tesol QUARTERLY

TESOL as a Professional Community: A Half-Century of Pedagogy, Research, and Theory

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This article reviews the developments in significant pedagogical and research domains in TESOL during the 50-year history of *TESOL Quarterly*. It situates these developments in the shift from a modernist to postmodern orientation in disciplinary discourses. The article also considers the changes in modes of knowledge dissemination in the journal by examining the changes in locations of research, authorship, article genres, and research methods. While there is an evolving diversity in the disciplinary discourses of TESOL that can appear to be a threat to the field's coherence, the article argues that this diversity can contribute to a more plural knowledge base and constructive disciplinary growth for TESOL.
doi: 10.1002/tesq.275

> There has never been a time when language teaching and learning has been more interactive and more imaginative than today… and yet there has never been a greater tension between what is taught in the classroom and what the students will need in the real world once they have left the classroom. In the last decades, that world has changed to such an extent that language teachers are no longer sure of what they are supposed to teach nor what real world situations they are supposed to prepare their students for. (Kramsch, 2014, p. 296)

TESOL has always displayed a disciplinary self-consciousness. We see a preoccupation with taking stock of its state of the art and its professional status. This is understandable. As a recently formed professional community, trying to define its own identity in relation to older and larger organizations, such as the Linguistic Society of America and the Modern Language Association, there is a need for TESOL to establish its autonomy. This background probably explains the many state-of-the-art articles we have seen in *TESOL Quarterly* (*TQ*) over the years. On the 10th anniversary of the formation of the organization, James

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Alatis (1976), the founding executive director, reviewed the status of the profession. To mark the 20th anniversary, there were two review articles—one by Alatis (1987) on the profession and the other by John Swales (1988) on TESOL's disciplinary discourse. On the 25th anniversary, *TQ* published two whole issues to review TESOL's pedagogical approaches. Again, on the 40th anniversary, an issue was published to reconsider the developments since the 25th-year issues. However, as Kramsch's statement in the epigraph shows, taking stock of the pedagogical and philosophical directions of language teaching is not a self-gratifying activity anymore. With significant developments in geopolitical conditions, accompanied by dramatic changes in technology and communication (indexed by the clichéd label "globalization"), we also see a profound philosophical reorientation in scholarly and public discourses. These developments have questioned the trajectory defined for TESOL during its formative period and posed new challenges, which make our professional enterprise either interesting or confusing—both attitudes implied by Kramsch—depending on the perspective of the practitioner.

In this article, I review the broad trajectories of pedagogy, research, and theory in our profession to chart the directions we have taken as we move toward the future. It is beyond the scope of this article to review each and every pedagogical approach or professional domain, and the details about significant publications or scholars. I wish to adopt Widdowson's (2004) approach to the history of English language teaching (ELT) in another publication and focus on "the underlying trends and tendencies" of the profession (p. 353). However, I must start with a few caveats. First, the trajectories within TESOL are not always parallel or consistent in each professional domain, such as language teaching methods, teacher development, or second language acquisition (SLA). Each domain features unique issues, forming incommensurate discourses. Even within each domain, it is hard to identify consistent developments. For example, although social orientations to second language acquisition and teaching are becoming more prominent, the quantity of cognitively influenced studies has not abated. Research trends that are discursively ascendant (such as narrative as a method and a reporting genre) are not necessarily featured widely in regular submissions by authors.

Second, we have to be wary of charting a progressivist and linear trajectory for our disciplinary history. That earlier methods are limited and contemporary approaches are advanced is a common revisionist fallacy. In fact, it can be argued that the profession has a somewhat circular history. Much depends on which starting point we adopt for our disciplinary history. English language teaching had been going on for centuries before the formation of TESOL. (For this reason, I will

use *TESOL* for the organization and its professional history and *ELT* for the broader professional enterprise of which it is part.) Howatt's (2004) history of ELT, which starts from 1400, suggests a different trajectory. He shows that in the early days, ELT was shaped by commercial purposes (for trade between European communities), functional instruction (based on communicative needs and genres), and polyglot competence (featuring mostly "double manuals" as textbooks [p. 13] that presented both the target language and first language in parallel). If mobility was the driving force of ELT at that time, we see a similar tendency now. The functional out-of-class purposes of communication (highlighted in Kramsch's epigraph) in contexts of transnational relations are again shaping ELT, demanding a more plurilingual proficiency. Around the 1500s, ELT was also spearheaded by refugees in Britain (i.e., Protestants fleeing persecution from France, Flanders, and Spain), who were teaching English to their own compatriots and their European languages to the English. They were bilingual teachers, using bilingual teaching materials. There is another circular history in this trajectory, relating to the empowerment of the nonnative teacher recently, contesting discourses that privilege the native speaker.

The objective of this historical review is not to distinguish the "good guys" and "bad guys" (or the progressive and the reactionary) in our professional development. As in dialectical orientations to history, we have to understand how certain movements that were progressive in their own time were met by conflicting discourses later, sometimes generating a synthesis of newly evolving discourses. As Thomas Kuhn's (1962) history of scientific ideas would remind us, disciplinary discourses feature changing paradigms to explain the newly available experiences and information. From this perspective, we shouldn't be surprised to see some of the prominent figures in our profession traveling through diverse paradigms in their own development. Consider, for example, Larsen-Freeman's journey in SLA from cognitive and form-focused orientations (1975), to accommodating social contexts and motivations (1991), and then adopting complexity theory to explain the fixity and fluidity of one's evolving competence (2002). We should applaud such scholars for being sensitive to the changing contexts of teaching and communication and revising their orientations and practices relevantly.

There is a need for a disciplined historiography of ELT as a profession. Richard Smith (2014) has recently called for a critical discussion on methodologies for charting the trajectories of ELT. Historiographies of ELT and applied linguistics have been undertaken more widely in the United Kingdom and Europe (see Warwick ELT Archive). However, to counteract the dominance of

Western/grand narratives in these historiographies, there is also a need for more localized studies that consider the history of teaching English and other languages in diverse geographical settings (such as China or India). Such efforts might correct the assumption that language teaching came into being with the advent of scientific approaches of Western modernity—or after the formation of organizations like TESOL and IATEFL (International Association of Teachers of English as a Foreign Language). I have been commissioned with a more humble project for this article; namely, to undertake a content analysis of *TQ*'s issues of the past 50 years as a window into TESOL's professional history. In addition to an interpretive study of thematic trajectories, I also coded the research methods, publishing genres, authorship, and location of studies (from the first issue in 1967 to the second issue of 2014). The coding was done by one research assistant[1] and reviewed by another for reliability. Slight differences that emerged were resolved by a third person (myself). We chose alternate issues of *TQ* (the second and fourth) to keep the coding within manageable limits. We left the third issue out, as this has been a guest-edited special topic issue starting from 1990. Though the themes and discourses of special topic issues are atypical (i.e., the purpose is to highlight new and promising developments in the field), leaving the third issue out also produces slightly skewed findings. Without that issue, the professional discourses appear more conservative and traditional than is probably the case.

