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ABSTRACT

Drawing on recent developments within sociolinguistics, the objective of the current article is to explore how six pre-service teachers (PSTs) discursively positioned themselves and 'the multilingual' across two narrating events focused on their lived experience of language. The narrating events were focus groups with other PSTs ($N = 24$) and the participants' linguistic autobiographies ($n = 6$). A narrative analysis across the two events demonstrated how the six PSTs used indexical cues to discursively position themselves as monolingual speakers of Norwegian in contrast with 'multilinguals' as speakers of 'other languages'. Based on these findings, the article argues that the PSTs do not have an adequate understanding or vocabulary to discuss multilingualism in education, leading them to present 'the multilingual' as someone radically different from themselves. However, teacher educators can take PSTs' lived experience of language as a point of departure for discussing multilingualism in education and challenging the traditional understandings of multilingualism.

Introduction

In recent decades, sociolinguistics has become increasingly concerned with the fluidity and dynamic qualities of language and multilingualism (Heller 2007; Pennycook 2010). This shift has challenged traditional understandings of monolingualism and multilingualism (Makoni and Pennycook 2007, 2012; Otheguy, García, and Reid 2015, 2019; Wei 2018). In the context of teacher education, researchers have asserted that it is necessary to prepare pre-service teachers (PSTs) to appreciate multilingualism and enable them to capitalise on the linguistic resource students bring to the classroom (García and Kleyn 2013; Kleyn 2016). Hence, I argue that it is imperative for teacher educators to understand how PSTs position themselves in relation to multilingualism in general and to students' multilingualism in particular. Based on this argument, the current article investigates how six PSTs discursively position themselves and 'the multilingual' across two narrating events about their lived experience of language.

Understanding narrating as an activity, I take a performance-based approach to analysing what the PSTs in this study accomplished through narrative trajectories across narrating events (see Bamberg 2007). In this article, I define narratives as 'sequences with a specific order, temporal or otherwise, which takes it beyond description; and by a particularity that distinguishes it from theory' (Squire, Andrews, and Taboukou 2013, 13).

In the following, I first describe the Norwegian context of the study. Then I present recent developments in sociolinguistics and present two key concepts for this article: *linguistic repertoire* and *lived experience* of language. Next, I elaborate on the study, before I present the narrative analysis across the two narrating events. In the final section, I discuss the potential for exploring PSTs' lived experience of language in teacher education to challenge PSTs' traditional conceptualisations of multilingualism.

Norwegian context

In order to contextualise the experiences narrated in the PSTs' representations of their lived experience of language, it is necessary to provide an overview of the linguistic situation in Norway. From a traditional understanding of multilingualism, linguistic diversity in Norway can be identified on at least four levels: First, Norway is characterised by the prominent position of local dialects and no widely accepted standard of speech. Thus, speakers of Norwegian use their own dialect not only in familiar and private situations, but also in situations that are more formal. For instance, dialects are commonly used in media, education and parliament. Despite this openness to dialectal variation, there exists a clear dialect hierarchy, where different dialects are assigned various degrees of prestige (Sollid 2014). To account for the dialectal variation in Norwegian, two written standards exist: Bokmål and Nynorsk. Bokmål was derived from the traditional Danish written standard used during and following the Danish–Norwegian union (1380–1814), while Nynorsk was developed in accordance with Norwegian dialects. In 2016, only a minority of 12% of students in Norwegian schools used Nynorsk (Statistics Norway 2017). Second, the indigenous Sámi languages and Norwegian sign language are recognised as co-official languages in addition to Norwegian, and three national minority languages (Kven, Romanés and Romani) are granted certain protections (Øzerk 2016). Third, all students are required to learn English from grade one, and they have the opportunity to learn a 'second foreign language' throughout secondary school (Krulatz, Dahl, and Flognfeldt 2018). Finally, recent immigration has contributed more than 200 additional 'minority languages' (Wilhelmsen et al. 2013) without particular legal protection, the most prevalent being Arabic, Lithuanian, Polish and Somali (Statistics Norway 2019).

Despite this linguistic diversity, Norwegian education is characterised by a strong ideology of equality understood as egalitarianism and sameness, which leads to an emphasis on commonalities rather than diversity (Chinga-Ramirez 2017). In a much-referenced article, Gullestad (2002) described a rigid dichotomy between 'Norwegians' and 'immigrants' in public discourse and highlighted the paradoxical demand for immigrants to 'become Norwegian' although 'it is tacitly assumed that this is something they can never really achieve' (59). Since Gullestad's article was published, the polarising discourse towards 'immigrants' in Norway has not diminished (Eriksen 2017). Similar dichotomies can also be found in language policies and discourses concerning multilingualism. Sickinghe (2013) noted that Norwegian language policies imply that 'multilinguals' are 'persons with another mother tongue than Norwegian' (87). Additionally, Sickinghe (2013) reported that upper secondary students discursively constructed 'multilingual students' as 'being students with an immigrant background and potentially lacking Norwegian skills' (Sickinghe 2016, 504). This is also reflected in other studies from Scandinavia. For example, Daugaard and Laursen (2012) reported that:

> Bilingualism is looked upon in terms of a lack of competences in Danish and in terms of an individual's – or the individual's parents' – place of origin, thus linking bilingualism to a certain part of the immigrant population and invoking images of an inherently impoverished group or even an abnormal phenomenon. (103)

These findings suggest that there is a need to investigate further how Norwegian PSTs position themselves in relation to 'the multilingual' in order to challenge traditional conceptualisations of multilingualism.

