EVALUATION OF WORLD ENGLISHES AMONG JAPANESE JUNIOR AND SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

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ABSTRACT

With the rapid spread of globalization, nonnative speakers of English have overwhelmingly outnumbered native speakers; 375 million native English speakers, 375 million second language speakers, and 750 million foreign language speakers (Graddol, 1997). The concept of *World Englishes* (*WEs*) alongside *English as an International Language* (*EIL*) or *English as a Lingua Franca* (*ELF*) have drawn attention from many researchers and the issue of mutual intelligibility has become a paramount concern. As such, some researchers pay attention to two contradictory orientations: the *nativeness principle* and *intelligibility principle* (Levis, 2005); the former posits that it is desirable to achieve native-like pronunciation and the latter that one simply needs to be understandable. To examine how young learners of English in Japan perceive different varieties of phonological features of English, we focused on their response to the recorded passage read by six speakers representing *Inner*, *Outer* and *Expanding Circle* (Kachru, 1985). Recurrent features we identified in their response are characterized by: (a) *Native speakerism* (Holliday, 2006); (b) Use of reference to own previous experiences, and (c) Familiarity. Noteworthy is that native speakerism embedded deeply in Japanese EFL context influences how they exhibit affiliation and disaffiliation with varieties of Englishes as they shift their *footing* (Goffman, 1981) from *animator*, *author* and to *principal*. They evaluated Outer and Expanding Circle English negatively and Inner Circle English positively. A segment of elicited data, however, elucidated a potential *ownership* (Norton, 1997; Peirce, 1995; Widdowson, 1994) emerging among younger learners as they evaluated Japanese English speaker in positive light. The study aims to identify how they perceive different varieties of Englishes and ultimately to foster the awareness among learners of English and teachers alike for the realistic models to pursue through shedding light on the notions of WEs, EIL or ELF.

Second Language Studies, 27(2), Spring 2009, pp. 1-69.

INTRODUCTION

A year has passed since we came to Hawai‘i to attend graduate school at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa. In order to contribute to classroom discussions, we pay full attention to what our classmates, including a number of international students, are saying. However, sometimes we find some of the English our classmates speak difficult to understand, although we are impressed with their fluency and the academically oriented vocabularies they choose to use. The same holds true with our efforts in understanding varieties of English spoken by instructors with different linguistic backgrounds in our multilingual *contact zones* (Pratt, 1992, p. 4) as well. Having difficulties decoding their English phonologically, we sometimes misunderstand the gist of the discussions. Of course we also realize the fact that our own accents are such that our classmates ask us to repeat what we say on many occasions. We fear that such phenomena among international students operate as significant drawbacks that preclude them from generating productive discussions in classes.

The same thing happens outside of the classrooms as well. We remember clearly that we had significant difficulties comprehending our landlord’s utterances when we first met her. She was a pleasant Chinese woman who speaks English relatively fluently: however, she does so with a fairly heavy Chinese accent. She is not the only person with whom we have had difficulties communicating. Clerks at hotels and supermarkets, car dealers and taxi drivers are other examples of speakers with whom we have had difficulties communicating, and whose Englishes are presumably phonologically and lexically influenced by Hawai‘i Creole[1]. Although these people we have met have acquired and maintained a high proficiency of English, it is obvious that they all have different accents influenced in part by their nationalities, local identities or language trajectories. Given the fact that speakers of English language exhibit a tremendous

[1] Hawai‘i Creole (or Hawai‘i Creole English) usually called “Pidgin” in Hawai‘i.

richness of accents and diversity, we would assume that reciprocal intelligibility of those varieties of English are crucial factors for mutual understanding of people living in the global community.

Presumably, many Japanese learners of English would confront a similar ordeal if they go out of Japan. There exists a significant discrepancy between English in the real world and English in textbooks or classrooms. Looking back on our days as students in Japanese schools, we remember that we were seldom taught about the varieties of English. Moreover, neither of us has taught varieties to the students in our teaching careers. Our experiences align with a lack of attention to variation in English in Japan. As Matsuda (2003) notes, a larger proportion of the textbooks that Japanese schools use introduce only American or British English, focusing exclusively on the language and cultures of these two. The same holds true with the audio materials pertaining to the textbooks and listening comprehension tests. Furthermore, Chiba and Matsuura (1995) report that prospective Japanese English teachers revealed less tolerant attitudes toward nonnative varieties of English. Moreover, Morrison and White (2005) state that "there is a general belief, among Japanese people, including many academics, such as university faculty and students, that American English is best" (p. 362).

Given this, it is plausible that many English educators in Japan have not necessarily been exposed to varieties of English, nor have they been given the opportunity to become familiar with them. In other words, they have not been given the opportunity to develop awareness or tolerance toward English spoken by speakers of English in the *Outer Circle*, let alone the *Expanding Circle*. These notions were proposed by Kachru (1985) who posited three concentric circles: the *Inner Circle* where English is used as a primary language, the Outer Circle where English is a second language and the medium of communication in law, media, and education and the Expanding Circle where English has no official status but is studied and used as a foreign language. In the Expanding Circle educators use Inner Circle standards for teaching and learning (Scales et al., 2006), and when learners listen to Englishes spoken by speakers from different countries, their familiarity with Inner Circle accents seems to influence them toward devaluing

varieties other than Inner Circle varieties (Matsuura, Chiba, & Yamamoto, 1995). The lack of opportunity to encounter different varieties of English may cause serious discriminatory attitudes toward certain kinds of varieties among Japanese learners.

We are currently undergoing emerging awareness toward *World Englishes* (hereafter WEs). As learners, what would have been possible for us to prevent the difficulty that we are facing now? And, as teachers, what can we do for our students in the 21st century to help them prepare for the reality? Those emerging regrets and a sense of mission have urged us to take up conducting our research on WEs, thereby providing insights regarding its pronunciation, diverse accents people have and fostering learners' perceptions and tolerance toward them.

Limited exposure to English varieties in the classroom may be causing students to persist and resist different types of English. Under the current situation, as Matsuda (2003) points out, understanding of diversity of English is required to develop students' critical awareness and comprehensive view of the English language. In this study, we examine how Japanese junior and high school students, who are being educated "to deepen the understanding of language and culture and to foster a positive attitude toward communication through foreign language" (MEXT, 2003b), respond to varieties of English. We investigate how they react to recordings of speakers from Inner, Outer, and Expanding Circle contexts, paying specific attention to their *evaluative comments* (Labov & Waletzky, 1967; Crashaw et al., 2001; Wortham, 2001; Ros i Solé, 2007; Higgins, forthcoming) toward these varieties. We view evaluative comments as those revealing the attitudes of our participants in talk where they emphasize "the relative importance of some units as opposed to others" (Labov & Waletzky, 1967, p. 32). Evaluative comments are often voiced in the moment of talk where they take up a firm stance (Higgins, forthcoming). Their reactions to varieties of English will help us to identify how their attitudes toward Englishes may be related to familiarity with the varieties, or attributed to some other factors, and it will allow us to determine which varieties they treat as intelligible, familiar, and acceptable. Given the powerful effect of *native speakerism* (Holliday, 2006) in ELT, a notion defined as "a pervasive ideology within ELT, characterized by the belief that 'native-speaker' teachers

represent a 'Western culture' from which spring the ideals both of the English language and of English language teaching methodology" (p. 385), it is our goal to identify varieties which are intelligible and familiar among junior and high school students and ultimately to advocate for broadening the types of English that are viewed as acceptable.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

World Englishes (WEs) and Mutual Intelligibility

With the rapid spread of globalization, nonnative speakers of English have overwhelmingly outnumbered native speakers; 375 million native English speakers, 375 million second language speakers, and 750 million foreign language speakers (Graddol, 1997). Considering the existence of numerous varieties, the role of *English as an international language* (hereafter, EIL) or *English as a Lingua Franca* (hereafter, ELF*)* has drawn attention from such researchers as Firth and Wagner (1997), Jenkins (2002), and Siedlhofer (2006). This conceptual shift appears to have led to crucial implications for the pedagogical domain. That is, teaching EIL must aim to ensure reciprocal intelligibility among speakers of different English varieties (McKay, 2002). Moreover, Jenkins (2002) states that there is an urgent need for empirically established phonological norms and classroom pronunciation models of EIL. She emphasizes that EIL or ELF is a more realistic model for pronunciation teaching (Jenkins, 2005). Given these trends, Levis (2005) explains that there have been two contradictory orientations: the *nativeness principle* and the *intelligibility principle*. On the one hand, the nativeness principle posits that "it is both possible and desirable to achieve native-like pronunciation in a foreign language" (Levis, 2005, p. 370), which in fact is impossible to accomplish excluding some exceptional learners (Scovel, 1988, 2000; Flege, 1999). However, this has been the dominant paradigm in pronunciation teaching before the 1960s. On the other hand, the intelligibility principle posits that "learners simply need to be understandable" (Levis, 2005, p. 370). He holds that communication can be remarkably successful even when speakers have strong and noticeable accents. Though studies such as Timmis (2002) demonstrate

learners' strong preference to strive for native speaker norms both in pronunciation and grammar, some researchers have highlighted the importance of global intelligibility rather than a particular native accent within the current linguistic globalization (Scales et al., 2006).

As such, mutual intelligibility has emerged as one of the goals people in globalizing community should pursue. However, an individual's L2 accent is construed as a common, normal aspect of second language learning among the people who started L2 learning after childhood. Piske, McKay, and Flege (2001) explain that prominent factors which determine an individual's accent are the following: speakers' L1; the age of starting L2 learning; the period of residence in a target country; formal instruction; motivation; language learning aptitude; and speakers' frequency of use of L1 and L2. Furthermore, even within Inner Circle countries, many types of English pronunciation exist, some of which are deemed 'unintelligible' to many Inner Circle speakers. All of these factors make it difficult to attain mutual intelligibility in the era of globalization. Therefore, we consider it very likely that people in international community are concerned about a possibility of certain degree of mutual unintelligibility. Jenkins (2002) alerted that pronunciation indeed has more potential to yield mutual international unintelligibility than do the other linguistic features.

A greater number of studies have been conducted to explore intelligibility by ratings, dictation tasks, comprehension questions, cloze tests, picture selections and elicitations of summaries. Nevertheless, researchers have employed various definitions of intelligibility. Munro et al. (2006) define intelligibility as "the extent to which a speaker's utterance is actually understood", distinguishing it from comprehensibility, which refers to a "listener's estimation of difficulty in understanding an utterance" (p. 112). On the other hand, by utilizing other terms and definitions Smith (1987) investigated intelligibility, alongside comprehensibility and interpretability. In his terms, intelligibility refers to "word/utterance recognition"; comprehensibility to "word/utterance meaning (locutionary force)" and interpretability to "meaning behind word (illocutionary force)" (p. 266). He showed that native speakers were not found to be the most easily understood nor were they found to be the best able to understand

different varieties of English. Further, he posited that "the greater the familiarity a speaker (native or nonnative) has with a variety of English, the more likely it is that s/he will understand, and be understood by, members of that speech community" (p. 266). He concluded that familiarity is the crucial factor that makes it possible to comprehend speeches that contain different phonological features. Likewise, Matsuura (2007) conducted a research with Japanese university students who have limited access to diverse Englishes. Like Smith (1987), she found that the more varieties students are exposed to, the better their understanding of other varieties will become. As such, fostering familiarity toward varieties of English seems to play a significant role in enhancing mutual intelligibility.

In general terms, researchers found that listeners tend to judge a speaker whose English is easy to understand as a favored speaker (Scales et al., 2006). However, whether and how intelligibility can be adequately assessed is still controversial and results of studies have been complex and inconclusive. To summarize, what has been found so far is that intelligibility may depend on individual factors such as nationality, familiarity with the particular accents, L1 background, linguistic competence, length of residence in a target country and individual experiences. Furthermore, how intelligible a certain variety is to listeners is often complicated by the fact that it is bound up with attitudinal factors. In the following section, we will examine some lines of inquiry that investigated learners' attitudes and perceptions toward varieties of English accent.

ACCENT, ATTITUDE, AND PERCEPTION

Shared Variety and Perception

Several studies show that unfamiliar varieties, both native and nonnative, cause listeners to have difficulties in comprehension (Anderson-Hsieh & Koehler, 1988; Bilbow, 1989; Brown, 1968; Richards, 1983). Flowerdew (1994) hypothesized that the listeners understand better when they share the variety with the speaker. This contention was supported by Wilcox (1978) who

found that Singaporean learners of English understood better when listening to the English spoken by a Singaporean speaker. Similarly, in Smith and Bisazza's (1982) study, Japanese listeners understood Japanese speakers of English more easily than they did US speakers, though subcontinental Indians understood US speaker better than their own variety. Other studies show that listeners understand other varieties only if they are familiar with them (e.g., Tauroza & Luk, 1997; Gass & Varonis, 1984).

