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5 In Search of Dominant Language Constellations among Multilingual Young Adults in Cyprus and Finland: The Influence of Multiple Language Use and Practices on Linguistic Identity and Trajectories as Future Teachers

Sviatlana Karpava, Mikaela Björklund and Siv Björklund

This chapter examines multiple language use, practices and language identity of young adults in two multilingual contexts – Cyprus and Finland. The aim of the study is to explore the possibilities of identifying dominant language constellations (DLCs) in elicited answers that focus on language use, practices, mastery and linguistic identity. Data on these thematic issues were collected with the help of questionnaires, group discussions and written assignments. Both contexts are represented by the voices of university students (eight students in Cyprus and six in Finland) who communicate daily in several languages via their university studies, bilingual communities and/or mixed-marriage families, and who all have ambitions for a future profession in education. The analysis is twofold. The first part investigates the relationship between the role of the presence of individual languages in the participants' multiple language contexts and the participants' emic perspective on their linguistic identity. The second part focuses on whether and how the participants' multilingual

contexts are mirrored in future trajectories for DLCs and multiple language use as professionals within education.

Introduction

Recent increases in migration, globalisation and glocalisation have changed our linguistic, social and communicative practices and our perception of the reality and the multilingual, multicultural environment (Aronin, 2020; Kirby, 2009) that has been characterised as current multilingualism (Singleton *et al.*, 2013) or the new linguistic dispensation (Aronin, 2017). The language–society interdependence is complex and depends on various factors, such as language status and legitimisation, politics, ideology, education, geographical and social contexts (Aronin, 2015, 2019, 2020). This study focuses on student teachers in two geographically and linguistically different teacher education settings in order to explore the students’ multilingual practices (see Aronin, 2020) and current dominant language constellations (DLCs), and how these are interconnected and may affect their linguistic identity and future trajectories as professionals within education. This kind of comparison across different contexts aims to contribute to the body of research on DLCs and multilingual practices, especially within the field of education (see Aronin and Vetter (2021) for recent DLC studies in this field). Inspired by Larissa Aronin’s discussion on *longue durée* as a valid perspective in studying DLCs (Aronin, 2020), this chapter tries to uncover DLCs as a useful tool in search of linguistic identities and future trajectories of teaching practices in the classroom.

Multilingualism as a characteristic of individuals, organisations and societies

Multilingualism, as analysed within complexity/dynamic systems theory (Aronin & Jessner, 2015; Jessner, 2008, 2012; Larsen-Freeman, 2012, 2016), takes into consideration individual and societal multilingualism and multilingual practices that are dynamically intertwined with individuals’ cognitively based autonomous subsystems, interacting and triggering the emergence of new qualities within the whole system (Aronin, 2020; Capra & Luisi, 2014). Complexity is further associated with diversity (Aronin, 2020; Vertovec, 2007).

Different languages come into contact to create a situation of dynamic multilingualism (Lo Bianco & Aronin, 2020). Geopolitical, historical, sociocultural, political, environmental, ideological and material factors come into play, along with the ‘prestige’ of one language. Not all languages are used, maintained and transmitted, which can lead to a situation of language attrition and shift. In these dynamic multilingual contexts, self-identity is fluid and flexible; it comprises individual and

collective identity, habitus or unconscious identity, agency and reflexivity, which are re-evaluated and adjusted throughout the life trajectory of an individual and is connected to citizenship and solidarity (Lizardo, 2017).

Since global migration, multilingualism and multiculturalism have become the norm (Cenoz & Gorter, 2015), it is important to include critical language awareness as a component in teacher training programmes so that there is a link between theory and practice (Gorter & Arocena, 2020; Young, 2014). Student teachers need to develop a positive attitude towards multilingualism and inclusive teaching, learning and assessment (De Angelis, 2011; Haukås, 2016; Heyder & Schadlich, 2014; Jakisch, 2014; Otwinowska, 2014). In this context, multilingual practices and prevalent DLCs among teachers and in educational institutions become a relevant focal point (e.g. Björklund *et al.*, 2020).

Perspectives on DLCs

DLCs allow us to critically examine multilingual practices as they can reveal the vehicle languages of multilingual speakers – the cluster of languages that helps them operate in society at the current time and place, and which can change throughout their life trajectory (Aronin, 2006, 2016; Singleton *et al.*, 2013; Vertovec, 2014). Thus, DLCs can help describe the current stage, in time and space, of the multilingual practices of an individual, which will undergo certain modifications over a long time period (*longue durée*: Braudel, 1958), and can be predicted by the DLC based on patterns of uniformity and congruity (Aronin, 2020). DLCs can have individual and societal levels of analysis and attention is also paid to new DLCs, multimodal entities, whose key features are connectedness and relationships among linguistic, emotional, cognitive, physiological and material dimensions (Aronin, 2020).

According to Aronin (2020), there are certain conditions that should be fulfilled for languages to be part of a DLC: they all need to have certain common functions and be (reasonably) immediately available for (authentic) communication (cf. Kannangara, 2020). A DLC, as an abstract construct as well as a model for research and a unit of analysis, can help us to represent the multilingual reality in settings under investigation (Aronin, 2020). It is important to pay attention to the emergent quality of the DLC as a unit, which is not exactly the sum of its parts. The focus is on (1) how languages are interrelated and contribute to the configuration of the DLC and (2) presenting this information in visual and tangible forms (Aronin, 2020). A DLC is thus characterised by internal coherence – the integration of languages in one communicative, linguistic, cultural, cognitive and sociological unit – the constituent parts of which are in constant interaction, transformation and configuration (Aronin, 2020).

Based on the qualities associated with DLCs, the concept seems to be a valuable instrument in language learning, teaching and language policy

studies (Aronin, 2016; Lo Bianco, 2020). According to Lo Bianco and Aronin (2020), the diffusive spread of English as lingua franca or global language worldwide cannot be ignored in the study of multilingualism, although the presence and use of English in various domains differ from country to country. English is a prominent language in both contexts of this study and it is included as a way of capturing the complex reality of multilingual practices among a sample of student teachers in Cyprus and Finland.

