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Being plurilingual versus becoming a linguistically sensitive teacher:

Tensions in the discourse of initial teacher education students

(special issue)

Abstract

The beliefs of pre-service teachers in initial teacher education (ITE) in Catalonia about plurilingualism and teaching in diverse classrooms are analysed and tensions in their discourse are observed. Following the analysis of discourse in interaction (e.g. Heller, 2005), we analyse data from an individual reflection task and subsequent focus group discussion in which pre-service teachers discuss their ideas about linguistically sensitive teaching. Our findings suggest that pre-service teachers have very positive ideas regarding being plurilingual speakers. However, when positioning themselves as teachers, the feelings they express about linguistic diversity in schools become negative. These ideas are linked to ideological constructions that circulate, for example, in European institutional discourses about multi/plurilingualism and in neoliberal conceptions of languages and learning. We suggest that more spaces for discussion and reflection are needed in ITE in order to promote linguistically sensitive teaching among future practitioners.

Keywords: pre-service teachers; initial teacher education; plurilingualism; beliefs; ideologies; linguistically sensitive teaching

Introduction

Initial teacher education (ITE) programs across Europe have been transformed in recent decades in order to include new perspectives on language teaching and the management

of linguistic diversity in schools. Despite initiatives at different levels, research shows that changing monolingual-oriented policies and practices in schools and universities is not an easy endeavour (Menken & Garcia, 2010). According to Bergroth et al. (in press-a), linguistic and cultural diversity has been included as a component in several ITE programs across Europe, but there remain certain curricular spaces which could be reinforced.

European recommendations and strategies place teachers at the heart of linguistically inclusive education (Bergroth et al., in press-b). Teachers are key to challenging monolingual mindsets and ideologies and to implementing mainstream multi/plurilingual pedagogies. Their training is of utmost importance. Despite the changes observed in the teaching programs of ITE institutions, two main challenges have been observed: on the one hand, multi/plurilingual pedagogies are not fully integrated in teacher education practices (Bergroth et al., in press-a); and, on the other hand, pre-service teachers still feel under-trained for the linguistic diversity of schools (Llompart & Moore, 2020). Regarding the latter, certain tensions can be observed between pre-service teachers' interactional constructions of what it means to 'being a plurilingual speaker' and 'being a teacher for plurilingualism'. In this article, following the terminology used in the European-funded LISTiac project (see Methodology), we refer to this 'being a teacher for plurilingualism' as linguistically sensitive teaching (LST). Related terms are multi/plurilingual education or translanguaging pedagogies (see Moore & Llompart, 2019; Vallejo & Dooly, 2020).

Our contribution focuses on the ideological tensions observed in pre-service teachers' discourse. We consider these tensions key to understanding future teaching practices. We endeavor to answer the following questions:

- (1) What are the pre-service teachers' beliefs regarding linguistic repertoires and plurilingualism?
- (2) What are their beliefs about how to manage their teaching practice in multilingual environments and with plurilingual students?
- (3) What ideologies about language and language learning underlie these expressed beliefs?

In order to respond to these questions, we analyse the discourse of pre-service teachers on linguistic diversity as they participate in a discussion activity as part of their ITE. We first discuss how we approach notions such as ideologies and beliefs. Then, we briefly introduce the methodology for data collection and analysis inspired by the study of discourse in interaction (Heller, 2005). Our findings suggest that pre-service teachers have very positive ideas regarding being plurilingual speakers. However, when positioning themselves as teachers, the feelings expressed about linguistic diversity become negative. We argue that these ideas are linked to ideological constructions that circulate, for example, in European institutional discourses about multi/plurilingualism and in neoliberal conceptions of languages and language learning. We suggest that more spaces for discussion and reflection are needed in ITE in order to promote linguistically sensitive teaching.