To simplify the narrative, I follow Kramsch (2014), who identifies the shift from modernity to postmodernity as framing the changes in pedagogical practices and orientations in her state of the art on foreign language teaching. I will adopt this paradigm to situate the disciplinary knowledge and practices of TESOL. After introducing the philosophical shift, I will sample certain major pedagogical and theoretical domains in TESOL to delineate their own complex trajectories. I will discuss the following domains which emerge as recurrent themes featured in *TQ* and with significant implications in shaping the profession: SLA, target language, teaching methods, literacy instruction, and teacher development. These domains have involved heated debates in the pages of *TQ* as to how they should be conceived and practiced, often initiating paradigmatic shifts for the broader profession of language teaching. After reviewing the trajectories in these domains, I will proceed in the next section to consider the research practices, research reporting, and knowledge dissemination as represented in

[1] I thank Aurora Tsai and Daisuke Kimura for help with the quantitative analysis of *TQ* articles.

TQ. I will conclude with a discussion on the status of the discipline and our professional identity in the context of emerging new questions, needs, and imperatives.

THE PARADIGM WARS

It has been widely documented that the formation of contemporary academic disciplines and inquiry processes was shaped by *modernity* (see Jay, 2001; Leitch, 2000). The modernist orientation was characterized by the following assumptions: that the objective of inquiry had to be carefully defined and separated from other domains (i.e., language system separated from history, society, and politics); that final answers to questions about nature or society were available from empirical inquiry; that one had to be objective and detached in order to develop valid findings; that the findings had to be generalizable to claim universal validity; and that the deeper one went underneath surface-level forms and contexts, the more one discovered the core rules and norms that mattered.

The early issues of *TQ* featured both structuralist (e.g., E. B. Carr, 1967) and Chomskyan (e.g., R. B. Long, 1969; Rutherford, 1968) orientations to linguistics, sharing the pages of the same issue sometimes, but eventually leading to vigorous debates (see Wardhaugh, 1970, against structuralist assumptions). Whereas the latter had a triumphalist tone of novelty and progress, the structuralists called into question their assumptions (Carroll, 1971; Ross, 1972). However, in different ways, both movements captured certain core elements of modernity. Structuralist linguistics represented the impulse to define the object of analysis autonomously and discover the internal rules that can be explained in context-free *sui generis* systems. Chomskyan linguistics influenced our profession with other related assumptions—that is, that all human beings developed language competence the same way, wherever we were located and whichever language we spoke; that learning a second language (L2) adopted a similar sequence as developing our first language (L1); that grammar was key to knowing a language; that this knowledge was located in and developed through one's innate cognition; and that native speakers of a language were the authorities in the language (as each language was developed in a homogeneous community) and, therefore, models to be emulated.

Many other assumptions in the formation of TESOL's professional discourse were influenced by modernist values. Some of the early scholars of our sister field, applied linguistics, worked hard to put language teaching on a scientific footing. Pit Corder's (1973) *Introducing Applied Linguistics* and Robert Lado's (1964) *Language*

Teaching: A Scientific Approach were typical of discourses that shaped our profession. Reading them, we get the following picture of our profession in the early days: that it was engaged in an application of linguistics for language teaching purposes (as in *linguistics applied* [LA] rather than the theoretically more plural *applied linguistics* [AL], as distinguished by Davies & Elder, 2004);[2] that the linguistics adopted was structuralist in orientation; and that this orientation claimed to be a scientific approach to language, language competence, and language teaching. The upbeat claims of these scholars on the way this scientific discipline would put language teaching on a firmer footing inspired our research and teaching. The teaching methods influenced by this linguistic/scientific orientation were understood to be shaped by systematic and objective research. Moving to the audiolingual method from grammar translation, and then progressively moving to other methods like task-based teaching, scholars always backed up their proposals with empirical research on the manner in which grammatical properties should be introduced to students for successful acquisition (see Sheen, 1994, for a critique). Modernity also set us off on a quest for the "best method" (cf. Prabhu, 1990) that would guarantee successful language teaching. We assumed that empirical research in controlled environments would reveal to us the universal learning stages and processes that would help us devise pedagogies that can be effective in all contexts. We were on a mission to discover the acquisition process typical of all learners, regardless of their location and diversity. It is not surprising that the early articles in *TQ* were marked by this self-assuredness, optimism, and progressivism typical of modernity (see Allen, 1967a). We knew what we wanted to know, and we were going to find it systematically.

Around the mid-1980s, we realized that "ELT has . . . lost its innocence" (Widdowson, 2004, p. 362). There are many reasons why the modernist project couldn't be sustained anymore. To begin with the social changes, the "time-space compression" through technology, travel, and communication (Harvey, 2005, p. 4) led to a greater awareness of diverse communities, languages, and their knowledge traditions. Ashworth's (1991) "Internationalism and Our 'Strenuous Family'" is a call for TESOL professionals to work across differences and construct richer discourses and practices. We also began to identify modernity as partisan, influenced by the values and ideologies of

[2] Davies and Elder (2004) offer the following distinctions: LA—linguistics as input for language teaching as output; or using linguistics to solve language problems as output. AL—diverse theories including linguistics as input for language teaching as output; or using diverse theories to solve language problems as output. See also Widdowson's (1984) definition of these two approaches, which gives a more agentive role to scholars in AL as critically mediating knowledge from diverse disciplines for their application.

the European enlightenment (Mignolo, 2000). There were alternate ways of thinking about language, communication, and knowledge based on inquiry traditions of other communities. In opposition to the objectivity of modernity, these traditions valued the personal, contextual, social, and values-based. Mobility also diversified communication and, in the process, languages and genres. It questioned our self-assuredness that the norms of languages, literacies, and genres could be uniformly defined for all learners. Technology played no small role in moving communication beyond a simple reliance on utilitarian language to combining different multimodal features, such as semiotic systems, modalities, and physio-affective resources.

Such developments also contested the assumption that there was a "reality" to ground language teaching or knowledge on firmer basis. Philosophically, postmodernity might be explained as anti-foundationalist.[3] It would encourage skepticism on the possibility of grounding truth or knowledge in scientific facts in order to find final answers on the means of language teaching. Scholars adopting the postmodern orientation would perceive thinking and knowledge as mediated by language, values, and social relationships. In other words, they would consider all knowledge paradigms as *constructs* that are socially and linguistically shaped. This orientation led to a relentless critique of binaries and hierarchies that were the stock in trade of traditional scholarly orientations. They were deconstructed for the values and interests that undergirded them. For example, the methods we considered as functional and value-free were exposed for the ideologies that motivated them (see Pennycook, 1989).

Postmodernity has led to redefining central constructs such as community, cognition, meaning, and form that shape linguistics and language teaching. Rather than treating these constructs as bounded, shared, and preconstructed, postmodern discourses treat them as constantly reconstituted in situated interactions. In this process, they treat difference as the norm, rather than assuming homogeneity in all social and communicative domains. Consider how *community* is perceived. For modern linguistics, speech community gave coherence and identity to language. Grammaticality, for example, is defined by the acceptability of the norms for the community of native speakers. Ultimate

[3] I use *postmodern* as an umbrella term to include other parallel movements such as postcolonialism and poststructuralism. My description of the philosophical shifts from modernity includes features promoted by these movements as well. Postcolonialism resisted the positivistic ideologies imposed by Europe in the name of scientific progress. Poststructuralism critiqued the objectivity promoted to understand knowledge and activities as self-defining structures, as part of this positivistic epistemology. As implied in my description of this shift, postmodernity is not just a discourse; it represents geopolitical changes such as decolonization and subsequent movements including transnationalism, digital communication, and mobility.

attainment is reaching native speaker proficiency. That each language is owned by a community—which gains identity through its native language and provides identity to the language—is an ideology that has been with us at least since the 17th century (see Bauman & Briggs, 2000). However, scholars like Mary Louise Pratt (1987) have argued that community, with its notion of sharedness, homogeneity, and sovereignty, is a *linguistic utopia*. It provides an illusory certainty about shared meanings, identities, and norms that are purportedly common for all members of a community. For Pratt, it is contact and not homogeneity that is the norm. All spaces are contact zones. They are meeting points of diverse people with different languages and values. Though community does evolve, we shouldn't think of it as pre-given by place or language, guaranteeing autonomy to the speech community.