By implementing a DLC framework in this study, our analysis focuses on the dynamic and fluid nature of multilingualism and language pluralism (Lo Bianco, 2020; Slavkov, 2020). We distinguish between the linguistic repertoire, the total number of languages known by the participants and the DLC, which is the vehicle (selected languages for use) and forms the core or the most active part of the linguistic repertoire. As suggested by Banda (2020), the use of a DLC uncovers overlaps of DLCs – effective communicative choices that can be constrained by social changes, agency and subjective needs and motivations (Lo Bianco & Aronin, 2020). To identify the DLCs of our participants, we used both an etic perspective (DLC = carrying out the complete set of functions characteristic of a human language and reasonable immediacy) and an emic perspective (self-identification of linguistic identity), which also served to identify the sample of the student population to be included in the study.

Languages and Language Varieties in the Two Contexts of this Study

Cyprus

Cyprus can be characterised as multilingual. Apart from Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities, there are minorities who live in the country (e.g. Armenians, Latins, Maronites), residents of British origin and immigrants from various countries of the EU, non-EU Eastern Europe, Asia and especially the former Soviet Union (Hadjiioannou *et al.*, 2011). In addition, Greek Cypriots are considered to be bilingual (Grohmann *et al.*, 2017; Rowe & Grohmann, 2013, 2014) as they use two varieties (Standard Modern Greek and Cypriot Greek), which differ in the domain of use (formal vs. informal, urban vs. rural), status (high vs. low) and in terms of phonetics, morpho-phonology, lexicon and morphosyntax (e.g. Arvaniti, 2010; Chatzikyriakidis, 2012; Newton, 1972; Pappas, 2014; Revithiadou, 2006). Regarding the mainstream secondary educational system, Standard Modern Greek is used at public Greek-speaking schools rather than the pupil's home variety as the latter is associated with an inferior language status, negative stereotypes and the view that it is an obstacle for academic success (Ioannidou, 2009; Ioannidou *et al.*, 2020; Tsiplakou *et al.*, 2018).

Among the foreign language groups, the Russian community is considered to be the largest. The Russian-speaking population living in Cyprus is not homogeneous. They come from Russia and other republics of the former Soviet Union and vary in terms of their socioeconomic status, reasons for coming to and staying in Cyprus and family composition. Mixed-marriage families, with one partner Russian and the other Greek Cypriot, are multilingual, having Greek, English and Russian in their DLCs. Russian immigrant families, with both spouses of Russian origin, are mainly bilingual, using Russian and English in their daily lives (Karpava, 2015, 2020; Karpava *et al.*, 2018). Russian is one of the important languages on the island with regard to the linguistic landscape, business and tourist spheres (Eracleous, 2015; Karpava, 2022).

English is a global language and is widely used all over the island for communication, education and business (Buschfeld, 2013; Schneider, 2003, 2007). Cypriot Greek has a lot of borrowed English words and English–Greek code-switching is a common phenomenon in the country (Papapavlou & Satraki, 2013). According to Karoulla-Vrikkis (2010), there are two ideological positions in Cyprus: Hellenisation and Cypriotisation. The supporters of the first consider English be a threat to ‘Greekness’, Greek national identity, language, culture and religion, whereas those in favour of the second position try to promote the use of English as it is associated with the modern world and globalisation (Themistocleous, 2019).

Finland

Finland is an officially bilingual country in northern Europe and both national language groups (Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking) are judicially guaranteed equal linguistic rights in society. According to Statistics Finland (2021a), of the total population of 5.5 million people, the majority (87.3%) has registered Finnish as their first language (L1), 5.2% have registered Swedish as their L1 and the remaining 7.5% have reported a ‘foreign language’ as their L1. The number of foreign language speakers has undergone a distinct change during the last 20 years. In 2000, the proportion of ‘foreign language’ speakers was only 1.9%, increasing to 7.8% in 2020 (Statistics Finland, 2021b). The proportion of the two national languages has remained relatively stable, albeit with a slow decrease for Swedish and a small increase for Sami, 1734 L1 Sami speakers in 2000 compared with 2008 L1 Sami speakers in 2020 (Statistics Finland, 2021b). Since only one language can be registered as L1, the statistics do not reveal the everyday bilingualism encountered by many Swedish speakers in Finland. However, this bilingualism is visible, for example in the fact that education is arranged on Finnish- and Swedish-medium educational paths from early childhood education to higher education (Bergroth & Hansell, 2020).

Only approximately half of the pupils in Swedish-medium primary schools (Grades 1–6) come from monolingual Swedish homes. A substantial proportion (40%) of pupils come from bilingual (Swedish–Finnish) backgrounds and 4% are from monolingual Finnish homes. The available statistics do not account for other types of bi/multilingual homes, but 5% of the pupils in Swedish-medium primary schools are reported to come from homes with another home language altogether (Hellgren *et al.*, 2019). In addition, according to reports from the early 2000s (Oker-Blom *et al.*, 2001), every fifth pupil in Grades 1–6 in Swedish-medium schools is bilectal (standard Swedish and a dialectal vernacular). There are also great local variations regarding the proportion of both bilingual (Finnish–Swedish) and bilectal pupils in Swedish-medium schools. Similar regional variations apply also for languages other than the national ones in both Swedish- and Finnish-medium schools.

When recent comparisons were made between first foreign language (English) and the two second national languages in the Finnish context (Björklund *et al.*, 2020), the second national language is not necessarily a second language in the traditional sense (see Baker & Prys-Jones, 1998; Kachru, 1985): the so-called first foreign language English seems to enjoy a much stronger position in the community than would be expected for a traditional foreign language (cf. Leppänen *et al.*, 2008).

