

Constructing Pedagogical Power Relationships: A Corpus Analysis of Lexicogrammatical Features of Lesson Plans

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Abstract

This paper analyzes how teachers of English in Japanese universities and their students are lexically and grammatically represented in a large corpus of published lesson plans in order to better understand how teachers construct the power dynamic between these students and teachers. Using corpus linguistics tools with a critical discourse analysis framework, I found that teachers and students were represented in significantly different ways: while “students” were the most lexically frequent item in the corpus, “teachers” were often represented in grammatical constructions such as passives and imperatives that caused them to be lexically elided from the text. These elisions (contradictorily) both hid and reinforced the teacher’s power. As a consequence, on the surface the corpus appears to be student-focused, but in fact it acts discursively to centralize teachers and naturalize teacher power in English language lessons.

Keywords: English language instruction, critical discourse analysis, lesson plans, classroom power relationships, identity

Even though the Japanese government does not require that tertiary institutions teach English classes (Nagatomo, 2012), it is nonetheless a compulsory subject at most Japanese universities (Agawa & Takeuchi, 2016; Poole, 2005). The lack of mandate, however, means that there is no standardization in what topics are taught or how they are taught, and, at least in my own experience, many of these choices are left to individual teachers. While there has been ample research looking holistically at education in Japan (from sociocultural and historical perspectives), at student interest or motivation, and at various teaching methodologies, the relative freedom in teaching practices indicates to me a need to look more closely at what teachers believe, how those beliefs shape their practices, and how practices and beliefs work in concert to produce and be produced by what teachers perceive “being a teacher” to mean—that is, what it means for them to identify as a teacher.

Teacher belief research dates back to the late 20th century, and was accompanied by a shift

in pedagogical research priorities. Prior to that time, research on teaching tended to view teachers as “black boxes” whose internal mental states were irrelevant since the true goal was to search for the best teaching techniques and materials. Teacher belief research, on the other hand, proceeds from the assumption that teachers are “active, intelligent professionals” whose beliefs, attitudes, and decision-making processes are a key component of successful teaching (Borko, Shavelson, & Stern, 1981, p. 451). Or, as Connelly, Clandinin, and He (1997) put it,

...teacher knowledge and knowing affects every aspect of the teaching act. It affects teachers’ relationships with students; teachers’ interpretations of subject matter and its importance in students’ lives; teachers’ treatment of ideas whether as fixed textbook givens or as matters of inquiry and reflection; teachers’ curriculum planning and evaluation of student progress; and so on. In short, it has only recently become commonplace to believe that what teachers know and how they express their knowledge is central to student learning. (p. 666)

Note that “knowledge” here encompasses all forms of knowledge teachers bring to bear on the act of teaching—not only subject matter knowledge but also personal knowledge, experiences, beliefs, morals, and more.

Concordant with a shift towards researching “teacher beliefs” (also called “teacher knowledge” and a variety of other terms) was an interest in “teacher identity.” Note that this is identity in a postmodern, performative sense—that is, identity not as something that people possess, but rather, as something that they perform through social interaction (Blommaert, 2005; Hall, 2000). Performative identity is a process of becoming, or as Hall (1985) says, “there is no essential unliterary ‘I’—only the fragmentary, contradictory subject I become” (p. 109). As with all identities, the identity of “teacher” is constantly subject to negotiation and alteration, and is influenced by knowledge systems both inside and outside the teaching experience (Beijjard, Verloop, & Vermunt, 2000). As Olsen (2008) says,

I view identity as a label, really, for the collection of influences and effects from immediate contexts, prior constructs of self, social positioning, and meaning systems (each itself a fluid influence and all together an ever-changing construct) that become intertwined inside the flow of activity as a teacher simultaneously reacts to and negotiates given contexts and human relationships at given moments. (p. 139)

Research on teacher identity can take a wide variety of approaches, including investigations of teacher training, analysis of teacher narratives, and classroom observations, since each provides insight into different aspects of both teacher identity and what that identity arises from.

In the specific context that this paper examines—teaching English at the postsecondary

level in Japan—there has been some, though not a lot, of research on teacher identity and teacher beliefs (most notably, see Matsuura, Chiba, & Hildebrandt, 2001; Nagatomo, 2011a, 2011b, 2011c, 2012; Simon-Maeda, 2004; Stewart, 2005). Most of this research has been done via direct inquiry of the teachers involved, especially through the analysis of teacher interviews, though Nagatomo (2011b) and Matsuura, Chiba, & Hildebrandt (2001) also used surveys, and Nagatomo (2011a) combined personal interviews and classroom observations. Narrative research is a valuable tool in a field like education/TESOL because it allows us to both directly examine what teachers (and others) say that they believe, as well as indirectly look at the assumptions that people make as they tell stories about themselves and their practices (Bell, 2002). By looking at the stories that the teachers in these research projects told alongside the stories that the researchers tell when attempting to find themes that exist between the narratives allows us to better understand who Japanese university teachers believe themselves to be and what they think is valuable in teaching.

Having said that, there are benefits to including other methods of inquiry when studying issues of identity. Ainsworth and Hardy (2004), while not speaking directly about teachers or education, argue that discourse analysis can help fill in a key gap in traditional studies of identity by allowing us to understand why certain attitudes about specific identities persist. Teacher beliefs are both conditioned by and reflected in teacher's professional discourse, ranging from the texts taught in teacher education courses, to academic scholarship, to casual conversations teachers have with one another. These various forms of professional discourse carry particular linguistic/discursive conventions. As Blommaert argues, one way of understanding identity is as “particular forms of semiotic potential, organized in a repertoire” (p. 207).

Thus, in this project, I look to expand previous research on Japanese teacher beliefs and identity via an examination of teachers' professional discourse. As described in detail below, I have focused on one specific type of professional discourse (published teacher lesson plans), looking for the ways that teachers represent not only teacher identity but also student identity. I am seeking to understand the semiotic repertoires available in this particular discourse in order to understand what that implies about the beliefs of the community of practice which uses this discourse.

Methodology

Before I explain the analytic techniques that I am using to understand the link between professional discourse and Japanese university language teacher identity, I want to first describe the specific source material I have analyzed, as these lesson plans constitute a very particular and somewhat unusual form of language teacher discourse. They are drawn from the journal *The Language Teacher*, a bimonthly publication of the Japan Association for Language Teaching (JALT). JALT is one of the largest professional organizations of language teachers

in Japan.¹ The majority of JALT members are male, and nearly two-thirds come from outside of Japan (Appleby, 2014). Furthermore, the organization is overwhelmingly focused on English education, despite being ostensibly about all “language teaching” in Japan. Additionally, the organization itself operates mostly in English: in *The Language Teacher*, only 5 out of the 126 major articles in the 2011-2016 time period were in Japanese—though all of the English articles were accompanied by a Japanese abstract—and, in my experience, JALT conference presentations and other events are almost always conducted in English.

The lesson plans are found in a section of *The Language Teacher* called “My Share,” which appears in almost all issues. The introduction to the section states that My Share submissions “should be up to 600 words² describing a successful technique or lesson plan you have used that can be replicated by readers.” The articles follow a fairly rigid pattern, always consisting of a Quick Guide listing key facts like preparation time and learner English level in bullet points, followed by Introduction, Preparation, Procedure and Conclusion sections.³

The reason I chose to look at these lesson plans is that the description above, along with a more evocative narrative included in the online guidelines (Japan Association for Language Teaching, n.d.), indicates that the intent of this section is to represent what the teacher-authors believe are good lessons that are potentially useful for other language teachers (especially those in Japan). As such, they provide a unique opportunity to indirectly see what teachers believe (or what they believe their potential readers believe) is valuable in language education.

