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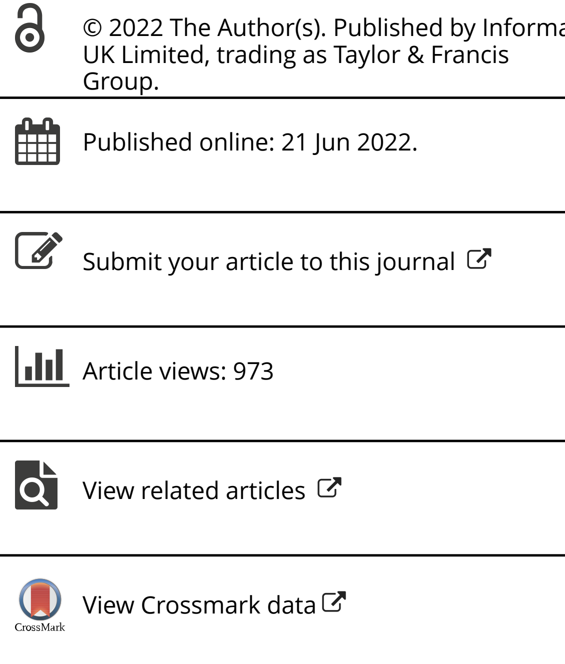

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The coloniality of native speakerism

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ABSTRACT
In various iterations of studies of Global Englishes, much has been written about native-speakerism. However, Kumaravadivelu asks why the intellectual output has not substantially altered the power dynamics between 'native' and 'non-native' speakers. This article conducts a critical historiography of native-speakerism and shows how it is fundamentally implicated in the mobilization of race and racial inequality in the operationalization of colonial power. It does so by going back to texts written during the period of American colonization in the Philippines and discussing their discursive and structural continuities today. The article highlights and problematizes the coloniality of native-speakerism.

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Introduction

It sounds like the coloniality of native-speakerism in English language teaching (ELT), learning and use – the body of knowledge which privileges and legitimizes the native speaker as the authority and standard in all matters concerning the use of the language – is an unproblematic proposition. After all, the concept of the native speaker in relation to ELT is associated with standard language ideologies which English colonial education perpetuated and are persistently sustained in educational policies and practices around the world today. This article, however, aims to show that while scholars generally agree that native-speakerism and the ideologies and practices associated with ELT remain massive stumbling blocks in the legitimization of Englishes in the world (Hillman, Selvi, & Yazan, 2021), such agreement does not extend to the idea of ELT as a continuing colonial project. Conditions of coloniality, such as the pervasiveness of native-speakerism facilitated by global and institutional infrastructures of education, continue to shape ELT practice (Kumaravadivelu, 2016). However, while scholars acknowledge the workings of destructive ideologies, practices and infrastructures sustaining and resulting in inequalities of English and multilingualism, some work stops short of saying that these generators of inequalities remain colonial in nature (Edge, 2006; Kumaravadivelu, 2016). According to this line of thinking, colonialism is a thing of the past; thus, native-speakerism (and ELT in general) is now cut off from its imperialist moorings.

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In fact, native-speakerism and ELT remain nexuses of coloniality today. Note the use of 'coloniality' (Maldonado-Torres, 2007) because we need to temper celebratory perspectives on the resistive and agentive nature of 'Global Englishes' today. Colonialism is a historical juncture but 'colonial structures persist beyond the period of official colonial rule' (Hsu, 2017, p. 114). The field of ELT, which has become a massive economic and educational enterprise worldwide, brings together racialized and largely devalued teachers and students (Kubota & Lin, 2006, p. 471; see also Veronelli, 2015). In other words, the field has been saturated with practices and ideologies which are shaped through the lens of 'socially defined racial categories' (Doane, 2006, p. 255). However, what has been celebrated is the belief that postcolonial users of Englishes have taken control of the language and shaped it according to their own cultures and values at the expense of highlighting the enduring inequalities of multilingualism. For example, through the lens of exclusion and oppression among Afro-Colombian and Indigenous students in Colombia, Gutiérrez, Ortiz, and Usma (2021) assert that 'overlooking local forms of knowledge and cultures, ELT practices have perpetuated such oppression and continue to feed their systemic annihilation' (p. 272). Thus, we need to put the spotlight back on the durable ideologies, practices and infrastructures of ELT by locating them within conditions of coloniality such that addressing these conditions demands more than changing (e.g. pluralizing, localizing, indigenizing) the English language to become 'Englishes'.