Unwillingness to Listen to L2 English and Perception

The other major factor that influences listeners' perception is their negative attitudes toward L2 speakers, which is often based on stereotypes. Many ESL speakers are viewed often as deficient speakers based solely on their differences in pronunciation, despite being comprehensible (Brennan & Brennan, 1981; Cargile, 1997; Nesdale & Rooney, 1996; Rubin & Smith, 1990). These stereotypes entail the perception that nonnative speakers come from a lower status (Brennan & Brennan, 1981; Nesdale & Rooney, 1996), a perception that was shown clearly among Australian children who labeled Italian and Vietnamese speakers of English as lower in economic status (Nesdale & Rooney, 1996). Toro (1997) reported that Puerto Rican students preferred standard American English over the English of Greeks, Puerto Ricans, and Southern Americans. Rubin and Smith (1990) also found that native English speakers judged instructors with varieties of pronunciations as having poor teaching skills. Other studies using nonnative learners as judges of other varieties of English elucidate that they hold negative attitudes toward nonnative varieties, sometimes labeling them as "strange English" (Pihko, 1997; Dalton-Puffer, Kaltenboeck, & Smit, 1997). Through these studies, it has been made clear that learners base their positive or negative responses on their "personal experiences in the target language environment" and they reside in the minds of learners as "perceptual constructs" (Major et al., 2002, p. 176).

Ethnic Identities and Perception

Amongst several prominent characteristics that determine listeners' perception of diverse English accents, a listener's ethnic identity plays one of the most significant roles. Bresnahan et al. (2002) illuminated the relationship between strength of ethnic identity and receptivity of varieties of accent. They investigated students in an American university and found that more intelligible foreign accents were viewed more positively both in their attitude and affect, as compared to less intelligible ones. This study also concluded that people exhibiting strong ethnic identity tended to favor their own familiar variety of English of L2 speakers, while people exhibiting weaker ethnic identity were more receptive to foreign accents, measuring participants' sense of ethnic identity by using Phinney's (1992) *Multigroup Ethnic Identity Model*, which is mostly based on self-report. Given these findings, it should be acknowledged that judgments of intelligibility involve nonlinguistic as well as linguistic factors. Listeners' attitudes toward accent are strongly entwined with their identity or ethnicity, which generates listeners' robust sense of solidarity. As Levis (2005) points out, since speakers' accents are influenced not only by factors such as their L1s but also those shaped by sociolinguistic reality, an accent is an essential marker of speakers' social belonging. In other words, listeners may tend to display favorable attitudes toward speakers who belong to the same community and possess the same features of accent as the listeners. In contrast, there are also cases in which people belonging to the same community devalue their own ways of speaking vis-à-vis "standard" English (Rickford, 1999; Lippi-Green, 1997; Preston, 1996).

Language Ideologies and Perception

Language ideologies expressed by native English speakers could also be considered as one of the possible causes of mutual misunderstandings. In order to better understand a typical response of native English speakers to other varieties of English, we could shed light on some studies that have examined positive and negative attitudes toward other varieties. Lindemann (2002) reports a significant relationship between negative attitudes among American L1 English speakers

toward Korean speakers of English and poor comprehension among the American L1 speakers. In other words, the native listeners she studied tended to stigmatize Korean-accented English simply due to its non-nativeness, which resulted in the negative attitudes of American students who used avoidance or problematizing strategies while interacting with Korean students. Furthermore, Lindermann (2003) discovered that foreign English may be evaluated as faulty English, and it could be easily associated with a lack of intelligence or education. She observed that even if listeners have not identified speakers' nationalities correctly, language ideology was automatically triggered to determine the speakers' societal status traits.

In addition, what is worth noting is the fact that by and large, a majority of previous pronunciation research has been evaluated from the perspective of native English listeners who responded to foreign accented-English (Munro, Derwing, & Morton, 2006). Munro et al. (2006) argued that there are no reasons that justify evaluations by native listeners are more valid or legitimate than those by listeners from the Outer and the Expanding Circle. Challenging current dominant language ideology, much more work must be carried out among listeners from diverse backgrounds to examine whether or not they share the similar traits as shown by the notion of native speakerism Holliday (2006) posits.

WEs in the Japanese Educational Context

As Matsuura et al. (1995) note, although Japan is classified as one of the countries in EFL context, an increasing number of Japanese have been exposed to different varieties of English in their work, education and traveling spurred by Japan's economic and technological developments. However, the question arises as to whether Japanese people have begun to acknowledge WEs in pedagogical domains. Looking back on our experiences as teachers in EFL context, we suppose that we have taken it for granted that we teach exclusively American and British English to students. In addition, as teachers, we acknowledge that a majority of students perceive these two as the only existing English varieties, partly due to their limited exposures to other varieties as well as their desire to sound "native-like".

Moreover, it may be said that American English is even more familiar to Japanese students than British English owing to their tremendous exposures to American English and culture through media such as TV dramas, Hollywood movies and pop music. In a recent English class in Japan, one of the current researchers encountered evidence of a failure to appreciate a range of Englishes among junior high school students. She conducted a listening comprehension test in a class using an audio material recorded by a British male. A student complained that he could not understand any word at all because he thought it was not English. Later, when she explained to the class that it was also English, listening to the tape again with students, some of them started to laugh, saying "it sounds so strange!" It was then that she realized that ignorance toward the varieties of English might cause students to possess unreasonable discriminatory perception toward certain types of English. They could not or did not comprehend British English, much less other varieties. Her experience is compatible with Pihko's (1997) study, in which Finnish ESL learners accepted native varieties as authentic, while perceiving nonnative speech as "strange". Unfortunately, in our experience, these symptoms of preference for English from the Inner Circle by Japanese learners of English have been witnessed even among Japanese English teachers who prefer to have ALTs (Assistant Language Teachers) from the Inner Circle countries chiefly because they show less tolerance over English from the Outer or the Expanding Circle.

In addition, the ideology of American or British English as 'the best' is deeply rooted in Japan (Kubota, 1998). Takeshita (2000) notes that a considerable number of Japanese still believe that English is the property of the US and Britain and they are ashamed if they do not speak English the way native speakers do. Further, according to the study of Yoshikawa (2005), ironically, even university students in the Department of World Englishes, which has recently been established in Nagoya, Japan, believed that American and British English are the true models and native speakers are the best English teachers. Through the study, he found that even after one year of enrollment into the department, students have developed a stronger preference for traditional English varieties and conversely lower tolerance of other varieties of English. He found that during attending one of the courses held in Singapore the students could not

understand the Singaporean English and "they show a kind of rejection of it" (p. 359), reformulating familiarity toward traditional English.

In the same vein, Matsuura et al. (1994) demonstrated Japanese students' positive attitudes toward American varieties and more negative toward the nonnative varieties. They also noted that the subjects' familiarity with native varieties led to a favorable view of native-speaker accent. The same holds true with younger learners. In her study with Japanese students in a secondary school, Matsuda (2003) found that their strong preference toward native English arises from their lack of exposure to WEs.

Impact of WEs on Japanese Pedagogical Domains

In spite of the seemingly stagnant situation with regard to WEs in Japan's educational contexts, support for WEs has emerged at the elementary education level. Ohtsubo (1999), one of the advocators for implementation of early English education into elementary schools in Japan, emphasizes that we as Japanese should have more positive attitudes toward our own Japanese-accented English. A seminar provided by Fukuoka Municipal Board of Education in 2005 for elementary school teachers is one of the relevant examples. In the seminar entitled as "Guidance for Elementary School English Education", the lecturer introduced the concept of WEs to elementary school teachers who are practically compelled to teach English by the government even though they are not qualified as English teachers. The seminar was designed to help them retrieve self-confidence in the midst of their struggle resulting largely from their lack of proficiency in English. Observing the scene where many teachers appeared relieved, some confessing that they felt emancipated from the pressure to have to teach "authentic" English, the teachers were ensured that this new perspective was starting to be accepted as a reasonable solution for their Japanese-accented pronunciation of English. Of course, some who embrace the native speakerism principle may argue that this perspective is more of a convenient excuse for deficiencies in English. How to keep a balance between "authentic" English and localized Japanese English in educational context is still a controversial issue and additional research

would have to be carried out in order to comment further on this.

If we are seriously to encourage accented-Japanese English, we should also acquire tolerance toward Englishes from the Outer and the Expanding Circle in order to pursue successful mutual understanding. As Smith (1987) rightly suggested, familiarity with different speech varieties is the key to mutual understanding, and this will facilitate positive attitudes and awareness of students toward WEs. By providing sufficient exposure to varieties of English, we may be able to foster the concept of WEs among students by exposing them to varieties of English from an early stage of their English learning. Morrow (2004) also suggested that the WEs approach be stressed rather than a single variety being selected exclusively as the one to be emulated and taught, asserting the goal should be to expose learners to as many varieties as possible.

Raising Japanese students' awareness toward diverse Englishes as well as delving into their predispositions toward certain varieties of English should be encouraged to expose them to opportunities for cross-cultural understanding. In the age of rapid globalization, the implementation of elementary school English education as well as cross cultural communication study with people from around the world will inevitably increase the opportunities to impact Japanese students' perception toward WEs.

Ownership of English

Whether Japanese students show tolerance for English as it is spoken by L1 Japanese speakers raises the topic of linguistic *ownership* of English (Norton, 1997; Peirce, 1995; Widdowson, 1994), which leads to the main focus of this study. Several studies have been conducted on the notion of language ownership, beginning with Norton (1997). In her study, Norton investigated the life trajectories of female immigrants who developed a sense of ownership as a legitimate English speaker by establishing *investment* in the language learning. Higgins (2003) pursued similar questions in her examination of the degree to which speakers of English in the US, Singapore, Malaysia, and India project themselves as legitimate speakers with authority over the language by measuring the participants' responses through an Acceptability

Judgment Task (AJT). She found that ownership was not expressed by "NS-NNS dichotomy or the inner-outer-circle division" (p. 641) and that the participants exhibited similar indicators of authority over English. Replicating Higgins's (2003) study, Bokhorst-Heng et al. (2007) explored Singaporean Malay speakers' orientation toward and degree of ownership over their English norms, taking into account race, age, and socioeconomic class. They found that age and class mediated the participants' expressions of ownership.

The current study continues this line of research by exploring how Japanese students of English respond to WEs. Unlike Higgins (2003) and Bokhorst-Heng et al. (2007), however, the participants are young learners from the Expanding Circle whose use of English is limited and whose linguistic competence is very much in its early stages. Given these differences, we investigate how Japanese learners, as developing learners of English, respond to the phonological features of English spoken by L1 Japanese speaker to measure their *potential* ownership. Since L1 Japanese speakers are in many ways models of English speakers for the learners, it is important to see how the learners respond to their English. If the learners are able to value their ways of speaking, it is likely that they will develop potential ownership of the English language as they continue to learn it.

METHODOLOGY

To investigate learners' response to varieties of English, this study applied Goffman's (1981) notion of *footing*, following Higgins (2003), who also employed Scollon's (1998) *receptive roles*, that is, *receptor, interpreter,* and *judge*, which parallel Goffman's framework categories. In our study, however, we only focused on Goffman's footing for evaluations of English accents by Japanese young learners of English. Goffman defines footing as "the alignment we take up to ourselves and the others present as expressed in the way we manage the production or reception of an utterance" (1981, p. 128). He further explains that "a change in our footing is another way of talking about a change in our frame for events" (1981, p. 128). Ribeiro (2006) elaborates on

Goffman's notion of footing as "the stance that speakers and hearers take toward each other and toward the content of the talk" (p. 52).

We draw on the concept of footing to identify how Japanese participants display their evaluations of six English accents. Through their footings, they present their alignment or position toward the accents through their utterances. Following Goffman, linguistic features indicates speakers' shift of position from the *animator* to the *author* and the *principal*. Goffman (1981) states that people shift in footing from *animator*, "the sounding box … the body engaged in acoustic activity," to the *author*, "someone who has selected the sentiments that are being expressed," to the *principal* "someone whose position is established by the words that are spoken … a person active in some particular social identity or role, some special capacity as a member of a group, office, category, relationship, association, or whatever, some socially based source of self-identification" (p. 144).

To briefly explain the notion of footing, we would like to take a glimpse of the following example taken from one of the dyads in our study. This dyad responds to the speaker from Britain.

1 M: これは、テュダイって言ってる。オーストラリアじゃない？
kore wa tudai te itteru. ausutoralia jya nai?
this TM today say Australia Q
This speaker is pronouncing [tudai] for today. Isn't she an Australian?

2 S: うん多分英語圏だろうね。
un tabun eigoken darou ne.
yes maybe English speaking country I think IP
Yes. Maybe I think she is from English speaking country.

3 M: これはいいねえ。
kore wa ii ne
this TM good IP
This is good.

4 S: うん好きやね。発音してみたい。
un suki yane. hatsuonshite mitai

yes like FP pronounce I want to
Yes, I like it. I want to pronounce it.

