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WORLD ENGLISHES, ENGLISH AS A LINGUA FRANCA AND GLOBAL ENGLISHES IN DIALOGUE: INTELLIGIBILITY, CULTURE AND PEDAGOGY

Zekeriya HAMAMCI[1]

Introduction

Estimates of how many people use English, and in what capacity, have changed considerably over the past four decades. Writing at the turn of the century, Bhatt (2001, p. 528), drawing on earlier estimates by Crystal and by McArthur, reported that non-native speakers outnumbered native speakers by a ratio of four to one. Kachru and Smith (2008, p. 5) gave a figure of approximately 800 million users in the Outer and Expanding Circles, compared with just over 300 million primary users in the Inner Circle, an estimate they attribute to Todd and Hancock. More recent figures reported by Jenkins and Morán Panero (2025, pp. 2, 5) suggest about 388 million first-language and 897 million second-language speakers in the territories where English is a first or institutionalised language, and possibly as many as 2.3 billion speakers worldwide

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(Crystal, 2019, as cited in Jenkins & Morán Panero, 2025). Crystal himself cautions that such estimates "can never be more than an informed impressionism" (Crystal, 2019, p. 115, as cited in Jenkins & Morán Panero, 2025, p. 2), and the native/non-native distinction on which these ratios rest has itself been questioned for decades (Jenkins & Morán Panero, 2025, p. 6). The precise proportions are therefore uncertain. What the estimates do consistently show is that speakers for whom English is an additional language form the large majority of its users, and that many uses of English involve interlocutors who do not share a first language.

English language teaching (ELT) has been slower to change than this sociolinguistic picture might lead one to expect. Jenkins and Morán Panero (2025, pp. 95–96) describe native-speakerism as "still hegemonic in ELT" and note that learners' uses of English that signal their multilingualism are often treated as evidence of learning failure even when they are intelligible. In their introduction to a recent special issue of *TESOL Quarterly*, Rose and McKinley (2025) identify standard language ideology, native-speakerism and standardised testing, together with its washback on teaching, as persistent barriers to change in TESOL. These concerns are not new. More than two decades earlier, Bhatt (2001, p. 540) observed that, although research had shown that World Englishes have their own norms and communicative styles, pedagogical methods, models and materials had shown little sensitivity to local sociolinguistic contexts.

The scholarship that responds to this gap uses several overlapping labels, including World Englishes (WE), English as an International Language (EIL), English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) and Global Englishes (GE). Because these research traditions emerged or gained prominence at different times, their history may invite a reading of WE, ELF and GE as successive stages. Chronological emergence, however, need not imply conceptual replacement. The

aim of this chapter is therefore clarificatory rather than polemical: it does not take issue with a particular published account but examines how the three perspectives relate to one another. It argues that they are better understood as overlapping and partly contested than as successive stages, because a stage-based reading would obscure the critical orientation of WE scholarship, the continuing disagreements between WE and ELF scholars, and the inclusive way in which GE has been defined by its proponents.

The chapter has four aims. It first clarifies how WE, ELF and GE relate conceptually and where they differ. EIL is acknowledged as an important related orientation, particularly for pedagogy, but is not treated as a fourth independent strand of analysis here; the comparison concentrates on the variety-focused and interaction-focused perspectives and their place within GE. Second, the chapter examines how understanding across Englishes is conceptualised, focusing on Smith and Nelson's (1985) distinction between intelligibility, comprehensibility and interpretability, as elaborated by Kachru and Smith (2008), and on ELF research into accommodation. Third, it considers culture, ideology and assessment. Finally, it discusses pedagogical proposals, especially Global Englishes Language Teaching (GELT) and ELF-aware teacher education, and the evidence available on their implementation, using Türkiye as an illustrative Expanding Circle context.

This is a conceptual synthesis rather than an empirical study or a systematic review. It places two texts in dialogue: Kachru and Smith's (2008) *Cultures, Contexts, and World Englishes*, which articulates a WE perspective, and Jenkins and Morán Panero's (2025) *Global Englishes: A Resource Book for Students*, which surveys WE, ELF and GE from a contemporary integrative standpoint. Relevant theoretical and empirical works are considered alongside these texts where available. The sources are used to test

and qualify particular claims, not to represent a comprehensive or reproducibly selected research corpus. Sources encountered only through other works are identified as secondary citations. The Turkish case illustrates how these debates arise in one national context; it is not presented as representative of the Expanding Circle as a whole.

The argument proceeds from conceptual relationships to communication, culture, ideology and assessment, before considering teaching practices and evidence from Türkiye. Throughout, the distinction between what the cited works establish and the interpretation offered here is maintained.

World Englishes, ELF and Global Englishes: Overlapping Paradigms

World Englishes: Pluricentricity as a Critical Project

The best-known representation of the WE paradigm is B. Kachru's (1985) model of three Concentric Circles. In Kachru and Smith's (2008, p. 4) summary, the Inner Circle comprises the regions in which English is used as a primary language, the Outer Circle the former colonies of Britain and the United States in which English was adopted as an additional language for intranational purposes, and the Expanding Circle the regions in which English is used mainly for international communication. Usage in the three circles is commonly described as norm-providing, norm-developing and norm-dependent respectively, although Kachru later suggested that Expanding Circle learners could take Outer Circle rather than Inner Circle varieties as models (Jenkins & Morán Panero, 2025, p. 39).

It would be a misreading to treat WE as a merely descriptive exercise in cataloguing national varieties. Bhatt (2001, pp. 527–528) presents the field as a paradigm shift that rejects the dichotomy between "US" (native speakers) and "THEM" (non-native speakers) and that is grounded in liberation linguistics, an orientation

concerned with transforming contexts of social injustice in the interest of the speakers of the "other tongue". The same review identifies the native speaker as one of the "sacred cows" of linguistic theory (Bhatt, 2001, pp. 539–540) and argues that constructs such as interlanguage, fossilisation and ambilingualism function as a "habit of thought" that naturalises Standard English ideology and confines learners to a "lifelong apprenticeship" in the language (p. 542). Kachru and Smith (2008, p. 3) make a related point when they note that codification is not a prerequisite for legitimising a language. In Bhatt's (2001, p. 544) words, WE "in its most ambitious interpretation, attempts to decolonize and democratize applied linguistics". The critique of native-speaker norms is therefore not an innovation of later paradigms but part of WE scholarship from its early decades.

WE research has also developed descriptive and theoretical tools for analysing change over time. Schneider's (2003, 2007) Dynamic Model, for example, describes the development of postcolonial Englishes through five phases, from foundation through exonormative stabilisation, nativisation and endonormative stabilisation to differentiation (as summarised in Jenkins & Morán Panero, 2025, p. 211). More recent work adopts an ecological perspective that examines how regional Englishes develop through contact with other languages in their social context (Peters & Burridge, 2021, pp. 1–3).

The three-circle model has nevertheless attracted sustained criticism. Jenkins and Morán Panero (2025, pp. 41–42) summarise several objections. The model is based on geography and history rather than on how speakers currently identify with and use English. The boundaries between the circles have become increasingly blurred, and the model is difficult to apply to multilingual speakers for whom the labels L1 and L2 are of limited use. It may also be read, contrary to Kachru's intention, as implying a proficiency

hierarchy. Kachru, for his part, defended the model against such criticisms, arguing that they rested on misrepresentations of its characteristics (Kachru, 2005, as cited in Jenkins & Morán Panero, 2025, p. 42). For the purposes of this chapter, the important point is that the WE paradigm combines a variety-based unit of analysis with an explicitly ideological critique.

English as a Lingua Franca: From Varieties to Variable Use

ELF research shifts the unit of analysis from the variety to the interaction. A widely quoted definition describes ELF as "any use of English among speakers of different first languages for whom English is the communicative medium of choice and often the only option" (Seidlhofer, 2011, p. 7, as quoted in Jenkins & Morán Panero, 2025, pp. 82–83). From this perspective, ELF "is not a variety of English but a variable way of using it" (Seidlhofer, 2011, p. 77, as quoted in Jenkins & Morán Panero, 2025, p. 78), and variability is treated as one of its defining features.

The concept has itself been revised several times. Early ELF research included attempts to identify the features that matter for intelligibility, most notably the Lingua Franca Core for pronunciation (Jenkins, 2000; see also Kachru & Smith, 2008, p. 2). As corpus-based studies documented the variability of ELF interaction (e.g., Cogo & Dewey, 2012; Mauranen, 2012), the focus shifted towards context and towards processes such as accommodation and intercultural awareness (Jenkins & Morán Panero, 2025, p. 86). A third reconceptualisation, English as a Multilingua Franca, foregrounds the multilingualism of ELF users and defines the phenomenon as "multilingual communication in which English is available as a language of choice, but is not necessarily chosen" (Jenkins, 2015, p. 73, as quoted in Jenkins & Morán Panero, 2025, p. 84). Jenkins and Morán Panero (2025, p. 86) describe a possible fourth phase, still in its infancy, in which

multilingualism becomes the central construct and English a subsidiary one. Translanguaging is accordingly treated as a key feature of ELF communication (Jenkins & Leung, 2019, as reprinted in Jenkins & Morán Panero, 2025, p. 115).

Points of Contention

The relationship between WE and ELF has not been one of smooth succession. Writing from within the WE tradition, Kachru and Smith (2008, pp. 2–4) argue that the label "lingua franca" does not capture the phenomenon of world Englishes. English in Europe, they point out, serves academic, legal and scientific functions that make it "no more a lingua franca in the term's original sense" than South Asian or West African Englishes (p. 3). They also reject singular labels such as "global English" or "international English" on the grounds that these deny the pluricentricity of the language (pp. 3–4), and while they accept that corpus work on lingua franca interaction and the description of a lingua franca phonology (Jenkins, 2000) have their uses, they maintain that such work does not remove the need for a WE perspective (p. 4). In their preface they also argue against attempts to characterise "a mythical internationally accepted variety of English unmarked for users' sociocultural background" (p. xiv), and in their conclusion they predict that attempts to promote constructs such as English as a lingua franca, "no matter how well intentioned, are bound to end up as prescribing another unitary norm" (p. 182). ELF scholars, conversely, have argued that a nation-state view of language is unhelpful for describing English in lingua franca use (Jenkins & Morán Panero, 2025, p. 78). Overviews from the ELF side have discussed both the shared ground and the differences between the two paradigms (Jenkins, 2006; Seidlhofer, 2009).

In my reading, the disagreement centres on two questions: how far communicative practices can usefully be described in terms

of identifiable English varieties, and how much analytical weight should fall on community histories or on meaning-making within particular encounters. These are differences of emphasis rather than mutually exclusive research boundaries. WE scholars also investigate interaction and change, while ELF encounters may involve recurrent relationships and relatively durable practices. Both traditions, moreover, challenge deficit representations of users whose English diverges from idealised native-speaker models. Table 1 contrasts their recurrent orientations without suggesting that every study within either tradition shares a single unit of analysis or method.

Table 1. Differences of Emphasis Between World Englishes and ELF Research

Dimension	World Englishes	English as a lingua franca
Primary unit of analysis	Varieties, their social histories and uses within particular sociolinguistic contexts	Meaning-making within multilingual encounters, including recurring interactions
View of norms	Pluricentric, locally negotiated and historically developing norms	Situated and negotiable practices; no single native-variety target
Key processes	Contact, nativisation, acculturation and situated social practices	Accommodation, meaning negotiation and multilingual resources
Typical research	Variation studies, corpora, community and interactional research	Corpus and interactional studies of multilingual English use
Ideological critique	Liberation linguistics; critique of the native speaker and Standard English ideology	Critique of native-speakerism and of native English norms in teaching and testing

Source: Author's synthesis of orientations discussed in Bhatt (2001), Seidlhofer (2011), and Jenkins and Morán Panero (2025). Boundaries are not exclusive.

Global Englishes as an Inclusive Umbrella

The term Global Englishes is defined by its main proponents as encompassing rather than replacing these traditions. Jenkins and

Morán Panero (2025, pp. xii–xiii) explain that the title of their book reflects its coverage of "both local nation-bound varieties and global lingua franca uses of English" and that the term was chosen by Jenkins in 2008 when she founded the Centre for Global Englishes at the University of Southampton. Rose and McKinley (2025) similarly present GE as an inclusive and still-evolving paradigm that draws on WE, EIL and ELF research.

GE is therefore best understood here as a broad, evolving research and pedagogical orientation under which WE, ELF and EIL remain visible, rather than as a paradigm that has simply displaced them (Jenkins & Morán Panero, 2025; Rose & McKinley, 2025). The umbrella label also makes it possible to connect research on varieties and multilingual interaction to questions of curriculum, teacher education, language ideology and assessment. Yet inclusion under a common label does not resolve the theoretical tensions outlined above. The sections that follow ask what these approaches explain particularly well, where their assumptions require qualification and how they might inform teaching without becoming a new universal prescription.

Understanding Across Englishes: Intelligibility, Interpretability and Accommodation

Three Dimensions of Understanding

One of the most durable contributions of the WE tradition is the argument that "understanding" is not a single construct. Smith and Nelson (1985) proposed that it be treated as a continuum running from intelligibility through comprehensibility to interpretability. Bhatt (2001, p. 543) renders the three dimensions as word or utterance recognition, word or utterance meaning (locutionary force), and the meaning behind a word or utterance (illocutionary force), and reports Smith's claim that "interpretability is at the core of communication and is more important than mere intelligibility or

comprehensibility" (Smith, 1988, p. 274, as cited in Bhatt, 2001, p. 543).

Kachru and Smith (2008, pp. 61–64) retain the three dimensions but relate them differently to speech-act terminology. Intelligibility concerns recognition of a word or another sentence-level element of an utterance, which they associate with a locutionary act. Comprehensibility concerns the contextual meaning attached to an utterance, including its illocutionary force. Interpretability involves recognising the speaker's communicative intent or purpose, which the authors discuss in relation to a perlocutionary effect that a speaker seeks to bring about. The intended effect should not, however, be equated with the effect actually achieved by an utterance. Table 2 places the formulations side by side as presented in the cited sources rather than imposing one definitive alignment on them.

Table 2. Two Formulations of the Three Dimensions of Understanding

Dimension	**Smith and Nelson (1985), as rendered by Bhatt (2001, p. 543)**	**Kachru and Smith (2008, pp. 61–64)**
Intelligibility	Word/utterance recognition	Recognition of a word or other sentence-level element; the speaker's locutionary act
Comprehensibility	Word/utterance meaning; locutionary force	Contextual meaning of a word or utterance, including its illocutionary force
Interpretability	Meaning behind the word/utterance; illocutionary force	Recognition of the speaker's intent or purpose; the intended perlocutionary effect

Source: Bhatt (2001, p. 543); Kachru and Smith (2008, pp. 61–64).

The difference matters because no single correspondence between the three dimensions and speech-act categories can be

assumed. Kachru and Smith (2008, p. 69) themselves invite readers to consider whether intelligibility, comprehensibility and interpretability map neatly onto locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary acts. A speaker's communicative intention, a hearer's interpretation and the effects that actually follow are analytically distinguishable, even when they converge in a particular encounter. Studies drawing on the framework should therefore state the formulation being used rather than treating Table 2 as a set of interchangeable definitions.

Kachru and Smith's examples show how the dimensions can come apart. A newcomer to Australia who is asked to "bring a plate" recognises every word but misreads its contextual meaning, a failure of comprehensibility rather than intelligibility (pp. 59, 63). A person who answers "Yes, he is" to the telephone question "Is Sean there?" has understood the words and their literal meaning but not the request they convey, which illustrates low interpretability (p. 64). In another example, a Japanese speaker's "I'll consider it" was intended as a polite refusal but was taken by an American friend as provisional acceptance; intelligibility and comprehensibility were high, but interpretability was low on both sides (p. 67). Kachru and Smith conclude that fluency and grammatical competence facilitate intelligibility and comprehensibility but are "clearly not sufficient" for interpretability, which also requires cultural competence (p. 66).

Two cautions are needed when these claims are summarised. First, Kachru and Smith (2008) describe interpretability as "a more complex feature of understanding" than the other two (pp. 63–64) and state that "interactional features, more than grammatical differences, create the most serious problems of perception of one's partner in interaction" (p. 9). These are claims about complexity and seriousness, not about frequency. A claim that cross-cultural misunderstandings occur mostly at the level of interpretability would therefore go beyond these sources and would require empirical

support. Second, the same terms are used differently in second language pronunciation research. There, intelligibility usually refers to how accurately a listener understands an utterance and comprehensibility to the listener's perceived ease or difficulty of understanding it (Munro & Derwing, 1995). Munro and Derwing's (2022) retrospective on their study stresses that these dimensions are related but partially independent, and that speech can be heavily accented yet highly intelligible. Researchers who combine the two traditions, for example in studies of accent and assessment, need to keep these meanings apart.

Understanding as an Interactional Achievement

The WE literature already treats understanding as interactional rather than as a property of the speaker. Kachru and Smith (2008, pp. 59–60) summarise earlier research by Smith and colleagues as indicating that native speakers are often not intelligible to fluent non-native users, that native speakers are not better than non-native users at understanding unfamiliar varieties, and that understanding one Inner Circle variety does not guarantee understanding of others without experience of interacting with their users. They add that a speaker needs to be intelligible only to those with whom he or she is attempting to communicate (p. 60). In the conclusion to their chapter on intelligibility, they describe the three dimensions as "interactional" activities that are "not speaker or listener centered", reject the idea that Inner Circle speakers are better judges of what is intelligible, and argue that Inner Circle speakers need as much cultural information and exposure to different varieties as other users if they are to understand world Englishes (pp. 68–69).

ELF research develops this interactional view by examining how intelligibility is achieved in encounters between speakers of different first languages. The Lingua Franca Core research found that whether particular pronunciation features were needed

depended on who was talking to whom. Speakers who share a first language may use their shared variants with each other, which both enhances intelligibility and signals solidarity, so that effective pronunciation depends largely on speakers' ability to adjust their English for their interlocutors (Jenkins & Morán Panero, 2025, p. 74). Accommodation, defined as "the ability to make productive and receptive adjustments in order to be understood and to understand interlocutors", has been part of ELF research from the start, and its importance has grown with the recognition that many ELF encounters are transient, involving people who may not know in advance which languages, or what kind of English, their interlocutors speak (Jenkins & Morán Panero, 2025, pp. 84–85).

Jenkins (2022) distinguishes five kinds of accommodation in ELF settings (as summarised in Jenkins & Morán Panero, 2025, p. 85). Pre-emptive accommodation replaces an item the speaker expects to be unintelligible to a particular interlocutor. Spontaneous accommodation occurs when a speaker realises immediately that an item was problematic and paraphrases it, and responsive accommodation follows a signal of difficulty from the interlocutor. Oblivious speakers are unaware of their interlocutors' difficulty, and deliberately non-accommodating speakers diverge on purpose, a pattern reported mainly in settings with large power differentials. Jenkins and Morán Panero (2025, p. 85) note that research on business ELF has found many native English speakers to operate at the oblivious level when communicating with non-native speakers.

Two Complementary Emphases

Read together, the two traditions converge on several points: understanding is jointly accomplished; the native speaker is not its natural arbiter; and responsibility for mutual intelligibility is shared by participants, including Inner Circle users. Their emphases nonetheless differ. Kachru and Smith (2008, pp. 66–68) attend to

culturally and situationally patterned conventions, such as politeness, topic management and the ordering of information, and the role of experience with different Englishes in interpreting them. ELF research gives particular attention to adjustments, repair and negotiation within unfolding interaction, including encounters in which participants know little about one another's repertoires. Neither emphasis excludes the other.