Through the lens of Quijano's (2000) coloniality of power, this article argues that the durability of native-speakerism can be explained by its rootedness in the ideological and political infrastructures of the coloniality of English language use and education. It does so by mapping the discursive and structural continuities of native-speakerism in the Philippines between 'colonial' and 'postcolonial' periods. To surface the coloniality of native-speakerism is to highlight both its discursive and structural dimensions, which thus point us to the perceived superiority of the native speaker and the colonial educational infrastructures which generate and sustain it. I will trace historically the legitimization of native-speakerism in English language use in the Philippines, thus showing how present-day ideologies and practices associated with the notion are deeply entangled with histories of colonialism and the racialization of subjugated peoples. I will do so by going back to texts written preceding and during the first three decades of American colonization and discuss their discursive continuities with present-day discourses and practices, as well as the institutional and state structures which support them.

In the end, this article contends that it is important to problematize the coloniality of native-speakerism not only in order to gain a much deeper and critical appreciation of the immensity of work we as educators and language scholars must contend with, but also in order to find unexplored spaces of intervention and transformation in language attitudes and practices in ELT and language teacher education. A critical historiography of prevalent attitudes, practices and concepts is an imperative in a (re-)envisioned teaching and learning of English in today's neoliberalized world, which means constructing a history of ideas in our field but with the purpose of exposing and configuring the power dynamics and relations from which emerged such ideas (Kincheloe, 2015).

Native-speakerism, race and colonialism

According to Quijano (2000), 'the model of power that is globally hegemonic today presupposes an element of coloniality' (p. 533). Globalization is centered on the geopolitical, socioeconomic and cultural dynamics of the power of capital and the exploitation of labor which goes with it, and such power is sustained and perpetuated by the operationalization of unequal race relations. Colonialisms were built and thrived on the racialization of the oppressed, justifying conquest and exploitation on the grounds of the racial inferiority of the colonized. To put it in another way, subjugated peoples have undergone a process through which they have been assigned particular arbitrary racial categories which place(d) them in positions of weakness and inferiority (Gans, 2017). The concept of race has no internal objective validity, but rather is socially constructed, which has material effects on the lives of the racialized. For Quijano, thus, race – 'a mental category of modernity' (p. 534) – was the fundamental axis of colonial power and rule which, in fact, has become more durable than colonialism itself. Continuing exploitation of human labor today under the guise of 'globalization' run by profit-driven capitalist governments, as well as private and public institutions and individuals, is governed by the logics of coloniality as it continues to draw upon a racialized and hierarchized global workforce. Quijano adds, however, that it is not only in the field of the economy where racial classification plays out in the domination and exploitation of people but 'in each and every sphere' of power (p. 572).

At the end of the nineteenth century, 'Filipinos' were agitating toward independence from more than three centuries of colonial rule by Spain. A Philippine republic, in fact, was established in 1898 after revolutionary forces declared victory against Spain. One of the most celebrated anti-colonial writers at the time, Jose Rizal, who would later be declared the country's national hero, exposed the social evils brought forth by the colonizers, especially the powerful friars, for which he was executed in 1896. It is in his writings where one finds what Quijano (2000) earlier referred to as race being a fundamental axis of colonial power. In fact, Rizal's writings show how racialized colonial relations between the oppressors and the oppressed operate in all spheres of power – cultural, economic, political, ideological/mental – and thus we find them even in intersections of language, race and education.

