ASEAN Journal of Applied Linguistics

Vol. 1, Issue 1, 2022

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ASJAL | ASEAN Journal of Applied Linguistics

Website: https://ejournal.maal.org.my/asjal

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FROM 'COMMUNICATIVE LANGUAGE TEACHING' TO 'POSTMETHOD PEDAGOGY': FIFTY YEARS OF EXPLORATION

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Abstract

The term 'communicative language teaching' (CLT) has been with us for some 50 years now and still serves world-wide as a focus for discussion, exploration and policy-making. Beneath the superficial term, however, we may ask to what extent the concept itself has remained unchanged? In developmental terms, our understanding of CLT can be compared to the three stages of culture shock. In the first stage, we enjoyed a period of euphoria in which the language-teaching world seemed to be magically transformed and all problems seemed to be solved. This was followed by a period of questioning and doubt, driven by efforts to export the original CLT principles and practices into an ever-widening range of new contexts. The emerging challenges led to a partial rejection of CLT as an intact and unquestioned package of principles and practices. In its third period of development, which is still with us, CLT has merged with the concept of 'postmethod language pedagogy'. In this period, the core principles of CLT remain intact, namely: we teach (a) towards appropriate forms of communication, in ways that (b) support processes of memorization and (c) stimulate as much learner-engagement as possible. However, teachers are encouraged to implement these principles creatively and in ways that suit specific situations and learners.

Keywords: language pedagogy, communicative language teaching, postmethod pedagogy

Introduction

On the global scene of language pedagogy, communicative language teaching (CLT) now has a long history. Its first theoretical and pedagogical foundations date back to the early 1970s. At that time, many in the language teaching world had begun to feel disappointed at the apparent failure of currently established methods (such as audiolingualism and situational language teaching) to achieve the universal success that had been hoped for (Littlewood, 1999). Also in the early 1970s, there were important developments in theoretical fields which led language teaching practitioners to re-think their assumptions about the goals and processes of second language learning.

In the field of linguistics, functional linguists (notably Michael Halliday) were exploring the implications of focusing on the 'meaning potential' of language as a necessary means to understand its structural properties. The sociolinguist Dell Hymes was also establishing the notion of 'communicative competence' in contrast to the narrow 'linguistic competence' studied by Chomsky and his followers. (See for example the extracts from the work of Halliday and Hymes in Brumfit & Johnson, 1979.) This work became a major source of inspiration for language teaching projects, notably a Council of Europe initiative to develop a new framework for syllabus design, based on communicative categories such as functions (e.g., 'asking somebody's name', 'saying what somebody's job is') and notions (e.g., 'future time', 'quantity and degree') (explained in Wilkins, 1976).

In language pedagogy, Widdowson (e.g. 1978) and others were exploring the implications for methodology of 'teaching language as communication'. In the English-teaching field, a multitude of course books began to appear bearing the description 'functional', 'notional' and/or 'communicative', and including a large proportion of meaning-oriented activities such as pair work, role play, discussion and the use of authentic materials (Many such activities are described in Johnson and Morrow, 1981; Littlewood, 1981). In those early days, functional syllabuses and communicative course books were often seen as the definitive solution to all problems of language teaching.

At the same time, work in psycholinguistics was stimulating new thinking about the internal processes of language learning and the conditions that activate them. The natural processes and sequences that were observed in first language learning led teachers and researchers to find similar phenomena in second language learning. The idea gained influence that natural 'acquisition' is a more effective path to communicative competence than conscious 'learning'. Particularly influential was Stephen Krashen's 'input hypothesis', which claims that second language acquisition depends primarily on comprehensible input. Teachers should therefore concentrate not on explicit instruction but on creating conditions for natural acquisition (as in the 'Natural Approach' of Krashen & Terrell, 1983). The input hypothesis led later to the 'interaction hypothesis', which sees not only input but also output and interaction as important for learning (see, e.g., Allwright & Bailey, 1991; Gass & Mackey, 2015). All of these ideas supported the view that the key condition for second language learning is using the language for communication. The role of communication was also affirmed by advocates of 'humanistic' teaching such as Moskowitz (1978) and Stevick (1980), whose emphasis was on the need to engage the 'whole person' in meaningful communication.

The present article will review the nature and contributions of CLT by considering these five questions:

- What insights does CLT offer into the goals of language learning and teaching?
- What insights does CLT offer into the learning experiences that might take learners towards their goals?
- What insights does CLT offer into the pedagogy that can facilitate these learning experiences?

- What have been the experiences with CLT in specific contexts around the world?
- What is the legacy and current status of CLT?

In this article, the term CLT will be taken as a cover term to include also task-based language teaching [TBLT], which is a later development within the wider field.

What insights does CLT offer into the goals of language learning and teaching?

The theoretical developments mentioned above brought to language teaching a more detailed, comprehensive account of the nature of communication and the role that language plays in it. Communication was the goal of previous 'active' methods such as the situational-structural approach and the audio-lingual method (for an overview of these, see Littlewood, 1999), but it was usually assumed (implicitly or explicitly) that this goal could be achieved through mastering the structures and vocabulary of the language, that is, through acquiring 'linguistic competence'. The key concept of 'communicative competence,' which includes linguistic competence but goes beyond it, redefined the nature of the goal and how to achieve it. It also helped to explain why so many learners achieve poor levels of communicative ability through structure-based methods.

In a short but influential article, Widdowson (1972) drew attention to why students who have been taught English for several years frequently remain deficient in the ability to actually use the language. He pointed out that most current methods neglect an essential fact about the nature of communication: that it depends on the ability not only to 'compose sentences' but also, crucially, to use these sentences to perform a variety of 'acts of communication'. For example, when a teacher demonstrates meaning by walking to the door and saying *I am walking to the door*, then asks students to do the same with *He is walking to the door* (etc.), '[these sentences] are being used to perform the act of commentary in situations in which in normal circumstances no commentary would be called for' (p. 17). Students are learning the *signification* of the sentences but not their communicative *value.* Widdowson (1978) explores further the nature and pedagogical implications of this distinction between 'signification' and 'value', which have become fundamental ideas within CLT. 'Communicative value' refers to the functional aspects of language and these – as well as its formal and semantic aspects – are now a central focus of language learning.

The relation between form and function is not straightforward. For example, an apparently straightforward declarative sentence such as *The door's open* could have a range of functions. It could be an explanation ('that's why it's so cold'), a reassurance ('don't worry, you'll be able to get out'), a request ('close it, please'), and many other things, depending on the situation. Conversely, the request could be expressed not only through the above sentence but also more directly through, for example, *Would you mind closing the door?* or simply *Close the door, please.* Which form is actually used, depends not only on linguistic factors but also on situational factors and conventions of social appropriacy (e.g., one is more likely to be direct with a friend that a stranger). Learners need therefore to be aware of the links between language forms and all aspects of meaning (conceptual. functional, and social) and also be able to express and interpret specific links in specific situations. Moreover. it is not enough to learn to do this

for individual utterances. Communication is an interactive process in which meanings are developed and negotiated over longer stretches of discourse. This involves developing effective ways of structuring information, creating cohesive links over longer stretches of discourse, opening and closing conversations appropriately, initiating as well as responding, expressing disagreement without producing confrontation, and so on.

An important orientational framework in discussions of the nature of communicative competence in a second language is that of Canale & Swain (1980) and Canale (1983). A convenient summary can be found in Benati & Angelovska (2016). Here I have adapted the terminology slightly and added a fifth dimension to the four proposed in Canale (1983):

- *Linguistic competence*. This includes the knowledge of vocabulary, grammar, semantics and phonology that have been the traditional focus of second language learning.
- *Discourse competence*. This enables speakers to engage in continuous discourse, e.g., by linking ideas in longer written texts, maintaining longer spoken turns, participating in interaction, opening conversations and closing them.
- *Pragmatic competence*. This enables second language speakers to use their linguistic resources to convey and interpret meanings in real situations, including those where they encounter problems due to gaps in their knowledge.
- *Sociolinguistic competence*. This consists primarily of knowledge of how to use language appropriately in social situations, e.g., conveying suitable degrees of formality, directness and so on.
- *Sociocultural competence*. This includes awareness of the cultural knowledge and assumptions that affect the exchange of meanings and may lead to misunderstandings in intercultural communication.

This expanded view of communication broadens the scope of language teaching and takes it well beyond narrower linguistic concerns.

What insights does CLT offer into the learning experiences that might take learners towards their goals?

As well as this extended notion of the goals of language teaching, CLT also works within a broader framework for designing the experiences that can facilitate learning. This framework can be usefully described in terms of the distinction between 'analytic' and 'experiential' dimensions of learning (analysed in detail by Stern, 1992).

The analytic dimension in CLT

The analytic dimension of language teaching dominated most widely-used approaches before CLT. Sometimes the learners themselves are involved in analyzing the language (e.g. in the grammar-translation approaches). In the more active, practice-oriented approaches which superseded grammar-translation in many contexts, the learners practise language items which have been isolated as discrete 'part-skills' by the teacher and sequenced into a teaching

syllabus. The learners practise the items until they can be produced as automatically as possible and later engage in 'whole-task' practice, where they integrate the separate items in order to communicate. These stages underlie the familiar 'PPP' (Presentation – Practice – Production) sequence described in many teachers' handbooks. One of the main contributions of the early work in CLT was to expand this analytic dimension by adding a functional-communicative element, so that learners are more aware of the functional and social aspects of the language they are practising. For example, they may carry out a controlled pair-work activity in which they 'make suggestions' in various situations and later engage in a less controlled role play based on a similar situation. In this analytic dimension of learning, CLT emphasizes the need to relate forms to meanings, both for motivational reasons and to establish the form-meaning connections that are a necessary basis for communication (see for example Ur, 2012, on ways to achieve this in grammar teaching).

The experiential dimension in CLT

The skill-learning model is now joined by a view of learning as a process of holistic development, which occurs when students use language for communication. Studies of second language learning in natural settings as well as in classrooms have shown how, through participating in communicative language use such as reading and oral interaction, learners not only consolidate their capacity to use their existing knowledge of the language but actually extend this knowledge. Studies of learners' 'interlanguage' (surveyed for example in Lightbown & Spada, 2013 and Littlewood, 1984) highlight some of the internal processes by which this takes place. Table 1 (adapted from Stern, 1992) compares some of the features of the two dimensions:

Table 1

Analytic and experiential dimensions in language learning and teaching

Analytic dimension	←↔→	Experiential dimension
Focus is on learning language as discrete items.	←↔→	Focus is on using language for communication.
Learning and teaching are organised around discrete language patterns and vocabulary.	←↔→	Learning and teaching are organised around communication e.g. tasks.
Language is often experienced without a context (i.e. is 'decontextualised').	←↔→	Language is experienced in the context of meaning and communication.
Controlled practice of language patterns is important.	←↔→	Communicative use of language is important.
Students aim to produce formally correct sentences.	←↔→	Students aim to achieve communicative outcomes.
Accuracy is very important.	←↔→	Fluency is very important.
Feedback focuses on form (e.g. through error correction).	←↔→	Feedback focuses on meaning (formal errors are less important).

Reading and writing are emphasised.	←↔→	Speaking is given at least as much time as reading and writing.
Activity tends to be teacher-centred.	←↔→	Activity tends to be student-centred.
There is a lot of whole-class teaching.	←↔→	There is a lot of pair or group work.

The complementary roles of the two dimensions in contributing to communicative competence may be represented as in Figure 1:

Figure 1
Two dimensions of learning and teaching in CLT

Analytic dimension	←→	**Experiential dimension**
Instruction (main focus:form + meaning)	←→	Communication (main focus:meaning + message)
↓		↓
Conscious learning and practice	←→	Subconscious learning and integration
↓		↓
Increasing automaticity of correct language	←→	Increasing correctness of spontaneous language
↓		↓
Communicative Competence		
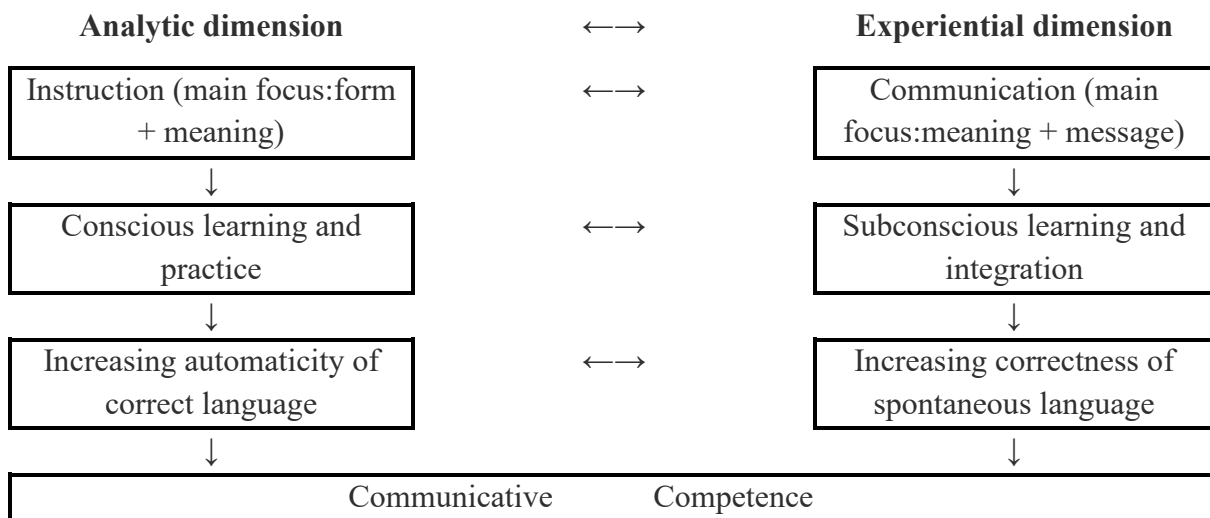
The two dimensions are at two ends of a continuum and most specific learning activities will have features of each, to varying degrees. For example, in what will be called 'communicative language practice' in the following section, learners engage in communication but with pre-taught forms. On the other hand, during 'authentic communication', they may sometimes focus analytically on specific forms which cause difficulties.

What insights does CLT offer into the pedagogy that can facilitate these learning experiences?

When CLT was first introduced, it was similar to the methods that preceded it in the sense that it was delivered to teachers across the world as a 'package' of principles and techniques which they should implement but not question. After years of experience, as Hiep (2007) notes, teachers in many parts of the world came to reject CLT as a 'fixed package' but still accept 'the spirit of CLT', which emphasizes that learning happens best 'when classroom practices are made real and meaningful to learners' and that this learning should make learners 'able to use the language effectively for their communicative needs'. In other words, learning needs to fulfil two all-important criteria:

- it should be engage learners as deeply and personally as possible
- it should be oriented towards the goal of communicative competence.

Learning should engage learners as deeply and personally as possible

Four strands of engagement are sometimes distinguished in classroom learning (see Philp & Duchesne, 2016):

- cognitive engagement, e.g. sustained attention, mental effort, self-regulation;
- behavioural engagement, e.g. time on task, participation;
- emotional engagement, e.g. motivated involvement;
- social engagement, e.g. when learners listen and provide feedback to one another.

These strands are closely intertwined in practice (e.g. increased social engagement supports the other three strands) and teachers have a wide range of pedagogical strategies at their disposal for implementing them, for example by increasing the elements of:

- personalization and authenticity: designing activities which are related to students' own selves and interests;
- emotional and intellectual safety: creating an environment where students feel free to take risks;
- challenge: offering students an acceptable degree of challenge;
- autonomy: letting students feel they have choices and independence;
- novelty and variety: introducing elements of the unusual or unexpected;
- relatedness: furthering a sense of cooperation and social connection between students.

The above factors involve personal feelings and students will respond to them differently. However, teachers can make efforts to influence them for specific groups of students through the ways that they select, design or adapt texts and activities.

Learning should be oriented towards the goal of communicative competence.

This second condition does not mean that every activity in the classroom should engage learners in real communication (as was often assumed in the early years of CLT) but that the role and value of each activity is evaluated according to how it *contributes* to learners' ability to engage in real communication (i.e. their communicative competence). Some activities may involve actual communication (or 'whole task practice' as discussed earlier) but some may focus on separate aspects of communication, such as structures, vocabulary or pronunciation (the 'part-skills' of communication). An important temptation to avoid is that we sometimes attach so much attention to the part-skills that practice in actual communication is neglected.

Over the years, as teachers have searched for a single 'right method', they have devised a wide range of techniques for teaching specific objectives and skills. With CLT, they have also gained a lot of experience in designing activities which involve communication. How can we best incorporate these various kinds of activity into a single methodology for teaching English? Here we will look at one framework which has proved useful to many teachers. The framework

is based on the distinction made earlier between 'analytic' and 'experiential' learning activities. Activities are ranged along a continuum, so the borderline between different types of activity is not clearly defined. Also, individual learners, even within the same class, may experience the same activity in different ways.

Figure 2

The 'communicative continuum' as a basis for CLT pedagogy

Analytic Learning		← →		Experiential Learning
1	2	3	4	5
Non-communicative learning	**Pre-communicative language practice**	**Communicative language practice**	**Structured communication**	**Authentic communication**
Focusing on the structures of language, how they are formed and what they mean, e.g. substitution exercises, inductive 'discovery' and awareness-raising activities	Practising language with some attention to meaning but not communicating new messages to others, e.g. describing visuals or situational language practice ('questions and answers')	Practising pre-taught language but in a context where it communicates new information, e.g. information gap activities or 'personalised' questions	Using language to communicate in situations which elicit pre-learnt language but with some degree of unpredictability, e.g. structured role-play and simple problem-solving	Using language to communicate in situations where the meanings are unpredictable, e.g. creative role-play, more complex problem-solving and discussion
Focus on form		← →		**Focus on meaning**

The framework is structured around five main categories of activity. They form a continuum and there is not strict division between them. Indeed, the same activity may be interpreted differently by differently by different learners, even within the same class.

1. At the extreme left of the diagram, *non-communicative learning* involves the strongest focus on form. It includes, for example, grammar exercises, substitution drills and pronunciation drills.
2. As we move to the right into column 2, *pre-communicative language practice* still focuses primarily on formal features but is also oriented towards meaning. An example of this is the familiar 'question-and-answer' practice, in which the teacher asks questions (e.g. about a text, picture or situation) to which everyone knows the answer,

e.g. 'Who is sitting next to John?' and so on. Students are not communicating new information but they have to pay attention to the meaning of the words.

3. With communicative language practice in column 3, we come to activities in which learners still work with a predictable range of language but use it to convey information. These include, for example, information-gap activities in which learners share information to complete a table, compare two pictures to discover differences, questionnaire activities in which learners gather information from classmates, or map-based activities which require learners to follow a route or find a location.

4. In structured communication, the main focus moves to the communication of meanings but the teacher has carefully structured the situation to ensure that the learners can cope with it with their existing resources, including perhaps what they have recently used in more form-focussed work. This category includes more complex information-exchange activities or structured role-playing tasks. The example below is designed by Ur (2012). It develops students' ability to use the future tense but in other respects the language that emerges is not predictable:

The World Tomorrow

Students are asked to write down a list of changes they expect to see in the world by a date 50 years in the future. For example:

> We will have a working day of four hours.
> Every home will have a video telephone.
> People will live to be 100 years old or more.

They may be told to write as many ideas as possible in the time given or they may be asked to write ideas for a particular topic-area (e.g. education, sport, fashion, technology, etc.).

The ideas are then read out and discussed. Those that most of the class agree with may be written up on the board.

Variations:
In groups, students try to sort their predictions into 'optimistic' and 'pessimistic' ones.

Later, students may choose predictions that appeal to them and use them as the topic for a short essay.

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5. Finally, at the extreme right of the continuum, *authentic communication* comprises activities in which there is the strongest focus on the communication of messages and in which the language needed is unpredictable, such as using language for discussion, problem-solving and content-based tasks. These activities may develop into larger scale projects and contribute to students' personal and interpersonal development. Here is an example from Ribé & Vidal (1993):

> **Designing an alternative world**
>
> **1** Students and teachers brainstorm aspects of the environment they like and those they would like to see improved. These may include changes to the geographical setting, nature, animal-life, housing, society, family, leisure activities, politics, etc.
>
> **2** Students are put into groups according to common interests. The groups identify the language and information they need. The students carry out individual and group research on the selected topics. The students discuss aspects of this 'Alternative reality' and then report back. They decide on the different ways (stories, recordings, games, etc.) to link all the research and present the final product.
>
> **3** Students present the topic and evaluate the activity.

Observational classroom studies (e.g. Deng & Carless, 2009) suggest that many teachers use predominantly activities from columns 1 and 2. Those teachers who are eager to extend their repertoire in CLT may use the framework as a 'map' of the landscape and gradually include more of the activities in column 3 (where they are still controlled by the teacher) and then move into columns 4 and 5 (where there is greater independence, creativity and autonomy). As they gain experience (or with more advanced learners), they may increase the proportion of activities that involve structured and authentic communication. But they will usually continue to use activities from columns 1 – 3, either to prepare learners for 'communicative tasks' or to remedy gaps that have emerged.

