を学習する意義が大きいということになる。

Recent advances in generative artificial intelligence, particularly large language models (LLMs) and neural machine translation, have prompted renewed debate about the significance of foreign language learning. As AI-mediated communication increasingly enables speakers to interact across languages without directly acquiring those languages themselves, some have questioned whether foreign language education will remain necessary. This paper reconsiders this issue from the perspective of Cognitive Linguistics and argues that foreign language learning

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retains an essential intellectual and cultural value that cannot be outsourced to AI technologies. First, the paper explores theoretical affinities between Cognitive Linguistics and contemporary LLMs. Usage-based approaches in Cognitive Linguistics conceptualize linguistic knowledge as a structured network emerging from repeated exposure to vast numbers of usage events. Similarly, LLMs simulate linguistic competence through large-scale statistical learning over massive corpora. Moreover, recent developments in predictive coding models in neuroscience suggest that human cognition itself may operate through probabilistic prediction and error minimization, lending further plausibility to parallels between human language processing and generative models. From a constructive research perspective, therefore, LLMs can be viewed not merely as engineering tools but as experimental hypotheses about how linguistic knowledge may be organized and processed. Second, drawing on the notion of construal and the “Thinking for Speaking” framework, the paper argues that languages differ not only in form but also in how they habitually direct speakers’ attention to particular aspects of experience. Each language encodes culturally and historically sedimented patterns of categorization, profiling, and perspective taking. Acquiring a language thus entails learning a community-specific way of attending to and conceptualizing the world. In this sense, language learning is inseparable from learning alternative cognitive styles. Usage-based semantics further suggests that such patterns are internalized through accumulated exposure to authentic linguistic instances, embedding collective cultural knowledge within the learner’s cognitive system. Third, the paper examines the impact of AI translation through the lenses of economic rationality, psychological adaptation to technology, and the outsourcing of cognitive functions. While communicative functions of language may increasingly be delegated to AI devices—much like memory has been partially outsourced to smartphones—this outsourcing risks reducing language to a mere instrumental tool. If language learning is evaluated solely in terms of communicative efficiency, AI solutions may appear sufficient. However, such a view overlooks the formative role of language in shaping thought and perception. The central claim advanced here is that foreign language learning possesses an irreducible educational function: it enables learners to recognize that their native way of construing the world is not universal and to develop a meta-cognitive, pluralistic perspective. This cultivation of multiple “ways of thinking for speaking” fosters intellectual flexibility and intercultural understanding—capacities that cannot be replicated by external translation technologies. Consequently, even in an era of highly sophisticated AI interpretation, the significance of foreign language learning will not disappear but should be reconceptualized beyond communication toward cognitive and humanistic development.

キーワード: 認知言語学; 大規模言語モデル; 使用基盤主義; 捉え方; 話すための思考; 教養的意義

Keywords: cognitive linguistics; construal; educational value; large language models (LLMs), usage-based approach; thinking for speaking

1. 認知言語学とLLM

1.1. 認知言語学

一般に、認知言語学 (Cognitive Linguistics) を一言で説明するのは難しい。実際、「1980年代後半に生成文法と対立するいくつかの枠組みがゆるやかに合流して成立し、現在では生成文法と並ぶ一大潮流となっている理論」(斎藤他, 2015, p. 17) という記述からも示唆されるように、認知言語学は何か一つの共通のテーゼのもとに行われる言語研究の枠組みと捉えるよりも、生成文法 (Generative Grammar) に対するアンチテーゼとして立ち現れた多様な枠組みの緩やかな連合体と捉えるべきである。そのうえで、あえて単純化して述べるならば、生成文法が言語能力を領域固有 (domain-specific) であるとし、認知言語学は言語能力を領域一般的 (domain-general) な能力の言語的発現とみなすという特徴があると言える。

認知言語学の全体像の理解はCroft & Cruse (2004)、Evans (2019)、Taylor (2003)、Ungerer & Schmid (2006) などの優れた入門書に委ねるが、ここであえてLLMとの関連で認知言語学の重要な主張の一つ挙げるとするならば、それは使用基盤主義 (usage-based approach) である。使用基盤主義とは、話者の脳内の言語知識はその話者が実際に触れた膨大な数の具体的な言語表現を脳内に蓄積することによって生じる膨大な知識のネットワークであるとする考え方である。そしてそのような知識の総体の中には、様々な定着度の知識が様々な抽象度で余剰的に含まれていると考えられている。

1.2. 使用基盤主義とLLM

使用基盤主義は、研究を進める際の前提となる言語観やアプローチのことであり、何か一つの体系的な研究分野を指す概念ではない。実際、幅広い分野において、この言語観に基づいた研究が行われている (Barlow & Kemmer, 1999; Diaz-Campos & Balasch, 2023)。例えば、言語習得に関してはTomaselloの一連の研究 (Tomasello, 2003)、言語変化に関してはBybeeの一連の研究 (Bybee, 2010, 2015)、第二言語習得に関してはBeckner et al. (2009)、Ellis & Larsen-Freeman (2006)、Lowie et al. (2020) などがある。

Langackerは、使用基盤主義に基づき、ある言語の文法(言語知識)は“a structured inventory of conventional linguistic units” (1987, p. 57) であると規定し、“becoming a fluent speaker involves a prodigious amount of actual learning” (1999, p. 91) と述べている。これは規則ベース (rule-based) で言語現象を捉えようとする多くの言語理論と鋭く対立する点であり、認知言語学の一大特徴でもある。ここでLangackerがstructured inventoryと述べている言語知識は、mental corpus (Taylor, 2012)、construct-i-con (Goldberg, 2019)、grammar network (Diessel, 2019) など、研究者によって異なる名称で呼ばれているが、それぞれの用語の指す内実や力点の置き方に若干の差異があることを除けば、基本的に同じ言語観に基づいていると考えてよい。使用基盤主義では、このような学習された膨大な知識の総体が言語の理解、産出、習得、変化のすべての側面に関わっていると考えられ、その局所的な認知メカニズムに関してはLangacker (1999, Chapter 4) においてモデル化されている。そしてこの言語観が認知言語学とLLMとの親和性を強く示唆している点でもある (Madabushi et al., 2025)。

もちろん、このような親和性は決して偶然ではない。Langacker自身、LLMを支える深層学習 (Deep Learning) の前身であるコネクショニズム (connectionism) または並列分散処理モデル (Parallel Distributed Processing Model) と使用基盤モデルとの関係について議論している (Langacker, 1991, pp. 525-536)。深層学習は、脳の神経細胞の構造や学習の仕組みであるヘブの学習則 (Hebbian learning) からヒントを得たニューラルネットワーク (neural network) を用いて、大量のデータ(経験)からパターンを見つけてより賢く振舞うように学習する機械学習の仕組みであるが、認知言語学がこれと親和性を持っているのは、この仕組みが脳の神経細胞を模した概念メタファー (conceptual metaphor) (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980) になっているからである。もちろん、メタファーである以上、当然、脳神経細胞とニューラルネットワークを同一視することはできないが (浅尾, 2025)、それでもなお、脳をフォン・ノイマン型のコンピューターとして捉えるよりも遥かに認知的に妥当性が高い概念メタファーであると考えられる。

1.3. LLMに対する批判

現在のAIに寄せられる批判には様々なものがある。例えば、テキストデータだけから学んだLLMは表現の意味を理解することは原理的に不可能であるとする記号接地問題 (symbol grounding problem) からの批判 (今井・秋田, 2023; Floridi et al., 2025) や、LLMは身体を持たないため人間の知能を再現するには不十分であるとする身体性 (embodiment) に関する批判 (Birhane & McGann, 2024) などがある。ただし、これらの批判に関しては、どちらかと言えば、現在のAIが抱える技術的な問題である部分が多く、今後身体を持ち環境と相互作用しながら行動する身体を持ったAI (embodied AI) などが登場すれば指摘された問題の(すべてではないにせよ)多くは改善されることが見込まれる。

中でも最も痛烈な批判は、そもそも現在の生成AI は人間の知能の研究には何の貢献もしないとするものである (ホーンステイン, 2023; Christiansen & Chater, 2022, Epilogue)。例えば、Chomsky et al. (2023) は “they differ profoundly from how humans reason and use language” と述べており、LLM は膨大なデータに基づく統計的予測装置であり、人間の言語能力とは本質的に異なると主張している。そのため、LLM は実用的価値を持つ一方で、人間の認知や言語の本質的理解には寄与しないというのである。

この批判に応えるためには、そもそもAI研究は何を目指しているのかについて整理しておく必要がある。松尾 (2015) は、AIの定義が研究者によって異なることを認めたくて、「人工的に作られた、知能を持つ実体。あるいはそれを作ろうとすることによって知能自体を研究する分野である」(p. 43) という中島秀之氏の定義を紹介している。要するに、AI研究者はただ単に便利な道具を作ろうと試みているのではなく、構成論的に人間を理解しようと試みているということである。Chomsky et al. (2023) は、機械学習に基づくAI研究は工学的には有用であり得るものの、人間の知能や言語能力を自然科学的に説明するという意味では貢献をしないと主張している。一方で、AI研究者の多くは、知能を人工的に構成する過程での試行錯誤そのものが、知能に関する科学的理解を深めると考えているのである。

ここで言う構成論的な研究が行う試行錯誤とは、仮説の生成、検証、修正そして新たな仮説の生成に他ならない。このように構成論的研究を理解した場合、最近の

LLMの成功は、検証すべき新たな仮説が生成されたということも意味することになる。つまり、人間の脳は、生成文法の仮説とは異なり、膨大な言語データから統計的なパターンを学習しているという仮説、さらに、人間の脳はそのように学習した言語知識を用いて次に何が生じるのかを予測して表現を理解、生成しているという仮説が提示されたということである。これらの仮説は、自然科学の仮説である以上、人間の脳で実際に起こっているかどうかを検証する必要がある。もちろん、仮にこの仮説が反証されることになったとしても、それはそれで科学的知見の蓄積にとって貢献したことになる。