The proposal advanced here is interpretive and conditional, rather than an empirical conclusion attributed to either tradition. Familiarity with context-specific pragmatic conventions can assist interpretation when participants have reason to expect such conventions to be relevant. Accommodation and explicit meaning negotiation can be especially important when participants lack shared expectations or when initial interpretations fail. Community conventions are neither fixed nor uniformly held, and recurring ELF interactions are not necessarily fleeting. For this reason, a strict allocation of WE to established communities and ELF to transient encounters would be misleading. A more defensible pedagogical synthesis would help learners investigate situated communicative practices while also practising how to clarify, adjust and jointly establish meaning. Whether combining these elements improves interactional outcomes remains a question for research.

Culture: From Cultural Context to Intercultural and Transcultural Awareness

Both traditions regard culture as relevant to understanding across Englishes, although different research strands foreground different relationships between language, social context and interaction. Research in WE has often traced how English is acculturated in particular sociolinguistic settings. Kachru and Smith (2008, p. xv) describe the relationship between culture and language as "not deterministic", adding that the two "are sensitive to each

other and evolve together". Their discussion of politeness, conversation and writing examines how locally situated expectations may influence the interpretation of intentions and purposes (p. xv). Bhatt (2001, p. 543) similarly notes variation in how speech acts such as greetings, compliments and requests are realised, with implications for context-sensitive pedagogy. These emphases should not be mistaken for a claim that cultural communities possess uniform or unchanging communicative norms.

Recent descriptive work extends this line of inquiry. Peters and Burridge (2021, pp. 3–4) summarise Schneider's framework of three types of nexus between language and culture in regional Englishes: loanwords for cultural objects and practices, indicator terms associated with cultural dimensions such as collectivism or power distance, and structural schemas whose relative frequency may reflect cultural orientations. They note that Schneider himself regards the third type as the most tenuous, since linguistic rather than cultural explanations may account for a regional preference (p. 4). This caveat is worth retaining in any pedagogical use of such findings, because it guards against reading grammatical patterns as direct expressions of national character.

ELF research starts from a different premise. When English is used among speakers of many first languages, it is not obvious which culture, if any, an interaction should be oriented to. Baker (2012) argues that cultural awareness, as it had been developed in language teaching, remained tied to a national conception of language and culture, and that this sits uneasily with the global lingua franca role of English. He proposes intercultural awareness (ICA) as a non-essentialist alternative in which the relationship between language and culture is understood as fluid and dynamic. In later work this perspective is extended to transcultural communication, in which the boundaries between languages, communities and cultures are seen as crossed, challenged and

reshaped in interaction. An ethnographic study of international students' communication on a social networking site, for example, documented fluid and complex linguistic and cultural practices that the authors interpret as calling for such a transcultural perspective (Baker & Sangiamchit, 2019). The approach is developed at greater length in Baker and Ishikawa (2021) and, for language teaching, in Baker (2022).

The contrast should not be overdrawn. A WE concern with recurrent communicative conventions does not commit every WE study to fixed national cultures, just as an ELF interest in emergent practices does not make participants' prior cultural experiences irrelevant. Nor does a critique of national framings require the wholesale rejection of models such as Byram's (1997). Baker's (2012) argument targets, more specifically, approaches that tie the culture of English to relatively stable national categories, particularly Anglophone ones. Jenkins and Morán Panero (2025, p. 103) identify challenging the identification of English with Anglophone cultures, cultural neutrality and essentialising stereotypes as priorities across recent ELF- and GE-informed frameworks. Rose and Galloway's (2019) GELT framework similarly foregrounds fluid rather than exclusively native-English cultural orientations (as reproduced in Jenkins & Morán Panero, 2025, p. 104).

For teaching, these perspectives suggest two compatible forms of inquiry. Learners can investigate how participants in a particular setting understand a request, disagreement or expression of politeness, treating the patterns they observe as situated rather than national rules. They can also practise checking their interpretations and negotiating meaning when expectations differ. Neither activity requires Anglophone cultures to serve as the default benchmark. In both, learners' experiences and other linguistic resources can be legitimate starting points for comparison.

Ideology, Native-Speakerism and Assessment

Native-Speakerism and Standard English Ideology

Holliday (2006) characterises native-speakerism as an ideology that positions "native speakers" as the best models for describing, teaching and assessing a language and, by extension, as its best teachers. Jenkins and Morán Panero (2025, p. 95) define it as discriminatory practice based on the perceived speaker status of a person, and Lowe (2020) analyses the "native speaker" as an ideological frame that shapes ELT practice. As noted earlier, WE scholarship had already identified the native speaker as a theoretical "sacred cow" (Bhatt, 2001, pp. 539–540). Bhatt (2001, p. 542) adds that dichotomies such as standard and non-standard can serve as "an alibi for maintaining linguistic ethnocentrism disguised with concerns over intelligibility". Kachru and Smith (2008, p. 182) cite a similar argument by Romaine: imposing one's standards on others under the guise of preserving intelligibility or providing access to native-speaker norms reinforces an artificial barrier between "norm-breakers" and "norm makers". The point is important for the discussion that follows, because appeals to intelligibility are sometimes used to defend precisely the norms that research on intelligibility calls into question.

These ideologies are not only imposed on learners from outside. In Expanding Circle settings, Kachru and Smith (2008, p. 179) observe, American and British English "still continue to enjoy their favored status". Jenkins and Morán Panero (2025, p. 96) note that parents in such settings are often guided by the belief that native-like English will give their children more symbolic power. Wang's (2013) study of Chinese English users illustrates the resulting tension. Participants were positive towards some instances of non-conformity to native English norms when these served communicative efficiency and the projection of identity, yet the

belief in native English as the essence of English, a desire for fixed norms and the aspiration for its perceived social advantages drew them towards exonormativity (Wang, 2013, as reprinted in Jenkins & Morán Panero, 2025, p. 217). Some scholars have used such findings to question the relevance of ELF for teaching. Groom (2012, p. 55, as cited in Wang, 2013, reprinted in Jenkins & Morán Panero, 2025, p. 215), for instance, argued that ELF "currently neither motivates nor meets the aspirations of L2 English users in Europe". Any pedagogical proposal therefore has to engage with learners' own goals rather than assume that awareness of linguistic diversity will automatically change them.

Language Assessment

Language assessment presents a consequential tension between the sociolinguistic diversity described by WE and ELF researchers and the need for explicit, dependable testing criteria. Bhatt (2001, p. 544) argued that curricula, testing procedures and materials should be informed by variation and its pragmatics. Rose and McKinley (2025) identify standardised testing and associated washback among the barriers to GE-informed change in TESOL. This does not mean that all tests rely on identical language norms or have remained static. The question is which language practices a particular assessment is designed to measure and whether its criteria match the communicative demands for which scores are used.

The most developed critique from an ELF perspective is Jenkins and Leung's (2019) position paper on university entry testing, reprinted in Jenkins and Morán Panero (2025, pp. 114–121); page numbers in this part of the chapter refer to that reprint. The authors argue that large-scale international tests such as IELTS and TOEFL have tended to be built on a stable portrayal of English. They acknowledge that IELTS has incorporated a range of English accents into its listening tests, but argue that the testing industry has been

slow to respond to changes in contemporary language practices, citing Harding and McNamara's (2018) observation that it appears insulated from such developments (p. 115). In their view, these tests expect candidates to reproduce the English used by native speakers among themselves rather than assessing their readiness to communicate in multilingual academic settings (p. 118). They also point out that the use of potentially unintelligible native English idioms "tends to be rewarded rather than penalized" in existing standardised assessment, even though ELF research suggests that non-understanding occurs more often when the speaker is a native English speaker (p. 117).

Jenkins and Leung's proposals are worth summarising because they show both the direction of the argument and its unresolved problems. In the nearer term, they suggest supplementing large-scale tests with local, discipline-specific tasks, or redesigning existing tests to include such tasks (p. 119). In the longer term, they propose locally contextualised self-assessment, in which universities supply typical materials from their programmes, including tasks that invite candidates to practise accommodation and translanguaging, and candidates judge their own readiness (pp. 119–120). A note citing personal communication reports a later shift to collaborative applicant–staff assessment (Jenkins & Morán Panero, 2025, p. 121). The authors also accept that weak correlations between test scores and later academic performance should not be taken to mean that language proficiency is unimportant (p. 118).

These proposals expose unresolved questions of construct definition, scoring, comparability and practicality. For example, accommodation may be jointly accomplished and responsive to a specific partner, making it difficult to attribute performance to one candidate in a standardised task. Research on interactional competence in speaking assessment raises a related issue. Roever and Kasper (2018) emphasise the co-constructed nature of

interaction and note that apparent misunderstandings or disfluencies by test takers can be induced by the examiner, while Galaczi and Taylor (2018) identify the operationalisation of interactional competence in tests and assessment scales as an ongoing challenge. Locally designed tasks can provide contextual relevance but may reduce score comparability across institutions; self-assessment may support reflection without replacing independent evidence for high-stakes decisions. Conventional assessments, in turn, can offer reliability and comparability that should not simply be disregarded. What remains to be established empirically is how particular forms of accommodation and multilingual communication can be assessed validly and fairly for specified purposes, rather than whether standardisation is intrinsically incompatible with ELF-informed principles.

Pedagogical Implications: GELT, ELF-Aware Teacher Education and EMI

Frameworks and Their Common Ground

Several pedagogical frameworks have been proposed under different labels. Jenkins and Morán Panero (2025, p. 102) list ELF-informed post-normative approaches (Dewey, 2012), ELF-aware pedagogy (Bayyurt & Sifakis, 2015; Sifakis, 2019), Global Englishes Language Teaching (Rose & Galloway, 2019), Transcultural ELT (Baker & Ishikawa, 2021) and the Teaching English as an International Language paradigm proposed from within WE and EIL (Matsuda, 2019). They also reproduce Wen's (2012) framework, which analyses English linguistically, culturally and pragmatically and expects learners to develop communication strategies related to their own cultural reality.

Despite differences of terminology and emphasis, Jenkins and Morán Panero (2025, p. 103) identify substantial agreement among these frameworks. They converge on increasing learners'

exposure to linguistic diversity while de-centring British and American norms; prioritising meaning negotiation, strategic competence and intelligibility over narrow notions of correctness; challenging native-speakerism in teaching models and teacher hiring; and treating multilingualism and learners' other languages as resources. Several frameworks also make learners' own sociocultural context central and encourage critical reflection on language ideologies, ownership and inequality. Rose and Galloway's (2019) summary of GELT expresses these contrasts in terms of target interlocutors, norms, role models, assessment criteria and learning goals, replacing native-like proficiency as the goal with the model of a multicompetent user (as reproduced in Jenkins & Morán Panero, 2025, p. 104).

Jenkins and Morán Panero (2025, p. 103) add an important caution. Selecting newly identified ELF patterns or strategies and prescribing them from the top down could become "an equally prescriptive, quickly 'outdate-able' and impractical exercise". The aim, in their words, is not to replace one linguistic model with another but to reformulate classroom practice in ways that are "meaningful and feasible for the actors involved". This caution addresses, at least in part, the concern raised by Kachru and Smith (2008, p. 182) that promoting ELF might produce another unitary norm, and it suggests that the two traditions are closer on this point than their earlier exchanges imply.

ELF-Aware Teacher Education

ELF-aware teacher education starts from the premise that teachers' beliefs about English, and the constraints of their teaching contexts, must be addressed before any change in practice can be expected. The framework described by Sifakis (2014) and by Sifakis and Bayyurt (2018) proceeds through three phases that are not necessarily linear: a phase of exposure, in which teachers engage

with ELF research and reflect on their own and their learners' experiences of using English; a phase of critical awareness, in which the questions raised are examined in relation to teachers' instructional practice and their perceptions of their role; and an action phase, in which teachers design, implement and evaluate action plans for their own classrooms.

The framework was used in the ENRICH project, a continuing professional development course for in-service English teachers in Italy, Greece, Portugal, Norway and Turkey (Jenkins & Morán Panero, 2025, p. 105). The course aimed to develop an "ELF state of mind" through the promotion of ELF awareness, which Sifakis (2019, p. 288, as cited in Jenkins & Morán Panero, 2025, p. 105) describes in terms of knowledge, attitudes and skills linked to ELF scholarship that teachers assess against their local context. Sifakis (2022) describes the project as non-interventionist: it does not tell teachers how to apply ELF awareness but invites them to conduct small action research projects and needs analyses. He also observes that "the state of being an ELF user does not necessarily imply any form of ELF awareness" and that the extent of integration "should be decided by the informed practitioner" (Sifakis, 2022, pp. 202–203, as cited in Jenkins & Morán Panero, 2025, p. 105). The emphasis on teacher agency is consistent with the caution against top-down prescription noted above.

What the Evidence Shows

The empirical base for these proposals has grown, but its design and coverage limit the conclusions that can be drawn. In their systematic review of pedagogical research across WE, ELF, EIL and GE, Rose et al. (2021) shortlisted 58 empirical articles published between 2010 and 2020 and examined 38 in depth. They identified limited longitudinal classroom work, a scarcity of direct measures of intervention effects and a concentration of research in university

language classrooms. They recommended following changes in teacher beliefs and practices both during preparation and after teachers enter or return to classrooms. Galloway and Numajiri's (2020) evaluation of an optional GELT course in a UK master's programme drew on interviews and questionnaires; participants generally regarded GELT positively, but their accounts also reflected established expectations about correct English. Such evidence is informative about reported awareness and feasibility, but does not by itself establish durable effects on teaching behaviour or learner communication. Rose and McKinley (2025) likewise call for longer-term inquiry, improved measures of awareness and identity, and closer researcher–teacher partnerships.

English-Medium Instruction

The expansion of English-medium instruction (EMI) in higher education gives these debates practical urgency. Macaro et al. (2018) define EMI as "the use of English language to teach academic subjects (other than English) in countries or jurisdictions where the first language of the majority of the population is not English" (p. 37, as quoted in Jenkins & Morán Panero, 2025, p. 108). ELF and multilingualism researchers have questioned this geographical demarcation, arguing that the defining characteristic of EMI is the linguacultural diversity found in such settings, including universities in Anglophone countries (Jenkins & Morán Panero, 2025, p. 108). Studies of EMI classrooms report that English-only policies are often broken in the interest of learning, but that lecturers tend to regard their own use of other languages defensively, as a form of wrongdoing (Jenkins & Morán Panero, 2025, pp. 110–111). At the same time, translanguaging is not automatically inclusive. Its use may exclude international students who do not share the local language, and Jaspers (2018) warns that promoting it in sociolinguistically unequal settings may disadvantage stigmatised speakers if monolingual and nationalist ideologies are not also

addressed (as discussed in Jenkins & Morán Panero, 2025, pp. 112–113). Edited collections such as McKinley and Galloway (2022) document how EMI practices vary across national contexts.

Implications for Practice

The following principles are proposed as a context-sensitive synthesis, not as an empirically validated teaching model. The first three draw particular attention to receptive diversity, interactional work and interpretation; the remaining principles address the ideological and institutional conditions under which they can be taught. They should be selected and adapted in relation to learners' communicative goals and assessment requirements:

1. Exposure to a range of Englishes, including Outer and Expanding Circle varieties and learners' own, as a basis for receptive intelligibility (Kachru & Smith, 2008, pp. 68–69).
2. Explicit attention to accommodation and meaning negotiation, including the pre-emptive and responsive strategies described in the discussion of accommodation above.
3. Pragmatic and cultural awareness that covers the conventions of particular communities without reducing interlocutors to national stereotypes.
4. Critical reflection on language ideologies, including learners' and teachers' own investment in native-speaker norms.
5. Assessment practices that reward communicative effectiveness and accommodation rather than conformity to a single native norm.
6. Room for teachers to decide how far, and how, these elements are integrated in their own contexts.

The final element is substantive rather than an optional qualification: without local decisions about needs, materials, assessment and institutional expectations, these principles could harden into another top-down norm. Equally, valuing communicative flexibility does not mean that accuracy, genre expectations or shared conventions are irrelevant. Instructional priorities depend on the communicative purposes for which learners are preparing.

Illustrative Classroom Applications

The following examples translate the preceding principles into possible classroom tasks; they are illustrative designs, not activities evaluated in the studies cited above. In a listening-and-interpretation task, learners could examine short, appropriately sourced recordings of English used in different settings. They would first identify the communicative purpose and possible points of misunderstanding, then discuss what contextual information would be needed before attributing a particular choice to a national or cultural convention. The focus would be on evidence-based interpretation, not on memorising accent labels or treating any recording as representative of a whole community.

In a negotiation-and-repair task, learners working in pairs could receive partially different information needed to complete a shared decision. They would practise clarification requests, paraphrases, comprehension checks and responses to signs of misunderstanding, changing strategies as the partner's needs become apparent. A brief reflection could distinguish features of an interlocutor's speech from the interactional actions that helped the pair reach understanding. The instructional purpose is to make accommodation observable and discussable, not to teach a fixed repertoire of supposedly universal ELF forms.

For formative assessment, teachers could adapt a task rubric to include achievement of the shared communicative goal, responsiveness to the interlocutor, and the appropriateness of clarification and repair, alongside language resources relevant to the task. Students could review excerpts from their own pair work and justify their decisions using evidence from the exchange. Such criteria would require piloting and refinement before they could support consequential assessment decisions; the example is not a validated alternative to existing proficiency tests. Together, the tasks would operationalise the proposed relationship between context-sensitive interpretation and accommodation while retaining space for local adaptation.

An Expanding Circle Illustration: Türkiye

Sociolinguistic and Policy Context

Türkiye is conventionally placed in the Expanding Circle. English has no official status, yet it performs a range of educational, professional and media functions. Doğançay-Aktuna and Kızıltepe (2005) describe its role in national education policy, in Turkish academia and in the mass media, and argue that English has become another divide between wealthier, educated urban populations and other socioeconomic and geographical groups. Kırkgöz (2009) shows that English has acquired a prominent place in the Turkish education system largely through government-planned language policy, while problems persist at the level of classroom instruction. Selvi (2011) goes further, arguing that Türkiye shares certain sociolinguistic characteristics with former colonies of English-speaking powers even though it was never colonised by them, a finding that illustrates the limits of a strictly historical and geographical classification of the circles (see the discussion of the three-circle model above).

In teacher education, a World Englishes course was included as an elective in the 2018 national programme for English language teacher education issued by the Council of Higher Education (Yeşilbursa & Atak Damar, 2020, p. 3). A Turkish edited volume prepared for this course (Çelik & Solak, 2020) notes in its introduction that there had been no comprehensive teaching text on the national market covering the course content. One of its chapters also states that Standard British and Standard American English are the two varieties taught in Turkish educational institutions (Kırkgöz & Geylani, 2020, p. 26), an observation consistent with Kachru and Smith's (2008, p. 179) remark that these varieties retain a favoured status in the Expanding Circle.