Task-based and task-supported language learning

A lot of current discussion within the field of CLT focuses on 'task-based language teaching' (TBLT) or 'task-supported language teaching' (TSLT). There is a lot of debate about the precise definition of a 'task' but in essence it is a learning activity in which learners use *their own language* (not simply regurgitating textbook language), in a recognizable *context of communication* (which is related to the 'real world'), for a *communicative purpose* (which goes beyond practising language for its own sake), in order to *achieve an outcome* (which is the measure of success). Here is a simple task intended for elementary level students:

> **My best friend**
>
> Students work in groups of four or five. Each student prepares a short description of his or her best friend. Through question and answer, students find out what each other's best friend looks like and whether there are any similarities between them. They then listen to the teacher describing two or three of his or her friends. They complete a table with key characteristics and, from a display of photographs, identify which persons the teacher has described.

In the continuum presented in Figure 2, tasks would be classified as 'authentic communication' or 'structured communication', depending on the degree of free expression of meanings involved. They connect the learners with the world outside the classroom and motivate them

to participate. They also connect the learners with the specific elements of language that they need in order to communicate, not only in the specific task but also in other situations. These may include communicative functions such as 'describing appearance', vocabulary items such as 'eyes' and 'glasses', and grammatical structures such as 'possessive adjectives'. These specific elements are often called 'objectives'.

In the pure (or 'strong') version of (TBLT), a learning sequence might begin when students are asked to perform a task with language they already know and with the use of communication strategies (e.g. paraphrase) to fill any gaps. As they communicate, they become aware of gaps in their knowledge and see the need for new language. The teacher later helps them to learn this language through more controlled practice activities. This may lead to the students performing the task again or performing a task which is different but requires similar language and skills.

In task-*supported* language teaching (TSLT), the sequence is different. As in pure TBLT, the teacher first designs the task. But then he or she analyses in advance the language that students might need – but have not yet learnt – in order to carry it out. After the learners have practised this language, they carry out the task itself. The task thus helps the students to integrate the new language into their communicative competence and also to link it to real communication. TSLT is similar to the familiar 'PPP' approach (Presentation, Practice, and then Production) in which the final 'production' stage is realized through 'tasks' as defined above.

In general, the strong version of task-*based* language teaching has proven most successful with intermediate and advanced learners, who have sufficient language to attempt the tasks with some degree of success even without pre-teaching. In most elementary and secondary school contexts, it is task-*supported* language teaching that has proven more accessible to teachers and learners. TBLT remains a possibility, however, as demonstrated by the study of Nguyen, Newton & Crabbe (2015), who found that many learners in an (elite) Vietnamese secondary school preferred to carry out tasks without pre-teaching, because they felt that pre-teaching hindered their ability to create their own ideas.

Teachers do not need to make a categorical choice between TBLT and TSLT. They can use the two approaches alternately, or experiment with different degrees of pre-task preparation, and seek the most suitable balance for themselves, their students and their specific context.

What have been the experiences with CLT in specific contexts around the world?

CLT had its origin in Western countries, often with small classes in favorable teaching conditions. In other contexts it has met challenges of implementation, especially in primary and secondary schools with large classes and limited resources. For example, Jeon (2009) describes the 'drastic change' that Korean teachers were expected to implement when CLT was introduced. It involved:

- emphasizing communicative competence rather than only linguistic competence;
- moving from teacher-fronted to learner-centred classes;

- changing the teacher's role from lecturer to facilitator;
- working with textbooks which focus on communicative situations rather than language based on sentence examples:
- setting the unit of analysis at the discourse level rather than the sentence level.

In China, according to Wang (2007), teachers were suddenly expected to:

- develop new practical skills for classroom teaching;
- change how they evaluate students;
- develop the ability to adapt textbooks;
- use modern technology;
- improve their own language proficiency;
- change their conception of their own role from being a transmitter of knowledge to being a multi-role educator;
- change their conception of language learning from one based on knowledge-acquisition to one based on the holistic development of competence.

Butler (2011) classifies these challenges neatly as conceptual constraints (e.g., conflicts with local values and misconceptions regarding CLT/TBLT), classroom-level constraints (e.g., various student and teacher-related factors, classroom management practices, and resource availability), and societal-institutional level constraints (e.g., curricula and examination systems). Similar factors are highlighted by Lai, 2015 and Littlewood, 2007.

As Butler's classification suggests, in addition to challenges of practical implementation, there has often been confusion at the conceptual level. Some of this confusion was inherent from the outset. CLT's roots in functional accounts of language leads teachers to give importance to the functions of language but otherwise lets them continue to organize teaching within the familiar 'Presentation – Practice – Production' framework. On the other hand, CLT's roots in psycholinguistics and learning theory leads them to a new, unfamiliar framework in which communication is not only the goal of learning but also the main means by which learning takes places. These are sometimes called the 'weak version' and the 'strong version' of CLT respectively.

In many cases the challenges and uncertainties described above have caused teachers to reject official CLT policies. For example, Hu (2004, p. 43) found in his survey that 'the intensive top-down promotion of CLT notwithstanding, pedagogical practices in many Chinese classrooms have not changed fundamentally.' In South Korea, Shim & Baik (2004, p. 246) state that many teachers 'write up reports that comply with government recommendations while continuing to practise examination-oriented classroom instruction.' But many teachers have responded to the introduction of CLT in more creative ways by adapting the ideas of CLT to suit their own practice. In Hong Kong, for example, Carless (2004) observed that many teachers reinterpret the use of communicative tasks as 'contextualised practice' rather than activities in which learners negotiate meaning independently of the teacher. Rao (1996) observes how some teachers in China reconcile the traditional approach and CLT by accepting

CLT as a reference framework but placing traditional Chinese elements next to it in an equal relationship. Zheng & Adamson (2003) show how a secondary school teacher of English in China 'reconciles his pedagogy with the innovative methodology in a context constrained by examination requirements and the pressure of time' (p. 323) by 'expanding his repertoire rather than rejecting previous approaches' (p. 335). He maintains many traditional elements, such as his own role as a knowledge transmitter, the provision of grammatical explanations, and the use of memorization techniques and pattern drills. However, he integrates new ideas into his pedagogy by including more interaction and more creative responses from the students in his classes, 'usually in the context provided by the textbook, but sometimes in contexts derived from the students' personal experience' (p. 331).

Conclusion: CLT in the context of 'postmethod language pedagogy'

In its early days CLT was widely regarded as a new and unquestionable orthodoxy. As Morrow & Johnson (1983) put it with reference to a seminal conference that they organized in 1978, in those days 'functional syllabuses [on which early CLT courses were based] seemed to offer an automatic solution to all the problems of language teaching' (p. 4). As a package of ideas and techniques, CLT was exported around the world with the support of the ELT industry (textbooks, advisors, training courses, native-speaker teachers, and so on). Bax (2003) writes of the 'CLT attitude' that accompanied this endeavour: 'assume and insist that CLT is the whole and complete solution to language learning; assume that no other method could be any good; ignore people's own views of who they are and what they want; neglect and ignore all aspects of the local context as being irrelevant' (p. 280).

The interpretations and responses described in the previous section illustrate how, as the examples in Duff (2014) also show, the term 'CLT' is used to describe a wide range of practices and principles. This echoes the view of Richards (2006) that CLT is 'a set of generally agreed upon principles that can be applied in different ways, depending on the teaching context, the age of the learners, their level, their learning goals' (p. 22) but does not correspond to any single set of practices. Dörnyei (2013) uses the term 'principled communicative approach' to characterize CLT as most teachers now seek to implement it. CLT thus merges increasingly with current ideas which argue in favour of a 'postmethod pedagogy', which rejects traditional notions that there are fixed 'set methods' (see for example Kumaravadivelu 1994, 2003, 2006).

The 'CLT attitude' described by Bax corresponds to early conceptions of globalization and modernization as unidirectional processes in which ideas and forms are transmitted from centre to periphery and, in the words of the social anthropologist Hannerz (1992), 'when the centre speaks, the periphery listens, and mostly does not talk back' (p. 219). Gradually, this unidirectional conception has been overtaken by one in which 'inflowing cultural forms and meanings [meet] existing local forms and meanings' and the resulting 'creative mixture of "global" elements with local meanings and cultural forms' leads to innovation and diversity (Schuerkens, 2004, p. 19 and p. 23). Schuerkens characterizes this as a 'cosmopolitan conversation of humankind' (p. 15) in which all participants have a voice. As we continue to move further through the era of globalization, perhaps the most valuable contribution of CLT is to act not as a specific set of practices and ideas but as a transnational 'ideoscape' (Apparudai,

1996; Holton, 2005), that is, as an *ideational landscape* which provides a location for deepening and extending our 'cosmopolitan conversation' about second language pedagogy.

To give meaningful direction to this conversation, Littlewood & Wang (2022) suggest structuring it around three major principles which are fundamental to all second language learning:

- Learning comes from engagement. (It is only through engagement that individuals connect with learning opportunities)
- Language must be memorized (Otherwise new material will not be available for use beyond the immediate situation of learning)
- Language learning must serve the requirements of communication. (For most people, that is the main source of their motivation.)

These three major principles govern every moment of our teaching: we constantly need to consider (a) the extent and nature of our students' engagement, (b) the measures we and they can take to strengthen memorization, and (c) the relationship of classroom activities to the goal of using language for communication. Each principle is simple enough to guide our practice on a moment-by moment basis but also sufficiently generative to stimulate creativity and innovation.

Within each of these major principles, Littlewood & Wang propose between two and four 'dimensions', which focus on strategies for implementation. Teachers endeavor to choose specific strategies which are sensitive to the specific context in which they teach.The decisions which they take along these dimensions are thus the essential link between the theoretical principles and classroom practice.

The principles and related dimensions are represented in Figure 3:

Figure 3

Principles and dimensions in classroom language teaching

Engagement
Motivational
Behavioural
Social
Cognitive

Memorization
Depth of processing
Practice - preferably spaced

Relation to communication
Focus on forms
Focus on forms and meanings
Focus on forms, meanings and messages
Communicative interaction
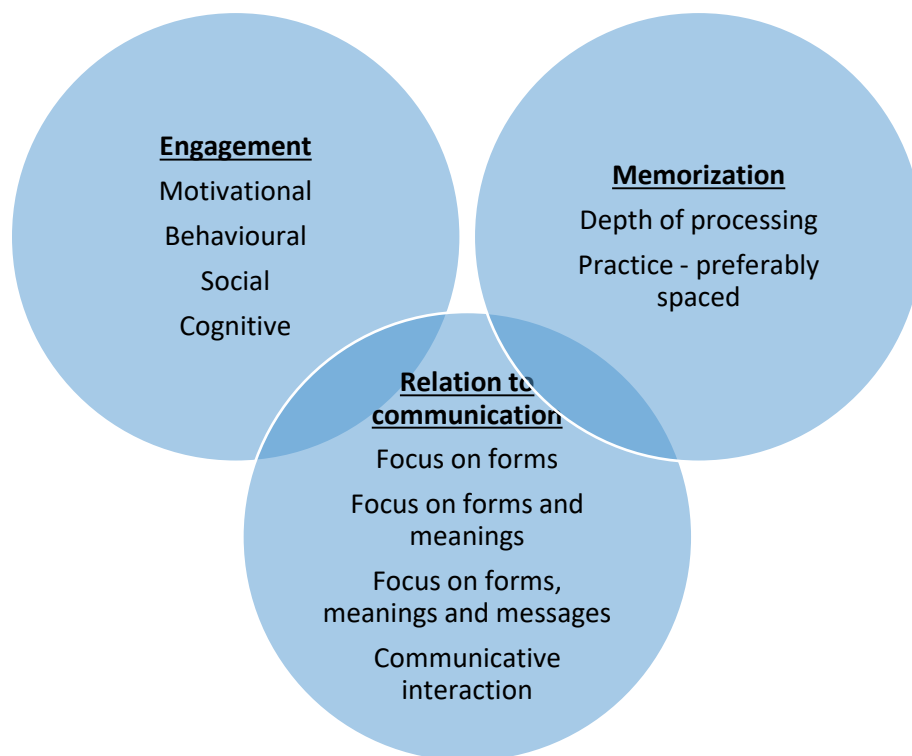
Conclusion

As we continue to move further through the era of globalization, perhaps the most valuable contribution of CLT is to act not as a specific set of practices and ideas but as a transnational 'ideoscape' (Apparudai, 1996; Holton, 2005), that is, as an *ideational landscape* which provides a location for deepening and extending the 'cosmopolitan conversation' about second language pedagogy. Every teacher will have his or her own views, based on experience, about what topics should have priority in this conversation. Here are just three:

We should examine systematically the optimal combinations of analytic and experiential strategies.

Many of the most significant strategic decisions that classroom teachers have to make concern the complementary functions of analytic and experiential strategies. This issue is at the heart of the distinction between the 'weak' and 'strong' versions of CLT discussed above (the latter affirming that analytic learning is not necessary) and is also central to considering the respective roles of accuracy-based and fluency-based activities. More recently, much research has addressed the role that form-focused instruction plays in facilitating language learning and the kinds of form-focussed instruction that are of most benefit in particular circumstances. The 'communicative continuum' mentioned above proposes a methodological framework for moving between analytic (non-communicative and pre-communicative) activities to experiential activities (structured and authentic communication).

The optimal balance between different kinds of activity from the analytic – experiential continuum remains very much an area for individual intuition and experimentation. It is also an area in which research can seek to propose new possibilities and investigate their likely effects on learning.

We should explore ways to deepen and personalize the content of L2 communication in the classroom.

Much of the language use that occurs in the communication-oriented language classroom does not, as a teacher interviewed by Gong & Holliday (2013) puts it, 'touch the hearts of the students'. Gong & Holliday report on how students in a remote village in rural China were asked to talk about their weekend activities through examples such as 'go to see a movie, go to an art museum, or go to piano lessons in a coaching school'. None of these opportunities existed in their lives and, not surprisingly, the students had nothing to talk about.

Hanauer (2012) writes eloquently of the need to put the 'living, thinking, experiencing and feeling person at the centre of the language learning process' and 'make language learning a personally contextualized, meaningful activity for the learner' (p. 106). The exploration of more strategies for doing this is a key task for the future of CLT. Hanauer himself proposes procedures for incorporating poetry writing. Kim (2013) uses literature-based instruction to connect language learning with the real-life experiences of the learners. Gong & Holliday (2013) emphasize the need to base tasks on content which is relevant to learners' lives and interests and which will help them become 'multicultural citizens' who can communicate about their own and other cultures and express their own views. Other proposals include linking language development to other subject content, developing project work, and using drama techniques. The 'three generations of tasks' described by Ribé & Vidal (1993) offer a possible framework for deepening task engagement: the first 'generation' focuses only on communicative development, the second on communicative and cognitive development, and the third adds the dimension of global personality development. Engagement may also be encouraged through collaborative learning techniques which increase learners' responsibility for contributing to group interaction (McCafferty, Jacobs & DaSilva Iddings, 2006). Zhang & Head (2010) report on a project in which a teacher was able to increase students' sense of personal engagement by including them in joint decision-making about the topics and activities in their course. In the context of more controlled language use, there is a range of techniques for personalizing practice by relating it to students' own identity (Griffiths & Keohane, 2000). All of these proposals provide a basis for further widening the options at teachers' disposal.

We should continue to explore the role of the learners' mother tongue in the language classroom

A practical issue that engages teachers' decision-making in the classroom almost constantly is the role (if any) that they should accord to the students' mother tongue (see for example Littlewood & Yu, 2011 and Hall & Cook, 2012 for discussions of the issues). The 'monolingual principle' - that only the target language should be used - has been enshrined in many of the

methodological proposals that have influenced language teaching over the last century and in many countries it is official policy to use the mother tongue only as a last resort.

The monolingual principle is now questioned on a number of grounds. Few people would disagree that, since the classroom is the only source of input for many students, the overriding aim should be to establish the target language as the main medium of communication. To achieve this aim, however, they also acknowledge that the mother tongue can be a major resource. At the affective level it can provide psychological reassurance. In terms of teaching strategies, it opens up a wide range of options at all stages. At the presentation stage, for example, it can convey meaning efficiently and enable students to progress more quickly to the stages of internalization and active use. At the practice stage, it can provide effective stimuli for students to use and expand their full foreign language competence. At the production stage, it can help to create contexts where the foreign language has a meaningful role, e.g. as students brainstorm ideas for a story in the security of their mother tongue and later write it in the foreign language. In ways such as these, the mother tongue can serve as a natural bridge between the two languages, offer a sense of ownership over learning, and help satisfy the need to personalize communication. There must be a clear policy for its use, however, to ensure that it does not take on a dominant role.

This is only a small sample of areas where research is needed. Indeed, within the broad 'postmethod' definition of CLT that has now emerged, one may say that there is no distinction between research into CLT and all other research that sets out to further an engaging, communication-oriented approach to language teaching.

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PARADIGM SHIFTS IN PEER FEEDBACK WITHIN LEARNING-ORIENTED LANGUAGE ASSESSMENT

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Abstract

In the development of language assessment in higher education, assessment criteria and tasks have diversified immensely. There has been an increasing acceptance of the importance of learning-oriented assessment (LOA) in facilitating the development of students' potential for effective learning. With the three key principles of learning-oriented assessment processes, namely learning-oriented assessment tasks, development of evaluative expertise, and student engagement with feedback, assessment researchers and frontline teachers could be better equipped with theoretical knowledge to confront the challenges proposed by technology-mediated language assessment. Peer feedback, as one of the central components of LOA, has been heavily researched in recent decades. In this conceptual article, we attempt to outline three major paradigm shifts in peer feedback, as a crucial form of student participation in feedback activities, from monologue to dialogue, from passive to proactive engagement, and from self-regulation to co-regulation and socially shared regulation, through a review of previous research. The aim is to promote the recognition of peer feedback in facilitating dialogue, proactive engagement and regulating learning among researchers and teachers, and, in turn, to better motivate learners to undertake high levels of cognitive involvement not only in the process of language assessment, but also in the explorations of lifelong learning.

Keywords: language assessment, learning-oriented assessment, peer feedback, paradigm shift

Introduction

The COVID-19 outbreak has posed an unprecedented challenge to the practice of language assessment globally, and as both teaching and assessment moved rapidly from the traditional face-to-face classroom to the virtual online environment, researchers and frontline teachers have been forced to come up with responses based on evolving assessment theory and digital technology. Learning-oriented assessment (LOA), with its emphasis on the learning process, helps to compensate for the shortcomings and disadvantages of frontline teachers in conducting class-based assessments in an online environment. This type of assessment particularly highlights the role of feedback in further facilitating student initiatives to improve learning and

clearly remedies the lack of communication in the online assessment process, which is worthy of further research.

Carless (2007) proposed the concept of learning-oriented assessment, which is defined as "assessment where a primary focus is on the potential to develop productive student learning processes" (Carless, 2015a, p. 964). This model of assessment breaks away from the traditional shackles of formative assessment and summative assessment, placing more emphasis on learning factors than measurement factors in the assessment process (Carless et al., 2006). According to this model, motivating appropriate student learning behaviours and attitudes can be achieved not only through formative assessment, but also through summative assessment when it meets certain characteristics (Carless, 2015a). In order to make this theory of assessment more effective for the primary purpose of promoting student learning, Carless (2007, pp. 59-60) proposed three principles. As the concepts were refined and improved, Carless (2015a, p. 965) further simplified the components of learning-oriented assessment into the three strands of the model, namely learning oriented assessment tasks, developing evaluative expertise and student engagement with feedback.

Principle 1: Assessment tasks should be designed to stimulate sound learning practices amongst students.

Principle 2: Assessment should involve students actively in engaging with criteria, quality, their own and/or peers' performance.

Principle 3: Feedback should be timely and forward-looking so as to support current and future student learning.

In learning-oriented assessment processes, students, as agents of assessment and feedback, need to be able to develop a concept of assessment quality close to that of the teachers (Sadler, 2010), and to compensate for the shortcomings and deficiencies of teacher feedback by engaging in peer feedback. Firstly, in the absence of resources, frontline teachers are overwhelmed by the burden of assessment and therefore find it difficult to give specific and timely feedback on the results of each student's assessment; indeed, the content of teacher feedback is often stereotypical and unclear, which makes it difficult for students to understand all of the teacher feedback (Hyland, 1990). Secondly, prolonged teacher interventions result in students developing passive learning habits in which they are overly dependent on the teacher and lack autonomy in their learning. Upon receiving assessment results, students simply make changes based on the teacher's feedback without exploring ways of deeper learning and problem solving. It is because of such drawbacks that more and more researchers and frontline teachers are recognising the importance of peer feedback in facilitating learning-oriented assessment processes.

The cognitive, social and emotional benefits of peer feedback in ESL/EFL assessment, particularly in writing instruction, continue to be confirmed by a growing body of empirical research (Min, 2006). Through a learning model in which peers provide feedback to each other, learners improve their ability to master feedback criteria and promote a deeper understanding

of writing and revision (Min, 2006). The equal status of provider and receiver of peer feedback helps to increase students' sense of audience (Nelson & Murphy, 1993; Tsui & Ng, 2000) and to develop a sense of ownership of the text (Min, 2006; Tsui & Ng, 2000). Peer feedback is effective in reducing students' anxiety (Gao et al., 2019) and emotional defences (Higgins, 2000), resulting in a more positive attitude towards writing (Min, 2005).