The data for this project includes all of the My Share articles published between 2011 and 2016 that were 1) written by authors at Japanese institutions and 2) not designed exclusively for use with young (non-university) students. Of the 204 published articles in this time period, 174 met these criteria. I excluded the non-Japanese, non-university level articles to keep the resulting corpus grounded in a specific sociocultural context.

My broader project, of which the present paper represents but one facet, is to use a variety of approaches to analyze the My Share corpus to better understand how power and ideology operate in the Japanese university TESOL classroom and how those things are intertwined with teacher beliefs and the identities teachers ascribe to themselves and their students. For ideology, I draw on the work of Althusser, especially as interpreted by Hall (1985), who says that ideologies are “systems of representation—composed of concepts, ideas, myths, or images—in which men and women ‘live’ their imaginary relations to the real conditions of existence” (p. 103). In this conception, ideology is omnipresent in human interaction and in human institutions

1 As a point of reflexive self-disclosure, I have been a member of JALT for over six years and held “officer” roles in a local chapter and a special interest group.

2 Prior to 2015, the length was restricted to 700 words.

3 Approximately 35% of the articles contain one or more additional sections, such as “Extension” or “Alternative.” In addition, 54% of articles have unprinted appendices, accessible online, usually containing sample handouts or other materials associated with the lessons.

—it is not just a description of the formal beliefs of powerful governments and organizations. Similarly, power is also embedded in all human systems. As a base point, I start with van Dijk’s (2001) definition, where he says, “groups have (more or less) power if they are able to (more or less) control the acts and minds of (members of) other groups” (pp. 354-355). To this, I add also the issue of “control of self”—that is, another aspect of power is how much one is able or unable to exert control over one’s own actions.

Given my overall focus on power and ideology, I undertook this project with a critical discourse analysis (CDA) stance. CDA is multidisciplinary perspective on discourse related research with roots in linguistics, critical theory, sociology, and philosophy (Rogers & Schaenan, 2014). It has been described as a key part of a “linguistic turn” in social science (Hodge, 2012), and, conversely, as part of a post-modern, social-oriented turn in linguistics (Pennycook, 2010). As Wodak (2005) says, CDA is

...fundamentally concerned with analysing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language. In other words, CDA aims to investigate critically social inequality as it is expressed, signalled, constituted, legitimized and so on by language use (or in discourse). (p. 5)

CDA aims not to “understand” language/discourse as a solitary system, but rather to understand the interaction between social problems and discursive actions (Wodak & Meyer, 2016).

However, as van Dijk (2013) points out, CDA is not a method for doing linguistic or social research, but, rather, “a state of mind, an attitude, a way of dissenting, and many more things, but not an explicit method for the description of the structures or strategies of text and talk” (para. 1). As such, I needed a specific set of tools to help me understand the power dynamics and identity issues at play in these articles. My choice was conditioned in large part by the size of the corpus. The 174 included lessons plans contained just under 100,000 words (excluding the article titles, section titles, Quick Guide section, and a few of the very long example texts included in some of the articles). At such a size, it was not practical to look at every lexicogrammatical choice, pedagogical style, or other feature of the texts. Thus, I chose to utilize corpus linguistics tools—that is, specialized software used to analyze large bodies of texts called corpora—to assist in my analysis. My approach is heavily influenced by the techniques laid out by Paul Baker (2008) in *Using Corpora in Discourse Analysis*. Baker provides both an argument and a set of methods for merging computational analysis with more traditional discourse analysis. Baker recommends using a cyclical approach, moving between computational analysis and close textual analysis (in my case, the techniques used by CD analysts such as Fairclough (2003) and van Dijk (2001)). Baker points out that only using computational analysis can lead to decontextualized claims that don’t connect the linguistic features found by the software to

either the meaning of the texts or the social situations in which they act. Using only textual analysis, on the other hand, can lead to criticisms that the researcher has cherry picked either specific examples or linguistic features to prove a pre-existing claim. Using the two in tandem allows a researcher such as myself to make a more persuasive argument for their research findings, by both demonstrating broad patterns that occur across the corpus in question and also drilling down to specific examples to show how those particular linguistic features work in context.

For Baker and myself, this approach often means starting with the corpus analysis software to look for broad trends about the frequency or usage of a particular language feature, and then looking to specific examples of that usage to understand what discursive work those features are doing in the text. This often triggers further questions, which may lead either to more detailed work or back to holistic corpus inquiries. This iterative process can occur repeatedly and ends only when the researcher feels they have developed a good enough understanding of the particular features in question to be able to make arguments about them. Unlike more traditional positivist research paradigms, that means that this kind of research does not have a rigid, pre-planned set of methods or specific, falsifiable research questions that can be objectively answered.

The final methodological foundation that I rest this analysis on comes from Hodge (2012), who borrows the idea of “fractals” from mathematics to help approach highly complex, multiscale meaning making. As an example, Hodge creates a composite text of the titles of the presentations given at a specific CDA conference. Hodge analyzes that composite text via a computer generated image of semantic clusters found in his corpus. He says,

The rationale was the fractally-informed hypothesis that each title would be the presenter’s own micro-version of their fuller text, and that these 88 speakers, the CADAAD community attending the conference, would have a fractal (self-similar but not identical) relationship to the larger CDA community. (p. 6-7).

In part Hodge’s analysis is predicated upon these texts (the presentations/the presentation titles) being an intentional interaction between the authors and the conference themes. My approach to the My Share corpus is similar: the individual authors certainly have differing views on what constitutes ideal teaching and on who teachers and students are or should be. At the same time, since the authors must have desired to successfully be published, they must have shaped their articles to meet the expectations of who they presume their readers to be. The My Share editors must similarly make decisions about what they believe will be valuable for readers, and thus their beliefs about identity and ideology must also have an effect on the final published texts. As such, taken collectively, this corpus represents an image of what “the field” (language teachers in Japan) considers to be good and noteworthy teaching activities.

The “similar but not identical” approach means that while I cannot make absolute claims about the beliefs of all university English teachers in Japan, I can conclude that there are likely to be similarities between what the imaginary composite “My Share Author-Editor”⁴ thinks and the field as a whole.

As mentioned above, this paper represents but one aspect of a larger project seeking to understand the consequences of this corpus via many different lenses. In the present article, I will focus on a specific lexicogrammatical issue closely linked to teacher and student identity—a determination of how the author-editors reference teachers and students in the texts. Prior to beginning this analysis, I had the following three questions that I wanted to answer:

1. How are teachers and students represented in the texts? That is, what words and grammatical structures are used to identify these agents and the actions they take?
2. Are the use of certain forms linked to particular power relationships or identity issues?
3. Are there systemic differences between the way students and teachers are represented in this corpus? If so, what do those differences imply about the power relationships between the two and the author-editors’ beliefs about teaching?

However, as discussed above, I proceeded with the research iteratively, and thus took some sidetracks when I felt that they would help me better understand the corpus. The following results do not represent a chronological description of my research actions, but rather distill my findings into a narrative that I hope better explains my ultimate argument about how identity and power are linked up to the variety of ways that the author-editors represent teachers and students.