In 'Adventures of a Schoolmaster', one of the chapters in Rizal's *Noli Me Tangere* [Touch Me Not], a Filipino 'schoolmaster' narrates in Spanish to a friar how he exercises innovation in the teaching of Spanish to his pupils: 'I employed the simplest methods of methods, phrases and names, without focusing on too many rules, hoping to teach them grammar after they had understood the language' (Rizal, 1887/**2006**, p. 109). Speaking in Tagalog, however, the friar insults the schoolmaster for choosing to speak in Spanish: 'When you come to see me, it should not be in borrowed clothes. Be content to speak in your own language, and don't ruin Spanish' (p. 110). In the chapter, the schoolmaster struggles to employ his innovative teaching strategies because, even if they work successfully with the children, the parents, the friars and other stakeholders insist on the traditional use of grammar-focused instruction. This brief interaction between the schoolmaster and the friar is an instantiation of power relations between a colonizer and a colonized fundamentally grounded in the mobilization of race as the key organizing principle of such relations. The schoolmaster's expertise and experience are devalued

and debased on terms which position him as a non-native speaker of Spanish. 'Don't ruin Spanish' is a sweeping judgment of the *indio* – a non-Hispanic native of the Philippines – as unqualified to use the language by virtue of him not being Spanish or a so-called native speaker of Spanish. It does not matter if the irony is lost on the friar who chooses to speak in Tagalog, not his native language, to insult the schoolmaster for 'ruining' Spanish. Does he not ruin Tagalog too? Obviously, native-speakerism does not extend to the friar's use of Tagalog since he continues to wield power over the schoolmaster; thus, it is he who decides on the (il)legitimacy of communicative practices available in the interaction.

While the interaction is, of course, a localized encounter between a friar and a local teacher of Spanish, it instantiates how race serves as a hidden but primary governing logic of colonial relations. Speaking specifically about the dynamics of colonial power in the Philippines at the time Spain ruled the country from the sixteenth century, Camacho (2002) states that 'Colonization originated a new framework in which groups would be divided along ethnic lines' (p. 44). The schoolmaster is devoiced and positioned (as in the case of other colonial encounters) as the colonial 'other' by virtue of his being a non-native speaker of Spanish. In the chapter, the schoolmaster is forced to resign from the school precisely because the immense weight of racialized and internalized power succeeded in framing and making him as a non-expert and non-native – thus unqualified – user and teacher of Spanish.

In the sections that follow, the article shows how the mental and structural mobilization of race as the fundamental foundation of colonialism served as a reliable framework for the institutionalization of America's 'benevolent assimilation' campaign in the Philippines as it 'rests basically on the same premise as the Spanish colonization did' (Camacho, 2002, p. 65). The universal public school system put in place by the Americans at the beginning of the twentieth century was, and continues to be, viewed as a radical departure from the infrastructures of Spanish education. However, the massive success of cultural assimilation and subjugation of Filipinos through the ideological tools of education – for example, the imposition of English as the main medium of instruction – similarly deployed race in perpetuating and sustaining the logics of colonial power. The colonial native speaker, this time of English, served as a kind of control to (re)affirm the inferiority of Filipinos as speakers of the colonial language. Control of the Philippines may have changed hands from Spanish-speaking to English-speaking colonizers, but racialized ideologies about language, culture, identity and nation continued to be governed by fundamentally the same framework of colonial power. At the heart of native-speakerism in the use, teaching and learning of English is the mobilization of race as a key governing logic of the exercise of power today.

The colonial matrix of power of English

When the Spanish colonial government was apparently weakened by Philippine revolutionary forces which had claimed pockets of victories in several towns and provinces, surrender was just a matter of when it would happen. Manila was besieged by thousands of Philippine troops which, in fact, cut off water and food supply to the city. At the time, American forces were technically at war with Spain. Having engaged and defeated Spanish troops in the Battle of Manila Bay in 1898, the American troops were awaiting ground reinforcement to arrive before they could finally take over

Manila. While American and Philippine troops placed Manila under siege, especially Intramuros, the seat of the Spanish colonial government, Spanish authorities were secretly negotiating with American soldiers a plan to surrender through a mock battle between the two colonial forces. Indeed, after calculated US bombardment of Intramuros, Spain eventually surrendered – not to Filipinos, but to the Americans who took over the seat of government while preventing the Filipinos from advancing further. This strategy was believed to have saved Spain from shamefully ceding the country back to Filipinos, their colonial subjects for more than 300 years (Schirmer and Shalom, 1987).