While the benefits of peer feedback have been confirmed by a growing body of empirical research, it is undeniable that it comes with a number of drawbacks that need to be overcome in order to be most effective. Increasingly, feedback researchers have recognised that feedback that only provides assessment information may not be sufficient to meet students' needs and interests, that much feedback is wasted or never viewed, or that students may not understand how to use feedback to improve their learning. Over the past few decades, peer feedback has undergone some significant paradigm shifts, which are summarised in this study through a review of the relevant literature as shifting from monologue to dialogue (Carless & Boud, 2018; Laurillard, 2002; Wood, 2020; Zhu & To, 2021), from passive to proactive engagement (Winstone, Nash, Rowntree & Parker, 2017), and from self-regulation to co-regulation and socially shared regulation (Butler & Winne, 1995; Er et al., 2021; Zhu & To, 2021). The paradigm shifts in peer feedback, although coming from different and diverse research perspectives, all emphasise what students can do with feedback to improve learning, and specific literature reviews are described separately below.

From Monologue to Dialogue

Peer feedback approaches to ESL/EFL teaching and assessment have emerged and developed since the 1980s (Brannon & Knoblauch, 1982; Chaudron, 1984; Zamel, 1985). Multidisciplinary theories such as social constructivism (Vygotsky & Cole, 1978); collaborative learning theory (Johnson & Johnson, 1989); theories from a cognitive perspective, namely the interaction hypothesis (Long, 1996), the attention hypothesis (Schmidt, 2001) and the comprehensible input hypothesis (Swain, 1985) all provide research perspectives and theoretical foundations for feedback research. Most of these theories view learning as a social and collective activity in which peer feedback facilitates peer interaction and collaboration and, in turn, students gain language knowledge and skills. Together, these different theoretical backgrounds have provided a solid basis for the rapid development of peer feedback research, making it increasingly important and widely used in ESL/EFL teaching and assessment.

Among the many theoretical schools of thought, the social constructivist perspective has laid the cornerstone for the development of peer feedback and has had a profound impact. Social constructivism views all higher forms of learning and cognitive development as social in nature (Lantolf, 2000) and emphasises that individuals cannot learn and develop cognition outside of their social and cultural context (Storch, 2007). At one end of this continuum are skills that the learner has mastered and at the other end are skills that are too complex and difficult for the learner; at neither extreme is learning likely to occur and in between is the zone of proximal development. Another core concept of social constructivism is scaffolding, a term borrowed from the construction industry and applied to the field of education. Scaffolding refers to the

support and assistance provided for students to complete tasks independently in order for learning to occur and develop, with the aim of enabling students to successfully move through the zone of proximal development. The use of scaffolding, defined as structured supportive interactions that lead to effective learning, is the most effective way to help learners. Learners' interactions with significant individuals can profoundly influence higher-order thinking processes, and peer feedback provides opportunities for learners to improve within the zone of proximal development (ZPD), thus helping learners move from performing with the help of a teacher or peers to independent problem-solving skills (Yu & Lee, 2016). Both parties in peer feedback learn from each other and scaffold each other's progress through a process of apprenticeship. By engaging in scaffolding tasks between peers, learners not only improve their own learning, but also contribute to the language development of their peers.

In social constructivism, peer feedback is constructed through interaction and is therefore seen as a dynamic, interpretative process (Carless & Boud, 2018; Laurillard, 2002; Vygotsky & Cole, 1978). It is therefore necessary to shift feedback from one-way monologue to two-way interactive dialogue. In the old paradigm, feedback was seen as the delivery of a gift or product, or the process of one-way transmission of diagnostic information (Carless, 2015b). This monologic paradigm has obvious drawbacks. Firstly, this feedback focuses only on the final assessment of the learner's work and is not conducive to engaging learners' interest and motivation in feedback practices (Carless, 2015b). Secondly, this paradigm is also based on the idealised premise that feedback receivers can understand and practice feedback accurately (Scott & Coate, 2003), whereas, in fact, feedback receivers often struggle to understand the content of feedback, as Sutton and Gill (2010) compared the difficulty of decoding and understanding feedback to that of learning a new language. Because the old paradigm of peer feedback rejected the dynamic nature of learning (Nicol & Macfarlan-Dick, 2006), a great deal of feedback was ignored and not implemented. In response to the worrying state of student engagement in peer feedback, feedback researchers have begun to emphasise that dialogue can help learners actively construct and interpret the meaning of feedback and jointly decide what actions to take to implement it, thereby improving learning and task performance (Yang & Carless, 2013). In two-way conversations and collaborative learning activities between feedback providers and receivers, peers share responsibility for generating sufficient quantity and quality of feedback and using it effectively (Winston, Nash, Parker & Rowntree, 2017). Thus, rather than simply complaining about the poor quality of feedback, receivers learn to take responsibility for its effective use (Nicol & Macfarlan-Dick, 2006).

This paradigm shift in assessment can be clearly seen by comparing the different definitions of peer feedback in academia over a twenty-year period. Liu and Hansen (2002, p. 1) defined peer feedback as "the use of learners as sources of information and interactants for each other in such a way that learners assume roles and responsibilities normally taken on by a formally trained teacher, tutor, or editor in commenting on and critiquing each other's drafts in both written and oral formats in the process of writing". In contrast to this definition, which only emphasises the agency of students in peer feedback, Zhu and Carless (2018, p. 884) defined peer feedback as "a dialogic interaction between the provider and receiver about the quality of the work being assessed, emphasizing the potential of feedback dialogues as a means of

negotiating meaning and potentially empowering learners". This marks a shift in peer feedback towards a dialogic paradigm that is becoming more and more clearly recognised by researchers. It is undeniable that research on the new paradigm is still emerging and more work is urgently needed to explore in depth how students can engage in dialogic peer feedback activities and take initiative to promote learning-oriented assessment.

From Passive to Proactive Engagement

When the giving and receiving of feedback is seen as a two-way communication and interaction process, the importance of the receivers' engagement in decoding and responding to feedback is further highlighted (Nicol, 2010). Fredricks et al.'s (2004) concept of feedback engagement has been much cited in subsequent research, namely the interrelated triple-dimensional constructs of behaviour, cognition and affect. In addition to this, the psychological, emotional and cultural factors that result in learners' non-engagement with feedback have also been the focus of existing research on feedback engagement. In contrast, despite some seminal research findings, the expanse of research on the factors that facilitate feedback engagement is far from adequate, suggesting that researchers and frontline teachers need to pay more attention to the process and environmental elements that promote students' proactive engagement in peer feedback.

The following research explores the multifaceted and complex nature of feedback engagement from a variety of behavioural, cognitive and affective factors (Fan & Xu, 2020; Wood, 2020). Behavioural engagement focuses on students' behaviour after receiving feedback from their peers (Ellis, 2010), which involves what observable strategies they adopt to revise their assessment products (Han & Hyland, 2015), how they actively seek dialogue with teachers or peers (Nicol & Macfarlan-Dick, 2006) and set goals and action plans (Hepplestone & Chikwa, 2016). Cognitive engagement refers to the extent to which learners are cognitively attentive to feedback (Ellis, 2010), which is subdivided into three components, namely awareness of feedback, cognitive manipulation and metacognitive manipulation (Han & Hyland, 2015), and related research includes grasping learning opportunities from the feedback process (Evans, 2013); improving the understanding of responsibility sharing for effective feedback (Winstone & Nash, 2016); improving the ability to make evaluative judgements (Tai et al., 2018); making feedback-related internal dialogue (Carless, 2016); and engaging learners in the process of feedback loop (Farhady, 2021). The affective dimension, referring to learners' attitudinal responses to feedback (Ellis, 2010), is examined in terms of interest, value and emotion (Kahu, 2013; Linnenbrink & Pintrich, 2003), such as developing a better sense of self-efficacy (Evans, 2016); demonstrating receptivity to feedback that threatens the sense of self-efficacy (Evans, 2013); and feeling valued and showing enthusiasm (Kahu, 2013).

An area that has been extensively researched in terms of the extent of feedback engagement is the factors that lead to learners not engaging with feedback. Through a review of 103 studies met the inclusion criteria, Jonsson (2013) identified five reasons why learners do not engage with feedback: receivers think that (1) the feedback is not useful; (2) the feedback is not specific, detailed or individualised enough; (3) the feedback is too authoritative in tone to be productive; (4) they lack the appropriate implementation strategies for productive use of

feedback; and (5) they fail to understand the academic terminology or jargon used in the feedback. Winstone, Nash, Rowntree and Parker (2017) identified four psychological processes and corresponding barriers to learners' use of feedback, namely: awareness, cognisance, agency and volition, indicating that learners' inability and poor knowledge regarding decoding the meaning and purpose of feedback, implementing appropriate feedback strategies, translating feedback into action, as well as proactivity and receptiveness. In addition, learners may be reluctant to engage in feedback activities for cognitive, emotional or cultural reasons (Wood, 2020). From a cognitive perspective, learners who perceive intellectual factors as a fixed entity or have fixed mindsets tend to exhibit unhelpful response patterns or show avoidance or aversion to feedback (Stewart et al., 2017). On the other hand, those with a growth mindset have a more positive attitude towards feedback and are more likely to view feedback that encourages new perspectives as a positive experience and take action to implement the feedback (Forsythe & Johnson, 2017). Emotions as a powerful mediator of behavioural responses and future intentions (Harrison et al., 2015) also have important implications for feedback engagement; for example, learners may experience a decrease in self-efficacy and raise psychological defensiveness when receiving summative feedback (Chen, 2010) or develop hostility towards the feedback providers (Ryan & Henderson, 2018). Cultural background can also be a potential barrier to feedback engagement, as peer feedback is embedded in a specific socio-cultural context where culture plays a key role (Hyland & Hyland, 2006). These issues relate specifically to collectivism, interpersonal harmony and face-saving (Hu & Lam, 2010; Nelson & Carson, 1998; Yu et al., 2016), for example, Chinese students' reluctance to express critical comments on their peers' writing is an attempt to maintain group harmony, avoid tensions and disagreements, and to not assert their authority (Nelson & Carson, 1998).

While the different dimensions of the research described above are relevant, feedback engagement remains invisible (Price et al., 2011). This is because most of the current feedback effectiveness research focuses on measuring improvements in learning outcomes or changes in satisfaction, while the lack of focus on learner behaviour makes it difficult to directly observe or measure these feedback engagement behaviours (Wood, 2020). There is no doubt that more theoretical and practical findings are urgently needed to explore how students can proactively engage in the process of peer feedback. As agentic engagement refers to the constructive contribution of students to the teaching and learning process they receive (Reeve & Tseng, 2011), Winstone, Nash, Parker and Rowntree (2017) defined proactive recipience as a form of agentic engagement that includes learners sharing responsibility for making the feedback process effective, resulting in a taxonomy of SAGE recipience processes, including (1) self-appraisal, (2) assessment literacy, (3) goal-setting and self-regulation, (4) engagement and motivation. By conducting a systematic review and inductive coding of 195 relevant papers on promoting feedback engagement, the SAGE recipience processes are posited in the descriptive model of key conceptual influences on learners' proactive recipience of feedback, related to feedback interventions and interpersonal communication variables.

Ongoing advances in digital media have provided new opportunities and platforms to promote students' proactive engagement in peer feedback activities. Hung (2016) conducted peer-to-peer video feedback via social media platforms, such as Facebook to stimulate students' enthusiasm to proactively engage in learning activities. Moreover, the explosion of COVID-19 has disrupted the global norm of education and assessment, and as the learning-orientated assessment has been brought to the online environment in many forms, this realistic need for assessment has inspired researchers to further explore the practical possibilities of peer feedback. With the popularity of online testing and blended learning, Wood (2021) adopted SAGE recipience processes to a technology-mediated assessment and learning environment, revealing the ways in which students used cloud applications, represented by Google Docs, to facilitate screen casting peer feedback.

From Self-regulation to Co-regulation and Socially Shared Regulation

How students use regulation strategies to co-construct learning goals with group members and work together to achieve learning outcomes through collaboration has been one of the key topics of research in educational psychology in recent decades. Feedback is an important component of collaborative learning and is closely related to regulating learning. The following section summarises research findings related to peer feedback in three dimensions: Self-Regulated Learning (SRL), Co-Regulated Learning (CoRL) and Socially Shared Regulated Learning (SSRL).

Research on regulation in collaborative learning began with the early proposal of self-regulation. Ashby (1957) proposed that regulation includes monitoring, evaluation and control. With the introduction of Flavell's (1979) metacognitive theory, more and more researchers have focused on the field of social cognition. Zimmerman (1989) identified self-regulated learning as the strategies, metacognitive behaviours, motivation and conscious regulation that individuals perform to accomplish a goal. Winne (2011) divided self-regulated learning into four stages: (1) task perceptions, which refers to the learner's understanding of the task to be performed; (2) developing goals and plans; (3) developing task strategies; and (4) adaption, also known as metacognitive adaptive learning, refers to the need for the learner to make long-term plans for future motivation, beliefs and strategies once the main task has been completed. Intrinsically, self-regulated learners rely on internal standards, self-reinforcement, self-regulatory processes and the building of self-efficacy. On the social side, by observing and learning verbal descriptions, social instruction and feedback, learners begin to stimulate imitation and self-regulation. Self-regulation is influenced by both self and social factors, emphasising the importance of social guidance in knowledge construction, practice and feedback (Zimmerman, 2000). As the models of self-regulation matured, researchers began to focus on the aspects of social interaction and contextualisation, including Zimmerman's (2000) cyclical model of self-regulated learning and Winne and Perry's (2000) model of information processing, both of which view self-regulated learning as an individual's ability to develop in the environment.

Butler and Winne (1995) explained that feedback is an inherent and major determinant in the processes that constitute self-regulated learning, highlighting the active role of feedback receivers in dialogic feedback. They pointed out that feedback receivers learn to develop the skills to self-regulate their learning by playing different roles and not always relying on the evaluation of others. Based on that, Nicol and Macfarlan-Dick (2006, p. 205) proposed a model that combines external feedback, internal feedback and self-regulatory processes with regard to cognition, motivation and behavior, suggesting seven principles of good feedback practice as listed below:

Good feedback practice:

1. helps clarify what performance is (goals, criteria, expected standards);
2. facilitates the development of self-assessment (reflection) in learning;
3. delivers high quality information to students about their learning;
4. encourages teacher and peer dialogue around learning;
5. encourages positive motivational beliefs and self-esteem;
6. provides opportunities to close the gap between current and desired performance;
7. provides information to teachers that can be used to help shape teaching.

Social contexts play a significant role in self-regulated learning. Numerous researchers recognising that self-regulated learning is linked to social interactions, have been focusing on the central role that social contexts play in students' self-regulated learning. This context has led to the development of co-regulated learning, derived from Vygotsky and Cole's (1978) idea of a socially embedded or contextualised higher mental process of self-regulated learning, emphasising that co-regulated learning is the natural interaction within the learner's zone of proximal development and occurs when individuals introduce expertise into new learning tasks. In this process, co-regulation in the zone of proximal development begins to emerge as self-regulation as well as social and cultural accumulation. Learners engage in and control their own self-regulatory strategies, evaluations and processes through interactions such as observing, requesting, prompting or supporting the views of others (Hadwin et al., 2005). Co-regulation refers to the ongoing monitoring and regulation of shared activities by multiple members, including behaviours related to planning, formulating, reflecting and adapting learning strategies, with an emphasis on inter-individual influence (Hadwin & Oshige, 2011; Vauras et al., 2003). Collaborative learning with group participation is negotiated, synchronous, interactive and dialogic, and is the result of a sustained effort to construct and maintain a shared conception of the problem (Reusser, 2001; Roschelle & Teasley, 1995).

Volet et al. (2009) made a distinction between high-level and low-level co-regulated learning, which is instructive for studies related to the different proactive roles of feedback receivers. Merely implying or describing the proactive roles of feedback receivers (Butler & Winne, 1995) does not adequately account for their impact on regulating learning (Zhu & Carless, 2018). In light of this, Zhu and To (2021) in a pioneering effort identified six different proactive roles, namely respondent, verifier, explicator, negotiator, seeker and generator, based on recorded conversations and stimulated recall interview data from 21 first-year university students in China. These roles were identified as having an impact on self-regulated learning

and co-regulated learning with the feedback providers, driving dialogic peer feedback in the direction of mutually beneficial learning activities. For example, when feedback receivers take on the role of the respondent, they may simply respond to providers' comments through facial expressions, tone of voice, gestures and other paralinguistic elements (Zhu & To, 2021). In this case, feedback receivers comfortably exchange information without scaffolding the learning of others. In contrast, when feedback receivers take on the role of the generator, they actively co-construct problem-solving solutions with feedback providers that may be unknown to them, thus enhancing understanding of the problem and scaffolding each other's learning. This suggests that not all co-regulation of content material involves the elaboration and co-construction of knowledge and that when group learning activities are limited to low-level information exchange, sharing of ideas and clarification of understanding, such interactions do not represent negotiation and exchange of content relevant to cognitive and metacognitive processes (Salonen et al., 2005). The three roles of negotiator, seeker and generator exemplify the contribution of feedback receivers in shaping the effectiveness of the feedback, which provides a new perspective on peer feedback research and further promotes the development of student-centred feedback practices, but the delineation and impact of the different roles need to be validated by more empirical research.

At present, in the field of collaborative learning, researchers are particularly interested in the group or community as a whole and use the group as a unit of analysis to explore why some groups succeed and others fail. It is within this context and perspective that socially shared regulated learning has been proposed, which has important implications for successful collaborative learning. Jackson et al. (2000) argued that individual goals are inextricably linked to social goals and are achieved through social interaction. Iiskala et al. (2004) proposed socially shared regulated learning as a process whereby multiple individuals jointly regulate their collective learning activities, with goals and standards being jointly constructed. Learners participate in socially shared regulation by negotiating a shared understanding of the collaborative task, setting learning goals and plans, establishing shared learning strategies, monitoring collective progress, and optimising the process and outcomes of learning in a timely manner.

The theoretical framework of collaborative peer feedback proposed by Er et al. (2021), for the first time, frames peer feedback from a socially shared regulation of learning perspective and provides a detailed description of the dialogic peer feedback process. The theoretical framework divides the dialogic feedback process between peers into three phases, namely: (1) planning and coordination of feedback activities, corresponding to socially shared regulated learning between all participants (Hadwin & Oshige, 2011); (2) discussion around the feedback to support its uptake, corresponding to co-regulated learning between feedback providers and feedback receivers (Hadwin & Oshige, 2011); and (3) translation of the feedback into task engagement and progress, corresponding to the self-regulated learning of the feedback receivers (Winne & Hadwin, 1998). In the first phase of socially shared regulated learning, participants in peer feedback are required to construct a shared understanding of the quality of work through a scoring rubric (Jackson & Larkin, 2002) as a prerequisite for successful group collaboration (Malmberg et al., 2015). In the second phase of co-regulated learning, feedback

providers give comments on the receiver's work, leading to a deep learning strategy, self-reflection, which helps feedback receivers connect the content of the feedback to their own work and thus deepen their understanding (Quinton & Smallbone, 2010). In the third phase of self-regulated learning, feedback receivers strive to accomplish learning goals and they need to monitor their progress in action and make iterative adjustments to their learning strategies (Butler & Winne, 1995). Through self-feedback, they can generate internal monitoring (Winne & Hadwin, 1998). Through dialogue, they can also receive monitoring from their fellow peers. Both internally and externally generated monitoring can help feedback receivers to confirm current progress and modify their subsequent actions.

Reflection

The disturbing practices of peer feedback in previous studies suggest that the longstanding paradigm of treating feedback as evaluative gifts delivered from feedback providers to feedback receivers does not attract sufficient attention from learners, and as a result, there is a low implementation rate of peer feedback and a lack of significant improvement in language assessment performances. However, these shortcomings do not prevent peer feedback research and application from thriving, as it helps to address the realities of large class sizes where teachers are overwhelmed by the workload of giving timely and precise feedback and is in line with developments in higher education and assessment that call for student-centred and learning-oriented reforms.

In our view, the proactive engagement of students in the practice of peer feedback is crucial and the role played by the receivers is often overlooked. In the case of peer feedback training, for example, when researchers and teachers focus solely on how to equip feedback providers to give feedback that is as specific and accurate as that of the teachers, we seem to forget the limitations of their own capabilities as learners. In turn, the voice of the feedback receivers is drowned out in such peer feedback, and they seem to be left as disempowering apprentices to implement the feedback, otherwise, they are considered incompetent learners. Therefore, we would argue that during the peer feedback training, receivers also need to be trained to promote their awareness of how to proactively participate in dialogues and enhance their competence to co-construct knowledge. There are still many examples of peer feedback practices that can be explored from a new perspective, but we believe that only when we change the stereotypical understanding of peer feedback will researchers and frontline teachers be better able to organise peer feedback activities more effectively in traditional face-to-face classrooms or in technology-mediated settings.