Results

Unsurprisingly, both teachers and students are represented in the corpus extremely frequently, since the majority of the “action” in the lessons occurs either in the classroom or in the teachers’ room in preparation for the lesson. I especially focused on cases where the teacher or student is the agent of an action, process, or state in the text—that is, in cases where the teacher or student is doing something. Through working through the corpus, I found that there are six main ways that the agents of [students] and [teachers] (that is, the actual people doing things in these theoretical lessons, not the words *student* and *teacher*) are represented in the texts.⁵ The following list summarizes these six ways and how they are most often used.

4 I use “author-editor” as a shorthand for the complex authorial relationship involved in having an article published in a professional, reviewed journal.

5 Throughout the rest of this text, I use square brackets ([student] and [teacher]) to refer to the underlying semantic concept of a teacher or student, regardless of what lexicogrammatical signifier is used to represent them. Outside of quotations, I use italics (*student* and *teacher*) to refer specifically to those words as lexical items, though I treat singular, plural, and possessive forms as equivalent (*student* = “student”

1. Regular nouns such as *teacher*, *instructor*, *student*, *pair*, etc. that explicitly refer to a [teacher], [student], or group of one of those agents. This pattern is used for both teachers and students, and examples include sentences such as “The teacher reads one of the one-sentence story summaries from that group aloud to the class” and “Students take 5 minutes to practice their presentation.”
2. Third person pronouns—usually *they*, but sometimes *he/she* or similar. As shown below in Table 2, *they* almost always refers to students, as in the sentences, “They then hand off their piece of chalk to the next student on their team, and so on until each letter is used.”
3. The first person singular pronoun *I*.⁶ When referring to teachers, these always refer to actions of the author. An example is, “I use an iPod and just plug it into the external speakers available in the classroom.” These sentences are often used to provide specific examples of more general activities. *I* is very rarely used for students, and only in reported speech, as in “Listeners must give feedback, for example, ‘I can’t hear you’ or ‘One more time’.”
4. The second person pronoun *you*. As with *I*, this is used almost exclusively for teachers—in this case, referring to the reader of the article, as in “You may wish to spend some class time explaining how to use the IPA guide you choose.” The few occasions where *you* refers to students are in reported speech, as in “Explain that everyone should write questions on the blank game board relating to what they have been learning in class; for example, in food themed units they may write: What’s your favourite food? or What did you have for breakfast?”
5. Passive mood clauses in which context makes it clear whether the missing agent is a [teacher] or [student]. Examples include, “After calculating scores, grades can be distributed in a subsequent lesson” (where the [teacher] is the one who can distribute the grades) and “This is handed in the following week together with the marked homework ” (where [students] are the ones who are “handing in” an assignment). The passive sentences in this corpus more frequently have [teachers] as agents than [students].
6. Use sentences with no subject—that is, sentences in the imperative mood (what might be called “commands”), such as “Put students into groups of two or three.” In this pattern, the [teacher] is always the agent, since any command issued by the author is being issued to the reader, who is presumably a teacher.

+ “students” + “student’s” + “students’”). Inside of quotations I underline words or phrases (“The teacher gives the paper...”) that refer to the term, sememe, or grammatical structure that I am discussing.

6 The first person plural *we* is used occasionally, and can refer either to the collective idea of all language teachers, or to the collective of “I (author) and my students.”

The following sections provide more detailed analyses of each of these methods of representation, along with considerations about the implications for teacher/student identity and their power relationships.

Direct Reference

I begin by looking at cases where the [teacher] and [student] agents are referred to directly with nouns (not pronouns). I will start with the term *student*, because it was my initial impression that this term is unusually frequent in this corpus that triggered this entire investigation. Out of the almost 100,000 words in this corpus, nearly 3000 of them are the word *student*, making this the third most frequent word in the corpus. In order to understand whether a particular frequency is unusual compared to general English usage, it is necessary to compare the results with those from reference corpora (Mautner, 2016). These are very large corpora, usually drawn from a wide variety of sources, that can be said to represent the language as a whole. Table 1 below provides a comparison between the top 20 most frequent words in my corpus and three widely used reference corpora. The My Share data was compiled using Laurence Anthony's software called AntConc (Anthony, 2014) and the data on the three reference corpora was compiled with the online corpus search tools found at the corpus.byu.edu website (Davies, n. d.).

While it is unsurprising that a key term like *student* appears more frequently in a specialized corpus than in a general corpus (BNC and COCA are both drawn from a wide variety of spoken and written sources, casual and formal, across many different media and domains), just how frequently it appears points to the term being truly special in this corpus. Note that *student* is not just the most frequent noun in this corpus, it is, in fact, the only noun that appears in the top twenty list in any of the corpora. In fact, the first noun to appear on each of the other corpora is *time*, appearing at rank 79 on the BNC (frequency = 15), rank 52 on the COCA (frequency = 17), and rank 48 on the Academic COCA (frequency = 15). That makes *student* 15 to 17 times more frequent in the My Share corpus than any noun in the reference corpora. Furthermore, *student* is about 4.5 times more frequent than the second most frequent noun in the My Share corpus, *class* (frequency = 60).

Noting that *student* is the only noun to appear in the top 20 brings us to an important point. In general, frequency searches are dominated by function words like determiners and prepositions, since these words are often necessary for the construction of grammatically correct English sentences. The fact that *student* is more frequent than all but two function words in the My Share corpus points to how central this word is here. Moving forward, however, I will be looking at analyses of the corpus that ignore function words, a common practice for discourse-focused corpus research (Baker, 2008). As Mautner (2016) writes, "Such 'function' words, devoid of separate meaning as they are, tend not to be as interesting to discourse analysts as to grammarians, and it is generally safe in a CDA setting to ignore them..." (p. 159). As such, the

Table 1

Most Frequent Words in the My Share Corpus Compared to Three Reference Corpora

Rank	My Share		BNC ^a		COCA ^b		COCA—Academic ^c	
	Word	Freq. ^d	Word	Freq. ^d	Word	Freq. ^d	Word	Freq. ^d
1	the	630	the	618	the	490	the	594
2	to	361	of	294	be	279	of	338
3	student	293	and	268	and	239	be	288
4	and	289	a	216	of	230	and	274
5	a	274	in	182	a	225	a	226
6	of	236	to	163	in	155	in	197
7	in	175	it	109	to	141	to	140
8	for	136	is	100	have	96	to	101
9	their	122	to	93	to	86	that	89
10	is	103	was	92	it	86	for	85
11	on	95	I	89	I	88	have	82
12	or	90	for	84	that	76	with	65
13	that	84	that	73	for	73	it	56
14	they	83	you	70	you	68	on	55
15	this	81	he	68	he	65	by	50
16	as	81	be	66	with	60	this	43
17	have	80	with	66	on	55	or	42
18	with	78	on	65	do	57	from	42
19	be	76	by	51	say	43	not	40
20	can	72	at	48	this	42	their	34

Notes. ^a The British National Corpus ^b The Corpus of Contemporary American English

^c A selection of academic texts from the Corpus of Contemporary American English

^d All frequencies are listed as number of occurrences per 10,000 words in the respective corpus.

frequency counts for the rest of this paper were derived using Koichi Higuchi's KH Coder since it ignores function words in all calculations (Higuchi, 2015). Due to slight differences in the way the two software programs count words, *student* has the slightly higher frequency count of 297 from KH Coder, and is the most frequent counted lexical unit.