Challenging conceptualisations of multilingualism

Within the field of sociolinguistics, an increasing number of researchers question traditional understandings of language (Blommaert and Rampton 2011; Heller 2010; Makoni and Pennycook 2007). For example, Makoni and Pennycook (2007) have claimed that 'languages do not exist as real entities in the world and neither do they emerge from or represent real environments; they are, by contrast the inventions of social, cultural and political movements' (2). Sociolinguists see language as heavily embedded in social activity, location, movement, interaction and history, and therefore as continuously developing and changing (Busch 2017b; Makoni and Pennycook 2012; Wei 2018).

As an extension of these developments, traditional understandings of 'multilingualism' as two or three monolinguals in one have also come under criticism (Arnaut et al. 2016; García 2009; Otheguy, García, and Reid 2019). The continuous linguistic and cultural negotiations taking place in contemporary societies have led Wei (2018) to conclude that we are entering a post-multilingualism era, where language is reconceptualised 'from the conventional notion of speech and writing to a multilingual, multimodal and multisensory meaning-making resource' (27). As a response to the post-multilingualism era, researchers have proposed 'multilingual franca' (Makoni and Pennycook 2012) as an alternative to traditional conceptualisations of multilingualism. Makoni and Pennycook (2012) described multilingual franca as an understanding of the speaker's languages as 'so deeply intertwined and fused into each other that the level of fluidity renders it difficult to determine any boundaries that may indicate that there are different languages involved' (447). From a multilingual franca perspective, one considers each individual's composition of diverse communicative resources as reflecting particular experiences different from those of anyone else (Makoni and Pennycook 2012). Consequently, describing speakers as monolingual or multilingual becomes futile. Rather, all speakers have a linguistic repertoire made up of all of their communicative resources (Blommaert 2010; García and Wei 2014).

Busch (2017a, 53) expanded the concept of the linguistic repertoire and stated that it 'cannot simply be considered a toolbox or a reservoir of competences but should be conceived as a space for potentialities linked to life trajectories' (Busch 2017a, 53). An individual's linguistic repertoire is continuously constructed and reconstructed in response to the needs and challenges the individual faces throughout a lifetime. She explains:

> The linguistic repertoire reflects the synchronic coexistence of different social spaces in which we participate as speakers, and it points diachronically to different levels of time. It not only points backward to the past of the language biography, which has left behind its traces and scars, but also forward, anticipating and projecting the future situations and events we are preparing to face. (Busch 2017b, 356)

This conceptualisation of the linguistic repertoire includes the speaker's emotionally and bodily experiences with language – the *lived* experience of language – in addition to other semiotic resources. Busch (2010, 2017b) argued that emotionally charged experiences, of either well-being or discomfort, are inscribed into the linguistic repertoire. These experiences contribute to determine the potentialities of how the speaker can draw on different resources of the linguistic repertoire under various conditions.

As the understanding of the linguistic repertoire has changed, so have other previously established linguistic concepts. Particularly relevant for this article, the concept of dialect has undergone a reconceptualisation (Beal 2018; García 2009; Pennycook 2018), and researchers have concluded that 'dialects, like languages, are ideological constructs' (Beal 2018, 169). García (2009) suggested that the term dialect should be considered just another component of a speaker's integrated repertoire of semiotic resources.

The recent developments in sociolinguistics presented in this section, challenge the dichotomy between monolingualism and multilingualism and expand the traditional view of the linguistic repertoire to include the lived experience of language. In accordance with a multilingual franca perspective, all speakers should be considered multilingual, with complex linguistic repertoires,

including multifaceted lived experiences with language. This perspective provides greater opportunities to identify the potentiality in all PSTs' previous experiences when they encounter multilingual classrooms. In the next section, I describe how I investigated PSTs' understandings of multilingualism through an analysis of how PSTs discursively position themselves and 'the multilingual' across two narrating events about their lived experience of language.

Study and context

In this section, I first describe data collection and participants before I present how their narratives developed across narrating events and how I conducted the narrative analysis.