Closing Remarks

In the post-pandemic era, assessment researchers and frontline teachers alike need to revisit learning-oriented assessment that focuses on the essence of developing effective learning processes for students. The three principles of this model work as a coherent whole, integrating assessment tasks, students' assessment expertise, and engagement with feedback (Carless, 2015a). Peer feedback fully embodies the three principles of learning-oriented assessment and has undergone paradigm shifts and developments over the decades. Through the review of

previous research, this paper hopes to stimulate more research and exploration of the three paradigm shifts in peer feedback, further promoting peer feedback from monologue to dialogue, from passive to proactive engagement, from self-regulated learning to co-regulated learning and socially shared regulated learning.

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ASIAN-BASED CONTRIBUTIONS TO FORENSIC LINGUISTICS RESEARCH AND THE POTENTIAL OF LOCAL MULTILINGUAL LAW

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Abstract

While second language acquisition dominates the field of applied linguistics throughout most of Asia, as elsewhere around the world, in recent decades an growing body of scholarship on forensic linguistics has also developed. Although the region has few institutions specifically dedicated to forensic linguistics, this paper sets out to show that it has contributed significantly to international research, both in core areas such as author identification and the discursive analysis of forensic and legal communications, and in related areas that fit within the International Association of Forensic and Legal Linguistics' objectives of improving the delivery of justice through the analysis of language. The paper argues that in order to raise field awareness Asian forensic linguists should firstly reinforce their knowledge of the work being done by their peers across the region, and secondly focus on areas where Asia may offer particular insights into issues surrounding language disadvantage before the law. One such area, it is suggested, is multilingual law, which has evolved more extensively and perhaps more deeply than anywhere else in the world. Greater regional awareness, it is hoped, will not only enhance scholastic rigour but also attract the attention of law enforcement authorities and legal professionals and help build collaborations that will increase the field's social impact, but without sacrificing its academic independence.

Keywords: forensic linguistics, law, linguistic justice, multilingualism

1. The parameters and potential of forensic linguistics in Asia

Supported by substantial academic funding and by long-term cooperation with state-backed institutions such as the police, the immigration services and social welfare bodies, research into key areas of forensic linguistics such as author identification, forensic phonology, courtroom discourse, court and police interpreting, and trademark law has progressed rapidly in western countries, especially English-speaking ones. Several institutions (e.g. Aston University and Cardiff University in the UK and Hofstra University in the United States) offer courses at masters level and above that are devoted to the field, attracting candidates with specific professional aims as well as those with more general academic outlooks. While non-linguists frequently associate applied linguistics with language teaching alone, forensic linguistics highlights the potential of linguistic analysis to contribute productively to tackling real-world problems in other areas.

Cardiff describes its MA in forensic linguistics as the world's first, designed to equip researchers to address issues of justice, fairness and equality before law and focusing on three areas: the use of language in legal contexts; expert testimony on forensic matters; and the role of expertise in legal systems (Cardiff University, 2022). Hofstra emphasises the application of linguistic science to real-world situations such as extortion, bribery, trademark protection and defamation cases and highlights its stock of material from legal cases on which it has been consulted (Hofstra, 2022). Perusal of recent publications by researchers associated with Aston's Institute of Forensic Linguistics suggest a particular strength in multi-authored studies drawing on large corpora, with advanced quantitative analytical methods being applied not only to legal communication (e.g. profiling online sexual predators, examining reports of domestic violence made to the police) but also medical communication (rating the effectiveness of interactions in trauma wards), and much of this work implies long-term collaboration with authorities in order to negotiate access to confidential interactions (Aston, 2022). In 2019 the Institute received a £5.4m award from Research England to expand upon its work (Aston, 2022). The parameters and ethics of giving expert evidence are increasingly frequent topic among the Institute's research output, indicating the degree to which the field is becoming recognised by judges, lawyers, the police, social services and other authorities involved in legal disputes and legal investigations.

In comparison, there seems to be some way to go before law enforcement officers, medical institutions or government authorities in Asia express sufficient confidence in the benefits of forensic linguistics for it to secure extensive funding or develop dedicated academic departments. A 400-page report on forensics presented to the Indian Ministry of Home Affairs mentions "language" just once, in a reference to "voice identification" among a list of equipment either held or needed by forensic science laboratories (Misra & Damodaran, 2010). Field awareness among Asian legal practitioners also appears to be in its infancy. A recent paper setting out to uncover awareness and interest in forensic linguistics in Pakistan, for example, did not find a single academic courses available in Sindh, a province of 50 million people (although there were some classes in Legal English at Sindh University); only a third of lawyer respondents reported knowledge of the field; and follow-up questions revealed that even those expressing some awareness of it lacked specific or accurate knowledge (Ali et al, 2022: 4-6). In Southeast Asia Komunitas Linguistik Forensik Indonesia (KLF, 2022), founded at the University of Lampung in 2014, stands out for its initiatives to conduct workshops and publish work in areas such as forensic voice comparison, online hate speech, legal discourse and the use of language evidence in court, and for its effort to reach out to other linguists in the region and beyond. But in general it can be concluded that Asian institutions devoted to forensic linguistics remain thin on the ground.

In addition to the perennial lack of funding for branches of applied linguistics that are not directly related to language-learning, one reason for Asia's current lag behind the west in terms of field awareness may be uncertainty about the nature of the field, which is often assumed to be confined to core areas where regional expertise remains weak, such as forensic phonetics and author identification, and these are typically the areas in which government authorities tend to be most interested. Yet a review of the past decade of research in East and Southeast Asia

should serve as a reminder that the region has nevertheless been contributing actively to forensic linguistics at an international level. While expressing confidence that the work being done in areas such as author identification will continue to expand, this paper also calls for greater appreciation of the value of Asian forensic linguistics scholarship in areas such as legal interpreting, discourse analysis and language planning, all of which may contribute to the effective and impartial delivery of justice.

The paper further aims to highlight a recurrent theme in Asian forensic linguistics whereby the region might contribute particular insights to the field: multilingual law. While multilingual societies are hardly unusual around the world, multilingual legal systems are relatively uncommon. Most jurisdictions supporting more than one language (other than through translation and interpreting) are clustered either in Europe (Belgium, Switzerland, regions of Italy and Spain) or in Asia (Bangladesh, Hong Kong, India, Malaysia, Pakistan, Philippines, Sri Lanka). If we include subnational legal institutions, such as the religious and customary courts that persist, and in some cases thrive, across ASEAN and beyond, it is reasonable to conclude that Asia has produced the most numerous and diverse examples of multilingual law. Whether the result of initiatives to replace colonial languages with national languages in the legal domain, or a corollary of attempts to balance the interests of different ethnic and cultural groups participating in legal institutions, Asian law offers a number of approaches to the problem of alleviating language disadvantage before the law. In turn, much Asian-based forensic linguistics reflects a keen awareness of macro-level, as well as micro-level, influences on language choice in both oral and written legal communication.

2. Field definition and compatibility with existing Asian-based research

Field definition and terminology have been perennial sources of debate ever since the term 'forensic linguistics' began to be used. Svartvik, a corpus linguist from Sweden, may have been the first to coin the term when he described the need for linguists to exam the authorship of statements used in a British criminal investigation (Svartvik, 1968). While helping to initiate decades of research in areas that remain central to the field, such as the detection of coercion in criminal cases and author identification in both criminal and civil law, the word 'forensic', even though it is related to 'forum' in the sense of a place to examine disputes, tends to evoke criminology-related fields such as forensic science and forensic psychology, and this background in turn has impelled discussions among those involved in language and law studies about the extent to which research should employ quantitative methods with a view to convincing courts of its findings on a par with DNA, ballistics or medical evidence.

Most forensic linguists resist pressure to reduce their findings to quantifiable levels of probability, and many lawyers employing forensic linguistic evidence offer it to reinforce other kinds of evidence rather than to stand on its own. In forensic phonology cases, for example, it is unlikely that an analyst will be asked to determine the number of people in a general population who exhibit certain features in their speech: rather, they will be asked to focus on a much narrower sample that includes the voice of someone already suspected of being the author of a communication on the basis of other evidence. Some areas of forensic linguistics are undoubtedly very technical, and it is unsurprising that a significant proportion of the studies

published by dedicated institutions such as Aston University employ software to produce quantitative analysis to written or spoken corpora (Aston University, 2022). Another common research topic is how forensic linguists should present evidence to the police or to the courts under sceptical or even hostile questioning.

However, a great many studies associated with the field are of a more qualitative nature. Forensic linguists have thrown light on power structures in courtroom interactions (Atkinson and Drew, 1979; Conley and O'Barr ,1998, Eades, 2008) and described legal registers while debating whether these are professionally useful or socially exclusive (Maley 1994; Gibbons 1999, 2003, Tiersma, 2001). Such research is not easily reducible to quantifiable conclusions and solutions, yet it fits into a definition of the field proposed by a former president of the International Association of Forensic Linguists (IAFL) as "Improving the delivery of justice through the analysis of language" (Grant, 2017). In a recent reappraisal of the field the founder of the IAFL and his co-authors implicated both quantitative and qualitative research in describing the field as encompassing phonological, morphological, syntactical, lexical, discoursal, textual, and pragmatic linguistic analysis (Coulthard et al., 2017).

The broadening of the field, while fully justifiable inasmuch as it engages with more of the complex ways in which language influences the delivery of justice, has fomented discussion about whether 'forensic linguistics' should refer more narrowly to the analysis of oral and textual evidence, or whether it should cover research sometimes cast more broadly as 'legal linguistics' or more widely still as 'language and law'. While some European languages favour separate terms for use of language in law and the analysis of linguistic evidence (e.g. *Rechtslinguistik* vs. *Forensische Linguistik* in German), most Asian language appear to group them together either under a general term such as 法と言語学 ('law and language') or 司法语言学 ('judicial linguistics') in Japanese and Chinese respectively, or by way of loanwords (*linguistik forensik* in Indonesian and Malay.)

Several international bodies involved with language and law go by more inclusive names, such as the International Academy of Linguistic Law), which emphasises language diversity and linguistic rights (IALL, 2022); the International Language and Law Association, which was founded in 2007 by legal linguists also associated with IAFL but seekinga broader analytical framework that places language at the heart of social conflict and legal methodology rather than as an object of forensic enquiry (ILLA, 2022).The IAFL itself debated long and hard before renaming itself the International Association for Forensic and Legal Linguistics (IAFLL) on the grounds that 'forensic linguists' might suggest the exclusion of research beyond the examination of legal evidence or of researchers with backgrounds in fields other than linguistics ( ).

In this article, then, a wider rather than narrower approach toward forensic linguists has been adopted. It should nonetheless be noted that many linguists and lawyers see the examination of legal evidence as the core concern of the field, and is possible that this stance has impeded progress in Asian forensic linguistics, not only because linguists not involved with the close analysis of written or oral texts may be reluctant to identify with the field, but also because

researchers who do analyse texts may compare their professional situation unfavourably with the degree of access to police and judicial data and opportunities to collaborate with authorities that have opened up in many western countries.

If we look merely at the last decade of papers emerging from Asian research sites that have been presented at conferences organised by the IAFL (IAFLL) itself, we can not only avoid debate about what constitutes forensic linguistics but also demonstrate that the region has presented a wide range of relevant research to international audiences.

The most popular discipline appears to be the application of various modes of discourse analysis to written and oral texts, with at least twelve papers examining court discourse, including Nurshafawati's (2017) focus on tag questions in Malaysian criminal proceedings, and others covering areas such as ADR (e.g. Xu, 2017, on China's court-mediated conciliation), jury instructions (Cheng, 2015, on Hong Kong), suicide notes (Jha, 2017, on Nepal), and media reports (Khan, Azirah & Ng's 2012 study of Malaysian custody disputes). This is followed by legal interpreting, exemplified by Nakane & Mizuno's (2017) analysis of Japanese court rulings about the accuracy of translations and Lee's (2017) study of interpreter-mediated investigative interviews in Korea. The third most common topic is the nature of legalese in various languages, including Lintao and Madrunio (2017) on English in the Philippines and Mohammed's (2012) comparison of Arabic and English texts. Language planning has been the focus of a number of papers, including Powell and Chew's (2015) survey of language policy at a Malaysian law department, as has author identification, with and Weng (2012) covering an allegation of ghostwriting in China and Yuzer (2016) taking a corpus-based approach to the subject in Turkey. In comparison, some areas that appear to be at the core of forensic linguistics in many western countries, such as intellectual property disputes, forensic interviews and forensic phonetics, have been less represented, although we should note examples such as Noraini and Nambiar (2012) on Malaysian trademarks, Ashrova and Mizuno (2019) on legal interviews in Japan and Susanto's (2012, 2013) work on features of Indonesian and implications for speaker identification.

 Having argued that there is already a significant body of Asian-based scholarship that falls within the parameters of internationally recognised forensic linguistics, this account will now turn to the potential of Asian multilingual law to enhance and expand research in the region. Multilingual Asian law is frequently addressed in forums that are particularly concerned with language rights issues, such as IALL (see, for example, Liao & Wu, 2012, on Xinjiang), but many of the papers presented at IAFL/IAFLL-sponsored meetings also draw on data that is either bilingual or emerges from bilingual legal settings. This is the case not only with analyses of legal communication that involve code-switching and code-mixing, as is frequently the case in Hong Kong, Malaysia and the Philippines, but also applies to evaluations of legal interpreting in multilingual settings, where interpreting is likely to be conducted in the presence of legal professionals and members of the public fully acquainted with the languages in question. The implications of multilingual law can also be seen in investigations of judgments and jury instructions, legislative drafting and legal education in jurisdictions that recognize the legitimacy of more than one language, as well as in countries such as Malaysia, the Philippines,

Singapore and Sri Lanka where parallel dispute resolution systems exist to accommodate different cultural traditions.

3. Multilingual law as a productive resource for forensic linguistic scholarship

For the purposes of this article, 'multilingual law' means legal settings where more than one language has *de jure* or at least *de facto* standing without the intervention of translation or interpreting. It implies that the same polity, jurisdiction, or even institution recognises the legitimacy of more than one language, and it may also involve oral or written communication that is itself multilingual. The phenomenon should be distinguished from conceptualisations such as Berk-Seligsen's (1990) influential treatment of courtroom interpreting whereby all but one language is eliminated from official records (even if other languages linger in the memories and attitudes of courtroom participants).

All legal jurisdictions have some kind of language policy, even if it is implicit rather than explicit. And indeed Kymlicka (1995:111) has argued even if a state adopts a neutral stance or laissez-faire on matters such as religion it cannot avoid involvement in language-related matters. Even jurisdictions recognising more than one language do not seek to replicate the multilingualism of the society in they serve. Of Singapore's four official languages, for example, English alone is recognised for court proceedings and submissions in the common law-based courts, although this is made explicit only in Rules of Court (1996) Order 92, which requires the translation of documents in any other language. The acceptability of Malay for the *Syariah* courts, on the other hand, is evident from the availability of bilingual application forms.

Specific examples from around the continent will be used as a reference of typologising multilingual law, drawn primarily from the South and Southeast Asia as this is where the author has been able to supplement data from legislation and government portals with observational and interview data. Proceeding from the linguistic implications of institutional separation to the juxtaposition of different languages in the same institutions and even the same proceedings, we will begin with the tradition found in many parts of the region of preserving community-specific legal traditions, often with minimal interference from national judicial authorities.

As Fig. 1 shows, Muslim law is administered in Brunei, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Sri Lanka largely through separate court systems. In Malaysia these are authorised under local state enactments largely in Malay, which has also become the default language of law for West Malaysia's civil courts except at higher levels, but with most measures also published in English. Sri Lanka retains *qazi* courts functioning in Tamil or English rather than Sinhala (the main language of the civil courts at subordinate level), but the system is under the umbrella of national enabling legislation, and before losing power in 2022 President Gotabaya Rajapaksa appointed a task force to look into bringing religious law into the fold of national law (Vatican News, 2021). Sri Lanka also retains *Thesawalamai* law for the Tamil-speaking inhabitants of Jaffna, and Kandyan law as courts for family, inheritance and land matters involving Sinhala-speaking Buddhists from the Central Highlands.

Although customary *adat* law has been absorbed into national law in West Malaysia, in Sabah and Sarawak it retains its own tribunals administered not only in Malay but also Bornean languages, with several enabling ordinances (e.g. Native Courts Ordinance, 1992) published in English since this remains the default language of Federal Law in East Malaysia. The Philippines has preserved and even strengthened its tradition of *Katarungang Pambarangay* customary adjudication, and while national law is administered overwhelmingly in English, customary justice operates in Tagalog, Cebuano, Ilocano and other regional languages (Vigo & Manuel, 2004).

Another way in which multilingual law has been maintained is through regionalisation. In most of India's states, many of which were created according to majority-language considerations, the state language has standing in lower courts, and sometimes in the High Court too, although a barrier to the use of state languages at higher levels is that final appeals go to the Supreme Court in Delhi, where English continues to be used despite a growing movement behind Hindi (Fig. 2).

Malaysia and Sri Lanka also have clear regional demarcation, with the former divided between West Malaysia, where Malay is the official court medium but English also be admitted, and East Malaysia, where English remains the official language of the law. In Sri Lanka Sinhala- and Tamil-majority areas are accorded separate language policies. In Pakistan there is also evidence of regional variation, but with less formal delineation. Several courts in the Tagalog-majority province of Bulacan used the Tagalog-based national language for five years, but the initiative failed to gather momentum.

Another common pattern of multilingualism is differentiation between lower and higher courts. This is typically the case where jurisdictions retaining an exogenous medium of law after decolonisation have introduced a local language into the legal domain.

It is rather apparent that local languages fair better in subordinate courts, where the focus is on oral discourse about more straightforward matters rather than on written records based in complex matters that may contribute to jurisprudence. It was not until 2006, for example, that Malaysia produced its first Federal Court judgment in Malay (with one minority opinion in English), with a ruling in *Lina Joy* v *Majlis Agama Islam Wilayah Persekutuan, Kerajaan Malaysia* on religious conversion that anticipated to be of particular interest to the Malay-speaking Muslim majority.

Sri Lanka is unusual in specifically assigning one language (Sinhala or Tamil, depending on the location) to subordinate courts and another (English) to the Appellate and Supreme Courts, and even here it seems that the division is not strictly adhered to, with the topic of legal conversation appearing to trigger English in some lower courts – which includes the High Court, officially designated as a subordinate court. The preponderance of evidence from around the region is that legal practice rather than clear-cut policy produces particular language preferences. Moreover, the same institutions at the same level may use more than one language, as Fig. 4 shows.

Some of the earliest work on Asian bilingual law, for example, was done by David (1993), who not only recorded frequent code-switching and code-mixing in Malaysian proceedings but concluded that language choice often had specific discursive purposes and hence added a rhetorical weapon for legal practitioners, as well as an occasional counter-offensive for witnesses.

One area offering research opportunities into a more formal linguistic demarcation is bilingual legislation. Fog.5 shows that at least seven Asian jurisdictions publish dual sets of enactments, although neither the national language of Bangladesh nor that of the Philippines has yet to develop an equivalent corpus to English, despite legislation apparently requiring this in the former or Executive Order 335 in the latter, which reinforced the constitutional status of Filipino.

Where there is comprehensive bilingual drafting, the interesting question arises of which version prevails in the event of a conflict between texts, and although this is largely a legal matter calling for application of rules of interpretation, linguists, and especially translators, have a role to play. One approach, adopted by Hong Kong, is to declare both language authentic and to resolve apparent conflicts through legal principles (such as retrieving the intention of the legislators) or, if necessary, by redrafting. Another, favoured by Malaysia and Sri Lanka, is to declare one language version to be the authentic one. It should be noted that the text that is designated as a 'translation', such as English in the case of post-1967 Malaysian laws, may in practice be the one in which a law was originally drafted.

The above typology of bilingual law is by no means exhaustive. Other areas lending themselves to linguistic research include legal education, with Bangladesh, India, Macau, Pakistan and (in a small number of law schools) Malaysia offering courses and setting exams in more than one language; and law enforcement practices, where the police may operate orally in local languages but be constrained by national language policy for written tasks. A recent and potentially productive area for exploring the justice implications of language choice is emerging from data collected from the Philippines police, with Ang (2016) looking at the communicative functions of crime reports.

4. Discussion: tapping Asia's abundant forensic linguistics potential

The reason various patterns of bilingual law were highlighted in the previous section was partly to suggest that some existing research focusing on monolingual data might be enhanced by reference to the multilingual contexts from which it has emerged, and partly to argue that the Asian region may have particularly insights to offer through analysis of multiilingual legal practices themselves.