In line 1 Mamoru (M) is enacting a role of animator, mimicking the speaker acoustically, saying "*tudai*". Then he shifts his footing to author, saying "*austoralia jya nai*?" ('Isn't she an Australian?') Shige (S) aligns with Mamoru in line 2 and takes up a role of author and says "*eigoken darou ne"* ('Maybe she is from English speaking country'), expressing his sentiment. Mamoru shifts his footing from author to principal, saying with an evaluative comment "*kore wa ii ne*" ('This is good') in line 3 and establishes his position. Shige uptakes Mamoru's comment in line 4, shifting his footing from author to principal, saying "*un sukiyane*" ('Yes, I like it'). As a consequence, both Mamoru and Shige align with each other and collectively display strong affiliation with this speaker.

For our analysis we have looked at each dyad and selected excerpts which contained clear evaluative comments. We focused our analysis on how the participants shifted their footings from author to principal since the principal is the speaker role that reveals one's positions, attitudes, and values. We transcribed the data following CA methods (Pomerantz & Fehr, 1997; Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974). The data are presented first in Japanese (the language used by the participants), then in Romanized Japanese (Hepburn method), followed by translations into English by the authors.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

We investigate whether young Japanese English learners express tolerance toward different varieties of English. Furthermore, we examine how they orient to the Expanding Circle speakers, and Japanese speakers in particular, as potential models for themselves. Our research questions are as follows:

1. How do Japanese learners express favorable or discriminatory attitudes toward varieties of

English from Inner, Outer, and Expanding Circle contexts?

2. What are the reasons stated by Japanese learners when they negatively evaluate certain varieties?
3. How much do their responses to Japanese English reveal the potential to develop ownership toward English?

PARTICIPANTS AND SETTING

The participants in this study are twelve junior and senior high school students ranging in age from 14 to 18 years. They were recruited and placed in dyads based on some suggestions from their instructors.[2] We paired the students into six dyads of friends or acquaintances, on the premise that they would be more vocal and expressive when talking to someone they have already established a certain familiarity with.

The school in focus is a boys' school that is affiliated with a mid-level academic standing university. The second author has been teaching in this institution for the past twenty years and was able to obtain access to participants; it should be noted that he has taught none of the participants in this study. The school is an institution that is highly academically oriented, and most of the students aspire to go on to prestigious universities upon graduation. Much emphasis is placed upon English education, given the fact that it is essentially needed in whichever direction one may go; those aiming to pursue natural science, medicine or those in pursuit of the career of lawyer equally consider studying English crucial element for being successful in entrance examinations that await them at the outset of their real learning.

As a part of the curriculum, students in junior high school have an option of studying abroad for three weeks in Australia every summer. In the third year, they visit the United States as a part of their school excursion, visiting mainly the West coast; they have visited such institution as

[2] We first discussed with five English instructors from each grade and asked each to recommend students who are interested in this line of topic and to provide some advice on how best to pair them. When only one student was recommended, we allowed him to select his own partner to reduce anxiety levels (Norton, 2005, p. 292).

Stanford University, Intel Co. in addition to experiencing some cultural activities in Grand Canyon, Universal Studio as part of their program to foster their understanding of cultures.

In their EFL setting, their exposure to the language is mostly through the textbooks. Along with the textbooks come CDs, which are mostly recorded by Inner Circle speakers of English (mostly North American or British English). Students enrolled in the six-year program have used the textbooks[3] originally written by a Catholic priest; the textbooks dominantly used by the prestigious private junior and senior high schools in Japan. The first series of the volume in the first year in junior high is recorded in General American English (GA), British English (RP) in the second year, both of which entail some aspects of cultural studies relating to the US or Britain. The assistant English teacher who has been teaching on a part-time basis in junior high school is a male Australian who teaches Oral English once a week. The Japanese English teachers conduct classes predominantly in Japanese. Details about the participants are shown in Table 1. The names of the participants in this study are all pseudonyms.

Table1
Status, Age, Experience overseas

Dyad	Participants	Status	Age	Length of learning English	Overseas experiences
A	1 (Ken)	H.S	18	6yrs	None
	2 (Eita)	H.S	18	6yrs	None
B	3 (Toshio)	H.S	17	6yrs	1 week (US)
	4 (Naoto)	H.S	16	5yrs	1 week (US)
C	5 (Satoshi)	H.S	18	12yrs	None
	6 (Nobuo)	H.S	17	12yrs	2 weeks (US)
D	7 (Mamoru)	J.S	14	3yrs	6 months (Germany)
	8 (Shige)	J.S	15	3yrs	None
E	9 (Ryo)	J.S	14	3yrs	2 weeks (Australia)
	10 (Takeshi)	J.S	15	3yrs	None
F	11 (Kazuo)	J.S	14	3yrs	None
	12 (Hiro)	J.S	14	3yrs	None

[3] The textbooks are entitled *Progress* written by Robert M. Flynn, and published by Edic Press.

TASK

Unlike Higgins's (2003) study in which participants were asked to judge the legitimacy of English *usages* provided in a written text, the subjects in this study were asked to discuss their opinions of the speakers' English accents based only on audio recordings of six different speakers, using the Aural Acceptability Judgment Task (AAJT), which served both as instructions for the task and discussion questions. They are written in Japanese and used to guide their smooth oral interactions (See Appendix A for details). Participants listened to a recorded material read by six different speakers of different nationalities, however, they were not informed of the nationalities of each speaker. They were paired to discuss their familiarity and preference for the English, and to determine their attitudes toward the possibility of whether each speaker could be considered to be a good English teacher. Researchers were in another room so that their presence did not affect their conversation. The conversation was audio-recorded and later analyzed. Follow-up interview questions were orally done and its contents are provided in Appendix B.

LISTENING STIMULI

To assess the listeners' perception of different varieties of English, we recorded a short passage read by six female speakers from six different countries in order to obtain speech representing Kachru's three circles of English. Each of the speakers read the same passage about useful insects adapted from Scales et al. (2006) (see Appendix C). According to Scales et al. (2006), this was chosen from intermediate ESOL textbook because it was thought to be "simple but relatively obscure and thus equally unfamiliar to all learners" (p. 721). We deliberately chose only female speakers, in their thirties and forties, in order to minimize the variance of the stimulus. They are fluent English speakers representing Japan, Korea, China (Expanding Circle); Zimbabwe (Outer Circle); and the US and UK speakers (Inner Circle). The speakers representing

the Expanding and Outer Circle are international graduate students enrolled in various departments at UH-Mānoa. US and UK speakers are the residents in Hawai‘i; the former used to be an elementary school teacher here in Hawai‘i but now a federal government worker and the latter is a pastor in a church near UH Mānoa. In what follows, we provide the detailed biographical information for six speakers, in addition to a summary of them in Table 2.

Biographical Information on the Speakers

- The Japanese speaker is from Osaka, Japan. She stayed in Georgia in the US for four years as an undergraduate student. Upon graduation, she got married to a Taiwanese and stayed in Taiwan for four years. Then she moved to Hawai‘i, where she has been staying for seven years. She is pursuing a PhD in Japanese.
- The Chinese speaker is from Beijing, China. Her first language is Mandarin and she started studying English when she was a junior high school student. She has been in Hawai‘i for one year and now she is pursuing a PhD in Education.
- The Korean speaker is from Seoul, Korea. Her L1 is Korean and she started studying English when she was a junior high school student as well. She has been in Hawai‘i for four years and is now pursuing an MA in Applied Linguistics.
- The African speaker is a Black resident of Zimbabwe.[4] Her native language is Shona, but, she started speaking English when she was seven years old because English is spoken as an official language at school or public domains in the district. She was teaching chemistry in the secondary school in Zimbabwe prior to her study at UH Mānoa. She has been in Hawai‘i for two years, and is now pursuing an MA in chemistry.

[4] Compared with Black Zimbabweans, White Zimbabweans are generally considered to be “British-like” in terms of English pronunciation (Crystal, 1997).

Table 2
Descriptions of Speakers and the Rate of Speech per Minute of Stimulus

Country	Korea	China	US	Zimbabwe	UK	Japan
City	Seoul	Beijing	Honolulu	Harare	London	Osaka
L1	Korean	Mandarin	English	Shona	English	Japanese
Gender	Female	Female	Female	Female	Female	Female
Rate per min.	162	144	144	160	186	160
Education	MA in progress	PhD in progress	MA in hand	MA in progress	PhD in hand	PhD in progress

- The US speaker was born, brought up and educated in Hawai‘i, and holds an MA in Education. She considers herself as a standard American English speaker, not as Hawai‘i English[5] speaker. She claims that she is familiar with Japanese language to a certain degree because her mother’s side of the family is originally from Okinawa.
- The British speaker is originally from London, England but has been educated in US, and holds a PhD in theology. She is married to an American and has resided in US for twenty years. She describes herself as a speaker of “RP English”.

All the speakers were instructed to read the same passage as naturally as possible (for the speech rates of the speakers, refer to Table 2). The recorded materials are heard equally clear and loud enough through the tape-recorder. The order of the audio recordings each dyad listener heard was: (a) Korea; (b) China; (c) US; (d) Zimbabwe; (e) UK, and (f) Japan. The participants were, again, not informed of the nationalities of each speaker. They were left alone while the researchers stayed in the next room so that it will encourage the participants to freely express without hesitations. Along with a tape recorder, we used a videocassette recorder as a back-up device as well to ensure which of the participants was talking.

[5] Often referred to as Hawai‘i Creole, or usually called “Pidgin” in Hawai‘i.

ANALYSIS

In order to analyze participants' responses, we looked at recurrent prominent features that emerged from their conversational interactions as a cue to follow how they established their footing toward each of the speakers' English. We first organized the data thematically, focusing on how the students established their footings via: (a) native speakerism (Holliday, 2006); (b) references to their previous experiences, and (c) familiarity. The data elicited showed that the participants make frequent references to native speakers as the benchmark and to their previous experiences either in class or outside class. In the analysis of data we are also interested in whether and how young learners exhibit some degree of potential ownership through shifting of footings and in their use of evaluative comments when they hear the Japanese speaker of English.

RESULTS

We found some degree of differences among the six dyads in terms of their talkativeness, tendencies of conversational sequences based on their relationships, individual personalities and belief systems. In order to keep a balance, we used at least one excerpt from each dyad for the analysis. Table 3 gives a general view of how each dyad expressed their perception of each variety in terms of familiarity, ease in listening and general evaluation. This table was developed by scanning the data for overtly positive or negative expressions of evaluation and highlighting them in the participants' talk. When a dyad expressed two different perceptions, it is signified as +−. A quick glance at the Table 3 will show us that participants in our study generally displayed positive orientation toward the speakers from US and UK, whereas participants' responses to the speaker from Zimbabwe displayed negative orientations.

Table 3
Perceived Familiarity, Ease, and Evaluation of WEs

Dyads	criteria	Korea	China	US	Zimbabwe	UK	Japan
A	familiarity	− −	− −	+ +	− −	+ +	++
	ease	+ −	− −	+ +	− −	+ +	+ +
	evaluation	+ −	− −	+ +	− −	+ +	− −
B	familiarity	− −	− −	+ +	− −	+− +−	+ +
	ease	+ +	− −	+ +	− −	+ +	+ +
	evaluation	+− +−	− −	+ +	− −	+ +	− −
C	familiarity	− −	− −	+ +	− −	+ +	+ +
	ease	+ +	+ +	+ +	− −	+ +	+− +−
	evaluation	− −	+− +−	+ +	− −	+ +	− −
D	familiarity	− −	− −	+ +	− −	+ +	+ +
	ease	+ +	+− +−	+ +	− −	+ +	− +
	evaluation	− −	− −	+− +−	− −	+ +	− −
E	familiarity	− +	− −	+ +	− −	+ −	− −
	ease	− +	+ +	++	− −	+ −	− −
	evaluation	− −	+ +	− −	− −	+ −	− −
F	Familiarity	− −	− −	+ +	− −	+ +	+ +
	ease	− −	+− +−	+ +	− −	+ +	+ +
	evaluation	− −	+− +−	+ +	+− +−	+− +−	+ +

Note: + indicates positive orientations, − negative orientations, and +− indicates both positive and negative stances

Native Speakerism

We found that the participants' evaluations were often characterized by native speakerism (Holliday, 2006). We identified a strong tendency among the participants to compare, whether consciously or not, the speaker they heard with native speakers and with the kind of English they believed that native speakers would most likely produce.

The first excerpt is a typical and recurrent representation of interaction (for CA conventions and interlinear gloss abbreviations, see Appendix D).

Excerpt 1: Speaker from UK　Dyad C: Satoshi and Nobuo

1 S：（１０．０）あー、流れる感じが好きやったね。（１０．０）

(10.0)　a:　　nagareru kanji ga suki yatta ne. (10.0)

SF　　fluency　　TM like Cop　FP

(10.0) Well, I liked its fluency. (10.0)

2 N：んー。（５．０）母国語みたいな感じで話しとったね。好きやね。

umm (5.0)　bokokugo mitaina kanjide hanashi totta ne. suki ya ne.