Björklund (2007) pointed out that if the move towards regarding English as a second language in Finland continues, one needs to be aware of the probable effects it will have on the second national languages. If this trend continues, Swedish–Finnish bilinguals and children with immigrant backgrounds are probably the only groups who will become functionally trilingual, whereas initially monolingual students (Finnish or Swedish) will, in practice, become bilingual Finnish–English or Swedish–English. However, as the statistics show, there is also a noticeable increase in ethnical and linguistic variation on the educational scene in several communities in Finland, which has brought about the need for a broadened set of tools related to linguistic and cultural awareness for teachers (see Hellgren *et al.*, 2019). In the national curriculum guidelines for comprehensive education from 2016, policy measures were taken to support this development (Bergroth & Hansell, 2020).

Aims of the Study

The aim of this study was to investigate how different individual and societal multilingual practices contribute to shaping individuals' conceptualisation of their linguistic identity and their future trajectories as professionals in education. By comparing different DLCs in two contexts we sought to uncover cross-contextual multilingual practices that influence the self-identification of linguistic identity of participants enrolled in teacher education that may affect possible DLCs in their future professional life.

The study builds on previous research on individual DLCs in Cyprus (Karpava, 2020) and Finland (Björklund *et al.*, 2020). The Cyprus case was focused on DLCs among Russian-speaking students and adult females, native speakers of Russian, members of mixed-marriage families in Cyprus and mothers of bi/multilingual children. The Finnish case described the DLC Finnish–Swedish–English in national curricula for basic education and among student teachers with either Swedish or Finnish as their first language. Whereas the previous studies were centred on mapping and including multilingual practices for identification of individual DLCs, we now further explore how different factors in DLCs (such as society, language policy, ideology, attitudes, language usage, life trajectories) are mirrored in how student teachers (future English teachers in Cyprus and future class teachers in Finland), during their initial teacher education, define their linguistic identity and indicate their future roles as teachers in language-diverse classes.

Although surrounded by a similar institutional context (in this case university students aiming at the teaching profession), the status of the languages in the DLCs differs in the two contexts.

In Cyprus, a heritage language, used mainly at home and with family, constitutes an essential language for individual DLCs as well as the prominent role of English (due to the post-colonial situation).

In Finland, the two national languages (Finnish and Swedish) interplay with English. This DLC constellation was prominent in a comparison between the DLCs emerging in the national core curriculum from 2004 and 2014 as well as in individual student teacher voices (Björklund *et al.*, 2020). However, the clear pattern of the three languages among the student teachers differed somewhat depending on the linguistic background of the participants of the study, resulting in the balance between English and the second national language (Swedish) being ‘specifically delicate and subject to change’ (Björklund *et al.*, 2020: 113).

The following research questions are addressed:

- (1) How does the perceived language identity of the study participants relate to daily multiple language practices?
- (2) What future trajectories as professionals in education do the DLC patterns of the participants of the study indicate?
- (3) What similarities and differences in the DLC patterns are there among student teachers in Cyprus and Finland?

Data

The data for this study comprise two sets of student teacher data. Both data sets were derived from data from a larger population of student teachers. Originally, the data from the two contexts were designed for other studies; for this study, similar issues relating to multiple language use and linguistic/cultural identity were chosen for comparison. Although

the themes are similar, it should be noted that the questions for initiating the different themes were not identical. However, within both data sets, the student teachers' self-identification of linguistic identity served as the main criterion for inclusion in the study. Variety in self-identification expressed as monolingual, bilingual or multilingual identity was the starting point for further analysis of how well self-identification meets multilingualism as defining characteristics for individual, societal and institutional multilingual practices that are dimensions of the conceptual perspective of DLCs. The label 'student teacher' is used here to refer to the whole data set, but it should be noted that the participants in Cyprus were future English language teachers whereas the participants in Finland were future primary level teachers or special needs education teachers.

In Cyprus, the study participants were eight student teachers and data were collected in 2020–2021 with the help of questionnaires, individual interviews and focus group discussions. In Finland, the participants were six student teachers and data were collected during spring semester 2018 through small group discussions and individual written assignments. All participants in both contexts gave their consent to participate in the research project and for the data to be used for research purposes, in line with ethical considerations.

Method and Analysis

The Cyprus data were collected via written questionnaires and in-depth semi-structured oral individual and focus group interviews, reflecting a qualitative method (Flick, 1998; Hatch & Wisniewski, 1995; Lamnek, 1989). This type of interview, which does not impose the question–response structure, offers a more in-depth participant perspective. It also offers a selection of themes and topics, ordering and wording for the questions, while eliminating the possibility of interviewer influence.

The interview questions were based on the results of a large-scale questionnaire (Karpava *et al.*, 2018, 2019, for more details) with a focus on participants' socioeconomic background, their language and cultural identities, and their immigrant experience in Cyprus, both online and offline. The oral mode allowed the speakers to elaborate more on certain issues and to provide more information, supported by actual examples from their immigrant life experiences and detailed descriptions of actual conditions, which helped to define meaning categories. The interviews lasted for 30–60 minutes, and were carried out in Greek, English or Russian, based on the preference of each student. A snowball sampling technique and a convenience sampling technique were used to access the participants (i.e. selection of an initial group of immigrant/minority students, who then indicated other potential participants who belong to various immigrant/minority communities in Cyprus).

The Finnish data were collected through small group discussions (3–5 students in each group) or individual written reflections with a cohort of student teachers after an introductory academic course on language education for student teachers attending Swedish-medium primary education and special needs education programmes. The participants were asked to reflect upon four different themes related to their own language learning, bi- and multilingualism, language usage and experiences of language and culture in the teaching profession. Each small group had approximately 40 minutes to discuss the four themes. The themes and questions have been piloted in other studies (e.g. Peltoniemi *et al.*, 2020). The language backgrounds of the students varied to some extent, but all had Swedish as their L1 or one of their regularly used languages. For this study, six participants were chosen based on their own language identifications. In our analysis of the data, we implemented the conceptual perspective of the DLC to help us explain both societal and individual multilingual practices among student teachers. The social status of a language is a crucial factor (Lo Bianco & Aronin, 2020) and therefore the two chosen contexts provide a starting point for contrasting individual DLCs within different multilingual societal contexts.