While perhaps less relevant to largely monolingual such as Japan, Korea or Thailand (although internationally-oriented arbitration cases there may be conducted in languages other than the national language, framed within enabling legislation made available bilingually), much of the research being undertaken elsewhere in Asia could be expanded by considering language choice questions in surrounding legal structures, even when the data being analysed is

monolingual. Servano (2020), for example, has extended work being initiated in the Philippines on police reports by focusing on how oral complaints made in local languages may change in the process of being recorded in English. In traditional core areas of forensic linguistics such as voice and author identification, the possibility of authors possessing phonetic or stylistic features associated with first language interference or with communitarian discourses is high enough in many Asian societies to warrant special attention. In discourse analysis, which has so far attracted the largest body of work in the region, it seems likely that some work based on officially monolingual records may in fact be missing a degree of code-switching and code-mixing that may have implications for power dynamics. Masmahirah (2016), for example, has identified (but not pursued) a practice in Bruneian civil courts whereby participants converse in Malay when all are conversant in the language, even though this violates official courtroom language policy and is not reflected in written records. Legal interpreting, another area that has attracted a great deal of Asian scholarship, may in some ways constitute the antithesis of multilingual law, but it entails a wide range of professional and discursive implications when conducted in bilingual settings that rarely arise in monolingual settings.

Since this review, by concentrating on work produced within an acknowledged international forensic linguistics paradigm, has drawn mostly on work presented or published in English it is likely that there are a number of relevant studies in other languages that could contribute to the field if cited or reviewed by Asian writers, but even taking account of work in other languages as yet unknown to the author it is apparent seems that a number of areas capable of enhancing our understanding of language disadvantage are currently under-researched. One example is the linguistic implications of jurisdictional choice. Parallel jurisdictions and traditions do not always mean parallel choices. Malaysian Muslims, for instance, have family and inheritance cases assigned to *Syariah* hearings, while non-Muslims go to the common law courts. But in other cases there may be a choice, as with Sri Lankan *qazi* court disputants who may have recourse to the civil courts (p.c. Sri Lankan Attorney Fathima Marikkar, 2022.7.30). A choice of forums may mean a choice of languages. The increasing popularity of arbitration in many parts of Asia may also entail language policies and discursive practices distinct from those of litigation (Azirah & Powell, 2011).

Another neglected research area is legal education and professional training. Even where most lawyers need to function in at least two languages, as in Malaysia, there is little in the way of comprehensively bilingual legal education, with practitioners consequently having to learn how to manage language choice on their feet in courtrooms and law offices. Some countries, including Bangladesh and Sri Lanka, have introduced law courses and exams in multiple languages in order to broaden professional access (e.g. for those not educated in local languages), but failure to implement bilingual education has raised the risk of language-based class-discrimination, with those able to function in English (or Portuguese or other 'international languages') dominating more lucrative and prestigious work. A particularly interesting case, though currently not easy to explore, is language policy in Myanmar legal education, as it heavily favours English despite nearly all legal practice there being conducted in the Myanmar language (Powell, 2022).

5. Conclusions

While still lacking in institutions formally dedicated to forensic linguistics, Asia has been active across all key areas of the field, especially in its eastern and southeastern regions (which, perhaps not coincidentally, tend to have better funded educational systems than elsewhere in the continent), but a great deal of its potentially has hardly been tapped. It has been argued here that one resource that might be especially productive for expanding on existing scholarship is multilingual law, which has evolved more extensively and perhaps more deeply here than anywhere else in the world.

However, in order to attract funding and expand access to data it is incumbent upon linguists involved in all these forensic linguistics areas to demonstrate the relevance and reliability of their work to potential collaborators among the legal professions and related academic disciplines. One key question here is the extent to which the interest of law enforcement authorities and legal professionals can be attracted, and initiatives such as existing cooperation with the police in Indonesia and the Philippines are well worth paying attention to. Indeed one of the prime movers of the field has remarked that the UK police were at first wary of a field that they saw more as a tool for the defence than for investigators and prosecutors, yet gradually came round to acknowledging its importance for supporting the delivery of justice (Coulthard, 2007). On the other hand it is crucial that in gaining the trust of government-backed collaborators linguists do not compromise their independence or neutrality or allow the discipline to reinforce power hierarchies rather than serve to support those suffering language-based disadvantage before the law.

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Figures

Fig. 1: Parallel Jurisdictions or traditions

(Where not specifically referenced, data collected in Powell, 2020)

JURISDICTION	INSTITUTION	LANGUAGES
Brunei	Civil law	English
	Syariah	Malay
Malaysia	Federal law	Malay, English
	Syariah	Malay, some English
	Adat	Malay, Bornean languages, some English
Philippines	National law	English, some Filipino
	Katarungang Pambarangay	Tagalog, Cebuano, Ilocano & others, some English
	Shar'iah	English, Mindanao languages, Arabic
Singapore	National law	English
	Syariah	Malay, English
Sri Lanka	National law	Sinhala, Tamil, English
	Kandyan law	Sinhala, and largely codified in English
	Muslim law	Tamil, and largely codified in English
	Thesawalamai	Tamil, and largely codified in English

Fig. 2: Regionalisation

(Where not specifically referenced, data collected in Powell, 2020)

JURISDICTION	DIVISION	LANGUAGES
India	States	State languages + English and/or Hindi
Malaysia	Malaya, Borneo	Mainly Malay in Malaya, mainly English in Sabah & Sarawak
Pakistan	Provinces	Pashto in Northwest Frontier, Sindhi in Sindh (+ Urdu and/or English)
(Philippines)	(Provinces)	(Filipino in some Bulacan cts. 2007~2012)
Sri Lanka	Districts	Sinhala- & Tamil-majority districts

Fig. 3: Court-level policies and practices

(Where not specifically referenced, data collected in Powell, 2020)

JURISDICTION	LEVEL-BASED RULES OR PRACTICES
Bangladesh	Bangla the main language of lower courts; English used extensively in High Ct., Appeals Ct, Supreme Ct. Bengali Language Introduction Act (1987) 'requires' Bangla for records & proceedings.
Hong Kong	Chinese & English in lower cts; mostly English in High Ct. Ng (2016) reported 40% lower ct. proceedings in Chinese
India	State languages admissible in lower courts & some state High Cts; English in Supreme Ct.
Malaysia	Malay official in all West Malaysian cts, but English used extensively in High Cts. and predominantly in Federal Ct.

| Pakistan | Provincial languages in many lower courts, mostly English, some Urdu, in Supreme Ct. (Supreme Ct. Rules (Ord. VII, 2) allows submissions in Urdu) |
| Sri Lanka | Sinhala or Tamil up to High Ct., English in Supreme Ct. (1978 Constitution). |

Fig. 4: Multilingual courts
(Where not specifically referenced, data collected in Powell, 2020)

JURISDICTION	POLICIES & PRACTICES
Bangladesh	Both Bangla & English reported at all levels, but latter mostly limited to higher cts. (Powell, 2016)
Hong Kong	Despite official assignation of trials as Chinese or English, Ng (2009:121) found many trials to be in mixed mode.
Macau	Chinese (Cantonese) & Portuguese have official status (Art. 9, 1990 Basic Law)
Malaysia	Malay & English heard without translation at all court levels. Malay dominates lower courts in Malaya but rare in Federal Ct. & in E. Malaysia
Pakistan	Urdu reported in District Ct. proceedings (Siddique, 2012) and also in High Court, although often translated into English for the record (Mhd Arif Sayeed, interviewed in Powell, 2020)
Philippines	Tagalog (Benitez, 2009, Martin, 2012) & Cebuano (Powell, 2012) reported in lower courts
Sri Lanka	Powell (2012) reported English in lower court land cases where Sinhala mostly used for other matters, and some English als in the High Court.
Timor Leste	Under 2002 constitution Portuguese & Tetum co-official; cts. may accept submissions in English which, alongside Indonesian, is a "working language"

Fig. 5: Multilingual legislation
(Where not specifically referenced, data collected in Powell, 2020)

JURISDICTION	DRAFTING POLICIES
Bangladesh	1987 Bangla Promulgation Act requires bilingual drafting.
Hong Kong	Bilingual Laws Advisory Committee has translated principle ordinances and subsidiary legislation into Chinese. Both Chinese and English considered co-authentic.
Macau	Laws published in Portuguese & Chinese (Imprensa Oficial, Governo de Região Adminstrativa Especial de Macau)
Malaysia	Bilingual drafting. English regarded as authentic for pre-1967 enactments unless provided for, and Malay for post-1967.
Philippines	Although legal corpus overwhelmingly in English, some key legislation translated into Filipino, including narcotics law referred to by Bulacan Filipino-medium trials 2007~2012.

Sri Lanka	Constitutional Article 23 requires new legislation be published in the Sinhala & Tamil, with translations in English. In *Thilanga Sumathipala* (2004) Sinhala text of Criminal Procedure Code deemed authentic.
(Timor Leste)	So far only some key legislation has been published in Tetum, such as the constitution, penal code, criminal procedure code and civil procedure code, and perusal of official portals such as that of the Procurador-Geral (Attorney-General) suggests that after Portuguese, there may be more focus on English than Tetum.

RE-HUMANISING LANGUAGE POLICY AND PLANNING RESEARCH: METHODOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES FROM THE GLOBAL SOUTH

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Abstract

Research on language policy and planning (LPP) of international organisations has predominantly focused on the United Nations and the European Union, while the context of ASEAN is otherwise overlooked due to a perceived lacklustre interest in analysing discourses and phenomena in the Global South. This paper firstly explicates the rationale for research on ASEAN and the Southeast Asian region and argues for a case for rethinking the supranational-LPP of ASEAN. Drawing on theoretical concepts on actors and agency in language planning, the paper discusses an innovative methodological approach in LPP research– engaging with scholars (sociolinguists) in imagining LPP possibilities of ASEAN. The paper fundamentally gives credence to the hitherto underutilised and undervalued agentic 'voices' of scholars as 'people with expertise' in LPP, in an attempt at 're-humanising' LPP research in the Global South. This paper therefore brings to the forefront the critical role of (socio)linguists with expert knowledge in language planning processes and re-emphasises the agency of LPP scholars as linguistic experts in supranational LPP. While the research methodology is grounded in solid theoretical foundations, offering refreshing contributions to LPP scholarship, the data collection process proved to be challenging due mainly to a need for Covid-related adjustments, i.e., towards online interviews. The pandemic has, inadvertently, performed the role of a 'catalyst' which expedites a transition towards online/virtual data gathering methods. Reflecting on the researcher's experience in data collection, this paper elucidates the advantages and challenges of conducting online interviews, as well as proposes useful strategies employed while collecting data during pandemic times.

Keywords: language policy and planning research, Global South perspectives, actors and agency, online interviews, critical reflection

Introduction

In recent years, there have been growing calls for applied linguistics research of the Global South from critical and Southern perspectives (Heugh et al., 2021; Pennycook & Makoni, 2019). This paper firstly explicates the rationale for research on ASEAN and the Southeast Asian region and argues for a case for rethinking the supranational-LPP of ASEAN. Drawing on theoretical concepts on actors and agency in language planning, the paper then discusses the innovative methodological approach in LPP research– engaging with scholars (sociolinguists) in deliberating LPP possibilities of ASEAN. This paper further argues that imagining policy possibilities is an attempt at re-humanising applied linguistics research (Weber & Horner, 2012). While the research methodology is informed by theoretical underpinnings and justified on disciplinary grounds, executing such an approach and its ensuing data collection methods

proved to be a daunting experience in the era of the Covid- 19 pandemic. In the subsequent sections, this paper essentially provides a critical reflection of the data collection method in a doctoral research and elucidates researcher's reflexivity throughout the process. Relating to researcher's experience in data collection, the struggles and strategies in conducting online interviews during the Covid-19 pandemic period are further discussed. Taken together, this paper not only intends to address the practicality issues of data collection in pandemic times, but also to provide theoretical and conceptual justifications for an underexplored methodological perspective in the field of language policy and planning (LPP).

Global South Perspectives: Positioning Southeast Asia and the Relevance of ASEAN

Lately, there has been a trend in social science and humanities research aimed at initiating and reviving discourses and intellectual discussions about the Global South and Southern perspectives (Collyer et al., 2019; Heugh & Stroud, 2018; Pennycook & Makoni, 2019;). The term 'Global South' is often used as a more palatable term as compared to 'developing', 'Third World' or 'less-developed' nations (Ruvituso, 2020). The use of the term 'Global South' indicates a symbolic paradigm shift from saturated discourses in literature on development and socio-cultural inequality to recognising the significance of geopolitical dynamics (Ruvituso, 2020). From a geopolitical standpoint, this can be traced to the politico-economic dynamics happening around the globe as we speak. Economic, political, and military strengths that coalesced in Europe and the US during the twentieth century now appear to be changing places—from north back to south and east, according to scholars such as Mahbubani (2022), and Mahbubani and Sng (2017); therefore, there is a need to shift our focus from the saturated discourses of the Global North and start gazing towards the Global South in applied linguistics research (Lee, 2021; Pennycook & Makoni, 2019).

From an ecological perspective, Southeast Asia is a sprawling geographical region with a population of more than 690 million and an estimated 1246 living languages (Eberhard et al., 2019). It is widely acknowledged that the ethnolinguistic diversity of Southeast Asia is remarkably complex and intricate (Lee et al., 2021b; Tupas & Sercombe, 2014). Colonisation, inter/intra-national migration, and cultural diffusion (Pennycook, 2002; Tollefson & Tsui, 2004) have resulted in a complex and dynamic language ecology. A plethora of national languages, together with ethnic, indigenous, minority and exogenous foreign languages are blended in a 'linguistic cauldron' of 'superdiversity' (Vertovec, 2007). While we acknowledge the need for applied linguistics research of the Global South by Global South researchers through Southern applied linguistics and decolonising theories (Collyer et al., 2019; Connell, 2018; Pennycook & Makoni, 2019), from a geopolitical perspective, the strategic positioning of Southeast Asia within the Indo-Pacific is also generating interest among scholars globally. The most important strategic competition of the 21st century between an established power and a rising one will be played out in the Indo- Pacific (Singh, 2018). All things considered, discourses about ASEAN and the Southeast Asian region are gaining traction. The significance of the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) in the geopolitical landscape (Mahbubani, 2015) prompted Ergenç (2020) to propose using ASEAN as a means of researching in studies related to regionalism and governance of international organisations.

Context Matters in Language Policy and Planning

ASEAN was first established in 1967 as a regional bloc with five Member-States: Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia and the Philippines. With the inclusion of Brunei, Myanmar, Laos, Vietnam and Cambodia, ASEAN today consists of ten member-states. Timor-Leste, however, remains as an observer and is yet to be accepted as an ASEAN member-state. ASEAN is one of the longest-surviving intergovernmental organisations in Asia, widely perceived as an organisation which has strived to maintain peace, harmony and stability in the region since its establishment (Severino, 2008; Chesterman, 2008). ASEAN is also an emerging regional geopolitical force and is often used as a proxy politico-economic battleground by global superpowers, namely the US and China (Singh, 2018). This makes ASEAN an interesting case study (Mahbubani, 2015). The available body of literature on ASEAN, however, is mostly on political-security, international relations, human rights, socio-cultural issues, with limited attention to language planning and education policies.

In a globalising world, the multiple layers of governance and the influence of the burgeoning economic and political might of supranational organisations, far exceed the influence of some states (Blommaert, 2007; McEntee-Atalianis, 2015). As a result, nation- based LPP models are rendered insufficient in reflecting the experiences or needs of global communities (Marginson & Rhoades, 2002). ASEAN has adopted English as its sole working language (ASEAN Secretariat, 2009). This language choice is widely perceived as pragmatic, aimed at the economic integration of the inherently multilingual and multicultural member- states. This official language choice of ASEAN is a noticeable feature in a world increasingly celebrating multilingualism and unity in diversity (Lee et al., 2021a). Research on LPP in international organisations, however, has predominantly been about the United Nations (McEntee-Atalianis, 2016) and the European Union (Kruse & Ammon, 2018), while the context of ASEAN is otherwise overlooked due to a perceived lacklustre interest in analysing discourses and phenomena in the Global South (Collyer et al., 2019; Connell, 2018). We need to encourage a more inclusive applied linguistics that opens the doors to southern voices, as well as continuing more research on southern contexts, which more likely opens up a much wider range of thinking (Lin, 2013).

Lately, there has been an emerging interest in ASEAN-level LPP. However, apart from Kirkpatrick (2010, 2017) who has written extensively on the LPP of ASEAN, few (Lee et al., 2022) have scrutinised the process of ASEAN's regional LPP. Using ASEAN as a case to study supranational LPP, this research speaks to policymakers and stakeholders who frequently need to grapple with linguistic choices and challenges not only at the macro- national, meso and micro-levels, but also increasingly at a supranational-level, beyond the state (Ricento, 2000). This paper contributes to the methodological perspectives on research of ASEAN LPP. This paper also opens up the spaces for LPP research at the supranational layer of ASEAN, calling for a shift from the already saturated discourses on macro-LPP (national/state-level) as well as micro-LPP in this part of the world (Baldauf, 2006; Tupas & Sercombe, 2014).

The understanding of supranational LPP in this paper needs to be contextualised under these three conditions, i) ASEAN is not a supranational organisation like the EU, although it is an

intergovernmental organisation (Koh, 2007). ii) ASEAN member-states have full sovereignty in national-level language and education policy and planning. iii) ASEAN, to date, has not proposed any language policies/language-in-education planning, e.g., as a template of reference for member-states. Understanding supranational LPP under the said conditions is paramount for ensuring the continued protection of the sanctity of the ASEAN Charter and ASEAN Way institutional norms (Acharya, 2017), which principally regard non- interference in internal affairs as one of the main guiding principles of ASEAN (Seah, 2009).

Actors and Agency in LPP

In this section, to better understand supranational LPP, I offer alternative insights from the perspectives of social actors, i.e., scholars who are hitherto undervalued and underrepresented in language policy debates and planning discourses. I argue that their views as people with expertise approach are relevant and should be taken into consideration when reflecting upon the socio-historical and sociolinguistic context of the Southeast Asian region, as well as for rethinking regional policy possibilities. I further discuss how agency and actors in LPP provide a methodological justification in this paper. I do so by relating to 'agency of projectivity' (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998), as well as being informed by the epistemological belief of co-construction of 'new' knowledge (Leeds-Hurwitz, 2009) with key actors, in this context, 'people with expertise' in LPP (Zhao & Baldauf, 2012).

One of the essential components of any LPP is the agency of the actors involved in devising, interpreting, implementing and/or evaluating language policies (Baldauf, 2006). There has been a spike of interest in various aspects of agency, considering that language policies are always contextual, processual, and negotiated (Baldauf, 2006; Lee & Samuel, 2020; Liddicoat & Taylor-Leech, 2021). At the supranational-level, the notion of agency is also beginning to generate interest among researchers (McEntee-Atalianis, 2016; McEntee- Atalianis & Vessey, 2021). Lantolf and Pavlenko (2001, p. 148), describe agency as "constantly co-constructed and renegotiated with those around the individual and with the society at large." Taking into consideration their framing of agency, I have approached this research from a social constructionist perspective in this paper, which emphasises the co- construction of knowledge among research participants, in imagining ASEAN's linguistic future and possible policy trajectories. A major focus of social constructionism involves uncovering the ways in which social phenomena are developed, institutionalised, known, and made into traditions by humans (Leeds-Hurwitz, 2009). Informed by social constructionism theory, qualitative research enables research participants to construct knowledge in a social environment, building on their prior sociolinguistic, socio-political and sociocultural experiences to offer insights into *how* and *why* the policy was formulated, and deliberates on imagined linguistic possibilities.

Guided by critical perspectives in applied linguistics research, one of the main research objectives is problematisation of the context, but that in itself is insufficient according to Pennycook (2001). He further cautions that critical work has often been criticised for doing little more than criticise things, for "offering nothing but a bleak and pessimistic vision of social relations" (pp. 8-9), rendering one as a 'critic' without providing practical and/or tangible alternatives. In cognisance of this, this research, aims to strengthen the critical approach to

applied linguistic studies, by providing participants affordances for imagination of future prospects, possibilities, and trajectories (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998) or what Pennycook (2001) calls "preferred futures" and offering a "model of hope and possibility" (p. 9). Through the involvement of key actors in LPP, this paper is principally grounded in a 'performative' ideological shift towards 'preferred futures' informed by inclusive, responsible, democratic and ethical approach to LPP.

Using Zhao and Baldauf's (2012) framework as a reference, 'people with expertise' can potentially exercise their agency in creative and imaginative ways: in the case of ASEAN language policy, through affordances such as engaging in an intellectual endeavour of a doctoral research, instead of via the conventional top-down, methodical, and structured nature of LPP (Ricento, 2000). The outcome of such an endeavour, I believe, not only enables 'people with expertise' as legitimate actors in LPP, engaging in an 'imagined participatory policymaking' process, but also more importantly, it empowers them to exercise what I call 'transformative agency' in this hitherto underexplored domain of supranational-LPP of ASEAN. This paper therefore brings to the forefront the critical role of linguists with expert knowledge in language planning processes and re-emphasises the agency of LPP scholars as linguistic experts in supranational LPP.