This duplicitous occasion ignited the beginnings of the Philippine–American War in 1899 as a 'race war' (Kramer, 2006), which would later be described as one of the bloodiest imperial wars in Asia and the starting point of Philippine–American relations (Kramer, 2006; Schirmer and Shalom, 1987). English and American colonial education were introduced right at the beginning of the Philippine–American War, at the helm of which were American soldiers who built classrooms and taught English while also engaged in warfare. At the beginning of the war, members of the first colonial Philippine commission arrived in Manila to gather information about the Philippines about which they knew little (Ileto, 1999), but because the broad framework of rule was that of the subjugation of a people by a foreign ruler, race remained the organizing logic of such a rule.

Therefore, following on from Quijano's (2000) thesis on race and colonialism, American colonialism, while generating new forms (e.g. universal primary education) and tools (e.g. the imposition of the English language) of colonial infrastructures of control, was primarily built on race as the fundamental axis of power. Spain did not promote Spanish as the language of the *indios* but the USA mobilized the English language and free primary education as the centerpiece ideological tools of American colonialism in the Philippines. Yet while the colonial strategies were different, the colonial matrix of power remained the same: Filipinos were an inferior and backward people, thus their subjugation was justified. Through the 'tribalization' of Filipinos (Kramer, 2006, p. 185), exploitation of local labor for profit and control of human and natural resources operated within this colonial matrix of power such that even after colonialism 'ended' formally, Filipinos continued to believe in their own inferiority, the benevolence of the colonizers and the so-called selfish interests of Filipino revolutionaries (Canieso-Doronila, 1989; Constantino, 1970). This would extend into – and be a key organizing logic of – how the English language would unravel itself in the lives of Filipinos then and now.

English and the deficit discourse

Therefore, the imperative to impose English on the local population at the beginning of the Philippine–American War was understandably justified on the grounds of the racial inferiority and backwardness of Filipinos, something that was not unique to the Philippines, of course, since colonial exercise of power would typically work toward 'educating and governing primitive races' (Hewitt, 1905, p. 10). In the case of the Philippines:

> We are in possession of a new domain, peopled mainly by the Malay race, consisting of numerous tribes, in every stage of culture from absolute savagery to semi-civilization. Of these ethnic groups, none of which approaches the Caucasian race, we know but little. (p. 11)

Notice the construction of the people of the Philippines as absolutely savage, partly civilized and nowhere close to the Caucasian race. Preceding the Philippine–American War, Filipino intellectuals and activists were already engaged in international movements of solidarity against colonial rule, mobilizing multiple languages in conversations with anti-colonial resistance prime movers in other parts of the world (Anderson, 2013). Yet American colonial discourse similarly operated on a deficit understanding of Filipinos as racially inferior and thus in need of enlightenment and tutelage in order to join the international network of civilized and modern nations. Hewitt (1905) was against the hasty project of educating (or Americanizing) the Filipinos, but his premise in asking for more time to invest in their education would nevertheless be stunningly the same, deploying the racially induced deficit discourse of Filipinos as non-Caucasian and uncivilized/semi-civilized.