The challenge, then, is to consider how communication takes place in contact zones marked by differences in languages and cultures. To undertake this exploration, Blommaert (2010) asks that we treat communication as featuring "mobile resources, not immobile languages" (p. 46). Despite the modernist ideology of stable, homogeneous, and autonomous languages, people have always treated language as constituting semiotic resources that they appropriate from diverse communities for their purposes. The notion of *resources* adopts a functional orientation to communication in place of the normative and abstract. From this perspective, language purity is also challenged. All languages comingle through their histories of contact. This orientation also encourages us to look at how language resources are mobile, traveling with or without people to come into contact with other languages and communities, generating new grammars and meanings. It is not that there are no norms; norms evolve in practice. As people continue to use their mix of resources for specific purposes, their resources get patterned into grammatical and discourse conventions. In this sense, meaning and form are constantly reconstructed in situated interactions from the diverse resources people bring to communication.

While these developments draw attention to the meaning relationships beyond individual languages, they also perceive communication as going beyond words and accommodating other semiotic systems (such as sound, visuals, graphics, body, and ecology). The celebration of language as the chief means of communication (perhaps as more logical and clear than other modalities and semiotic systems) is another modernist bias. The need to consider all the resources at our disposal, and address the material and situated nature of communication, becomes important when we consider how interactions take place in contact zones. When no languages or values are shared by interlocutors, grammar alone cannot help us account for communicative

success. People use all the resources available in the local ecology, such as objects, gestures, and the body, for meaning making. Block (2014, p. 56) has critiqued the "lingual bias" in language acquisition models that focus solely on grammatical competence, excluding the role of the body and other ecological resources. It is such developments that have unleashed a search for more complex ways of defining language competence and pedagogy—as indicated in Kramsch's epigraph.

TRAJECTORIES IN PEDAGOGICAL DOMAINS

Language Acquisition

There has always been a close relationship between studies in language acquisition and pedagogical practices, as evidenced by articles in *TQ* (Chapelle, 2007). However, SLA has itself been shaped by different philosophical orientations and empirical findings. During the inception of the journal, we see a slight lack of consensus on what orientation should shape research on SLA. We find articles that are influenced by behaviorist orientations to habit formation, influenced by structuralist linguistics (Carroll, 1971), and the cognitive code orientation of creative rule formation, influenced by Chomskyan linguistics (Rutherford, 1968). Around the 1980s, SLA research solidifies under what we might label the "linguistic-cognitive paradigm" (Ortega, 2014, p. 33). This orientation treats the internalization of grammar norms and knowledge as the basis for competence. Such a knowledge is also posited as having its locus in the human mind. The combination of these features is represented well in M. H. Long's (1997) characterization of SLA: "Most SLA researchers view the object of inquiry as in large part an internal, mental process: the acquisition of new (linguistic) knowledge" (p. 319). In line with the modernist orientation, the school developed findings on controlled and predictable ways in which acquisition can be facilitated. Following the input/output model, the quest was to find what calculated exposure to grammar would lead to effective uptake, internalization, and language production by the learners. This puzzle is being solved by numerous scholars and publications, one morpheme or phoneme at a time, a project that is still continuing.

Around the mid-1990s we see the emergence of an alternative orientation. Some scholars reacted against the notion of language learning as a linear progression toward a target, a trajectory internal to the language, conditioning the neural responses of learners in controlled learning environments. These scholars brought in the social to

complement the cognitive (see Zuengler & Miller, 2006). Already in the mid-1970s certain scholars were beginning to talk about the social in language learning in *TQ*, although not leading to a conscious mission to challenge the cognitive (see Grimshaw, 1973; Holmes & Brown, 1976; Rivers, 1973). They were concerned about adding the diverse contexts, intentions, and motivations in social practice that can be negotiated agentively by learners in order to learn the grammatical structures they needed for their interests. Prominent among the more recent social approaches is the focus on identity as the driving force in language learning (Peirce, 1995a). To use language is to understand the implications of identity and voice for social and material relationships. In the place of a purely grammatical consideration to acquisition, these scholars were making a place for learning as identity construction. Identity provides a socially situated objective for language learning, accounting for differing interests, styles of learning, and trajectories in language acquisition. Learners' investment in the language, motivated by their social and material interests, shapes their type of learning. Relating language learning and use to social purposes, learners would shape grammar according to their own needs and contexts, without a mechanical conformity to purported norms imposed by others.

Even the linguistic-cognitive paradigm required greater complexity in and of itself. Learning in the dominant model was presented in too linear and static a manner, suggesting a homogeneous language system that had to be fully internalized to be a competent speaker. However, it is possible to be communicative in the tentative "system" one is developing, as one is continuing to learn the language. We see the emergence of chaos/complexity theory, an importation from physics and philosophy, to explain such possibilities around the turn of the 21st century (Larsen-Freeman, 2002). This theory developed an orientation to learning and cognition that accounted for both fluidity and fixity, heterogeneity and system, change and stability, in the development of grammatical competence. It thus explained the learner's grammatical understanding as a constantly changing yet orderly phenomenon, thus correcting the equation of system with stability in modernist paradigms.

Complexity theory has the potential to address another emerging consideration in SLA. It is difficult to separate the first language of the learners from their mastery of English. What implications do the other languages in multilinguals' repertoire have for their competence in English? We see the emergence of SLA orientations that challenge models which posit separate systems for separate languages, thus compartmentalizing the mind of the multilingual. Vivian Cook's (1999) notion of *multicompetence* explained how learners parallel-process the

new language with their other repertoires when they acquire it. From this perspective, TESOL scholars have begun to critique the imposition of native speaker norms and proficiency as the target for learners (see Y. Kachru, 1994; Sridhar, 1994). Calling it a "comparative fallacy" (p. 189), Cook also argued that we should understand and assess the learning of multilinguals in their own terms rather than measuring them against the proficiency and norms of native speakers and treating multilinguals as always deficient.

However, with globalization, language contact, and transnational interactions, the corpus for learning has become even more complex. People find themselves in situations where there is no shared grammatical norm for communication, even in English. In a typical communicative interaction in the global contact zone, one might find oneself with a Nigerian, Indian, and British speaker, each bringing their own Englishes, not to mention other repertoires. Research on successful communication in these contexts reveals that the interlocutors co-construct a temporarily shared norm through effective pragmatic strategies, by drawing from all the available language resources (see, e.g., Firth, 2009; Kleifgen, 2013). Such an orientation has shifted SLA from a focus on cognition and grammar as primary to treating practices as the generative activity on which others are based. Studies on language contact and intercultural communication have led scholars to theorize competence as *procedural knowledge* for such practice in the place of *propositional knowledge* (Byram, 2008) that was emphasized in the linguistic-cognitive paradigm.