As mentioned earlier, (socio)linguists are classified as 'people with expertise' within the actors in language planning framework (Zhao, 2011; Zhao & Baldauf, 2012). These key actors were invited to exercise their 'agency of projectivity' (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998) by reflecting upon the ASEAN LPP process and reimagine alternative linguistic possibilities. Projective agency involves "processes of reflection on the current situation as a response to problems that cannot be resolved through the application of existing ways of thinking and acting" (Liddicoat & Taylor-Leech, 2021, p. 6), in other words, as an imaginative way of recreating the shape and trajectory of the world around us. They further add that projectivity is a future-oriented component of agency that involves a process of imagining possible future trajectories of action that are relevant to the actor's hopes, fears, and desires for the future. Agency is not found only in the reproduction of past experiences, in fact, it may also involve a creative reconstruction of the world that gives shape and direction to it (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998). Borrowing from Emirbayer and Mische (1998), a focus on agency to imagine possible future trajectories in this research can thus be considered as a form of 'agentive projectivity'.

From a critical applied linguistics perspective (Pennycook, 2001), the objective is to suggest future LPP possibilities that shift the focus from 'what is' to 'what should be'. This can also be perceived as a meaningful endeavour at 're-humanising' linguistics and language planning (Weber & Horner, 2012). While problematisation provides an understanding of discursive power and inequality in critical applied linguistics research, "imagination offers us the opportunity to harness this power to imagine alternative linguistic futures" (Jeffery & Halcomb-Smith, 2020, p. 5; Pennycook, 2001). This paper therefore provides a refreshing perspective aimed at giving scholars and ASEAN officials an opportunity to exercise their agency by 'talking (future) policies into being'. Most LPP research on international organisations to date has focused on the analysis of the policy documents and media statements,

while others have analysed the discourses (conversations) during the meetings (Wodak et al., 2012; Kawashima, 2021). Since LPP has traditionally been a technicist endeavour, planned by political leaders at the highest echelons of the organisation (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997), this scholarly act of 'talking policy into being' is therefore a refreshing contribution to the literature, further enriching methodological perspectives in LPP research. This hitherto undervalued and underexplored methodology in LPP research is particularly useful in bringing to life the otherwise solemn process of LPP, in an attempt at rehumanising applied linguistics research, or what I call rehumanising LPP, in this context supranational ASEAN LPP. In this section, I deduce that the intellectual exercise of re-humanising LPP research also enables participants to engage in agency of projectivity (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998), which would have been otherwise virtually impossible in any other research setting.

Data Collection Method: Online Interviews

While the research methodology is grounded in solid theoretical foundations, offering refreshing contributions to LPP scholarship, the data collection process proved to be challenging due mainly to a need for Covid-related adjustments, i.e., towards online interviews. Through the course of the data collection process, adaptations and adjustments have become normalised in the present 'Volatile, uncertain, complex and ambiguous' (VUCA) world because of prolonged lockdowns and physical distancing measures. I argue that current phenomena necessitate a paradigm shift, if not an evolution in data collection methods in applied linguistics research, from conducting ethnographic research, on-site observations, accessing physical archived documents, field works and in-depth on-site interviews, to virtual approaches such as recorded video clips, conducting interviews through online tools, as well as accessing images, online documents and websites. I am not saying that these data collection methods are entirely 'new', but the pandemic has, inadvertently, performed the role of a 'catalyst' which expedites a transition towards online and virtual data gathering and data analysis techniques.

The process of gathering data related to the supranational-LPP of ASEAN was also found to be challenging due to limited official documentation of ASEAN-level LPP in the public domain. In this context, the limited available (re)sources on this topic also posed a methodological challenge. Fortunately, this challenge could possibly be overcome by introducing an 'innovative' methodological strategy, by conducting semi-structured online interviews with actors in LPP- people with expertise- and providing them a 'safe' environment/platform for a co-construction of 'new' knowledge on the future of ASEAN LPP. Interview, in the context of my doctoral research, involved conducting intensive individual interviews with a small number of respondents to explore their perspectives, views on a particular context and policy (Boyce & Neale, 2006). The number of interviews was driven by the process of saturation when the generated data provided a sufficient "authentic insight into people's experiences" (Miller & Glassner, 2004, p. 126). In this case, I interviewed about 22 participants, which was considered 'sufficient', and a surplus of participants would only lead to data saturation (Creswell, 2013). The following section explains the rationale for selection of research participants.

Research Participants and Selection Techniques

In this research, purposive sampling was used as it was considered a practical and more appropriate way than convenience sampling to achieve research goals, aided by cultural understanding of the contexts in question (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). Purposive sampling was employed in this case study research to elicit diverse and relevant views from the research participants about the focus of the research. The drawback of using purposive sampling is its potential subjectivity. To reduce any potential selection biases, I adhered to the following principles:

a) Key informant technique: This entailed engaging with people with specialist knowledge, i.e., scholars and linguistic experts in the field of LPP (Zhao & Baldauf, 2012) with prior knowledge about Southeast Asia. Participants were filtered based on their involvement with LPP research on ASEAN; and/or knowledge of at least one or several Southeast Asian nations. Key (socio)linguistic experts on LPP in Southeast Asia and the ASEAN context from several universities were identified. The scholars were based in Australia, Indonesia, Ireland, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, the United Kingdom, and USA.

b) Snowball technique: I undertook snowball sampling (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016) based on recommendations from the selected respondents in accordance with the criteria above. About a quarter of the research participants were recruited through this sampling technique. Both local and international experts in these disciplines were engaged in order for the policy inquiry process to be well-informed in terms of its theoretical foundations (Mahboob & Tilakaratna, 2012).

Overall, participants of twelve nationalities from eight countries, situated in four different continents were recruited. Having a diverse sample from various organisations accentuated the concept of 'circling reality', which was defined as the necessity of obtaining a variety of perspectives in order to get a better and more stable view of 'reality', based on a wide spectrum of observations from an extensive base of time and space (Dervin, 1992). In this context, Individual viewpoints and experiences could be verified against others and, ultimately, a rich picture of the attitudes, needs or behaviour of those under scrutiny might be constructed based on the contributions of a range of people. Throughout the research journey, I found it particularly helpful to tap into the expertise and experience of interview participants to provide insights into the case. The engagement of key actors with agency in LPP thus provides active voices and builds substantial discourses (Liddicoat & Taylor-Leech, 2021) in supranational LPP of ASEAN.

Narrating a Researcher's Journey of Conducting Online Interviews

During data collection, the Covid-19 pandemic struck, resulting in the interview sessions being conducted fully online via Skype, email, and Facebook Messenger. As mentioned earlier, the Covid-19 restrictions globally made it a priority to switch to online platforms. Interviews with scholars from, e.g., Australia, UK, Ireland and the US were undertaken via a virtual (online)

format, i.e., via Skype mostly (Deakin & Wakefield, 2014; O'Connor & Madge, 2017). Conducting in-person interviews can be particularly difficult for researchers whose participants are geographically dispersed (Sedgwick & Spiers, 2009), therefore Skype was an appropriate method of data collection for my qualitative research (Sullivan, 2012). I need to clarify that, when I started collecting data, *Zoom* was under- utilised and rarely mentioned, therefore almost all participants preferred Skype, which had been a conventional technological tool used for various purposes, including data collection and research meetings (Lo Iacono et al., 2016). One participant opted for Facebook Messenger, while another answered interview questions via email. In hindsight, it was unimaginable how the pandemic changed the dynamics of using technological tools (see Lobe et al., 2020; Lupton, 2020)! Based on my experience, although the participants and I had to grapple with time-zone differences, these were useful tools. The blessing in disguise was that the interviews could still be conducted even if some countries had started implementing lockdown measures in March 2020; for example, in the US, Malaysia and in Australia.

Another advantage of conducting interviews virtually was that I could save on commuting and accommodation expenses. In the end, interviews through online platforms were found to be a cost-saving measure (Cater, 2011). It was efficient in my case, as I had to contend with financial and time constraints. It was the right decision after all, as I was still able to virtually 'meet' scholars based in the US, UK, Ireland, Melbourne and Sydney during a global pandemic. The relative success at carrying out a research at a global scale: involving participants from both Global North and Global South on a Southern context (ASEAN and the Southeast Asian region), exemplifies the advancement of technology and more significantly, reflect the nature of globalisation in both context and scale (Papanastasiou, 2019). The interview sessions made me feel as if I had been teleported to different parts of the world within the 60 minutes of engaging conversations.

Upon reflection, there were several interesting anecdotes throughout the data collection process. As per the ethical procedures, the prospective research participants were given two weeks to respond as to whether they agreed to be part of the research. In reality, the time frame was overly-optimistic, and what happened at times was not what I had anticipated. One participant, for example, responded four months after the email request for interviews had been sent! After two to three email reminders in the span of a month, two other participants finally responded and agreed to an interview. As a rule of thumb, I would send email reminders twice and if I did not get a reply, I would proceed with other prospective respondents. However, there were surprising instances where participants only replied favourably after a lengthy period of time. The lesson I learnt was not to 'assume' one was not interested in the research project even though there was no response initially. My inference was that some participants might have read the emails much later than anticipated. Perhaps they had missed the emails or had forgotten to reply within the stipulated time frame. Nevertheless, it was a meaningful endeavour in my research journey.

My initial thought was that it would have been much harder to build rapport on virtual platforms as compared to physical meetings. It was, however, not a difficult task as I tried to relate my

research interests and my research paradigm with the participants' scholarly knowledge and personal experience in the region. I highlighted some of their articles and theories which were relevant for my research. I started off the conversation with casual topics, at times breaking the ice by sharing with them my past experience of studying in the United Kingdom as well as asking them about their experience in the region. I inferred that my 'non-physical' presence in the online interview might have made participants feel more relaxed and the meeting was more casual and informal. Communicating online was a seamless transition, as it felt as if the participants were more 'relaxed'. Nevertheless, the interview was still very informative and productive.

Having said that, I was wary of power differential in the data collection process as many of the participants were eminent professors and professor emeriti in their fields. A few of them posed questions of me during the interview session even though I was the interviewer. I supposed they were 'testing' me to get my views on the topic, or perhaps 'teaching' me as I engaged with them. One-on-one interviews can not only be potentially intimidating but also intriguing. Being an independent researcher embarking on my PhD journey, I equipped myself with the necessary 'ammunition', e.g., by reading and finding out more about their academic background, research interests, university profile and professional life. This is so that I could link my questions to their interests and experience. By doing so, I found that the interview sessions were more productive and interesting for both parties.

Since the interviews were conducted in a semi-structured format, some interviewees tended to veer to other topics which might be less relevant for this research. I steered them back on track by focusing on the topic and prepared interview questions, so that the data gathered would help answer the research questions. In this regard, I find that one way to get better, quicker and more direct answers is to send participants a list of the prepared interview questions beforehand via email. This measure, I have found, helps save time in data collection and also eases the subsequent data analysis process. By sharing the interview protocol with the participants, they can prepare themselves well before the interview and be familiarised with the context and the type of interview questions to be asked (Shenton, 2004).

Although internet connection was an intermittent issue, we managed to stay focused and stay online for around an hour for each session. This certainly changed my view about having to make physical contact with the participants for maximum research output. I could attest that connecting through a virtual platform was equally viable; in fact, the interview sessions went on longer than what had originally been scheduled. Throughout the process, I also probed further as I attempted to provide in-depth insights, or what Clifford Geertz (1973) regards as 'thick descriptions', which is what case studies are intended to achieve. The notion of 'thick description', allows for a thorough analysis of the complex and particularistic nature of distinct phenomena (Geertz, 1973). I also found that, in a virtual setting, the audio recording was clearer than being physically present at an interview setting. This was likely due to my close proximity to the speaker and the use of an effective audio-recording tool.

Interviewing participants was an enriching and enlightening experience for me as a researcher engaging with researchers in the field. The experience motivated me to be more passionate

about my research, as the participants constantly encouraged me with their wise words and counsel. After concluding the interviews, I used 'otter' software for transcription purposes. Otter is an open-source, online transcription service provider which offers captions for live speakers, and generates written transcriptions of the speeches, using artificial intelligence and machine learning. When using otter for the automatic translation, I checked the verbatim transcriptions carefully and edited accordingly. The online tool was useful, but not perfect. Overall, I estimated around 80% accuracy for generated written transcriptions. Once the transcription process was completed, the transcriptions uploaded on the otter platform were deleted and subsequently, I closed the otter account.

The entire research experience has taught me that data collection does not necessarily need to be 'fully on-site' but can be conducted 'fully on-line'. This is something I have not imagined would have been possible in the pre-Covid pandemic years. While some have lamented the adverse implications, if not inconveniences, caused by pandemic-related disruptions on academic research, I prefer to view this as a blessing in disguise. My advice is simply this: embrace 'VUCA' as a way of life and that 'uncertainty is the new certainty'. In a way, it is almost inevitable that the 'new normal', at least in these two years, entails collecting data amidst lockdowns, border closures and interruptions. My personal journey tells me that applied linguistics research can still potentially yield positive outcomes even in a period of adversity and uncertainty. Technology has to some extent, facilitated the data collection process.

Discussion and Personal Reflections

I have often wondered why Global South scholars, i.e., those from the region, are less interested in looking at the supranational-ASEAN LPP, than in investigating the macro- national context. My research journey embodies a refreshing form of critical applied linguistics from Global South perspectives (Pennycook & Makoni, 2019). I argue here that critical applied linguistics is a way of thinking and doing, a "continuous reflexive integration of thought, desire and action" (Pennycook, 2001, p. 3). Overall, the methodological experiment turned out to be a meaningful academic endeavour both for the participants as well as for me as the researcher. It is therefore, my fervent hope that a Southern scholar, such as myself, can help reinvigorate research on sociolinguistics of the South (Taylor-Leech et al., 2021), particularly on the context of ASEAN.

Reflecting on the research journey, I have found that scholars/experts have great imaginations, aimed at addressing a myriad of concerns in LPP. This is partly because LPP research is their core business and scholars are inclined to view LPP from varied perspectives and ideologies. Experts are generally motivated to problematise the context of ASEAN LPP, i.e., challenging the *status quo* which has been in place since 1960's (Lee et al., 2022). Their argument is that the existing English-only regime is a postcolonial construct which might have worked in the postcolonial era, but the future dynamics demands us to revisit existing practices and chart future LPP trajectories in ASEAN in the form of 'preferred futures' (Pennycook, 2001).

While scholars have been given agentive spaces as people with expertise in this research endeavour, I have discovered that this exercise has made some participants uncomfortable as

they are shifted away from their comfort zone into an unknown territory of practical LPP at a supranational-level. I also realised that many scholars experienced a dilemma between 'idealism' and 'realism' (Lee et al., 2022). On the one hand, these participants were aware of the need to reimagine linguistic possibilities which are inclusive, equitable, ethical and more democratic than the present 'monolingualisation' of ASEAN LPP. On the other hand, many were also realistic about the complexities and limitations in ASEAN LP. Taken together, there were participants who were realistic and pragmatic in their views about the existing policy regime, while others were more critical and offered alternative perspectives. This tells us that, even in an imagined future, it is an unenviable task trying to (re-)construct feasible and acceptable linguistic alternative(s) for ASEAN.

Upon reflection, I am compelled to deliberate on a lingering question often asked among scholars in the field: 'why are (socio-)linguists left out of LPP discussions, if any?' Kennedy (2011) notes that linguists are unlike healthcare experts, where their expertise is recognised and opinion accepted, thus having a stronger impact in the policymaking process. Politicians and policymakers, also known as 'people with power' in actors in LP framework (Zhao & Baldauf, 2012), tend to bypass linguists in making LPP decisions. To politicians and policymakers, language is not viewed in the same light as, say, business, science, technology or health, where technical know-how from experts in these areas are highly valued in the decision-making process. I have learnt through this research that 'people with expertise' are rarely engaged in mainstream policymaking processes and seemingly detached from practical decision-making, particularly in the context of ASEAN supranational-LPP. The role of sociolinguists, albeit important to LPP, is unfortunately mostly confined to academia or academic discourses.

Even though scholars might not be in an ideal position to influence or make policies, this paper focuses on the potential contributions that language experts might be able to make to the process of policy construction. I further argue that their views should not be undermined as they have experience working in the field of LPP within the region; and their perspectives are mainly informed by empirical research and theoretical foundations, both of which are crucial in helping us understand the world around us. Language experts therefore should not be restricted in their ability to contribute to the process of policy formulation, particularly if deeply entrenched ideologies about language are to be subjected to careful scrutiny (Wee, 2011). Co-constructionism, in this context, values their expertise and offers them an opportunity to make their voices heard. Their voices are otherwise underrepresented and undervalued in public domains and political circles (Tollefson & Perez-Milans, 2018).

Conclusion

In this paper, I have detailed the advantages and challenges of conducting online interviews, as well as proposed useful strategies employed while collecting data during pandemic times. My personal research journey may be relevant to those currently conducting similar research and/or researchers planning to pursue research in related fields. More importantly, I have argued that critical applied linguistic research should not only challenge the *status quo* and understand the constraints and problems faced in the past and present LPP, but also offer suggestions to

address the linguistic and educational inequalities (Pennycook, 2001; see also Liddicoat & Taylor-Leech, 2021; Emirbayer & Mische, 1998). The current regional and global policy dynamics require us to provide practical and realistic solutions to the complex linguistic problems we are faced with today. Moving from 'critique to hope' offers the opportunity to position oneself not as a 'passive victim' (McLaren, 2009), but as a 'social actor' with the agency to initiate or suggest changes for the betterment of society and its people. On that note, the paper fundamentally gives credence to the hitherto underutilised and undervalued agentic 'voices' of scholars as 'people with expertise' in LPP (Liddicoat & Taylor-Leech, 2021), in an attempt at 're-humanising' LPP research in the Global South. In short, 'policy imaginings' may be pursued as the way forward in LPP research, as policy is essentially about projecting hope and ideals of an imagined linguistic future (Liddicoat, 2013).

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FILIPINO DOMESTIC WORKER ENGLISH

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Abstract

This article provides a description of the distinctive phonological, lexical, and grammatical features of 'Filipino domestic worker English'. Data for this linguistic description consist of recordings of interactions between Filipino domestic workers and their employers' children from Hong Kong and Singapore. The phonology of Filipino domestic worker English still resembles Philippine English, yet with much richer inventory of sounds than basilectal Philippine English. But at the suprasegmental level, Filipino domestic workers attempt to approximate that of the local English. Lexical borrowings between Filipino domestic workers and their employers' children are common, but borrowings from children to worker are overwhelmingly more frequent. In terms of grammar, there are a few noticeable idiosyncrasies in Filipino domestic workers English, but most especially in agreement, tense, and adverbs. English(es) is being acquired, learned, and used in these societies with a greater probability through Filipino domestic workers at home. It is important that the language use of these workers be on the agenda of researchers, policy-makers, practitioners, educators, and other stakeholders in the migration process.

Keywords: Transnational domestic workers, Philippine English, world Englishes, migration linguistics, labor migration

1. Introduction

The so-called 'age of migration' (de Haas, Castles, & Miller, 2020) has highlighted the importance of language amongst the various sociocultural changes as a consequence of globalization and migration. Particularly, in the migration process, languages (and their varieties) have become not only an interesting dimension but more importantly a crucial aspect of it. Borlongan (in press) goes further by saying that language is the 'heart of migration', and that it plays a very important role in the whole migration process. As such, he has proposed that language in migratory contexts be carefully studied, and that a sub-discipline of linguistics and applied linguistics be specially devoted to it, that which he calls 'migration linguistics'. The focus of this article is a specific case of transnational labor migration and the language varieties in contact and the supposed language variety emerging in that particular case. This linguistically interesting case of transnational labor migration is that of Filipino women working as transnational domestic workers and the alleged emerging sociolect resulting from this transnational movement.

Filipino domestic workers (FDWs) have become a common feature in many middle- to upper-class households in East Asia, Middle East, and Southeast Asia, particularly towards the end of twentieth century. While "[b]y and large, domestic work, which can include child and elderly care, cleaning, cooking and other tasks connected to taking care of the family, is lowly paid, devalued and considered to be unskilled work" (Lorente, 2018, p. 13), households which have FDWs have been largely dependent on them and, specially, children in these households receive substantial amount of care and spend an inordinate amount of time with FDWs, which even rival the amount of care and time they receive from their parents (Vilog & Borlongan, 2019). Aside from having comparatively higher educational attainment than domestic workers of other nationalities, Filipinos working as domestic workers, owing largely to English being a dominant language in the Philippines, have higher levels of English language proficiency in comparison with their peers, and, as such, are often more preferred by employers (Lorente, 2018). And it has been asked whether the English language input FDWs provide their employers' children have an (negative) effect on the latter's English language proficiency. Quite a number of developmental psycholinguistic studies (Leung, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2014; Leung & Young-Scholten, 2013) have sought to answer that ques-tion and they found that FDWs do not affect the English language use of their employers' children. If at all, these children are afforded more exposure to English by these FDWs, and even made aware of Englishes beyond theirs (Vilog & Borlongan, 2019).

2. Aims and Methods

The aim of this article is to provide a linguistic description of the English used by FDWs, or, quite possibly, 'Filipino domestic worker English'. In particular, this article describes the distinctive phonological, lexical, and grammatical features of this Philippine English sociolect of interest.