SF　　mother tongue such as　　speak PST　IP　　like Cop FP

Umm. (5.0) She spoke English as her mother tongue. I like that.

3 S：英語らしく発音すると流れるけど、結構聞きやすい。

eigorashiku hastuon suruto nagareru kedo, kekkou kikiyasui.

English like pronounce　　fast　　but　　easy to listen to

The speaker pronounces English naturally, and it flows smoothly but it is easy to listen to.

4 S：はっきりと発音された感じがする。

hakkirito hatsuon sareta kanjiga suru.

clearly　　pronounced　sound like

She pronounced clearly.

5 S：こーゆー英語の先生やったらわかりやすいかなって感じがする。（５．０）こんなふうに発音したい。

koyu eigono sensei yattara wakariyasui kanatte kanjiga suru. (5.0) konnafuni hatsuon shitai.

this　English teacher　　easy to understand　seem　　this　　sound　　I want to

I think if she is a teacher, her class would be easy to understand. (5.0) I want to sound like this.

6 N：したいね。（６．０）ふふふ

shitai　　ne. (6.0)　　fufufu

I want to　FP　　hahaha

I want to, too. (6.0)　　hahaha.

One of the prominent features of Japanese casual conversation in general is the frequent use of interactional particle "*ne*". Cook (2000) explains that the use of "*ne"* can be a marker of the speakers' affective stance and indicates affective common ground (i.e., we feel the same way). The uses in this study are such cases. In line 1 and 2, through the use of interactional particle "*ne*", both Satoshi (S) and Nobuo (N) display their affiliation with this speaker they have listened to through playing a role of principal. In lines 1-5, they use evaluative statements such as "*suki*

yatta ne” (‘I liked…’), “*sukiyane*” (‘I like that’), “*kikiyasui*” (‘easy to listen to’), “*hakkirito hatsuon*” (‘pronounced clearly’) and “*wakariyasui*” (‘easy to understand’) to co-construct gradual yet solid affiliations with this speaker. By line 5, Satoshi expresses his desire to sound like this speaker, and in line 6, Nobuo immediately uptakes Satoshi’s comment and aligns with him. This dyad throughout the interaction exhibits completely positive evaluations about this speaker. The participants’ positive evaluations are similar to those expressed by others when they listened to the US speaker. Noteworthy is the use of “*bokokugo*” (‘mother tongue’) Nobuo employs in line 2 to indicate that any speaker must speak English as a native tongue.

We present the following excerpt to closely look at how positively participants describe native varieties, specifically by using complimentary lexical items and adjectives to evaluate them.

Excerpt 2: Speaker from UK　Dyad D: Mamoru and Shige

1 M：英語を喋ってる。英語を自分の国？で使ってるような地域の人だった。

eigo　wo shabetteru. eigo wo jibunno kuni? de tsukateru youna chiiki no hito datta.

English O speak　English O her country LOC use　like　region　person Cop PST

She speaks English. This is a kind of person from the region where people speak English in their countries.

2 S：英語オリジナルの発音とかが、結構うまくいってるみたいだったし。

eigo originaru no hatsuon toka ga, kekkou umaku itteru mitai datta shi.

English original pronunciation TM　good　seem PST

She was very good at original English pronunciation.

3 M：前に比べるとなんか威厳もあるような。なんか、　[強い感じ]

maeni　kuraberuto nanka igen mo aru youna. nanka, [tsuyoi kanji]

previous　speaker compared　SF　dignity exist look　SF　strong like

Compared to the previous speaker[6], it seems to have dignity and it sounds strong.

4 S：　[う〜ん　確かに　説得力がある]

[um:　tashikani settokuryoku ga aru.]

Um.　definitely persuasiveness TM exist

Yeah, definitely, it is really persuasive.

[6] the previous speaker here indicates the Zimbabwean speaker

In line 1 Mamoru (M) is asserting that this speaker comes from the region where they speak English as native tongue. In line 2, Shige (S) utters "*eigo originaru no hatsuon*" ('original English pronunciation'), and evaluates the speaker based on native speaker's pronunciation, enacting a role of principal saying "*kekkou umaku itteru*" ('very good'). Moreover, by using the phrase "*maeni kuraberuto*" ('Compared to the previous speaker') in line 3, Mamoru displays his inner benchmark by which he compares to other speakers. Furthermore, the dyad co-constructively enacts a role of principal to positively evaluate her English as "*igen mo aru*" ('having dignity'), "*tsuyoi*" ('strong') or "*settokuryoku ga aru*" ('persuasive'), and they display their strong affiliations with this English in lines 3 and 4. The formal lexical register 'dignity' and 'persuasive' used by this dyad point to their positive attitudinal stance toward native speakers and to the fact that they associate native speakers with hierarchically superior status compared with other speakers of English. Given the fact that they are junior high school students, their use of these formal adjectives that are operationalized for expressing something extremely respectful are noteworthy as we did not encounter these cases in other dyads.

The next excerpt is another typical example of native speakerism playing the role of the benchmark for evaluating other varieties. Particularly, the ideology embedded in one of the next dyads operates as an obstacle to giving legitimate evaluations to the speaker.

Excerpt 3: Speaker from Zimbabwe Dyad F: Kazuo and Hiro

1 H: まあ、いい方の英語だと思う。

maa, iihouno eigo dato omou.

well relatively good English QT think

Well, I think this is relatively good English.

2 K: あんまり聞いたことないね。

anmari kiitakoto nai ne.

not very often hear experience Neg FP

I have not heard this kind of English so often.

3 H: ニュースとかたまに見ると、外国の要人さんがよくこんな英語喋ったり。

nyuus toka tamani miruto, gaikokuno youjinsan ga yoku konna eigo shabettari.

news such as sometimes watch foreign important figures often like this English speak

When I sometimes watch news, I often hear foreign important figures speaking English like this.

4 H: まあ、そんなのを聞いたことはあるね。ない？

maa, sonnano wo kiitakotowa aru ne. nai?

well that kind O hear experience exist FP Q

Well, I have heard that kind. No?

5 K: ない。個人的に言うとちょっと、

nai. kojintekini yuto chotto,

Neg personally speaking little bit

No. Personally, a little…

6 H: あー、なに？

a: nani?

SF what

Ah, what?

7 K: あー、ちょっと聞きにくい。

a: chotto kikinikui.

SF little bit hard to listen to

Ah, a little bit hard to listen to.

8 K: アメリカの英語が頭に入ってるから、その他の外国人の英語もいい英語なんだけど、

Amerikano eigo ga atamani haitteru kara, sonotano gaikokujin no eigo mo ii eigo nanda kedo

American English TM head embedded since other foreigners LK English TM good English Cop though

Since American English is embedded in my head … although English spoken by other foreigners are good.

9 K: なんか抵抗ある。

nanka teikou aru.

well opposition exist

I don't know why, but I feel opposition to them.

Hiro (H) is signaling his principal footing saying that the speaker's English is "*iihouno eigo*" ('relatively good English'), showing the internal benchmark by which to compare vis-à-vis other varieties. Referring to the English spoken by foreign VIPs, he issues his affiliation with this speaker and orients to the English spoken by foreign VIPs by the use of "*san*" (honorific title) after "*yojin*" ('important figures') as he continuously displays his positive evaluation of this

variety in line 3. It is clear that Hiro takes up a tolerant and respectful stance toward any varieties from his utterance. Conversely, Kazuo (K) does not align with Hiro and expresses his disaffiliation with the speaker in line 2 as he authors that he has never heard that kind of English so much. In lines 4-6, Hiro and Kazuo enact different frames and never seem to align with each other. Finally in line 7 Kazuo gives a negative evaluation of the speaker with less hesitation by enacting a role of the principal. It is interesting to note that although Kazuo signals general affiliation with it saying "*gaikokujin no eigo mo ii eigo nanda kedo*" ('although English spoken by other foreigners are good'), by which he means English spoken by nonnatives or non-Americans may be acceptable, he explicitly reveals that American English is serving as his benchmark to evaluate other varieties, remarking that "*amerikano eigo ga atamani haitteru*" ('American English is embedded in my head') in lines 8-9. He further stresses his negative stance against nonnative varieties by enacting a role of principal, using the term "*teikou*" ('opposition') in line 9. This is a sign of native speakerism deeply embedded in Kazuo.

What characterizes the next excerpt is the frequent use of "*neitiv*" ('native'). It is interesting that we could identify the use of "*neitiv*" ('native') among only high school students, including this dyad, but not among junior high school dyads. What we assume from our daily interactions with junior and high school students is that they may have an obscure idea of "native" vs. "nonnative" dichotomy already embedded in their meta-awareness, but they are not clearly aware of this distinctive categorization. Yet, once they are exposed to the term "*neitiv*" ('native') in discursive activities later in life, this dichotomous world will emerge in a tangible form and be established and consolidated.

Excerpt 4: Speaker from Korea Dyad B: Toshio and Naoto

1 N : すごくネイティブの人っ [ぼくはなかったね。]
sugoku neitiv no hito [poku wa nakatta ne.]
very native person sound DAT Neg FP
This did not sound like native very much.
2 T : [ぼくはなかった]

[poku wa nakatta.]

similarity DAT Neg

Not so much.

3 N：で〜。このような発音をしたいかと言われると、微妙かな。

de: konoyouna hatsuon wo shitaika to iwareruto, bimyou kana.

and this pronunciation DAT want to QT if asked not clear I wonder

And, if I were asked if I would like to sound like this, I don't know.

4 N: もうちょっと、ネイティブな[発音に。]

mouchotto, neitiv na [hatsuon ni.]

little more native-like pronunciation DAT

I might want to sound a little more native-like.

5 T： [かっこいい]

[kakkoii]

cool

Cool pronunciation.

6 N：そ、なんかちょっと聞き取りにくい。なんかネイティブっぽい発音はしたいね。

so, nanka chotto kikitorinikui. nanka neitiv poi hatsuon wa shitai ne.

right, sort of a little hard to listen to sort of native-like pronunciation DAT want to FP

Right. That is a little hard to listen to. I want to sound like sort of native.

7 T：俺たちに近い。

oretachi ni chikai.

ours DAT similar

It is similar to ours.

8 N：そうそうそうそう。

sousousousou

Yes, yes, yes.

Naoto (N) first initiates the interaction and immediately uses the term "*neitiv*" ('native') and states that it was not native-like, making it clear that the English he just heard is a deficient version of the Inner Circle varieties. Comparing what he has heard with native varieties, Naoto employs a mitigated expression to categorize this speaker as 'nonnative' by using "*pokunakatta*" ('did not sound like native very much'). Clearly, in Naoto's mind there is a world of dichotomy: native speakers vs. nonnative speakers. Similarly, in line 2 Toshio (T) immediately takes up a

role of author and aligns with Naoto by echoing with the same phrase "*pokunakatta*" ('not so much'). Discussing whether they want to sound like this speaker, Naoto shows ambivalent stance in line 3. In line 4, as soon as Naoto uses the term "*neitiv na hatsuon*" ('native-like pronunciation'), Toshio overlaps Naoto's utterance by saying "*kakkoii*" ('cool'), associating native speakers with being 'cool' in line 5. If asked whether Naoto wants to speak like it as a speaker, he exhibits his clear desire again to sound like speakers from the Inner Circle by saying "*neitiv poi hatsuon*" ('native-like pronunciation') in line 6. In lines 7 and 8, Toshio and Naoto shift from author to principal, showing negative orientations to it as being problematic even though they display their perceived phonetic familiarity and commonality with this variety. They show that English they speak is also negatively evaluated as Korean speaker in this excerpt, reaching a joint agreement that a variety resembling theirs is an inferior version of the ones spoken by Inner Circle speakers.

The next excerpt is significant in that their evaluation fluctuates, changing from negative to positive and to negative. The data show how native speakerism influences the learners' stance toward Japanese English. This has become one of the barriers to establishing ownership among this dyad.

Excerpt 5: Speaker from Japan Dyad B: Toshio and Naoto

1 T：あー、日本語英語っぽかっ[たね。]

a: nihongo eigo poka tta [ne]

ah, Japanese English sound like PST FP

Yeah, it sounded like Japanese English.

2 N： [そうそうそうそう]

[sou sou sou sou sou]

That's right.

3 T：うーん、

Uhm:

4 N：きいたことあるってゆうか。 俺たちのなかに似とう[人がいるね。]

kiita koto arutte yuuka. oretachi no nakani nitou [hitoga iru ne.]

hear experience exist sort us among similar person exist FP

I have heard that, sort of. It sounded like someone like us.

5 T： [ぽかったね。]

[poka ta ne.]

sound PST like FP

It did.

6 T：この英語は、あんまり、好きじゃないね。

kono eigo wa: anmari suki ja nai ne.

this English TM very much like Neg Fp

I don't like this English very much.