These developments have led to practice-based orientations to learning that provide more importance to the full communicative and learning ecology. Scholars belonging to the sociocognitive orientation (Atkinson, Churchill, Noshino, & Okada, 2007), sociocultural theory (Lantolf, 2011), sociolinguistics (Goodwin, 2007), language socialization (Duff & Talmy, 2011), usage-based approaches (Ortega, 2014), and ecological orientations (van Lier, 1997) are exploring what Atkinson et al. (2007, p. 171) refer to as the "mind-body-world" connection in language learning and use. The challenge is to demonstrate how these domains are integrated in communication and not separated, with mind treated as more important than others, or world and body treated as extraneous. While these schools labeled "alternative orientations to SLA" (Atkinson, 2011) are continuing their theorization and research, the linguistic-cognitive paradigm is still going strong in "parallel track" (Zuengler & Miller, 2006, p. 58) —as demonstrated in recent issues of *TQ* (see D. Liu, 2010; Ong & Zhang, 2013)—posing challenges to forming an integrated perspective on SLA.

Target Language

During the inception of *TQ* and TESOL, there was little controversy about the target language. Even when scholars published about pedagogies for African American (Shuy, 1969), Native American (M. J. Cook, 1967), or Hispanic students (Ragsdale, 1968) in the United States, they focused on privileged/native speaker varieties of English as the target to be taught. In articulations of TESOL's mission internationally, there was no doubt on the relevance of native speaker varieties for other speakers, on the purportedly altruistic motivation that these varieties will empower developing communities for profitable commercial and educational interactions with others (see Allen, 1967b). However, around the late 1970s, Braj Kachru's (1976) notion of World Englishes began to make inroads into our professional discourse through *TQ*. Pluralizing the English language, Kachru took forward Labov's (1969) argument on the *logic of nonstandard English* in relation to Black English, which had also made its way into *TQ* (see Shuy, 1969), and showed how the postcolonial varieties in the *outer circle* were *norm developing* and nativized. Their varieties had their own systems and locally appropriate functions. This realization has generated a lot of thinking on the appropriate target for learning outside the *inner circle* of native speaker communities.

Scholars like Widdowson (1994) and Davies (2002) initially suggested that *nativized* varieties should be used in local communities, whereas *native* varieties (of the native-speaker inner circle) should be used for international contact purposes, presumably on the basis that the latter are more widely shared and valued. Others have opted to develop the ability of learners to shuttle between diverse contextually appropriate norms. That is, students are expected to develop the proficiencies for local communication while they develop proficiencies for international contact (McKay, 2005). There are still others who value students' sensitivity to the diversity of Englishes among its global speakers. They have promoted a gradation of approaches, ranging from making students aware of privileged dialects to navigating dialect differences and representing their voice in contact purposes, by making spaces for their own varieties and discourses (Matsuda & Matsuda, 2010). Thus, the target to be learnt is becoming pluralized and relative.

Although these options continue to be explored, recent studies on the nature of the English language have complicated pedagogical implementation. Braj Kachru (1986) assumed that the countries that were not colonized by Britain (i.e., the *expanding circle*) didn't use English as a second language for local functions, but adopted it only for

contact purposes, as a foreign language. Therefore, he labeled them *norm dependent*, assuming that they adopted the norms of the inner circle, which he labeled *norm providing*. However, scholars in the English as a lingua franca (ELF) school have demonstrated that speakers from the expanding circle do not adopt inner circle norms, but negotiate their own varieties to co-construct a different set of multilingual norms for English (Jenkins, 2006). In the beginning, they believed this norm was systematic and shared by all ELF speakers, and intended to describe its grammar under the label *lingua franca core*. They proposed that this core would serve as a teachable target for ELF purposes (Seidlhofer, 2001). Other scholars moved this question beyond shared grammatical norms as they found that the norms were intersubjective and situational (Canagarajah, 2007; Pennycook, 2008). That is, speakers co-construct a set of norms out of the language resources they bring, which is sufficient for their immediate communicative purposes. These norms are highly variable and hybrid, changing for different communicative contexts and interlocutors. The ELF school has also now moved closer to this position (see Jenkins, Cogo, & Dewey, 2011).

There is now a growing realization that English cannot be separated from other languages. This is true not only of the contemporary global contact zones where languages intermingle, but of all communication, because languages are always in contact. From this perspective, the question in recent issues of our journal has been whether we should develop competence in diverse language repertoires among learners. Along these lines, scholars also questioned the place of English Only in the classroom (see Auerbach, 1993). According to this perspective, learners require the ability to draw from a range of relevant languages, including English, to accomplish their communicative purposes or to understand their interlocutors. This orientation is labeled *plurilingualism* (the subject of a recent special topic issue in *TQ*—September 2013), with other terms such as *dynamic bilingualism*, *translanguaging*, and *translingual practice* also beginning to appear in the pages of the journal (see Flores & Schissel, 2014). The pedagogical implications of this orientation are also open to further exploration. They range from facilitating language awareness among learners to developing communicative strategies that will enable them to negotiate resources from diverse languages and construct meaning situationally (see Canagarajah, 2014).

Methods

The journal provides a window into the language teaching methods that have arisen at different times to claim dominance, influenced by

the prevailing SLA orientations and linguistic models. The search for an efficient method was in tune with the ideologies of modernity. That is, the method would provide an objective way to handle the challenges in teaching in all contexts. Teachers can simply let techniques take over without letting their own values and dispositions shape teaching. However, *TQ* has taken the lead in recent times in questioning the fetish over methods. Prabhu's (1990) announcement that there is no best method was a watershed moment in our professional discourse. He suggested that not only is it unwise to promote one method as powerful enough to answer the various contingencies in diverse learning contexts, it was doubtful there was anything resembling a predefined method, considering the messy practice in classrooms where teachers navigate different learning goals, student expectations, institutional imperatives, and their own teaching philosophies.

Professional discourse has now turned to redefining teaching approaches beyond the safety of prepackaged and structured methods, in what has been called by Kumaravadivelu (1994) the *post-method condition*, albeit not without debates and challenges by others (see Bell, 2003). Kumaravadivelu has promoted certain optimal conditions for learning that teachers can creatively devise ground up in their classrooms according to learner needs and teaching conditions. Along these lines, others have moved to build the creative and professional capacity of teachers by expecting them to begin from needs analysis and institutional expectations to construct pedagogies relating to the specific learning outcomes they project (Allwright, 2005). In this sense, whereas methods led to deskilling teachers, the post-method orientation calls for their reflection, creativity, and decision making based on ongoing teaching practice.

Teaching practice is also being constructively challenged by effective language socialization outside classrooms. Learning is always taking place in families, friendship circles, work, and social media. Language socialization scholars show how learning in these contexts is pragmatic, collaborative, and emergent (Duff & Talmy, 2011). Models such as *communities of practice* (Wenger, 1998) have systematized these experiences to formulate the underlying learning processes. *TQ* has featured proposals (Morita, 2004) and debates (Haneda, 2006) on the application of such models for classroom learning. Because the classroom is in some ways a controlled and artificial environment unlike social spaces, application is not straightforward. Socialization models suggest how learners can constructively interact with their peers and their mentors to develop their identities and communicative resources with greater agency in ways relevant to their social functions.

While expanding the role of social interaction in the learning process, the break from methods is also expanding the learning environment.

Ecological models (van Lier, 1997, 2004) suggest that learners can meaningfully engage with diverse learning resources, transforming them as affordances for their learning. Teaching materials and other artifacts (such as student texts and peer commentary), diverse agents (peers as well as teachers), institutional structures (such as policies and curriculum), and situational affordances (such as the objects, space, and material resources) can be negotiated by learners for effective learning. Learning, then, is not limited to the prepackaged syllabus, textbooks, or institutional agendas teachers bring with them.