The extraordinarily high frequency of the word *student* actually undervalues how frequently [students] are referred to in the corpus. Three other nouns which are roughly equivalent to student occur with a non-negligible frequency: *learner*, *partner*, and *classmate*, with frequencies of 14.5, 11.8, and 5.7 respectively. There are other terms used in the corpus that sometimes refer to specific roles that students take in the activity, such as *speaker*, *listener*, and *teammate*. All of these have frequencies below 5, and sometimes those words do not refer to [students] (for example, several activities to the *speaker* in a video that students watch). As such, those terms are not collected into the [student] sememe in discussions below.

Additionally, over 81% of the activities contain pair or group work. As such, it is also necessary to consider words related to these groups. The three most common are *group*, *pair*, and *team*, with frequencies of 57, 18, and 13, respectively.⁷ Lastly, although *class* sometimes refers to the students as a collective, at other times it refers to the lesson; in some cases, it is unclear exactly what *class* refers to, and whether or not it refers to just the students or to the students and teacher combined. Given this lack of clarity, I chose to not consider *class* to be analogous to *student* for this analysis. When all of the aforementioned terms are combined, they collectively appear with a frequency of 387. That is, a full 3.9% of the words in this corpus are nouns referring to [students] or groups of students.

Teacher, on the other hand, is much less common with a frequency of 30, and is the 21st most frequent word. The only other noun used to refer to the [teacher] is *instructor*, and that has a frequency of only 3.7. [Teachers], as we will see below, do appear more often than this frequency count would imply, but in special grammatical constructions where the term *teacher* itself is not used directly.

Pronouns

In addition to the nouns discussed above, [teachers] and [students] are also referred to using pronouns. In the reference corpora, pronouns can occur quite frequently, but, other than *I* refer to a highly varied number of things. In order to better understand the pronouns in the My Share corpus, all pronouns⁸ were hand-checked to determine their antecedent. While there are software tools that can perform what is called “anaphora resolution,”⁹ I was concerned about accuracy, especially given the specialized nature of this corpus. As such, I chose to hand-check all of the pronouns in the corpus. I then grouped the antecedents into five semantic categories: Student(s), Groups of students (such as [teams]), Teacher(s) (referring to either the author, as in the use of *I*, or to a generic language teacher), Reader (always through the use of *you*), and Other (non-teacher/student). The results are shown in Table 2.

Over 92% of the pronouns had [teachers] or [students] as their antecedent. When all of the pronouns and various terms are combined, [student] has a frequency of 648 and is the most frequent “term”, while [teacher] has a frequency of 123 and is the third most frequent “term.” Overall this means that nearly 8% of the tokens in this corpus refer to one of our two main agents. To be fair, this combination of terms starts to lose a little bit of explanatory power, since certainly it is possible to combine other terms that have similar meanings and group them

7 These counts are only for cases where the terms in question are used as nouns. KH Coder distinguishes part of speech with the Stanford POS tagger, which is reported to have an accuracy of about 97% (Stanford NLP Group, n.d.). In some cases I hand corrected errors that I noticed to increase accuracy.

8 Other than *it*, since *it* never refers to a person in these articles.

9 Anaphora resolution also includes resolving definite noun phrases, and one-anaphora (Mitkov, 1999), though those were not relevant to this project.

Table 2

Antecedents for Pronouns in the My Share Corpus

Pronoun	Student	Groups of students	Teacher	Reader	Other
I	28	0	235	0	10
me	9	0	23	0	3
my	22	0	80	0	0
myself	0	0	3	0	0
you	79	0	15	351	25
your	31	0	0	144	8
yourself	0	0	0	14	1
“he or she” ^a	12	0	0	0	1
“he” ^b	3	0	1	0	7
“she” ^b	3	0	0	0	6
“him or her” ^b	3	0	0	0	0
“him” ^b	0	0	0	0	2
“her” ^{b, d}	0	0	0	0	3
“his or her” ^e	11	0	0	0	2
“his” ^{b, f}	5	0	1	0	6
“her” ^{b, f}	2	0	1	0	5
we ^g	1	5	6	13	17
us ^g	1	0	1	2	5
our ^g	0	3	7	7	4
they	731	31	10	0	50
them	366	8	0	0	122
their	1144	29	14	0	18
themselves	42	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	2496	76	397	531	295

Notes. ^a Also includes *he/she* and *s/he*. ^b Alone (not part of a hybrid phrase like *he/she*, etc.)

^c Also includes *him/her*. ^d Object pronoun. ^e Also includes *his/her*. ^f Possessive pronoun.

^g For second person plurals, instances referring to a combined group of teachers and students were counted as both “Groups of Students” and “Teacher”, cases where the author(s) is speaking about themselves and their colleagues were categorized as “Teacher”, and references to the collective idea of all teachers were counted as “Reader.”

into collective sememes. Additionally, there are slightly different connotations between the terms *student*, *learner*, *group*, etc. Nonetheless, I am fairly confident in saying that [student] and [teacher] dominate the lexis of this corpus, and that [students] occur lexically at nearly five times the rate of [teachers]. However, as we shall see in the next two sections, [teachers] are not as uncommon as these frequency counts might suggest, since [teachers] as agents are often

referred to by grammatical means that omit them lexically.

Passive Voice

To identify the passive clauses in the text, I used the “Passive Voice Detector” found at <https://datayze.com/passive-voice-detector.php>. Automated passive sentence detectors such as this one are not fully accurate, since they rely primarily on looking for simple textual patterns (such as *be-verb + past participle*). In order to both eliminate false positives and determine the agents of the sentences (usually omitted, though occasionally present in *by* clauses), I hand-checked each result. In most cases, the omitted agent is clear from context, though 16 sentences had ambiguous agents; those were coded as having “other” (non-teacher, non-student) agents.

Passive forms appear somewhat regularly in the corpus—out of 5609 sentences total, there are 574 passive sentences, approximately 10% of the total. In 49 passive clauses the omitted agent is the author, in 272 clauses a [teacher] other than the author (usually, the reader) is the omitted agent, in 149 clauses a [student] is the omitted agent, and in 130 clauses the omitted agent is some other actor.¹⁰ The fact that there are nearly twice as many instances of teachers-as-agent as there are of student-as-agent is potentially telling, given that CD analysts often argue that passives can be used as a way of hiding agency, possibly obscuring or mystifying power relationships (Fairclough, 2003; Van Dijk 2001), a claim which seems to have some basis in the cognitive processes underlying language use (Hart, 2011). In order to determine if such mystification is occurring in this corpus (and what the ideological consequences of that may be), I undertook a more detailed analysis of these sentences.

The first thing I observed was these passive verbs do not normally occur alone. Rather, they are accompanied by an auxiliary verb a majority of the time—77% of the teacher-agent passives, 54% of the student-agent passives, and 63% of the combined total co-occur with an auxiliary verb. A detailed breakdown is shown in Table 3.

Of particular note are the auxiliary verbs *can*, *could*, and *may*, since semantically they can express similar concepts. Combined, these auxiliary verbs are used in 144 (77%) of the teacher-agent passives, 54 (68%) of the student-agents passives with auxiliaries, and 198 (74%) of the two combined. The two main ways these terms are used are to provide an option and to state what is possible. An example of the former is, “The task itself is fully adaptable and can be targeted for specific learner needs, interests, or teaching point,” while an example of the latter is “This set of activities can be used to enhance students’ use of hesitation devices (e.g., um, ah) and pause fillers (e.g., like, you know).” Thus, the first construction emphasizes choice on the part of the omitted agent, while the second one simply states a fact about the lesson, language teaching, etc.