At school level, the 2018 English curricula discussed by Yeşilbursa and Atak Damar (2020, p. 3) have since been supplemented or revised through the Türkiye Yüzyılı Maarif Modeli (Century of Türkiye Education Model). The ministry's introductory guide refers to global awareness and intercultural understanding (Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı [MEB], n.d., p. 5), to respect for different sociocultural uses of language (p. 10) and to learners' recognition of their own cultural identities (p. 9). The guide reviewed for this chapter did not contain an explicit reference to ELF, English varieties or native-speaker targets. This is an observation about the particular guide, not a finding that those orientations are absent from the full curriculum. The Brazilian case shows why analysis cannot stop at policy terminology: ELF has been explicitly recognised in that country's curriculum, yet tensions between its framing and prescribed outcomes have been reported (Jenkins & Morán Panero, 2025, pp. 106–107). A substantive evaluation of the Turkish curriculum would need to consider its learning outcomes, teaching materials and assessment guidance together.

Teacher Education: Awareness and Its Limits

Türkiye has been an active context for research on ELF-aware and GE-oriented teacher education. Turkish in-service teachers participated in the ENRICH project (Jenkins & Morán Panero, 2025, p. 105). At pre-service level, Biricik Deniz et al. (2020) adapted an ELF-aware model for senior undergraduate students at a Turkish state university, combining theoretical engagement with classroom practice. They report that the course encouraged participants to examine ELF critically and reconsider assumptions about Standard English and native-speaker norms. Kemaloğlu-Er and Bayyurt (2021) examined how pre-service teachers' definitions of ELF developed during an ELF-aware programme, from a broad global understanding towards a view of communication and pedagogy that recognises variability among English users. These findings document changes in participants' reported understandings; they do not establish long-term changes in their future classroom practice.

Recent course-based research similarly suggests possibilities for raising awareness. Using self-report data, Aslan and Altınkaya (2024) found that most participants shifted towards plurilithic orientations after a GE-oriented course, while seven participants retained monolithic orientations. Fidan et al. (2024) drew on pre/post questionnaires, a verbal-guise task, a focus group and written materials in a World Englishes and Culture course, reporting greater appreciation of linguistic diversity and interest in WE-informed pedagogy. Karakaş and Boonsuk (2025) reported increased GE awareness among in-service teachers participating in a master's-level course. The designs and outcomes differ, however: an expressed intention to diversify teaching is not equivalent to an observed change in classroom practice, and reported awareness should not be taken as evidence of a sustained change in evaluative attitudes.

Other evidence qualifies optimistic interpretations of course effects. In a quasi-experimental mixed-methods study with 27 pre-service teachers, Gedik Bal (2026) reported increased self-efficacy and greater acceptance of non-native English teaching materials after an elective course incorporating ELF-informed practices, but no statistically significant change in attitudes towards English diversity. Özkaynak and Sayer (2026) combined a verbal-guise task involving 59 teacher candidates with five interviews; standardised North American and British Englishes and German English received higher evaluations than Turkish and Arabic Englishes, while prior GE coursework did not significantly moderate ratings. In the interviews, accent preferences were often reframed as matters of "intelligibility", a pattern the authors interpret in relation to language ideology. This finding invites comparison with Bhatt's (2001, p. 542) warning about appeals to intelligibility, although the designs cannot establish that the same mechanism operates across contexts. In a qualitative single-institution study, Bursalı Boz and Gürbüz (2026) reported instructors' awareness of linguistic diversity alongside institutional and curricular constraints on their reported practices. Taken together, these studies illuminate different constructs—awareness, self-efficacy, accent evaluation and reported teaching—rather than a single common intervention outcome.

EMI in Turkish Higher Education

Turkish EMI settings have also contributed to research on translanguaging. Studies of Turkish EMI lecturers cited by Jenkins and Morán Panero (2025, p. 111) report that lecturers acknowledge the usefulness of their multilingual resources for content comprehension while often judging their use defensively. In a conversation-analytic study of two academic disciplines, Kırkgöz et al. (2023) found that translanguaging played an important role in both, although its extent and purposes varied with disciplinary needs,

and they suggest building it into discipline-specific curricula and EMI teacher training.

What the Turkish Case Suggests

Three provisional observations emerge, with an important qualification about their different designs, measures and sites. First, reflective courses can be associated with greater reported awareness of linguistic diversity, but this evidence does not demonstrate durable changes in teaching. Second, the verbal-guise findings and the absence of significant attitude change in one quasi-experiment show why the constructs of awareness, evaluative attitudes and instructional behaviour should not be conflated. Third, accounts from instructors suggest that curricula, materials, assessment and perceived learner expectations can restrict pedagogical choices, although self-reported constraints require examination alongside classroom and institutional evidence. These observations do not constitute a pooled estimate of impact. They instead point to a research agenda that combines longitudinal follow-up, observed practice and attention to programme conditions.

Conclusion

This chapter has argued that World Englishes, English as a lingua franca and Global Englishes can be read as overlapping, and at times contested, perspectives rather than as a simple story of conceptual replacement. The historical emergence of these labels does not negate the early ideological commitments of WE scholarship (Bhatt, 2001), nor the interactional and increasingly multilingual emphases of ELF research (Jenkins & Morán Panero, 2025). GE, as used by its proponents, offers an inclusive orientation that connects these research strands with pedagogy and language policy, while leaving their tensions open to examination (Jenkins & Morán Panero, 2025; Rose & McKinley, 2025).

In discussing understanding across Englishes, the chapter distinguished competing formulations of intelligibility, comprehensibility and interpretability and resisted inferring the frequency of a communicative problem from claims about its complexity. Its principal conceptual proposal is that situated knowledge of communicative conventions and interactional accommodation may serve complementary functions. These are resources that can be brought into the same classroom, not properties exclusively owned by WE or ELF research, and their combined effects require empirical testing. A parallel argument applies to cultural learning: attention to locally patterned practices can coexist with non-essentialist awareness of how cultural meanings are negotiated.

The discussion of ideology, assessment and teacher education identified obstacles to translating these insights into instruction. Native-speakerist expectations persist in some settings, and efforts to assess multilingual interaction must address validity, fairness and score comparability rather than dismiss conventional testing wholesale. GELT and ELF-aware teacher education provide relevant principles, but much of the reviewed intervention evidence concerns reported awareness or relatively short-term outcomes. Studies from Türkiye illustrate both the possibilities and the limits of awareness-oriented courses and reinforce the need to examine institutional conditions and actual instructional decisions.

Limitations

Several limitations qualify these conclusions. This is a selective conceptual synthesis organised around two anchor texts, not an exhaustive or systematic review; some foundational works were available to this analysis only through secondary accounts, which are indicated in the citations. Its English-medium source base may underrepresent relevant scholarship in other languages,

including Turkish. The studies used to discuss teaching differ in purpose, methods and outcomes and cannot be pooled into a general estimate of effectiveness. The Turkish curriculum observation concerns an introductory guide rather than a comprehensive analysis of the full programme. Finally, the proposed pedagogical complementarity is an argument developed here, not a model whose effectiveness has been demonstrated.

Directions for Research

Four directions follow. First, longitudinal studies should examine whether GE- and ELF-informed teacher education is associated with observable changes in classroom practice after programme participation, addressing the gaps identified by Rose et al. (2021). Second, assessment research should examine how accommodation, interactional repair and multilingual resources might be operationalised for specified testing purposes without sacrificing interpretive validity or fairness. Third, classroom interventions could compare the effects of investigating context-specific pragmatic practices, practising accommodation strategies and combining the two on learners' performance in intercultural tasks. Such comparisons would offer a direct test of the conceptual proposal advanced here. Finally, in Türkiye, a systematic analysis of the Türkiye Yüzyılı Maarif Modeli English curriculum should examine learning outcomes, textbooks and assessment guidance to establish whether and how linguistic diversity is represented. These proposals are research priorities rather than findings of this chapter.

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BÖLÜM 2

THE NATURE OF READING IN THE DIGITAL WORLD

FURKAN CANBAY [1]

Introduction

In the modern age, information and communication technology, along with the evolution of various devices, has led to rapid changes in people's learning processes (Omar et al. 2022). Thus, they have turned their reading environments into digital pages (Pardede, 2022). Students' reliance on digital resources has increased in the last several decades and they now have been called as digital natives. However, it is not clear whether they have the required skills to comprehend digital texts effectively (Palfrey & Glasser, 2013). Reading environment is an essential variable affecting performance of reading comprehension, including factors such as accuracy and speed of reading, metacognition, calibration, mental structuring and reading strategy use (Yu et al., 2022).

Digital Reading

Digital reading can be defined as 'a range of multifaceted meaning-making experiences whereby readers engage with multiple

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texts for particular purposes that are situated in diverse contexts'(Coiro, 2021, p. 12). This definition views digital reading as a term which is more complex than traditional print-based reading because of the abilities and skills demanded. DR differs from print publications because it is multifaceted, requiring strategic and critical thinking and the ability to synthesize information from multiple, multimodal sources in a goal-oriented manner (Coiro, 2021). Reading in a digital environment means comprehending codes that are presented digitally. Unlike traditional print reading, reading digital texts helps the reader choose entry points and paths to follow within the text (Rhodes & Robnolt, 2009). To effectively read digital texts, all the skills required to read traditional printed texts are needed. However, digital reading differs from reading printed material in several ways. Online reading passages containing hyperlinks are interactive, multimodal, and non-linear in structure. Instead of reading traditional texts, navigating them requires flexibility, attention, focus, and quick decision-making to separate reliable and important material from irrelevant information (Geva & Ramírez, 2015).

Students using mobile-assisted language learning can achieve more successful results in reading skills than their peers because such tools provide a suitable language learning method for students and can increase their interest and motivation to learn. They perform better on mobile screens in comparison with traditional reading environments because mobile-assisted language learning apps increase their interest in and preference for reading activities. (Gheytasi et al., 2015). Digital devices support more effective cognitive text processing in compassion with traditional reading environments as the average fixation time on screens was significantly lower than the average fixation time on paper (Hou et al., 2022). In English as a foreign language classes, the use of digital

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reading during reading instruction and learning can be considered an effective way to promote the development of reading comprehension skills and improve reading performance and reading attitude levels (Liman Kaban, 2021). Online learning offers foreign language learners great opportunities to benefit from new learning practices outside the classroom. Through appropriate exercises, online foreign language learners can have greater exposure to the material they are studying and improve their language skills anytime and anywhere (Rianto, 2021). However, several studies concluded that students had better reading comprehension results on traditional reading environment than digital medium. Because they had lower proficiency and psychological comfort with mobile-assisted language reading, lower metacognitive regulation, and inferior use of reading strategies (Yu et al., 2022). They may not follow or access the entire text on their mobile screens and allocate more cognitive resources to process the reading environment. Thus, they got limited achievement in comprehension skills (Gutiérrez-Colón et al., 2020).

With the accelerating development of information and communication technology and its penetration into every aspect of life, the internet has played a significant role in education, particularly in foreign language learning. Information and communication technology has made information accessible to all students in various forms (text, audio, video) without limitations, regardless of their location. Accordingly, the way today's students read, create, process, and transmit information has been transformed. Furthermore, the widespread use of laptops, mobile phones, and internet technology has also transformed reading, incorporating new strategies (including identifying, interpreting, synthesizing, and reviewing content) that are vital for reading digital texts (Ahmadian & Pasand, 2017). Peculiarly after the pandemic around the world, the link between technology and education has become indivisible.

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This process, along with these experiences, will inevitably have long-term implications for the overall education paradigm. Every crisis creates opportunities. In this context, success stories and acquired experiences can be transformed into opportunities. Before COVID-19 became widespread, both educators and learners were remotely familiar with digital reading. With education which was presented during the pandemic process, millions of students around the world got the possibility to meet digital-reading. It can be concluded that digital reading strategies will get significance. (Liman Kaban, 2021).

Online Reading Strategies

Online reading strategies refer to the conscious, deliberate actions and behaviors that students exhibit while reading web-based materials (Behalova, 2010). Online reading comprehension skills differ significantly from offline reading comprehension skills. Because digital texts possess richer and more complicated components or contexts compared to traditional offline texts, new skills such as using electronic databases, employing multiple search engines, and navigating hierarchical subject guides are essential in web-based texts (Pardede, 2022). According to Afflerbach and Cho (2010), offline reading strategies are necessary for online reading strategies since they are performed in a more complex way. Schmar-Dobler (2003) identified seven comprehension strategies applied in both offline and online reading: activating prior knowledge, monitoring the comprehension process, correcting comprehension errors, identifying key ideas, synthesizing, drawing inferences, and asking questions. She suggested 'navigating' as an additional strategy for online reading. Online reading requires a set of several strategies performed in print reading, as well as skills specific to online reading. This is because, unlike linear and static printed texts, digital

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texts are multimodal. They include text, static images, animations, embedded videos and audios. They also include hyperlinks which build non-sequential page structures (Peras et al., 2023).

Conclusion

The literature contains inconsistent findings regarding the influence of digital reading on reading comprehension and development in English as a foreign language learners. It can be accepted that digital reading diverges significantly from print reading. The research on digital or print reading skills has yielded varied findings suggesting that the impact of reading style on comprehension and associated elements is nuanced and context-bound. The results do not definitively back up the supremacy of one style over another. Instead, the relationship between reading styles and reading performance is mostly affected by personal, family, and school-level factors. The complex nature of previous findings necessitates a closer examination of the factors that may account for the influences of the reading environment on language learners' performance on reading comprehension.

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BÖLÜM 3

ERKEN YAŞTA YABANCI DİL ÖĞRETİMİNDE HİKÂYE ANLATIMI: DİL GELİŞİMİ, ETKİLEŞİM VE YÖNLENDİRİCİ DESTEK

Anıl MANGUŞ[1]

Giriş

Erken yaşta yabancı dil öğrenimi uzun süre, çocukların ikinci dili daha ileri yaştaki öğrenenlere kıyasla daha kolay öğrenebilecekleri varsayımı üzerinden ele alınmıştır. Özellikle telaffuz ve dilbilgisi edinimindeki olası avantajlar, ergenlik öncesindeki dönemi ikinci dil öğrenimi açısından kritik bir dönem olarak değerlendiren yaklaşımlarla ilişkilendirilmiştir (Lenneberg, 1967). Bununla birlikte, yaş ve ikinci dil öğrenme başarısı arasındaki ilişkiyi inceleyen çalışmalar, yaşın tek başına belirleyici olmadığını ve ileri yaştaki öğrenenlerin bazı dil alanlarında çocuklardan daha başarılı olabildiğini göstermektedir (Marinova-Todd vd., 2000; Muñoz, 2006). Bu nedenle erken yaşta yabancı dil öğretiminin başarısı yalnızca öğrenenin yaşına değil, ikinci dile maruz kalmanın niteliği ve süresi ile öğrenme ortamının ve öğretim uygulamalarının özelliklerine de bağlı olarak değerlendirilmelidir (Marinova-Todd vd., 2000; Muñoz, 2006). Erken yaşta yabancı dil öğrenmenin bazı avantajları bulunmaktadır ancak yaş tek başına dil öğrenme başarısını belirlememektedir. Öğrenmenin niteliğinde, dile maruz kalma süresi ve biçimi ile öğrenme ortamı ve öğretim uygulamaları da önemli rol oynamaktadır.

Erken yaşta yabancı dil öğretiminde öğretim ortamının niteliği ve çocukların öğrenme sürecine nasıl dâhil edildiği bu nedenle önem kazanmaktadır. Sosyokültürel öğrenme yaklaşımı, öğrenmenin sosyal niteliğine ve çocukların yetişkinler veya daha deneyimli kişilerle kurdukları etkileşimlerin öğrenme sürecindeki rolüne dikkat çekmektedir (Vygotsky, 1978). Bruner (1985) de çocukların dili, yetişkinlerin desteğiyle gerçekleştirilen yapılandırılmış ve tekrarlanan etkileşimler içerisinde kullandıklarını ve geliştirdiklerini belirtmektedir. Hikâye okuma ve anlatma gibi etkinlikler, bu tür etkileşimlerin gerçekleşebileceği yapılandırılmış ortamlar sunmaktadır (Bruner, 1985; Vygotsky, 1978). Çalışmalar, çocukların yabancı dil öğreniminde yalnızca sunulan dilsel içeriğin değil, öğrenme ortamının ve çocukların etkileşimlere aktif katılımının da önemli olduğunu vurgulamaktadır. Yetişkin desteğiyle gerçekleştirilen yapılandırılmış ve tekrarlanan etkileşimler, çocukların dili kullanarak öğrenmelerini desteklemektedir. Hikâye okuma ve anlatma etkinlikleri de bu etkileşimlerin gerçekleşmesi için uygun ortamlar sunmaktadır.

Erken yaşta yabancı dil öğretiminde özellikle kelime öğrenimi açısından yeterli ve tekrarlı hedef dil girdisinin sağlanması önem taşımaktadır. Leśniewska ve Pichette (2016), 3–5

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yaş arasındaki Fransızca konuşan çocuklarla gerçekleştirdikleri çalışmada, hikâye ve şarkılarda sunulan yeni İngilizce kelimelerle çok sayıda karşılaşmanın gerekli olduğunu göstermiştir. Çocukların yeni kelimeleri hatırlama oranının yaklaşık %50 düzeyine ulaşması için kelimelerle 60'tan fazla karşılaşma gerektiği bulunmuştur (Leśniewska & Pichette, 2016). Bu bulgu, erken yaşta yabancı dil öğretiminde tek seferlik kelime sunumundan ziyade, kelimelerin anlamlı bağlamlar içerisinde tekrar tekrar karşılaşılabileceği öğretim düzenlemelerinin önemine işaret etmektedir (Leśniewska & Pichette, 2016). Erken yaşta yabancı dil öğreniminde yeni kelimelerin öğrenilebilmesi için yeterli sayıda ve tekrarlı dil girdisine ihtiyaç duyulmaktadır. Kelimelerin hikâye ve şarkılar gibi anlamlı bağlamlar içinde tekrar tekrar sunulması, tek seferlik kelime öğretimine kıyasla daha etkili bir öğrenme süreci sağlayabilir.

Hikâyeler bu açıdan, hedef dil girdisini anlamlı ve bağlamsallaştırılmış bir bütün içerisinde sunabilen öğretim araçları olarak değerlendirilmektedir. Özellikle resimler, jestler, tekrarlar, eşanlamlı açıklamalar ve diğer destekleyici stratejilerle birlikte kullanıldığında hikâye temelli etkinliklerin çocukların kelime öğrenmesini destekleyebildiği görülmektedir (Collins, 2010; Chlapana & Tafa, 2014). Collins'in (2010) çalışması, hikâye kitabı okuma sırasında sağlanan öğretimsel desteklerin okul öncesi İngilizce öğrenenlerin kelime edinimini destekleyebildiğini gösterirken, Chlapana ve Tafa (2014) tekrarlı hikâye okuma ve çocukların hikâye sürecine aktif katılımının ikinci dil kelime öğrenimini destekleyebildiğini ortaya koymuştur. Dolayısıyla hikâyenin kendisi kadar, hikâyenin hangi öğretim stratejileriyle sunulduğu ve çocukların sürece nasıl katıldığı da önem taşımaktadır (Collins, 2010; Chlapana & Tafa, 2014). Hikâyeler, hedef dili çocuklara anlamlı ve bağlamsal bir şekilde sunmak için etkili bir araç olabilir. Ancak öğrenme açısından yalnızca hikâyenin kullanılması değil, resim, tekrar, jest ve öğretimsel desteklerin kullanılması ile çocukların hikâye sürecine aktif katılımı da önem taşımaktadır.