Theoretical framework

Work on ideologies of language (also referred to as language or linguistic ideology) as emerging in discourse in interaction (e.g. Heller, 2005) offers 'a promising bridge between linguistic and social theory' (Woolard, 1998, p. 27). Silverstein (1979), who was concerned with the cultural ideas embedded in linguistic form and use, offered an early definition of linguistic ideology as 'any sets of beliefs about language articulated

by the users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use' (p. 193). This understanding of language ideology connected phenomena such as beliefs and linguistic social conduct (Silverstein, 1997; Schieffelin, Woolard & Kroskrity, 1998). From a more sociocultural starting point, emphasising the moral and political implications of ideologies, Irvine (1989) defined language ideology as 'the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests' (p. 255). The latter definition, according to Woolard (2020), aligns better with current understandings of the term: linguistic ideologies underlie beliefs both about language and language practices, and about how they ought to be. Ideologies of language may be explicit or implicit, and 'occur not only as mental constructs in verbalisations, but also in embodied practices and dispositions and in material phenomena such as visual representations (Woolard, 2020, p. 2).

Young (2014) focused on in-service teachers' ideologies about plurilingualism and concluded that 'we cannot move towards plurilingual, inclusive education without fully understanding the obstacles which are preventing its implementation. Therefore, it is important to listen to the voices of teachers and necessary to investigate and question teachers' language ideologies' (p. 168). In taking this challenge forward, we are inspired by Kroskrity's (2000, 2010) research on professional language ideologies. These are the common-sense understandings about language that contribute to shaping professional discourses (2000, p. 330) and perform 'important roles not only in the displays of professional competence but also insofar as they contribute to and otherwise create the very institutions in which various professions typically perform' (2010, p. 206). In the context of ITE, we may ask: what ideologies of language and language learning underlie conceptualisations of being a competent teacher? What are the implications of these beliefs about teaching for schools?

Research in the field of language teaching on teacher cognition is also important for understanding the beliefs of pre-service teachers about languages, teaching and learning. In an early definition of the term, Borg (2003) referred to what teachers think, know and believe. This definition has recently been broadened to include aspects related to the personal, professional, social, cultural and historical contexts that help to understand teachers' mind and emotions (Borg, 2019). Teacher cognition is influenced by previous schooling, contextual factors, pre-service and in-service professional development and classroom teaching practice. Cognition, context and experience interact in a dynamic way (Borg, 2006) in which the interrelationships among beliefs can reveal tensions (Phipps & Borg, 2009) and reflect the complexity of teacher thinking (Pajares, 1992).

Research carried out over the past decade shows that, in general, teachers have positive beliefs about multilingual education (De Angelis, 2011; Griva & Chostelidou, 2012; Otwinowska, 2014) and think it should be promoted. However, a contrast can be observed between their teaching practices, their concerns and their understandings of language learning. Teachers declare ideas such as: knowing languages affords more possibilities for communication with people from other cultures (Arocena Egaña et al., 2015) or that students' home language(s) should be promoted (De Angelis, 2011). But when translating into classroom practice, teachers claim: instruction must be carried out only in the target language (Cummins, 2014); translation between L1 and L2 is not appropriate and languages should be separated (Arocena Egaña et al., 2015); feelings of guilt if learners use their languages in the classroom (Littlewood & Yu, 2011); correcting students' language switching (Arocena Egaña et al. 2015); using students' home language can delay or impair the learning of the institutional language (De Angelis, 2011) (see also Meier, 2018 for an overview of similar prevailing ideas).

Otwinowska (2014) points out that in-service teachers are more aware of linguistic diversity than pre-service teachers, and plurilingual teachers show greater awareness than those with less language learning experiences. Our focus on pre-service teachers in promoting reflection on and changes in beliefs about being linguistically sensitive teachers aims to contribute to inclusive education for an increasingly diverse student body. We therefore explore the discourse in interaction of pre-service teachers as part of their ITE.