The basis for this linguistic description is an expansion of the data collected by Vilog and Borlongan for their 2019 on FDWs. Their study was a mixed-method study of language attitudes, ideologies, and use and they already have four-hours worth recordings of interactions between FDWs and their employers' children from Hong Kong and Singapore. An addition of recordings two hours longer than the earlier dataset should make the linguistic description contained in this article richer. At the center of these interactions (and the actual data collected for the 2019 Vilog and Borlongan study as well as this one) are naturally-occurring conversations, exchanges between the FDWs and their employers' children when they are alone at home. The contexts of these interactions and conversations are usually the times when the FDWs are feeding these children, playing with them or simply watching over them. The impression upon listening to the recordings is that they were quite naturalistic and not contrived. The recordings were transcribed as necessary for the phonological, lexical, and grammatical analysis done for this article.

FDWs constitute what in social research is called 'special population' or 'potentially vulnerable groups', and data relating to them are not only hard to come by but immensely confidential and sensitive in nature that any piece of (additional) data from them is always valuable and worthwhile research-wise. Linguistically, but most specially sociolinguistically, it is

encouraging to dwell on the possible emergence of this Philippine English sociolect among these transnational laborers as they negotiate their own English with the fairly established and stable Englishes of their destination countries and territories (in the case of the FDWs serving as informants for the description given in this article, Hong Kong and Singapore). Language data from FDWs represent new and unique data different from the canonical data used in the study of Englishes which are usually the English of non-migrant population, otherwise known as autochthonous or sedentary or sedentary population, in the territory in question.

3. Phonology

First and foremost, it must be said here that the phonological description made is based on auditory judgment of what constrained data which have been procured from the informants. Also, at this point, it is helpful that the description of sounds observed in this purported sociolect of Philippine English is juxtaposed with findings of Tayao (2008). And so Table 1 presents Tayao's consonant inventory of acrolectal Philippine English:

Table 1
Consonant Inventory of Philippine English Acrolect (Tayao, 2008, p. 172)

Manner of Articulation	Place of Articulation						
	Bilabial	Labiodental	Interdental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop	p b			t d		k g	ʔ
Fricative		f v	θ ð	s z	š ž		h
Affricate					č ǰ		
Nasal	m			n		ŋ	
Lateral Liquid				l			
Retroflex Liquid				r			
Glide	w				y		

Although Tayao (2008) presented three consonant inventories corresponding to the basilectal, mesolectal, and acrolectal Philippine English, the acrolectal inventory was chosen as it exhibits the most number of consonants. Moreover, all consonants found in basilect and mesolect are also included in acrolect. It should also be noted that the symbols in Table 1 are exactly the same as the ones used by Tayao (e.g. č, ǰ).

On the other hand, Table 2 shows the consonant inventory of FDW English.

Table 2
Consonant Inventory of Filipino Domestic Worker English

Manner of Articulation	Place of Articulation							
	Bilabial	Labiodental	Interdental	Alveolar	Post-Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop	pb			t d			k g	ʔ
Fricative		f v	θ ð	s z	ʃ ʒ			h
Tap				ɾ				
Affricate						tʃdʒ		
Nasal	m			n			ŋ	
Lateral Approximant				l				
Approximant				ɹ		j		
Glide	w							

As seen above, FDW English consists of 26 consonants, nine (9) of which are voiceless and 17, voiced. The number of consonants in FDW English exceeds that of acrolectal Philippine English (25 consonants) and equals that of General American English (26 consonants).

Previous scholars, such as Tayao (2008) characterized /r/ in Philippine English as 'trilled' and in General American English as 'retroflex liquid'. However, the data reveal that FDW English exhibits both forms of the rhotic consonant. Although a closer articulatory investigation would be needed, it is posited in the mean time that a tap, instead of a trill, is perceived alongside the retroflex liquid. The voiced alveolar tap [ɾ] appears in words such as *irritating*, *circle*, *thirty*, and *debris*. On the other hand, voiced alveolar approximant [ɹ] appears in words such as *underwear* (both syllable-final positions), *brush*, *drink, later*, and *wrinkled.*

Tayao (2008) also mentioned that Philippine English users oftentimes substitute General American English palatal affricate /tʃ/ in the initial position with /ts/. However, data revealed otherwise, as all tokens such as the following were pronounced by FDWs using a voiceless palatal affricate: *Charge, check, chicken*, and *chopsticks*,

Quite commonly, Filipinos are also expected to mispronounce /f/, substituting /p/ in English words instead (cf. Tayao, 2008). Nonetheless, as far as the data revealed, FDW English has no showing of this substitution such as in the following words: *Finish, first, food, full,* and *cough*. On the other hand, /θ/ is fairly consistent, as in *everything, thing,* and *bath*, where it is expected to be substituted by /t/. It is sometimes observed in Philippine English that words exhibiting the /θ/ sound as if /t/ or the aspirated version of it is in place instead. To some degree, these observations establish an affinity between FDW English and Standard Philippine English in terms of pronunciation.

Finally, there are some doubts in the consistency of /ð/. Specifically for the words *this, that,* and *then*; the voiced interdental fricative may sometimes appear as /d/. This is also a common observation for Philippine English.

Meanwhile, Figure 1 displays the vowel inventory of the mesolectal variety of Philippine English from Tayao (2008: 173), which is also the same as the vowel inventory of FDW English, as observed from the recordings of interactions between FDWs and their employers' children.
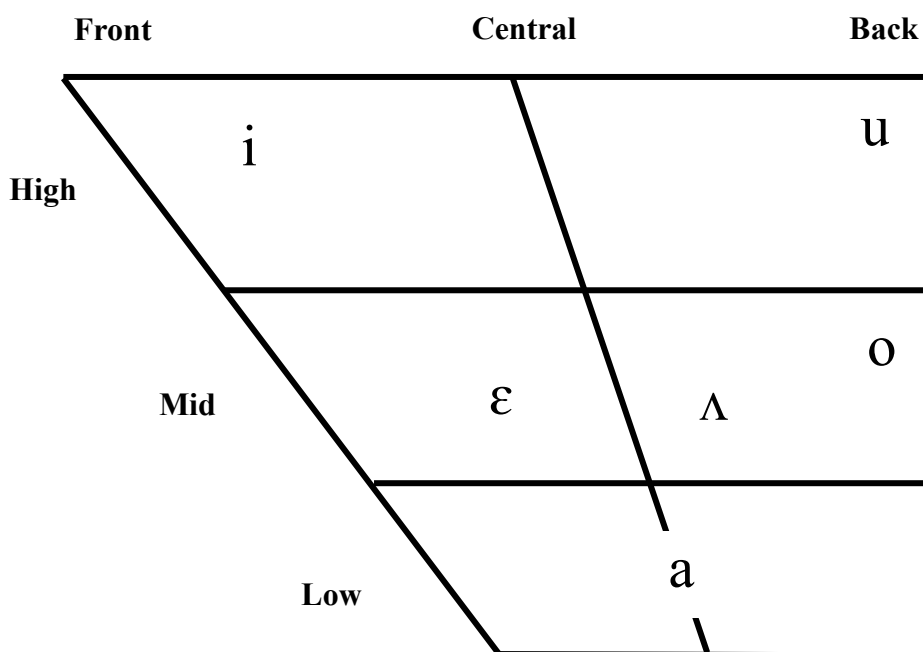

Figure 1. **Vowel Inventory of Mesolectal Philippine English and Filipino Domestic Worker English**

One noteworthy observation is that wherever /æ/ is supposed to appear, FDWs use [ɛ] instead, hence, the inclusion in the vowel inventory. This is true for the V1 of the following sample words: *happy*, *magic*, and *shampoo,* This suggests that [ɛ] is most probably a merger, taking on the roles of both /æ/ and /ɛ/, as far as FDW English concerned.

Impressionistically, beyond the individual sounds observed, FDWs were noted for their occasional speech rhythm shift from one which resembles Philippine English to that which is similar to either Hong Kong English or Singapore English. This is characterized by speaking in a staccato fashion, seemingly mirroring the speech rhythm of the children taken care of by them. Nevertheless, the shift mostly occurs towards the end of the sentence, usually in the ultimate word. At this point, however, the peculiarities of Hong Kong English and Singapore English are not taken into account yet, rather, only the more general characteristic of resembling Chinese in terms of rhythm.

(1) Can you finish your food so we can play monopoly?

(2) You take all the money.

In (1) and (2), the words *monopoly* and *money* exhibit the phenomenon stated above. While the elements before these two words are unmistakably orthodox English sounding as uttered, *monopoly* and *money* shift to being syllable-timed. Regularly, *monopoly* is stressed on the second syllable and *money,* on the penultimate. However, for the case of FDW English, the stress was not auditorily apparent and each syllable were perceived to have almost equal lengths.

4. Lexicon

Exchange of lexical items between the FDWs and the children under their care was also common. This similar to the process of borrowing, which Bautista (1997) described as one strategy which Philippine English — and all other Englishes as well — uses to expand its lexicon and also the type of exchange of lexical items referring to local objects or concepts which Schneider (2003, 2007) described as typical of early contact between settler and indigenous population at the onset of transplantation of a new English. More specifically, FDWs contribute words from Philippine languages, but most especially Tagalog, whilst their employers' children words from the local languages, although both of them use English as the language of their conversations.

For instance, an FDW from Hong Kong uses the Tagalog word *wiwi* 'urine/urinate' to ask whether the child needs to do so. Singaporean children also comprehend a few Tagalog words such as *gwapo* 'handsome' and *pangit* 'ugly'. They also use *tita* to refer to the FDW, which is analogous to the common Singapore honorific *auntie*. It is noted, however, that, while there is lexical exchange between FDWs and the children, the source is almost always the children's local English and/or language rather than that of the FDW.

Data from Hong Kong informants show a more frequent transfer of lexical items and expressions from Cantonese into English. For example, *jie jie* 'female domestic helper' is commonly used by the FDWs themselves, as well as Hong Kong families, to refer to domestic workers. They also use common phrases such as *jo mei ah* 'what are you doing' and *m goi* 'thank you/please'. There is also a preponderance of Cantonese kinship terms such as *sai lou* 'younger brother'. Furthermore, some FDWs can communicate with their employers' children in successive inter-sentential code-switches from Cantonese and then to English, or vice-versa.

(3) Princess Anna, Elsa   m goi   ya ya,   jie jie   hao ma.
    Princess Anna, Elsa   thank you (Chi) female domestic helper (Tgl)female
    domestic helper (Chi)   good (Chi0
(4) Sai lou   bye bye,   see you later!
    younger brother goodbye   see you later

Emphatic Singapore English such as *lah*, *meh*, and *ah*, which convey various pragmatic meanings were also adopted by the FDWs. These sentence-final emphatic particles presumably of Cantonese origin are ubiquitous in both Hong Kong and Singapore data. Of these, *lah* and *ah* have the highest occurences. In other instances, the following particles or expressions also

appeared: *Aiyoh* for expressing displeasure, *na* for offering something to someone, and *alamak*, a Malay expression which indicates a person's shock over something.

It is possible that the more frequent code-switching occurs among Hong Kong informants due to the fact that Hong Kong citizens whom they live with speak English less than their Singaporeans counterparts. As such, the Hong Kong FDWs exposure to Cantonese is higher, compared to the Singapore FDWs.

5. Grammar

In terms of grammar, utterances are also principally in the non-past tense, even if the FDWs are talking about things in the past. In one of the conversations between an FDW and a Singaporean child, the following expressions are found:

(5) She chase me […] so he go chase the girl also.
(6) What happen to your hands? [They have] become (like those of an) uncle.
(7) You buy it?

Aside from the tense being problematic, (5) also exhibits two instances of agreement discord — the verbs *chase* and *go* do not agree with the number of the subjects *she* and *he* respectively. Similarly, this is also found in (8) and (9), where the head noun is not affixed with the pluralizing morpheme *-s* and the plural verb does not follow suit:

(8) The two card is mine.
(9) Many student is there.

The placement of the adverbs *already* and *only* sentence-finally, said to be characteristic of Philippine English (cf. Gonzalez, 1985), is also found in FDW English:

(10) Who you want to listen only?
(11) Maybe tomorrow you can sleep with us already.
(12) It is school holiday only.
(13) You eat already.

These are considered to be translations of the Tagalog clitic particles *lang* and *na*, and since meshing of the syntactic rules of Tagalog and English may be subconsciously straining, the end of the utterance "seems like an easy slot to plug [them] in", according to Bautista (1982, p. 385).

Imperative constructions in English typically drop the subject *you*, characteristically beginning with the base form of the verb as in *Read this*. However, the subject of the imperative is realized in various tokens in the English of FDWs, as in those exemplified below:

(14) You finish your food.
(15) You drink water.
(16) You kiss *jie jie*.

(17) Okay, you eat.

While the above statements are not grammatically incorrect, they seem to be a reflection of being accustomed to the prototypical English SVO sentence pattern, where the subject must always begin the utterance. And to an ordinary English speaker, these constructions may not sound very usual.

There also appears to be some confusion regarding the use of articles. In the following sentences, the null article is used in the absence of an indefinite article:

(18) It's not θ public holiday.
(19) You sing θ song.

Conversely, the indefinite article appears in utterances with a definite nominal as in (20) and a plural nominal as in (21):

(20) It's a Teacher's Day.
(21) It's a bad words.

Peculiarities in terms of agreement, as exhibited by (5), (6), (7), (8), and (9), and tense as shown by (5), (6), and (7), were previously described by Bautista (1982) as also characteristic of the English used by domestic workers in the Philippines. FDWs in both Hong Kong and Singapore reflect these observations, although the frequency is notably higher for the latter. This can be attributed to the nature of the audio recordings, wherein Singapore FDWs have lengthier conversations with their employees' children than Hong Kong FDWs.

6. Discussion and Conclusion

This article provided a description of the distinctive phonological, lexical, and grammatical features of FDW English. The phonology of FDW English still resembles Philippine English, yet with much richer inventory of sounds than basilectal Philippine English. But at the suprasegmental level, FDWs attempt to approximate that of the local English. Lexical borrowings between FDWs and their employers' children are common, but borrowings from children to worker are overwhelmingly more frequent. In terms of grammar, there are a few noticeable idiosyncrasies in FDW English, but most especially in agreement, tense, and adverbs.

At this point, it is worth asking the question: To which is the English used by FDWs closer? To Philippine English or to the local English of their destination country? As far as phonological properties are concerned, FDW English can be confidently classified as resembling Philippine English closely. In terms of consonant count (26), it is close to the acrolectal Philippine English, notwithstanding the allophonic variation of /r/. And for vowel count (6), it is the same as Philippine English mesolect. This affinity with Philippine English is also apparent in the rhythmic pattern — although there are instances of staccato manner of speaking, more than half of the tokens of speech are undoubtedly Philippine English-sounding, especially to users well-versed with the new English. Instances which incline slightly to Hong

Kong or Singapore English (or their colloquial subvarieties) are sparse, not to mention, unpredictable at this point. It is also apparent that FDW English has several lexical borrowings from Cantonese, Mandarin, Malay, and Hokkien; however, partly, the lexical tokens are limited and, much more, they are limited to certain conceptual categories such as kinship, emphatic particles, and daily expressions. Thus said, these borrowings are yet to be confirmed as largely productive to be deemed as a stable process in the emergence of FDW English. And so, from this perspective, the lexical items in FDW English are still characteristically Philippine English rather than Hong Kong or Singapore English. Grammatically, specifically citing the deviations from the purported 'standard English', FDW English mirrors the peculiarities of Philippine English. Issues relating to subject-verb agreement, number, and definiteness are characteristic of Philippine English, as also posited by Bautista (1982) for English of domestic workers in the Philippines. It should be noted here that there is almost a one-to-one correspondence between the features this article has identified as FDW and the features Bautista identified for the English of domestic workers in the Philippines. If there is any difference, it is in the confidence of FDWs in Hong Kong and Singapore to use English, certainly because there is no other language to use in communicating with their employers' children — or the employers' themselves and the society at large — except English; hence, they appear to be more comfortable in using English than the domestic workers in the Philippines who overwhelmingly use a Philippine language in fulfilling their work responsibilities. And so, to answer the question on the basis of data available, FDW English remains characteristically Philippine English though they make attempts to approximate colloquial local English. This attempt to approximate the local English, particularly the colloquial subvariety, is in the fashion which Giles (1973) classically refers to as 'communication accommodation'. As Vilog and Borlongan reveal, while FDWs take pride in the 'good English' they speak/use, they adapt to the (colloquial) local English primarily to be understood better not only by their employers' children but also their employers and the society.

The ultimate question to ask therefore is: What is FDW English? This definition is proposed for the sociolect described in this article: *Filipino domestic worker English is a sociolect of Philippine English which these workers use in fulfilling their occupational responsibilities, most especially when communicating with their employers and their employers' children and elderly. FDW English is a continuum which approximates the colloquial local English at one end and mesolectal/basilectal Philippine English at the other end. Though used as a way of accommodating to their employers' family and the locality as well, FDW English is, for most of the time, still much closer to (mesolectal/basilectal) Philippine English than to the colloquial local English.*

In Martin's (2014) concentric circles of Philippine English, the English of FDWs belong to the outer circle, those who use English primarily for instrumental reasons. But she says that those who belong to Philippine English' outer circle are "either powerless to support these languages [Philippine English and its varieties] and/or ambivalent about promoting them" (p. 55). In general, FDWs have the power to influence and, at least, tell their employers' children about English and also about Philippine English in particular, making these children aware of a legitimized variety of English in the Philippines. Again, this treatise on the emergence of this

sociolect referred to by this article as FDW English goes to show that there is variation within Philippine English (Lee & Borlongan, 2023), that there are indeed Englishes in the Philippines (Gonzales, 2017), and that Philippine English is moving further in its evolution (Borlongan, 2016). it could also be added that FDW English is a fine example of what Meierkord (2012) calls as 'Interactions across Englishes', "the different Englishes potentially merge in these interactions and that this, also potentially, result in the development of new emergent varieties" (p. 2). These FDWs go to these destination countries with their (basilectal/mesolectal) Philippine English. Then they get exposed to the colloquial local English in their destination countries. And so the resulting variety they use is the continuum between these two, and Meierkord rightly predicts, it is "not [...] one stable or even codified variety, but rather a heterogenous array of new linguistic systems" (p. 2) [emphasis original].

In 1982, Bautista investigated on yaya English, or the English used by nursemaids of children from affluent families in Manila. Her study was one of the earlier works on Philippine English, and the first to document a less educated sub-variety. She provides an interesting overview of the sub-variety: It is "a kind of English that is a composite of the little English originally learned in a barrio [rural neighborhood] school, the English picked up from the mass media and from an urban setting, and the stock expressions acquired from living with a high or middle income family. These are the features of what can be called the unschooled variety of Philippine English, or the English spoken by the Filipino who is not at home in English" (p. 378). It is tempting to juxtapose the FDWs in this study and the nursemaids in Bautista's; after all, the nature of their work and the interactions which have been the focus of this article are very similar at first glance. However, caution is given to making such parallelisms for a few reasons: First, overseas FDWs have had higher educational attainment than the ones in the Philippines (Sayres, 2007). Second, while, indeed, the FDW English documented in this article also has a number of instances of mixing in local languages, certainly, FDWs in Hong Kong and Singapore are not very proficient in the local languages in these cities and they only pick up these words and expressions from the mixing locals do. They are definitely more fluent in English than in these languages. After all, their English language proficiency makes them more valuable than domestic workers of other nationalities (Lorente, 2018; Vilog & Borlongan, 2019). Meanwhile, domestic workers in the Philippines could easily revert to a Philippine local language (most likely, Tagalog) which they are probably more fluent in than English. And so, for these two reasons, the focus of this investigation was not conflated with that of Bautista, at least, through the lens of sociolinguistics.

Interactions between FDWs and their employers' children are becoming more and more prevalent than ever that they have evolved to be a recognizable feature in the social fabric of the cities where data for the linguistic description in this article come from. Consequently, in the acquisition, learning, and use of not just English but all languages, these FDWs are turning or may have already turned to be an irreplaceable variable in the evolution of English(es). It is therefore quite compelling to be able to document this phenomenon, sociolinguistically as Vilog and Borlongan (2019) have done — and this article, too, from a variationist sociolinguistic perspective — as well as using different linguistic tools other scholars have earlier (e.g. Leung & Young-Scholten, 2013; Lorente, 2018), and to include them in the

theorizing and modeling of Englishes. Indeed, Kachru (1985) has his concentric circles and Schneider (2003, 2007) his evolutionary stages but, very certainly, in between and across those Kachruvian circles and Schneiderian stages are these 'grassroots English interactions' (cf. Schneider, 2016 on grassroots Englishes) — these FDWs informally teaching a bigger part of tomorrow's English-using societies — which definitely alter the overall picture, and, probably, that picture will never be the same without them. That picture therefore is painted as English(es) being acquired, learned, and used in these societies with a greater probability through (Filipino) domestic workers at home.