¹⁰ Note that the sum of the three types of passive clauses is greater than the total number of sentences since some sentences had more than one passive verb in them.

Table 3
Frequency of Auxiliary Verbs Used in Passive Sentences.

Auxiliary	Teacher-as-agent (excluding author-teachers)		Student-as-agent		Total	
	Occurrences	Percentage of teacher passives	Occurrences	Percentage of student passives	Occurrences	Percentage of teacher + student passives
be	4	1%	3	2%	7	2%
can ^a	112	41%	36	24%	148	35%
could	27	10%	10	7%	37	9%
have	4	1%	8	5%	12	3%
may	5	2%	8	5%	13	3%
might	1	<1%	0	0%	1	0%
must	3	1%	3	2%	6	1%
should ^a	15	6%	10	7%	25	6%
will	14	5%	1	1%	15	4%
would	1	<1%	1	1%	2	0%
TOTAL	186	68%	80	54%	266	63%

Note: ^a There is one instance of the phrase “can and should,” in the teacher-as-agent section which I coded under “should” because the focus seemed to be on what ought to be done, not what it is possible to do.

For teacher-agent passives, there are 83 sentences of the first type, and 61 sentences of the second type—a 58:42 ratio. For student-agent passives, there are 32 of the first type and 22 of the second—a 59:41 ratio. Thus, at first glance, it might appear that [teachers] and [students] are being offered “choice” in these passive constructions at an approximately equal rate. However, a closer examination of the specific instances shows a fundamental difference. All of the *can/could/may* sentences that offer choices in the teacher-agent sentences offer those choices to the [teacher]. Many of these choices are for ways that the [teacher] can alter the lesson, using verbs such as *adapt*, *adjust*, *change*, and *extend*. In fact, the second most frequently used passive verb for teachers is *adapt*. For sentences where [students] are agents, however, this one-to-one ratio is not at all the case. Consider the following sentences:

- (1) Talk through the guide, explaining that it can be used as a framework to construct sentences, but that they can also add their own ideas and opinions.
- (2) Games can be played for nine innings, but two to three innings may be enough for many classes.

In both sentences, the students are the agents—in (1), students are the ones who will or won't

use the guide, and in (2), students are the ones who will play the game for a variable number of “innings.” However, in (1), the students are the ones who will make the decision—each individual student or group will decide to what extent they want to rely on the guide or implement their own ideas, while in (2), it is the teacher who will decide how many innings will be played. When this additional layer of analysis is added, the ratio significantly changes. Only 7 of the student-agent sentences using *can/could/may* involve choices that the students can make, while 25 of the sentences contain choices available to teachers. This means the “student choice” ratio is more accurately described as 12:88. In other words, we can say that the *can/could/may* + *passive* formation is hiding either the opportunity for choice (which might be equated, in part to power) held by teachers, or that the lack of choice for students.

Extending this question of ability to exercise power to the rest of the passive sentences, a similar pattern emerges. There are 24 verbs which are used three or more times among the teacher-agent passive sentences (I used three as the lower limit since it represents approximately 1% of the total number of teacher-agent passive sentences). Of those, *assign* (6 occurrences), *expect* (6), *require* (5), *allow* (4), *mark* (4), *encourage* (3), and *grade* (3), which together account for 13% of all teacher-agent passive sentences, indicate a strong hierarchical relationship, with the teacher able to compel, judge, and grant permission (or refusal) to students. The only passive verbs constructions that even begin to approach any sort of power exercise by students occur only a single time each, such as *decide* in “Once the storyline is decided on, pairs can then start putting words on paper with more assurance of the content” and *teach* in “All units are then taught in the order in which they are presented in the text.” The latter is particularly noteworthy, since it occurs in one of only two lessons where students take on the role of “teacher”—that is, where there is a temporary, partial reversal in power relationship between the student and teacher. As this is one of the rare cases where we see students being given the power to make choices, we can see how naturalized it is that teachers are the nearly sole arbiters of decision making in this corpus.

Imperative Mood

The last way that teachers can be represented is via deleted subjects in imperative sentences (as previously mentioned, this pattern is used only for teachers). Of the approximately 5609 sentences in the whole corpus,¹¹ 2251 are written in imperative mood, or about 40%. These sentences occur primarily in the Procedure and Preparation sections—and their frequent

11 This number represents my best estimate using counts provided by the Microsoft Excel and Word sentence counting tools, corrected to exclude embedded sentences and extended example sentences (samples of what students or teachers might or should say in a particular activity), since those stand outside of the teacher-directed speech constituting the bulk of the articles; in addition many authors place such extended examples into the appendices available in separate pdfs online. As a comparison, KH Coder indicates that there are 8040 sentences in the entire corpus, though the KH Coder count is incorrectly inflated in part because it does not distinguish between a sentence-ending period and a one used in an abbreviation.

occurrence there is not by chance. As discussed above, potential authors are asked to follow the instructions in the My Share “Guidelines” page found online. One part of the guidelines states that the articles “must…consist of an introduction (i.e., activity overview) followed by subsections labeled Preparation and Procedure, written in the imperative mood (i.e., recipe style) and a Conclusion” (JALT, n.d.). However, this requirement seems to apply primarily to the first sentence of each step, since 82% of all first sentences per step are in imperative form, while only 60% of the totality of sentences in this section are in imperative form. Furthermore, the use of non-imperative sentences is almost three times more common in the Procedure section than in the Preparation section. Finally, note that there are more than 2251 imperative verbs, since 254 of the imperative mood sentences contain two imperative verbs, and an additional 12 contained three imperative verbs.

So, the use of the imperative mood is requested for the Preparation and Procedure sections in the guideline, but the editors must not mandate it given the significant number of sentences in these sections not using imperatives. Also, note that there is no reason intrinsic to the genre requiring these sections to be in “recipe style”—it would be possible to write the articles entirely without using imperative mood. As evidence of this, Table 4 contains several pairs of sentences from different activities in the corpus, with one sentence using the imperative form and one not, where the two sentences describe similar actions; while these pairings were of course specifically curated by me for their similarity, the fact that such similar sentences exist within the corpus helps demonstrate that imperative form is an editorial choice, not a necessity. While the “choice” to use imperatives resides primarily with the editors, it is nonetheless a choice and one that carries consequences in terms of the roles that are assigned to teachers and students and the power relationship between them.

Table 4

Similar Sentences in the My Share Corpus in Imperative and Non-imperative Forms

Imperative example	Non-imperative example
After showing the video, have students form pairs and summarize the video while referring to their notes.	Students get into groups of two or three and exchange notebooks.
To decide which team bats first, have the two captains do <i>janken</i> ¹² or a coin toss.	As a substitute for dice, they play rock-paper-scissors.
Have students search Google and explore how to find English songs and their lyrics.	Students must find and print an audio script from the Internet.

¹² The Japanese word for Rock-Paper-Scissors.