Literacy

Reading and writing were traditionally used for grammar and vocabulary learning and were not addressed for their own sake (see Rojas, 1968, for an example). To the credit of TESOL professionals, since the very inception of *TQ* we also see articles that argue against the exploitation of texts for teaching grammar. Scholars have proposed focusing on meaning (Arapoff, 1967), rhetorical structure (Kaplan, 1967), and the interconnections between reading and writing (D. H. Carr, 1967) to contest the sole focus on form.

We also see in the early issues a move toward understanding the cultural influences on literacy through Kaplan's (1967) groundbreaking work on *contrastive rhetoric* (CR). Though the early orientation to CR was influenced by notions of linguistic relativism and determinism filtering through the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis dominant at that period, Kaplan (1976, 1986) himself and other TESOL scholars (Connor, 2002; Leki, 1991) have expanded this orientation over time. In some ways, CR is "indigenous" to our profession, developed by scholars active in TESOL. Later issues show debates and revisions, as the orientation becomes broadened to critical contrastive rhetoric (Kubota, 1999) and intercultural rhetoric (Connor, 2004). The former model helped analyze how the understanding of cultures and their representations are shaped by power inequalities. The latter considered the ways learners might negotiate rhetorical differences through commonalities in the different languages and their own intercultural awareness. Pedagogies that make these negotiations possible are being creatively devised.

With scholars in CR realizing the need to understand the conventions and discourses of diverse literate genres by adopting more systematic analytical orientations, we see the increasing importance of *genre analysis* (GA)—another orientation actively led by TESOL professionals, such as John Swales (1990) and Vijay Bhatia (1993). While CR had a clear pedagogical focus (i.e., the need to address cultural influ-

ences in teaching English language and literacy), GA focuses equally on descriptive concerns. It also goes beyond academic genres to consider diverse professional literacies relevant to multilingual students. However, how to define genres is connected to notions of textuality and discourse that are theorized in other fields such as rhetoric and linguistics (for a review of diverse models, see Hyon, 1996). Hyon (1996) suggests how genre analysis also contributes to the larger field of English for specific purposes (ESP). ESP is an admirably international pedagogical movement, as scholars in different countries are exploring how academic/professional discourses and textual conventions are realized in their own communities and how their students can be introduced to texts that circulate globally (Johns & Dudley-Evans, 1991). More recently, we see ESP addressing the fluidity of oral and literate modalities and the adoption of more robust research approaches such as corpus analysis (Belcher, 2006).

The project of describing genre conventions has become extremely challenging lately. With the dramatic advances made by digital technology, the processes of reading and writing are changing, new genres of communication are evolving, and diverse modalities and semiotic resources are combined in texts. Consider what reading academic articles entails. Many students and scholars are now reading articles online and not in printed version. Some platforms enable one to move easily between citations and access those articles instantly through hyperlinks. Such a reading involves moving in a nonlinear fashion, within various spaces of a single text and/or simultaneously across texts. As readers parallel-process different texts or chunks of texts, their interpretive activity differs somewhat from traditional ways of reading within the narrowly defined boundaries of the physical text. Now consider that some of the links lead to articles in other languages. In fact, journals are publishing abstracts in diverse languages to communicate to a more international readership. Note also that reading involves not just focusing on words, but also processing the sidebars, diagrams, and visuals, not to mention navigating computer icons and links to move across texts. (See Molle and Prior [2008] on how even formal academic writing in traditional print media contains diverse visual resources.) In many journals, including *TQ*, the article is accompanied by a video of the authors commenting on the significance or background of their study, requiring one to listen as well as read.

In these senses, literacy is becoming defined as multilingual, polysemiotic, and multimodal—features that have always been there, but that we simply ignored. We have now lost the early innocence of describing texts in terms of language alone, and in relation to a single language at that. How to describe texts and genres in relation to these

diverse languages, semiotic features, and modalities is being theorized by scholars (Kress, 2000). While the descriptive challenge is being handled well, the pedagogical challenges are proving to be more daunting (Stein, 2000). We have to move beyond treating literacy as information transfer and develop a sensitivity to rhetoric and aesthetics (see Blommaert, 2008). We are also realizing that texts are far more complex in their construction, circulation, and reception when we consider how they travel across social spaces and time through technology and human mobility. How mobile texts gain meaning and local uptake in diverse communities has called for a more practice-based orientation to reading and writing, beyond the treatment of texts as static, self-standing, and acontextual (as in traditional *autonomous literacy*; see Street, 1984). As scholars now study processes of mobile texts and their reception, they are also led to redefine literacy beyond the currently dominant *situated literacy* (Street, 1984), which contextualizes texts in local community practices. Scholars are exploring the ways mobile texts acquire new meanings and values, and require different reading/writing negotiations, in the multiple social spaces of its trajectory (Baynham & Prinsloo, 2010; Canagarajah, 2013).

Teacher Development

Our realizations on the need to address the diversity of target language, literacy instruction, and language acquisition pose complex questions for teaching and teacher development. As discussed earlier, the design of teaching methods is placed in the hands of individual teachers, demanding creativity and decision making for situated pedagogical practice, calling for a different form of professionalization. Initially, TESOL traveled along movements that defined teacher development in terms of professional lore or grammar knowledge, and the technical aptitude of implementing prescribed methods (see a review of such teacher development courses in Grosse, 1991). The knowledge- and skills-based approaches are in keeping with modernist orientations which would prefer to define expertise in terms of objective and uniform modes of efficiency. However, the social orientation to knowledge and learning has motivated significant changes in teacher development. *TQ* has led professionalization as shaped by values and beliefs of the teachers, their pedagogical influences from society and classrooms, and their evolving and desired professional identities (see special topic issue titled *Research and Practice in English Language Teacher Education*, Vol. 32, No. 3, 1998). In making these transitions, *TQ* has featured vigorous debates on the nature of teacher knowledge (see Freeman & Richards, 1993, debated by Edge, 1994, on

thinking versus beliefs; or Freeman & Johnson, 1998, debated by Yates & Muchisky, 2003, on values versus knowledge). *TQ* also demonstrates remarkable evolution from knowledge and cognition to beliefs, practices, and identities often by the same professionals—see Johnson moving from skills to cognition (1992), and then to situated practice in the development of teacher knowledge (Johnson, 1996), to sociocultural processes in teacher development (Freeman & Johnson, 1998), and sociocultural theory as offering an explanatory framework (Johnson & Golombek, 2003).

These shifts have led to pedagogical models designed to help teachers develop a reflexive awareness of their values and beliefs, negotiate them in relation to dominant theoretical and professional contexts for stronger professional identity development, and adopt modes of socialization into professional practices and discourses that draw from collaborative interactions. These pedagogical models also place a stronger focus on reflective practice in the place of *unreflective* lore or *unpracticed* knowledge. For this reason, models such as sociocultural theory (Johnson & Golombek, 2003), identity theories (Varghese, Morgan, Johnston, & Johnson, 2005), and communities of practice (Canagarajah, 2012) have gained popularity in teacher development programs. To facilitate identity development and awareness, many teacher development programs are using such processes as personal journals, reflection, narratives, practicum, and collaboration with peers as important pedagogical tools. *TQ* has featured these approaches with rich and complex narratives on teacher identity development (see Johnson & Golombek, 2011; Tsui, 2007).