1.3.1. 経験的問題

まず人間の脳が膨大なデータを学習しているかという問題であるが、少なくとも、現在のLLMほど膨大なデータを人間が学習することは物理的に不可能であることはわかっている。そのため、次にAI研究が取り組まなければならないのは、必要なデータ量を現実的な水準にまで減らすことである。実際、すでにBabyLM Challengeという国際会議のように、人間が13歳程度までに触れる1億語程度までデータ量を減らす試みが始まっている (Warstadt, 2025)。しかしながら、生成AIにはパラメータやデータ量を増やせば増やすほど性能が上がるというスケーリング則が働くため、現在のLLMでは、商業目的のためにこのスケーリング則を追求する流れが主流となっている。例えば、ChatGPT 4では、1兆以上ものトークンを学習データとしていると言われている (岡野原, 2025, p. 72)。もちろん、このような流れは、人間の知能を構成論的に理解するというAI研究の本来の目的から外れた行為であり、社会的には有益であっても、Chomsky et al. (2023) の言うように人間理解には貢献しない。同様に、使用基盤モデルにおいても、言語習得には膨大な事例の統計的学習が必要であることが主張されている点ではLLMと軌を一にしているが、学習に用いられるデータが質、量ともに一人の人間が経験できる範囲を超えているものであるならば、主流の商業的LLM研究とは一線を画すことになる。

1.3.2. 予測モデルへの批判

現在のLLMは、大量の言語データを事前学習したトランスフォーマー型ニューラルネットワークを用い、文脈に基づいて次に来る表現の確率分布を推定する言語モデルである。岡野原(2023)の言葉を借りると、LLMがやっていることは「単に世の中に存在する膨大な文章をもとに、入力されたプロンプトを文脈として、その後続く単語を予測することである。そして生成した単語のさらに後に続く単語を予測する、これを繰り返すだけである」(pp. 14-15)。この発言を構成論的研究の本来の目的に照らし合わせてみると、人間の脳は大量の知識に基づいた統計的な予測を繰り返している器官であるという仮説が提示されたことに等しい。

実際、脳研究において行われている研究の中にもこの仮説が正しいことを支持するものがあり、構成論的にLLMから得られたこの仮説が荒唐無稽ではないことを示唆している。例えば、脳研究では、脳は、世界を説明する最良の予測を絶えず作り続け、外れた個所(予測誤差)を使って知識の更新をしている器官であるという考え方がある。これは予測符号化モデル (Predictive Coding Model) と呼ばれており、脳の機能を説明する有力な仮説の一つとされている (Millidge et al., 2021)。このことが示唆し

ているのは、LLMが行っている予測による表現の生成は脳科学的に見ても全くの外れとは言えないということである。また、この考え方をさらに進めた仮説として、Fristonが提唱する自由エネルギー原理 (free energy principle) または能動的推論 (active inference) というアイデアがある (Parr et al., 2022)。自由エネルギー原理によれば、生命は一般に感覚入力の驚き (不確実性) の上界である自由エネルギーを最小化するように働く存在であり、人間は、身体を動かす能動的推論を通じて、世界から受け取る感覚入力が自身の予測と整合するように行為を選択する (乾・坂口, 2020)。また、言語を社会が共有する予測モデルとみなす集合的予測符号化仮説 (Collective Predictive Coding Hypothesis) (Taniguchi, 2024) などもある。このように、脳が行う予測に焦点を当てた興味深い研究が脳科学の分野においても進んでいることからわかるとおり、予測を行うLLMの仕組み自体が脳機能の一定のシミュレーションになっている可能性は否定できない。

1.4. 注意機構と認知言語学

本節の最後に、注意機構 (attention mechanism) についても触れておきたい。現在のLLMを論じる際、この注意機構を中核に据えたトランスフォーマー (Transformer) (Vaswani et al., 2017) の存在を無視することはできない。トランスフォーマーとは、文章のどの要素に注目すればよいかを計算的に決定する仕組みである。この枠組みの導入によって、LLMは従来は不得手であった長距離依存関係や階層的構造を効果的に扱えるようになり、性能が飛躍的に向上したとされている。このトランスフォーマーのおかげで、LLMが実用レベルに到達したと言っても過言ではない。

そして、構成論的に見るならば、このトランスフォーマーのような注意機構が人間の脳内にも備わっているという仮説が立てられる。興味深いのは、もともとニューラル翻訳のために開発された仕組みであるトランスフォーマーが、実際には汎用性が高く、画像認識や動画処理など様々な分野において力を発揮していることである。このことは、統語論で主に取り上げられてきた長距離依存関係や階層構造などの言語領域固有とされる現象が、実は、注意 (attention) という領域一般的 (domain-general) な能力によって説明される可能性を示唆している。実際、認知言語学ではすでに、van Hoek (1997) が概念的参照点 (conceptual reference points) という概念を用いて照応表現 (長距離依存現象の一つ) を分析しており、Langackerは注意の窓 (windows of attention) という概念で概念の合成構造 (階層構造) を捉え直す試みを行っている (Langacker, 2015, 2016, 2017)。

以上、本節では、最近のAI研究、特にLLMと認知言語学の接点について考察した。これを受けて次節では、認知言語学の意味論と使用基盤主義が交差することによって生まれる使用基盤意味論について検討する。

2. 使用基盤意味論

2.1. 捉え方

ソシュール以来の伝統を引き継ぎ、認知言語学では、言語は表現形式 (音声) と意味の記号体系であると考えられている (Langacker, 1987, pp. 11-12)。そのうえで、Bolinger (1977) の序文 “the natural condition of a language is to preserve one form

for one meaning, and one meaning for one form” (p. x) にあるように、形式と意味の関係は1対1の対応関係になっていると考えられている。そのため、異なった複数の表現形式が同じ概念内容 (conceptual content) を指している場合、たとえそれらが同じ意味を表しているように見えたとしても、それらは必ず何らかの点で異なった意味を表しているとされている。認知主体の事態の捉え方 (construal) のレベルで意味が異なっていると考えるのである (Langacker, 2008, Part 1)。

ここで言う「捉え方」とは “Our ability to conceive and portray the same situation in alternate ways.” (Langacker, 2017, p. 1) のことであり、同じ状況を異なる仕方では概念的に把握し、それを言語的に表現する能力のことである。例えば、shoreとcoastは同じ対象を指しているからといって同じ意味であるとは言えない。shoreは海側の視点から見た海岸であり、coastは陸側の視点から見た海岸という点で捉え方が異なっているからである (Fillmore, 2006, p. 383)。このような場合、認知言語学では同じプロフィール (profile) に対して捉え方が異なると言う。

このことは文や句のレベルでも言える。例えば、(1)のような例は、どちらも同じ状況で用いることができるため、一見、同じ意味を表しているように見える。しかしながら、形式が異なれば意味も異なるという観点から見れば、両者は捉え方のレベルで異なっている。

- (1) a. Please sign here in pen.
 b. Please sign here with a pen.
 (町田, 2025, p. 90)

実際、名前を書くよう指示する際に、書く媒体の範囲を指定するか、書く道具を指定するかという点でペンに対する捉え方が両者では異なっている。(1a) はinで媒体の範囲を指定しており、そのため範囲として捉えられたpenは不可算名詞扱いされている。一方、(1b)は道具を表すwithを用いて道具を指定しているため、penが形のある具象物として捉えられ可算名詞となっている。

同じ概念内容に対して異なった捉え方ができるという人間の認知能力は、異なった言語間の慣習的な差異として現れることがある。例えば、(2)のような表現を比較してほしい。(2)の表現はともに同じ概念内容を表しているが、その概念内容に対する捉え方が日英語で異なっている。日本語では、働かない二日にプロフィールが当たっているのに対し、英語では、働く五日にプロフィールが当たっている。

- (2) a. 週休二日制
 b. five-day workweek system

このような言語間の差異は認知心理学でいう図 (figure) と地 (ground) の反転現象として捉えることができる。「人間は知覚において刺激や情報を均等に見るのではなく、相対的に重要なものと、そうでないものとに、ほぼ自動的に振り分ける」(辻編, 2013, p. 194) が、このうちの前者を「図」と言い、後者を「地」と言う。そして、何を図と

し、何を地とするが言語によって慣習的に異なっているのである。認知言語学の用語を用いるならば、表現したい情報のうちのどの部分をプロファイルし、どの部分をそのような情報を支えるベース (base) とするかが言語によって慣習的に異なっているということである。

2.2. 話すための思考

世界は様々な情報で溢れている。しかしながら、人間はそれらの情報をすべて受容することはできない。それは人間の注意には限界があるからである。ある対象を図として選択するとそれ以外の部分が地として背景化されてしまうのはそのためである。これは認知心理学では選択的注意 (selective attention) (辻編, 2013, p. 230) と呼ばれる現象である。情報の取捨選択は基本的に文脈や認知主体の興味関心などによるが、その認知主体の話す言語によって予め慣習的に決められている部分がある。(2) はまさにそれを示す好例と言える。

ここで関心を寄せているような認知主体の捉え方の言語的慣習の差異については、古くはサピア=ウォーフの仮説と呼ばれ議論されてきたものであるが、現在では、Slobin (1996) が提唱している「話すための思考」(Thinking for Speaking) という考え方のもとに詳細な調査が進められている (Aguiló-Mora & Negueruela-Azarola, 2022; Treffers-Daller, 2012; Wang & Wei, 2022)。以下はEvans (2007) から採った定義である。

Thinking for Speaking

A particular language forces its speakers to pay attention to certain aspects of scenes of experience for purposes of semantic and grammatical encoding in the native language in question. (Evans, 2007, p. 213)

上記の要約から読み取れるように、話すための思考は、言語によって世界の見え方が全く異なるという極端な主張ではなく、話す言語によって注意を払う場所が異なるというものである。話すための思考は、移動とその様態をどのように言語化 (encode) するかという問題に焦点を当てた研究が多いが (Cadierno, 2017; Slobin, 1996; Talmy, 1985)、その概念の適用範囲は言語のあらゆる側面に及ぶ。例えば、英語話者は英語の文法に従って表現する必要があるために、描写対象物が可算なのか (e.g., an idea, ideas)、不可算なのか (e.g., advice) に注意を払わなければならないが、日本語話者にはその必要はない(例: 「アイデア」「アドバイス」)。同様に、カテゴリー一化の観点から見ても言語間で注意を払う箇所が異なっている。例えば、英語話者は場所や形状などの違いに注目して「ひげ」を beard/mustache/whiskerなどと語彙的に区別しているが、日本語話者はそれらの違いには注意を払わないためこれらすべては「ひげ」としてひとまとまりにされている。もちろん、日本語話者がこれらを区別できないという意味ではない。これらの区別は必要がない限り無視してもよいということである。そしてこれらの例が示すように、ある言語の話者は、表現の在り方に応じて、描写対象の中から異なった情報を能動的に抽出しているのである。状況の中に埋め込まれた無数の情報の中から自らの言語に不可欠な情報を主体的に選び取るのである。