Methodology

The data analysed in this study were collected with the framework of a European action-research project, LISTiac (*Linguistically Sensitive Teaching in all classrooms*), while also being supported by a university teaching innovation grant from our institution. LISTiac aims at impacting on initial teacher education programs around Europe regarding the inclusion of linguistically diverse students in schools. It will do so by developing and experimenting a reflection toolkit that will create opportunities for evaluating teacher educators' and pre- and in-service teachers' existing beliefs in order to promote linguistically sensitive teaching and positive views on the multilingual resources of pupils (<http://listiac.org/>). The data for this study were collected in one of the 12 institutions –a total of nine universities and three ministries of education– participating in LISTiac.

In order to strengthen the possibilities for collaborative action research among teacher educators in our institution not officially involved as researchers in the LISTiac project, an additional university teaching innovation project was granted to the authors by our Faculty. This internal project provides an institutional framework for recognising our teacher educator peers as co-researchers.

In collaboration, the teacher educator (Birello) of two groups of ITE students – around seventy students in total, between twenty and twenty-two years of age– and a second teacher educator and LISTiac researcher (Llompart) carried out data collection in a subject on school language policy and plurilingual education. Following an action research methodology (see Bergroth et al., in press-b), the researchers/teacher educators and the students worked together reflecting on current educational practices, training on linguistically sensitive teaching and their preparedness to carry out this approach in the near future.

The pre-service teachers were all born in Catalonia, except for two: one was born in Morocco and had arrived in Catalonia at the age of four and the other was born in Ucraina and had also arrived at an early age. Although having different biographies (Llompart & Birello, 2020), they had all been socialised into similar discourses about languages during their schooling and at the university.

In order to promote discussion, a LISTiac reflection tool based on a SWOT analysis (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats) was used. Pre-service teachers were asked to carry out an individual SWOT analysis on linguistically sensitive teaching. Once they had finished the individual analysis, they were divided into groups of 5 or 6 and were asked to prepare a collective SWOT document on the same theme. Participants had previously given informed consent following the protocol approved by the university ethics board in line with the European General Data Protection Regulation (Ref: CEEAH4008, 19/07/2019).

All the discussions –ten small group discussions and two whole class discussions– were video or audio recorded for transcription and analysis. The transcription conventions, based on a simplified version of Jeffersonian conventions

(Jefferson, 2004), are included in the Appendix. Translations into English are included below the lines in Catalan/Spanish.

The analysis applied in this article draws on the study of discourse in interaction (Heller, 2005). It focuses on the pre-service teachers' discourse in interaction as they construct their collective SWOTs in groups and is organised thematically in terms of emerging beliefs and ideologies, rather than following the logic of the SWOT sequence. We focus not only on explicit comments about languages and language teaching and learning, but also make connections with implicit ideologies that contribute to shaping discourse in interaction.

Analysis

Our data reveals that pre-service teachers position themselves similarly as plurilingual speakers and in terms of how they see themselves as future teachers in linguistically diverse classrooms. The analysis is divided into three sub-sections covering the main themes.

Pre-service teachers as plurilingual world citizens

This section of the analysis focuses on two main ideas emerging in the group interactions: 1) being plurilingual and plurilingual competence are assets necessary for being an open-minded, flexible and tolerant citizen today, as language is also a gateway to accessing pluricultural competence; 2) the economic and linguistic context presents opportunities for language learning. We link these ideas with implicit ideologies, including discourses on plurilingualism promoted by European institutions and the neoliberal logic sustaining some forms of plurilingualism as 'elite'.

The first two excerpts studied are from different discussion groups when they were discussing their strengths –S on the SWOT analysis– as future linguistically sensitive teachers.

Excerpt 1

Participants: PER (Pere), MAR (Maria), CAR (Carlos), JOA (Joan), OLG (Olga)

01 PER jo com a fortalesa he posat que coneixem tres llengües (.) que

i have put as a strength that we know three languages (.) that

02 sembla mentida però te'n vas a fora i dius parlo tres llengües i (.)

it seems hard to believe but you go abroad and you say i speak three languages and (.)