Meanwhile, the authority of the native speaker as the ideal teacher has been challenged by emerging realizations on the diversity of English, learning contexts, and language competence. Some early articles in the journal did promote the notion that teaching English required grammatical control (Fukuda, 1975). Scholars later brought in the question of professionalism to challenge the excessive focus on grammatical knowledge and language ownership (Medgyes, 1994). Even in terms of the grammatical dimension, some promoted the multilingual competence of nonnative teachers as helping them explain grammar points effectively and understand the challenges for their students better (J. Liu, 1999). Much of this scholarship has helped reduce the presumed linguistic insecurity of nonnative teachers and motivated them to focus on professional concerns.

Other identities are also gaining empowerment in TESOL. While resisting institutionalized discrimination in the profession, they are enriching pedagogical orientations in the classroom. Practitioners are articulating the place of gender (Davis & Skilton-Sylvester, 2004), race (Motha, 2006), class (Vandrick, 2009), sexual (Nelson, 1999), and

migrant identities (Menard-Warwick, 2008), which they are also cultivating as resources for "teacher identity as pedagogy" (Morgan, 2004). These developments are a progression of scholarship on critical pedagogy since the late 1980s which have served to develop a sensitivity to issues of power (see Peirce, 1989; Pennycook, 1989). Accompanying this broadened professional awareness are considerations of policy, reflected in two special topic issues on language policy and planning —in 1996 (guest edited by Ricento and Hornberger) and in 2007 (by Ramanathan and Morgan).

The shifts we witness in the pedagogical domains reviewed above, from largely cognitivist paradigms on discrete language skills to more social and political orientations on contextualized communicative practices, are perhaps reflected in the types of articles published in *TQ*. In their analysis of the journal from 1967 to 2011, Jun Liu and Berger (2015) observe that among the areas with an upward trend are language use and sociolinguistics, policy and standards, and learners and language learning. Those with downward trends include SLA, curriculum and materials, methodology, assessment, and language skills.

KNOWLEDGE CONSTRUCTION AND DISSEMINATION

The developments in the pedagogical domains suggest a broadening of discourses and contexts in TESOL's professional orientation. On the one hand, the plural discourses make the profession receptive to knowledge from other communities and contexts; on the other hand, it is probably the infusion of new knowledge and practices from diverse communities (thanks to globalization) that challenges the discipline to broaden its perspectives. These developments are also tied to changes in research and publishing. *TQ* has begun to publish studies from more diverse pedagogical contexts and feature more diverse research paradigms and reporting genres, reflecting and encouraging these changes. These developments are also attributable to *TQ* itself featuring research on the inequalities in knowledge dissemination and the consequent narrowing of our professional discourses (see Braine, 2005; Canagarajah, 1996; Curry & Lillis, 2004; Flowerdew, 2000). I turn in this section to consider how *TQ* reflects the changes in research approaches and writing practices in our profession.

A striking finding from *TQ*'s publication history is that studies from more diverse locations are beginning to appear on its pages. Figure 1 demonstrates the location of research. I considered the location where studies were conducted, irrespective of where the authors reporting them came from. The objective was to explore whether the teaching contexts in different parts of the world are represented in a balanced

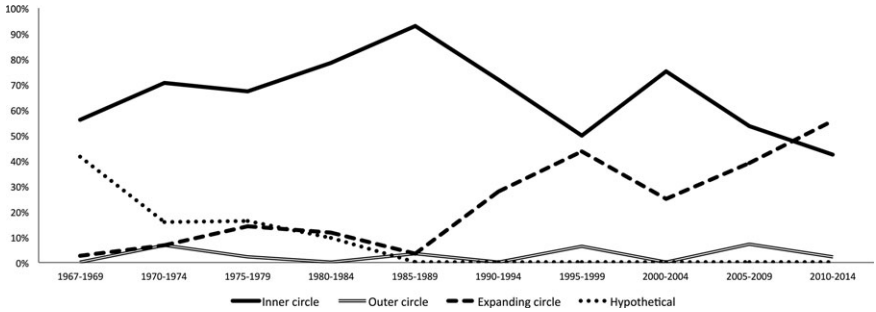

FIGURE 1. Location where studies were conducted.

way. For coding purposes, I adopted Kachru's categories of inner, outer, and expanding circle countries, as they reflect the chronological spread of English and its different pedagogical functions (i.e., largely social assimilation in the inner circle, institutionalized communication in localized varieties in the outer circle, and contact with other countries in the expanding circle). During the formation of TESOL, the organization was largely defined according to the language teaching needs of the United States. There was a mention of responsibilities to the rest of the world, but this was defined in a one-sided way, without considering how the world might contribute to shaping TESOL (see Allen, 1967b, p. 4). Understandably, a particular type of publication that was predominant in the early days was the "hypothetical" discussion, where the location or context of pedagogical consideration was not specified (e.g., Sutherland, 1967). Pedagogical applications in the United States were presumably considered relevant to other parts of the world. However, with intensifying globalization, we are beginning to read more about research in other locations and consider how they might complicate dominant pedagogical paradigms.

In Figure 1,[4] we find that articles from expanding circle countries increased dramatically around the 1990s and kept up the volume despite minor changes. The decline of the hypothetical discussion around this time is probably also influenced by the postmodernist realization that all knowledge is contextual, which discourages scholars from generalizing easily for all learning communities. It is not surprising also that the percentage of studies based in inner circle countries begins to decline around 1995 and gets overtaken by expanding circle countries in the most recent 5-year period of analysis. Jun Liu and Berger (2015) corroborate these findings in their own analysis of *TQ*'s publishing history. While confirming that studies in EFL contexts have

[4] The charts present the data for every 5-year period to display the findings in a convenient and clear manner.

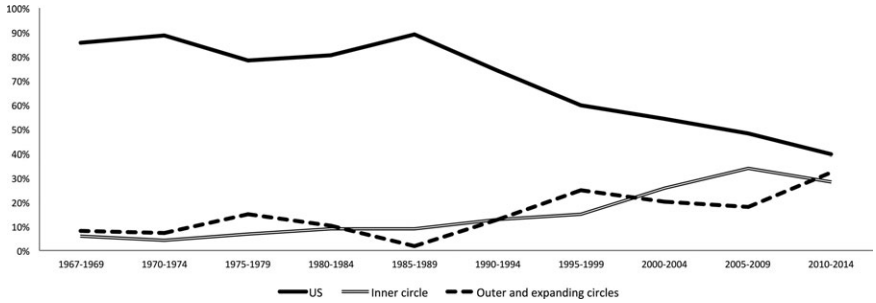

FIGURE 2. Location of first authors.

increased in the past 20 years, they also observe that these have been largely from Asia Pacific contexts. The current editors of *TQ* have also been tracking the publishing data on shorter time scales. In their study of the 5 years preceding their appointment (2008–2012), they note the rise of ELF studies from the Asia Pacific region and the paucity of studies from other ELF locations such as Central and South America (Paltridge & Mahboob, 2014). They also confirm another curious finding in Figure 1—that is, studies from outer circle countries (former British colonies in South Asia, Africa, and the Caribbean) have not displayed a dramatic increase during the history of *TQ*. There might be many reasons for this. These postcolonial countries have a well-established English readership in their own locations, with their own academic journals. They could also be looking to the United Kingdom as their reference point and publishing in British journals.

