Possible Teaching Selves: The Challenges of Becoming a Bilingual Teacher

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ARTICLE INFO

ABSTRACT

Recent research on L2 motivation and language learning psychology has shifted its focus from the learner to the educator and drawn the figure of the language teacher into the limelight for the first time (cf. Kubanyiova, 2012; Mercer & Kostolous, 2018). This paper presents some of the qualitative insights into the L2 motivation of two undergraduate teacher trainees who, thanks to a recent impulse for bilingual education in Spain, have been faced with an expected L2 certification proviso in order to graduate and teach. The qualitative study reported here, part of a larger (N 520) mixed methods study employing the lens of the L2 Motivational Self System (Dörnyei, 2005, 2009) to examine L2 learner profiles in Spain, attempted to identify both ideal and ought L2 selves in the discourse of the two interviewees. To complement the possible self view of these L2 learners, Lave and Wenger's (1991) concept of 'legitimate peripheral participation was also employed. The interview data provides insight into the effects of a decision to implement a bilingual education system with little apparent empathy for the time and effort required by undergraduates to comply with the L2 certification requirements. Through this study, we see how these two participants struggle to conflate ideal teaching selves with ought L2 teaching selves.

Key words: Possible Selves, Ideal L2 Self, Ought L2 Self, Bilingual Teaching, Legitimate Peripheral Participation

INTRODUCTION

This paper presents qualitative insights into the L2 motivation of two undergraduate primary teacher trainees who took part in a mixed methods study on L2 motivation in the Region of Murcia, in southeast Spain. The study employed the lens of the L2 Motivational Self System (Dörnyei, 2005, 2009) and attempted to identify both ideal and ought L2 selves among the undergraduate population studied. The overall aim of this final qualitative phase of the study was to complement the quantitative analysis by exploring some of the lacunas that inevitably remained after an examination of the quantitative data. This aim was guided by Ushioda's (2001: 96) claim that "motivation may be defined not in terms of observable and measurable activity, but rather in terms of what patterns of thinking and beliefs underlie such activity and shape students' engagement in the learning process".

Recent years have seen Spain's education system undergo a dramatic change. With the aim of improving the country's foreign language skills in response to the Council of Europe's (2001) call for plurilingualism across its member countries, in 2004 the central government opted for a bilingual English-Spanish curriculum in primary and secondary education. The 17 Autonomous Communities of Spain commenced implementation of the policy in differing degrees and in the context that concerns us, the Region of Murcia, the bilingual programme commenced in primary schools in the 2009-2010 school year. To qualify as a bilingual teacher the initial requisites in this Region (these also varied across the country) were to certify the equivalent of a B2 level as established by the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR).

Given the above-mentioned language certification proviso for teachers, one of the hypotheses that guided this study on L2 motivation was that an ought L2 self, a linguistic self-guide deriving from the desires and hopes of important people or entities in our lives (Dörnyei, 2005, 2009), would be particularly identifiable among the primary teaching undergraduates in our sample, as opposed to the detailed ideal L2 self visions of students who had, for instance, chosen to take an English major at college (Brady, 2019). In this aforementioned study, the quantitative evidence did suggest that an ought L2 self was not as easy to identify as initially assumed and the data suggested that a sense of pressure to acquire the L2 was more easily detected through the concept of instrumentality prevention, as has been suggested in other similar studies (e.g. You & Dörnyei, 2016; Teimouri, 2016). Nonetheless, the numerical data—in Ushioda's (2011: 12). words "abstract bundles of variables"—still seemed quite

cold and difficult to interpret clearly. Taking the view that this educational imposition in Spain must surely be somehow perceived as an external obligation by some students, the interviews discussed here were designed to target students' perceptions of this sense of pressure and its sources as well as to explore any alignment of an ought L2 self with their ideal L2 using selves and, indeed, their ideal teaching selves.

For the interview data analysis, to complement the components of the L2 MSS, we also drew on the post-structuralist view on learner identity as seen from a view of imagined communities to complement the imagined selves that we hoped to identify in these two participants.

IDENTITY AND SELF IN L2 MOTIVATION

'Identity', according to the Longman Dictionary of Language Teaching and Applied Linguistics is "a person's sense of themselves as a discrete, separate individual, including their self-image, and their awareness of self. In the Encyclopaedia of Applied Linguistics, the concept of how we are seen by others is brought into the definition: "the way we conceive ourselves as individuals or as members of groups, or, indeed, the way others perceive and categorize us".

Identity as a construct in the L2 learning domain emerged originally in the conceptualisation of integrativeness, which was understood as a sense of one's own identity with or closeness to a specific target community. However, despite more than 50 years of research since its conception, the dominant rationale of the integrative motive as a propeller of L2 learning behaviour had remained a thorn in the side of many researchers and adversaries of the notion. The essence of the debate — that it *is* possible to be a successful language learner without an intense desire to join, become part of and adopt the behavioural characteristics of a particular language community — has become even stronger in the face of the phenomenon of English as a global language, no longer under the ownership of a definable community, and a communication code that is spreading inexorably way beyond geographical frontiers and their associated cultural connotations.

An alternative to integrativeness was proposed in the shape of the L2 Motivational Self System (Dörnyei, 2009). This broad construct of L2 learning incorporates an *ideal L2 self*, an *ought L2 self*, and the further dimension of *the L2 learning experience*. *The ideal L2 self* encapsulates the ideas or visions one may have of oneself using the foreign language in the future. Dörnyei claims an *ideal L2 self* perspective equates to integrativeness in the sense that learners may have ideal selves that are proficient in the L2. From Gardner's viewpoint this phenomenon was interpreted as a desire to become closer to that community; nonetheless, Dörnyei sees this as a future ideal or guide formed through the experiences, hopes and desires of the learner and one that the learner will seek to emulate.