Hikâye anlatımının çocukların dili yalnızca dinlemeleriyle sınırlı kalmaması, çocukların hikâyeyi yeniden anlatmaları, rol oynamaları ve hikâyedeki dilsel yapıları farklı bağlamlarda kullanmaları yoluyla üretime dönüştürülmesi de önemlidir. Llinares García (2007), düşük yoğunluklu bir yabancı dil ortamında öğretmenlerin planlı etkinlikler aracılığıyla küçük yaştaki öğrenenlerin ikinci dilde farklı iletişim işlevlerini kullanmalarına destek olabildiklerini göstermektedir. Benzer biçimde, dramatize edilmiş hikâyelerin çocukların ikinci dil kullanımını destekleyen yapılandırılmış etkileşim ortamları sağlayabildiği belirtilmektedir (Coyle & Férez Mora, 2018). Bu nedenle hikâye anlatımı, yalnızca bir dinleme etkinliği olarak değil, çocukların hedef dili anlamlı ve tekrarlı biçimde kullanabilecekleri bir öğrenme süreci olarak ele alınabilir (Coyle & Férez Mora, 2018; Llinares García, 2007). Hikâye anlatımı, çocukları yalnızca dinleyen konumunda bırakmayıp hikâyeyi yeniden anlatma, rol oynama ve hedef dili farklı bağlamlarda kullanma gibi üretime dayalı etkinliklere yönlendirmek açısından önemlidir. Bu tür yapılandırılmış ve tekrarlı etkileşimler, çocukların öğrendikleri dili anlamlı iletişim durumlarında kullanmalarını destekleyebilmektedir.

Hikâye anlatımının erken yabancı dil öğretimindeki yeri

Küçük yaştaki öğrencilerle yürütülen yabancı dil öğretiminde çocukların dikkatlerinin kolayca dağılabilmesi ve uzun süre aynı etkinliğe odaklanmalarının güç olabilmesi, öğretim etkinliklerinin çocukların gelişimsel özelliklerine uygun biçimde tasarlanmasını gerekli

kılmaktadır (Pujiani vd., 2022; Wulandari vd., 2020). Hikâye anlatımı bu bağlamda çocukların dikkatini belirli bir olay örgüsü etrafında toplama, hedef dili anlamlı bir bağlam içerisinde sunma ve çocukları dinleme, konuşma ve yeniden anlatma gibi etkinliklere dâhil etme imkânı sağlayabilmektedir (Pujiani vd., 2022; Wulandari vd., 2020). Küçük yaştaki çocukların dikkat süreleri ve gelişimsel özellikleri yabancı dil öğretiminde dikkate alınması gerekmektedir. Hikâye anlatımı, çocukların dikkatini toplamak, dili anlamlı bir bağlamda sunmak ve onları dinleme, konuşma ve yeniden anlatma gibi etkinliklere aktif biçimde katmak için uygun bir yaklaşım olarak değerlendirilmektedir.

Hikâye anlatımının dil becerileri üzerindeki etkisi farklı çalışmaların ortak konusu olmuştur. Hikâyelerin dinlenmesi ve yeniden anlatılması, çocukların hedef dilde kelimelerle ve cümle yapılarıyla karşılaşmalarının yanı sıra sözlü üretim süreçlerine katılmalarına da imkân sağlayabilmektedir (Rahmadhania vd., 2022; Rifiyanti & Hidayat, 2024). Özellikle hikâye anlatma ve yeniden anlatma etkinliklerinin öğrencilerin katılımını ve konuşma sürecine dâhil olmalarını desteklediği bildirilmiştir (Rifiyanti & Hidayat, 2024). İlkokul düzeyinde ikili çalışma ile hikâye anlatımının birlikte kullanıldığı uygulamalarda da öğrencilerin konuşma akıcılığı ve akranlarıyla etkileşimi açısından olumlu sonuçlar rapor edilmiştir (Febyanti & Maya Sari, 2022). Hikâye anlatma ve yeniden anlatma etkinlikleri çocukların hedef dili yalnızca anlamalarını değil, sözlü olarak kullanmalarını ve iletişim sürecine aktif biçimde katılmalarını destekleyebilmektedir. Özellikle akran etkileşimi ve ikili çalışmalarla birleştirildiğinde, hikâye anlatımının konuşma akıcılığı ve iletişimsel katılım açısından da katkı sağlayabildiği görülmektedir.

Hikâye anlatımının kelime öğrenimi açısından taşıdığı önem de farklı çalışmalar tarafından desteklenmektedir. Collins (2010) ve Chlapana ve Tafa (2014), hikâye kitabı okuma sırasında gerçekleştirilen öğretimsel desteklerin çocukların İngilizce kelime edinimini destekleyebildiğini göstermektedir. Kirsch (2016) ise hikâye anlatımının kelime öğretimindeki etkisinin, öğretmenin hikâyeyi nasıl yapılandırdığı ve çocuklara ne tür dilsel destekler sunduğuyla ilişkili olduğunu vurgulamaktadır. Buna göre öğretmenler jest, mimik, görseller, tekrar, yeniden ifade etme ve çocukları hikâyeyi yeniden anlatmaya yönlendirme gibi stratejiler kullanarak hedef dilin anlaşılabilirliğini artırabilmektedir (Kirsch, 2016). Hikâye anlatımı çocukların kelime öğrenimini destekleyebilmektedir ancak bu etki yalnızca hikâyenin kullanılmasına değil, öğretmenin hikâyeyi nasıl sunduğuna ve sağladığı dilsel desteklere de bağlıdır. Jest, mimik, görsel, tekrar ve yeniden ifade etme gibi stratejiler, çocukların hedef dili anlamalarını ve yeni kelimeleri öğrenmelerini destekleyen önemli uygulamalar olarak öne çıkmaktadır.

Bu çalışmalar birlikte değerlendirildiğinde, hikâye anlatımının etkisinin yalnızca hikâyenin içeriğinden kaynaklanmadığı görülmektedir. Çocukların hikâyeyi dinleme, tahmin etme, sorulara yanıt verme, tekrar etme, rol oynama ve yeniden anlatma gibi etkinliklerle sürece aktif biçimde katılması, hikâye temelli öğretimin dilsel potansiyelini artırmaktadır (Chlapana & Tafa, 2014; Kirsch, 2016; Rahmadhania vd., 2022; Rifiyanti & Hidayat, 2024). Bu nedenle hikâye anlatımı, tek yönlü bir anlatım tekniğinden ziyade, çocukların hedef dili anlamlandırmalarına ve kullanmalarına imkân veren etkileşimli bir öğretim yaklaşımı olarak ele alınmalıdır (Coyle & Férez Mora, 2018; Kirsch, 2016). Hikâye anlatımının etkisi yalnızca hikâyenin içeriğine değil, çocukların öğrenme sürecine ne ölçüde aktif katıldıklarına da bağlıdır. Dinleme, tahmin etme, soru yanıtlama, tekrar etme, rol oynama ve yeniden anlatma

gibi etkinlikler, hikâyeyi tek yönlü bir anlatımdan çıkararak çocukların hedef dili anlamlı biçimde kullanabilecekleri etkileşimli bir öğrenme sürecine dönüştürmektedir.

İlkokul öğrencileriyle gerçekleştirilen daha yakın tarihli bir çalışma da bu değerlendirmeyi desteklemektedir. Mafulah, Panggala ve Herawati (2025), hikâye anlatımının çocukların İngilizce becerileri üzerindeki etkisini incelemiş ve özellikle konuşma, telaffuz ve kelime kullanımı açısından olumlu sonuçlar bildirmiştir. Çalışmada öğrencilerin hikâye anlatımını eğlenceli ve motive edici buldukları da belirlenmiştir (Mafulah vd., 2025). Bu sonuçlar, hikâye anlatımının erken yaşta yabancı dil öğretiminde hem dilsel kullanım hem de öğrencilerin etkinliğe katılımı açısından işlevsel olabileceğini göstermektedir (Mafulah vd., 2025). Hikâye anlatımı çocukların İngilizceyi yalnızca dinlemelerini değil, konuşma, telaffuz ve kelime kullanımı yoluyla aktif biçimde üretmelerini destekleyebilmektedir. Ayrıca öğrencilerin hikâye anlatımını eğlenceli ve motive edici bulmaları, bu yöntemin dilsel gelişimin yanı sıra öğrenmeye katılımı da destekleyebileceğine işaret etmektedir.

Hikâye anlatımının dil gelişimine katkısı yalnızca kelime ve konuşma becerileriyle sınırlı değildir. Hikâye yapısının anlaşılması ve çocukların anlatıyı yeniden yapılandırmaları, anlatı becerilerinin gelişimiyle de ilişkilidir. Erken çocukluk döneminde etkileşimli okuma üzerine yapılan meta-analitik araştırma, etkileşimli okumanın çocukların anlatı becerileri üzerinde orta düzeyde olumlu bir etkiye sahip olduğunu göstermiştir (Xing vd., 2025). Çalışmada etkinliğin süresi ve akran paylaşımı gibi değişkenlerin etkiyi değiştirebildiği de bulunmuştur (Xing vd., 2025). Bu bulgu, hikâye temelli etkinliklerin yalnızca çocuklara dil girdisi sağlamakla kalmayıp, onların anlatıyı yapılandırma ve yeniden ifade etme süreçlerini de destekleyebileceğine işaret etmektedir (Xing vd., 2025). Etkileşimli okumanın, çocukların anlatı becerilerini geliştirmede olumlu bir etkiye sahip olduğu düşünülmektedir. Ayrıca etkinliğin süresi ve akran paylaşımı gibi unsurların bu etkiyi değiştirebildiği; dolayısıyla hikâye temelli etkinliklerin çocukların anlatıları yapılandırma ve yeniden ifade etme becerilerini de destekleyebileceği görülmektedir.

Hikâye anlatımının çocukların konuşma sürecine katılımını desteklemesi, özellikle daha az aktif öğrencilerin hedef dili kullanabilmeleri açısından da önem taşımaktadır. Hikâye anlatma ve yeniden anlatma etkinliklerinin öğrencilerin katılımını artırabildiği ve konuşma sürecine daha fazla dâhil olmalarını sağlayabildiği bildirilmektedir (Rahmadhania vd., 2022; Rifiyanti & Hidayat, 2024). Bununla birlikte, bu tür sonuçların farklı yaş grupları ve öğretim bağlamlarında aynı biçimde ortaya çıkacağı varsayılmamalıdır; hikâye temelli etkinliklerin niteliği, öğretmenin uygulamaları ve öğrenme ortamının özellikleri sonuçları etkileyebilmektedir (Kirsch, 2016; Mafulah vd., 2025). Hikâye anlatma ve yeniden anlatma etkinlikleri öğrencilerin konuşmaya katılımını ve hedef dili kullanmalarını destekleyebilmektedir. Ancak bu etkinin her yaş ve öğrenme ortamında aynı şekilde ortaya çıkacağı düşünülmemeli; öğretmenin uygulamaları ve etkinliğin nasıl yapılandırıldığı da sonuçlar üzerinde etkili olabilir.

Sosyokültürel perspektif ve yönlendirici destek

Hikâye anlatımının erken yabancı dil öğretimindeki işlevi, çocukların öğrenmesini sosyal etkileşimlerden bağımsız düşünmeyen sosyokültürel yaklaşım çerçevesinde daha ayrıntılı biçimde ele alınabilir. Vygotsky'nin (1978) yaklaşımında öğrenme, çocuğun tek başına

gerçekleştirebildiği etkinliklerle sınırlı değildir; yetişkinlerin veya daha yetkin akranların desteğiyle gerçekleştirilebilen etkinlikler de öğrenme sürecinin önemli bir parçasıdır. Yakın Gelişim Alanı kavramı bu iki düzey arasındaki alanı açıklamak için kullanılmaktadır (Vygotsky, 1978; Zaretsky, 2021). Bu yaklaşım, çocukların öğrenmesinin yalnızca bireysel çabalarıyla değil, yetişkinler ve daha yetkin akranlarla kurdukları sosyal etkileşimler ve aldıkları destekle de şekillendiğini vurgulamaktadır. Yakın Gelişim Alanı ise çocuğun tek başına yapabildikleri ile destek aracılığıyla gerçekleştirebildikleri arasındaki alanı açıklamaktadır.

Bu yaklaşımda çocuğa sağlanan destek, görevi çocuğun yerine yapmak anlamına gelmez; çocuğun görevi giderek daha bağımsız biçimde gerçekleştirebilmesini sağlayacak biçimde yapılandırılmış bir yardım sürecini ifade eder (Irshad vd., 2020; Zaretsky, 2021). Yabancı dil öğretiminde bu destek; sorular sorma, ipucu verme, geri bildirim sağlama, çocuğun önceki bilgileriyle yeni içeriği ilişkilendirme ve gerektiğinde dilsel modeli sunma gibi uygulamalarla gerçekleştirilebilir (Aljaafreh & Lantolf, 1994; Walqui, 2006). Bu çalışmada kullanılan "yönlendirici destek" ifadesi, bu tür destekleyici ve yapılandırılmış öğretim uygulamalarını karşılamak üzere kullanılmaktadır.

Ortak kitap okuma bağlamında yetişkin-çocuk etkileşiminin niteliği, çocukların dil gelişimi açısından özellikle önemlidir. Ortak kitap okuma sırasında yetişkinlerin çocuklara soru sorması, kelimelerin anlamlarını açıklaması ve çocukların anlatı hakkında konuşmalarını desteklemesi, kitapta yer alan dil girdisinin çocuk tarafından işlenmesini kolaylaştırabilmektedir (Arnold & Whitehurst, 1994; Combs & Higgins, 2024). Paylaşılan kitap okuma üzerine yapılan meta-analitik çalışmalar da yetişkin-çocuk etkileşiminin dil ve okuryazarlık sonuçları açısından önemini ortaya koymaktadır (Bus vd., 1995; Mol vd., 2008; Noble vd., 2019). Ortak kitap okuma sırasında yetişkin-çocuk etkileşiminin niteliğinin çocukların dil ve okuryazarlık gelişimi açısından önemli olduğu düşünülmektedir. Soru sorma, kelime açıklama ve anlatı hakkında konuşmayı destekleme gibi etkileşimler, çocukların kitapta sunulan dil girdisiyle daha aktif biçimde çalışmasına katkı sağlayabilmektedir.

Çocukların resimli kitaplarla etkileşime girmesi de kelime öğrenimi açısından önem taşımaktadır. Larragueta ve Ceballos-Viro (2018), resimli kitapların özelliklerinin çocukların kelime öğrenme süreçleri açısından dikkate alınması gerektiğini göstermektedir. Hagen (2018) ise okul öncesi dönemde dil etkinliklerinin düzenli biçimde gerçekleştirilmesinin dil gelişimiyle ilişkili olduğunu ve resimli kitap okuma sırasında çocukların etkinliğe dâhil edilmesinin önem taşıdığını belirtmektedir. Bu bulgular, hikâye kitabının yalnızca okunmasının değil, çocukların kitapla ve yetişkinle kurdukları etkileşimin niteliğinin de dikkate alınması gerektiğini göstermektedir (Hagen, 2018; Larragueta & Ceballos-Viro, 2018). Resimli kitapların özelliklerinin ve çocukların kitapla etkileşim biçiminin kelime öğrenimi açısından önemli bulunmaktadır. Dolayısıyla yalnızca kitabın okunması değil, çocukların kitap ve yetişkinle etkileşime dâhil edilmesi ve etkinliklerin düzenli biçimde gerçekleştirilmesi de dikkate alınmalıdır.

Yetişkin desteğinin önemi elektronik kitaplar söz konusu olduğunda da devam etmektedir. Korat, Atishkin ve Segal-Drori (2022), e-kitap kullanımında öğretmen desteğinin kelime öğrenimi açısından önem taşıdığını ortaya koymuştur. Benzer biçimde, Yang ve arkadaşları (2025), EFL ortak okuma bağlamında e-kitap anlatımı ile çocukların ve ebeveynlerin iki dilli konuşmaları arasındaki ilişkileri incelemiş ve ebeveyn-çocuk

konuşmasının çocukların öğrenme sonuçlarıyla ilişkili olduğunu göstermiştir. Dolayısıyla dijital ortamın varlığı, yetişkin arabuluculuğunun önemini ortadan kaldırmamakta; aksine dijital hikâyenin nasıl kullanıldığı ve yetişkinin çocuğu nasıl yönlendirdiği sorularını daha önemli hâle getirmektedir (Korat vd., 2022; Yang vd., 2025). Dijital hikâye ve e-kitap kullanımında da yetişkin desteği ve yönlendirmesi önemini korumaktadır. E-kitapların tek başına kullanılması yerine, öğretmenin veya ebeveynin çocuğa rehberlik etmesi ve çocukla etkileşim kurması, dijital hikâye temelli öğrenme sürecinin önemli bir unsuru olarak öne çıkmaktadır.

Etkileşimli okuma yaklaşımı bu noktada yönlendirici desteğin uygulamadaki karşılıklarından biri olarak değerlendirilebilir. Etkileşimli okumada yetişkin, hikâyeyi yalnızca baştan sona aktaran kişi konumunda değildir; çocuklara sorular yöneltir, onların tahmin yapmalarını ve hikâyenin bölümlerini yeniden anlatmalarını sağlar ve çocukların verdiği cevaplara göre etkileşimi sürdürür (Arnold & Whitehurst, 1994; Noble vd., 2019). Xing ve arkadaşlarının (2025) meta-analizi de etkileşimli okumanın anlatı becerileri üzerindeki olumlu etkisini desteklemektedir. Etkileşimli okuma, yetişkinin çocukları soru sorma, tahmin etme ve yeniden anlatma gibi etkinliklere yönlendirdiği yönlendirici desteğin somut bir uygulaması olarak ele alınabilir. Araştırmalar, bu tür etkileşimli okumanın çocukların özellikle anlatı becerilerini destekleyebildiğini göstermektedir.

Bununla birlikte, yetişkin desteğinin sürekli ve sınırsız biçimde artırılmasının her durumda daha iyi sonuç vereceği söylenemez. Etkileşimin niteliği, çocuğun yaşına, dil düzeyine, etkinliğin yapısına ve kullanılan materyale göre düzenlenmelidir (Kirsch, 2016; Xing vd., 2025). Bu nedenle hikâye anlatımında yönlendirici desteğin temel amacı, çocuğun yerine dili kullanmak değil, çocuğun dili kendisinin kullanabileceği uygun fırsatları oluşturmaktır (Vygotsky, 1978; Walqui, 2006). Yetişkin desteğinin miktarından çok, çocuğun yaşına, dil düzeyine, etkinliğin yapısına ve materyale uygun biçimde düzenlenmesi önemlidir. Yönlendirici desteğin amacı çocuğun yerine dili kullanmak değil, çocuğun dili kendisi kullanabilmesi için uygun fırsatlar oluşturmasını sağlamaktır.

Gelenekselden dijital hikâyeye

Dijital teknolojilerin erken çocukluk döneminde daha fazla kullanılmaya başlanması, hikâye anlatımının basılı materyallerin ötesinde dijital ortamlarda da ele alınmasını gerekli kılmıştır. Dijital hikâyeler; metin, ses, görsel, animasyon ve etkileşimli özellikleri bir araya getirebildikleri için geleneksel hikâye kitaplarından farklı öğrenme olanakları sunabilmektedir (Clinton-Lisell vd., 2023; Ong & Aryadoust, 2023). Bununla birlikte, dijital bir materyalin yalnızca daha fazla özellik içermesi onun otomatik olarak daha etkili olduğu anlamına gelmemektedir (Clinton-Lisell vd., 2023). Dijital hikâyeler; metin, ses, görsel, animasyon ve etkileşim gibi farklı unsurları bir araya getirerek basılı hikâyelerden farklı öğrenme olanakları sunabilmektedir. Ancak dijital materyalin daha fazla teknolojik özellik içermesi, tek başına daha etkili bir öğrenme sağlayacağı anlamına gelmemektedir.