Results

Cyprus

The Cyprus context was represented by eight students (age range 18–26; seven females and one male) with various L1 backgrounds and linguistic repertoires (see Table 5.1). They had a minority or immigrant L1 background and different linguistic identities and perceptions of their monolingual, bilingual or multilingual status.

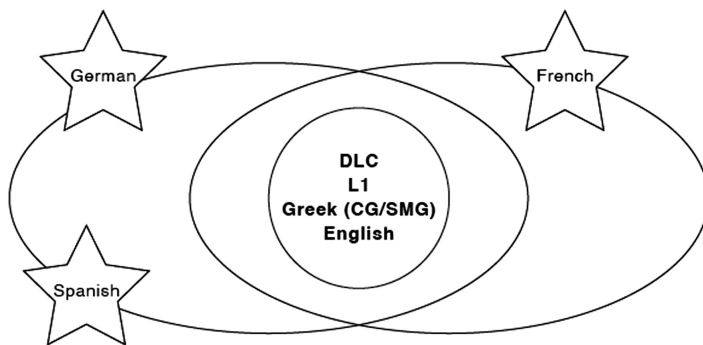
Not all of the participants were born in Cyprus. Their length of residence in Cyprus ranged from 9–26 years and their age of onset to Greek ranged from 0–12 years. They mainly had a hybrid language identity (see Boland, 2020) and only half of them considered themselves full members of Cyprus society. Due to the bilingual setting in Cyprus, most of the participants mentioned Greek as part of their linguistic identity. Their linguistic repertoires comprised up to five languages, while their DLCs included two to three languages, which were their L1, Greek and English (Figure 5.1).

Linguistic self-identification as a mirror of multilingual practices

The Cyprus participants differed in terms of their linguistic identity (self-identification) – whether they considered themselves monolingual (C2 and C4), bilingual (C3 and C8) or multilingual (C1, C5, C6 and C7).

Table 5.1 Participants in Cyprus

	Gender	L1	Linguistic repertoire	DLC
Student teacher 1 (C1)	Female	Romanian + Greek + English	Romanian, Greek, English	Romanian, Greek, English
Student teacher 2 (C2)	Female	Bulgarian	Bulgarian, Greek, English, Spanish, Russian	Bulgarian, Greek, English
Student teacher 3 (C3)	Female	Lebanese + Greek	Lebanese, Greek, English, French	Lebanese, Greek, English
Student teacher 4 (C4)	Female	Greek	Greek, English, Arabic	Greek, English
Student teacher 5 (C5)	Female	Greek + Russian + English	Greek, Russian, English, Spanish	Greek, Russian, English
Student teacher 6 (C6)	Female	Russian + Ukrainian + Greek + English	Russian, Ukrainian, Greek, English	Russian, Greek, English
Student teacher 7 (C7)	Male	Greek + Russian + English	Greek, Russian, English, Georgian	Greek, Russian, English
Student teacher 8 (C8)	Female	Armenian + Cypriot Greek	Armenian, English, Greek, French, German	Armenian, English, Greek

**Figure 5.1** DLCs of the participants in Cyprus (CG = Cypriot Greek; SMG = Standard Modern Greek)

As shown in the interview Excerpt 1, C4 stated that she has a monolingual identity even though she knows and speaks other languages. She identifies herself with the dominant languages of society.

Excerpt 1.

As for my language identity it is Greek, but of course I know English and use it a lot [...] Arabic does not play a great role in my everyday life, even though it is my native language. (C4)

The situation seems to be even more complex in the case of C2, as she considers herself multilingual and emphasises the benefits of being multilingual in her everyday life and future career but, at the same time, identifies herself only with one language – Bulgarian – as her L1, her heritage language.

Excerpt 2.

For me being bilingual/multilingual is something good because I deal with languages, I always wanted to deal with languages as a profession, to become a teacher or to do translation or something similar. I can say that by now except for Bulgarian, Greek and English, I also learn Russian and Spanish, Spanish I can say even at a better level than Russian because in Russian I understand better as it is close to Bulgarian but I cannot speak properly. Yes, I consider myself to be multilingual and this is something good because languages open new horizons and new doors if I can say for the future. As for my language identity I would say that I identify myself with Bulgarian because it is my mother tongue and I feel that I possess it/ know it better than other languages, I feel more comfortable with it. (C2)

Another pattern among the participants was to identify themselves as bilinguals regarding their language identity. C3 identified herself with the majority language (Greek) and minority language (Lebanese), even though she also knows English and French.

Excerpt 3.

The two languages with which I identify myself are Greek and Arabic (Lebanese), because English and French I consider as extra languages, they are not part of my language identity but of my language competence probably. (C3)

C8 can be characterised as an emergent multilingual, her linguistic identity is bilingual (Armenian and Greek), but she has learned other languages. Her linguistic repertoire has expanded with English, German and French, even though her DLC comprises Armenian, Greek and English and at home she speaks mainly Armenian with her family. It seems that her views regarding linguistic identity are not static, but change throughout her life trajectory.

Excerpt 4.

I am multilingual, before I would say that I am bilingual, I grew up bilingual, Greek and Armenian and then throughout my life I became multilingual. Ok, I speak Greek and Armenian, my friends are mainly Cypriots and Armenians. The grandfather of my grandmother came to Cyprus. I am probably the fifth or sixth generation of Armenians in Cyprus. We have an Armenian community in Cyprus, primary and secondary schools. At school, I have learned Armenian, Greek and English. At home, my parents and me speak Armenian, but because we live in Cyprus and when we [children] had our first connection with school, we had contact with Greek, from the neighbours as well and with the TV, the internet, so we are influenced by Greek. We code-switch a lot at home, Greek–Armenian, but we speak mainly Armenian at home. (C8)

The other four participants in Cyprus identified themselves with multiple languages, with their L1, Greek, English and maybe other foreign languages. In the case of C1, these languages are Romanian, Greek and English (Excerpt 5). It is noteworthy that the linguistic repertoire, DLC and linguistic identity of C1 fully correspond to each other. C5 has a similar match concerning linguistic identity and DLC, which includes Greek, Russian and English, even though her linguistic repertoire was wider as she was also learning Spanish at the time of the study.