7 N：どちらかというとね＝

dochira ka to yuuto ne =

which Q QT FP

If I were asked about my preference.

8 T：＝なんかまだ発展途上な感じじゃない?

= nanka mada hatten tojouna kanji janai?

like yet underdeveloped like Neg Q?

Doesn't it sound like "underdeveloped"?

9 N： ははっ

haha

10 T：[聞きやすい。] んけど、 うーん、

[kikiyasui.] uhm kedo uh:m

easy to listen uhm but uh:m

It is easy to listen to. but uhm:::

11 N：[聞きやすいね] おれたちに近いって気がするっちゃけどね＝

[kikiyasui ne.] oretachi ni chikai te kiga suru chakedo ne =

easy to listen FP we DAT similar QT I feel Cop FP

This is easy to listen to. I feel that it sounds similar to ours.

12 T：＝あーね。なんか、ネイティブからしたら、なんだろう、

= ah ne. nanka, neitiv kara shitara, nandarou.

Ah FP like native perspective I wonder

Yeah, I agree. Well… I wonder how native speakers would think.

13 N：( ) どうなんだろう。

( ) dounandarou

( ) I wonder how they will …

14 T：聞き取りにくいみたいな、ネイティブからしたらね。あー、こんな英語の先生に受けたいとは思わないね。なんか、そのレベルになってしまいそうじゃない？

kikitori nikui mitaina, neitiv kara shitara ne. a: nanka konna eigono sensei ni uketai towa omowanai ne. nanka, sono reberu ni natte shimaisou ja nai?

difficult to listen to. native LOC Cop FP. English teacher I want to take a lesson think Neg. that level DAT become Cop Q?

It is sort of difficult for native speakers to listen to. Well, I don't think I want to take a lesson from her. I'm afraid that I will end up with that level. Don't you think so?

15 N：生徒みた[いな。]

seito mita[ina]

student like

Almost like a student.

16 T: [そうそう]

[sousou]

That's right.

17 N：自分と同じレベルの先生みたいな。

jibun to onaji reberu no sensei mitaina.

myself LK same level LK teacher like

She sounds like a teacher who is at the same level with me.

18 N: 発音はもっと上を目指したいね。 ネイティブみたいにね。

hatsuon wa motto ue wo mezashitai ne. neitiv mitaini ne.

pronunciation TM more higher DAT aim at FP native like FP

I want to pursue much higher level in terms of pronunciation. Like a native speaker

In line 1, Toshio (T) quickly identifies the speaker as a Japanese, authoring "*nihongo eigo poka tta*" ('sounded like Japanese English'[7]). As Naoto (N) responds and aligns with him in line 2, they are describing it as some kind of English his classmates speak in line 4. Both of them display their familiarity with this variety. In line 6 Toshio shifts to the role of principal and asserts that he does not like it so much, showing his disaffiliation, while Naoto displays an uncertainty about Toshio's statement in line 7. In line 8, Toshio again enacts a role of author, asking whether it is "*hatten tojo na kanji*" ('underdeveloped') or not, which clearly indexes it as a deficient version of the Inner Circle English. In response to the hesitant laughter by Naoto, and to his own negative designation of this speaker as 'underdeveloped', Toshio consciously mitigates the strong labeling of this speaker in line 10 saying this speaker is "*kikiyasui*" ('easy to listen to'). Naoto then shifts into the mode of principal to judge the speaker positively in line 11. There, they both shift their footings as principal from negative to positive by overlapping each utterance. Nevertheless, the sudden utterance of the term "*neitiv kara shitara nandarou*" ('I wonder how native speakers would think') tossed in by Toshio hinders the emerging mutual construction of positive evaluation. The reference to native speakers in lines 12-14 indexes native speakers as people with authority over English who can assert what pronunciation is right. In other words, the role of principal is afforded to native speakers and the Japanese speaker of English is again evaluated negatively. Consequently, Toshio shows his disaffiliation with the Japanese speaker of English, and, in enacting a role of principal, he says he does not desire to sound like her in line 14. Naoto aligns with Toshio and states in line 18 that he wants to aim 'higher' and become native-like as a speaker of English.

Reference to Own Experiences

We have identified another typical conversational interaction where they make reference to their own previous experiences by which they index their preferences to certain varieties over

[7] The term 'Japanese English' is generally employed to describe the English influenced by Japanese phonological features. It usually carries with it negative connotation and is situated in the polarized position with native varieties at the opposite end in the continuum.

others.

We have identified two categories of references they make in evaluating speakers. Some participants refer to previous teachers who taught them English in classroom contexts or teaching materials they used in the past years, while others refer to some other sources outside classroom contexts. It is important to note that in the data, native speakerism and references to experience are partially overlapping because the learning resources that are accessible to learners are fairly dominant with native speakerism. Excerpt 6 and 7 are the examples of the case where the dyads make direct references to school context, while excerpt 8 and 9, to outside school context in evaluating speakers.

The first excerpt in this section is a typical example in which participants refer to accessible resources such as Japanese teachers of English, textbooks, and CDs as references.

Excerpt 6: Speaker from UK　Dyad C: Satoshi and Nobuo

1 N：ネイティブの発音としてよく聞く感じやったね。

neitiv no hatsuon　　toshite yoku kiku kanji yatta ne

native LK pronunciation as　　often hear like　PST　IP

This was something like we often hear as a native pronunciation, right?

2 S：そう、やね。なんか、教材とかでも使われとう。授業とかでねえ。（２．０）

sou, yane. nanka, kyouzai toka demo tsukaware tou. jyugyou toka de ne. (2.0)

so　Cop IP　well　　teaching materials as used　　FP　classes　such as IP

I think so, too. Well, it is used as teaching materials such as in classes.

3 N: 先生もこんな発音（２．０）じゃない？

sensei mo konna hatsuon (2.0) ja nai?

teacher too this pronunciation Cop Q

Doesn’t our teacher also pronounce this way?

In line 1 Nobuo (N) initiates the talk and immediately orients to this speaker by saying “*neitiv no hatsuon*” (‘a native pronunciation’) by playing a role of author and stresses their frequent encounter with this variety. Then Satoshi (S) uptakes Nobuo’s comment by making a

reference to ‘teaching materials’ used in classroom contexts in line 2. Nobuo aligns with Satoshi by making reference to their teacher who pronounces that way in line 3. We see that references to “*kyouzai*” (‘teaching materials’), “*jyugyou*” (‘classes’) and “*sensei*” (‘teachers’) are indicative of the fact that the students’ exposure to English is predominantly limited to school contexts.

The second excerpt in this section is distinct in that the dyad uses an ALT[8] as a reference for evaluating other varieties and it is also shared by both participants.

Excerpt 7: Speaker from China Dyad B: Toshio and Naoto

1 T: まあ、さっきのよりはありだけど、まだ、しっくりこんね＝
maa, sakkino yori wa ari da kedo, mada, shikkuri kon ne =
SF previous than TM better Cop but still satisfied Neg FP
Well, this is a little bit better than the previous one[9]. I am not still satisfied with it.

2 N:＝で、なんかー、アンディ、中学校の時の、アンディと比べたら全然違うね。
= de, nanka: Andi, chugakkou no toki no, Andi to kurabetara zenzen chigau ne.
SF Andy junior high days Andy LK compare totally different FP
And, then, Andy[10], the teacher in junior high, this speaker is totally different from Andy.

3 T：なんか、やっぱ、特徴なんだろうね。地域とか。（２．０）このような発音は：
nanka, yappa, tokuchou nandarou ne. chiiki toka. (2.0) konoyouna hatsuon wa:
SF characteristics maybe FP region this pronunciation TM
Well, maybe this is characteristics of regions. (2.0) This pronunciation…

4 N：したいとは思わ [ないね。]
shitai towa omowa [nai ne.]
want to think Neg FP
I don’t want to sound like this.

5 T： [思わないね。]
[omowa nai ne.]
think Neg FP
I don’t want to.

[8] ALT is the acronym of Assistant Language Teacher.
[9] A speaker from Korea
[10] A pseudonym for a male language assistant English teacher (ALT) from Australia who teaches in junior high school

Toshio (T) expresses mild disaffiliation with this speaker as unacceptable by authoring "*mada shikkuri kon ne*" ('I am not still satisfied with it') in line 1, suggesting that he is looking for something of more authentic kind. Naoto (N) immediately uptakes Toshio's utterance and makes reference to Andy, an Australian assistant language teacher who taught them in junior high in line 2, stating that this speaker diverges completely from Andy's English. The total rejection is made clear by Naoto's statement "*zenzen chigau*" ('totally different'). Interesting enough, still maintaining his footing as an author, Toshio is ambivalent about his attitude about this speaker, although recognizing existing other varieties of pronunciation in various regions, saying "*tokucyo nandarou ne chiiki toka*" ('characteristics of regions') in line 3. When Toshio is about to make a judgment about this speaker, Naoto, influenced by the image of Andy, interferes the interaction, subsequently tossing in the explicit evaluative comment "*shitai towa omowanai ne*" ('I don't want to sound like this') in line 4. In response to Naoto's evaluative comment, Toshio immediately aligns himself with Naoto by using interactional particle "*ne*". Then they jointly point to their judgment of it as unacceptable as a speaker of English in lines 4 -5 by becoming fully principals.

In the following excerpt, both participants make reference to outside school context, i.e., movies, predominantly Hollywood movies, in relation to which they make positive evaluation of this US speaker.

Excerpt 8: Speaker from US Dyad A: Ken and Eita

1 K：これ結構、わかりやすかったやん？

kore kekkou, wakariyasukatta yan?

this relatively easy to understand Q

It was relatively easy to listen to, right?

2 E：これは、何か、

kore wa, nanka,

this TM well

Well, this is…

3 K：これは結構聞いたことある、映画とか、映画とか。

kore wa kekkou kiita koto aru, eiga toka, eiga toka.
this TM many times heard experience exist movies such as movies such as
I have heard this many times such as in movies, such as in movies.

4 K: 結構これはよかったね。すきやね。
kekkou kore wa yoka tta ne. suki ya ne.
fairly this TM good PST FP like Cop FP
This was fairly good. I like this.

In line 1, Ken (K) assumes a role of the author, saying "*wakariyasukatta*" ('easy to listen to'). Eita (E) looks for a potential reference source in line 2, mumbling "*kore wa nanka*" ('Well, this is …'). Ken joins in and assists Eita in searching for the source of reference Eita is trying to retrieve in line 3 and finally comes up with the source, authoring "*eiga toka eiga toka*" ('such as in movies'). Upon the mention of "movies", Ken shifts his footing to a principal and says "*yokatta ne sukiyane*" ('fairly good' 'I like this') in line 4. His positive evaluation of this speaker springs from continued sociohistorical exposure to movies that shape his preference toward native varieties, particularly American varieties. This dyad concurrently makes the same reference to the source outside of class, which leads to complete alignment.

Excerpt 9, in large contrast to the above excerpt, takes place where alignment is not attained due to the lack of common reference retrieved from the outside school context. One participant makes reference to his own homestay experience he previously had in Australia, whereas the other do not refer to homestay experience due to his lack of opportunity.

Excerpt 9: Speaker from UK Dyad E: Ryo and Takeshi

1 R：俺、去年、オーストラリア行ったやん。
ore, kyonen, oustralia itta yan.
I last year Australia went Cop
You know, I went to Australia last year?

2 T：うーん。
u:m
Ye::s.

3 R：あん時のに、なんか、発音ちっと似とるような気がするちゃんね。

an toki noni, nanka, hatsuon chitto nitoru youna kigasuru chan ne.

that time NOM SF pronunciation a little similar like feel Cop IP

I feel that this speaker's English sounds a little similar to that English then.

4 T：あーそこらへんの近所のおばちゃんの話みたいな?

ah: sokorahen no kinjono obachan no hanashi mitaina?

SF around LK neighborhood middle aged women speech like

Oh, something like a speech of middle-aged women in the neighborhood?[11]

5 R：あー、俺はこれは好きやけど、聞きやすいっちゃ、聞きやすいし＝

Ah: ore wa kore wa sukiya kedo, kikiyasuiccha, kikiyasuisi =

SF I TM this TM like but easy to listen to, easy to listen to

And, I like this, though. It is easy to listen to. It is easy to listen to.

6 T：＝俺にとっては聞きずらかったよ。

= ore nitotte wa kikizurakatta yo.

me to TM hard to listen to FP

To me, it was hard to listen to.

Recalling his homestay experience in Australia, Ryo (R) immediately connects this speaker from UK with the English he heard then and authors that "*nitoru youna kiga suru*" ('similar to that English then') in line 3. Presumably Ryo is associating the speaker with some Australian female interlocutors he encountered in Australia. Takeshi (T) abruptly responds, "*obachan no hanashi mitaina*?" ('a speech of middle-aged women in the neighborhood?'), showing his utmost efforts to imagine what Toru is saying. He only can exercise his imagination due to the lack of the similar reference and frame Toru has. However, Takeshi's obscure statement is not taken up by Ryo. In line 5, Ryo shifts footing from author to principal and expresses his affiliation with this speaker, assisted by his previous experience through which he earned the reference source, while Takeshi immediately shifts his footing from author to principal, still maintaining his disalignment with Ryo in line 6. As has been shown, whether one has reference source or not is closely linked to how they evaluate the speakers.