The English language would figure centrally in the mobilization of this deficit colonial discourse as the language would serve as a medium through which the 'education' of Filipinos would be accomplished. In a 1903 report of the Philippine Commission by David Barrows, General Superintendent of Education for the Philippine Islands, it was stated that to keep the Filipinos' 'native dialect' as their main means of communication would perpetuate their isolation. On the other hand, the English language would open the doors to modernity and enlightenment:

> . . . to the Filipino the possession of English is the gateway into that busy and fervid life of commerce, of modern science, of diplomacy and politics in which he aspires to shine. Knowledge of English is more than this – it is a possession as valuable to the humble peasant for his social protection as it is to the man of wealth for his social distinction. If we can give the Filipino husbandman a knowledge of the English language, and even the most elemental acquaintance with English writings, we will free him from that degraded dependence upon the man of influence of his own race which made possible not only insurrection but that fairly unparalleled epidemic of crime which we have seen in these Islands during the past few years. (As cited in Hewitt, 1905, p. 12)

Thus, the perceived importance accorded to English in the pacification/education of Filipinos could not be underestimated. In fact, it was volunteer war soldiers who were the first teachers of English, building school houses in towns where they were assigned to neutralize Filipino resistance (Constantino, 1970). With immediate effect, upon the reopening of schools in 1899 in the midst of the ongoing war, a printed circular from the first Philippine Commission declared that the teaching of English was going to be compulsory, and it was going to be one hour of instruction per day in all public schools across the archipelago ('Pupils must study English language', 1899). In Tagalog-speaking areas at least (the capital Manila included), the native 'dialect' could not compare with the English language, with the former described as 'deficient in many qualities which have made European tongues the vehicle of civilization' (MacKinlay, 1901, p. 214).

Philippine English, Bamboo English and native-speakerism

However, as soon as the English language began to be spoken and taught in the Philippines, the process of indigenization/localization/nativization of the language also began (Kachru, 1992; Llamzon, 1969). This was a sociolinguistic consequence of the imposition of English on the multilingual and multicultural local population. The process of indigenization/localization/nativization has been described in more detail and with more theoretical rigor by language scholars for at least five decades now (Kachru, 1992; Schneider, 2003), with Filipino scholars as some of the earlier ones (Gonzalez & Alberca, 1978; Llamzon, 1969). However, the starting point of the cultural and linguistic transformation of English was the beginning of colonial aggression itself during which English and American education were imposed upon the local population. Thus, the notion of Filipinos – and, in fact, colonized subjects around the world for that matter – changing the English language is nothing new as this was already described early on as 'the hazards of transplantation' (Barry, 1927, p. 19) of the language in the colonies. In fact, there was a name for it – Bamboo English – although it must be emphasized that this was not exclusive to nativized English in the Philippines since it was also used later on to refer to similar nativized but stigmatized uses of English in other places, especially where American soldiers were stationed (Algeo, 1960; Duke, 1970; Norman, 1955; Webster, 1960).

Nevertheless, while the racially induced deficit discourse justified the imposition of English on the grounds that it would bring forth the enlightenment and development of Filipinos, the same deficit discourse guaranteed that the local people's so-called march toward civilization through the English language was not going to be alongside their colonizers. This was because Filipinos' use of the language would always fall short of the ideal speaker of English. The racial inferiority of Filipinos was going to be 'biological' or 'physiological' in nature, a point that affirms Quijano's (2000) claim that the colonial exercise of power was drawn upon the racial differentiation of human beings, and this ideology would soon appear in various explicit and subtle iterations throughout the colonial period and be sustained by discourses and practices associated with globalization. For Yule (1925), for example, several physiological variables, molded by their multilingual speech, would 'hinder the Filipino in acquiring distinct enunciation' in the English language, and these would include the Filipino's 'stiffness of the jaw hinge, the inflexibility of his lips, and his not very agile tongue muscles' (p. 118).

It was on 7 April 1900 when then US President William McKinley declared that English would be the medium of instruction in all levels of education in the Philippines. However, without surfacing and acknowledging the central role of race as the fundamental axis of colonial power which framed American rule in the country, it would be inadequate to apprehend the role of English native-speakerism in the shaping of Filipinos' deficit language beliefs and practices, their identities as a racially inferior people and their unequally structured social relations. We need to expose the racially induced colonial roots of native-speakerism and – this is important – the specific configurations of their operationalization within communities of Filipino language users. While Filipinos transformed the English language, such transformation was viewed essentially as unacceptable. In fact, the perceived failure of the American experiment in education in the Philippines was based hugely on Filipino children's failure to live up to native speaker