Excerpt 5.

I will say that my language identity is in three languages because ok, I am from Romania, I was born there, then I came to Cyprus. I have learnt Greek very well, I speak English very well, I read books in English, I have a very good connection with English, so I can say that I identify myself with three languages [...]. (C1)

As regards C6, it seems that her linguistic identity, linguistic repertoire and DLC have undergone changes during her life trajectory, especially after she immigrated to Cyprus. She came to Cyprus with knowledge of her L1 (Ukrainian), L2 (Russian) and some English (L3). Then, she had to learn Greek (L4), which she now considers the most important language for her. There is an overlap between linguistic identity and linguistic repertoire, but her L1 (Ukrainian) is not in her DLC anymore as it is not one of the vehicle languages for her in Cyprus.

Excerpt 6.

I would say Russian, Greek, English [language identity], but the most important for me now is Greek, not even English, as I am planning to stay in Cyprus. I came to Cyprus when I was 7 years old. I knew some English, but I had to learn Greek... I can say that the status of the Russian language in Cyprus now is high, it depends on political and economic factors. Now I feel much more comfortable to use Russian with my friends in comparison to the situation six years ago. (C6)

C7 considers multilingualism as a great benefit, but thinks that several languages from a young age may be challenging. There is an overlap in terms of his linguistic identity, and DLC: Greek, Georgian and Russian are the vehicle languages, but the level of proficiency and domain of use of these languages differ. It seems that the majority language (Greek) and English (lingua franca on the island and the medium of instruction at his university) were considered to be the most important languages for him at this stage of his life.

Excerpt 7.

To be a multilingual, when you know more languages it makes you good, but maybe it is difficult for younger children, for example one of our neighbours speaks Greek, English and Bulgarian, when he was younger, he did not know any of the languages properly, there was no balance among the languages [...] I personally did not have any confusion/

mixture among the three languages Russian, Greek and English. As for my language identity, if I have to choose one language then it is Greek, but now that I am at university, I use English a lot, I have classes in English, I have started to think more in English, I know more words in English and the Russian so and so... With my parents I speak some Georgian, but not so often [...]. (C7)

Hybrid language identity depends on the amount of time spent in the country and language proficiency in the target language and on the type of family setting (e.g. mixed marriage, bilingual, multilingual). Strong links with the L1 country and culture, history and traditions, cuisine, TV programmes, heritage language use, maintenance and transmission are some of the factors that contribute to the L1 linguistic identity. The linguistic behaviour of both mother and father is of great importance, as is that of the extended family and relatives. Linguistic and cultural identities are affected by customs, material culture and stereotypical rules in the L1 countries, as noted by C5.

Excerpt 8.

Cypriot, Greek and Russian, I identify myself with the particular cultures due to matters of origin; my mother is Russian and my father is half-Cypriot and half-Greek. I grew up with relatives from all three countries, being heavily influenced, and having consistent associations with the countries' cuisines, customs, prejudices as well as manners and/ or ethics. (C5)

The participants also commented that the majority language speakers, Greek Cypriots, also have a favourable view on multilingualism in Cyprus, although they admit that there is a difference between younger and older generations of the Cypriot Greek population regarding the acceptance/ discrimination of 'foreign' influence in Cyprus, with the former tending to be 'more open-minded'. Their attitudes depend on immigrant/minority language(s) status, socioeconomic factors and the level of proficiency in the majority language.

Excerpt 9.

My answer is yes and no. Some people are but some are not. When I moved to Cyprus in 2007 there was more racial discrimination but now they are more open minded. Personally, I did not experience discrimination but some people that were from other countries did and I have seen it. The main reason was that they do not speak correctly the language. (C1)

Excerpt 10.

Most of the residents accept people who speak other languages than their language, they often ask you something about your culture or even try to learn your language. (C2)

Greek Cypriots could have a negative attitude towards foreigners if they speak their own L1 as they do not understand what they say. Some of them have stereotypical judgments, as shown in the following excerpts.

Excerpt 11.

At primary school because people could not understand my language and that was something annoying to some of them who might think that I was talking against them. (C2)

Excerpt 12.

Sometimes in Cyprus they have some stereotypes such as the word *Αράπης* [Arab], which I find it very offensive. (C4)

Excerpt 13.

There are still people from my country of residence who are bullying and discriminating people from other countries [...] They tell people that speak other languages to go back to their countries. (C7)

Some of the students admitted that they still observe bullying, discrimination or negative attitudes that depend on socioeconomic factors and L1 origin.

Stance towards future teacher pedagogy as a mirror of self-experienced multilingualism

It seems that the students' bi/multilingual background affected their stance towards the teaching of English. They supported the multilingual turn in teaching (Conteh & Meier, 2014; May, 2014, 2019), taking their complex and dynamic life trajectories into consideration, the benefit of bilingualism and multilingualism, communicative needs and contextualisation (Creese & Blackledge, 2010).

Excerpt 14.

For the purposes of teaching English as a foreign or second language, the most practical version of the language to employ is English as lingua franca. This is because it constitutes a more universal form of the language, and has been precisely been modelled in order to facilitate communication between people on a global scale for various purposes. Considering its function, as well as the learners' goals, which are usually along the lines of practical communication, English as a lingua franca can prove more dynamic and inclusive than a native form of English. (Focus group discussion)

In addition, the students prefer to have a combination of cultures in order to promote diversity but at the same time implement contextualisation (Excerpt 15).

Excerpt 15.