Elektronik ve basılı kitapları karşılaştıran meta-analitik araştırmalar, e-kitapların çocukların dil ve okuryazarlık sonuçları üzerinde genel olarak küçük fakat anlamlı olumlu etkiler sağlayabildiğini göstermektedir; özellikle ifade edici kelime dağarcığı açısından olumlu sonuçlar bildirilmiştir (Savva vd., 2022). Bununla birlikte, dijital kitapların etkisinin kullanılan

dijital özelliklere ve yetişkinlerin bu özellikleri nasıl yönettiğine bağlı olarak değişebildiği de belirtilmektedir (Clinton-Lisell vd., 2023; Savva vd., 2022). Bu araştırmalar, e-kitapların çocukların dil ve okuryazarlık gelişimi üzerinde küçük ancak anlamlı olumlu etkiler sağlayabileceğini ve özellikle ifade edici kelime dağarcığı açısından katkı sunabildiğine işaret etmektedir. Ancak dijital kitapların etkisi, kullanılan dijital özelliklere ve bu özelliklerin yetişkinler tarafından nasıl yönlendirildiğine göre değişebilmektedir.

Bu nedenle dijital hikâyelerde görsel ve işitsel özelliklerin hikâyenin içeriğiyle uyumlu olması önem taşımaktadır. Multimedya desteklerinin öğrenmeyi destekleyebilmesi, bu özelliklerin çocukların dikkatini temel içerikten uzaklaştırmak yerine öğrenilmesi hedeflenen bilgiye yöneltmesine bağlıdır (Clinton-Lisell vd., 2023; Eng vd., 2020). Etkileşimli özelliklerin aşırı veya ilgisiz biçimde kullanılması ise çocukların dikkatini hikâyenin kendisinden uzaklaştırabilir (Clinton-Lisell vd., 2023). Dijital hikâyelerde görsel, işitsel ve etkileşimli özelliklerin hikâyenin içeriğini destekleyecek şekilde kullanılması önemlidir. Bu özellikler çocuğun dikkatini öğrenilecek içeriğe yöneltmelidir; aşırı veya ilgisiz kullanıldığında ise dikkati hikâyenin kendisinden uzaklaştırabilir.

Bali ve arkadaşlarının (2025) çalışması, etkileşimli hikâye kitaplarında görsel işaretlerin kullanımının bilişsel yük açısından önem taşıdığını göstermektedir. Etkileşimli öğelerin açık biçimde işaretlenmesi, çocukların bu özellikleri daha kolay fark etmelerine yardımcı olurken, yeterince yönlendirilmemiş multimedya öğelerinin dikkat dağınıklığına yol açabileceği görülmüştür (Bali vd., 2025). Bu bulgu, dijital hikâye tasarımında daha fazla görsel veya etkileşimli özellik eklemekten ziyade, özelliklerin öğrenme amacıyla nasıl ilişkilendirildiğinin dikkate alınması gerektiğini göstermektedir (Bali vd., 2025; Clinton-Lisell vd., 2023). Dijital hikâyelerde etkileşimli öğelerin açık ve anlaşılır biçimde yönlendirilmesi çocukların dikkatini yönetmeye yardımcı olabilmektedir. Dolayısıyla dijital hikâye tasarımında özelliklerin sayısından çok, bu özelliklerin öğrenme amacıyla nasıl ilişkilendirildiği önem taşımaktadır.

Dijital ve basılı kitapların karşılaştırılmasında yetişkinin öğretim biçimi de önemli bir değişken olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır. Savva, Beckmann ve Higgins'in (2026) çocuklarla gerçekleştirdiği çalışmada kitap formatının alıcı ve ifade edici kelime dağarcığı veya genel dil yeterliliği üzerinde anlamlı bir etkisi bulunmamış; ancak basılı kitaplar açık hikâye anlama açısından e-kitaplardan daha iyi sonuç vermiştir. Buna karşılık, etkileşimli öğretim yaklaşımı performansa dayalı yaklaşıma kıyasla ifade edici kelime dağarcığı ve örtük hikâye anlama açısından daha olumlu sonuçlar sağlamıştır (Savva vd., 2026). Araştırmada kitap formatı ile öğretim tarzı arasında anlamlı bir etkileşim bulunmaması da öğretim tarzının tek başına önemli bir değişken olduğunu göstermektedir (Savva vd., 2026). Basılı ve dijital kitapların etkisi her dil alanında aynı olmamaktadır. Basılı kitaplar açık hikâye anlama açısından daha iyi sonuç verebilmektedir. Ayrıca etkileşimli öğretim, ifade edici kelime dağarcığı ve örtük hikâye anlama açısından daha olumlu sonuçlarla ilişkilendirilmiş; bu da öğretim biçiminin kitap formatı kadar önemli bir değişken olabileceğine işaret etmektedir.

Bu sonuçlar, dijital hikâyelerin erken yabancı dil öğretiminde basılı hikâyelerin yerine otomatik olarak geçirilmesi gerektiğini göstermemektedir. Aksine, hangi formatın kullanılacağından bağımsız olarak öğretmenin hikâyeyi nasıl sunduğu, çocukların etkinliğe nasıl katıldığı ve materyalin hangi pedagojik amaçla kullanıldığı önem taşımaktadır (Savva vd., 2026; Yang vd., 2025). Dijital ortam, uygun biçimde tasarlandığında görsel ve işitsel destekler sağlayabilir; ancak bu desteklerin öğrenme hedefleriyle uyumlu olması ve yetişkin

yönlendirmesiyle bütünleştirilmesi gerekmektedir (Bali vd., 2025; Clinton-Lisell vd., 2023). Dijital hikâyelerin basılı hikâyelerin yerine doğrudan geçirilmesi yerine, öğretmenin sunumu, çocukların katılımı ve materyalin pedagojik kullanım amacı dikkate alınarak değerlendirilmesi gerekmektedir. Dijital özellikler öğrenme hedefleriyle uyumlu biçimde ve yetişkin yönlendirmesiyle kullanıldığında destek sağlayabilir.

Dolayısıyla geleneksel hikâye anlatımından dijital hikâyeye geçiş, yalnızca kullanılan materyalin değişmesi olarak değerlendirilmemelidir. Hikâyenin etkileşimli biçimde sunulması, çocuğun anlatı sürecine katılması ve yetişkinin öğrenme sürecini yönlendirmesi, hem basılı hem de dijital ortamlar açısından önemini korumaktadır (Noble vd., 2019; Savva vd., 2026; Xing vd., 2025). Bu açıdan dijital hikâye, geleneksel hikâye anlatımının yerine geçen bağımsız bir yöntemden çok, hikâye temelli dil öğretiminin farklı bir materyal ve sunum biçimi olarak ele alınabilir (Ong & Aryadoust, 2023; Savva vd., 2022). Geleneksel ve dijital hikâye arasındaki farkın yalnızca materyal değişikliği olmadığı, etkileşim ve yetişkin yönlendirmesinin her iki ortamda da önemini koruduğu vurgulanmaktadır. Bu nedenle dijital hikâye, geleneksel hikâye anlatımının alternatifi olmaktan çok, hikâye temelli dil öğretiminin farklı bir sunum biçimi olarak değerlendirilebilir.

Sonuç

Erken yaşta yabancı dil öğretiminde hikâye anlatımının rolüne ilişkin araştırmalar bir arada değerlendirildiğinde, hikâyelerin çocuklara hedef dili anlamlı ve bağlamsallaştırılmış bir bütün içerisinde sunma, yeni kelimelerle tekrarlı biçimde karşılaşma ve dili farklı etkinlikler aracılığıyla kullanma fırsatı sağladığı görülmektedir (Collins, 2010; Chlapana & Tafa, 2014; Kirsch, 2016; Leśniewska & Pichette, 2016). Hikâye anlatımının özellikle kelime öğrenimi, konuşma, anlatı becerileri ve çocukların öğrenme sürecine katılımı açısından olumlu sonuçlarla ilişkilendirildiği araştırmalar bulunmaktadır (Mafulah vd., 2025; Rahmadhania vd., 2022; Rifiyanti & Hidayat, 2024; Xing vd., 2025). Çalışmalar birlikte değerlendirildiğinde, hikâye anlatımının çocuklara hedef dili anlamlı ve bağlamsal biçimde sunma, kelimelerle tekrar tekrar karşılaşma ve dili farklı etkinliklerde kullanma fırsatı sağlayabildiği görülmektedir. Araştırmalar ayrıca hikâye anlatımının özellikle kelime öğrenimi, konuşma, anlatı becerileri ve öğrenme sürecine katılım açısından olumlu sonuçlarla ilişkili olduğunu göstermektedir.

Bununla birlikte, bu sonuçlar hikâyenin tek başına etkili bir öğretim aracı olduğu şeklinde yorumlanmamalıdır. Araştırmalar, hikâyenin nasıl sunulduğunun, çocukların etkinliğe ne ölçüde katıldığının ve öğretmenin sağladığı dilsel desteğin sonuçlar açısından belirleyici olabileceğini göstermektedir (Chlapana & Tafa, 2014; Kirsch, 2016; Noble vd., 2019). Sosyokültürel yaklaşım açısından bakıldığında, yetişkinin çocuğun yerine görevi gerçekleştirmesi değil, çocuğun görevi giderek daha bağımsız biçimde gerçekleştirebilmesini sağlayacak yönlendirici desteği sunması önem taşımaktadır (Vygotsky, 1978; Walqui, 2006). Hikâyenin etkisinin yalnızca kullanılması değil, nasıl sunulduğu, çocuğun etkinliğe katılımı ve öğretmenin sağladığı dilsel destekten nasıl etkilendiği önemlidir. Yönlendirici desteğin amacı ise çocuğun yerine görevi yapmak değil, çocuğun zamanla daha bağımsız biçimde dili kullanabilmesini desteklemektir.

Dijital hikâyeler bu öğretim olanaklarını farklı bir materyal ortamında sürdürebilmektedir. E-kitaplar ve dijital hikâyeler bazı dil ve okuryazarlık sonuçları açısından

olumlu katkılar sağlayabilse de, dijital özelliklerin niteliği ve yetişkin arabuluculuğu bu katkıların ortaya çıkmasında önemli bir rol oynamaktadır (Clinton-Lisell vd., 2023; Savva vd., 2022). Özellikle genç EAL öğrenenlerle gerçekleştirilen güncel araştırmalar, kitap formatından çok öğretim tarzının bazı öğrenme sonuçlarını daha güçlü biçimde yordayabildiğini göstermektedir (Savva vd., 2026). Bu nedenle erken yabancı dil öğretiminde temel mesele yalnızca basılı ya da dijital hikâyenin seçilmesi değil, seçilen hikâyenin çocukların dil düzeyine uygun biçimde yapılandırılması, etkileşimli hâle getirilmesi ve yönlendirici destekle birlikte kullanılmasıdır (Savva vd., 2026; Xing vd., 2025). Bu bölüm, dijital hikâyelerin de dil ve okuryazarlık açısından katkı sağlayabileceğini; ancak dijital özelliklerin niteliği ve yetişkin desteğinin bu katkılarda önemli olduğunu vurgulamaktadır. Bu nedenle asıl önemli olan yalnızca basılı veya dijital hikâye seçmek değil, hikâyeyi çocuğun düzeyine uygun, etkileşimli ve yönlendirici destek içeren bir öğretim süreci içinde kullanmaktır.

Sonuç olarak mevcut araştırmalar, hikâye anlatımının erken yaşta yabancı dil öğretiminde tek başına bir "etkinlik" olarak değil, çocukların anlamlı dil girdisine maruz kalmalarını, dili tekrar etmelerini, anlatıyı yapılandırmalarını ve yetişkinlerle etkileşim içinde hedef dili kullanmalarını sağlayan bütüncül bir öğretim ortamı olarak ele alınmasının daha uygun olduğunu göstermektedir (Coyle & Férez Mora, 2018; Kirsch, 2016; Mafulah vd., 2025). Bu çerçevede hikâye anlatımının etkililiği, hikâyenin kendisinden çok, hikâyenin çocukların aktif katılımı ve yetişkinin yönlendirici desteğiyle nasıl bütünleştirildiğiyle birlikte değerlendirilmelidir (Noble vd., 2019; Savva vd., 2026; Xing vd., 2025). Hikâye anlatımının yalnızca tek bir etkinlik olarak değil, çocukların dile maruz kaldıkları, dili tekrar ettikleri, anlatıyı yapılandırdıkları ve etkileşim içinde kullandıkları bütüncül bir öğrenme ortamı olarak değerlendirilmesi gerekmektedir. Hikâye anlatımının etkisi de büyük ölçüde hikâyenin kendisinden ziyade çocuğun aktif katılımı ve yetişkinin yönlendirici desteğiyle nasıl uygulandığıyla ilişkilendirilmektedir.

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BÖLÜM 4

FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNING MOTIVATION

FURKAN CANBAY[1]

Introduction

Motivation has been conceptualized under different theoretical frameworks, such as the socio-educational model (Gardner, 2019) and self-determination theory (Noels, 2009). Motivation is a term which is shaped by psychology and context. Gardner (1985) offered two basic constructs to comprehend second language motivation: integrative and instrumental orientations. Integrative orientation implies a tendency towards the second language group and a desire to interact with, or even emulate, members of that community. Instrumental orientation relates to the practical benefits of learning a second language, such as securing a better job or higher salary.

Theories Related to Motivation

The Socio-Educational Model

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The socio-educational model adopts a macro perspective to examine a wide range of sociocultural dimensions, including multiculturalism, language globalization and language communities (Ushioda, 2019). According to this model, foreign language learning is a process influenced by a combination of social, psychological, and educational factors. In language learning, factors such as the student's attitudes towards the target language and culture, their evaluations of the learning environment, motivation, social environment, and the effort he dedicate to language learning also play an important role. A student's motivation to learn a language doesn't simply mean that he likes the language. Motivation is more about making an effort towards the learning goal, a willingness to learn, continuing the learning process, and a positive attitude towards learning the language **(**Gardner, 1988**).**

Integrativeness is an important concept in this model. It refers to a student's tendency to establish psychological and social relationships with a community that speaks the target language. A student can demonstrate a high level of integrativeness if he is willing to communicate with English-speaking people, learn about English-speaking cultures, and develop a positive attitude toward the target language community. These kinds of social orientations can strengthen motivation for language learning. The second important element in the model is attitudes toward the learning situation. If a student has a positive opinion of their teacher, lessons, and classroom environment, this can support their motivation to learn a language. Therefore, in this model, motivation does not stem solely from the student's personal characteristics. The learning environment is also a significant part of motivation. Students' attitudes toward the target language community and their evaluations of the learning environment can contribute to language learning success through motivation. Learning a language can also involve establishing a kind

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of social relationship with the people who speak that language and their culture. Therefore, a student's attitudes and cultural beliefs towards the target language group can influence their motivation. This emphasizes the significance of social context. Cognitive individual differences, such as language aptitude, also influence success in language learning. Therefore, the model explains foreign language success through the interaction of social environment, attitudes, motivation, learning behaviors, and individual differences. **(**Gardner, 1988**).**

Self-Determination Theory

Self-Determination Theory claims that people have the capacity to regulate their own behavior and to develop intellectually in conjunction with others, and divides motivation into extrinsic and intrinsic (Deci & Ryan, 2002). Extrinsic motivation guides people to learn through external rewards (such as high grades and compliments from others), while intrinsic motivation is related to the natural joy and satisfaction growing out of the learning process itself (such as favorable classroom practices, appealing task and activities, fascinating materials and good relations with teachers) (Noels, 2009). Extrinsic motivation relates to the practical advantages of acquiring proficiency in a second language which include career opportunities, higher salaries, and immigration (Csizér & Dörnyei 2005). In contrast, intrinsic motivation is related to internal satisfaction Essentially, motivation is considered a modifiable behavioral and psychological phenomenon influenced by various factors (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011).

Self-efficacy Theory

People's beliefs about their ability to perform a behavior influence how they exhibit and maintain that behavior. People are

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not only guided by external rewards and punishments; their beliefs about their own capabilities also shape their behavior. Self-efficacy is a person's belief that they can successfully organize and execute the actions necessary to perform a particular behavior. Self-efficacy beliefs particularly influence four important processes: Behavioral choice, effort, perseverance and emotional responses. People tend to gravitate towards activities in which they feel competent, and avoid those in which they feel inadequate. Individuals with high self-efficacy may put more effort into accomplishing a task. Self-efficacy becomes important when tasks become difficult or when failure is encountered. Individuals with high self-efficacy can persevere longer in the face of obstacles. Self-efficacy can also influence the way people perceive stress and anxiety. If a person believes they can control a difficult situation, they may feel less threatened by that same situation (Bandura, 1977).

Self-efficacy can be a concept which describes behavioral change. If a person thinks he can cope with a difficult situation, he may show tendency to encounter it. If he feels a lack of self-efficacy he can tend to avoid from it. It is not a general personality characteristics. Individuals may exhibit different levels of self-efficacy in different fields. It is important to evaluate self-efficacy in a behavioral and situation-specific manner. New experiences, learning, and social environment can change a person's level of self-efficacy. In behavioral change interventions, it is important not only to increase a person's level of knowledge but also to strengthen their belief their own potential to achieve something (Bandura, 1977).

A positive correlation between self-efficacy and foreign language learning motivation can expected. As a student's belief in learning, using and accomplishing tasks in English strengthens, their motivation to learn can increase. These two terms can mutually

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influence each other. Successful experiences can increase a student's self-efficacy, thereby strengthening their motivation. High motivation can lead students to put in more effort and have more successful experiences, thus increasing self-efficacy. However, contextual and individual characteristics may influence the relationship between these two terms.

Foreign Language Learning in Young Learners

Mihaljević Djigunović and Nikolov (2019) offered a extensive framework for grasping and delving into young learners' foreign language motivation on the grounds of broad research spanning decades. This framework revolves around the developmental stages of young learners, the roles of key influencers (e.g. teachers, parents and peers) and the importance of classroom tasks. Young learners' FL learning journey defines three separate stages, each portrayed by particular motivational dynamics: the initial stage (ages 6–8), where playful activities and the teacher's role are more significant; the middle stage (ages 9–11), where socialization, assessment and peers begin to play a more important role and tasks become more organized; and the final stage (12–14), which is marked by a change towards peer effect and a more pronounced focus on real-world language use and assessment.

Conclusion

Foreign language learning motivation is the fundamental psychological construct which identifies the determination, energy, and resilience an individual demonstrates on their journey to deciphering a new linguistic coding system. Nowadays, language learning has become essential for integrating into the global community. However, this is a long and highly variable process. The sole factor that sustains individuals throughout this process and helps

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them get back on their feet whenever they stumble is a sustainable motivational framework. Achievement in language learning emerges from a balanced combination of instrumental and integrative types of motivation. A learner who relies solely on external rewards risks halting their language development once they reach a target score or position. In contrast, individuals driven by intrinsic motivation who view the language as a way of life, a new window opening onto the world transform the learning process into a lifelong exploration.

To sum up, foreign language learning motivation is a process that should be nurtured and managed through the right strategies. Viewing making mistakes as a natural part of learning, getting rid of perfectionism expectation, and integrating the language into the daily life are the golden keys to this process. It should be kept in mid that it is not the most gifted individuals who achieve in language learning,, but rather those who consistently maintain their motivation and continue to take steps forward every single day.