[11] Neighborhood here means the neighborhood in the residential area in Australia Ryo visited. Takeshi is imagining Ryo's homestay experiences in Australia and linking the speaker to someone like Ryo's host mother or her friends who are middle-aged women.

So far, we have shown that when participants claim references, it is often accompanied by familiarity. As such, references and familiarity are also overlapping and it becomes difficult to draw clear lines between these two categories. In the following section, we will explore how familiarity triggers their evaluation of speakers.

Familiarity

In this section, we will explore how the participants issue evaluative comments triggered by how familiar they are with certain varieties they hear. Some dyads collectively attributed their attitudinal alienation from a certain variety to scarce exposure to and less familiarity with it.

The following excerpt is an example in which Ken thoroughly expresses a direct rejection of the speaker from Zimbabwe, mainly due to his lack of familiarity. Of particular significance is the choice of the negatively aggressive lexical items in describing the speaker.

Excerpt 10: Speaker from Zimbabwe Dyad A: Ken and Eita

1 K：これは、ははははは。最悪。へへへ。最悪やん。

korewa, hahahaha. saiaku. hehehe. saiaku yan.

this hahahaha terrible hehehe terrible

This is, hahahaha, terrible. hahaha, Terrible.

2 E：強弱もないし。

kyoujaku mo nai shi.

strong and weak Neg.

She sounds monotonous.

3 K：これはひどい。聞いたことないね。ちょっと新種やない？

korewa hidoi. kiitakoto nai ne. chotto shinsyu ya nai?

this terrible I have heard Neg FP new species Cop Q

This is terrible. I have never heard that. Isn't it a new species?

4 E：この英語はダメやね＝

kono eigo wa dame ya ne =

this English DAT bad Cop FP

This English is bad.

5 K：＝ダメ。たぶん、これは聞きやすくもなかったしね。

: = dame. tabun, kore wa kikiyasuku mo naka tta shine.

bad maybe this TM easy to listen to Neg PST Cop

Bad. Maybe. This was not easy to listen to, either.

6 E：棒読みな感じ。

bouyomina kanji.

monotonous sound

It sounds monotonous.

7 K：うん。すごいなんかこう、何て言いようかわからん。

un. sugoi nanka kou, nante iiyouka wakaran.

SF very SF what say I don't know

Yeah. Well, I don't know what she is saying.

8 K: この人はだめやね。この授業はうけたくない。

kono hito wa dame ya ne. kono jyugyou wa uketaku nai.

this person DAT bad Cop FP this class DAT I want Neg

This person is bad. I don't want to take her class.

9 K: 発音もわからんし。何ていいようかわからん。言葉を発してない。

hatsuon mo wakaranshi. nante iiyouka wakaran. kotoba wo hashite nai.

pronunciation I don't know what say I don't know word DAT produce Neg

I don't understand her pronunciation. I don't know what she is saying. She doesn't produce a word.

After listening to the passage, Ken (K) immediately assumes a role of the principal and evaluates the speaker as "*saiaku*" ('terrible'). The word "*saiaku*" literally denotes 'extremely bad' and is typically preferred by young people when they describe people or things critically. Ken emphasizes his comment by scornful laughter, and eventually underpins his sentiment toward this variety by repeating "*saiaku*" twice. In line 2, Eita (E), though not completely uptaking Ken's comment, stresses the absence of desirable paralinguistic features that are missing in the speaker's variety. Moreover, Ken displays in line 3 his unfamiliarity with this variety and describes it as "*shinshu*" ('new species') with an ironic implication with playful tone. Young people typically employ the term "*shinshu*" in discriminative way when describing something that does not fall in their perceived category. What is worth noting here is that Ken's unfamiliarity directly leads to his strong rejection of other varieties, which invokes his

dichotomized stance of good or bad. In line 4, Eita also becomes the principal and shows his disaffiliation with it by providing a negative evaluative comment on it, followed in line 5 by Ken who immediately aligns with Eita providing the same negative evaluation on it, saying "*dame*" ('Bad') straightforwardly. Interestingly, in lines 3-5 both use interactional particle "*ne*" to discursively construct their perception, testing each other's stance. However, after recognizing that both of them come to the agreement on the evaluation, they use definitive statements and become more explicit from line 6 to the end. Ken's explicit utterance "*nante iiyouka wakaran*" ('I don't know what she is saying') in line 7 makes it clear that perceived unintelligibility of the speaker results from unfamiliarity in this dyad. In line 8 Ken denies the adaptability as a teacher of this speaker and eventually in line 9, he devalues her English by saying "*kotoba wo hasshite nai*" ('she does not produce a word'), a strong and insulting evaluative comment. In this excerpt, both students continue showing their disaffiliation based on their unfamiliarity alongside unintelligibility that arises from their limited exposure to this variety.

Of particular interest in the following excerpt is that dyad discursively constructs the disaffiliation of the speaker by their explicit utterance of perceived zero exposure to the variety. In particular we like to pay attention to their negative evaluative comments reflecting their bewilderment due to their first encounter with this variety.

Excerpt 11: Speaker from Zimbabwe Dyad C: Satoshi and Nobuo

1 S：僕は初めて [きいた。]

boku wa hajimete [kii ta.]

I DAT first hear PST

I heard this for the first time.

2 N： [初めて聞いた。] 俺もはじめて聞いた。（１０．０）これはなんか：（５．０）

[hajimete kii ta.] oremo hajimete kii ta. (10.0) kore wa nanka:

first time hear PST I first time hear PST this DAT SF

For the first time. I heard this for the first time. (10.0) This is… (5.0)

3 S：好き嫌いでいったら嫌い。（５．０）そんなにかっこよくはない＝

suki kirai de ittara kirai. (5.0) sonnani kakkoyoku wa nai =

preference say hate so cool Neg

Regarding my preference, I hate this. (5.0) This is not so cool.

4 N：＝よわよわしい感じがした。

= yowayowashii kanji ga shita.

weak sound TM PST

It sounded weak.

5 S：（５．０）聞きにくい。

(5.0) kikinikui.

hard to listen to

This is hard to listen to.

6 N：聞きにくい。俺もなんか、もやもやっとした。えへへへへ。（５．０）

kikinikui. oremo nanka, moyamoyatto shita. hehehehe. (5.0)

hard to listen to I SF irritated PST hehehehe

Hard to listen to. I think so, too. I got irritated. hehehe (5.0)

In line 1, Satoshi (S) displays his perceived first encounter with this variety by taking on a role of author, saying "*hajimete kii ta*" ('I heard this for the first time'). In line 2, Nobuo (N) aligns with Satoshi by concurring with overlapping, while simultaneously trying to look for the word to describe the English he just heard. Satoshi becomes the principal without any reservation in line 3 and signals his disaffiliation with it, reasoning that the speaker's English is "*sonnani kakkoyoku wa nai*" ('not so cool'). Interestingly, Satoshi does not mention anything about intelligibility of the English based on the content of the speech before providing his evaluation. Furthermore, both Satoshi and Nobuo share the evaluation of it as being "*kikinikui*" ('hard to listen to') in lines 5 and 6 and eventually Nobuo points to his judgment of it as unacceptable, expressing his irritation over it. Both of them talk based on the category of 'cool English' and exhibit their disaffiliation with this variety due to complete unfamiliarity. The use of moderately negative evaluative comments such as "*yowayowashi*" ('weak') and "*moyamoyatto*" ('irritated') is the reflection of discomfort and bewilderment about this variety, though they are not as strong sentiments as expressed in the previous excerpt above. However, it is mirrored in this interaction that they feel uncomfortable with what they are unfamiliar with.

What follows next is categorically similar to the excerpts above in the way they form disaffiliation; however the dyad in the next excerpt discursively construct negative attitudes toward the speaker (China) from the same circle, i.e., the Expanding Circle based on their perceived unfamiliarity with it.

Excerpt 12: Speaker from China Dyad A: Ken and Eita

1 E：聞いたことある？

kiitakoto aru?

heard experience exist

Have you ever heard this?

2 K：聞いたことはない。はははは。

kiitakoto wa nai. hahaha.

heard experience TM Neg hahaha

No, I have not heard this. hahahaha.

3 E：何かあれやない？ あー、何て言いようかわからん。でもあれやない？

nanka are yanai? a: nante iiyouka wakaran. demo areyanai?

SF how can I say SF what speaking don't understand but how can I say

Well, how can I say? Ah, I don't understand what she is saying. How can I say, though?

4 E: だらだらしとう。あんま好きじゃないね。 何かわからんかったね。

daradara shitou. anma suki ja nai ne. nanka wakaran katta ne.

monotonous Cop not very much like Neg FP SF didn't understand PST FP

It sounds monotonous. I don't like this very much. Well, I didn't understand this.

5 E: わかるとことわからんところがあったやん。 ごちゃごちゃごちゃごちゃしとった。

wakaru tokoro to wakaran tokoro ga atta yan. gocha gocha shitotta.

understand part and don't understand part TM exist IP messy Cop PST

I understood some parts but didn't understand other parts. It sounded messy.

6 E: 聞きにくいね。印象もあんまかっこよくない。

kikinikui ne. inshou mo anma kakkoyoku nai.

hard to listen to impression not very cool Neg

It is hard to listen to. Impression is also not very cool.

Ken (K) and Eita (E) initiate the interaction by authoring that they have never heard the

variety they just heard in lines 1 and 2. Ken's laughter that follows immediately after his own remark implies his negative internal sentiment toward it. Eita shifts his footing to the principal by stating that he does not make out a word of what the speaker is saying in line 3 "*nante iiyouka wakaran*" ('don't understand what she is saying'). The repetition of "*are yanai*" ('how can I say') two times in line 3 shows his inner search for the words to describe this unfamiliar variety he has just heard. Then he produces evaluative comments "*daradara*" ('monotonous') and "*gocha gocha*" ('messy') to describe in lines 4 and 5, which are Japanese mimetic words that usually accompany negative connotation. These feelings he retrieves from within his mind underpin the evaluation he establishes by enacting a role of principal saying "*anma suki ja nai*" ('I don't like this very much') in line 4. The dominant role of Eita as principal in this interaction shows his particularly strong disaffiliation with the speaker based on his unfamiliarity with it. The fact that they have low familiarity with it leads to their alienation from this variety, thereby causing their perceived difficulty and unintelligibility in listening to it, as expressed "*kikinikui*" ('hard to listen to') in line 6. Despite that this speaker is from a country near Japan, they exhibit low familiarity and tolerance with this variety.

Unlike the above excerpts, the following is the interactions taking place when the dyad listens to a speaker from UK. They express positive comments based on familiarity they have already established with Inner Circle English. We view that they have been exposed to ALT from Australia, which made it easier for them to claim some familiarity with this variety.

Excerpt 13: Speaker from UK Dyad A: Ken and Eita

1 K：結構わかりやくなかった？ これ。

kekkou wakariyasuku nakatta? kore.

relatively easy to understand PST this

Wasn't this relatively easy to understand?

2 E：一番

ichiban.

best

The best.

3 K：一番、わかりやすい。

ichiban wakariyasui.

best easy to understand

This is the easiest.

4 E：英語っぽい感じが。

eigo ppoi kanji ga.

English like TM

It is like “English-ish”.

5 K: これは結構聞いたことがあるっちゃない？

korewa kekkou kiitakoto ga arucchanai?

this many times heard experience TM exist Q

We have heard this many times, haven’t we?

6 E：やね。この英語が一番いいかな。

yane kono eigo ga ichiban ii kana.

yes this English TM best I think

Yeah, right. I think this English is the best.

7 K：超好きやね。

cho suki ya ne.

very much like Cop IP

I like this very much.

8 E：聞きやすい。

kikiyasui.

easy to listen to

It’s easy to listen to.

9 K：聞きやすかったね。やっぱ、発音がよかったら（５．０）授業うけたい [ねえ。]

kikiyasukatta ne. yappa, hatsuon ga yokattara (5.0) jyugyou uketai [ne.]

easy to listen to IP after all pronunciation TM good class want to take FP

It was easy to listen to. After all, if the teacher’s pronunciation is good, I want to take a lesson from that person.

10 E： [受けたいねえ。]

[uketai nee.]

want to take FP

I want to take her lesson.

11 K：発音はしたいね。

hatsuon wa shitai ne.

pronunciation TM want to do

I want to sound like that.