The five verbs most frequently used in imperative form are *have*, *ask*, *give*, *tell*, and *explain*. I will begin with the last two, as they are often used with a common meaning of the [teacher] giving information to [students], as in the sentences, “At this point, explain any unfamiliar words in the phrases in the squares” and “Tell the students the verb suffix -ed is pronounced t with verbs that end in voiceless sounds and as d in verbs ending in voiced sounds (including vowels).” While these imply a higher status position for [teachers], since it is the [teachers] who have knowledge while the [students] lack it, there are other uses of these verbs that more explicitly invoke [teacher] authority. Many of the imperative sentences using these verbs instruct the reader to give a command to the [students]. Some of these sentences are unambiguously commands. For *tell*, the commands are often constructed with infinitives, as in the sentence, “Tell them to be careful to choose pictures that are suitably large enough to fill a whole slide” (where “them” refers to [students]). For *explain*, sentences indicating student-directed commands are often followed by *must* or *need* to, as in, “Explain that they must do exactly as you say” and “Explain that when preparing students need to think of ways to move smoothly between stories.” In addition, there are a number of sentences where what the [teacher] is telling or explaining isn’t quite a command, but still clearly indicates that the [teacher] is in control and defining what students may or may not do; these often use other auxiliary verbs such as *can*, *may*, or *will*, as in “Explain that students will use their own audio scripts to create a similar exercise” and “Tell students that they will transcribe the narrative in full.” In total, for *tell*, 48% of the sentences are explicit student-directed commands, 25% are implicit student-directed commands, and 27% are neutral; for *explain*, 18% are clear commands, 32% are implied commands, and 50% are neutral. Thus, a majority of these sentences involve a significant power differential between [teacher] and [student], but not necessarily in immediately obvious ways.

Like *tell* and *explain*, *give* imperatives sometimes indicate a power differential between [students] and [teachers], though less frequently and less stridently. There are 128 instances of imperative sentences using *give*, of which 125 take [students] as the indirect object. Table 5 categorizes these sentences by the direct object being given to the [student] by the [teacher]. Of those, “physical object” and “information” are the closest to neutral, though the nature of the objects—handouts, question cards, etc.—often imply the [teacher]’s higher status, since the things which [teachers] tend to give are objects that control what students can do or serve as examples of what they should do. In the case of knowledge, and, as with *tell* and *explain*, [teachers] as givers of knowledge implies a lack of knowledge on the part of the [students]. The cases where [teachers] “give” time also establish the [teacher]’s control over the classroom, since it means that the [teacher] is determining how long an activity should take, rather than allowing [students] the flexibility to conduct the activity as long as they need in order to succeed at the task and/or learn the required language skills. “Commands,” “feedback,” and “examples,” similarly imply [teachers] hold a higher status than [students].

Table 5
Imperative Sentences Using Give Categorized By Direct Object

Direct Object	Occurrences	Example
physical object	62	Give students an overview sheet of the next two days.
information	22	Give some pointers on making presentations.
time	19	Give the students a few minutes to prepare their own answers to the questions.
feedback	7	Give your own comments and criticisms.
command	6	Give students this assignment: Each student will give an introduction to personal hobbies or interests in English.
example	4	Give an example demonstration with a poster (Appendix G) about America.
opportunity	3	Give the other teams the opportunity to participate.
points	1	To make it more competitive, give the group that successfully guesses your occupation bonus points.

In order to better understand the particular way that *give* operates in teacher agent imperatives, I sought a comparison to sentences in which [student] is the agent of *give*. I should note that while I am fairly confident that I've found all of the teacher agent *give* imperatives (since most imperatives can be located by looking to the first word of a sentence, and then carefully checking those sentences that start with adverbial phrases and thus delay the imperative mood verb), I am less confident that I've located all of the sentences where [students] are the agent of *give*, since said sentences can use a various terms to refer to the [student] as well as a wide variety of constructions. The method I used, chosen as a compromise between completeness and efficiency, was to find all sentences in the anaphora-resolved corpus¹³ where *give* occurred within 5 words to the right of *student*, *group*, *learner*, *team*, *pair*, or *partner*, since this is the most likely way for one of those nouns to be the subject of the verb *give* (and I already knew from the analysis of passives that [students] are never the agent of a passive *give*). This produced many false positives, which I corrected by hand-checking, but there was no practical way to fix undercounting issues, such as if a long modifying phrase sits between the subject and verb. The count as best as I could determine for [students] giving things is shown in Table 6.

¹³ I created a partially anaphora-resolved version of the corpus by substituting the antecedent for each pronoun that represented a [student] or [teacher].

Table 6

Sentences with the Verb Give and the Subject [student], Categorized by Direct Object

Direct Object	Occurrences	Example
presentation	10	Finally, have individual students expand upon Step 4 of the activity by having them give a short spoken presentation (under 2 minutes) in the following class.
opinion ^a	8	After all the videos are shown, students mingle with their classmates and give feedback.
answer	7	Students who cannot give decent responses remain in the circle until they can.
information ^b	4	Have students give each other a brief oral summary of their scripts.
thing	2	When students have finished reading their scripts aloud, have them give the scripts they have marked back to their partners, and discuss ways to reword difficult expressions.
other	2	Rather, they should give themselves a pen name, a common practice in senryu writing.
hint	1	If students have trouble, other classmates can assist them by giving them hints.
instructions	1	Ask students to give their partners similar instructions, the more challenging the better.
permission	1	Collect the poems at the end of the class for correction, and then return them the following lesson (with comments!), reading them aloud if students give permission to do so.

Notes. ^a Includes general opinions (3), peer feedback (4), and feedback to the teacher (1).

^b Any information not included in another category.

There are only three sentences in the imperative mood in which [students] have true, full, agency independent of the [teacher]—the *permission* sentence, where they can freely choose whether or not to allow the [teacher] to read aloud something they have written (though not whether or not the [teacher] can read it privately); the *hint* sentence, where [students] can choose to help their teammates (although the [teacher] incentivizes the students to do so via a reward given to the winning team); and one of the feedback sentences, in which [students] give *feedback* to the [teacher] about the class (the rest of the feedback sentences are about giving peer feedback). On the opposite end of the spectrum of agency, the answer sentences demonstrate the least amount of [student] power, since they are being compelled to *answer* the [teacher]'s questions. The rest fall in the middle—for example, the contents of presentations are often mostly under the control of the [students], though the act of having to give the presentation in groups or in front of the class is always a requirement of the course, and the [teachers] usually restrict the topics and structure of those presentations. So while the majority of the imperative sentences using *give* indicate [teacher] authority and agency, a small minority of the [student]

sentences indicate the students having a similar level of agency.

Like the previous three verbs, *ask* is used to express several different meanings, although two predominate. Of the 159 occurrences of *ask* in imperative sentences, only 44 (28%) use *ask* in the sense of “request the answer to a question,” as in sentences like “Ask students if they have ever had an interview before.” Outside of 3 special cases, the remaining sentences (112, 70%) use *ask* with an infinitive, thus making it yet another command to students, as in “Then, ask the student who first told this story to stand up and tell the original version.” In other words, this imperative form again positions the [teacher] as the source of orders, the one who decides what must be done.

This brings us to the most common verb used in imperative form: *have*. With 287 occurrences, it is nearly twice as frequent as the second-placed *ask*. Nearly 13% of all imperative sentences use this word, or over 5% of all sentences throughout the corpus. Even during my initial readings of this corpus, before I started the quantitative analysis described in this paper, the “Have students do something” pattern stood out as being ubiquitous in these articles.