2.3. 「話すための思考」から見た外国語学習の意義

そして、このような考えに基づき、Slobin (1996) は “in acquiring a native language, the child learns particular ways of thinking for speaking” (p. 76) と述べ、母語の習得は思考法の習得であると述べている。これを受けて、Cadierno (2020) は、第二言語・外国語学習の意義について “learning a second/foreign language (L2) entails learning alternative ways of thinking for speaking” (p. 7) と述べている。以上の考察を踏まえて、町田 (2025) は外国語学習の意義について次のような提案を行っている。

「話すための思考」から見た外国語学習の意義

外国語学習の意義とは、母語とは異なる新たな思考法(新たなものの見方、新たな世界の捉え方)があることを知り、複眼的に世界を見る知力を養うこと。

(町田, 2025, p. 121)

「話すための思考」は言語だけに限られた問題ではない。言語を話すためにその言語に従った思考法を長い間続ければ、そのような思考法が習慣化されることになる。そしてそのようにある思考法がいったん習慣化されれば、話者がその言語を話していないときでさえも、無意識にそのような思考法をとるようになる。したがって、単一の母語を習得するということは、一つの思考法を習得することであり、外国語を学習することは、それまで当然視していた母語の思考法以外の思考法の存在を認識することを促すことになる。その点で、複数の母語を持ち、複数の思考法を習得している複言語話者 (multilinguals) は、単一言語話者よりも有利な立場に立っているとと言えるだろう。

もちろん、言語が異なれば表現が異なることは当然であり、それ自体に異論は出ないだろう。しかし、人間には無意識のうちに感覚刺激と知覚経験との間には一対一の対応関係がある、つまり、外部からの刺激が同じであればそこから得られる知覚経験も同じであろうと考える認知的なバイアスが働く。これを恒常仮定 (consistency hypothesis) と呼ぶが、この仮定が働くため、人間は、同じ状況を見ている他者も自分と同じようにその状況を見ていると考えてしまう (辻編, 2013, p. 45; 本多, 2004, p. 108)。そのため、表現が異なっているにもかかわらず、同じ意味を伝えていると誤って認識してしまい、異なった思考法をしていてもそれに気がつかないという状況が生まれるのである。外国語学習には、その状況に気づきをもたらすという意義があるのである。

使用基盤主義の考え方に従えば、人間は実際に触れる膨大な言語表現の実例から言語の習得を行う (Langacker, 1987, 1999)。そしてそれらの実例一つ一つにその言語共同体の歴史や文化などの慣習が色濃く反映されている (Langacker, 1990, Chapter 2)。そのため、言語習得を通じて習慣化される思考法は、その言語共同体の集合知とも言えるものである。つまり、日本語話者の共同体とはただ単に日本語を話す人間の集合であるのではなく、日本語に内在された歴史的文化的視点から世界を捉えるよう学習を積んだ人間の集合だということになる。そして、このような言語観は脳科学で提案されている集合的予測符号化仮説 (Taniguchi, 2024) と完全に軌を一にするものと言える。外国語を習得することはその言語話者の集合知または言語文

化圏に対するアクセス権を得ることになるのである。ここに、LLM(AI研究)、集合的予測符号化仮説(脳科学)、使用基盤意味論(言語学)から出される様々な証拠が有機的に結合し収束 (converge) するのである。

3. AI時代の外国語学習の意義

3.1. 生成AIのインパクト

外国語、特に、英語の学習の意義に関する議論は長い間繰り返し行われてきた(江利川他, 2014; 斎藤他, 2016; 町田, 2025; 渡部・平泉, 1995)。その中でも最も一般的な認識は、英語を学ぶのはグローバル化社会に対応するためというものであろう。もちろん、英語教育の意義はグローバル化対応であると一律に規定することに対する批判はあるが(斎藤他, 2016)、今後ますます増えるであろう他言語話者と共同で社会を形成していくためには共通語(リンガフランカ)である英語が必要であるという認識はうなずける。

このような状況に対し、LLM、および、それらを用いたAI機械翻訳(ニューラル機械翻訳)は、言語学習を取り巻く状況を変えつつある。LLMを搭載した機器が実用化され、話し手と聞き手がお互いの母語だけを使って意思疎通をはかることが可能となったからである。もちろん、生成AIを用いたコミュニケーションに対する懐疑的な見方も数多く存在する(大澤他, 2024; 柳瀬, 2025; Raine, 2024)。しかしながら、今後の更なるAIの発展を考慮に入れるならば、様々な問題が残されたとしても、これまで英語が担ってきたリンガフランカとしての役割の多くの部分をAI 機器が代替するようになることは想像に難くない。

このような中で、今後は英語学習の動機づけを維持することが難しくなることが予想される。時間と労力をかけて外国語を学習しなくても、AI機器を介在することで他言語話者とのコミュニケーションが可能となったからである。実際、AI研究者である松尾は2015年の著書の中ですでに、2025年には「機械翻訳が実用的なレベルに達するため、『翻訳』や『外国語学習』という行為そのものがなくなるかもしれない」(松尾, 2015, p. 221)という予測を出しており、すでに至る所で英語学習不要論が叫ばれ始めている(隅田, 2022)。

このような動きに対し、Raine (2024) は、様々な言語の機能のうちAIによって代替されるのは一部であり、今後も外国語学習の意義は失われまいとしている。そしてこれは大多数の外国語教師の意見を代弁していると言ってもいいだろう(大澤他, 2024; 柳瀬, 2025; Raine, 2024)。しかしながら、これに関しては少し注意が必要である。そもそもAI研究者も含めてAI推進派は、誰一人としてAIが完全に人間と同じ役割を果たすとは主張していない。AIと人間との関係を語る際には、人間のどの活動がAIで代用できるかという問いを立てる必要があり、完全に代用できないのはむしろ当然だからである。実際、外国語教員という職業がAIによってどのように影響を受けるかに関する議論でも、数ある外国語教員の業務の中で、どの業務がAIに代替可能かが問題となる(Felten et al., 2023; Handley, 2024)。したがって、問うべきなのは、外国語能力の中にもAIに代替できる部分とできない部分があるが、それを踏まえたうえで、それでもなお外国語を学習する意義はあるか、ということになる。

3.2. 経済合理性・心理的障壁・身体性

この問いに答えるためには、以下の三点を考慮する必要がある。一つは、経済合理性である。外国語学習には膨大な時間と労力がかかる。外国語学習を一つの経済活動と考えた場合、AIが登場するまでは、費用(費やした時間と労力)に対する効果(意思疎通ができたという達成感)がそれなりに期待できた。しかし、不完全ながらもAIによって意思疎通が可能となった今、外国語を学習することから得られる効果が目減りしたことは確かである。そのため、多少難はあっても外国語話者との意思疎通はAIに委ねるという選択が現実味を帯びてきた。もちろん、AIの導入によって外国語教育・外国語学習の大規模な効率化が見込まれ、外国語学習のハードル(費用)が大幅に引き下げられるという利点はある(大木他, 2025; 李&青山, 2025; 山田, 2023)。しかしながら、学習をある種の投資と考えると、外国語学習はもはや魅力的な投資先ではなくなりつつある。巨額の投資に見合ったリターンがあまり見込めないからである。

もう一つは、テクノロジーに対する心理的障壁の融解である。たしかに、Raine (2024)が指摘するように、AI翻訳では、対話者の感情的側面や対人的側面は抜け落ちてしまう。しかしながら、人間はそのような技術的または原理的欠陥にもすぐに適応してしまう。例えば、LINEのようなSNSでのコミュニケーションを考えてみよう。SNSは文字でやり取りするため、感情的側面や対人的側面の多くの情報が抜け落ちてしまう。それでもその便利さから、SNSは日常的なコミュニケーション・ツールとして幅広く用いられている。その際、欠けてしまった情報を絵文字やスタンプなどで補う努力はしているが、それでも、相手と直接言葉を交わすコミュニケーションにはかなわない。それにもかかわらず、なぜ多くの人々がSNSを活用しているかという点、人間の方がテクノロジーの欠陥に適応(妥協)したからである。つまり、テクノロジーが人間に合わせるよう進化するだけでなく、人間の方もテクノロジーに合わせて歩み寄るのである。プロンプトエンジニアリングが盛んに論じられているが、これも人間の側がAIに歩み寄ることを示す好例であると言える。このように、AIと人間の双方が歩み寄ることによりAI翻訳に対する心理的障壁は時とともに多かれ少なかれ融解してしまうのである。

最後は身体性の拡張である。定義は様々であるが、人間の身体性は拡張すると言われている。例えば、メルロ＝ポンティが指摘したように、盲人の白杖は単なる手で持つ物体ではなく、身体の延長として世界を知覚する器官だと言える(メルロポンティ, 1967)。また、Clark (2003)も人間は道具や技術を身体スキーマの一部として取り込む存在であり、テクノロジーによって身体性そのものが拡張されると主張している。実際、身体性の拡張とまでは言えなくとも、記憶という脳の機能をスマートフォンなどの外部の道具に任せることが多くなった。これを身体機能のアウトソーシングと捉えると、脳の持つ記憶という機能の一部を外部の機器にアウトソーシングして、自身の記憶機能の強化・拡張を図っていることになる。これと同じことが言語能力に起こらないという保証はない。脳が行う外国語の操作という機能を外部AI機器にアウトソーシングするのである。これにより誰でも流暢なマルチリンガルになることができる。

大木(2025)はCEFRの「行動中心アプローチ」を支持したうえで、言語はコミュニケーションの道具であり、「円滑なコミュニケーションのために必要に応じてAIに助けられてもなんら問題はない」(大木, 2025, p. 77)と述べている。そして、このように必要に応じてAIを利用する機会は今後ますます増えていくだろう。その過程でAIに対