It is difficult to study the authorship of articles in an unambiguous manner. American authors might write from teaching locations abroad, and international scholars might publish from their current professional locations in the United States. Besides, names are not the best way to guess one's national identity. For coding purposes, I surveyed the institutional location of the lead author. Because of the well-documented dominance of U.S. institutions and authors, I made a separate category for the United States within the English-dominant communities (inner circle), treating outer and expanding circle communities as another category (see Figure 2). The reason for this distinction is the obvious importance of English in publishing, providing an advantage to scholars from inner circle communities in publishing and knowledge production in diverse academic fields (Swales, 1985). The data show that though we still find authors from the United States dominating publishing in *TQ*, there is a significant increase in the presence of scholars from outer/expanding circle communities and those from other inner circle communities from about 1995 onwards.

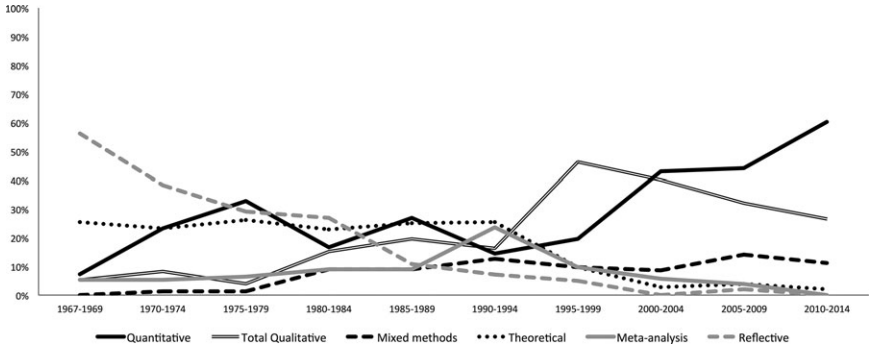

FIGURE 3. Research methods.

The slight decrease in the U.S.-based authors still doesn't amount to losing their dominance in publishing, a point that Paltridge and Mahboob (2014) also confirm in their analysis. When we put Figures 1 and 2 together, we realize that, though authorship has not changed much, perhaps more of the U.S.-based authors are conducting research in locations outside in order to understand pedagogical concerns in more diverse settings. This might explain why U.S. institutional dominance continues in authorship, though the locations of research outside the United States are increasing.

In terms of research methods, there was a time during the inception of the journal when the articles didn't contain any citations, objectively gathered data, or even theoretical reflection. The articles were personal reflections on pedagogy (e.g., D. H. Carr, 1967) or observations of teaching programs and approaches (e.g., Logan, 1967) —both types represented as *reflective* in Figure 3. In fact, many of these papers were previously presented at the TESOL convention, as indicated in their footnotes. We also see a large proportion of theoretical reflections in the early days, and these enjoyed a brief resurgence in the 1990s as theory gained more respect as integral to research. (Peirce's "The Theory of Methodology in Qualitative Research" [1995b] is reflective of this shift.) As an indication of TESOL's rising self-awareness as a scholarly enterprise, we see footnotes to some books or policy documents appearing in the early 1970s. Soon thereafter, we see a steady build-up of empirical studies and citations, reviewed by Swales (1988) in his 20-year historical analysis of the journal, to show how the profession quickly developed its own knowledge base. Swales also sees growing evidence of an "abnormally high self-citation rate" (p. 162), demonstrating a self-consciousness of its well-sedimented disciplinary discourse.

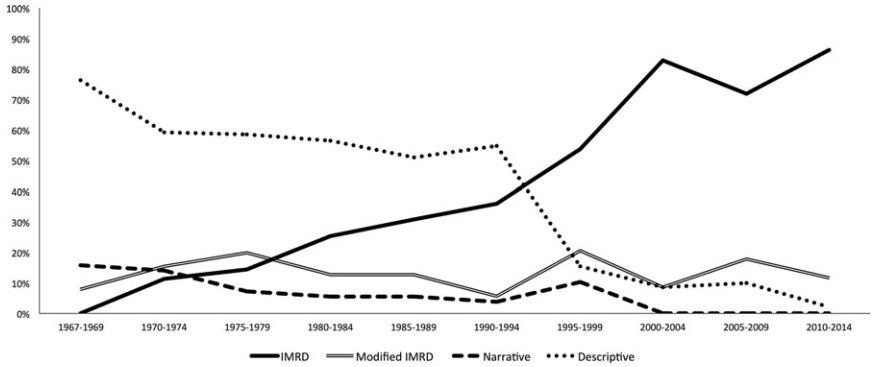

FIGURE 4. Genres of research articles.

In keeping with the modernist inquiry shaping all the disciplines at that time, the articles in the late 1970s and 1980s display a strong focus on empirical, experimental, and quantitative studies. This was perhaps the best strategy for TESOL to prove its disciplinary maturity at a time when quantitative and empirical studies were valued in academia. However, in the 1990s we see the gradual appearance of a range of qualitative approaches in the journal—ethnography, case studies, action research, teacher research, and so on—a point that Paltridge and Mahboob (2014) also confirm. The approaches were perhaps so novel that special introductions were sponsored by the journal to explain their rationale and validity. For example, a featured symposium (Cumming et al., 1994), a special topic issue in 1995 (see *Qualitative Research in ESOL*, Vol. 29, No. 3), and editorial guidelines on qualitative approaches (Chapelle & Duff, 2003) were published to help scholars adopt them in a disciplined and rigorous manner. Mixed methods and meta-analysis of empirical studies also make a significant presence in the 1980s and 1990s. Though there is a rise in qualitative approaches, Figure 3 suggests that quantitative and experimental studies have not fallen out of favor. In fact, they are still large in number.

We also see a change in the rhetorical structure of the articles published over time. Predictably, in the beginning, the articles were narrative and descriptive, as we see in Figure 4. Gradually we see the ascendance of the IMRD structure, the sine qua non of the modernist positivistic research. The acronym stands for Introduction, Method, Results, and Discussion, as defined by Swales (1990), reflecting the approach of empirical/positivistic studies that favor separating theory, methods, data, and findings. Though this mode of presenting research findings is still very strong, we see the gradual appearance of more creative genres that deviate from the IMRD structure. In an ironic return

to the early days of *TQ*, we see a resurgence of genres of narration in the late 1990s. We have to use *narrative* with qualification, however, because the studies appearing lately have an established research method and are not as impressionistic and personal as the ones appearing in the early days of the journal (see the special topic issue titled *Narrative Research in TESOL*, Vol. 45, No. 3, 2011). However, the IMRD structure is so dominant that even the new research approaches and genres have to relate to it in some way to satisfy the expectations of reviewers and readers. Therefore, many authors who adopt creative new genres still attempt to fit their writing into a modified IMRD structure; that is, authors frame their narrative or reflective genres in relation to a niche in current studies (I), justify their method (M), and conclude with an analysis of their narrative (D) at the end. Data and Results are ambiguous in these articles, as the narrative is data, results, and discussion in many cases. Therefore I labeled a new genre for coding purposes—*modified IMRD*. (This explains the paucity of narrative studies lately, as depicted in Figure 4. I have classified many of them as modified IMRD.) An example of this genre is Casanave (2012). Though she presents a brilliant narrative from her journal maintained while learning Japanese, she still begins her article by identifying a niche and explaining her method. In other fields, such as anthropology, sociology, and cultural studies, scholars are able to present autoethnographies that don't engage explicitly with published literature, citations, or research methods (see Ellis & Bochner, 2006, for a justification of this approach). Their journals are able to present a straightforward narrative as a research genre. The need for modified IMRD reveals the lingering modernist influence on research in TESOL.