As for which culture it is more advisable to be taught in an EFL classroom, a combination of cultures could be the most suitable option. This is because, on the one hand, being able to use English in a global context requires that one familiarises with the Western cultural context, as it is the source culture. On the other hand, however, the teacher may also need to culturally contextualise his/her teaching by focusing on the local culture, in order to make the lessons more relatable to the students, and thus both engage their interest and make the material more

comprehensible. Nevertheless, teaching methods and materials with a global thematic combination could be useful in preventing cultural hegemony, while promoting diversity. (Focus group discussion)

The students also suggest a shift from teacher-centred to student-centred teaching (Excerpt 16).

Excerpt 16.

In the Cypriot community, what is mainly missing is the student-centred teaching methods. Teacher-centred pedagogy does not assist on the same level, due to the lack of interaction and material embracement. Thus, more interaction with the students is needed without diminishing the presence of the figure of the teacher from the course of learning. This can be achieved possibly through providing material beyond that of textbooks (e.g. games, writing or listening), giving more motivation to the students to work effectively on the language they are learning. (Focus group discussion)

They have also commented on the teaching materials, which should include multilingual and multicultural issues (Excerpts 17 and 18).

Excerpt 17.

Teachers and teaching materials should acquire a crucial role in culture learning. Most of the coursebooks I saw tended to use one specific variety of English. However, they included various locations, and ethnicities of characters. Lastly, there were both familiar and unfamiliar topics, as the books referred to both local and global issues. (Focus group discussion)

Excerpt 18.

Moreover, as it concerns what culture to teach it would be more affective and productive for the student to learn not only about British culture or the American one, but a bit of every culture that has English as lingua franca, for example Australia. Different cultures and ethics is what manifests one's mind and spirit... (Focus group discussion)

It should be noted that the bi/multicultural background of the students affects their stance and attitudes towards multilingualism in education and in society. Another shared vision is that most of the students are in favour of teaching English as lingua franca.

Finland

The Finnish study comprised a sample of six students (future primary level teachers), chosen from a larger cohort of students taking part in a university course. The sample was chosen to represent a variety in the students' self-identification of their linguistic identity as tripartite (monolingual, bilingual or multilingual), equally distributed between the participants (see Table 5.2).

Although the construction of linguistic identity may seem very static (as shown in Table 5.2), many of the participants refer to their linguistic

Table 5.2 Participants in Finland

	Gender	L1	Linguistic repertoire	DLC
Student teacher 1 (F1)	Female	Swedish	Swedish, English, Finnish, German, Russian, Norwegian (Dari)	Swedish, English, Finnish
Student teacher 2 (F2)	Female	Swedish	Swedish, English, Finnish	Swedish, Finnish, English
Student teacher 3 (F3)	Female	Finnish + Swedish	Swedish, Finnish, English, German, Spanish	Finnish, Swedish (English)
Student teacher 4 (F4)	Female	Swedish + English	Swedish, English, Finnish (Italian)	Swedish, English, Finnish
Student teacher 5 (F5)	Male	Swedish + English + Finnish	Swedish, English, Finnish (German, Russian)	Swedish, Finnish, English
Student teacher 6 (F6)	Female	Swedish + Finnish + English	Swedish, Finnish, English, German (Spanish)	Swedish, Finnish, English

identity as fluid and dynamic (see e.g. Lizardo, 2017). The language repertoire of the Finnish students varied from languages that some participants described as minimal (know some words) to language studies in school over several years. In Table 5.2, the languages in brackets indicate the languages that the participants said they did not know or knew very little of but would like to learn later in life. The DLCs in Table 5.2 represent the researchers' views of the three most expedient languages of the individual participants, based on their accounts of language use. Altogether, the linguistic repertoires of the six Finnish participants display somewhat different languages, but their DLCs are very similar (Figure 5.2).

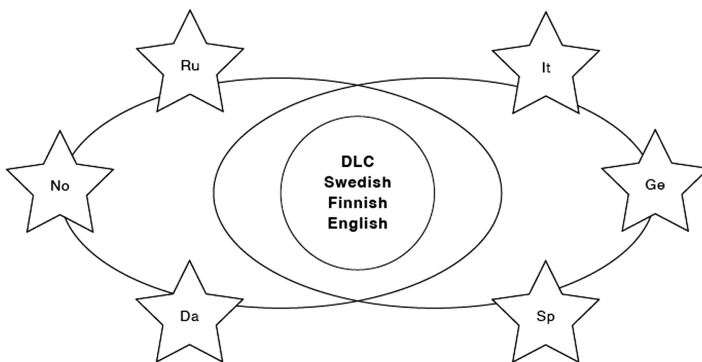


Figure 5.2 DLCs of the participants in Finland (Ru = Russian; No = Norwegian; Da = Dari; Sp = Spanish; Ge = German; It = Italian)

All six participants mentioned the same three languages (Finnish, Swedish and English) as the most prominent languages in relation to their multilingual practices. Although these three languages form a stable DLC constellation, not all participants self-identified with all three languages and the relationship between the languages was noted to be multi-faceted and subject to change.

The other languages included in the participants' linguistic repertoire are traditional languages within the Finnish national language education curriculum (e.g. German, which has lost its ground in language education during recent years, see e.g. Ministry of Education and Culture, 2017, and Russian and Spanish, which are seeing the opposite trend, i.e. growing interest among Finnish pupils). Only one participant (F1) mentioned Norwegian, but knowledge of Swedish implies that one will easily be able to understand most Norwegian, which is probably the reason why neither Norwegian nor Danish was mentioned by the other participants. Italian is not one of the languages traditionally offered by schools in Finland, but F4 considered Italian to be an interesting language and was therefore interested in learning it in the future. The interest in learning Dari is an unexpected language choice in light of all the other European languages represented in the DLC constellation. In this case, personal relations with families speaking Dari motivated the interest in learning the language.