In line 1 Ken (K) reassures Eita (E) that the speaker is intelligible enough by playing a role of author, saying "*wakariyasukunakatta*?" ('Wasn't it relatively easy to understand?'). Eita unhesitatingly utters "*ichiban*" ('best') by uptaking Ken's prior comment. The positive joint construction is accomplished discursively in line 3 where Ken repeats the exactly the same word "*ichiban*". Based on the familiarity with the native variety he encounters in his daily English classes, Eita reasons that this speaker's English is "*eigo ppoi kanji*" ('English-ish') in line 4. Triggered by Eita's reasoning, Ken articulates that he definitely has heard this variety in line 5. Without any interval, Eita aligns with Ken, referring to his past experiences as a learner, stressing that it is familiar to him for sure. The third repeated usage of "*ichiban*" is made by Eita, consolidating agreed upon evaluation in line 6. Ken aligns with Eita, using "*cho*" ('very much') in line 7, the term typically used by young people when they express their clear-cut preference toward things and people. From line 8 onward, familiarity that they articulate about this speaker makes them want to take the class taught by such speakers. The whole interaction shows that familiarity brings about a sense of security.

We have found that the interactions where they pronounce their affiliation and disaffiliation are characterized by native speakerism, reference and familiarity. The dominant discourse of native speakerism is sociohistorically embedded in such a way that many young learners in this study are unknowingly influenced by this ideology that is deeply rooted in the context of our study. We have found that they discursively construct their preference toward native variety through their interaction, and that they have low tolerance toward English spoken by speakers from Outer Circle as well as Expanding Circle. When exposed to other varieties for the first time, the dyads in this study exhibited the attitudes of comparing to the benchmark made stable by native speakerism without showing stance to acknowledging other varieties. Due to scarce exposure to other varieties in Outer Circle and Expanding Circle, they naturally make no reference to them when listening to speakers from these Circles, except for the Japanese speaker.

Potential Ownership

Though infrequent in the data, we have identified variations or ambivalent stances when some dyads listened to the speaker from Japan as well as the speaker from US, mistaking the speaker for how Japanese speakers would speak. In these cases, we have identified a sense of potential ownership emerging from them. A few participants expressed positive comments about Japanese speakers of English who they believe have accomplished a certain degree of proficiency in their own right. The segments of the data below show that there is a sense of emerging potential ownership Japanese young learners of English are about to develop.

The first excerpt takes place when a dyad listens to a speaker from US. The participants in the dyad associate the speaker with their Japanese English instructor. They have made it clear that they feel comfortable with the speaker. Unlike the other dyads in other excerpts, the next excerpt is noteworthy in that they did not begin their interaction with the comparison with native speakers, but with the discursively constructed possibility that the speaker may be a Japanese.

Excerpt 14: Speaker from US Dyad E: Ryo and Takeshi

1 R：＝日本人がまねしたみたいな感じやね（２．０）

= nihonjin ga mane shita mitaina kanji ya ne (2.0)

Japanese TM imitate PST seem like Cop IP

It seems like a Japanese person imitating [native speakers].

2 T：まあ、まあ、俺はまあこれは好きやね。 どっちかっていうと好きやね。

maa, maa, ore wa maa korewa suki ya ne. docchi katte yuto suki ya ne.

SF SF I TM SF this like Cop FP which like Cop FP

Well, well, I like this. If I were asked my preference.

3 R：武田先生みたいな言い方やなかった？

Takedasensei mitaina iikata ya nakkata?

Ms. Takeda sound like Cop PST Q

She sounds like Ms. Takeda.?[12]

[12] A pseudonym for a female Japanese teacher of English in her forties, currently teaching this dyad. She studied in Canada for a few years but we later ascertained that this dyad did not know that fact.

4 T：どっちかっていうとね。

docchi katte yuto ne.

which QT say FP

Kind of. If I were asked…

5 R：授業みたいな感じやった。

jyugyou mitaina kanji ya tta.

class sound like Cop PST

This speaker sounded like English in classes.

6 T：まあ、まあ、止め方とかもまあ聞きやすいといえば聞きやすい。

maa, maa, tomekata tokamo maa kikiyasui toieba kikiyasui.

SF SF posing TM easy to listen easy to listen

Well, well, the way of pausing is easy to listen to.

7 R：授業やね。

jyugyou ya ne.

class Cop IP

This is like English we hear in English classes.

8 T：まあ、こーゆー先生の授業の方がやっぱ受けやすい。

maa, koyu sennsei no jyugyou no hou ga yappa uke yasui.

SF this teacher class more comfortable

Well, this teacher's lesson would be comfortable to take.

9 R：受けやすいちゃ、受けやすい。（５．０）

ukeyasuicha, ukeyasui (5.0)

comfortable to take

I agree. Comfortable to take. (5.0)

In line 1 Ryo (R) states that this speaker may be a Japanese who has a good command of English, authoring "*nihonjin ga maneshita mitaina kanji*" ('It seems like a Japanese person imitating [native speakers]'). In line 2 Takeshi (T) aligns with Ryo and displays his affiliation with this speaker with a mitigated expression "*docchi katte yuto suki*" ('I like this. If I were asked my preference'), enacting a role of the principal. In line 3, expressing familiarity with this perceived good Japanese English as spoken by Ms. Takeda, both students directly refer to her and express overt affiliations with this speaker and with fluent Japanese English. We assert that their positive attitudes to this local variety spoken by Ms. Takeda shows that they are developing

a sense of potential ownership over English spoken by Japanese. In lines 5 and 7, Ryo further refers to English used in their English lesson and considers her English appropriate for English lessons. In line 8 Takeshi aligns with Ryo and voices positive adaptability of this English to their daily English classes. In line 9 Ryo displays his agreement with the statement Takeshi makes.

Similar to excerpt 14, the next excerpt starts off with the interaction where they point to a Japanese variety they are often exposed to via bilingual broadcasting TV, now available for every household in Japan. Again it is significant that they do not resort to native varieties even though they are listening to a speaker from US. This is the representation of the emerging awareness that local English teachers such as Ms. Takeda in the above excerpt and Japanese interpreters on TV can potentially be good models for speakers of English.

Excerpt 15: Speaker from US Dyad C: Satoshi and Nobuo

1 S：聞いたことは（２．０）あると思う＝
kiitakoto wa (2.0) aru to omou =
heard experience TM exist QT think
I think I have heard this before.

2 N：＝あるねえ。
= aru ne.
yes IP
Yes, we have.

3 S：何でだろう。
nande darou.
why I wonder
I wonder why?

4 N：その、ちょっと日本人の発音が [うまい人が]
sono, chotto nihonjin no hatsuon ga [umai hito ga]
SF a little Japanese pronunciation TM good person TM
Well, Japanese speakers whose pronunciation is good …

5 S： [あー、ははは。なるほど]
[a: hahaha. naruhodo]
Oh, hahaha, I see.

6 N：そういう感じかな。

souyu kanji kana.

that kind I wonder

Sort of.

7 S：そうやねえ。ニュースとか。さっき聞いた感じのニュースとか、なんか、副音声でたまに。

so ya nee. nyus toka. sakki kiita kanjino nyus toka, nanka, fukuonsei de tamani.

so Cop IP news such as then heard like news such as SF bilingual broad cast sometimes

That's right. Such as news program. The news we heard a while ago[13]. Well, sometimes on bilingual broadcasting on TV?

8 S: なんか流れてそうな。きれいな、発音やったやん？

nanka nagaretekisouna. kireina, hatsuon yatta yan?

SF may be broadcasted beautiful pronunciation PST Cop IP

Well, this kind of English may be broadcasted. It was beautiful pronunciation, right?

9 N：あー。（１０．０）

ah: (10.0)

Well…

10 N：好き嫌いで言ったらどうかな。

sukikiraide ittara doukana.

preference in terms of I wonder

I wonder what my preferences are about this?

11 S：俺は好きやけどねえ。まあ、今まで聞いた中では一番いいかな。

ore wa suki yakedo ne. maa, imamade kiita nakadewa ichiban ii kana.

I TM like but FP SF ever heard among best I FP

I like this, though. Well, I think this is the best among all I have heard.

12 N：これは聞きやすい＝

kore wa kikiyasui =

this TM easy to listen to

This is easy to listen to.

13 S: ＝聞きやすいね。確実に聞きやすいね。（１０．０）

= kikiyasui ne. kakujitsuni kikiyasui ne. (10.0)

easy to listen to IP surely easy to listen to IP

It is easy to listen to. Surely, it is.

Satoshi (S) and Nobuo (N) establish their perceived familiarity with this speaker in lines 1

[13] It was found in the follow-up interview that they had listened, in the previous English class, to a bilingual (English/Japanese) news broadcasting program spoken by a Japanese interpreter.

and 2. Satoshi starts wondering why the speaker is familiar to him, almost talking to himself, "*nande darou*" ('I wonder why') in line 3. Scaffolding Satoshi's search for the reason why he is familiar with the speaker, Nobuo offers one of the possible references in line 4, saying "*nihonjin no hatsuon ga umai hito*" ('Japanese speakers whose pronunciation is good…'). Satoshi uptakes his statement with a laughter in line 5, which indexes appreciation for the retrieved reference or source he is trying to come up with. As a concrete reference, Satoshi brings up a reference such as bilingual news broadcasting in line 7. Satoshi shifts his role of footing from author to principal in line 8, evaluating the English he has just heard as "*kireina hatsuon yatta*" ('beautiful pronunciation'). The remainders of the interaction from lines 10-13 are characterized by positive sentiments expressing their ease of understanding and their identification of her as a 'good Japanese English speaker of English'. Given they consider this speaker as a Japanese, the term "*ichiban ii*" ('the best among all') Satoshi chooses to use in line 11 and "*kakujitsuni kikiyasui*" ('Surely, it is [easy to listen to]') in line 13 are the best compliment they can ever give, thus leading to a sense of potential ownership they are about to develop over English.

The following excerpt is distinct from the others in that the dyad never voices disaffiliations or negative evaluations when listening to the speaker from Japan, but perceives the Japanese speaker as a legitimate speaker of English, thus revealing a sense of potential ownership. Furthermore, by making total alignment with the speaker, they reveal an emerging perspective that it is not only appropriate but an ideal model for their localized needs.

Excerpt 16: Speaker from Japan Dyad F: Kazuo and Hiro

1 K: これは何かよく聞いたことあるような感じが（５．０）

kore wa nanka yoku kiitakoto aru younakanji ga. (5.0)

this TM like often heard exist feel TM

I feel like I have often heard this.

2 K: なんか、飛行機の中とかの様な。

nanka, hikouki no naka toka noyouna.

well plane LK inside such as like

Well, such as, like inside a plane.

3 K: 飛行機のアナウンスメントみたいな感じが。

hikouki no anaunsument mitaina kanji ga.

plane LK announcement like seem TM

It seems like an announcement in the airplane.

4 H: 日本人やない、これ？

nihonjin ya nai, kore?

Japanese Cop Q this

Isn't she a Japanese?

5 K: この英語はまあ、日本人てのもあるけど聞きやす [くて、]

kono eigo wa maa, nihonjin tenomo aru kedo kikiyasu [kute,]

this English TM well Japanese QT because easy to listen to

Well, this English is easy to listen to because she is a Japanese…

6 H: [聞きやすいね]

[kikiyasui ne.]

easy to listen to IP

Easy to listen to, right?

7 K: なんか、習うには最適というか。

nanka, narau niwa saiteki toyuuka.

well learning for best Cop

Well, it can be best for our learning.

8 H: うん、そんな感じ。

un, sonna kanji.

yes that like

Yes, something like that.

9 K: 発音もなんか、そのまんまいいと思う。

hatsuon mo nanka, sonomanma ii to omou.

pronunciation TM well as it is good QT think

I think this pronunciation is good as it is.

10 K: こんな授業受けたいね。

konna jyugyou uketai ne.

this class would like to take FP

I would like to take this kind of lesson.

Kazuo (K) orients to this speaker and explicitly expresses his familiarity with it in line 1 by assuming a role of author. Further, he makes reference to English announcements often heard on

the airplanes in lines 2 and 3. Hiro (H) authors that this speaker may be a Japanese in line 4 and immediately Kazuo aligns with Hiro and gives an evaluative comment "*kikiyasukute*" ('easy to listen to') in line 5. They align with each other based on their familiarity with it in lines 5 and 6, shifting their footing to principal by giving a positive evaluation. In line 7, Kazuo displays his ambiguous yet positive evaluation with this English by describing it as "*narau niwa saiteki toyuuka*" ('can be best for our learning'). He signals the view that for learning 'it can be best', stressing his perceived localized needs even though he does not necessarily accept it as a perfect English. His footing shifts from author to principal in line 9 where he makes a positive evaluative comment, "*sonomanma ii*" ('good as it is'). What is noteworthy is that this dyad never tries to compare this speaker with native varieties throughout this conversational interaction. They prioritize localized needs over exonormative models, exhibiting a sense of potential ownership that is about to develop in this localized context.