03 joder fa molt

damn it means a lot

04 CAR no tots

not all of us

05 JOA ((laughs))

06 PER bueno però més o menys

well but more or less

07 JOA mínimament et pots:

minimally you can:

08 PER mínimament: clar

minimally: of course

09 OLG vale

ok

10 PER i això et fa més competent lingüísticament no/ saber [català fa que

and that makes you linguistically more competent right/ knowing

[catalan helps you

11 entenguis una mica de francès i italià: conèixer anglès pues tsk.

understand a little bit of french and italian: knowing english well

12 t'obre les portes i:

it opens the doors and:

13 OLG [sí:

yes:

14 (4)

15 MAR és que jo el que he dit que saber tants idiomes que t'ajuda a

what i have said is that knowing so many languages that it helps you

16 conèixer els altres és per això perquè xx hem interioritzat una

know the others it's because of that because xx we have interiorised a

17 sèrie d'estructures de: sintàctiques o el que vulguis que et fa més

series of: syntactic structures or whatever you want that it makes it

18 fàcil

easier for you

19 PER clar

sure

20 MAR seguir aprenent-ne de nous

to keep learning new ones

There is a feeling of pride amongst the pre-service teachers related to knowing three languages. For them, this repertoire is an asset when presenting themselves outside (literally 'fora', meaning outside in Catalan) their own context. Although they

do not specify what ‘outside’ is for them, it is clear that it is a context where speaking three languages might either be uncommon or useful. PER positions himself as a plurilingual speaker, a citizen with a valuable asset or cultural capital in Bourdieu’s terms. Although the three languages PER talks about have not been named, we can infer from our insider knowledge that they are Catalan, Spanish and English. In line 4, CAR presents a common insecurity regarding language knowledge, that ‘knowing a language’ means mastering it, doubting what PER has said. In the following lines, PER justifies his idea and co-constructs with JOA his idea of ‘knowing language’: it means being able to communicate even if not very fluently. After this co-construction and OLG’s acceptance of it, PER continues by adding to the idea of plurilingualism as an asset. Knowing these three languages enables linguistic transfer among Romance languages –from Catalan to French, for instance– and ‘door opening’ thanks to English. After a long pause, in lines 15 to 18 MAR aligns with PER and develops his idea by explaining how this transfer happens.

In the following excerpt, the pre-service teachers present their ideas on the connection between language and culture, expanding the previously expressed positive view on plurilingualism and defining their understanding of the term further.

Excerpt 2

Participants: TER (Teresa), LAI (Laia), JOR (Jordi), FER (Ferran), LAU (Laura), EST

(Esther)