Linguistic self-identification as a mirror of multilingual practices

The six Finnish participants identified themselves as monolingual (F1 and F2), bilingual (F3 and F4) and multilingual (F5 and F6). Participant F1, who identified herself as monolingual, estimated that, daily, she uses mostly Swedish (70%), English (20%) and Finnish (10%). Although Swedish is her most expedient language, she reported reading in all three languages as well as in Norwegian. English is her language of music, and she recognises that Finnish is a viable option to be widely used in society and she sometimes seeks for opportunities to speak more Finnish.

Excerpt 19.

Swedish with family and friends. English with friends from America and other people who do not know Swedish. We celebrated Christmas in English last year since we had a family from Afghanistan visiting us. I study in Swedish, read in English, Finnish and Norwegian if need be. English I use a lot in music. In [city in Finland] I use Swedish if I do not suddenly get inspired to practise my Finnish. And I have attended youth meetings in Finnish to be able to hear and speak Finnish more. (F1)

The other participant who defined herself as monolingual (F2) called herself monolingual at this point of her life since she uses mainly one language in her daily life. She would not like to call herself multilingual as she seldom uses the other languages in her daily life. When younger, she would also have named herself monolingual but in the future she sees

herself becoming multilingual. In this case, the monolingual lens of F2 seems to depend on both few multilingual practices and language competence. By contrasting, competence does not seem to be in the foreground in F1's mind when she defines herself as monolingual.

Participants F3 and F4 defined themselves as bilingual even though they also use a third language very frequently. F3 sees Finnish and Swedish as her most expedient languages. Daily, she uses Finnish (60%) more frequently than Swedish (40%), has grown up in a Finnish-speaking family and learnt Swedish via Swedish-medium education. When reasoning about her bilingual identity, she motivated her self-evaluation with high language competence in Finnish and Swedish and frequent bilingual practices (Excerpt 20).

Excerpt 20.

In my own studies I speak Swedish. At work I can speak Finnish or/and Swedish depending on what the language of instruction is. In customer service situations, I can serve customers in both domestic languages and be served in both languages. I can participate without problems in both Swedish and Finnish dominated situations and during leisure time I meet both Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking friends, acquaintances and family. (F3)

F4 estimates her daily use of Swedish at 90%. None of the other participants estimated such a high percentage of one dominant language. F4 further noted that both English and Finnish are used approximately 5% daily, but Swedish and English are the languages she identifies with. Like F2, she does not include Finnish in her identity and explained this stance by referring to competence ('even though I am not good in Finnish, I do manage'). However, at the time of the study, she perceived herself to be at the edge of developing a multilingual identity.

Interestingly, the two participants who identified as multilingual (F5 and F6) did not deviate in terms of their percentage daily use of Swedish, Finnish and English, unlike the other Finnish participants. They estimated Swedish to be the most dominant language at the time of the study and regarded their multilingualism as a result of multilingual practices in childhood. F5 learnt Finnish by using the language in his hobby and he spent some early years in an English school in Cyprus where English was the main medium of interaction.

Excerpt 21.

I feel multilingual since I can choose between using Swedish, Finnish and English when needed and I could manage to use one of those languages as my main medium of communication [...] Before school in English or starting a hobby in Finnish I had answered that I am monolingual. I think that I will have little use of Finnish when I no longer have a hobby in Finnish and live in a city where you manage well in Swedish. For a long time already I have had little use of English and I think that my English will be weaker. That's why I think I will be more monolingual in the future. (F5)

In contrast to participant F5, who expressed a flux in linguistic identification, from monolingual in childhood to present perceptions of being multilingual and from multilingualism to anticipated monolingualism in the future, participant F6 described her linguistic identification as bilingual (Finnish–Swedish) in childhood but at present and in the future as multilingual since she uses English daily and thinks that she is ‘doing well’ in all three languages.

Stance towards teacher pedagogy as a mirror of self-experienced multilingualism

Self-experienced multilingualism was very prominent when the six Finnish participants engaged in the fourth theme about their experiences of language and culture in the teaching profession. Both F1 and F2 pointed out the importance of their own experience of multilingualism and interculturalism for inclusion of pupils with other languages than the school’s language of instruction (Excerpts 22 and 23).

Excerpt 22.

An engaged and enthusiastic teacher also activates the class. Thorough experience gives confidence in oneself and one’s knowledge. Experience diminishes prejudices. More experience will put flesh on the bones when teaching and enrich it. Also the approach to students/pupils from another cultural or linguistic background depends on the experiences of the teacher. (F1)

Excerpt 23.

The teachers’ own experience of language and culture [...] is likely to be reflected in the teaching since the more comfortable the teacher is to use languages, the more inclined s/he will be to use those languages that will lead to better teaching. (F2)

In addition, F2 noted that teachers who know several languages may benefit from using all those languages especially if they are able to give instructions in many languages to pupils with special needs. F4 shared a similar attitude towards acting as a language model and stressed the need for cross-linguistic and translanguaging pedagogy (e.g. Cummins, 2019) without confusing the pupils. While a teacher’s language competence seems crucial for successful teaching in language-diverse classrooms according to F1, F2 and F4, participant F3 stressed the importance of positive attitudes.

Excerpt 24.

Teacher’s own attitudes will easily show sooner or later. Pupils as young as in primary school are sensitive to noticing what kind of attitudes the teacher possesses. A professional teacher does not have a negative attitude towards another language or another culture. At least, s/he does not show them during teaching. When teachers have a positive and encouraging attitude it will more easily lead to a positive attitude and ways of thinking among the pupils. (F3)

F5 did not explicitly talk about teachers' attitude but raised teachers' unease as an important aspect for using language-aware teaching methods (Excerpt 25).

Excerpt 25.

In case there are languages that the teacher feels uncomfortable to use, the use may automatically be less visible as the teacher's unease influences how much the language will be used by the teacher. Consequently, the teacher's unease with this language will transfer to the pupils if the teacher does not feel secure enough to give pupils the support they need to learn the language. (F5)

Based upon his own experience of using Finnish predominantly in his hobby F5 believed that his Finnish knowledge will not be a big advantage and visible in his future teaching. On the other hand, he considers that his experiences of another culture in childhood offer him a versatile experience of and a great deal of understanding of different cultures that he thinks he can share with his pupils. In a similar way, F6 shared several pieces of advice on acting multilingually in classroom teaching (Excerpt 26).