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BÖLÜM 5

Exploring the Relationship Between ChatGPT Use and Foreign Language Enjoyment Among University EFL Learners

Gülin ZEYBEK[1]

Introduction

Enjoyment is an important trigger for foreign language learners which can enhance their active participation in the learning process. Enjoyable learning experiences increase the possibility of learners' engagement with their peers and teachers by developing positive attitudes towards foreign language learning (FLL) (Dewaele et al., 2018). Enjoyment, as the main impetus of motivation, improves concentration and effort, which may result in deeper cognitive engagement (Wang & Wang, 2025). As learners demonstrate higher motivation towards learning, their chance in enjoying the language lessons increase (Dewaele, 2022). Therefore, enjoyment should not be regarded merely as an affective variable; rather, it emerges as a fundamental learning dynamic that shapes learners' levels of interaction, attention, motivation, and effort. With the growing focus on creating engaging and motivating learning

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environments, technology-enhanced teaching approaches have become popular. Language lessons assisted with Artificial Intelligence (AI henceforth) have started to be seen as one of the important factors in foreign language learners' enjoyment (Wang & Wang, 2025). In the integration of AI in FLL, it has been critical to understand the psychological reactions (such as motivation, enjoyment and self-efficacy) of foreign language learners so that the learning outcomes can be maximized (Zhu & Wang, 2025). Prior studies have yielded positive results on the relationship between enjoyment levels of foreign language learners and AI-assisted FLL (Huang & Zou 2024; Lee et al., 2023; Wang & Wang, 2025). For instance, Wang (2025)'s study suggests that AI integration in foreign language process significantly increases learners' enjoyment in language learning and transforms the learning process from a stressful event to an enjoyable fruitful experience.

In recent years, AI has offered English as a Foreign Language (EFL) learners more flexible learning environments by providing personalized experiences (Karataş et al., 2024). However, EFL learners' enjoyment have received relatively limited attention in the discussions on AI-assisted FLL (Yan & Zhang, 2025). AI tools can provide a wide range of advantages in FLL such as improved vocabulary retention, speaking fluency, and pronunciation (Zhang & Huang, 2024), real-time adaptive scaffolding and highly accurate feedback on grammar and pronunciation (Urbaite, 2025). Therefore, their integration into FLL appears both necessary and inevitable. Moreover, adaptive AI tools enables EFL learners to tailor difficulty, content, and feedback according to their individual needs, and support themselves according to their diverse proficiency levels and self-paced learning (Dai & Liu, 2024). Additionally, low-cost access of AI tools can help learners in unstable contexts (i.e. war, crises, pandemics) or with limited teachers; therefore the language learning processes can be more resilient and inclusive. As EFL learning

practices are reshaped by generative AI tools such as ChatGPT, it is highly necessary now to focus more on leaners emotional experiences and move beyond performance-based perspectives. Among these emotions, FLE stands out as a key factor influencing effective EFL learning. Exploring the role of enjoyment within AI-assisted EFL learning environments is significant for ensuring that technology integration not just supports learning outcomes but also provides positive and meaningful learning.

Foreign Language Enjoyment in EFL Learning

Before the 2000s, most research on psychological reactions in EFL learning focused mainly on negative emotions, especially foreign language anxiety (FLA) and gave very little attention to positive ones such as enjoyment (Li, 2024). Between the years 2010–2012, positive psychology (PP) was applied to EFL learning which emphasized well-being, positive emotions, engagement, and strengths during these processes (Zeng, 2021). In 2014, Dewaele and MacIntyre introduced "Foreign Language Enjoyment (FLE)" into SLA and created the first Foreign Language Enjoyment Scale to parallel EFL classroom anxiety scales (Wu and Kabilan, 2025). After this new theoretical advancement, enjoyment was explicitly positioned as the positive counterpart to anxiety, contrary to what people think enjoyment as the absence of it (Zeng, 2021). In this sense, Dewaele and MacIntyre brought Foreign Language Enjoyment (FLE) into EFL learning to "complement" foreign language classroom anxiety (FLCA) and to test whether enjoyment and anxiety are opposite poles of one dimension or two distinct dimensions (Dewaele & MacIntyre, 2022). They created the first FLE scale by adapting the "interest/enjoyment" subscale from Ryan et al. (1990) to the EFL context, producing 21 Likert-type items about emotions toward EFL learning, peers, and the teacher (Dewaele & MacIntyre, 2014). This FLE scale was paired with an 8-item short FLCA scale from Horwitz et al.'s FLCAS. Their study

revealed that there is a moderate negative correlation which showed enjoyment and anxiety are related but distinct, so learners can experience high enjoyment and high anxiety at the same time.

In the 2014 study, FLE was framed as a positive classroom emotion linked to enjoyment of learning, teacher, and peers. As the new research findings arise, Dewaele and MacIntyre have defined FLE more explicitly as "a complex emotion, capturing interacting dimensions of challenge and perceived ability that reflect the human drive for success in the face of difficult tasks" (Dewaele & Moskowitz, 2020; Dewaele & MacIntyre, 2022). According to them, enjoyment arises when learners go beyond their usual limits, face challenge, and feel competent which is quite similar to a close sports match rather than an easy victory (Dewaele & Moskowitz, 2020; Dewaele & MacIntyre, 2022). The main sources of FLE were indicated as teacher attitude and humor, activities that support autonomy, and the sense achievement (Dewaele & Dewaele, 2017). According to recent research on FLE, it is seen as the most important predictor of performance, sometimes more than anxiety and boredom, and also positively related with EFL achievement and proficiency (Dewaele et al., 2024). Even more, FLE can be a stronger driver of achievement than anxiety (Dewaele et al., 2024). On the other hand, research suggest weak or non-significant direct effects of FLE on short-term outcomes, especially among beginner level EFL learners (Wu & Kabilan, 2025).

ChatGPT as Generative-Artificial Intelligence and EFL Learning

The first AI integration tools in EFL learning encompassed a wide array from assessment and evaluation, intelligent tutoring, chatbots to virtual environments, but these were generally narrow machine learning tools and mostly rule-based rather than generative ones (Huang et al., 2024). As stated in Law (2024), the research on

generative AI tools in EFL learning mostly covers the period between 2017 and 2023 and the studies prior to 2022 were very limited and preliminary. According to some researchers, it was the launch of ChatGPT in the late 2022 which accelerated the research on generative AI in EFL research (Law, 2024; Nguyen & Hoang, 2025). However, some systematic reviews emphasize that generative AI in EFL learning is still in its early stage (Law, 2024; Liu et al., 2025; Nguyen & Hoang, 2025). Recent research mainly focusses on attitudes of EFL learners, short term effects of generative AI tools on EFL learning and AI acceptance (Liu et al., 2025). Additionally, these studies show that there are various positive effects of generative AI on EFL learning. For instance, generative AI tools were found to provide better organization, coherence, vocabulary, grammar and higher productivity in EFL writing (Arif & Naeem, 2025; Song & Song, 2023; Liu et al., 2025; Liu et al., 2024).

One of the most used generative tools in EFL learning environments is ChatGPT. Developed by OpenAI, ChatGPT is a large language model-based chatbot which generates human-like responses to prompts (Roumeliotis & Tselikas, 2023). It is built on the Generative Pre-trained Transformer (GPT) architecture, a neural network that learns patterns of language from massive text datasets and then predicts likely next words to form coherent text (Roumeliotis & Tselikas, 2023). Technically, ChatGPT is a GPT model (e.g., GPT-3.5, GPT-4) that has been further tuned for dialogue using instruction fine-tuning and reinforcement learning from human feedback so its answers are more helpful, safe, and aligned with human preferences (Nazir & Wang, 2023). Starting from the late 2022, research on ChatGPT in EFL learning expanded greatly ranging from empirical, conceptual, and review studies. Relatively recent research of Lo et al. (2024) shows that within a 1.5 year-period 70 empirical studies have been conducted specifically focusing on the use of ChatGPT in EFL learning. In general, EFL

research specifically centered on ChatGPT as a generative AI tool shows promising results.

In EFL reading skill, ChatGPT was used as an AI-supported pre-reading tool and the study results yielded better comprehension and increased motivation contrary to teacher scaffolding (Lin et al., 2025). In terms of speaking skill, generative AI chatbots help EFL learners with reducing their anxiety and enhancing their willingness to communicate and their perceived competence (Wang et al., 2024). In terms EFL learners' emotions, some experimental studies suggested that compared to traditional methods of EFL teaching, ChatGPT could yield to higher motivation, engagement and writing self-efficacy, when it is used in tasks or for feedback (Song & Song, 2023). Several research studies also show that when EFL learners use such generative AI tools as ChatGPT for planning, monitoring or revising their work, their autonomy and self-regulation strategies generally increase (Arif & Naeem, 2025; Liu et al., 2025; Liu et al., 2024).

In terms of FLE, there are mainly two research articles that puts FLE on the focus. Xu et al. (2024)'s study directly models Foreign Language Enjoyment as mediator between ChatGPT use and foreign language self-efficacy in 712 Chinese students abroad. In this study the use of ChatGPT was positively associated with how much students enjoyed learning and using the foreign language. They found out that ChatGPT boosts enjoyment, and this increased enjoyment, in turn, boosts self-efficacy. In the second study on FLE and ChatGPT which was conducted with grade-12 students and teachers in Bali, Putra et al. (2025) found that both the teachers and the students reported increased enjoyment in their EFL lessons with ChatGPT.

While many fruitful results have been and still being obtained from generative AI tool integrated EFL learning research some concerns have also been reported. Some studies highlight that

generative AI tools can cause over-reliance, loos of individual voice, academic dishonest and uneven impact on some language skills (Song & Song, 2023). However, researchers assert that these concerns can be eliminated by designing tasks accordingly, scaffolding the learners, and developing more human-mediated processes (Arif & Naeem, 2025; Liu et al., 2025).

Despite the rapidly expanding literature on generative artificial intelligence in EFL learning, there is still an important gap regarding learners' affective experiences. While a growing number of studies have examined learners' attitudes, motivation, self-efficacy, and performance in ChatGPT-assisted language learning, foreign language enjoyment has rarely been investigated as an important factor. Existing research that incorporates FLE is limited in scope and number, and often treats enjoyment as a secondary or mediating construct rather than a central dimension of the learning experience. Addressing this gap, this study investigates the relationship between ChatGPT use and foreign language enjoyment among first-year university EFL learners. The study also seeks to compare foreign language enjoyment levels between EFL learners who use ChatGPT as a support for English learning and those who report no use of ChatGPT. Accordingly, the present study addresses the following research questions:

(1) Is there a significant relationship between university EFL learners' use of ChatGPT and their levels of foreign language enjoyment?

(2) Is there a significant difference in foreign language enjoyment levels between university EFL learners who use ChatGPT to support their English learning and those who do not use ChatGPT?

Methodology

Research Design

This study adopted a quantitative, cross-sectional correlational research design to investigate the relationship between university EFL students' FLE levels and their use of ChatGPT in the EFL learning process. A cross-sectional correlational research design focuses on a sample at one point in time to examine correlations between variables, without manipulating them and without following participants over time (Rezigalla, 2020). It is often used to test whether variables are statistically related (Wang and Cheng, 2020).

Participants

A total of 648 university students enrolled in A1-A2 level English courses at a state university participated in this study. All participants were non-English major students who were required to take a compulsory English course during their first year of study. At the time of data collection, the students were attending an A1-level English course delivered online for two hours per week as part of the university curriculum. The participants came from 21 different departments across various vocational schools, representing a wide range of academic and professional backgrounds. Participation was voluntary, and the students were informed that their responses would be used solely for scientific purposes. No mandatory personal information was collected.

Instruments

Data were collected through an online questionnaire consisting of two main sections. In the first section adapted and validated version (by Güneş and Gürdal, 2025) of Short Form of the Foreign Language Enjoyment Scale (S-FLES), originally developed by Botes et al. (2021), was used. This adapted scale retains the core theoretical structure of the original instrument while being linguistically and contextually appropriate for EFL learners. Participants responded to the items on a five-point Likert scale

ranging from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree). The use of this adapted version ensured both conceptual alignment with the original construct of FLE and contextual suitability for the current sample. All participants were required to complete the FLE scale. At the end of this section there was an item: "I use ChatGPT to improve my English". The participants who responded to this item as yes proceeded to the second section.

In the second section, the students' use of ChatGPT in English learning was measured using an adapted ChatGPT Use Scale developed and validated by (Çobanoğulları & Özbek, 2025). The scale was designed to capture learners' self-reported use of ChatGPT for EFL learning purposes. Participants responded to the items on a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree). Only participants who reported using ChatGPT and provided complete responses were included in the ChatGPT usage scale analyses (N = 435).

Data Collection Procedure

The data were collected during the fall semester through an online survey platform. Prior to completing the questionnaire, participants were informed about the purpose of the study, assured of confidentiality and anonymity, and notified that participation was entirely voluntary. The link to the online survey was distributed to students via SMS through the university's student information system.

Data Analysis

The collected data were analyzed using SPSS. Prior to the main analyses, the dataset was screened for missing values, outliers, and normality. Internal consistency of the scales was examined using Cronbach's alpha coefficients. Descriptive statistics were calculated to determine students' overall levels of FLE and ChatGPT use. Pearson correlation analysis was performed to examine the

relationship between ChatGPT use and FLE. Also, a simple linear regression analysis was employed to investigate whether ChatGPT use significantly predicted foreign language enjoyment. Finally, since all participants completed the Foreign Language Enjoyment scale, an independent samples t-test was conducted to examine potential differences in FLE levels between learners who reported using ChatGPT for English learning and those who reported no use of ChatGPT.

Results

This section presents the results of the statistical analyses conducted to address the research questions of the study. Following preliminary analyses, including data screening, reliability, and assumption checks, descriptive statistics are reported for ChatGPT use. Subsequently, the relationships between ChatGPT use and foreign language enjoyment are examined through correlation, group comparison, and regression analyses.

Missing data analysis indicated that there were no substantial missing values in the Likert-scale items used in the study; therefore, all cases were retained for further analyses. Outlier analysis revealed no extreme values, as the data were collected using a five-point Likert scale with theoretically bounded values. Normality assumptions were met for both variables. Skewness and kurtosis values for FLE ranged between −0.49 and 0.76, while those for ChatGPT use ranged between −0.63 and 0.80, all of which were within the acceptable range (±1), indicating approximately normal distributions. The FLE scale demonstrated high reliability (Cronbach's α = .90). The ChatGPT use scale also showed high reliability with a Cronbach's alpha coefficient of .95. Table 1 provides an overview of the six items with the highest mean scores regarding students' use of ChatGPT for language learning.

Table 1. Highest mean scores for ChatGPT use items

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Using ChatGPT is easy for me.	435	4,3977	,73772
I use ChatGPT effectively	435	3,9632	1,00162
I use ChatGPT to learn new information	435	3,9471	,95254
I use ChatGPT to learn subjects I am lacking in	435	3,9287	,95858
I use ChatGPT regularly	435	3,9287	1,01463
I use ChatGPT to access learning materials	435	3,9218	,92500

Only the six items with the highest mean scores are reported to enhance clarity; higher mean values indicate stronger agreement on the five-point Likert scale. As shown in Table 1, EFL learners generally stated that it is easy for them to use ChatGPT. Furthermore, they reported that they can use this tool effectively and mostly to gather new information. They also highly indicated that they use ChatGPT support their learning process and access learning materials.

Table 2 summarizes the results of Pearson correlation analysis which was conducted to explore the association between ChatGPT use and FLE among EFL learners.

Table 2. Correlation analysis of foreign language enjoyment and ChatGPT usage

		FLE MEAN	ChatGPT USAGE MEAN
FLE MEAN	Pearson Correlation	1	,513**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		,000
	N	648	435
ChatGPT USAGE MEAN	Pearson Correlation	,513**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,000	
	N	435	435

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

The Pearson correlation analysis revealed a statistically significant, moderate-to-strong positive relationship between FLE levels and ChatGPT use ($r = .513$, $p < .001$, $N = 435$). The results indicate that higher levels of ChatGPT use were associated with higher levels of FLE among the participants. The correlation coefficient indicates a shared variance of approximately 26% between FLE and ChatGPT use. These results indicate a statistically significant association between the two variables within the present sample.

Given the significant association between ChatGPT use and FLE, group differences in FLE levels were further examined through an independent samples t-test. Table 3 summarizes the results of this analysis.

Table 3. Independent samples t-test comparing FLE scores of ChatGPT users and non-users

ChatGPT USAGE				N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
FLE MEAN	YES			435	31,2123	5,66803	,27176
	NO			213	29,9859	6,15817	,42195

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
									95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	Lower	Upper
FLE MEAN	Equal variances assumed	2,427	,120	2,514	646	,012	1,22635	,48784	,26840	2,18429
	Equal variances not assumed			2,443	391,456	,015	1,22635	,50189	,23960	2,21309

The Levene's test indicated that the assumption of homogeneity of variances was met ($F = 2.43$, $p = .120$). An

independent samples t-test therefore using the equal variances assumed option revealed a statistically significant difference in FLE levels between the two groups, $t(646) = 2.51$, $p = .012$. The mean difference between the groups was 1.23, with a 95% confidence interval ranging from 0.27 to 2.18, indicating that the participants, who use ChatGPT to improve their English, reported significantly higher levels of FLE than the participants who do not. However, the effect size for this result is small (Cohen's $d = 0.20$).

To further examine the extent to which ChatGPT use predicts FLE, a simple linear regression analysis was conducted, with ChatGPT use as the predictor variable and FLE as the outcome variable. The results of the regression analysis are presented in Table 4.

Table 4. Regression analysis predicting foreign language enjoyment

Predictor	β	t	p
ChatGPT Usage	.513	12.43	<.001
Model Fit	Value		
R	.513		
R^2	.263		
Adjusted R^2	.261		
F	154.60		
df	1, 433		
p	<.001		

The results indicate that ChatGPT use significantly predicts FLE, accounting for approximately 26% of the variance in enjoyment levels ($R^2 = .263$). The standardized regression coefficient ($\beta = .513$) suggests a moderate to strong positive relationship between ChatGPT use and FLE. The overall regression model was statistically significant, $F(1, 433) = 154.60$, $p < .001$, indicating that increased use of ChatGPT is associated with higher levels of FLE.

In summary, the findings indicate that ChatGPT use is positively associated with FLE and serves as a significant predictor

of learners' FLE levels. The following section discusses these results in relation to previous research and their implications for EFL learning.

Discussion

The main objective of this study was to investigate the relationship between ChatGPT use and FLE among university-level EFL learners. The results of this study provide empirical evidence of a significant relationship between ChatGPT use and FLE, contributing to the growing field of Positive Psychology (PP) in EFL learning. By positioning enjoyment as a central variable rather than a secondary construct, these findings address a notable gap in the current literature regarding learners' affective experiences with generative AI.