01 TER he dit com a fortalesa interna que diversitat cultural com a: algo

**i have said as an internal strength that cultural diversity as a:
something**

02 positiu que ens enriqueix

positive that enriches us

03 LAI però abans ho has dit millor no/ ens enriqueix la diversitat

but you have said it better before right/ diversity enriches us

04 JOR que entenem la diversitat lingüística com a com a coneixença de

that we understand linguistic diversity as as knowledge of

05 la cultura humana

human culture

06 TER que ens enriqueix

that enriches us

07 LAI vale sí

ok yes

08 FER jo no sé però he posat que dominem els idiomes que es parlen a

**i don't know but i have added that we master the languages that are
spoken in**

09 catalunya i que això és una fortalesa

catalonia and that this is a strength

10 JOR quins quins es parlen/

which ones which ones are spoken/

11 TER es parlen molts eh/

many languages are spoken eh/

12 JOR jo crec que no dominem tants

i think that we do not master so many

13 FER dominen el català no/ i és la llengua vehicular de l'escola

we master catalan right/ and it is the vehicular language of the school

TER introduces another strong idea that has been transmitted regarding multi/plurilingualism: diversity –whether linguistic or cultural– enriches us, thus it is necessarily positive. LAI, in line 3, encourages TER to explain the idea better and JOR gives his version: linguistic diversity allows awareness of human culture. At the beginning of this excerpt, the pre-service teachers point to the fact that plurilingualism is not only a personal asset but also a key to being enriched by other cultures (TER, in line 6). In the second part of the excerpt –starting in line 8–, FER considers that mastering the languages ‘spoken in Catalonia’ is a strength. This is discussed by JOR and TER who claim, on the one hand, that in Catalonia many languages are spoken and, on the other hand, that they do not master many of them. In order to defend his position, FER clarifies what he meant by ‘the languages spoken in Catalonia’: the main curricular languages of schools (Catalan, Spanish and English). He replies that they master Catalan and that it is the vehicular language. So, in a way, what for some of the pre-service teachers is important is that they master the institutional languages, which reveals certain ideologies about what kind of plurilingualism they are referring to. The following excerpt, where a group of students are discussing opportunities –O on the SWOT analysis–, reinforces this positioning.

Excerpt 3

Participants: JOR (Jordi), FER (Ferran), EST (Esther)

01 JOR jo crec que la oportunitat és la necessitat de trobar feina

i think that the opportunity is the need to find a job

02 EST de trobar recursos per trobar recursos (.) és una oportunitat

to find resources to find resources (.) it is an opportunity

03 JOR perquè per trobar feina s'ha d'esforçar pues amb els nouvinguts que

- because to find a job an effort has to be made so with the newcomers
that**
- 04 vénen aquí s'han d'esforçar a tenir un nivell de català o castellà o
**come here they have to make an effort to have a certain level of
catalan or spanish or**
- 05 hasta nosaltres a tenir un nivell d'anglès
even ourselves to have a certain level of english
- 06 FER hasta nosaltres ((laughs))
even ourselves
- 07 JOR fins i tot fins i tot nosaltres
even even ourselves
- 08 FER és una oportunitat amenaça perquè clar si no fas això no tindràs
**it is an opportunity threat because well if you don't do that you will
not have**
- 09 feina
a job
- 10 JOR clar és una oportunitat per aprendre l'idioma d'una manera bastant
right it is an opportunity to learn the languages in quite
- 11 forçadeta diguéssim
let's say a forced way

There is certainly a strong view of a valuable form of plurilingualism being, in the Catalan context, speaking Catalan, Spanish and English. The economic/job market situation means that newcomers *have to* (obligatory) make an effort to reach a certain level of Catalan or Spanish (lines 3-4) and that the pre-service teachers need to have

competence in English. After FER laughs at his peer's use of a Spanish word ('hasta') instead of the correct one in Catalan ('fins i tot'), and the consequent correction by JOR, FER changes the framing of this imposition from an opportunity to a threat, since, according to JOR, it would push people to learn a language.

The pre-service teachers' comments show that the ideological construction of the benefits of being plurilingual is well installed in their generation, in line with the spread of hegemonic discourses that celebrate multi/plurilingualism (Martin-Rojo, 2019). It seems clear that language policy efforts –especially those of European institutions– have been fruitful and young people –at least those participating in this research– align with the idea that being plurilingual is essential in order to be a successful European and world citizen. When the pre-service teachers position themselves as speakers, an elite plurilingualism is at stake, following a neoliberal logic 'where language serves as an access code to local, national or global perceived elite (ways of life)' (Barakos & Selleck, 2019, p. 4). For the pre-service teachers the value is in speaking Catalan (the local and vehicular language of schooling), Spanish (the State language) and English (the international language), thus adopting a European 2+1 perspective –and also an anglo-centric one in terms of the +1. The ideological construction of English as the international language as well as valued linguistic capital is determined by the school system and also by many university programs (Martin Rojo, 2019). Thus, access to cultures through language is limited to certain languages and certain cultures.