Data collection and participants

The focus groups and collection of linguistic autobiographies were part of a study on PSTs' experiences with field placement in multilingual classrooms. I invited PSTs in their first year of teacher education from two teacher education institutions in Norway to participate in focus groups. Norwegian teacher education programmes constitute an integrated 5-years master's programme. Many PSTs enrolled in these programmes have recently graduated from upper secondary education, which was also the case for the participants in this study. Twenty-four first-year PSTs volunteered to take part in the study and six participants provided their linguistic autobiographies. They participated in three to four week long field placements in six different schools characterised by a linguistically diverse student population. All of the participants had grown up with Norwegian as their home language, which reflects the general recruitment to teacher education in Norway (Dahl et al. 2016).

I conducted seven focus groups with 3–4 participants in each group. The focus groups took place towards the end of the PSTs' first field placement or the following week. The focus groups were semistructured, with three main topics: The PSTs previous experience with language and multilingualism, their experiences from field placement, and a discussion of three prepared vignettes. The data presented in this article is taken from the first topic. The discussion of the first topic prompted several 'small stories' (see next section) about their lived experience of language, which I will further analyse in this article. I recorded and transcribed the focus groups. Since the focus groups were conducted in Norwegian, I translated the examples provided in this article into English.

After the focus groups, I contacted all participants via personalised e-mail and invited them to narrate their linguistic autobiographies. In the invitations, I described the text as their 'personal language history'. I mentioned several examples of 'experiences with language', such as languages and/or dialects spoken at home and in school, as well as particular individuals or situations that stood out when they thought about their own experiences with language. However, this explanation might have been too vague for some of them, which potentially prevented them from writing their own text. Table 1 provides an overview of the participants who both participated in focus groups and provided their linguistic autobiographies. The names are pseudonyms chosen by the participants.

As the table shows, I collected six linguistic autobiographies from the participants. Stine, Pernille and Nelly had participated in separate focus groups, while Tiril, Steinar and Olivia had taken part in

Table 1. Participants and data.

Participant	Duration of focus group interview	Length of linguistic autobiography
Stine	47.32 min	1146 words
Pernille	47.06 min	1093 words
Nelly	63.23 min	122 words
Tiril	62.41 min	335 words
Steinar	62.41 min	138 words
Olivia	62.41 min	612 words

the same focus group. All of the participants chose their own pseudonyms. My contact with the PSTs and their linguistic autobiographies were in Norwegian. I translated all of the extracts from the focus groups and linguistic autobiographies presented in this article. In the analysis, I traced the narratives of the six authors of linguistic autobiographies across the two narrating events.

Narratives across narrating events

Busch (2017a, 52) stated that, although 'lived experience of language can hardly be observed from an outside perspective, it can be approached through first-hand accounts' (52). Thus, linguistic autobiographies and a narrative approach to analysis seemed appropriate. Chase (2018) described a personal narrative as a distinct form of communication that 'is meaning making through the shaping of experience' (549). Chase further explained that a personal narrative is 'a way of understanding one's own and others' actions; of organising events, objects, *feelings, or thoughts in relation to each other;* of connecting and seeing the consequences of actions, events, *feelings, or thoughts* over time' (549, italics in original).

Recently, narrative researchers have become increasingly concerned with the interconnectedness of narrating events, leading De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2015) to conclude that 'narrative events cannot be understood without looking at the communicative chains into which they are inserted' (10). This realisation has increasingly led researchers to analyse narratives as chains of narrating events, rather than discrete events. Through such an approach, one can trace how 'individuals move along chains of narrating events that occur in different spatio-temporal locations' (Wortham and Rhodes 2015, 161). In this article, I analyse what Bamberg (2007) and others have described as 'small stories'. Small story narratives include 'repeated content or themes spread out across interviews or other data' (Squire, Andrews, and Taboukou 2013, 8). Hence, I consider the small stories reported in this article as interconnected and part of greater narrative trajectories.

In the article at hand, I focus on two narrating events: (1) focus groups with PSTs in connection with their first field placement and (2) participants' linguistic autobiographies narrating their lived experience of language. In both these events, I asked the PSTs to describe their previous experiences with language and multilingualism. The two events were separated by time, space and modality, yet linked through repetition of theme and acts of discursive self- and other-positioning. Analysing how the PSTs discursively positioned themselves and 'the multilingual' across the two narrating events allowed me to identify an emergent narrative trajectory that accomplished a particular social function.

The analysis of data for this article began with an initial reading of the narratives about the participants' lived experience of language in the focus group transcripts and linguistic autobiographies. Through this initial reading, I noticed the repeated positioning of themselves as 'monolingual speakers' as a contrast to the 'multilingual speaker'. Next, I returned to each example of self- and other-positioning and identified how the PSTs discursively positioned themselves and their students. Drawing on Bakhtin (1981, 1984, 1986), Wortham (2001, 70–75) described five types of cues that narrators use to index particular positions. In Table 2, I present the five indexical cues and provide a brief definition and an example from the data to illustrate how the indexical cues were identified.