Excerpt 26.

English will be there as a base and as a scaffold in case newly arrived children have difficulties with Swedish. Another thing you can do to include the [new] language in the school is to ask the pupils to count 1–10 in a foreign language instead of rhymes about food or teach rhymes about food in another language. One can also display different posters with different languages in the classroom, and try to find material in different languages [...] All these things assist to act in multiple languages. (F6)

Conclusion

In this comparative qualitative study regarding DLCs, we have studied linguistic repertoires, identities and future trajectories. To illustrate the dynamic and fluid nature of multilingualism within education, we used multilingual university student teachers in Cyprus and Finland as target groups.

Analysis of the data from Cyprus showed that minority language speakers and second-generation immigrants have hybrid language identity, perceptions regarding citizenship, inclusion and belonging. They try to assimilate to the target society, but at the same time they have a strong link with the community of residence, with their L1 country, their heritage or their home language. The participants also have hybrid language practice as they use mixed/multiple languages at home and in society. Furthermore, most of the student teachers support linguistically and culturally responsive teaching (Lucas & Villegas, 2011) and pedagogical translanguaging (Cenoz & Gorter, 2020; Cenoz & Santos, 2020). Being emergent multilinguals themselves, due to their life experience, they promote the idea of diversity in language classrooms and that their learners

can become emergent bilinguals or multilinguals, which is in line with previous research by Conteh and Meier (2014).

Among the six Finnish participants, language identification is varied and dynamic in the sense that the participants do not perceive their individual linguistic identification as static but closely associated with age-related life cycles of childhood, school and studies, and the future (see Aronin, 2020). Some of the participants foresee a more monolingual identity later in life, while others assume a growing multilingual identity. In addition, there is a tendency for those participants who have grown up in bilingual Finnish–Swedish homes to readily include Finnish as one of their expedient languages, whereas those with more Swedish-dominant home backgrounds acknowledge the need for use of Finnish but express some doubt about Finnish serving as one of their most expedient languages. Thus, for the simultaneously Finnish–Swedish bilingual participants, it seems that socialisation in Swedish language within Swedish-medium school functions well as a tool to feel secure and comfortable in using Swedish as well as Finnish. English is clearly conceived as the language of (social) media, music, the internet and television, and is presented as a dominant language, albeit not the most expedient language, by all participants. Somewhat surprisingly, there was no consistency between reported daily and frequent use of multilingual practices and self-reported linguistic identification. All six participants reported approximately the same percentage for daily use of Swedish, Finnish and English, but identified themselves differently. In addition, the Finnish participants stress the importance of teachers being comfortable with multiple languages in the classroom and having positive attitudes towards languages (cf. Cenoz & Gorter, 2020). Further, they highlight their own experiences of multiple language use as a fundamental resource for acting appropriately in the classroom.

There are certain similarities and differences regarding the DLC patterns of the student teachers in Cyprus and Finland. It should be noted that English is one of the vehicle languages in both countries, which can be explained by globalisation and the status of English as a worldwide *lingua franca*. In the case of Finland, other expedient languages are Swedish and Finnish, the two official languages of the country. In Cyprus, core components of the DLCs are Greek (both Cypriot Greek and Standard Modern Greek) and the L1s of minority and immigrant students, in particular Romanian, Bulgarian, Lebanese, Arabic, Russian, Ukrainian, Georgian and Armenian, which reflects the complex and unique situation of bilingualism and multilingualism in Cyprus.

The linguistic repertoires and language identities of the participants are closely related with their language trajectories. In Cyprus, immigrant and minority students have rich linguistic repertoires and DLCs based on their L1 origin and multilingual/bilingual environment. Nevertheless, not all students have hybrid language identity. With regard to foreign

languages (e.g. German, French, Spanish), they are few and have only peripheral roles in the DLCs. In Finland, the DLCs are quite stable (Swedish, Finnish and English as the most expedient languages) whereas additional languages are included in linguistic repertoires, consisting of three to five languages. This fact does not preclude some of the students from having a monolingual identity. The students in Finland had a wider range of foreign languages (German, Norwegian, Russian, Spanish, Danish, Dari) than the participants in Cyprus. This difference seems to stem largely from their interest in and possibilities for learning languages at school, alongside personal preferences and social networks.

The results from this study further indicate that the student teachers' DLCs depend on factors such as geographical and social contexts, minority and majority language statuses and their legitimisation, politics, ideology and education, which is in line with previous research conducted by Cenoz and Gorter (2015) and Aronin (2015, 2019, 2020). Via implementing the concept of *longue durée* proposed by Aronin (2020), DLCs seem to be a useful tool for providing insight into diversity, individual dynamic multilingual, multimodal practices of the participants and their life trajectories associated with linguistic, cognitive, physiological and material dimensions. Their personal multilingual experiences, agency and subjective needs and motivations affect their attitudes towards multilingualism and inclusive teaching/learning/assessment (De Angelis, 2011; Haukås, 2016; Heyder & Schadlich, 2014; Jakisch, 2014; Otwinowska, 2014).

A new generation of (language) teachers who daily encounter multiple languages in dynamic ways will have a positive view on multilingualism, will implement multilingual pedagogies and will be able to overcome monolingual ideologies (Alisaari *et al.*, 2019; De Angelis, 2011; Rodríguez-Izquierdo *et al.*, 2020) in teaching and in teacher education programmes (e.g. Alisaari *et al.*, 2019; De Angelis, 2011). Although this experience is no doubt enriching for understanding language diversity, we note that the participants of our study did not explicitly refer to strategies for multilingual pedagogy gained within teacher education (cf. Chapter 4 of this book), nor did they claim to have experienced the role of acting multilingually in professional roles as student teachers.

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