する心理的障壁が徐々に融解していき、AIに依存する割合が徐々に増えていく。そして、最後には拡張された身体の一部としてAIに外国語のコミュニケーション機能を完全にアウトソーシングするということが起こりうるのである。

もちろん、どれほどAI翻訳が浸透しても、AIを介さずに自ら外国語を話すことが必要である者が完全にいなくなることはない。しかしながら、寺沢 (2015) を受けて江利川 (2016) が指摘しているように、仕事で英語を頻繁に使う日本人はたった1~2%程度である。実際にはもっと多いかもしれないが、少なくともそれ以外の、時々英語を使うか全く使わない大多数の日本人にとっては、言語の持つコミュニケーション機能はAIにアウトソーシングする方が合理的な判断であるとも言えるのである。

人間は、新しいテクノロジーが出てきたときに、最初は抵抗感を持つことが多い。これは現状維持バイアス (status quo bias) が働くからである。しかしながら、長い目で見ると、人々は広い意味での経済合理性で判断することを選ぶ。その際、そのテクノロジーはそれが出現する前に使っていた手段に完全に代替されるものである必要はない。そのテクノロジーが持つ欠点が我慢の範囲内であればよいのである。そしてその欠点我慢の範囲内かどうかは、広い意味での費用対効果で決まるのである。

3.3. AIアウトソーシング

以上の議論から、今後外国語学習の意義について議論する際に心に留めておかなければならないことが明らかとなる。それは、その外国語能力がAIにアウトソーシングすることができない、または、アウトソーシングしてはいけない能力かどうかということである。例えば、Viorica (2023) は、多言語話者になることによって人間の認知機能そのものの向上が期待できると主張している。これが正しいとすると、AIに外国語能力をアウトソーシングしてしまうと、人間の認知機能を向上させる機会が失われることになってしまう。つまり、人間の認知機能向上の観点から見れば、外国語能力はアウトソーシングしてはいけない能力ということになる。

外国語能力をAIにアウトソーシングしてはいけない理由は様々にあると思われるが、本稿で一つだけ提案するとするならば、それは外国語を学習することそれ自体に「母語とは異なる新たな思考法 (新たなものの見方、新たな世界の捉え方) があることを知り、複眼的に世界を見る知力を養う」という教養的意義があるということである。外国語を学ぶことを通して、全く新しい思考法に気づき、翻って、自分自身の思考法をメタ的に認知することができるようになるということは人間形成にとって非常に重要な意義がある。他者の思考法を知り、自己の思考の在り方を客体視する知的態度を培う機会、外国語学習を放棄することによって失われてしまうのである。

3.4. 直訳と意訳

ここまでの考察を実際に授業に活かすとするならば、まずは外国語の表現を学習する際に対応する日本語表現との比較を通して世界の捉え方の差異に注意を向けるという指導法が考えられるだろう。これまで文法訳読法の弊害が指摘されることが多かったが、実は、直訳すべきか意訳すべきかという意思決定の過程に教育的な意義が潜んでいる可能性がある。世界の捉え方の違いを意識する絶好の教材になるからである。

例えば、(3a) のような無生物主語構文を例にとりて考えてみよう。(3a) を「何があなたを日本に連れてきたの?」と直訳すると日本語としての自然さが失われてしまう。逆に、「なんで日本に来たの?」のように自然な日本語に意識してしまうと (3a) が持つ英語の捉え方が消滅してしまう。実際、(3a) を自然な日本語に意識をしてしまうと (3b) との捉え方の違いも理解できなくなってしまう、なぜ (3b) のような相手を問い詰めるようなニュアンスが (3a) にはないのかが理解できなくなってしまう。

- (3) a. What brought you to Japan?
b. Why did you come to Japan?

実は、直訳すべきか意識すべきかという迷いの本質は、表現の自然さを重視するのか捉え方を生かすのかという意味決定の問題に収束する。両者が問題なく両立できる場合、つまり、両言語で捉え方が近似する場合はさほど問題にならないが、両者がトレードオフの関係になっている場合には決断を迫られることになる。つまり、直訳すべきか意識すべきかを迷うたびに、自分の母語とは異なる捉え方があることを認識せざるを得なくなるのである。文法訳読法が手放しで勧められる教授法でないことは承知したうえで、そこに潜む教育的意義もある程度認めなければ、“throw the baby out with the bathwater” になってしまうかもしれない。

4. まとめ

本稿では認知言語学と現在の生成AIとの関係性について考察した。その過程で現在のLLMの設計思想は、脳研究において主張されている予測符号化モデルや認知言語学の考え方も親和性が高く、生成AIは工学的に作られた便利な道具という位置づけを遥かに超えて、人間の本质に迫る研究になっている可能性があることを指摘した。そのうえで、人間は言語表現に基づいてその言語共同体の慣習的な捉え方を学習するという言語習得の側面に目を向けた場合、外国語学習にコミュニケーション以外の新たな意義を見出すことができると主張した。本来、外国語学習の目的は多種多様なはずである。外国語話者とのコミュニケーションは多様な目的のうちの一つに過ぎないのである。それにもかかわらず、これまでは言語の持つコミュニケーションの道具としての機能に力点が置かれることが多かった。AIが社会に浸透していく今後は、その軌道を少し修正して、コミュニケーション以外、特に、思考の道具としての言語の機能にも目を向ける必要がある。

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Reviews

***Social Justice in Language Education: Taking Action*. Albert Biel and Fabian Maria Esleben (Eds.). Multilingual Matters, 2025. xv + 256 pp. ¥6515 [paperback]. <https://doi.org/10.21832/BIEL7458>**

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Most teachers have wondered, at one time or another, what they are actually supposed to be doing in their classrooms, and whether or not their personal views and values should be rendered transparent. Over the last two decades, an emerging body of work has increasingly challenged the notion that the remit of language teachers is merely *technical*—restricted to the presumed neutral transmission of skills and knowledge of “the language”—and there is now greater recognition of the ethical and political dimensions of our profession (Reagan & Osborn, 2002). Noting an increasing number of language teachers who have become “focused on the promotion of a critically-aware, transformative, social-justice-oriented agenda” (Brown, 2024, p. 499), Brown has characterized the emergence of such literature (e.g., Crookes, 2013; Crookes & Abednia, 2022) as an affirmation that what we do involves “more than just teaching language” (p. 498). The edited volume under review here is further evidence of this trend. It is the result of the *Taking Action* Conference, itself a product of a social justice in language education-themed masters’ seminar held by Technical University Dortmund, Germany, in 2022. The volume gives voice to an eclectic range of perspectives, with chapters penned by students, teachers, teacher trainers, and researchers at various stages of their careers.

In the introductory chapter, the editors establish the relevance of critical pedagogies in the language classroom, noting that “[t]he act of taking a

stand and critically positioning oneself to political and societal discussions requires both knowledge about the topic as well as language to express it” (p. 5). They underscore the importance of “asking tough questions and going beyond the teaching of mere foods and festivals” (p. 6). The volume’s stated purpose is to present a diverse range of “perspectives on diversity, equity, and ethics..., contributing to a multi-layered understanding of social justice as a guiding criterion for language teaching.... [while providing] concrete thematic projects and pedagogical ideas relating to social justice” (p. 9). The collection offers a predominantly Eurocentric (German) perspective; however, Japan-based readers will certainly discover numerous insightful commonalities (and contrasts) with their own teaching contexts upon which to reflect.

Part 1 is titled “Conceptual Considerations of Social Justice in Language Education.” In Chapter 1 “Searching for Social Justice in English Language Education in Germany” Carolyn Blume and David Gerlach observe that “ELT classrooms are frequently devoid of meaningfulness, while they simultaneously perpetuate inequities and discrimination” (p. 19). They argue that in Germany “teachers frequently construe an obligation to remain neutral,” resulting in “contentious topics relating to political discourses [being] avoided” (p. 22). This observation is one that will resonate with teachers in other contexts, including Japan (see Gray, 2013). Blume and Gerlach observe that because ELT teachers tend to come from privileged educational and socioeconomic backgrounds, they can become disconnected from the realities of their students’ lives (pp. 24–25). The authors lodge a convincing case for the greater integration of critical approaches into language classrooms.

Following this, in Chapter 2 “The Theory, Research and Practice of Social Justice in Language Classrooms” there is a thought-provoking interview involving Stacy Margarita Johnston, Randolph Jr., and Albert Biel. Of particular interest to many teachers will be the exchange addressing the oft-cited question of whether less proficient students can handle, or should be exposed to, issues and content requiring higher-order cognitive skills (p. 38). The interview further touches on the issue of representation in teaching materials, with Johnston emphasizing that “[i]f you’re really interested in social justice, the first thing you have to do is really analyze the resources you’re bringing into the classroom” (p. 40). In this discussion packed with practical tips, critically-oriented teachers are reminded that they should never “ask questions where students are put in a place where they debate whether certain groups should have rights” (p. 41).

Then, in Chapter 3 “The Ethics and Politics of “Taking Action”” Katy Hight ponders “the role, purpose, and possibilities of critical research within projects of social change” (p. 51). Drawing on her research working with a language teaching NGO in Delhi, Hight lays out some of the ethical misgivings she felt regarding what she was doing and who she was working for. In this theoretically dense chapter, Hight poses the question “who benefits?” (p. 59) when engaging in social justice informed research.

Following this, in Chapter 4 “Making Sense of Social Justice and Taking Action in World Language Education” Kaishan Kong and Andie Wang consider six Languages Other Than English (LOTE) teachers’ understanding of socially just teaching from an ecological perspective that accounts for “layered, more nuanced dimensions of the environmental conditions that interact with teacher agency” (p. 69). This approach marks a move away from a social cognitive perspective, showing how teacher agency is something that is achieved “through interaction with cultural, structural, and material conditions in concrete and specific situations” (p. 72), such that a “variety of factors could influence the forming of their perception and their decision on teaching for social justice” (p. 73). Interestingly, job security is seen as a central factor in determining the extent to which teachers are prepared or able to pursue socially just teaching practices. Other factors include the available or mandated teaching materials, and the degree of administrative support and curricular freedom afforded by the institutions within which teachers work.