CONCLUSION

With the caveat that it is difficult to chart the trajectory of professional discourses in TESOL with linearity or consistency, we can summarize the emerging trends as follows:

- from product to process and practice
- from cognitive to social and ecological
- from prepackaged methods to situated pedagogies and language socialization
- from studying controlled classrooms and experimental settings to everyday contexts and ecologies
- from the homogeneous to variation and inclusive plurality

- from knowledge or skills to identities, beliefs, and ideologies
- from objective to personal and reflexive
- from the generalized and global to specific and local

There is thus an expansion and broadening of perspectives in our professional discourses and practices, in keeping with the resistance to modernist approaches which perceived a controlled, delimited, and objective approach as generating valid knowledge about language acquisition, teaching, and learning. We must note, however, that these TESOL professional discourses may not be reflective of ELT on the whole. There are other ELT professional communities and journals, with slightly different orientations, cultivating issues which may be perceived as not receiving much space in TESOL. For example, the journal *Studies in Second Language Acquisition* publishes experimental research on largely cognitive orientations to SLA. At the other end of the spectrum, journals such as *Anthropology and Education Quarterly* publish more politically edgy methods, theories, and genres on language teaching. In this spectrum of professional discourses, *TQ* still provides a balanced representation of the developments and shifts in ELT.

In the context of these trajectories, we return to the question about the professional identity and status of TESOL. Swales (1988) did see evidence that TESOL was developing its own coherent research and discourses, largely in the empirical/positivist tradition at that time, to serve as a flagship for ELT, with its own "journal of research and scholarship" which he considered enjoying the status of "a major journal," in his review of *TQ* on its 20th anniversary (pp. 162–163). However, we see a messy diversity of discourses in our field at present. To some extent, this is similar to what has been going on in our sister field applied linguistics. At the beginning, in the 1960s, applied linguistics was defined mostly in terms of *linguistics applied*—that is, the application of linguistic knowledge to language analysis or teaching purposes (Davies & Elder, 2004). Gradually, there came into prominence *applied linguistics*, which entailed borrowing theoretically plural paradigms for language teaching and analyses, with critical mediation by professionals. In some ways, TESOL has also broadened its plurality of discourses, becoming more interdisciplinary and borrowing models and approaches from fields as diverse as anthropology, sociology, psychology, and the humanities (a trend advocated presciently by Bolinger, 1972, and Wardhaugh, 1972, in the early issues of *TQ*).

However, there are signs that ELT is being challenged to move beyond a dependent relationship of borrowing models from linguistics or other fields for its professional purposes as a service discipline (i.e., equipping students with the language competence to undertake their

academic and professional pursuits). It is beginning to contribute to the practices and discourses of other academic fields and social domains in its own right. Consider the important theme of migration, which has featured a special topic issue (*Migration and Adult Language Learning*, Vol. 44, No. 3, 2010) and many articles in *TQ* (e.g., Han, 2009; Holmes & Marra, 2011; Miller, 2010). Migration poses issues of considerable public importance, such as citizenship tests, workplace communication, and host country acculturation that require the expertise of TESOL professionals. In fact, TESOL was consulted in redesigning the language assessment section of the current U.S. citizenship test ("U.S. Citizenship Update," 2007). Some applied linguistic scholarship is making contributions to complicating or complementing studies related to migration in fields such as sociology and anthropology. See how geographers use linguistic constructs for their own research on migration (Bailey, Mupakati, & Magunha, 2014; Fast, 2012). It is thus possible for TESOL to envision a more independent scholarly role, beyond its current status as a service profession to other academic fields.

In social life also, language learning is beginning to gain a more significant place. If this is a knowledge economy of tertiarization in industries (beyond the prior two stages of foci on raw materials and production), with communicative resources for marketing and product development gaining more importance, language is central to geopolitics (see Duchene & Heller, 2012). More importantly, English comes with the mixed blessing of serving ideological domination by the developed communities or empowerment of marginalized communities; shaping enterprising subjects for neoliberal governmentality or giving hope to refugees caught in conflict zones (Nelson & Appleby, 2015). ELT practitioners are required to navigate this complicated terrain to advocate more ethical and inclusive language learning and use. It is appropriate that TESOL's latest research agenda calls for "increased emphasis on the agency of teachers as advocates for change inside and outside of their classrooms" (TESOL, 2014, p. 2). And yet, if TESOL bemoans not being consulted for the formulation of Common Core State Standards, which professes academic and professional mobility for English language learners (TESOL, 2013), it is clear that teachers have to set their sights beyond service units and remedial classes in order to be more relevant.

As TESOL becomes increasingly engaged with disciplines, discourses, and social concerns beyond the classroom, it will face challenges to its traditional professional identity as defined in its founding. In fact, the diverse and incommensurate discourses in the pedagogical domains within TESOL make it difficult to identify a set of constructs as commonly shared or uniquely identifying our profession. This plurality is not unique to TESOL. With the advent of postmodernity, all

disciplines are reconsidering their earlier search for autonomy. The narrowing of inquiry—which specified that each object and field of inquiry had to be delimited in its scope from other fields, to invite focused, objective, and controlled knowledge construction—has now turned out to be a limitation, stifling the ability to explain the messy intersections of social domains, identities, and communicative needs (as suggested by Kramsch in the epigraph). Unable to define their disciplinary discourses as unique, shared, or self-contained, many other disciplines are moving to define their identity not in terms of discourses, but in terms of practices. For example, fields in the humanities, such as the English Department, are defining themselves as "issue-based" and not "field-specific" (Davidson & Goldberg, 2004, p. 45). As economist Jeffrey Sachs put it, there is a need for all disciplines to "shift the focus from disciplinary questions to transdisciplinary problems" (quoted in Davidson & Goldberg, 2004, p. 39).

Likewise, while TESOL concerns itself with the practice of teaching English as an additional language, it can feel free to borrow from diverse fields and theoretical discourses and make applications to diverse social domains (such as migration, citizenship, militarization, and the neoliberal economy). A metaphor that might capture this emerging vision for disciplinary groups is communities of practice. TESOL might envision itself as a community of engaged practitioners from different cultures, pedagogical domains, and theoretical orientations, who draw from their diversity to serve English language learners effectively by constructing their professional discourses and practices in relevance to the changing demands and needs of communication. Though the plurality of discourses and practices in TESOL may not cohere neatly any time in the present or in the future, we have to think of TESOL as a community that will always borrow, appropriate, and revise its discourses in response to changing social and intellectual contexts. As in Wenger's (1998, p. 244) treatment of organizations as a "constellation of practices," TESOL's very diversity can become a source of strength for the profession to challenge itself and reconstruct richer discourses and practices for its constant renewal. By "putting boundaries at work and managing them as assets," TESOL can unleash "the potential for new meanings embedded in an organization" (Wenger, 1998, pp. 256, 262).

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Thanks to this project, I coped well with my diagnosis and treatment of cancer in summer and fall 2014. The time in hospitals for many rounds of surgery and chemotherapy gave me the patience to do the required research and writing efficiently. The project also enabled me to remain positive, being connected with the

profession and contributing to it virtually. I thank the editors and two anonymous referees for challenging criticism and useful suggestions.

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