On a more applied and migration linguistic note, it is necessary that the language use of these FDWs (specifically and migrant workers generally) be at the agenda of researchers, policy-makers, practitioners, educators, and other stakeholders in the migration process. It cannot be simply recommended here that a training program be designed and implemented for these workers. The bigger concern must be what the nature and content of these would be. Their ability to adapt not only linguistically but also sociolinguistically must be trained and honed — and also be further studied — so that not only will they be able to integrate well in their destination countries but also that they will be able to actively and positively participate in the changing dynamics of the language ecologies of their destination countries. It is on this matter and concern that the new sub-discipline of linguistics and migration linguistics called 'migration linguistics' be all the more relevant and necessary (Borlongan, in press).

It is compelling to end this article by quoting a FDW commenting on the English of her employers' children; while it may be a slight overstatement but it basically sums up what impact FDWs (quite possibly) have on the English language use of their employers' children: "The English of the children I take care of is good because of me".

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CHALLENGES FACING MALAY LANGUAGE STUDIES IN SINGAPORE TODAY

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1. Introduction

This paper serves to discuss the development of Malay Language and Literature studies in Singapore from the very beginning of the establishment of the Department of Malay Studies at the then University of Malaya in Singapore more than 70 years ago until the present time. There are currently three institutions of higher learning offering Malay Language and Literature or Malay Studies leading to an undergraduate degree and this paper will provide a quick snapshot of the content and curriculum therein with a background of the current challenges confronting the field with the current linguistic landscape in the Island republic. It will then propose a way forward as the Malay Language is experiencing a shrinking speaker base as evidenced in the latest 2020 census of population.

1.1 History of Malay Language studies in Singapore

Since the founding of modern Singapore by Sir Stamford Raffles in 1819, the Malay Language and its culture has been an area of study by the colonial authorities. Singapore was the largest and most vibrant city in British Malaya and by virtue of this it was a center for Malay Language scholarship and publications. In fact, the congregation of Malay literati, trading class and publishing houses in the city spurred the growth of not only literary works in Malay but also a whole new industry of Malay publications for the masses. By the end of the 19th century education in the Malay Language was encouraged by the colonial authorities and with this zest for education by the Malay populace, there was a concomitant interest in higher education for teachers in the Malay Language and also in the teaching of the Malay Language. By 1877, there was a Straits and later Malayan branch of the Royal Asiatic Society which allowed an avenue for scholarly writings on the language and culture of Malays. The Raffles Museum and Library also spurred interest in the study of the Malay world as the premier center of all exhibition of things Malay.

However, it was only towards the end of the colonial period that a Department of Malay Studies was established by the University of Malaya, Singapore in 1953 (Lim, 2013: 40). The department was headed by Dr Zainal Abidin bin Ahmad or popularly known as Zaaba, the preeminent local scholar in the field. The department moved to Kuala Lumpur in 1959 when a branch campus was established in the newly independent Malaya (Lim 2013:69). As the 1960s wore on the differing political realities in Singapore and Malaya came sharply into focus and the University of Singapore was established in 1962. As Singapore achieved independence in 1965,a new department of Malay Studies was established in 1967, just two years after its separation from Malaysia. Interestingly, a department of Malay Studies was also established at

the privately funded Nanyang University in 1958.However, the department at Nanyang University ceased operations in 1970 and was eventually combined with the University of Singapore. The Teacher's Training College also started a department of Malay Language which is currently subsumed in the Asian Languages and Cultures Academic Group of the National Institute of Education. The latest addition is the Malay Language and Literature programme at the Singapore University of Social Sciences which was started at its predecessor institution SIM University, in 2009.

Currently, there are three institutions of higher learning offering Malay or Malay Language studies at the tertiary level. Namely, the Department of Malay Studies at the National University of Singapore, The Asian Languages and Cultures Academic Group at the National Institute of Education and the Malay Language and Literature programme at the Singapore University of Social Sciences.

2. The Department of Malay Studies at the National University of Singapore

The Department of Malay Studies at the National University of Singapore is the oldest offering Malay Studies in Singapore. In its 55 years of history, it has been helmed by famous professors in the field including Professors Roolvink and Syed Hussein Alatas who went on to be the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Malaya in Kuala Lumpur. The department currently specializes in courses on Malay Literature and Sociology. It aims to provide its graduates with a broad knowledge on developments and problems in the Malay World and beyond. The programme offers its students a focus on multi-disciplinary approaches in understanding the history, economics, politics, cultures and societies in the Malay Archipelago. Most of the courses are taught in English and at level 1000 there is an introductory course which provides students a grasp of the approaches in studying the issue of conflict, change and continuity in the Malay World.

At the 2000 level, the department offers 11 courses on the culture and history of the Malays. These courses comprehensively provide an understanding of a wide range of topics ranging from the law, family, socialization and religion of the Malays. Out of 11 modules, only one is taught in the Malay Language.

MS2210 Malay Culture and Society
MS2211 Criticism in Modern Malay Literature (taught in Malay)
MS2212 Law and Malay Society
MS2213 Families and Households Lived Experiences
MS2215 The Malays in History
MS2216 Fieldwork in Malay Society
MS2217 Transcultural Histories and Heritage in the Malay World
MS2218 Malay-Islamic Cultural Encounters: Arts and Aesthetics
MS2219 Networks and the Malay World
MS2220 Arts and Artists in the Nusantara
MS2221 Sufism in Southeast Asia

(Department of Malay Studies, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences. Module Description, 20 August 2022)

At the 3000 level, the courses provide deeper insights into topics related to the Malays of Singapore and the region. It provides a grounding for students to investigate the life of the Malays be it literary, religious or political. The courses cover the entire spectrum of traditions, ideology and modernization of the Malays and their society.

MS3209 The Malays of Singapore
MS3210 Modern Indonesian Literature (taught in Malay)
MS 3211 Political Culture of the Malays
MS3212 Text and Ideology in the Malay World (taught in Malay)
MS3213 Ideology and Ideas on Malay Development
MS3214 Asian Traditions and Modernisation
MS3215 Malays and Modernisation
MS3216 Gender and Islam
MS3217 Political Economy, Ethnicity, Religion
MS3218 The Religious Life of the Malays
MS3550 Malay Studies Internship
(Department of Malay Studies, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences. Module Description, 20 August 2022)

At the highest level which is the 4000 level, 13 courses are offered which enables the students to further investigate modern Malay society and the changes that have taken place since the 19th century. Contemporary topics like Malay films, Malay art forms, culture, identity and the impact of globalization on the Malays are also investigated. Similar to level 3000, a couple of courses on the position of Islam in Malay society further reinforces the students' understanding of the Malay society wholistically. The courses are as follows:

MS4101 Theory and Practice in Malay Studies
MS4201 Social Change in the Malay World 1900-1965
MS4202 Malay Society in the 19th Century
MS4203 The Religious Life of the Malays
MS4204 The Malay Middle Class
MS4207 Reading the Malay Film
MS4208 Syariah Law in Southeast Asia
MS4401 Honours Thesis
MS4660 Independent Study Module
MS4880 Topics in Malay Studies
MS4880A Orientations in Muslim Resurgence Movements
MS4880B Malays Encountering Globalization: Culture and Identity
MS4880C Topics in Malay Art Forms
(Department of Malay Studies, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences. Module Description, 20 August 2022)

3. Malay Language and Literature at the Asian Languages and Cultures Academic Group at the National Institute of Education, Nanyang Technological University.

The National Institute of Education is the sole teacher preparation institute of Singapore and consequently the Malay Language and Literature programme at the Asian Languages and Cultures Academic Group has been the principal training ground for all Malay teachers in the Republic since its inception in the 1970s.

The courses offered by the programme are geared to producing graduates in the field Malay Language pedagogy and are focused on the needs of the primary and secondary school teacher via curriculum studies based on their areas of specialization. Students are given a comprehensive exposure to Malay linguistics, literature, pedagogical studies, character and citizenship education and graduates from the programme obtain a BA (Education).

The programme offerings include Core, Prescribed and General Electives. This paper will not go into the intricacies of the categories and structure for graduation but will present an overview of the fields of studies. In general, students are given a good grounding not just in their academic area of Malay Language but also that of education and curriculum studies. These will expose students to key concepts and principles of education whilst curriculum studies will prepare students to teach the Malay Language subject in Singapore schools. In essence, the curriculum is aimed at not just producing a graduate competent in the Malay Language but serves a professional purpose in initial teacher preparation.

The courses offered below for the teaching of the Malay Language (Secondary) and include teaching and assessing reading, writing and grammar of Malay:

> CS 1 Malay Language Structure
> ACD22A Foundations to Malay Language Teaching at the Secondary Level
> ACD32A Teaching and Assessing Reading in Malay
> ACD42A Teaching and Assessing Writing in Malay
> ACD42B Teaching and Assessing Malay Grammar
> (BA (Ed) & B Sc (Ed) Programme Handbook, 20 August 2022: 201-202)

The courses offered below are for the teaching of the Malay Language (Primary) and include teaching and assessing reading, writing and grammar of Malay:

> ACD20A Foundations to Malay Language Teaching at Primary Level
> ACD20B Teaching Oral Communication in Malay at Primary Level
> ACD 30A Teaching Reading and Writing in Malay (Lower Primary)
> ACD 40A Teaching Reading and Writing in Malay (Higher Primary)
> ACD 40B Teaching Malay Grammar at the Primary Level
> ACD 40C Assessment in Malay Language Teaching
> (BA (Ed) & B Sc (Ed) Programme Handbook, 20 August 2022: 133-137)

Courses to prepare aspiring teachers in teaching literature provide an exposure in both traditional and modern Malay Literature. They also provide students with hands on ability to design and assess the teaching of Malay Literature:

ACF22A Teaching of Modern Malay Literature
ACF22B Teaching of Traditional Malay Literature
ACF42A Designing Programmes and Assessments in the teaching of Malay Literature
(BA (Ed) & B Sc (Ed) Programme Handbook, 20 August 2022: 203-204)

As the programme trains school teachers, an important feature is to ensure that teachers understand the knowledge, skills, values and attitudes of character and citizenship education. The three courses detailed below provide an overview of character and citizenship education:

ACV20A Teaching of Character and Citizenship Education (Malay) (Lower Primary)
ACV20B Teaching Character and Citizenship Education (Malay) (Upper Primary)
ACV40A Assessment in Character and Citizenship Education (Malay)
(BA (Ed) & B Sc (Ed) Programme Handbook, 20 August 2022: 138-139)

Academic subjects in Malay Language for primary and secondary track students are numerous and they include studies in Malay Linguistics covering such diverse areas as Bilingualism, Discourse Analysis, Syntax, Sociolinguistics, Language Planning to Phonetics and Phonology. Courses that cover Malay culture and practices are also included in this extensive offering:

AAD10A Language Refinement and Malay Culture
AAD10B Malay in Context
AAD10G The Study of Malay Language
AAD10D Malay Phonetics and Phonology
AAD10E Jawi and the Malay Language
AAD20A Malay Morphology
AAD20B Malay Syntax
AAD20C Origin and Development of Malay Language
AAD20D Cultural Life and Practices of The Malays
AAD20E Sociolinguistics of the Malay Language
AAD20G Malay Semantics and Pragmatics
AAD30A Discourse Analysis in Malay
AAD30B Malay Arts and Civilization
AAD30D Readings in Language Education
AAD40A Language Planning and Policy
AAD40B Bilingual Learners and Bilingual Education
AAD40D Academic Exercise - Malay Language
(BA (Ed) & B Sc (Ed) Programme Handbook, 20 August 2022: 365-374)

Courses in Malay Literature for both primary and secondary track teachers on the other hand, appear to be more limited and cover areas of traditional, children's and regional literatures namely that of the Malay speaking world and Indonesia.

AAF10A Traditional Malay Literature
AAF10B Modern Malay/Indonesian Literature
AAF10C Singapore Malay Literature
AAF10D Children's and Adolescents' Literature
(BA (Ed) & B Sc (Ed) Programme Handbook, 20 August 2022: 375-376)

Finally, students are offered seven elective courses which cater to deepening students' interest in Malay philology, linguistics culture and literature.Overall, these elective courses are interesting to say the least:

AAD08A Malay in Context
AAD08B Introduction to Basic Jawi and Caligraphy
AAD28B Education of the Malays
AAF28C Islam and Malay Society
AAF08A Malay Performing Arts
AAF08B Appreciating Multiculturalism through Story
AAF28C Appreciation of Literary Texts
(BA (Ed) & B Sc (Ed) Programme Handbook, 20 August 2022: 501-503)

4. The Malay Language and Literature Programme at the Singapore University of Social Sciences (BAML, SUSS)

The BAML programme was established in 2009 at the then SIM University (UniSIM) a private university in Singapore, to offer part-time studies in Malay Language and Literature to adult learners. The programme is taught in the evenings to part-time learners who study on campus in the evenings after a full day at work. It is the youngest of the three undergraduate degree programmes in Malay Language and Literature and is into its thirteenth year at present. There is a large content of online learning in the programme making it possible to switch to a zoom platform of delivery during the recent COVID-19 pandemic.

The programme offers many of its courses in Malay but there are four courses that are taught in English. Courses cover a range of interest ranging from Malay Linguistics to Literature, Pedagogy and Sociology. The main focus on Malay linguistics is to prepare students in understanding and explaining the Malay Language from a linguistic perspective. Amongst these courses are:

MLL101 Introduction to Malay Linguistics
MLL107 Structure of the Malay Language
MLL201 Malay Grammar
MLL207 Comparative Study of Bahasa Melayu and Bahasa Indonesia
MLL301 Malay Phonetics and Phonology
(BAML programme brochure 2022)

Other courses in Malay literature are aimed at providing an adequate exposure to Malay prose and poetry, film, classical literature and other contemporary literature in Singapore and Indonesia. Among the courses are:

MLL103 Introduction to Malay Literature
MLL209 Teaching of Language in Malay Literature
MLL213 Modern Indonesian Literature
MLL215 Malay Prose and Poetry
MLL217 Malay Films
MLL257 Literature for Children
MLL261 Contemporary Singapore Malay Theatre (taught in English)
MLL311 Jawi and Malay Literature
MLL317 Singapore Malay Literature
MLL352 Classical Malay Literature
(BAML programme brochure 2022)

There are two courses in the field of Sociology and they provide students with an insight to understanding Malay society and its civilization:

MLL109 Malay Civilisation, Philosophy and Thought
MLL219 Islam and the Malays (taught in English)
(BAML programme brochure 2022)

Courses in the field of Malay language pedagogy were initiated to give students an exposure to the field and amongst the courses are:

MLL111 Pedagogical Approaches to Language Teaching
MLL303 Materials development in the Malay Language Classroom
MLL305 Testing and Assessment in Language Teaching
(BAML programme brochure 2022)

BAML has identified its niche as offering courses in Malay translation and interpretation with the view that these courses would be useful to working adult. It is the only Malay language programme in Singapore that offers courses in Malay translation and interpretation. Half of the courses offered below are in English:

MLL105 Introduction to Translation
MLL307 Two way Translation
MLL313 Topics in Interpretation (taught in English)
MLL315 Malay Consecutive Interpretation (taught in English)
(BAML programme brochure 2022)

5. Challenges facing Malay Language Studies in Singapore

The Malay Language has a unique position in Singapore. It is the National Language of the country but the principal language of administration, education and business is English. By and

large the use of Malay is ceremonial and the segment of population conversant in Malay is mainly the ethnic Malay population which comprises about 14% of the population (Lim 2010). The Malay Language is taught in schools to ethnic Malay students and as a third language to others but essentially its reach is limited. In terms of language use, English has the widest reach in Singapore and its position as the most important language for Singapore is unshakeable (Asmah 2003).The reach and growth of English has been phenomenal since the 1980s and in the latest census of the Population Report 2021, it is stated that English is now the most frequently used language at home for 48.3% of the resident population with Mandarin Chinese second trailing at 29.9%, whilst Malay is at only 9.2% (Department of Statistics, Singapore 2021). In fact, Low (2014) has claimed that the success of Singapore in trade and business is to some extent due to the proficiency of English of its population. In short, English is seen as the language that offers its speakers the most economic opportunity.

English is also seen as a key to success in education and proficiency in English is regarded as essential to success in the education system which is in the English medium. In fact, a Learning Support Programme has been in place since 1998 to help students who are weak in English to master the language (Tek, 2014:78), the aim of which is to help students perform better in their education as they improve their proficiency in English. By and large tertiary education is conducted in the English medium except for selected language programmes like the Malay Language programmes.

In view of the entrenched primacy of English in education, administration and business in Singapore as well as the growing reach of English in inter and intra-ethnic communication in Singapore, it is not an overstatement that the singularly predominant language in Singapore is English.

For the Malay community, the latest census of Population 2020 has revealed a big drop in the use of Malay as the most frequently used language of communication at home from 91.6% in 2000 to 82.7% in 2010 and 60.7% in 2020 (Department of Statistics 2011 and 2021).Correspondingly, the proportion of use of English at home amongst the younger generation Malays are the highest since independence with 63% amongst those 5-14 years; 48.5% amongst those 15-24 years; 44.9% amongst those 25-34 years and 45.5% amongst those 35-44 years.

As education levels improve amongst the Malays, the inroads made by English as the most frequently used home language has also correspondingly increased. Over a period of 10 years from 2010 to 2020 13.5% of those with below secondary education now use English compared to 4.4% in 2010; 30% for those with secondary education compared to 14.6% in 2010; 34.9% for those with post-secondary education compared with 16.1% in 2010; 47.9% amongst those with professional / diploma qualification compared to 27.3% in 2010 and 61.4% for those with university education compared to 46.7% in 2010.It is pertinent to note that it is not that just the trend that higher education households tend to use English but that the increase over a ten year period from 2010 to 2020 is substantial across all segments of Malay households (Department of Statistics 2021).

With an obviously shrinking pool of students conversant or comfortable in Malay, the future looks bleak for the Malay Language Studies programmes in Singapore as the ever declining number of younger generation of Malay speakers come of age. It stands to reason that the demand for Malay Language programmes will consequently decline. However, this paper takes a contrarian view. We propose that the decline in use of Malay by the young should be seen as an opportunity for the growth of demand in Malay Language Programmes as the concern that the younger population is losing its competence in its mother tongue is gaining currency in Singapore. The reach of English which is overarching has been observed with alarm by local linguists as its impact on the other languages including Malay has been noted since the early 2000s (Kamsiah, 2010). The threat of poor competence in the mother tongue is now a genuine concern since the decline in the use of the mother tongue in the home domain hitherto considered the last preserve of Malay usage is now evident. This development will eventually threaten the basis of the official language education policy of English knowing bilingualism in Singapore (Low 2014). In short, since English is now predominant in almost all domains where does that leave the mother tongues in general and Malay in particular? It is not beyond the bounds of imagination that mother tongue language education will be considered a tool to improve Malay language competence.

Therefore, it falls on the Malay Language Programmes to ensure that they meet the needs of the workforce as the demand for Malay Language Studies is to a large extent determined by its relevance to the current workforce needs. It is an inconvenient truth facing the Malay Language programmes that the principal career path for graduates from these programmes is the education service. The main source of students for the Malay Language programme at the Asian Languages and Cultures, NIE are student teachers aspiring to be Malay Language teachers in Singapore schools. The intake of students for the above programme is very much determined by the number of student teachers offered sponsored places by the Ministry of Education.

A career as a Malay Language teacher within the education service is also a driver for the popularity of the BAML programme at SUSS as the programme was initially set up to enable Malay Language teachers in the education service who were looking to upgrade their qualification to a BA (BAML Programme Brochure 2009). In fact, a large proportion of applicants to BAML, SUSS comprised of in-service teachers up until 2018. Traditionally, a career as a teacher is seen as a desirable career path in the Malay community and a degree is a stepping stone to this career.

Even though, it is argued that the need for Malay Language teachers in the education service will increase as language education can and will be used as a tool to stem the decline of Malay proficiency amongst young Singaporeans, it would be short sighted for the Malay Language Studies programmes to depend on churning out language teachers as their raison d'etre.

6. Conclusion

Therefore, it is contingent upon the Malay Language programmes in Singapore to explore and even create new ecosystems of knowledge, need and products in the field of Malay Language,

Literature and Sociology if they wish to prosper. We see examples of this in the offerings of the Malay Studies Department at NUS. The courses at the department pitch themselves as a window to the Malay Malay to an international audience. It allows its students to understand the whole spectrum of Malay life from politics to religion to its society today in English. The programme not only caters to Singaporeans but is aimed at the international market, ostensibly those without a command of the Malay Language.

At the Malay Language and Literature programme (BAML) SUSS the programme aims to attract not just those who are aspiring teachers but also those who are keen to be language professionals like editors, interpreters and translators. This pivots the BAML programme into a hitherto new area of providing Malay Language graduates trained in translating and interpreting for Singapore. It aims to build on the proficiency of its students in English and Malay.

In summary, even though the three Malay Language Programmes in Singapore are offered by public institutions of higher learning and are therefore funded by the government, the demand and consequently, intake numbers are important to these programmes and their viability. It is therefore prudent for Malay Language programmes to look beyond teacher preparation as their primary purpose of being not least because the number of Malay Language teachers needed in Singapore Education Service is finite.

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