The five indexical cues presented in Table 2 are important for identifying how the participants accomplished the self- and other-positioning in their narratives. For the first indexical cue, references and predications, Nelly's reference to herself as a speaker of a dialect illustrates how references to objects or individuals contribute to categorising the object or individual in certain ways. Next, I exemplify meta-pragmatic verbs with Stine's use of the verb 'to leave' when describing her grandfather's language shift away from the local dialect. Due to the relative high status of dialects in Norway, the verb 'to leave' can be interpreted as a negative move on her grandfather's part. The next indexical cue, quotations, contributes to position the quoted person based on how the quotation is presented. In Pernille's narrative, she quoted her peers as being ignorant, since she was obviously a proficient writer of Norwegian, although she usually wrote according to a different written standard

Table 2. Indexical cues, adapted from Wortham (2001).

Type of cue:	Definition:	Example:
References and predications	Concern the identification of things in the world and the way these things (e.g. persons, objects, events, actions) are categorised (e.g. neighbour, teacher, partner).	'I speak quite dialectal'. (Nelly's comment during focus group)
Meta-pragmatic verbs	Categorise linguistic actions (e.g. negotiating, arguing, blaming).	'He left much of the dialect he had' (Stine's linguistic autobiography)
Quotations	Position the quoted person, for example through the narrator's style, vocabulary or translanguaging, or simply by selecting the particular quote and how it is framed.	'Peers would ask me questions like "How is it for you to write in Norwegian?"' (Pernille's linguistic autobiography)
Evaluative indexicals	Draw on stereotypes and shared normative expectations about different social groups to describe indexically how individuals behave.	'From here, I have brought with me some dialects when we moved to the town, although most people spoke Bokmål' (Steinar's linguistic autobiography)
Epistemic modalisations	Define the narrator's status or perspective in the narrative.	'We who are from Norway, we have Norwegian as our mother tongue' (Nelly's comment during focus group)

than her peers (Nynorsk rather than Bokmål). Evaluative indexicals draw on stereotypes about different social groups. In Steinar's linguistic autobiography, he drew on stereotypes about 'the town' and the standardised 'Bokmål' as contrasting to the countryside and the authentic dialect. Finally, epistemic modalisations contribute towards defining the narrator's status or perspective in narratives. In the example of epistemic modalisation, Nelly defines her status as belonging to a defined group through the use of the pronoun 'we'.

Pre-service teachers' self- and other-positioning

The analysis of the six PSTs' lived experience of language across two narrating events revealed a multifaceted self-positioning, where the PSTs positioned themselves both as members of a community of authentic speakers of Norwegian and as subjects to othering based on their linguistic identity. Furthermore, they positioned 'the multilingual' as someone radically different from themselves, associated with an immigrant background, low proficiency in Norwegian, and academic challenges. In the following, I provide extensive examples of how the PSTs accomplished these three acts of positioning and discuss their implications.

Self-positioning as authentic speakers of Norwegian

As extensive research has confirmed, language and identity are closely intertwined (Busch 2012; Coetzee-Van Rooy 2014; Kroon and Kurvers 2019). The affective belonging one perceives to have to a language community is often of great importance to the subject, although this sense of belonging might be dynamic and volatile (Bürki 2019; Hajek and Goglia 2019). This perceived belonging was an important theme in the PSTs' narratives of their lived experience of language. The participants conveyed this perceived belonging by positioning themselves as members of a community of authentic speakers of Norwegian.

Olivia, Pernille and Tiril opened their linguistic autobiographies with the phrase 'I grew up in a small village in […]' while Nelly wrote, 'My upbringing has been in a confident family that speaks dialect and are proud of that!' Similarly, Steinar stated, 'I have grown up in a family that uses dialect'. By referring to their home villages and families, these participants predicated belonging to rural communities, associated with traditional dialects and authenticity. The PSTs' positioning of dialect is similar to how Swiss dialects of German are positioned as markers of Swiss ethnic identity with great symbolic capital (Bürki 2019). The PSTs further elaborated this theme through extensive references to how their grandparents, parents and siblings spoke. To illustrate this point is the following

excerpt from Stine's linguistic autobiography, where she was particularly concerned with explaining why she did not speak the local dialect of her hometown (see transcript system in the Appendix).

Extract 1: Stine's linguistic autobiography, received 16 September 2018

1	On my father's side, none of my grandparents have a higher education, and that is why
2	they have not left their dialect, like my grandparents on my mother's side have. My
3	grandfather on my mother's side comes from [name of county], but when he studied social
4	welfare he left much of the dialect he had. My grandmother on my mother's side did the
5	same when she studied to become a teacher. Thus, my dad grew up in a household with a
6	dialect, while mum has been surrounded by an academic language from the beginning.
7	Yet, neither of my parents speak a very strong dialect, and that is probably why my brother
8	and I do not have a strong dialect either. None of us can speak the local dialect even though
9	we have lived here our whole life.