DISCUSSION

This study examined how Japanese junior and senior high school students perceived different varieties of English spoken by Inner, Outer, and Expanding Circle speakers. Many dyads in this study showed positive attitudes toward varieties spoken by US and UK speakers through their displays of affiliation as a listener and a speaker, and through expressions of native speakerism. It was clearly shown that many students possess strong desires to acquire native variety of pronunciation despite its difficulty in accomplishing. Many of them equated native varieties with prestige and legitimacy, albeit some showed a positive affiliation with a variety spoken by the Japanese speaker, referring to their Japanese English teachers, professional interpreters on TV or flight attendants on the plane as successful learner models of English. That stands as a basis of our argument that there is an emerging potential ownership developing among young learners of English through increasing exposure to fluent Japanese English in Japan which is a sign of hope. On the whole, however, it was revealed that a majority of students in our study expressed

negative orientations toward speakers from the Outer and Expanding Circle, which can be attributed to students' scarce exposure to those varieties and limited understanding of existence of varieties of Englishes as well as respect toward them.

What is highly worth noting is that even though Japan is a neighboring country to Korea and China, most of the students appeared to fail to develop some degrees of familiarity and tolerance toward those varieties. Considering current active interchange among Asian countries, communication in English with Asian citizens is inevitable. However, at the educational level, few approaches of fostering students' awareness toward those varieties have not been successfully conducted. In the same vein, students' responses to the speaker from the Outer Circle (Zimbabwe) clearly reflected negatively biased attitudes to that unfamiliar variety, which depicted the tendency of Japanese students to value native-like phonological features of English pronunciation much more than contents of the speech or fluency. In order to alter their perceptions toward English we hold that we should instill into students' minds that there are a number of bilingual or multilingual nations outside Inner Circle countries and that people are highly functional using English as their official or second language all across the world.

Lastly, although we witness the emerging potential ownership over English in Excerpts 14, 15 and 16, the most recurrent features of students' responses to Japanese speaker of English explicitly exhibited disaffiliation with them as a speaker, most vividly in Excerpt 5. Contrary to previous findings of other studies regarding familiarity, this study showed that familiarity does not necessarily result in positive evaluation of speakers. However, this is compatible with Matsuura et al. (1995) which also showed Japanese learners' negative attitudes to Japanese speakers in spite of their familiarity with that variety. What we found in this current study is that even among young learners such as junior and high school students, negative attitudes toward their own variety are already deeply embedded. Hence, when and where students have arguably developed those attitudes is an emerging question for the future studies.

Fluent Japanese English is likely to be the realistic model students can pursue. Nevertheless, they rejected it in most of the elicited data in our study. If Japanese learners of English only

accommodate to native varieties but reject that of Japanese as an adequate model of English, it appears that they obtain neither solid confidence as legitimate English speakers nor possess realistic models of English speakers to pursue as also shown in our elicited data. Unless they cease to adhere to phonological features of native varieties of English, they will continue to fail in constructing their position as legitimate and confident English speakers in this globalizing community. As Honna and Takeshita (2000) note, the realization of not being able to master native models often leads to discouragement from further learning as well as to disorientation. They write, “they are ashamed if they do not speak English as native speakers do” (p. 63).

The overall tendency elicited from our data might be partially due to the persistence of exonormative models or practices of hiring native speakers on the basis of “a people-oriented, professional-minded university graduate” or “enthusiastic, energetic graduates” and “must like children”, types of descriptions often seen in the recruiting advertisements (Kirkpatrick, 2007, p. 186). As Kubota (1998) argues, these practices certainly help label the local models as undesired, prioritizing a native speaker model. As is often discussed, the supremacy of the local teachers who know the language of their students (Cook, 2002; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000) should be highlighted more, especially if they are fluent English speakers who also understand the potential difficulties their students might encounter (Medgyes, 1994).

We view it of great importance for learners of English to note that following native models will not necessary ensure them the right path once they actually go to Inner Circle countries. There, they will encounter varieties and variations of English as well as diversities of cultures. Indeed, those who foresee studying in or visiting Inner Circle countries where they will receive English medium education may, to a certain extent, benefit from being taught by someone who are well-trained and can provide “first-hand knowledge of the culture and manners of the relevant inner-circle country” (Kirkpatrick, 2007, p. 187). However, in reality, many institutions in the Inner Circle countries comprise significant numbers of teaching instructors with different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. And the discourses students will encounter in the crossroads of the cultures will consist of different varieties including those of local cultures, of mixed

multicultural and multilingual populations, and of age. Major et al. (2002) study reported that many international students experienced different varieties of English once they come to North American universities including nonnative varieties spoken in the courses. As such, following native models will not necessarily benefit these people, either. The situation is further complicated by existence of wider regional linguistic variations, be it lexical, phonological, semantic, syntactic, even in the given native varieties where they will receive education, such as within the sphere of US, UK, or Australia. Moreover, ultimate attainment of native-like phonology is most often an unachievable task by L2 learners because of neurophysiological maturation constraints (Scovel, 1988, 2000) and psychoperceptual and phonetic causes related to previous massive experience with L1 (Flege, 1999), excluding some exceptional learners. Striving toward a native model, therefore, can be disadvantageous as well as inappropriate to the learners in the Expanding Circle, although people in the Outer Circle can justify their own use of local nativised varieties based on ample linguistic and cultural resources for their own purposes and interactions using the language.

As advocated in Europe as *Networking English/European language learning in Europe* (NELLE), the countries in the framework of ASEAN should also encourage and promote teaching the varieties people are most likely to use English with (Kirkpatrick, 2007). This should be reflected not only in the contents of textbooks that are relevant to its contexts but in the way cultural understandings may be conducted in the pedagogical domains. Forcing and accepting the Inner Circle cultural or pragmatic norms not shared by people in this region through the textbook is not appropriate and will disadvantage the learners who have a high percentage of interacting with people other than native speakers. Studying about Britain or trying to speak in the way the British speak will make a lot of sense to those people studying in Europe who can anticipate interacting with them, but not to those studying in the Asian Pacific regions such as L2 learners in Japan (Kirkpatrick, 2007).

Adapting a lingua franca approach will solve some of the problems facing us today. It will make learners feel less inferior because they no longer need to refer to native speakers both for

linguistic and cultural references. This approach will also allow us to feel emancipated from feeling inferior or deviant by encouraging schools, teachers and learners alike to eschew equating learning with following the native models and learning about Britain, US, and their cultures (Hoffman, 2000).

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

This study was conducted among the male students ranging in age from 15 to 18. There might potentially exist some variations in attitudes depending on demographic as well as gender factors even in the given cultural boundary. Despite some limitations, however, the current study can be construed as valuable in that it illuminated Japanese students' perceptions toward WEs from qualitative perspectives, especially considering a greater number of previous research on this issue have been conducted mainly quantitatively. As Richards (2003) states, qualitative approaches provide us with ways to "explore the complexities and conundrums of the immensely complicated social world that we inhabit" (p. 8). Therefore, we strongly believe that analyzing naturally occurring conversations of participants helped uncover and shed light on delicately layered spheres of participants' perspectives towards WEs, which could not have been elicited otherwise.

CONCLUSION

Living in the age of globalization flooded with information through the technological improvements, we are constantly under the influence of rapid flow of overwhelming number of information. In particular, the diffusion of American culture is constantly flowing into many minds of young people in the form of pop cultures, such as movies and music. This can be alternatively expressed as "forceful expansion of its language" (Kahane, 1992, p. 232). Even in the educational context, the native model has long ruled the contents of textbooks and minds of

teachers who have practiced teaching, invoking a sense of deficient model of these L2 practitioners. The predominant phenomena seen and identified through the data of our study determined the persistent hegemony of native models. Given the composition of English speakers estimated by Graddol (1997), there will be more chance for people in the Expanding Circle to communicate with people within Asian Pacific regions than with those from Inner Circle countries. Implied from our study, however, is the lack of awareness of English being spoken as EIL and ELF in the world today and of the chances to interact between people whose L1s are different from each other. From that perspective, we urge that learners will be exposed to more varieties of English and encouraged to stop feeling that they have to accommodate to the native standards both linguistically and culturally, shedding light on the concept of EIL and ELF. For that purpose the roles played by teachers of L1 Japanese is immense. The emancipated expressions on teachers' faces in the seminar for elementary school teachers in our study will tell us in which direction we can potentially go in the English education in our country.

We saw a glimpse of potential ownership of English by Japanese young learners. With the implementation of early English education into the curriculum of elementary schools, the change in their attitudes, attitudes more open to varieties of English, will be perceivable only if the curriculum encompassing and reflecting the realities of the world are underpinned in its construction. Learners of English in Japan will potentially be able to establish ownership of English, by respecting many varieties existing in each region in lieu of automatic accommodation to the native varieties in their minds. For that reason, it will be encouraged that many studies will be conducted to examine potentially changing attitudes of learners who undergo earlier English education without any bias toward our own or other varieties that are not akin to native varieties.

The establishment of the Department of World Englishes in Chukyo University in Nagoya has been encouraging but the reactions of students exposed to different varieties failed our expectations. Their "linguistic/cultural baggage" (Baynham, 2006, p. 396) formulated throughout their English learning experiences in the past may have served as a barrier when exposed to other

varieties. They may have been victimized by particular values and beliefs implicitly or explicitly through being exposed to textbooks packaged with ideology (Auerback, 1995) that is reflective of supremacy of native speakers. If an early exposure, an exposure before they enter universities were possible, such as in its early stages of students' learning, their attitudes might show dramatic transformation, deviating from its extreme in the continuum that does not reflect the realities of the world. It may award them with EIL, ELF perspectives, eventually leading to their establishing of potential ownership over English.

The retrospective interviews that followed were full of positive opinions concerning the potential implementation of teaching about WEs in the school context. Most participants showed favorable attitudes toward knowing about other varieties and the historical contexts that brought about the existence of varieties. Those who opposed the idea stated that learning native varieties should be the priority based on which they add some other varieties, indicating that they do not necessarily object to learning other varieties. These young learners are also considered as victims of historically fixed, monolithic, dichotomous practices of English teaching in our context, as we ourselves have been as learners of English. The following excerpt can illuminate the hope we have for paving the way for the better pedagogical practices in the future:

> For the world peace, it is important to value many regions around the world. It is also important to value what they speak. It requires so much effort if I want to speak as native speakers do. I believe it important to accept varieties. However, it's just that I have never had a chance to be exposed to these varieties. I feel that today's experience was refreshing in that I could hear many varieties. (Takeshi).

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We would like to express our sincerest appreciation for ongoing support, encouragement, and patience from our advisor, Dr. Higgins, who we hold in high regard, and to whom we feel greatly indebted. Without her support we would not have been able to complete the project. We would also like to express our gratitude to Dr. Ortega who gracefully extended her hands to us. Without her uncompromising encouragements, this paper would not have been possible. We further extend our appreciation for the feedbacks from our classmates in SLS 699. It has been such eye-opening experiences. Lastly, but not the least, we would like to recognize those who participated in our study. We felt enlightened at their positive comments about our studies and insightful perspectives expressed toward varieties of English.

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APPENDIX A

(Translation into English of the Japanese version)

1. Have you ever listened to this English?
2. Do you like this speaker's English? Why?
3. Do you think this speaker's English is easy, or difficult to understand? In addition, what kind of impression do you have?
4. Do you wish to have this speaker as your English teacher? Why?
5. Do you wish to sound like this speaker? Why?
6. Which country do you think they are from? Choose from the followings: Japan, Korea, China, US, UK, France, Australia, Russia, or Zimbabwe

APPENDIX B

(Translation into English of the questions in Japanese)

Follow-up Interview questions

1. What do you think of these English varieties?
2. Do you think these varieties of English are taught or should be taught in school?

APPENDIX C

Useful Insects

Many people do not like insects very much. We do everything we can to get rid of insects in our house and garden. But actually, some insects are useful to people. Today, insects are being used in many surprising ways. For example, insects are useful in medicine. Believe or not, maggots are now used regularly in hospitals. When a person gets a very bad injury on their body, the dead skin must be removed. Today doctors are using maggots to eat the dead skin around the injury. The doctors have found that maggots eat only the dead skin, so they make the injury very clean. (Adapted from Scales, Wennerstrom, Richard, & HuiWu, 2006).

APPENDIX D

Transcription Conventions

.	Falling intonation
,	Falling rising intonation
?	Rising intonation
:::::	Enlonged vowel
[ ]	overlap
=	Latched turn with no gap or overlap
(3.0)	3 seconds pause

Interlinear Gloss Abbreviation

Aux:	Auxiliary
Cop:	Various forms of copula verb be
DAT:	Dative
FP:	Final Particle
IP:	Interactional Particle
LK:	Linking nominal
LOC:	Locative
Neg:	Negative morpheme
NOM:	Norminalizer
O:	Object marker
PST:	Past tense morpheme
S:	Subject marker
Q:	Question marker
QT:	Quotative marker
Tag:	Tag-like expression
TM:	Topic marker