expectations: 'the language evolution which has taken place in our Far East possession *has fallen far short of the expectations* of those who, a quarter of a century ago, inaugurated the plan to educate the Filipinos along our own standardized lines' (Darrach, 1930, p. A9; emphasis added). Early on, Filipino learners of English were mocked for the way they spoke English; in fact, even textbooks and readers in English written by American-educated Filipinos were similarly ridiculed. 'Some of these native [Filipino] teachers, grown ambitious, have written textbooks – especially English readers – which one finds in use in the primary class rooms [*sic*]. And their weirdness is beyond comparison' (p. A4). It is true that the first few decades of the use of English as the medium of instruction faced massive educational challenges such as a lack of trained teachers, resources and classrooms, but in the analysis of Filipino children's unacceptable or incompetent use of English, the responsibility rested on the belief that it was the children's multilingual repertoire (in Filipino 'dialects' and Spanish) which resulted in English being 'distorted' (Barry, 1927, p. 14; Struble, 1929, p. 279).

Thus, while the linguistic and cultural mediation of English by Filipinos was widely acknowledged, it was essentially viewed through the lens of deficit use of the language. Pronunciation was the source of some 'major errors' (Yule, 1925, p. 118) such as the use of /p/ instead of /f/, and /b/ instead of /v/, 'largely because the lower lip does not readily slip under the upper teeth for f and v' (p. 118). Those who would commit these major errors would be speakers belonging to a particular racial stock:

> Many Filipinos, especially those of pure Malay stock with no infusion of Spanish or Chinese blood, cannot distinguish between the sounds of *p* and *f*, or between *b* and *v*. (Barry, 1927, p. 19)

The ability to differentiate between /p/ and /f/ would become one of the hallmarks of postcolonial 'educated' Philippine English and, on other hand, failure to differentiate could be a source of negative judgments on the speakers' educational, family and ethnolinguistic backgrounds (Guinto, 2014; Tayao, 2004; Tupas, 2013), as will be seen later in the article. Moreover, the short vowel sounds /a/, /u/ and /o/ 'cause confusion in Filipino English' (Yule, 1925, p. 118), such that /o/ becomes /a/ and /i/ becomes /e/. Struble (1929) details the phonological and syntactic influences of Filipinos' multilinguistic repertoire on their use of English, and this includes the influence of the 'dialects' which were themselves influenced by the Spanish linguistic system. Among the direct influences of the 'dialects' were the local consonants, 'the most numerous sources of bamboo pronunciation' (p. 280):

> Except in unassimilated foreign words, the dialects have no sounds that correspond to our *th, sh, f, v, j*, and *z*. Hence the great frequency of such pronunciations as *dare* for *there, tin* for *thin, see* for *she, plea* for *flea, banish* for *vanish, chelly* for *jelly, sig-sog* for *zig-zag*, and *iss* and *hass* for *is* and *has*. Not only are these sounds totally foreign to the Filipino, but certain combinations never occur in the native words of his [*sic*] dialect [*sic*]. Since, at the end of the word, a nasal or liquid never occurs in combination with a voiced consonant, he [*sic*] is very likely to omit entirely the final *d* in such verb forms as *chained, called, blamed, seemed, failed*, etc. Another combination, which, oddly enough, is also foreign to Spanish, is the initial s followed by a mute. The Filipinos' unfamiliarity with this sound leads him to say *estudent* for *student, estop* for *stop, espace* for *space, eskate* for *skate*, etc.

Bamboo English is also characterized by influences related to syntax – 'the arrangement of English words after the syntax of native speech' (Struble 1929, p. 280) – plurals and peculiarities traced to the illogicality of English idioms and prepositions (p. 281). Such

identification of influences on the use of English was supposedly not meant to disparage the Filipinos' learning of English, but nevertheless such influences were described as 'shortcomings' (p. 282) – which resulted in a 'weird dialect' of English (Darrach, 1930, p. A4) 'as vagrant in the realm of language as the pidgin English of China or the babu English of India'.