In Stine's narrative, dialect is something one can have (line 5–6) or not have (lines 7–8). Her father had grown 'up in a household with a dialect' (line 5) and was thus in possession of dialect, while her mother had grown up in a household of 'academic language' (line 6). In Stine's narrative, 'academic language' functioned as an evaluative indexical associated with the absence of dialect. Stine consistently referred to the process of shifting from the local dialect to a more standardised, academic language as 'leaving their dialect' (Norwegian: *legge fra seg dialekten*; lines 2 and 4), which functions as a meta-pragmatic descriptor indexing loss or submission. Through her narrative, not to have a dialect was evaluated as a deficit, most explicitly in the phrase: 'none of us can speak the local dialect' (line 8). Still, by referencing her grandparents (lines 1–4) and her lifelong connection to her local community (lines 8–9), Stine predicated her authenticity as a member of that particular community.

In a focus group, Nelly told a story of when she was teaching home economics during her field placement and the students struggled to understand her dialect (see Extract 2).

Extract 2: Focus group 23 November 2017: Jenny, Lars, Nelly and Sofie

10	Nelly:	I speak quite dialectal. So, well, but it's a little- When you stand there in
11		the kitchen and they [the students] don't understand what wheat flour
12		[Dialect: *kveitemjøl*, as opposed to standard: *hvetemel*] is. That goes for
13		everyone, it's not something- It's worse for those who are not very
14		proficient in Norwegian to understand us who speak dialect. But at the same
15		time, there are many from around here who don't understand what I mean
16		although I'm from here.
17	Researcher:	Yeah, and what did you do then?
18	Nelly:	Well, I repeated it, so I said wheat flour [Dialect: *kveitemjøl*] and showed
19		them what it is.

In this narrative, Nelly referenced herself as someone who speaks 'quite dialectal' (line 10), which she stated she was 'proud of' in her linguistic autobiography. Furthermore, the use of the pronoun 'us' (line 14) functioned as an epistemic modalisation, which positioned her as belonging to a community of authentic speakers of the local dialect. In contrast, she referenced the students as being deficient either because they 'are not very proficient in Norwegian' in general (lines 13–14) or because they did not speak the authentic dialect of the area (lines 14–16). Subsequently, she explained how she repeated the dialectal word '*kveitemjøl*' instead of using the standard '*hvetemel*' (lines 18–19), which could have supported the students' understanding. Again, Nelly evaluated 'dialect' as something positive, while viewing the absence of dialect as something negative (e.g. 'it is worse', line 13).

Wei (2018) argued that the increased mobility of the twenty-first century 'gives rise to the feeling of temporariness and momentariness, but also a strong desire for connectedness and sharedness' (20). In the PSTs' narratives about their lived experience of language, this strong desire for connectedness to their town or village of origin and to their family was evident. Furthermore, these descriptions underscored the strength of traditional linguistic categories in the PSTs' minds and the importance of their association with the local linguistic communities for their identity (e.g. Wei

2018). This association also led the six PSTs to draw clear boundaries between themselves and individuals they defined as speakers of other dialects or languages.

Self-positioning as subjects to othering

In the six PSTs' narratives of their lived experience of language, all of them devoted space to describe experiences of feeling out of place based on their linguistic repertoire. In support of this notion, Busch (2017b, 340–341) stated that 'the underlying experience that one's own linguistic repertoire no longer "fits" is […] one that not only occurs in extreme situations but is shared (though often in a very attenuated form) by all speakers when experiencing dislocation' (340–341). In their narratives about relocation and their subsequent experiences of not 'fitting in', the participants positioned themselves as subjects to othering from their surroundings.

Several linguistic autobiographies included experiences of feeling out of place in situations when the individuals had either moved or changed schools. Olivia explained that, when she started attending a lower secondary school in a neighbouring village, she 'often got comments about how [she] spoke less dialect than the others in the class'. In this short extract, Olivia quoted 'the others' as criticising her through the meta-pragmatic descriptor 'got comments', which conveys a sense of feeling attacked. Furthermore, Stine wrote, 'I guess it was not until I started studying […] that I noticed that I actually have some dialect words'. In line with her previous positioning as a member of her small town community, her reference to her 'dialect words' predicated her connection to this authentic community as opposed to her peers at university. In these narratives, Olivia and Stine positioned themselves as different from the others and as subject to attenuate forms of othering.