Imagining multilingual classrooms: from proud plurilingual citizens to jumping out the window

During the activity of creating the collective SWOT, the ITE students also position themselves as future teachers. In this case, plurilingualism is presented more negatively. This set of data reveals the pre-service teachers' implicit monolingual ideologies in terms of taken-for-granted school language policies and practices. In the following excerpts the students are discussing their weaknesses –W on the SWOT analysis.

Excerpt 4

Participants: FER (Ferran), LAI (Laia), JOR (Jordi)

01 FER vale va debilitats vinga va a veure

ok weaknesses let's go let's see

02 LAI aquí he posat el contrari del que he posat abans he posat poc domini

**here i have added the opposite of what i had said before i have added
little proficiency**

03 d'idiomes estrangers

of foreign languages

04 JOR jo també (.) limitació d'idiomes

me too (.) language limitation

05 FER jo he posat que vull dir que no parlem i no entenem tots els idiomes

**i have added that i mean that we do not speak and we don't
understand all the languages**

06 que ens podem trobar a l'aula

that we can find in a classroom

07 LAI molt bé

very well

One of the main weaknesses the students declare to have when they position themselves as teachers is what they call ‘a language limitation’ (line 4). In line 5, FER clarifies that they do not speak or understand all the languages that can be found in classrooms. The strength previously declared by many of them in reference to their status as plurilinguals loses its value when the participants transport themselves to a linguistically diverse classroom. This reinforces the dual vision of what plurilingualism is for them; as we have discussed already, there is an elite plurilingualism which they associated with when positioning themselves as speakers and world citizens, but there is another type of plurilingualism –that of some students in the schools the pre-service teachers imagine themselves working in– that is not shared by them. In the second case, plurilingualism represents a limitation for them as teachers. The following excerpt develops this second ideological position further.

Excerpt 5

Participants: JOA (Joan), MAR (Maria)

01 JOA jo he ficat això situacions de conflicte o estada amb infants que no
i have added situations of conflict or staying with children that do no
02 parlin anglès com a mínim (.) o sigui que no tinguem un: una llengua
speak at least english (.) that is that we don't have a: a common
03 comuna (.) doncs això per a mi seria una debilitat perquè és com has
language (.) well that for me it would be a weakness because it is like
04 dit tu abans (.) no podríem arribar a entendre'ns (.) per signes
what you said before (.) we could not understand each other (.) signing
[...]

05 MAR a mi aquesta barrera em suposa a part de la resolució de conflictes

to me this barrier means besides conflict resolution

06 com hem parlat abans i tot això

like we have talked about before and all that

07 JOA no ja ja

no right right

08 MAR o sigui és xx el fet de nosaltres ser mestres és voler vulguis o no

i mean it is xx the fact that we are teachers implies that we want

whether you want to or not

09 fer arribar unes idees uns coneixements als infants (.) és a dir que

to transmit some ideas some knowledge to the children (.) that is to say

that

10 si no compartiu un mateix idioma per molt que algú em faci

if you don't share the same language even if someone

11 d'interpret no hi haurà la mateixa manera de fer arribar les coses

interprets for me there will not be the same way to transmit things

12 JOA ja

right

13 MAR no t'arribarà el mateix a tu que coneixes la meva llengua que a tu

you who knows my language will not get the same as you

14 que igual no la coneixes (.) és molt diferent aleshores com a mestra

who might not know it (.) it is very diferent then as a teacher

15 això pues em frustra molt

well that frustrates me a lot

In lines 1 to 4, JOA considers that not having a common language –not even English– is a weakness since there is no possibility of reaching understanding. Once more, English is categorised as the lingua franca that could allow communication in globalised scenarios, if no other languages are shared. Right after JOA, MAR continues this negative construction by declaring not having a common language as a barrier (line 5) preventing conflict resolution. Then, in line with what has been discussed, MAR presents her beliefs about what a teacher is: it is about transmitting ideas and knowledge to children (lines 8 and 9). From this perspective of the teacher as a knowledge transmitter, the languages unknown by them are certainly a barrier and the reason why there is no mutual understanding. Their ideas on what a teacher should do and the barrier of not having a common language create feelings of frustration (line 15).