The durability of native-speakerism today

Thus, what we have seen is that the deficit framing of Filipinos' unique use of English could be historically placed within the broad logics of colonial power itself. At the center of such framing is the role of race as a key differentiating instrument of social control and hierarchization. Native-speakerist beliefs and practices cannot simply be seen as academic or professional concerns, but as part of a body of racialized knowledge which governs not only how we should speak and communicate with one another but also how we think about ourselves and others, how we should live our lives and how we should conduct ourselves alongside other people. According to Camacho (2002), 'race and its cultural concomitant' (p. 44) constituted and mobilized colonialism in the Philippines and generated a pattern of relationship which positioned Filipinos as subjects and inferior. While 'history has modified that pattern' (p. 44), the foundation of the changing patterns remains rooted in national identities and social relations formed by racialized knowledge. This is one way to explain the durability of native-speakerism today – it is rooted in historically formed colonial practices, discourses and identities. The colonizers might have 'left' but the fundamental ideals of colonialism remain embedded in the everyday lives of the people and in decision-making practices of individuals and institutions.

In landmark research on Filipino national identity, Canieso-Doronila (1989) found that Filipino schoolchildren thought of foreigners more highly than themselves, in fact wishing to be seatmates with American peers rather than Filipino classmates. For Mulder (1990), this is the success of the colonizers' 'cultural strategy . . . based on education and the use of English' which was 'so effective that the memory of nationalism and the wars at the end of nineteenth and in the early twentieth century became blurred' (p. 85). More recently, a beauty queen became a subject of ridicule because of her use of English live on national television. The mockery and bashing she received were reminiscent of the early decades of native-speakerist deficit framing of the way Filipinos used English as described in this article. One lawmaker, a proponent of the return of English as a primary medium of instruction, described the experience of watching her speak in English on stage as 'tormenting to watch' and a 'sensational failure' (as cited in Tupas, 2013, p. 45).

The beauty queen, named Janina, won a title (although she eventually relinquished the crown), but still she was criticized for 'murdering the English language' (Godinez, 2008, n.p.). During the interview she spoke in English, but because she was not fluent in the language she had several nervous and uncomfortable pauses and laughs, and slid into several iconic grammatical mistakes which historically have been deemed as evidence of lack of education or being associated with low-income social backgrounds. It might be recalled that early manifestations of Filipino speakers' failure to use English competently during the American period were peculiar phonological and syntactic usages which affected the way Filipinos spoke and wrote English. These were the same sounds and

structures which were the center of mockery and national self-flagellation when Janina answered the question during the interview portion, the most iconic of which was the use of /p/ instead of /f/ such as 'tough ten' instead of 'top ten'. The sound /f/ does not appear in most Philippine languages, thus it must be taught formally in school for users not to use the two sounds interchangeably. This is part of the linguistic repertoire of Filipino speakers where [b], [p] and [f] are instantiations of the sound /v/ (Guinto, 2014) and which, we now know, index non-nativeness and lack of education (Guinto, 2014; Tayao, 2004).

It must be emphasized again, of course, that the coloniality of native-speakerism today does not simply accrue to unhinged cultural beliefs about language and identity. They are rooted in the enduring structures of colonialism such that these beliefs are affirmed and sustained in social institutions, foremost of which is education. This explains why, despite recent empirical work on the existence of so-called Philippine English, the same scholars concede that native-speakerism is alive, perhaps even stronger and more pernicious, thus making it extremely difficult to initiate educational reforms in the teaching and learning of English drawn upon indigenous knowledge and practices (Bautista, 2000; Bernardo, 2017; Bernardo & Madrunio, 2015). Neocolonial relations between the Philippines and the USA are reconstituted in all spheres of political and cultural relations (Canieso-Doronila, 1989; Santos, 2021; Schirmer & Shalom, 1987). For example, studies on development aid projects for Muslim communities through provision of ELT resources for the purpose of raising the students' opportunities for socio-economic mobility have shown how software materials, including assessment rubrics, reject the multilingual realities of the classroom and, instead, very clearly promote native-speakerism where perfect and highest scores are reserved for the native speaker ideal (Tupas, 2020; Tupas & Tabiola, 2017). Therefore, it seems that more than 100 years since the imposition of English during the Philippine–American War and the establishment of racially induced beliefs about its use by early Filipino learners, Filipino users of English today remain judged according to the ideals of native-speakerism, and Filipinos generally are still fine with it despite being disadvantaged by it.