The most prominent finding of this study is the statistically significant, moderate-to-strong positive relationship between ChatGPT use and FLE. This finding supports and extends the previous research on AI-assisted EFL learning. Former studies have generally reported that AI integration into EFL learning can result in positive affective outcomes (e.g. enjoyment, motivation, and engagement) (Huang & Zou, 2024; Lee et al., 2023; Wang & Wang, 2025). In particular, the studies which focus on ChatGPT have also suggested a positive relationship between ChatGPT use and FLE (Xu et. al., 2024; Putra et al., 2025; Wang & Wang, 2025). The results of this study reinforce the findings of these studies by suggesting that ChatGPT use may not only lead to performance-related results but also contribute to EFL learners' FLE levels. The descriptive results presented in Table 1 may further help explain this relationship by illustrating how learners engage with ChatGPT in practice. The highest-rated item in the scale was "Using ChatGPT is easy for me" and this suggests that learners perceive ChatGPT as an accessible and user-friendly tool, which may reduce cognitive load and lower

potential frustration during EFL learning activities. Additionally, students reported that they use ChatGPT primarily to acquire new information, support areas of weakness, and access learning materials. This may indicate that ChatGPT functions as a supplementary learning resource that may enhance perceived competence. Moreover, the regular and effective use suggests continuous engagement with the tool, which may contribute to increased familiarity and comfort. Taken together, these usage patterns may help explain why ChatGPT use is positively associated with FLE, as they reflect a learning experience characterized by ease, support, and continuous engagement.

To further discuss the results in Table 1, it is important to revisit Dewaele and MacIntyre's definition in which FLE is seen as a complex emotion that arises when learners face challenges while perceiving high competence. In other words, FLE emerges when learners experience both challenge and competence. However, as the results in Table 1 suggest participants in this study most strongly endorsed the ease of use of ChatGPT and its effectiveness in helping them learn new information. This indicates that the tool provides the "real-time adaptive scaffolding" and "accurate feedback" identified in the literature (Urbaite, 2025). By lowering the barriers to understanding and providing a non-judgmental environment, ChatGPT likely helps learners reach the state where they go beyond their usual limits and experience the human drive for success without being overwhelmed by anxiety (Dewaele & Moskowitz, 2020; Dewaele & MacIntyre, 2022). Thus, these factors may help account for the observed positive relationship between ChatGPT use and FLE

The independent samples t-test revealed that students who utilized ChatGPT reported significantly higher enjoyment levels than those who did not. This result is also consistent with previous research on AI-assisted language learning. As stated in the previous

paragraph, both studies focusing on AI integration in general and also studies focusing on ChatGPT specifically suggest increased FLE levels of EFL learners (Huang & Zou, 2024; Lee et al., 2023; Xu et al., 2024; Putra et al., 2025; Wang & Wang, 2025). However, the findings of the independent samples t-test had small effect size in this study. Although the difference between the variables is modest, this result is somewhat reasonable in the light of the contextual characteristics of the participants. The participants were first-year EFL learners who were enrolled in an online A1 level English course with limited instructional time. This low exposure to the EFL environment may have limited learners' opportunities to fully engage with the language, thereby reducing the immediate impact on their enjoyment levels. However, this does not necessarily imply a weak role of ChatGPT use in shaping FLE. Rather, it may suggest that the effects of such tools develop gradually over time. This interpretation can be supported by longitudinal findings indicating that learners' enjoyment can increase in association with sustained effort and perseverance, highlighting the dynamic and potentially accumulative nature of foreign language enjoyment in EFL contexts (Shirvan et al., 2021).

In addition to the correlational and group comparison findings, the regression analysis provided further insight into the relationship between ChatGPT use and FLE. The results indicated that ChatGPT use significantly predicted learners' FLE levels, accounting for approximately 26% of the variance. This finding highlights the meaningful contribution of ChatGPT use to learners' enjoyment; however, it also suggests that a substantial proportion of FLE is explained by other factors. This is consistent with the view of FLE as a complex and multifaceted construct shaped by multiple interacting dimensions (Dewaele & MacIntyre, 2022; Dewaele & Moskowitz, 2020), including teacher support, peer interaction, and classroom dynamics (Dewaele & Dewaele, 2017). Additionally,

previous studies on AI-assisted EFL learning consistently report positive effects of AI use on EFL learners' motivation, engagement, and enjoyment (Huang & Zou, 2024; Lee et al., 2023; Wang & Wang, 2025), yet none of these studies position AI as an only determinant of learners' affective outcomes, thereby supporting the interpretation that ChatGPT represents an important but partial contributor to FLE.

Overall, the results of this study suggest that ChatGPT use is meaningfully associated with FLE among EFL learners, while also being an important but not the only factor influencing this emotional outcome. These findings may contribute to the emerging literature on AI-assisted EFL learning by highlighting the significant role of generative AI tools in forming EFL learners' emotional outcomes.

Conclusion

This study investigated the relationship between ChatGPT use and FLE among first-year university EFL learners. The findings revealed a statistically significant, moderate-to-strong positive association between ChatGPT use and FLE in EFL learning. EFL learners who reported using ChatGPT to support their English learning also demonstrated significantly higher levels of FLE than non-users, although the effect size of this difference was small. In addition, ChatGPT use emerged as a significant predictor of FLE, accounting for approximately 26% of the variance in enjoyment levels. These results suggest that generative AI tools such as ChatGPT may play a meaningful role in shaping learners' positive emotional experiences in EFL learning contexts. Overall, the results highlight the meaningful role of ChatGPT in shaping EFL learners' affective experiences within the framework of Positive Psychology.

Despite its contributions, this study has several limitations. First, its cross-sectional design does not allow for causal inferences regarding the relationship between ChatGPT use and FLE. Second, the data were based on self-reported measures, which may be

influenced by response bias. Third, the study was conducted with first-year A1-level learners in a single institutional context, which may limit the generalizability of the findings to other proficiency levels or learning environments.

The results of this study have some important pedagogical implications. First of all, the positive relationship between ChatGPT and FLE can suggest that encouraging EFL learners for using AI tools in their EFL learning processes may enhance their enjoyment levels. Also, EFL teachers can benefit from integrating ChatGPT into their teaching as a supportive tool to scaffold their leaners. In this way, they may promote autonomy and enhance learners' confidence.

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BÖLÜM 6

LOCATING WITHOUT EVALUATING: A CRITICAL INTERPRETIVE SYNTHESIS OF PISA 2025 AND A NEW ROLE FOR LANGUAGE TEACHERS

DEVRİM GÜNAY[1]

Introduction

The first volume of the PISA 2025 results, released on 8 September 2026, records the lowest average performance the survey has ever reported in reading, mathematics and science, drawn from more than 760,000 students in 91 countries and economies standing in for a target population of roughly 33 million fifteen-year-olds. The OECD averages were 461 in reading, 463 in mathematics and 482 in science, with reading falling by about 14 points against 2022 and by 28 against 2015 (OECD, 2026a, 2026b).

Two findings inside that release matter more for reading pedagogy than the averages do. The first concerns what students do with what they read, since weakness has gathered in evaluating information, connecting material across sources and reasoning about claims and not in locating information (OECD, 2026a). Students are

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finding what they have been asked to find, but they are not staying with it long enough to work out whether it is sound or how it sits beside anything else, which is a difference of disposition and not of skill. The second concerns how they move through text, since the proportion of what the report calls “hasty readers”, students who rush through texts and answer quickly and incorrectly, has nearly doubled since 2018. These two findings do not carry the same evidential weight, for reasons given below, and the order in which they are listed here follows that difference.

Türkiye's position in the 2025 cycle makes the question concrete. Turkish fifteen-year-olds recorded the largest gains of any OECD member, reaching 472 in reading, up 16 points, 494 in science, up 18, and 462 in mathematics, up 9, which places them above the OECD average in reading and in science (OECD, 2026c). The same release records that the socio-economic performance gap widened in Türkiye while it was narrowing across the OECD, and that 53 per cent of Turkish students reported having missed a full day of school against an OECD average of 22 per cent. PISA's truancy items ask about a short bounded period shortly before the assessment — not about attendance across a year — so the figure describes incidence inside that window and not habitual absence. A rising composite score conceals as much as a falling one; reading gains distributed unevenly, among students whose attachment to school is loosening, describe a situation that deserves examination and not celebration.

Three bodies of scholarship bear on this and none of them quite meets it. Research on international large-scale assessment has produced a thorough critique of PISA's construct validity and of its governance effects (Sjøberg, 2015; Zhao, 2020; Biesta, 2009), yet it remains largely uninterested in what the assessment might nonetheless be detecting. Research on digital reading has established that medium affects comprehension under specifiable conditions (Delgado et al., 2018; Altamura et al., 2025; Schwabe et al., 2022),

yet it is largely experimental and silent about how reading tasks are organised inside institutions. Research on critical digital literacy has produced powerful frameworks for interrogating texts and platforms (Janks, 2010; Pangrazio & Sefton-Green, 2021; Selber, 2004), yet most of it predates systems that generate fluent prose on demand, and little of it addresses language teachers, who hold a particular claim on this problem because the systems at issue produce language.

Four questions organise what follows.

1. What do the PISA 2025 indicators record about adolescent reading, and how do those records stand in relation to a quarter-century of digitalisation indicators?
2. Which interpretations do those indicators support, and what does each commit a reader to believing?
3. What does reading scholarship contribute to explaining the pattern, and where does it hold the explanation back?
4. What follows for the language teacher's role inside a cyber-social learning ecology?

Design of the Study: A Critical Interpretive Synthesis

This chapter is a **critical interpretive synthesis** in the sense developed by Dixon-Woods et al. (2006), combined with a documentary reading of policy texts and a descriptive secondary analysis of published indicator series. The design needs naming because the more familiar alternatives do not fit. Meta-analysis is unavailable, since assessment statistics, macro-indicator series, eye-movement experiments and philosophical argument cannot be pooled in a common effect metric. A conventional narrative review would impose no discipline on selection or interpretation, which is how the technology-panic genre works. Critical interpretive synthesis keeps systematic-review discipline in corpus construction while permitting theory generation, and it treats the framing assumptions of a literature as themselves analysable — which a

study claiming that a measurement regime misdescribes what it measures requires. Its output is a synthesising argument, an integrative construct grounded in the corpus, presented here in Figure 5.

Three strands of evidence are assembled and read against one another. The first is assessment output: PISA 2025 Volume I, its executive summary, the Türkiye country note and the launch materials, read both as indicator data and as policy discourse. Two measures used below need their construction stated. The “hasty reader” indicator is not a questionnaire item but a quantity derived from response-level process data in the computer-delivered assessment, and the OECD defines hasty responses as the percentage of responses that are both incorrect and fast, averaged across reading items (OECD, 2026a). The subskill findings come from the reading scale's own reporting subscales, which separate locating information from understanding and from evaluating and reflecting. The two stand in very different relations to the headline score.

The second strand is a set of published indicator series describing the digitalisation of ordinary life, included where they were published by an intergovernmental statistical body, reported annually, covered a substantial part of the window from 2000 to 2025, and were defined consistently across it. Four series met all four conditions, all from the World Bank's World Development Indicators, which carry International Telecommunication Union data (World Bank, 2026). The exclusions are informative, since school-level indicators such as computers per student have been redefined so often that no consistent international series describes classroom digitalisation across the PISA period.

The third strand is the research literature on reading, attention, multiple-source comprehension, critical literacy and learner agency, sampled purposively and iteratively and pursued until further reading stopped altering the account. Disconfirming evidence was sought and, where it constrains the argument, reported.

Two limits belong at the front. The co-movement of two aggregate series supports no causal inference whatever; the pattern displayed below is offered as something needing explanation and not as an explanation of anything. PISA's trend comparability is imperfect in its own right, since the composition of the OECD average has shifted, scale linking carries error, the reading scale was re-referenced, and the move to computer delivery introduces mode effects. Directions and approximate magnitudes are treated as reliable, while differences of a few points between adjacent cycles are left uninterpreted.

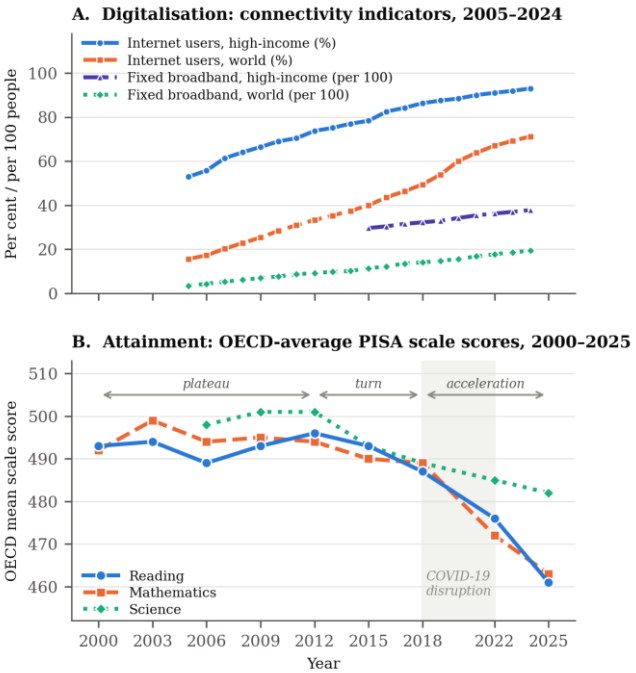
What the 2025 Cycle Records About Reading

Table 1. Digitalisation and Attainment Indicators, 2000–2025

Year	Internet users, high-income (%)	Internet users, world (%)	Fixed broadband, high-income (per 100)	Fixed broadband, world (per 100)	PISA reading	PISA maths	PISA science
2000	–	–	–	–	493	492	–
2005	52.9	15.6	–	3.4	–	–	–
2009	66.4	25.3	–	6.9	493	495	501
2012	73.7	33.3	–	9.2	496	494	501
2015	78.3	39.9	29.6	11.3	493	490	493
2018	86.3	49.4	32.2	14.0	487	489	489
2022	91.0	67.0	36.2	17.7	476	472	485
2025	–	–	–	–	461	463	482

Source: Connectivity series from World Bank (2026), carrying International Telecommunication Union data, with 2005 the first year the series is populated. PISA values are OECD averages from published cycle reports, with 2025 figures from OECD (2026a). The OECD-members aggregate is not populated for these indicators, so the high-income aggregate is used; it plausibly overstates OECD connectivity by a modest margin in the earlier years, a bias whose direction works against the plateau observation and not for it.

Figure 1. Digitalisation and Attainment, 2000–2025

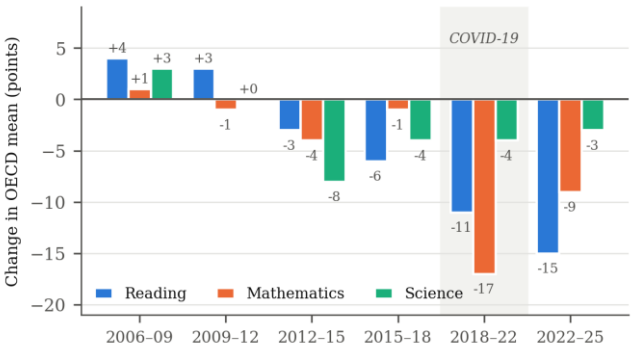


Source: Panel A from World Bank (2026), Panel B from OECD (2026a) and published cycle reports. The shaded band marks the interval containing the COVID-19 school closures; the brackets mark the three phases discussed below. No causal relationship between the panels is claimed.

The temporal shape falls into three phases, and the middle one constrains what may be said about the others. Between 2000 and 2012, connectivity in high-income countries climbed from a minority of the population to a large majority, moving from 52.9 per cent in 2005 to 73.7 per cent in 2012, while reading attainment stayed flat at 493 to 496. Whatever the first wave of mass connectivity did to adolescent readers, this instrument did not register it. Hence the simplest story available, in which exposure to screens produces a proportionate decline in comprehension, is disposed of by a single observation. Between 2012 and 2018 connectivity went on rising while attainment turned downward

modestly and consistently across all three domains; the movement is small, and it is the first sustained decline in the series. After 2018 the fall accelerates, as Figure 2 shows.

Figure 2. Cycle-on-Cycle Change in OECD-Average PISA Scores, 2006–2025



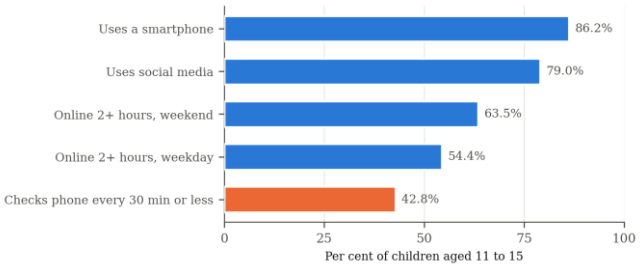
Source: OECD (2026a) and published cycle reports. Values are differences between consecutive assessment cycles; science trend data begin in 2006.

The interval from 2018 to 2022 is confounded by the pandemic and can be set aside on that ground. The interval from 2022 to 2025 cannot, since it records a fall of 15 points in reading with schools open throughout, the steepest single-cycle fall in reading in Table 1. What requires explanation is therefore not a decline that tracks connectivity. It is a plateau lasting two decades of mass connectivity, a turn downward at roughly the point where connectivity approached saturation and smartphones became near-universal among adolescents, and then a sharp fall after the school closures had ended.

The domestic indicators fill in the conditions under which the Turkish gains were made. Among children aged 11 to 15, the band feeding directly into the PISA sample, 86.2 per cent use a smartphone, 79.0 per cent use social media, 54.4 per cent are online for two hours or more on a weekday, and 42.8 per cent check a phone at least every thirty minutes (TÜİK, 2024). Child internet use rose

from 82.7 per cent in 2021 to 91.3 per cent in 2024, while household internet use reached 90.9 per cent of the adult population in 2025 (TÜİK, 2024, 2025). Türkiye is, therefore, not a country where the conditions described here are still arriving; they have arrived, and the reading gains were recorded inside them.

Figure 3. Digital Practice Among Turkish Children Aged 11 to 15, 2024



Source: TÜİK (2024). Figures are for the 11 to 15 age band, which feeds directly into the PISA sampling frame.

Four Readings of the Indicators

Indicators of this kind do not interpret themselves, and the same series will carry several accounts on its back.

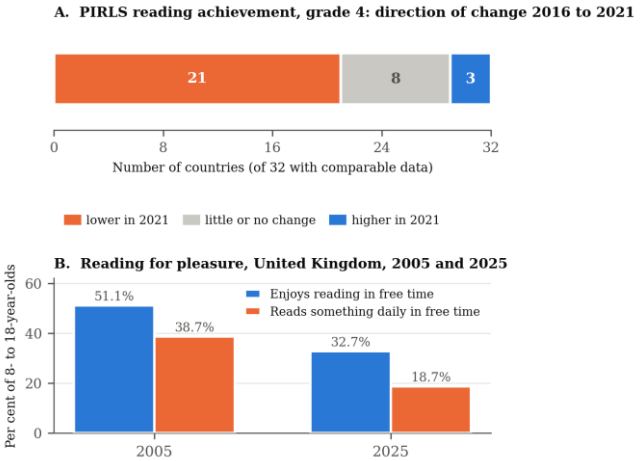
The first is a **measurement reading**, on which a substantial part of the fall is an artefact of the instrument and not a change in students, given shifting membership, scale linking error, re-referencing, mode effects, and the long-standing question of "test-taking effort" on a low-stakes assessment. Sjøberg (2015) and Zhao (2020) have pressed versions of this case for two decades. The concern it raises is serious, since a decline that is substantially artefactual means systems redesigning curricula in pursuit of a number that has moved for reasons internal to its own construction.