Therefore, there is a shift in the pre-service teachers' language ideologies: from a positive vision as plurilingual speakers of valued languages to a negative vision as teachers who have to deal with other kinds of plurilingualism. Therefore, although the discourse of multi/plurilingualism has been well appropriated in the beliefs systems of these pre-service teachers, a very big gap –and arguably a tension– can be seen when they imagine themselves in a linguistically diverse classroom, which brings about strong negative feelings such as frustration, fear, worry or insecurity.

In the following excerpt, this feeling of desperation towards facing diverse classrooms is even stronger. The participants in this group were closing their discussion on linguistically sensitive teaching in their future practice.

Excerpt 6

Participants: PAT (Patricia), OLG (Olga), MIR (Miriam)

01 PAT doncs això (.) que no estem formades per acollir la gent (1) que ens

- 02 **well that (.) that we are not trained to receive people (1) that we**
agradaria eh: ((looking at the camera)) ens agradaria molt però no estem
would like to be eh: ((looking at the camera)) we would like it a lot but
we are not
- 03 formades
trained
- 04 ((laughther))
- 05 OLG però tampoc és el mateix rebre un alumne
but also it is not the same to receive one student
- 06 MIR clar que rebre'n:
right than receiving:
- 07 OLG que rebre'n deu: o:
than receiving ten: or:
- 08 PAT clar és que tu imagina't
right imagine
- 09 OLG clar
right
- 10 PAT ets tutora de vint-i-cinc persones que n'hi ha tres que no parlen el
that you are a teacher of twenty five people and there are three who do
not speak the
- 11 mateix idioma que tu què fas/ (.) et tires per la finestra/
same language as you what do you do/ (.) do you throw yourself out the
window/

At the beginning of the excerpt, PAT states very clearly that they are not trained to receive people –meaning newcomers from other parts of the globe–, which is a complaint about the ITE they are receiving. Interestingly, after a pause, PAT turns to the camera –which represents their university teacher educators/researchers– and says that they are not trained to be linguistically sensitive teachers although they would really like to be. While there is collective laughter in line 4, which could indicate an alignment with PAT’s previous statement, OLG tries to mitigate the complaint –together with MIR– by saying that the issue is not receiving one newcomer but receiving lots of them. PAT continues by agreeing (line 8) and by offering a portrayal of herself as a teacher in a multilingual classroom with three students with whom she does not share a language (lines 10 and 11). She presents a strong feeling of insecurity and desperation –‘do you throw yourself out the window’– when having to face a situation like the one she describes.

Despite initiatives at European and local level to avoid perpetuating monolingual mindsets and approaches to education, we can see that these ideas have not been translated into the pre-service teachers’ projections. When imagining themselves as future teachers in multilingual classrooms, the pre-service teachers’ previous celebration of plurilingualism as speakers –in line with neoliberal hegemonic discourses (Martin-Rojo, 2019)– is transformed into problematisation, frustration and fear. This result concurs with previous results (De Angelis, 2011; Griva & Chostelidou, 2012; Otwinowska, 2014) on the contrast between teachers’ positive beliefs –for example, the connection between language and culture (Arocena Egaña et al., 2015)– and the worries that appear regarding their teaching practice. When the students imagine themselves as teachers in diverse classrooms, monolingual ideologies appear –since their possibilities

of communication depend on the same language being shared— and the idea of plurilingualism is reconsidered (De Angelis, 2011).

ITE reformulation towards linguistically sensitive teaching

In the data collected during the SWOT analysis activity, there are many instances when pre-service teachers try to give a justification about why they are not prepared to be linguistically sensitive teachers. Most of the time they refer to a lack of practical resources being given to them during their ITE that would help them to manage linguistically diverse students. What is clear in the data is the connection they make with practice as a key factor for successful learning; thus they consider that, in order to learn how to deal with linguistic diversity, they need to have some practice at it, since theory is not enough in this regard.