This sense of mismatch between one's own linguistic repertoire with the new context was most evident in Pernille's linguistic autobiography. She had grown up in a small village in the Vestlandet region of Norway, where Nynorsk was used as the written standard of Norwegian. In her linguistic autobiography, she wrote the following:

Extract 3: Pernille's linguistic autobiography, received 2 October 2018

20	When I started at the university that was the first time I experienced that I stood out
21	as a writer of Nynorsk. All of a sudden, I was the only writer of Nynorsk in the
22	classroom. Peers would ask me questions like 'How is it for you to write in
23	Norwegian?' as if that was not something I did every day. What they meant was
24	Bokmål, but the phrasing did not help a girl from Vestlandet who already felt a little
25	different […]. There is just something about the fact that I am the one who always
26	has to adapt. I have to write assignments in a written standard that is not my own. I
27	mean that the language is a part of the identity, and often it feels like it is not my
28	words when I write in Bokmål. It makes the writing process take longer, not
29	necessarily because of the language in itself, but because it is not 'me' who is writing.

In her narrative of commencing her university education, Pernille positioned herself as being in a vulnerable position by using evaluative indexicals, such as 'the only writer' (line 21) and 'a girl from Vestlandet' (line 24). Furthermore, her use of quotes accentuates her experience of being subject to a form of exclusion or othering. In the sample quote about writing in Norwegian (lines 22–23), she positioned herself as being othered by her peers. When stating that 'I am the one who always has to adapt' (lines 25–26), she again positioned herself as being subject to a mundane form of othering. She concluded by drawing a strict line between the language she identifies with, Nynorsk, and 'a written standard that is not my own' (line 26).

For all of the PSTs, the experience of leaving their village or hometown behind and commencing their university education in a bigger city made them aware of their own linguistic repertoire. This experience aligns with what Busch (2017b) suggested when she argued that 'speakers only realize that they have such a thing as a linguistic repertoire when they are made aware that those around them perceive them as "speaking another language"' (343–344). Although the experience of dislocation was painful for Pernille, Steinar narrated this experience in a more positive manner. Steinar

described how he had 'picked up' and 'collected' words and dialects as a result of him moving from the countryside to a nearby town (see Extract 4).

Extract 4: Steinar's linguistic autobiography, received 7 January 2019

30	When it comes to dialects, I have grown up in a family that uses dialect. From here, I have
31	brought with me some dialects when we moved to the town, although most people spoke
32	Bokmål. Through school, I got friends from different villages around town. These friends
33	used different dialects and words that I brought with me, and that is why I have managed
34	to collect these by using them along the way. It depends on whom I speak to, but if there
35	are some speaking in a strong dialect, I respond to them in a strong dialect too.

Similar to the narratives from Olivia, Pernille and Stine, Steinar drew a clear line between himself and his new surroundings through the use of evaluative indexicals: 'town' (line 31) and 'Bokmål' (line 32) are associated with 'most people' (line 31). Through the indexical 'dialect' (line 30), he positioned himself as belonging to the countryside. However, rather than describing his linguistic development in terms of something he was forced to do (cf. lines 25–26) and describing linguistic varieties in dichotomist ways (cf. lines 27–29), Steinar narrated his linguistic development through the use of more positive meta-pragmatic verbs. He referenced his linguistic development in terms of 'collecting' (line 34) dialects and words, which he stated he 'brings' (line 31 and 33) with him and uses in interaction with others.

Steinar's description provides seeds of an understanding of language as a fluid and dynamic entity, which changes over the course of time and as a result of spatial mobility (Makoni and Pennycook 2012; Wei 2018). Yet, Pernille's narrative highlights that this change is not always uncomplicated. As her linguistic autobiography indicates these processes are closely connected with the speaker's identity and self-perception (e.g. Busch 2012).

Other-positioning of 'the multilingual'

So far, I have described how the six PSTs positioned themselves as belonging to particular communities of speakers of authentic Norwegian and as subjects to othering from people they positioned as belonging to other speech communities. As evident in the examples presented above, self-positioning often entails other-positioning because most positions are complementary and accomplished simultaneously (Harré and Van Langenhove 2010). In the following, I accentuate the PSTs' positioning of 'the multilingual' as a contrast to their self-perceived monolingualism in their narratives of lived experience of language.

Analysis of the two narrating events revealed that all of the PSTs had been in contact with various language varieties. Specifically, all of them had at least learnt English in school, while Stine reported to have learnt both German and Spanish as well. Furthermore, in her linguistic autobiography, Stine described a close childhood friend she referred to as a 'German–Norwegian bilingual' while she later became friends with a 'Bosnian–Norwegian bilingual' individual. Both these friends taught her some phrases in their respective languages. At the time when she narrated her linguistic autobiography, she also had a boyfriend born in Thailand. Nonetheless, she noted in her linguistic autobiography that 'I have often thought that it would have been nice for me to have more languages around me in my upbringing'. This comment could be interpreted as an implicit reference to her self-perceived monolingual upbringing, despite her apparent experience with numerous languages.