Part 2 of the volume is titled “Looking at Language(s) in Social Justice Language Education.” In Chapter 5 “Ethical Subjectivity and Ontologies of English: Implications for Social Justice in English Language Education” mother-daughter coauthors Rachel Wicaksono and Clara Wicaksono employ a duoethnographic approach to argue that our beliefs about “what English ‘is’ (i.e. its ontological status) is a necessary first step in deciding how we want to teach in ways that are socially just” (p. 93). The chapter certainly isn’t a mainstream offering of “top tips for socially just language education” (p. 95), but rather an honest reflection on how the authors’ beliefs about English and English language teaching have continued to shape their practices over time.

In Chapter 6 “Infusing Social Justice into the Classroom Through Inclusive Plurilingual Education: The Role of Teacher Attitudes and Beliefs” Marta Guarda and Gisela Mayr present plurilingual education as a way to push back on “ideologies of assimilation ... [and the] subtractive ideologies” that delegitimize minority languages (p. 110). Advocating for translanguag-

ing practices in the classroom, they propose three macro competencies crucial for plurilingual educators: *knowledge, skills, and commitment*. Chapter 7 “Towards Social Justice in English Language Education: Promoting Multilingual Possibilities in the Classroom” by Elizabeth Erling and Anouschka Foltz is based on studies of students from multilingual backgrounds in Austria. The authors demonstrate that when teachers positively value and “engage students’ multilingualism at the symbolic, linguistic, and cognitive level” (p. 129), they are able to foster “pockets of possibility” (p. 130) for a cohort of students who have otherwise been marginalized by mainstream education.

In Part 3 “Looking at Content on Social Justice Language Education” the volume shifts from the theoretical and conceptual to more practical concerns about critical language teaching. In Chapter 8 “Queering English Language Education: Five Propositions for the Future of LGBTIQ+ Inclusion” Thorsten Merse invites teachers and researchers to challenge the ELT industry’s “tendency to reproduce a bi-gendered and heteronormative view of the world” (p. 155), and encourages them to contribute to a queer-informed renegotiation of ELT that is more inclusive of LGBTIQ+ perspectives.

Following this is Chapter 9 “Anti-Fatness and Fat Activism: Approaches for Addressing Structural Discrimination in Critical Language Education in Germany” by Natalie Güllü and Mareen Lüke. This is arguably the most thought-provoking and engaging chapter of the volume, not merely for its *specific* content focus, but rather for the questions about critical language teaching *in general* that it provokes. The issue of anti-fatness has been largely neglected in language education research concerned with social justice, something that is surprising considering the various overlapping intersectionalities (racism, sexism, classism, and ableism) with which it manifests (p. 174). The authors successfully problematize “anti-fat stigma” (p. 175) and “healthism” (p. 177) associated with recently emerging neoliberalist, meritocratic, self-optimization discourses. However, the chapter makes a number of unbridled claims that, for some readers at least, will appear overreaching. For example, they propose that “[b]odies, whether fat or thin, disabled or not, give the (non-medical) observer no indication of the person’s health” (p. 177), and they challenge “the idea that weight is controllable, rather than being a natural variation of the human body” (p. 176). Whilst statements such as these rightly underscore the complexity of the issues in question, they fail to acknowledge the place for well-established, current medical advice in such discussions. Unchallenged claims

like this will give some teachers the false impression that critical language pedagogies can be overly ideological and disinclined to objectivity.

Next, Chapter 10, titled “Sustainability and English Language Education: Taking Action for Socio-Environmental Justice” is written by Ricardo Römhild. In this exploration of “ecocritical ELT” (Saiful & Shein, 2025), Römhild explicitly frames the climate crisis as a cultural crisis. He argues that “social injustices and environmental issues are complementary issues” (p. 190), as evidenced by several emerging concepts such as ecoracism, ecological poverty, and climate migration (pp. 190–191). The chapter canvasses a range of “ecopedagogies,” the shared goal of these being the raising of students’ consciousness regarding the “global interconnectedness and shared responsibility” (p. 196) for our planet, as well as an emphasis on taking action. This highly theorized chapter is both comprehensive and balanced, logically refuting a number of oft-cited criticisms of critical language teaching, the risk of student indoctrination being one such example.

Part 4, called “What Taking Action Can Look Like: Concrete Social Justice Projects” is the final section. In a comparatively short Chapter 11 “Negotiating Plurilingual Identities in Superdiverse Contexts: A Unit from Eighth-Grade English” Annika Berg and Carolyne Blume detail a teaching sequence that is designed to allow students to explore their pluricultural identities that are often neglected in mainstream classes. The tasks described do not explicitly focus on criticality per se; however, by legitimizing and celebrating the cultural diversity of the students’ own lives, students reportedly felt safe and respected. Then, in Chapter 12 “Embracing Social Justice in English Language Teaching: A Proposal of Social Justice Aware Materials” Jhon Eduardo Mosquera Pérez, Angela Hurtado Torres, and Daniel Elias Pérez Díaz offer short descriptions of three teaching sequences designed around the issues of child labor, homophobia, and inequality. The chapter gives teachers a sense of what is possible if they are willing to press beyond the limitations of most commercially produced EFL materials, and the suggestions are certainly scalable for teachers focusing on other content areas.

Chapter 13 “Yourintuitionpodcast: A Podcast about Individual Experiences with Social Injustice” by Nikolas Collissi, describes a project aimed at exposing pre-service language teachers to “the omnipresence of discrimination and privilege in our daily lives, with a particular focus on promoting equity and social justice in future classrooms” (p. 224). Then, in Chapter 14 “Lessons Learned – Reflecting on Social Justice Issues and the Significance of Taking Action in Language Teacher Education” student language teachers Nina Kansy, Julia Kulpa, Stella Munkes, and Lisa Weichsel collaborate

to consider “the significance of learning about social justice in teacher education and highlight the importance of taking social justice issues into consideration when teaching an additional language” (p. 233).

Finally, Helen Sauntson rounds out the volume with “Conclusions and Future Directions: Language Education and Research as Social Justice Activism.” The start of this concluding chapter reads much like a book review in its own right, recapping on the structure and content of each of the four sections. Sauntson does note, however, that “social justice can be theorized and conceptualized in a number of ways, which sometimes go beyond the remit of this book” (p. 242). She cites the work of Nancy Fraser, who reminds us that “social justice is about more than just the fair and equitable redistribution of resources” (p. 242), and that it relates to patterns of cultural and symbolic representation (recognition) that educators will need to challenge if social injustice is to be alleviated. The chapter also provides interesting commentary on increasing anti-woke discourses that seek to ridicule and devalue social justice objectives (p. 248).

Biel and Esleben’s *Social Justice in Language Education: Taking Action* is an engaging volume that is both timely and relevant. Perhaps its greatest strength is the diverse range of authors and perspectives it gives voice to. Canvassing both theoretical and practical aspects of critical language teaching, it will be of interest and use to anyone curious about taking their teaching in a more critical direction, and as such, is highly recommended.

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***Antisocial Language Teaching: English and the Pervasive Pathology of Whiteness*. JPB Gerald. Multilingual Matters, 2022. 192 pp. ¥5530 [paperback].
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In Japan and many other countries, the ELT industry promotes native speakers as ideal teachers for students aiming to achieve native-speaker-like English skills deemed necessary for success (Kavanagh, 2016), tied to a racial hierarchy that privileges whiteness (Koshino, 2019). In *Antisocial Language Teaching: English and the Pervasive Pathology of Whiteness*, JPB Gerald grapples with the English-language teaching industry's profit-fueled neocolonial practices that marginalize the abilities and diverse identities of English-language learners and teachers. Informed by disability critical race studies (Annamma et al., 2013), Gerald analyzes the intersecting systems of raciolinguistic and ableist oppression in the ELT industry. With the premise that "language, or a supposed lack thereof, is tied very closely to harmful theories of race and ability, and all three concepts are not neutral or objective but, in fact, part of the same scheme to exploit certain people and enrich others" (p. 9), he argues that educators must confront these systems in both scholarship and practice.

Gerald joins scholars who critique mainstream ELT practices through perspectives such as critical language teaching (Pennycook, 1999), critical multiculturalism (Kubota, 2004), native-speakerism (Holliday, 2006), critical language and race theory (Crump, 2014), and post-colonial pedagogy (Martin et al., 2017). *Antisocial Language Teaching* is a useful book not only for current practitioners of critical language teaching but also any educator

or administrator interested in deepening their knowledge of the causes, effects, and possible solutions regarding discrimination and inequity in ELT. The book is divided into three parts. Part 1 lays out the theoretical and historical foundations, Part 2 details ELT's harmful ideologies and practices, and Part 3 gives concrete examples and strategies to combat such harm.

In Part 1 "Disorder" Gerald uses the concept of *pathologization*, the act of framing normal behaviors, emotions, and physical attributes as diseases or disorders, to describe the mechanisms of colonialism and white supremacy. These systems have historically justified themselves by branding certain people as inferior and in need of correction. Gerald is not denouncing white people, but the system itself that continues to empower certain identities through the exclusion of others. He defines *whiteness* as a sliding scale of privilege tied to one's proximity to cultural and linguistic prestige, often defining itself in opposition to Blackness and other racial categories. Gerald calls it the "great pyramid scheme" (p. 15) of whiteness, in which one's social status can be elevated by embodying or adopting so-called neutral or standard cultural and linguistic characteristics, contrasted with the racialized traits of other groups marked as "disordered," keeping them to the lower levels of the pyramid.

In ELT, white supremacy manifests in various ways, such as in the widespread belief that (preferably white) native speakers from Inner Circle countries, such as the U.S. or U.K. (Kachru, 1986), make the most effective teachers, as models of standard English ability that can offer students access to upward mobility on the pyramid. Gerald criticizes this belief using his own experience as an English teacher in South Korea. Despite lacking formal training, he was granted authority over local teachers with education degrees and experience simply because he was a U.S.-born L1 English speaker. He questions whether his teaching benefited his students and colleagues.

Gerald also decries ELT's narrative that people outside of the Inner Circle are inherently deficient and in need of standard English ability to better themselves. He maintains that standard English is a subjective label from the viewpoint of an imagined, idealized user of English (Flores & Rosa, 2015). In fact, no one speaks and writes the Standard American English or Standard British English of textbooks and international tests. These prescriptive forms of standardized English serve to concentrate power and profit within Inner Circle institutions and publishers.