Excerpt 7

Participants: OLG (Olga), PAU (Paula)

01 OLG yo pondría que también una debilidad es que si acabas en un: cole

i would also add a weakness that is if you end up in a: school

02 eh: de: privado de sabadell no sé qué (.) no hay ningún tipo que

**eh: eh: a private one in sabadell i don't know what (.) there isn't any
that**

03 todos hablan catalán entonces perfecto porque tú estás ahí equis

all of them speak catalan then perfect because you are there a number

04 años pero llegas a otro centro (.) que es todo lo contrario súper

**of years but you arrive in another school (.) where it is the contrary
very**

05 heterogéneo pues ahí pues puede ser que tengas un problema como
heterogenous well there well maybe you might have a problem as a

06 profe
teacher

07 PAU no: igual que si por ejemplo te vas a un cole de alta complejidad
no: like if you for example go to a high complexity school

08 (.) o sea yo por ejemplo personalmente en la carrera a mi no me han
(.) i mean i for example personally during the training i have not been

09 dado xx no tengo xx o sea las tendría que trabajar (.) pues eso
assigned xx i don't xx i mean i would have to work on them (.) well that

10 también es una debilidad como profe
is also a weakness as teacher

In OLG's discourse we can observe the strong connection she makes with teaching practice as a fund of knowledge (González, Moll & Amanti, 2005) for being a competent teacher. The experience of teaching in a private and linguistically homogenous school is good, but it does not afford the tools and competences needed to be a teacher in a school with a diverse student body. This lack of experience will be a problem (lines 5 and 6) or a weakness (line 10) for her as a teacher. Teachers' beliefs are strongly connected to previous learning experiences, contextual factors, professional courses and classrooms practice (Borg, 2006). In the meta-reflection that these pre-service teachers are engaged in teaching practice is what is key to having resources to teach in multilingual classrooms (Otwindowska, 2014).

Discussion and conclusions

We have explored pre-service teachers' discourse in interaction (Heller, 2005) in order to analyse their beliefs and ideologies regarding plurilingualism, as well as their fears and ongoing needs for managing multilingual classrooms. Despite the efforts made in different official recommendations and teacher education curricula, pre-service teachers are not fully ready to manage inclusive, linguistically diverse classrooms. On the one hand, their discourse shows traces of a neoliberal ideological logic projecting an elite kind of plurilingualism and open-mindedness about languages as positive, which are transported to the classroom as useless tools. In this sense, there is the risk of promoting what Beck (2004) called 'banal cosmopolitanism', a recognition of the diversity in classrooms without fully transforming this diversity into a real asset for teaching and learning. The pre-service teachers' discourse reproduces the traditional role of the teacher by understanding their role as transmitters of knowledge through a language shared with students. The plurilingual competence they claim to have is not useful for their future teaching practice. On the other hand, their complaint about the lack of practical resources and experience in multilingual settings is key to understanding their needs.

We consider that a turn is still needed in ITE –at least in our context– regarding linguistically sensitive teaching, which should open more spaces for discussion and reflection about neoliberal and monolingual ideologies which are circulating –including the common-sensical notion of English as a lingua franca, unequal access to which restricts equitable educational as well as job market opportunities (Park & Wee, 2015, p. 4). Moreover, to respond to pre-service teachers' expressed needs, deeper connections between more theoretical and more practical training should be made in order to help them transform the resources they have into practical teaching tools for multilingual classrooms. Furthermore, ITE should help pre-service teachers value their

developing plurilingualisms –including their partial and creative competence in languages besides those valued in school curricula– as a first step towards making them more sensitive towards others’ repertoires.

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Appendix

Transcription conventions

Participant pseudonym	ABC
Brief pause	(.)
Long pause	(1.2)
Overlapping	[

Prolonged vowel or consonant	: ::
Rising intonation	/
Comments	((laughing))
Incomprehensible	xx
Transcription in English	english