Stine was not the only PST positioning herself as having a monolingual background. Therefore, in the focus groups, I explored the participants' narratives of their monolingualism and asked them directly if they could potentially consider themselves multilingual. When confronted with this question, the six PSTs invariably discussed the role of English in their life. For example, Pernille first rejected that she was multilingual because 'we don't use English to communicate every day. It's something different'. In this utterance, she used 'we' as an epistemic modalisation positioning her as part of a monolingual group of speakers of Norwegian together with her peers in the focus group. When she then followed up with the statement 'it's something different', she distinguished

her own and her peer's 'monolingualism with English' from some sort of *true* multilingualism. 'Multilingualism' seemed to function as an evaluative indexical, but it was still unclear what this term indexed for the PSTs.

When I questioned Pernille's narratives about her monolingualism and pointed out that she used both of the written standards of Norwegian (Bokmål and Nynorsk) and therefore could potentially be perceived by others as being multilingual, she first laughed and then said, 'I have never thought about that. Hm … it is a written language, so maybe [I am] a little [multilingual]'. In a different focus group, Olivia also hesitated to label herself as 'multilingual' (see Extract 5).

Extract 5: Focus group 22 November 2018: Olivia, Steinar, Tiril and Tore

36	Olivia:	Yes, I find it difficult to imagine. Because I have learned many languages, but
37		when I think about multilingual, I think about those who use many languages in
38		their everyday life. Whereas I use Norwegian, they might use Norwegian and
39		another language. Er … Yes.

In this extract, Olivia referred to 'those who use many languages' (line 37) as a contrast to 'I use Norwegian' (line 38). In all of these examples, the PSTs positioned their own competence in Norwegian and English as something different from the linguistic competence of 'the multilingual'. These examples show that the PSTs did not consider themselves nor their peers as multilinguals despite their proficiency in several languages and dialects (e.g. Makoni and Pennycook 2012).

From the examples above, the PSTs seemed to share an idea about who 'the multilingual' (e.g. line 37) might be. From Nelly's response below, one might find traces of this typical 'multilingual' and better understand what this term indexed. She first stated, 'I wouldn't think about myself as [a multilingual], no. I would maybe think about multilingual like you have a mother tongue, another mother tongue'. She went on to explain:

Extract 6: Focus group 23 November 2017: Jenny, Lars, Nelly and Sofie

40		Well, for example. At least when I think about the classroom. Then the multilingual is the
41		one from Poland and has Polish as mother tongue. We who are from Norway, we have
42		Norwegian as mother tongue, and then we have learned another language. So that's …

In her statements, Nelly drew a clear boundary between 'we who are from Norway' (line 41) and 'the multilingual' (lines 40–41); between those perceived to belong to the 'Norwegian majority' and those perceived as 'the multilingual student'. Using 'we' as an epistemic modalisation, she positioned herself and her peers as members of a monolingual group, as opposed to 'the multilingual' (line 40).

In the focus groups, the six PSTs argued that 'multilingualism' was a concept indexing speakers of 'another language' (Olivia) or speakers with 'another mother tongue' (Nelly), and they seemed to consider their own multilingualism as 'something different' (Pernille) from 'the multilingual'. These evaluative indexicals contribute to position 'the multilingual' as someone different – an 'other', while they can maintain the position as monolinguals. When narrating her experiences from field placement, Olivia explained that she came to realise that some of the students who they might have categorised as monolinguals were, in fact, multilinguals (see Extract 7).

Extract 7: Focus group 22 November 2018: Olivia, Steinar, Tiril and Tore

43	Olivia:	There are more [multilinguals] than we think. I mean, there are more that- Like,
44		multilingual, but that we might not notice.
45	Tore:	Mhm.
46	Olivia:	Because they are really fluent … in Norwegian and yes. So you wouldn't think
47		that. I have noticed that in both of the classes. That- That one hasn't really
48		considered that many of the multilinguals are actually multilinguals because one
49		can see that they are similar to the others.
50	Tore:	Because they look Norwegian, sort of?
51	Olivia:	Not necessarily, but in- Yes, so we have- Yes, and in both classes there is maybe
52		one student that sticks out a bit. That you can hear from their language that they
53		speak broken, but also that they are moving about, give up easily, don't pay
54		attention.

In this extract, Olivia revealed how she identified 'multilinguals' in the classroom. Although they 'are similar to the others' (line 49), 'you can hear from their language' (line 52) and tell from how they behave in class (lines 53–54) that they are multilingual. The Norwegian word '*gebrokkent*' (English: 'broken') is, according to Kulbrandstad (2007), a concept with clear negative connotations, used to describe immigrants' incorrect or inauthentic Norwegian. In this context, the use of '*gebrokkent*' can be defined as a meta-pragmatic adverb that helps categorise the multilingual students' speech as incorrect and inauthentic. Furthermore, she referenced three negative classroom behaviours that she associated with the multilingual students in her class (lines 53–54). This was supported by both Pernille and Tiril in their respective focus groups, where Pernille described students who would chatter in a language she could not understand in class, while Tiril described 'unrest' in the classroom from students who did not immediately understand her instructions.