Unlike the second through fifth most frequent imperative verbs which had multiple uses, nearly all instance of *have* share the same purpose: to tell the readers to give the [students] an order. 97% of the *have*-imperatives take *student* (or associated words like *group*, *pair*, etc.) as their direct object. The semantic pattern of “(omitted [teacher]) has [students] do something” represents nearly complete teacher power in the classroom. Interestingly, the *have*-imperatives differ from the passive sentences with teachers as agents and the indirect commands discussed above using *tell* and *explain*, both of which I noted tend to obscure teacher power. *Have*-imperatives, on the other hand, seem to highlight their power. Even though the [teacher] is unspoken, it is clear from context that it is the reader—that is, the teacher who will potentially use these activities in their classes—who is issuing a command to students. The fact that the lessons often proceed through a series of such commands implies that students are not only obliged to follow them, but that they, in fact, will—very rarely do the articles include any discussion of how to either encourage or manage student resistance.

Discussion

It is unsurprising that teachers and students play such an important role in this corpus. After all, in most cases, these are the only two types of people physically present in language classrooms. However, part of the point of discourse analysis is to explicitly call attention to things which are “unsurprising” (i.e., naturalized). One of the tools that Gee (2014) specifically recommends that discourse analysts apply is the “Making Strange Tool,” wherein the researcher attempts to imagine what might be strange to a true “outsider.” Thinking of the corpus from this perspective, we might consider it odd that even though the ostensible goal of language education is to help students communicate with others—and in the case of English language

learning, with speakers of the world's most widely used language—the actual lessons themselves seem to be cut off from that outside world and primarily turn inwards upon themselves.¹⁴

Even if we accept that these two actors should play an outsized role in this genre, it is hard to see just how substantial that role is until we compare the most frequent words in the My Share corpus and the three reference corpora, as shown in Table 1. This analysis demonstrates how extremely unusual this focus on a single word—*student*—is. Not only is *student* more frequent than in the reference corpora, but it is the only noun to appear in any of the top twenty lists—in fact, it occurs more than 15 times more frequently than any noun in the reference corpora, and about 4.5 times more frequently than the second most frequent noun in this corpus, *class*, which as I noted above has several different meanings. The high frequency of the word *student* itself tells only part of the picture—once pronouns and semantically similar words like *pair* and *learner* are included, the [student] sememe becomes the single most frequent item in the text.

KH Coder offers a tool called a co-occurrence network that can help us visualize how the high frequency words in a corpus are related. These graphs place the most frequent words into a network, where words that frequently co-occur are linked together, and groups of words that together form distinct sets are grouped into neighborhoods. The researcher can define various traits of the network, such as whether to measure co-occurrence at the sentence, paragraph, or text level, as well as setting thresholds for various traits such as the minimum number of co-occurrences needed to result in a connection in the graph. Figure 1 displays a co-occurrence network for the anaphora-resolved corpus, where co-occurrence here specifically means occurring in the same sentence. As we can see, *student* sits at the clear center of the largest network of terms, and has direct connections to 11 other terms (the next most connected words are the very generic verb *be* with 10 connections and the more specific terms *activity* and *class* with seven connections each).

¹⁴ Though, in fairness, some of the lessons do include contact with the outside world via external texts, videos, etc., being brought into the classroom and received by students, and a smaller number involve the students engaging in communicative acts directly or indirectly with those outside of the classroom.

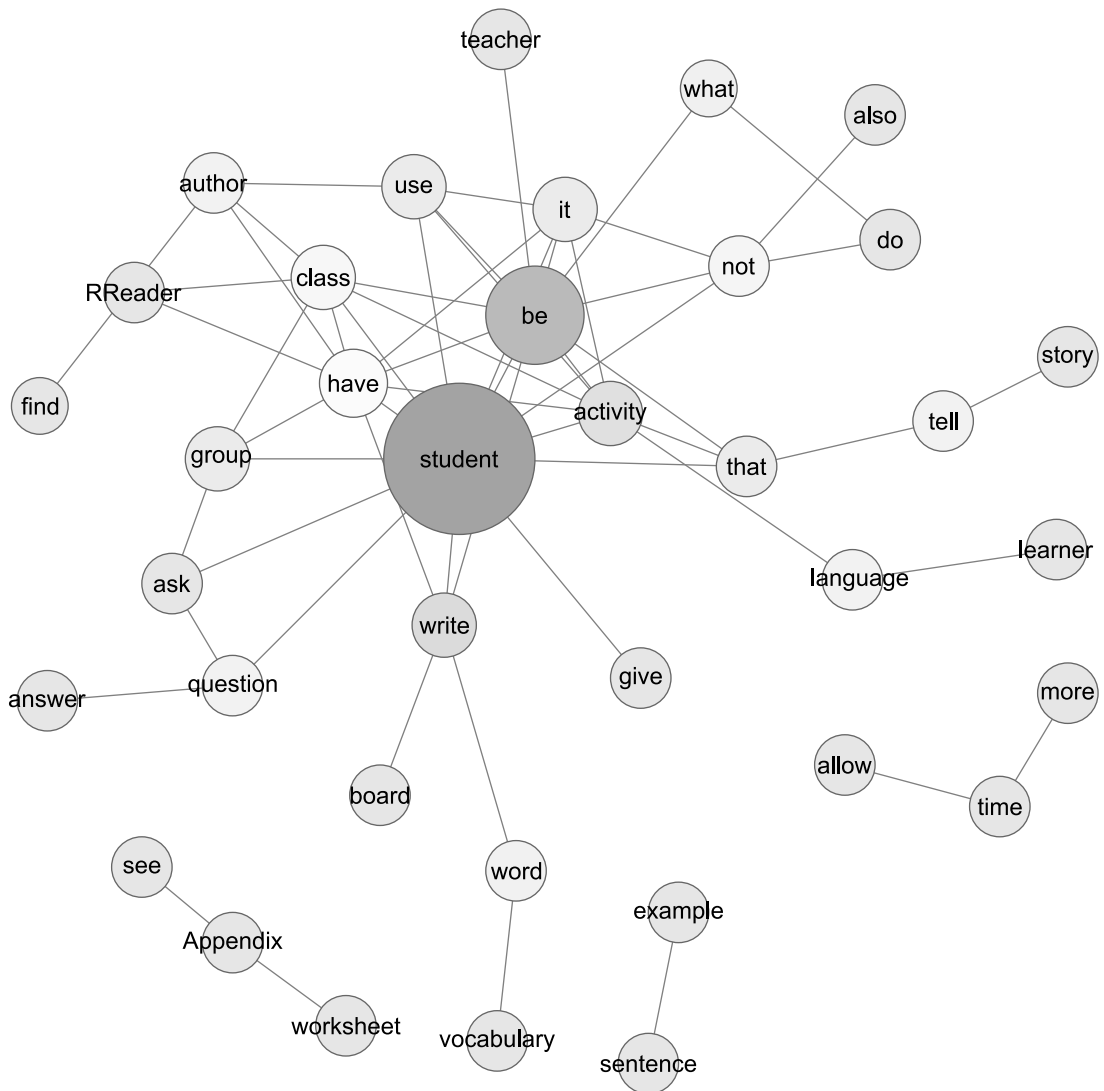


Figure 1. Co-occurrence Network of the Anaphora-resolved Corpus

Note. Nodes are connected when there is a high number of co-occurrences of the two words within individual sentences, regardless of the distance between the words. This figure was created with KH Coder (Higuchi, 2015).