In Part 2 “Symptoms” Gerald uses the American Psychiatric Association’s criteria for antisocial personality disorder as a rhetorical device to discuss the ELT industry’s harmful traits and behavior, such as dishonesty, superficiality, and callousness. First, he condemns the industry’s dishonesty: native speakers with minimal qualifications are marketed as ideal teachers, while racialized teachers are often overlooked. Untrained native-speaker teachers are valued abroad as “ambassadors for whiteness” (p. 43), hired to sell the promise of English proficiency while often being unable to deliver results to their students. Gerald notes how this dynamic perpetuates deskilling and instability in the ELT profession, because, despite their privilege, native-speaker teachers are systematically treated as replaceable.

Gerald also targets ELT’s superficial attempts at inclusivity. Although the validity of terms like “native speaker” and “non-native speaker” is increasingly debated by scholars, the dominance of Inner Circle English and culture remains largely unchallenged in practice. Teaching materials produced by Inner Circle authorities continue to reinforce linguistic and cultural hierarchies.

Gerald goes on to criticize English-only classroom policies that stigmatize students’ multilingual abilities. He argues that suppressing multilingualism in the classroom is a symptom of uncaring pedagogies rooted in racism and ableism, putting unnecessary stress on students. He then questions the push for students to master academic English, which is often unnecessarily complex and disconnected from learners’ needs. Expensive standardized tests and accent reduction services are further examples of exploitative practices. Learners are pressured to conform to impossible and unnecessary standards, while the systems that devalue their speech, like biased hiring practices or speech-to-text software, go unchallenged.

In Part 3 “Treatment...?” Gerald acknowledges that system-wide reform will take time, encouraging educators to begin transformation within their own classrooms. He details how he designed and taught a course on decentering whiteness where white U.S. English-teacher participants gained insight into how whiteness functions in their contexts and created plans to contest it. Though they encountered resistance from colleagues, students, and institutions, they still managed to take meaningful steps.

Finally, Gerald outlines his model of prosocial language teaching based on critical reflection and action as follows: (1) recognize that we teach standardized English and examine the power structures behind that standard; (2) design teacher training that tackles racism, colonialism, ableism, and other forms of oppression head-on; (3) reject materials that

reinforce harmful ideologies and demand inclusive content from publishers; (4) redefine ELT job qualifications to include respect for local cultures and interest in students' home languages; (5) be honest with students about the limitations of standardized testing and what test scores actually represent; (6) build and support professional communities that publish and promote progressive scholarship; and (7) replace teacher-fronted classes with student-centered pedagogy (Freire, 1970).

Educators in ELT are the main audience of *Antisocial Language Teaching*, but Gerald explains that he wrote this book for “anyone who has an interest, or a stake, in language, education, dis/ability or whiteness, which, truth be told, should be everyone, if you think about how broad those topics are” (p. 7). In Gerald's view, the writing style found in much academic literature is unnecessarily complicated and verbose, often serving a gate-keeping role. In contrast, his prose is deliberately straightforward and often conversational. Moreover, the book is structured so that readers unfamiliar with this topic can grasp the historical realities and theoretical frameworks upon which the author makes his arguments. In the introduction, he defines key concepts necessary to more accurately express societal inequities, including lesser-known terms such as *dis/ability*, *minoritized*, and *racialized*. Starting in Part 1, Gerald weaves together theories and empirical evidence from the disciplines of history, psychiatry, sociology, sociolinguistics, law, economics, critical whiteness studies, and disability critical race studies. This is all crucial information to understand the intersections between language, colonialism, race, and ability.

Some readers may find that Gerald's focus is too centered on the U.S. and neglects the many other histories and experiences of racism and colonialism across the globe. However, Gerald makes it explicit that he is writing this book from the perspective of a Black man in the United States; his experiences in the ELT field are rooted in this identity. Thus, *Antisocial Language Teaching* provides a valuable perspective from a minoritized scholar living in a majority-white country whose authorities have a vested interest in reinforcing the dominant status of American English worldwide.

Some may also question Gerald's use of the APA criteria for antisocial personality disorder (ASD), a mental illness, to criticize an entire teaching field. Gerald, who positions himself as a neurodivergent in academia, explains that he chose the criteria

not to further stigmatize any diagnosis but ... to counter-pathologize the system that has decided who does and doesn't

belong. Ideally, this rhetorical strategy will also offer a slight challenge to the medical model of dis/ability by demonstrating how said criteria are incredibly subjective. (p. 36)

This is a unique approach that continuously calls the reader's attention to the intersecting axes of racism, linguistic discrimination, and ableism. The ASD criteria are used for purposes of analogy and are not meant to have a precise, one-to-one correspondence to the various issues in the ELT industry.

Gerald states that his goal in writing this book is to demonstrate that the field of ELT is "harmful... because of its ties to whiteness" (p. 36). While discussions of whiteness and Blackness are most often associated with the United States, Gerald situates the global ELT industry in the context of historical and modern colonialism, imperialism, and neoliberal capitalism; this enables him to analyze how ideologies of whiteness transcend national borders and permeate the entire field. Gerald comments that this perspective is uncommon in mainstream ELT, precisely because it challenges existing power structures and those who benefit from them. He shatters the idea that ELT is a purely benevolent field that exists solely for the empowerment of English-language learners. The harsh reality of systemic injustice can be disturbing, especially for readers who have not had previous exposure to such information. However, I believe that Gerald's goal is not to alienate white people, but to help them gain a new perspective. Gerald acknowledges the psychological difficulties that come with having one's belief system challenged. With that said, it is necessary for white readers to be open to the idea that the construct of whiteness has harmful effects in society, regardless of an individual's ideologies, intentions, and actions.

I am a U.S.-born, native English speaker of European ancestry, and these characteristics have undoubtedly benefitted my ELT career. This book made me reflect on my experiences as an Assistant Language Teacher in Japan, my first job after college graduation, for which I was deemed qualified not because of training or experience but because of my first language and my passport. Currently, I work in a university English department that purposely hires only native English-speaking teachers, with the vast majority being from the United States. I find Gerald's arguments about whiteness in ELT eye-opening and vital for all ELT educators, especially those with similar backgrounds to mine. I encourage readers to adopt a mindset of curiosity rather than defensiveness when approaching this book.

Another strength of this book is in Gerald's description of designing and teaching a course for educators called "Decoding and Decentering Whiteness." Here, Gerald serves as a model for other educators by putting his principles and ideas into action. In keeping with Gerald's ethos, a key requirement of the course was that each participant had to make an action plan to make substantive changes in their professional context. After describing the rationale and structure of the course, Gerald includes the narratives of three white-identifying participants. The narratives contain their experiences with race, professional contexts, reasons for joining the course, and reflections on how the course affected them. While limited to the U.S. context, these stories provide valuable examples of teachers who benefit from whiteness taking action to understand and challenge racism while maintaining awareness of the pitfalls of white saviorism. Some of these actions include challenging a school's prescriptivist writing assessment practices, advocating for the establishment of a career pipeline program to identify and support diverse local high school students interested in becoming English teachers, lobbying for improvement in staff diversity trainings, and starting conversations and sharing articles and resources with white colleagues. All three participants reported facing interpersonal and institutional challenges, but this is to be expected. The teachers also expressed feeling heartened by their progress, however small, and determined to continue their efforts.

With the example of this course and Gerald's recommendations for prosocial language teaching, this book ends on a hopeful note. Gerald makes it clear that he is attempting to show a path forward, offering concrete strategies to address the problems he detailed in Parts 1 and 3. Gerald calls on all educators to take action with the affirmation that it is possible for teachers and other ELT stakeholders to effect positive changes in our field. It will take a great deal of time and effort, and the changes may be small at first, but Gerald argues that we have to start somewhere, and I wholly agree.

In *Antisocial Language Teaching*, Gerald exposes the ways in which whiteness, ableism, and neoliberalism intersect to shape the global English-language teaching industry, often to the detriment of both teachers and learners. By linking these systems of power to historical and ongoing colonial practices, he provides readers with the tools to recognize how inequality is reproduced through everyday pedagogical choices. The book's greatest strength lies in its ability to balance rigorous theoretical insight with practical, actionable recommendations. Gerald's framework for "prosocial

language teaching” makes this work not just a critique, but a guide for transformation.

This book will be especially valuable for English-language teachers, teacher trainers, curriculum designers, and administrators seeking to understand how their practices are connected to larger social and political structures. It will also resonate with readers interested in critical pedagogy, peace education, and global issues in education. While Gerald writes from the perspective of a U.S. scholar, his insights into whiteness, linguistic hierarchy, and inequity have global relevance, including in EFL contexts such as Japan, where native-speaker status often outweighs teaching qualifications. For educators willing to reflect on their own positionality and take steps toward more inclusive practice, *Antisocial Language Teaching* is an essential and thought-provoking read.

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***Professionalising English Language Teaching: Concepts and Reflections for Action in Teacher Education.* Andrzej Cirocki and Wolfgang Hallet. Cambridge University Press, 2024. xiv + 280 pp. ¥6197 [paperback]. <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009350235>**

Reviewed by

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English language teaching (ELT) often struggles to be seen as a true profession, with poor pay, lack of respect and limited credibility affecting the industry as a whole. This reality, which many readers may have experienced, exemplifies what Richardson (2016) refers to as the “non-professional threat,” where individuals can work in the profession with little or insufficient teacher training or education. Recent research has also highlighted concerns that there is a tendency in the ELT industry to prioritise commercial considerations and native-speaker marketing over genuine pedagogical qualifications, thereby undermining professional standards (Copley, 2022, pp. 34–35). Therefore, the effort to improve the standards, reputation, and status of English language educators through professionalism is an important movement. With *Professionalising English Language Teaching: Concepts and Reflections for Action in Teacher Education*, Andrzej Cirocki and Wolfgang Hallet aim to provide clear guidelines to help direct teachers, both experienced and otherwise, towards professional excellence (p. 4). They introduce this work as a “conceptual and reflective guide to English language teacher education” (p. 5). This focus on teacher education is important to mention as it is the main window through which the topic of professionalism is addressed throughout the book.