Conclusion: celebrating Global Englishes?

In her comprehensive evaluation of work on liberatory, decolonizing strategies, Hsu (2017) finds that 'critical researchers argue that we must reevaluate the foundational philosophical conditions by which we have come to understand the English language and English language teaching' (p. 116). This was exactly what I did when I recently worked with the Ateneo Center for English Language Teaching (ACELT) to design and deliver a teacher training 50-hour online course, Sociolinguistics in English Education (SEED). The aim was mainly to help unpack and clarify – in other words, visibilize – ideas about language, society and education which underpin much of teachers' language teaching practice today. Pedagogical strategies were deemed important in as much as it was highlighted that they assume underlying language beliefs which are traceable historically. Language beliefs such as native-speakerism were discussed as historically produced ideas rather than simply as problems which need to be addressed. In other words, a critical historiographical approach in the training program necessitated discussions of language as intertwined with the country's troubled history. It framed teachers not in a narrow

sense of language teachers confronted by issues of language and language teaching, but as Filipino teachers of English confronted by issues of history, politics and power within which our ideologies and practices as language teachers operate.

Critical historiographical engagements during the training have generated several unsolicited initiatives in schools where the trainees work. One such initiative is an ongoing university-approved research project on decolonizing language beliefs of teachers which was a collaboration between researchers in the language arts and education faculties. According to the main researcher, the proposed project was justified on the belief that cosmetic changes to the curriculum are those which do not acknowledge and address the historical embeddedness of language teacher beliefs. The research project seeks to investigate not only the teachers' beliefs, but their critical understanding of the contested history of Filipinos and how it shapes their perspectives on English and multilingualism. It is hoped that teachers' clarity about the ideologies they espouse will result in more systemic changes in the curriculum because of their more critical and committed stances toward history, language and language teaching. This is aligned with studies on liberatory decolonial strategies where educators nurture 'an awareness of the historical realities of English as tied to colonial conquest, and their related positionality within this construct' (Hsu, 2017, p. 125).

Sociolinguistically, the colonial and the global spread of English has resulted in the indigenization of the English language. This is undeniable. However, transformations in the language have not been fully accompanied by transformations in the thinking about and mobilization of such linguistic changes. Holliday (2015) acknowledges well-intentioned attempts to address the persistent global problem of native-speakerism, yet reminds us that there are 'real' people such as 'non-native' educators who are at the forefront of such attempts to confront the hegemony of ideologies and institutions of native-speakerism. These educators work and live in the nexuses of interrelations between forces of globalization, empire and English (Kumaravadivelu, 2006). Much has been written about the problematic nature of native-speakerism as well as the subordinated status of so-called non-native speakers of English for the past four decades or so, yet Kumaravadivelu (2006) rightly asks why the intellectual output has not altered in a substantial way the power dynamics between so-called native and non-native speakers and the local and translocal infrastructures which feed into and sustain such dynamics.

What this article has shown, hopefully, is that any perspective on ways to combat hegemonic discourses and practices in the use, teaching and learning of English remains hugely inadequate if its solutions stay on the level of the 'linguistic' and the 'cultural' and ignore the role of structures of colonialism and globalization. Teacher education programs informed by various iterations of paradigms of Global Englishes must be reconfigured in such a way that race and colonial history take the center stage in the education of teachers and students of English. As argued by Trueba and Bautista (2000), 'the need for clarity of political beliefs, practices, and commitments is as important as the actual pedagogical strategies used in instruction' (p. 278).

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