That reading also falls on a finding this chapter had been leaning on. Because the hasty-response indicator counts responses that are both incorrect and fast, it is not independent of proficiency. If reading proficiency falls for any reason at all, including an

artefactual one, the share of incorrect responses rises, and with response times unchanged the hasty-response share rises along with it. The near-doubling of “hasty readers” is therefore consistent with the account developed here, and it is a vivid way of showing what falling performance looks like at the level of a single response, but it cannot serve as independent evidence that anything has changed in how students read.

Two further bodies of evidence bear on the measurement reading, and both come from outside the PISA apparatus altogether. The Progress in International Reading Literacy Study assesses reading at grade four, is run by a different consortium on a different instrument with a different sampling frame, and reported that of the 32 countries with comparable data, 21 recorded lower average reading achievement in 2021 than in 2016 (Mullis et al., 2023). An artefact internal to the construction of the PISA scale would not be expected to reproduce itself in an unrelated instrument administered to a younger cohort. The second is behavioural and therefore independent of any assessment. The National Literacy Trust's annual survey, drawing on 114,970 responses in early 2025, found that 32.7 per cent of 8 to 18 year olds enjoyed reading in their free time. That is a fall of 36 per cent since the measure began in 2005, and fewer than one in five reported reading anything daily (Clark et al., 2025).

Figure 4. Corroboration From Outside the PISA Apparatus



Source: Panel A from Mullis et al. (2023); Panel B from Clark et al. (2025). The 2005 values in Panel B are derived from the percentage changes the report states against its 2005 baseline and should be read as approximations.

What carries independent weight inside PISA is the composition of the decline across the reading subscales. Artefacts of scaling and of mode would not be expected to gather so exactly in evaluating and integrating while leaving the location of information comparatively intact, because the subscales are reported from the same instrument, in the same mode, in the same sitting.

The second is a **recovery reading**, on which the 2025 figures are the long tail of what is now routinely called “learning loss”. The concern runs in the opposite direction from the first, since a recovery reading licenses inaction precisely while a cohort is passing through, and a disruption account is left to explain why the deficit deepened after the disruption had ended.

The third is a **displacement reading**, on which screens have taken time and attention away from reading. Its policy consequence is device restriction, and the concern is that restriction will be mistaken for sufficiency, since a student prohibited from using a device at school and using it without supervision everywhere else

has learned something about school and not something about the device.

The fourth, which this chapter finds most defensible, locates the change in **how reading tasks are organised**, so that what has been eroded is the occasion for evaluative work and not the capacity for it. The concern it raises is uncomfortable in its own way, since it implicates ordinary institutional practice and offers no single lever to pull, and it is the least directly evidenced of the four. These readings are not mutually exclusive; the most probable state of affairs has all four operating together with different weights. What follows adopts the fourth because it is the one that names something a reading teacher can act on.

Reading as a Taught Accomplishment

The body of work now called “the science of reading” shows that skilled reading is an assembled accomplishment and not a natural unfolding, with components that can be specified, taught and measured. Gough and Tunmer's (1986) simple view proposed that reading comprehension is the product of decoding and linguistic comprehension, and Scarborough's (2001) rope elaborated the two strands into interwoven and developing skills. Castles et al. (2018), in the most comprehensive recent synthesis, conclude that systematic instruction in the mapping between print and sound is necessary for the great majority of children. They insist, at the same time, that this is where reading development begins and not where it is completed.

That insistence is where the present argument takes hold. Duke and Cartwright (2021) propose an active view of reading taking in self-regulation, strategy use, motivation and the bridging processes that belong to neither original component alone. The lexical quality hypothesis (Perfetti & Hart, 2002; Perfetti, 2007) holds that comprehension depends on the precision of a reader's word representations, since imprecise representations consume the

working memory that inference and integration require. Prior knowledge exerts an effect large enough to overwhelm measured reading ability (Recht & Leslie, 1988). Oakhill and Cain (2012), following the same children across four years, show that inference-making predicts later comprehension independently of word-reading skill. Kintsch's (1998) construction-integration model ties these together by distinguishing the textbase a reader assembles from the propositions on the page from the situation model she builds by bringing those propositions into contact with what she already knows.

Read against this literature the PISA profile takes on a definite shape. Decoding is not the reported problem and locating information is not the reported problem. What has weakened is the work that builds a situation model — and not merely a textbase — meaning inference across distant parts of a text, integration with what the reader already carries, and the evaluative judgement that settles whether the resulting model deserves belief. Two cautions are owed. The evidence base thins considerably for adolescent comprehension (Snow, 2002), and the field has been repeatedly flattened in public reception into a narrow programme of "phonics", which is neither what the research supports nor what its principal authors claim (Castles et al., 2018).

Reading in Another Language

Almost everything reviewed above was established with readers working in their first language, and since this chapter addresses language teachers, the assumption involved in carrying those findings across deserves stating. The question was put in its durable form by Alderson (1984), who asked whether reading in a foreign language is a reading problem or a language problem, and the answer that has consolidated is that it is both, in proportions that shift as proficiency shifts. The "linguistic threshold" hypothesis holds that below a certain level of second-language knowledge

readers cannot deploy the comprehension strategies they already possess in their first language, because processing the language itself consumes the resources those strategies require. Grabe (2009) treats the threshold as a moving band and not a fixed line; Koda (2005) shows that what transfers is shaped by the relationship between the two writing systems; Nassaji (2011) cautions against assuming that strategies taught in one language will be available in another.

Three consequences follow and they do not point the same way. The competences PISA finds weakest are hungry for resources, so a second-language reader may appear to lack an evaluative disposition when what she lacks is the spare capacity to exercise one, and a teacher who mistakes the second for the first will teach the wrong thing. Second, a curriculum that treats reading mainly as a vehicle for vocabulary and grammar, as many do, supplies very few occasions for evaluative reading in the first place, so the decline may be less visible in second-language settings because the baseline was already low. Third, and more hopefully, because transfer is partial and effortful rather than automatic, second-language reading instruction has always had to make comprehension processes explicit, which places the practices discussed below closer to its habits than to those of the first-language classroom.

Evaluation Across Sources

PISA's finding that students struggle to connect material across sources names a competence that reading research has developed into a field of its own. Multiple-document comprehension differs from single-text comprehension in kind and not in degree, since a reader working with several sources has to build a "documents model", keeping track not only of what each text says but of who said it, in what setting, with what interest (Bråten et al., 2011). Rouet and Britt add that such reading is driven by a purpose the reader constructs, and that much of the difficulty originates in an

inadequate representation of the task and not in the texts themselves (Britt et al., 2018).

Wineburg's (1991) study of historians identified the heuristics expert readers bring and novices do not, namely sourcing, contextualisation and corroboration. That these are heuristics and not general intelligence is what makes them teachable. The extension into digital reading matters most here. Wineburg and McGrew (2019) found that professional fact checkers read "laterally", leaving a site almost immediately to find out what the wider web said about it, while historians and university students read "vertically", assessing a page by its own surface features, and were regularly taken in. Expertise in a domain, therefore, does not transfer automatically to the evaluation of digital sources, and the successful strategy consists in reading less of the text in front of you and not more of it. Breakstone et al. (2021) found most American high school students unable to identify the provenance of material they were asked to judge.

Attention, Generative Text and the Displacement of the Reader's Work

Stone (2009) described "continuous partial attention" as a mode distinct from multitasking, undertaken from a wish not to miss anything and consisting in scanning many channels shallowly because any of them might carry the item that matters. Her most consequential observation for education is that this is a sensible adaptation and not a failure of character, since a person surrounded by more text than can be attended to will spread attention broadly and thinly, which is the correct response to that situation and the wrong disposition for a PISA reading item. Wolf (2018) approaches the same territory from the neuroscience of reading, arguing that the reading brain is a cultural acquisition assembled in each reader, and that the skimming which screens reward is becoming the default.

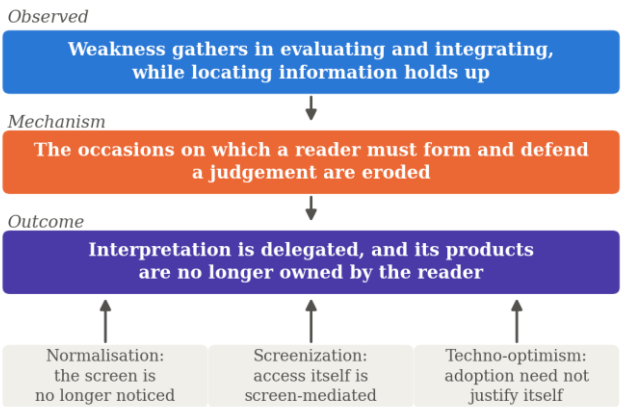
The experimental evidence on medium supports a narrower claim than popular accounts allow. Delgado et al. (2018), meta-analysing 54 studies with more than 170,000 participants, found a small but reliable advantage for print, largest under time pressure and with informational text; Altamura et al. (2025) found the relationship between leisure digital reading and comprehension close to zero overall; and Schwabe et al. (2022), restricting attention to narrative texts, found no screen disadvantage at all. Whatever accounts for a 28-point fall across a decade, it is not the medium as such.

The most recent change is the arrival of systems that will produce fluent prose on request. Students who do not use chatbots for particular school tasks generally outperform those who do, with a gap of up to about 30 points in science between daily users and infrequent users (OECD, 2026a; Sparks, 2026). One qualification inside the same report is more informative than the headline gap and has gone almost unremarked: frequent use does not carry the same penalty where students have had opportunities to learn how to interrogate these systems, and such opportunities are concentrated among socio-economically advantaged students, which the OECD notes as the risk of an opening "AI divide". What varies, therefore, is not exposure but the relation a student has been taught to take up toward the tool, which is a claim about instruction and not about technology.

Kosmyna et al. (2025) had 54 participants write essays using a language model, a search engine, or no external tool, while recording EEG. The behavioural finding is the more pertinent: language-model users reported the lowest sense of ownership over their essays, and several could not accurately quote text they had submitted under their own names. Sparrow et al. (2011) showed that expecting future access to information reduces recall of the information while improving recall of where to find it, and Risko and Gilbert (2016) gathered such findings under "cognitive

offloading" while observing that offloading is neither new nor pathological. Clark and Chalmers (1998) argue further that a reliably coupled external resource is properly part of the cognitive system. That position carries a condition easy to walk past, since the coupling requires the resource to be transparent to the person and endorsed by her; a system producing content the reader did not compose, through a process she cannot inspect, with a confidence unrelated to its accuracy, meets none of those conditions. Bainbridge (1983) identified the parallel irony that automating a process degrades the skills an operator will need when the automation fails, and Parasuraman and Manzey (2010) specify the mechanism as automation bias and complacency, both strongest where the automation is usually correct. The educational case is harder, since the automation is placed around a competence that has not yet formed, so the risk is not decay but non-formation.

Figure 5. The Explanatory Account Developed in This Chapter



Source: Author's synthesis. The figure states the synthesising argument produced by the critical interpretive synthesis and is a framework rather than a finding.

Readers in Company and the Ownership of Interpretation

If sustained reading is under pressure from the conditions of attention, the most promising counterweight in the literature is social

and not individual. Smith's (1988) “literacy club” begins from the observation that children learn to read by being admitted, on generous terms, to the company of people who read, and that what is learned there is not only technique but purpose. Fish's (1980) “interpretive communities” make the point more sharply, since a reader's sense of what counts as a defensible reading is acquired from a company of readers and not derived from a page, and Lave and Wenger's (1991) “legitimate peripheral participation” supplies the mechanism. Applebee (1996) proposes that curriculum be understood as “conversation”, with students inducted into disciplinary discussions still running rather than handed the settled outputs of discussions that have closed. Guthrie and Wigfield's (2000) model of reading engagement produced the Concept-Oriented Reading Instruction programme, whose developers report gains in comprehension and motivation (Guthrie et al., 2004). The strength of that evidence deserves stating accurately. The What Works Clearinghouse found no studies meeting its evidence standards in either domain it reviewed, and could reach no conclusion (What Works Clearinghouse, 2010). Schoenbach et al. (2012) make reading processes public in the classroom on independent grounds, and the same caution applies.

Reeve and Tseng (2011) proposed “agentic engagement” as a fourth aspect of students' engagement, defined as a student's constructive contribution to the flow of the instruction she receives, and Reeve (2013) shows that such contribution draws more supportive teaching in return. Bandura's (2001, 2006) account of human agency supplies the broader theory. Interpretation is an agentic act through and through, and Freire's (1970) critique of “banking education” anticipates what happens when these acts are removed, since where knowledge is transferred and not constructed the resulting consciousness treats knowledge as always belonging to somebody else. A student who cannot quote an essay submitted under her own name has not simply failed to learn something; she

has produced a text that was never, in the relevant sense, hers. What is lost is a relation and not a capacity, and the loss is experienced as convenience, which is precisely why it will not be reported by the students to whom it is happening.

The Language Teacher as Designer of Reading Affordances

Adolescent readers move between school texts, search results, group chats, video, machine-generated summaries and each other, and the relations among these settings have become part of what reading is. Barron's (2006) learning ecology defines the set of contexts, physical and virtual, that provide opportunities for learning, and argues that development is distributed across them, so that school is a node inside such an ecology and not its centre. Van Lier's (2004) ecological account replaces the metaphor of "input" with that of "affordance", so that the environment offers relationships for action and a learner perceives them in relation to what she is trying to do. Cope and Kalantzis (2024) propose "cyber-social learning" for the present configuration, insisting on the irreducible difference between human intelligence and the electronic manipulation of binary notation while acknowledging that these systems now automate a considerable amount of cognitive and communicative work. Multiliteracies supplies the matching pedagogy, since the New London Group (1996) framed meaning-making as Design, moving from Available Designs through Designing to the Redesigned, and Kalantzis and Cope (2012) developed the knowledge processes that operationalise it. Generated text sits in that scheme as an "Available Design", and the failure mode the PISA findings describe can be stated in the same terms, since students are receiving "the Redesigned", a finished text, without passing through "Designing".

Agency, however, is not a possession. Emirbayer and Mische (1998) analyse it as a temporally structured engagement with a situation, and Priestley et al. (2015) develop this into an ecological

account in which agency is achieved in and through an environment. A teacher working under conditions that leave her no room for professional judgement is poorly placed to cultivate judgement in her students; learner agency and teacher agency are not two problems standing side by side.

Within that constraint, three shifts of role follow. The first is from supplier of language input to designer of reading affordances, since in a setting where any text can be summarised on demand the design question becomes which tasks keep their point when a summary is freely available. Tasks that ask what a text says have largely lost their point. On the other hand, tasks that ask a student to place two texts in relation, to decide which of them to believe, or to state what she thinks and why she thinks it have not. The second is from evaluator of products to witness of interpretive process, since if a fluent text can be produced without the interpretive acts that would once have produced it, then the product has become a weak signal of the process, and making that process visible restores the evidence a teacher needs in order to teach. The third concerns the apparatus itself. Bax (2003, 2011) proposed “normalisation” as the developmental horizon of computer-assisted language learning, the point at which a technology has become so ordinary that nobody notices it, and for two decades the field treated that point as an achievement. It has largely been reached, and Star (1999) observes that infrastructure becomes visible mainly when it breaks. Part of the language teacher's work now consists in making the apparatus noticeable again, deliberately and for pedagogical purposes, which is close to the reverse of what the field spent two decades pursuing.

The language teacher holds a particular warrant here, because generative systems are language systems. What they produce is not only information but register, stance, idiom, lexical patterning and voice, which are the objects of applied linguistic description. A language teacher is equipped, as few other specialists are, to show which varieties of English such a system reproduces and which it

silently marks as error. She can show what becomes of hedging and evaluative meaning when text passes through a system tuned to give no offence, and how the absence of a first person changes what a text can be held to. Empowering learners as agents of critical digital literacy therefore has a concrete sense: classrooms in which students routinely question the provenance of what they are given, propose sources the teacher did not select, dispute readings including the teacher's own, and answer for the positions they take. Existing competency frameworks offer partial scaffolding, and UNESCO's (2024) framework is a reasonable orientation document, but frameworks of this kind tend toward what Selber (2004) calls “functional literacy”, describing competent operation far more fully than critical interrogation.

Tentative Directions and What the Study Cannot Settle

What follows is less settled than the diagnosis and is offered accordingly, since the evidence is largely correlational or drawn from studies conducted before generative systems were widely available. It seems likely that the evaluative and integrative work PISA finds weakest will have to be taught directly and not expected to emerge from reading volume, and the lateral-reading studies offer the clearest model, since they identify specific heuristics and show that these can be taught inside short interventions (Wineburg & McGrew, 2019; Breakstone et al., 2021). There may be value in protecting the effortful parts of reading tasks from automation, distinguishing with students and not for them between operations where offloading is unobjectionable and operations where it removes the occasion for the learning. The social forms described above may matter more under present conditions than when they were designed, since classroom arrangements that oblige students to defend readings to one another may do work individual instruction cannot reach. A further possibility is that comparison between a student's own reading and a generated version might be made the object of

instruction and not something to be prevented; composing first and comparing afterwards would keep the interpretive act intact while using the system to make the student's own judgement audible by contrast. This is speculative and among the more readily testable of these suggestions.

The limits should be gathered rather than scattered. The trend juxtaposition supports no causal inference, and the connectivity indicators describe the informational environment around schooling and not anything inside a classroom. The hasty-reader indicator is entangled with proficiency by construction and cannot bear independent weight; the 2022 cycle falls inside the pandemic disruption; and several 2025 figures come from the executive summary and country notes and not from the full data tables. The explanatory account is the least directly evidenced part of the chapter, resting on convergence between the subskill composition of the decline, the automation literature and a small number of recent studies on assisted composition, none of which was designed to test it. The reading evidence is predominantly first-language and the transfer question remains unresolved; the intervention evidence for the programmes cited above has not been independently verified; and learning ecology and cyber-social learning are descriptive frameworks and not tested models.

Conclusion

PISA 2025 will be read across the next two years as a call to raise scores, and the finding at the centre of the release is not a score. It is that weakness has gathered in the operations by which a reader evaluates and integrates and not in those by which she locates, and that a technology now in near-universal adolescent use is associated with lower performance except where students have been taught to interrogate it. Read against the reading literature, what has weakened is neither decoding nor retrieval but the construction of a situation model and the judgement that settles whether it deserves belief,

which are the most effortful and least automatic parts of reading and the parts most easily displaced.

Inside a cyber-social learning ecology, where a portion of the cognitive and communicative work is automated and school is one setting among several, the teacher is neither the source of the text nor the gatekeeper of the tool. She is the person who designs which reading affordances a task makes available, who keeps the interpretive process visible when the product no longer reveals it, and who returns a normalised apparatus to view so that it can be read at all.

Several questions follow directly. Whether lateral-reading instruction transfers to second-language readers is unknown. Whether composing before consulting a generative system preserves the ownership the recall findings suggest is at risk would be straightforward to trial and ought to be trialled. And whether systems whose assessment regimes require extended written argument show smaller declines in the evaluative subscales is a question PISA's own data could partly address. What a reading education is finally for is not the production of higher scores but the formation of readers who can be held to what they have decided, and who know that a reading is theirs to make and theirs to defend.

Declaration on the Use of Generative Systems

Given the subject of this chapter, a statement is in order. Generative language systems were used in its preparation for literature searching, for assembling and checking bibliographic details, and for drafting assistance at the sentence level. They were not used to determine the research questions, to select or weight the evidence, or to decide what the sources do and do not support. The argument, the interpretation of the indicators and the statement of the chapter's limits are the author's, and the author accepts full responsibility for the content.

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