The book is divided into nine chapters that are approximately 40 pages each. The first and last chapters act as a kind of introduction and conclusion, while those in between introduce specific aspects of teacher professionalism as well as specific competences that English language teachers are expected to demonstrate (p. 208). Although the authors initially express a wide audience for the book including English language teacher educators, practitioners, students, administrators, and policymakers (p. 22), the focus on teacher education makes the book most applicable for pedagogical trainers and administrators, rather than classroom practitioners. The chapters themselves also lean heavily towards theory rather than practical suggestions. However, at the end of each chapter is a set of “reflection for action” questions to help the reader consider and process what they’ve just read which are separated into “future teachers,” “novice teachers” and “experienced teachers.” The questions aimed at student teachers (“discuss with your classmates”), combined with chapters on areas of teacher development, suggest that this book could be used in a teacher training programme. As I’m not a teacher educator and had originally picked up the text expecting a more practical focus, it should be understood that this review will be from the point of view of a “novice teacher” and not the main intended audience.

Chapters 1 and 2 act as the introduction to the book. In the opening chapter “English Language Teaching in the Twenty-First Century” the aim of the text—“to systematise the areas of English language teacher education and define the basic set of core pedagogical competences required to teach English successfully and professionally” (p. 7)—is introduced. This chapter introduces standards of teacher education and teacher competences before outlining the structure of the book. However, it is Chapter 2 that feels like the real introduction to the concept of professionalism. It introduces the lack of consensus in ELT about what characterises a “teacher professional” and discusses a variety of descriptions of teacher professionalism before Cirocki and Hallet suggest their own proposed definition “an ongoing concern with the calibre of teaching within institutions, which is encapsulated in a set of standards deemed appropriate to the profession” (p. 31). The authors then cover research on teacher identity as well as descriptions of teacher ethics before ending with suggestions on how teacher professionalism can be supported through infrastructure.

Chapters 3 to 8 then each introduce one of the teacher competences necessary for professionalism. Each chapter starts with examining various possible definitions for the topic before discussing research projects that

are relevant to the competence. The chapters then end with some suggestions of how those competences can be included in teacher education. While all the chapters are detailed, those with a higher focus on teacher education seem to have longer theoretical sections with limited takeaways for the standard teacher. In particular, during Chapter 3 “Teacher Education and Professional Competences” the authors discuss competence on a meta level. The movement toward competence-oriented teacher training, such as through can-do lists, is examined and a variety of frameworks and descriptions of teacher competences are mentioned. Similarly in Chapter 5 “Teacher Autonomy” different definitions of teacher autonomy are examined which ends with a long list of qualities an autonomous teacher should possess. After describing numerous research projects on teacher autonomy, a variety of ways that teacher autonomy can be promoted in teacher education are recommended. Chapter 7 “Teaching English in the Digital Age” is about half the size of the other chapters and mainly focuses on describing digitization and the different types of digital competences expected of teachers. Although the chapter mentions that educators now need to teach their students how to use technology there are very few actual examples or ideas mentioned, which is understandable considering the fast-moving nature of technology these days, but leaves the chapter being mainly theoretical. Personally, I was left wanting specific suggestions or examples of projects that could be undertaken which could have avoided mentioning specific platforms or apps in order to try and stay relevant for as long as possible. Chapter 8 focuses on what “Teacher Leadership” is and how it can be developed. It includes a list of indicators of readiness for teacher leadership, shows an example of a collaborative project prepared for a teacher leader and discusses five principles of teacher leadership. The chapter finishes with a section on teacher mentors including a list of questions to consider when making mentor-mentee pairings (p. 205).

On the other hand, some of the other sections of the book are much more accessible and more full of practical ideas for any level of teacher. In particular, the fourth chapter “Reflective Practice and Teacher-Led Research” has a description of tools for teacher reflection and different research projects which have used them. Chapter 6, which covers “Materials Development and Task Design” gives advice on how teachers can create their own materials, preferably with others, and how to plan complex tasks that integrate materials concluding that “in the creation of tasks a teacher’s professional theoretical expertise and competences culminate and materialise in practice and that task design is a constant process of reflecting

upon the theory and practices of an instructor's methods of teaching" (p. 148).

The final chapter, "Building Professional English Language Teaching Development Communities," concludes the book by examining how professional development, and the competences of a professional teacher mentioned in the previous chapters, are enhanced by collaboration and Professional Development Communities (PDC) and describe some PDC projects that the authors were involved with. The book ends with a section describing professional teachers as lifelong learners, classroom ethnographers and educational leaders. It concludes that the chapters in the book examined the main fundamental concepts that should be included in the idea of teacher professionalism and the hope that teachers "reflect on these concepts to understand them better and link them explicitly to their practice and the context in which they teach" (p. 232).

It's important to note that the title of this book is very similar to one published in 2020, "*Professionalizing Your English Language Teaching*" (Coombe et al.) which is a compendium of short chapters by different authors without the teacher education focus. I believe that similarity as well as the words "Concepts and Reflections for Action" in the title of this book, led me to think it might include more practical ideas, suggestions and "action" than it actually did. While the authors do include "teacher education" in the title, on the publisher's website the book description includes that it is "essential reading for pre- and in-service teachers" (Cambridge University Press, n.d.) and the authors themselves state that "English language teacher educators and classroom practitioners, undergraduate and postgraduate students pursuing English language teacher education programmes" (p. 22) are some of the main audiences for the book. Therefore, while I do acknowledge my misunderstanding of the main focus and theme of the book, I think it could have been marketed more directly and specifically for teacher educators and training programme designers. For those people, I believe Cirocki and Hallet provide a comprehensive theoretical framework on teacher professionalism which is supported by extensive research. However, classroom practitioners looking for quick or immediate ideas to implement may find this text lacking practical resources that they can easily implement.

One of the biggest problems I had while reading the book was that there are extensive theoretical discussions which may be particularly demanding for early-career teachers. In particular, the first chapter is highly detailed and introduces philosophical concepts such as "*Bildung*" (p. 9) which was

new to me, and while this concept is rooted in European thinking and education (Andersen, n.d.), I've yet to hear it mentioned here in Japan so it may be unfamiliar for the reader. As the concept was introduced over four pages in the first chapter, the reader is led to believe it is an important concept for understanding the rest of the text, but it is rarely mentioned outside of this chapter. Compared to the much smoother later chapters, the introduction felt like it lacked a clear structure, and it had the appearance of a number of topics that the authors had wanted to explain without a particular order. This was thankfully not an issue with the rest of the book as the main Chapters 2 to 8 had a much clearer flow. However, even those sections sometimes felt too detailed and dense for readers who are less used to academic writing. In particular, conversations such as the difference between reflection and reflexivity (pp. 74–75) in Chapter 4 or the multiple pages (pp. 100–106) on different definitions of teacher autonomy in Chapter 5 are extremely detailed, while the casual reader may prefer a quick summary. Some of the wording in the book tended to the philosophical, such as references to the "lifeworld" (p. 45), which often broke up the flow of a passage. The concept of the "lifeworld" was introduced without sufficient explanation, leaving unknowing readers to research its meaning for themselves.

However, despite its abstract focus, where this book shines are the extensive descriptions of different research projects as well as their results which were very engaging and thought-provoking. In Chapter 4, multiple pages were dedicated describing projects involving teacher autonomy (pp. 106–110) and those results clearly informed the strategies suggested for developing teacher autonomy later in the chapter (pp. 112–113). This use of detailed research which is then linked to tools and models for the reader was incredibly effective and gives the authors' suggestions credibility. In some cases, the suggestions were more aimed at administrators and could not be implemented by a normal classroom practitioner, such as the example collaborative project prepared to help develop a teacher leader in Chapter 8 (pp. 195–196). While the research summaries in themselves may not be directly useful for classroom practice, they help to demonstrate the rigorous research underpinning the book's professional competencies and would be valuable for any teacher educators who need evidence to justify changes to their teacher training programmes. However, the tools for self-reflection and teacher-led research covered in Chapter 4 (pp. 81–96) were detailed and accessible for teachers of any level. They stand out as immediately usable and, unlike many of the other suggestions in the book,

require no administrative support or management direction to implement. Personally, that section was what I had initially hoped for from the whole book. Another area which was helpful was the reflection questions at the end of each chapter. Even in heavily theoretical chapters, those questions help the reader relate what was written to their own practice.

Overall, I feel that this book is most suited to those who design teacher development or teacher training programmes. Personally, I was looking for more practical suggestions and things I could implement into my own teaching. While there were a few sections that did fit that bill, the majority of the book was aimed at a different audience. There is an incredible amount of research put into the creation of this text and the discussions on different concepts are very in-depth and so those interested in the academic concepts behind professionalism and how they can be related to teacher training should pick up this resource as a helpful guide. In short, teacher educators will find this to be a helpful reference, and classroom practitioners may find areas that are useful but would be better served looking elsewhere for concrete ideas and solutions.

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***The Art of Intercultural Business Communication: A Competency-Based Approach.* Bertha Du-Babcock and Richard D. Babcock. Routledge, 2024. xix + 265 pp. ¥7449 [paperback]. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003036883>**

Reviewed by

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An initial skim through *The Art of Intercultural Business Communication: A Competency-Based Approach* and its table of contents suggests that, unlike EFL teaching materials emphasizing small “c” communication, this volume focuses on big “C” Communication as a professional and academic discipline. Du-Babcock and Babcock address the art—and science—of managing business communication to enhance skills and competencies for more effective performance in the global workplace. Their underlying assumption is that “intercultural business communication can never be imposed as an exact science” (p. xiv) but must be tailored to meet specific needs in context.

This monograph extends theories the authors have previously developed in other publications (cf. Babcock & Du-Babcock, 2001; Du-Babcock & Babcock, 1996, 2007). After a brief outline in the Preface of advancements from empirical research, the book comprises ten chapters, 15 pages of references, and a combined topic/author Index. In the e-book version on the VitalSource app, citations, references, and all indexed terms have active links to numbered pages matching the paperback or hardcover versions.