The very high frequency and connectivity of *student*, the variety of related terms like *pair* and *group* (and, less commonly, more specific terms like *reader* and *speaker*), and the strong connection to other key terms in the text has led me to think of this corpus as “student-focused.” For me, this highlights the very important role that students play in these classroom activities, as well as the observation that students have to undertake a lot of the action in these lessons. These are certainly not “teacher-fronted” lessons in which students are merely passive receptors

of teacher knowledge imparted via lectures or similar top-down, unidirectional activities. Rather, students are active participants in these activities, and, at least lexically seem to “do” more of the work of the classroom than the teacher does.

[Teachers] occur far less frequently than [students]—less than 20% as often when the various terms for [students] and [teachers] are collected into semantic units. Furthermore, in Figure 1, we can see that the three terms for [teacher]—*teacher*, *author*, and *Rreader* (the special coding I used for pronouns that represented the reader)—lie at the periphery of the main neighborhood, and have only one, four, and four links, respectively. The fact that the only other regularly occurring actor in these lesson plans is significantly less frequent and more peripheral reinforces the idea that students are the focus of this corpus.

However, looking only at lexical frequency ignores one of the key features of these texts with respect to the [teacher] agent—while the term *teacher* and its pronoun referents are infrequent compared to the terms related to [students], this is in large part because in many of the cases where [teachers] are agents in sentences, they are lexically erased via passive voice and imperative mood constructions. In fact, this erasure is more common than explicit reference: in the anaphora resolved text, there are 1240 uses of the sememe [teacher], 311 cases where the [teacher] is the elided agent of a passive construction, and 2250 imperative mood clauses where the [teacher] is the elided agent—in other words, [teachers] are more than twice as likely to “appear” in the corpus as implied agents than they are to appear as actual words.

Thus, we have a corpus in which [student] is not only the most frequent sememe (approximately 1.7 times more frequent than [teacher]), it is overwhelmingly the most visible sememe, since most (about 67%) of [teacher] sememes are hidden. In some cases, these elisions hide the power of the [teacher], as in the passive and some of the imperative sentences, while in other imperative sentences the teacher power is actually rendered more visible in the elided text than it would be in one in which the teachers were lexically represented. This is the reason why I call this corpus “student-focused” as opposed to the more commonly used term “student-centered,” since the latter term has a particular meaning within TESOL that is not compatible with this corpus. While “student-centered” doesn’t mean that teachers give up full control over the teaching situation, it does mean that they work along with students to co-create the conditions for learning; a common distinction is that in student-centered classrooms, teachers retain “control” while allowing students to take “initiative” in the language learning process (Taylor, 1983). At least at a lexicogrammatical level, an opening up of the classroom to student initiative is not evident in this corpus. Rather, it remains fixated in what Allright (2005) negatively describes as the very predominant “teaching point” approach to language education, in which the teacher has predetermined what specific points (grammatical, lexical, pragmatic, etc.) the students will learn, and then carefully shapes the agenda (from the syllabus down to individual activities) so that students can “achieve” success on each of those points. Students do most of the action in the classroom (as evidenced by their overwhelming and visible presence

in the text), but they have little control over what they do. While a full understanding of what each group does requires a careful analysis of what verbs co-occur with each agent, which is beyond the scope of this paper, the evidence thus far seems to indicate that actions related to decision making and agenda setting are strongly linked to [teachers] and not to [students].

The primacy of [teachers] in this corpus can be seen not only in the broad patterns of the way [teachers] and [students] are represented, but also in many of the specific sub-categories of representation. The most glaring example is the “Have students do X” pattern, which I showed from counter-examples in the text is not a necessary feature of lesson plan writing, but rather a deliberate consequence of the guidelines enforced by the editors. These guidelines thus serve to create a professional discourse genre in which the idea of teacher control is embedded and naturalized. Even though the power that teachers have is hidden in passive constructions and made visible in imperative constructions, in both cases, it is the teacher who almost always has the power to make choices about what will occur in class.

The last point I would like to examine turns away from power and back to the broader question of identity. In the corpus, a variety of terms are used to identify [students], while essentially only one term (and two forms of elision) are used to identify [teachers]. This may serve to provide students with a more complex “identity” than “teachers”—[students] can be speakers, listeners, readers, learners, etc., while [teachers] are either teachers or the unnamed force controlling the lesson. In a sense, teachers-as-people are erased, and in their place is an unnamed “power” which makes the classroom function. Students have more multifaceted identities than teachers, but those facets all arise out of teacher assignment, both within the lessons themselves, as well as in the simpler fact that this entire corpus is teacher generated, and thus represents the teachers’ perspective on what it means to be a member of a language learning classroom in Japan.

Conclusion

While the present analysis tells us a lot about who appears in these texts and how they appear, as noted above, it doesn’t tell us in great detail what the [teachers] and [students] actually do. Thus, the next major point which needs to be researched is what verbs co-occur with each agent. This work was begun above in the breakdown of verbs that co-occur with the elided [teacher] agent in imperative sentences, but has not yet been completed for the active, indicative sentences. Such an analysis will provide a finer understanding of the degree to which teachers and students have agency in these activities, what sorts of things they can or can’t do, and whether or not this complicates the seemingly binary division between [teacher]-controllers and [student]-controlled. Sadly, time and space do not permit such an examination here. However, as mentioned in the introduction, this paper is only one part of an ongoing project aimed at uncovering various issues related to power and identity in this corpus and, more generally, in

the Japanese university language classroom and the discourse of professional TESOL writing, and so this issue will be taken up in future publications.

In addition to looking at additional collocation data to better understand what the authors/editors think [students] and [teachers] can and should do in the English classroom, other aspects of the corpus need to be examined to determine how this aspect of the TESOL discourse in Japan contributes to ideological patterns in our field. This will include looking to specific topics covered (or not covered) in the text that relate to features of language teaching and government education policy in Japan; a consideration of how specific identities, such as those related to gender roles, are treated in the text; an examination of how authors promote these lessons (that is, what benefits they ascribe to the lessons) and what those imply about “ideal language teaching;” and an analysis of what types of activities occur (pedagogically speaking). Each of these issues needs to be examined at a discursive level, while also looking for connections between the higher levels and the underlying lexicogrammatical choices. For now, I believe the present analysis shows that, despite TESOL publications sometimes heralding the increasing adoption of student-centered lessons, this corpus instead shows a continuation of teaching point focused activities where students are the focus but teachers are the center of the classroom experience.

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教育的力関係の構築 —授業計画の語彙文法的特徴のコーパス分析—

アーロン ハーン

本論では、日本の大学における英語教師と学生が、公開されている授業計画という大規模なコーパス内で、語彙・文法の面でどのように表現されているかを分析する。この目的は、教師が学生と教師との力関係をどのように構築しているかをより深く理解することである。批判的談話分析の枠組み内でコーパス言語学ツールを使用することで、教師と学生が非常に異なった方法で表現されていることが示された。すなわち、「学生」は最も頻繁に現れる項目であり、一方「教師」は受動態や命令文等の文法構造内で表現されるため、テキストにおいて語彙的には現れないことがしばしばある。このように「教師」の語が省略されていることは（矛盾するようではあるが）教師の力を隠蔽しかつ強化していた。結果的に、このコーパスは、表面的には学生中心に見えるが、実際は、英語授業において教師を中心とし、談話を通して教師が持つ力を確立し正当化することに寄与しているといえる。