Busch (2012) argued that 'every assignment to a category is also inevitably a misrecognition, because it is based on the establishing of a boundary which excludes or marginalizes something else' (508). Across the two narrating events, the six PSTs discursively positioned themselves, both individually and as a group, as authentic speakers of Norwegian and monolinguals (with at least English as an additional language). They implicitly and explicitly contrasted this positioning with 'the multilingual' as a speaker of 'other languages' or of 'broken' Norwegian, occasionally associated with negative classroom behaviour. This dichotomy reflects the findings from previous research on the concept of 'multilingualism' in Norway (Sickinghe 2013, 2016), as well as research related to the dichotomy between 'Norwegians' and 'immigrants' (Eriksen 2017; Gullestad 2002). In the concluding section, I discuss the potential for exploring PSTs' lived experience of language in teacher education to challenge PSTs' traditional conceptualisations of multilingualism.

Discussion and concluding remarks

This article set out to explore how six PSTs discursively position themselves and 'the multilingual' across two narrating events about their lived experience of language. The analysis shows that the PSTs employed several indexical cues to position themselves as belonging to particular communities of speakers of authentic Norwegian. Furthermore, they positioned themselves as subjects to othering from people belonging to other speech communities. Finally, they positioned 'the multilingual' as someone different from themselves and from a non-Norwegian background. In an educational context, the term 'multilingual' consequently indexes immigration, limited proficiency in Norwegian and even problem behaviour in school.

Busch (2017a) described the linguistic repertoire as 'a space for potentialities linked to life trajectories' (53). The lived experience of language contributes to determine speakers' opportunities to draw on different parts of their linguistic repertoire under various conditions. When the PSTs consistently position 'the multilingual' as someone radically different from themselves, they disregard their own complex and multifaceted linguistic repertoire, which includes varied and multifaceted lived experiences of language. These experiences hold the potential to challenge a traditional understanding of 'the multilingual', instead supporting a more fluid and dynamic conceptualisation of the linguistic repertoire (Makoni and Pennycook 2012; Wei 2018). Consequently, a strict boundary between monolinguals and multilinguals is not always a meaningful distinction. This means that also PSTs who self-position as monolingual have experiences that they can capitalise on when working in multilingual schools. Teacher educators should not disregard these experiences when preparing PSTs to teach in multilingual classrooms; instead, educators should capitalise on the potential in these experiences.

When preparing PSTs for working in multilingual schools, teacher educators should take the PSTs' lived experience of language as a point of departure. As apparent in the narratives presented in this article, not all PSTs are fully aware of their multilingual repertoires, which will prevent them from connecting their lived experience of language to their teaching practices. Thus, a first step is to support PSTs in developing greater awareness about their own linguistic repertoire and the linguistic

diversity that has surrounded them in their upbringing and schooling. Furthermore, PSTs should attend to the situations in which they have had to adapt their speech in accordance with the expectations in the given context (Athanases et al. 2018). The PSTs' narratives on dislocation provided several opportunities for such discussions. Such an examination can spark a conversation about what language use is appropriate and acceptable in different circumstances, which in turn can lead to a better understanding of the socio-political dimension of language use and language education. This can potentially contribute to a more inclusive school environment for all students – regardless of linguistic background.

Second, PSTs need guidance in developing a vocabulary to facilitate such conversations (Athanases et al. 2018). A greater understanding of speakers' linguistic competence as a repertoire rather than distinct and separate languages will potentially challenge their perception of 'the multilingual' as radically different from themselves. By identifying as multilinguals themselves, PSTs may be able to value multilingualism as a resource.

In conclusion, the PSTs' narratives about their lived experience of language indicated that even individuals who perceive themselves as monolingual and with a limited linguistic repertoire acquire diverse experiences with language throughout their lives. Although these PSTs' experiences of comfort and discomfort in relation to language are more attenuate than those of students who have experienced that their multilingualism has been ignored by the school, these experiences offer opportunities for teacher educators to develop PSTs' awareness and understanding of multilingualism in education.

The analysis of the PSTs' narratives as trajectories of small stories across narrating events contributes to connect what appears to be isolated and arbitrary comment as, in fact, part of larger patterns. This particular approach to narrative analysis demonstrates how linguistic cues in talk and text presuppose earlier cues, which should contribute to our understanding of individual narrating events as interconnected with past events (Wortham and Rhodes 2015). It would benefit future studies to collect a larger sample of linguistic autobiographies about PSTs' lived experience of language. Then, it would be possible to explore a greater variety of experiences from PSTs with different backgrounds. Moreover, it would be interesting to compare the lived experience of language of PSTs brought up in linguistically minoritised homes with the experiences of PSTs from dominant language households.

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Appendix

Transcription system

-	Sudden stop
…	Pause
[]	Information inserted by the researcher to clarify
[…]	Part of the extract removed