In the opening chapter, the authors frame the existing body of multiple theories of intercultural business communication (IBC) as a *jungle* and propose a more unified “situational theoretical model” (p. 1), represented metaphorically as an “orchard” (p. 15). In Chapter 2, and summarized in Figure 2.3 on page 48, the authors present their “language-based communication zones framework [which] recognizes that the global communication environment comprises tasks and situations requiring varying communication competencies and communicators at varying competency levels” (p. 26). Six “*language-based corridors*” (p. 39) illustrate how communicative abilities align with competency levels across three principal domains: language, international business, and intercultural attitudes.

In Chapter 3, the authors underscore the necessity of intercultural communication in a globalized business environment where “individuals speaking different languages and representing diverse cultural groups interact directly and indirectly in interconnected global communication networks” (p. 52). Du-Babcock and Babcock explain how varying language proficiencies—limited, partial, and full—shape parallel and non-parallel communication patterns that require adaptive strategies, influenced further by professional, organizational, and workplace genres. In Chapter 4, “international business (IB) competency” is described as being grounded in international experience and contextual knowledge and is distinguished from general awareness of business operations.

At the beginning of Chapter 5, Du-Babcock and Babcock argue that communication research and theory building have overemphasized interpersonal interactions among national cultures as the primary influence on communication patterns, while neglecting organizational culture in the modern era of globalization. The situational model proposed by the authors differentiates between attitudes and competency. Their practical framework offers guidelines for *diagnosis*, *adaptation*, and *execution* to outline how communicators can assess, adjust, and implement appropriate strategies to enhance intercultural competence.

In Chapter 6, the authors point out that to foster cultural understanding and prevent miscommunication, international business communicators must “make linguistic, IB knowledge, and cultural adjustments to satisfy the competency requirements of their shared situations or tasks and their interlocutors’ linguistic and intercultural competency levels” (p. 123). The chapter concludes with examples of “communication zones” and introduces the *link-pin* concept. In Chapter 7, Du-Babcock and Babcock apply this link-pin channel model to organizational communication, defining link-pin roles as *specialist* (e.g., translators and interpreters) or *non-specialist* with general job functions who can both serve as ongoing (*formal*) or spontaneous, as needed (*informal*) link-pins. Chapter 8 outlines eight case studies that demonstrate the model in practical applications.

Chapter 9 briefly covers contemporary technological tools—ChatGPT, email, instant messaging, podcasts, blogs, and social networking—though readers may be disappointed that these occupy only seven pages. The remaining pages focus on research and pedagogy, introducing five approaches for integrating business communication research and practice, summarized in Table 1 from pages 174–175.

Table 1*Five Approaches to the Research and Practice of Business Communication*

Approach	Business communication research & practice
<i>Language approach</i>	Studies language and communication in business contexts (e.g., genre studies, conversation analysis (CA), business English as a lingua franca (BELF))
<i>Cultural approach</i>	Examines effects of national, organizational, and professional cultures on communication
<i>Empirical approach</i>	Investigates communication within industries, contexts, professions, or conceptual domains
<i>Interpretation of meaning in organizational communication approach</i>	Explores the underlying meaning of language used in organizational communication
<i>Process or Operational approach</i>	Establishes frameworks to guide business communication practices as managerial processes or interpersonal communication

Interculturalists looking to dip into the book for business-oriented angles to investigate or business English teachers seeking hints for concrete research ideas on intercultural communication competence will likely be left wanting more and feel dissatisfied by the generic and vague directions shared at the end of the final chapter (p. 214).

1. Developing a shared framework for research that integrates and adapts existing approaches or models
2. The need for collaborations across disciplines and the globe

These seem underdeveloped and fall short of the authors' claim in the Preface for Chapter 10 of "suggesting future directions for research and theory-building in intercultural business communication in a global situational environment" (p. xix). These statements also lack the detail commonly provided in recently published academic volumes.

The content appears intended for an audience familiar to the authors through their international consulting work and teaching experience in Hong Kong, China, and San Francisco, namely: (a) researchers with experience in the field of intercultural business communication and (b) pre-

service graduate students conducting research and taking courses similar to those supervised by the authors.

While the book effectively consolidates the authors' evolving theory, relying less on self-citation would have allowed Du-Babcock and Babcock to better position this contribution relative to other works in the field. The following omitted sources stand out and would have strengthened their argument with references to improve coverage for readers. For example, on page 102, the authors state their work is contrasted with only the "two most widely cited intercultural communication theoretical models": (1) *cultural intelligence* (Ang et al., 2011) with 40,000+ Google Scholar citations and (2) Meyer's (2017) *The Culture Map*—a best-selling book available in 10 languages. However, not referencing Milton Bennett's work (30,000+ citations), such as *intercultural sensitivity*, from the same contemporary period seems an unfortunate omission. Furthermore, *Theorizing About Intercultural Communication*, edited by Gudykunst, would reasonably by title alone contain theories for the authors to compare and contrast with their own. However, the only chapter Du-Babcock and Babcock reference from that source (or any of her work) is from Ting-Toomey (2005). And then they only cite it among a list of studies that empirically confirm Hall's high-context and low-context communication model (p. 103).

The 2017 title, *Language in International Business*, is promoted as a historical review of seminal publications in the research on language in business from the leading international business journal, *Journal of International Business Studies (JIBS)*. Chapter 5 by Peltokorpi and Vaara is cited on page 103 in a list of studies showing that language choice affects interaction. However, from that same book, Du-Babcock and Babcock do not take up Chapter 3 by Adler and Graham, reprinted from a 1989 issue of *JIBS*. That chapter broaches the question of an *international comparison fallacy*, noting that existing research on international negotiations had focused mainly on single-culture descriptive studies or comparative studies across multiple cultures, with less than 1% conducted on cross-cultural interaction. These findings appear well-aligned with the concepts of "communication zones" and "corridors" of required competency explained and diagrammed by Du-Babcock and Babcock on pages 38–39. Citing Chapter 3 from a source already referenced would have helped the authors support their theory with related external findings.

From the 2009 handbook edited by Deardorff, Chapter 1 by Spitzberg and Changnon is only mentioned on page 100 as a source for conceptual models representing variables that may have an impact on intercultural

communication competency. However, that chapter contains an eight-page table (with citations) listing several factors in interpersonal, communicative, and intercultural competence relevant to Du-Babcock and Babcock's competency model. Incorporating and elucidating upon concepts from this rich resource (e.g., Kealy on openness and tolerance; Deardorff on self- & sociolinguistic awareness; and Kurogi on face & adaptability) would have strengthened the link between the theoretical and practical dimensions of competence and better informed the readership. A similar omission occurs with another contemporary title, *Fundamental Theories of Business Communication: Laying a Foundation for the Field* (Mayfield et al., 2020) which includes terms like *channels, barriers, flows, and patterns* and has chapters on cultural characteristics and organizational structures. Only a 2021 journal article by the same authors, which identified 78 different business communication theories, was cited (p. 173) to highlight the jungle of theories.

Du-Babcock and Babcock have written their book in academic prose that is generally accessible and suitable for readers of varying English language proficiency. However, there are inconsistencies where style diverges across sections, particularly in Chapter 10. Chapter 5 contains occasional circular reasoning where after asserting that “culture should be seen from multiple perspectives rather than a single, static, dichotomous perspective” (p. 103), the authors proceed to generalize about nonverbal communication for seemingly all Westerners, and groups of Asians, North Americans, Japanese, Americans, and Finns (p. 104). They then claim that “Cantonese bilinguals *consistently* [emphasis added] adapt to Western thinking patterns when using low-context language yet retain Eastern spiral or circular thinking patterns when using high-context language” (p. 105). Abstracts of the self-cited studies, however, reveal inconsistent results across subsamples, suggesting an overgeneralization.

Minor lapses in editorial oversight also detract from the polished quality, for example:

- a. BELF users from various L1 backgrounds should still be able to parse this syntax:

“... to prevent the jungle grows thicker.” (p. 174)

- b. The example below shows a fundamental neglect in proofreading and editing for redundancy.

Updated MBO offers the prospect of increasing the levels of interaction and devoting this increase to *neglected* areas that deserves [*sic*] attention and would otherwise be *neglected*. The *fundamental* premises of MBOs during this period were *fundamentally* sound but contradictory between its two assumptions. [emphases added] (p. 210)

Such issues are disappointing in a “contracted research monograph with Routledge” (p. xvii).

A fair critical review should, however, assess whether the authors achieved their declared aims rather than evaluate against an imagined ideal. On that measure, in *The Art of Intercultural Business Communication*, Du-Babcock and Babcock have succeeded in presenting a comprehensive framework integrating language, international business, and intercultural variables to explain how business communication operates in contexts. While the engagement with additional theories is limited, the authors have persuasively argued that competence in intercultural business communication is indeed both, but more, art than science. This title would therefore be of interest to researchers and thesis supervisors who have an established agenda investigating business communication theories and constructs, or those with experience in general intercultural studies looking at a theory and practice applicable to business. Teachers of EMI courses in culture, management, and international relations may also find this model useful as an example alongside other theories of communication.

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JALT Journal Aims and Scope

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

When possible, submissions to *JALT Journal* should aim to be both descriptive (*What is my data?*) and explanatory (*Why is my data like this and not otherwise?*) in purpose, and further stimulate scholarly debate, to hopefully improve existing applied linguistic scholarship around the world. Areas of interest include but are not limited to the following:

- Bilingualism and multilingualism
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- Cognitive linguistics
- Contrastive linguistics
- Conversation/discourse/critical discourse analysis
- Critical language pedagogy
- Curriculum design and teaching methods
- Intercultural communicative competence
- Language acquisition/learning
- Language policy and planning
- Language testing/evaluation
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- Psycholinguistics
- Semantics
- Sociolinguistics
- Syntax
- Teacher training
- Translation and interpretation
- Vocabulary

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

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Full-length articles must not be more than 8,000 words, including references, notes, tables, and figures. *Research Forum* submissions should not be more than 4,000 words. *Perspectives* submissions should not be more than 5,000 words. *Point-to-Point* comments on previously published articles should not be more than 1,000 words in length, and *Reviews* should generally be around 2,000 words. All submissions must be word processed in A4 or 8.5" x 11" format with line spacing set at 1.5 lines. **For refereed submissions, names and identifying references should appear only on the cover sheet.** Authors are responsible for the accuracy of references and reference citations and for obtaining any permissions for copyrighted material contained in the manuscript.

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