The L2 ought-to self, on the other hand, represents extrinsic influences on the self and incorporates social pressures and obligations or duties related to knowledge of the L2 imposed by external social groups or entities — for instance, the L2 ideals that parents, teachers and significant others have for their loved ones and protégées. Another facet of the ought L2 self comes from the fear of what one may become in life without L2 competence. Dörnyei (2009) here draws a parallel between the ought self and negative instrumental motivation – the preventative focus of avoidance of negative outcomes, e.g. failing to live up to expectations or getting low exam marks. In contrast to its Ideal counterpart, empirical work on the ought self has not led to a consensus on its existence or nature. Csizér and Kormos (2009) stipulate that "the *ideal L2 self* seems to play a more substantial role in determining motivated behaviour than the ought-to self" (2009: 106). They also established that ought selves were indeed primarily socially constructed and, in their sample, largely based on parental encouragement. The ought self, was nonetheless, much less influential on language learning effort than they had hypothesised as they found it had a limited role in predicting the effort undergraduate students invest in language learning, few studies have produced an ought L2 self paradigm considered influential in their samples' L2 motivation (Dörnyei & Chan, 2013, Islam, Lamb & Chambers, 2013, Taguchi et al, 2009). It seems that the problems with the 'obligation' dimension of the L2MSS are twofold: in the first place there is the issue of a difficult to identify boundary between the pressures to learn deriving from external sources and the values, hopes and expectations that are integrated within the L2 *ideal self* vision. In the second place, in certain settings and age groups the components that make up an ought self are distinct, and/or feeling duty bound to learn a language is not a significant predictor of motivation, thus its role within the L2 MSS is still in need of further examination.

PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY AND COMMUNITIES OF PRACTICE

Lave and Wenger's (1991) Situated Learning Theory was also drawn on as an insightful way of contemplating how a newcomer to a professional community negotiates his or her path to gaining the skills and knowledge required for a comprehensive sense of professional identity and legitimate status as a candidate for integration into a community. Legitimate peripheral participation:

> provides a way to speak about the relations between newcomers and old-timers, and about activities, identities, artefacts, and communities of knowledge and practice. A person's intentions to learn are engaged and the meaning of learning is configured through the process of becoming a full participant in a socio-cultural practice. This social process includes, indeed it subsumes, the learning of knowledgeable skills. (Lave and Wenger 1991: 29)

The process of adapting and negotiating identity in order to enter a particular profession posits that learning occurs in relation to 'communities of practice' – moving from an initial peripheral participation to fuller participation through engagement in community activities, interaction with members and gradual alignment of their skills and sense of identity with more experienced members of the community. The interaction with other members of the professional community

also facilitates access to and sharing of resources which, in turn, enriches the capital that the individual requires to progress towards becoming a fully-fledged member.

Kim (2009) and Lamb (2009) examine L2 learners' individual identity under the lens of the L2MSS in conjunction with other current day theories on human agency.in order to scrutinise more closely the influences of the particular community in question. The theoretical backdrop to their investigations centred principally on learning within the post-structuralist perspective of identity in Lave and Wenger's (Wenger, 1998; Lave & Wenger, 1991) situated learning theory and Bourdieu's (1991) social theory. The tenets of these neo-Vygotskian approaches to learning coincide with those of activity theory (Lantolf, 2000) and language socialisation (Kramsch, 2002) in the sense that they view learning and knowledge as a result of negotiation in interaction with others in society. Thus, advancement in knowledge is achieved as the individual progresses through differing contexts of situated learning and adapt to the changes that occur in our relations with others (peer, teachers, authority figures, experts, etc.) throughout this advancement. The term 'communities of practice' is employed (e.g. Kanno & Norton, 2003; Lantolf & Pavlenko, 2001) to make reference to the circles we move in and negotiate learning through.

Dörnyei (2009) establishes a connection between his perception of the power of visualisation or imagination in the construction of the L2 *Ideal self*. and 'imagined communities', brought to the field of second language learning by Norton (2001) and that depict the social, professional or academic circles we may aspire to integrate with yet do not have immediate, tangible possibilities of entering. Lamb (2009) highlights that a key notion for his study is a conceptualisation of identity as 'site of struggle' for the learner in cases where access to a community is not straightforward owing to conflict arising in relationships with members, or threats to the legitimacy of an individual's status within a given community. An individual's agency may be enhanced or constrained both externally —by the frameworks of opportunities and restrictions imposed by others — and internally, through our own psychological make-up (Bourdieu, 1991). From this point of view, parallels can be observed with the externally regulated *ought* and the internally sourced *ideal* self. Kubanyiova (2006, 2012) also draws on these concepts to explore how trainee language teachers develop their mental visions of teaching guides. We sought, thus, in this study to catch a glimpse of the imagined communities of two teacher trainees – one faced with an unexpected requisite which she was unprepared for and another, while somewhat more prepared, also trying to adjust his mental depiction of his future teaching self.

METHODOLOGY

Research Aims

In this qualitative analysis we looked at two individuals' status as newcomers to a teaching profession and their stance as legitimate peripheral candidates (Lave and Wenger, 1991) for entry to what was initially for them the teaching community, but which had suddenly converted to a bilingual teaching community. Lamb (2009) describes the *ideal* and ought selves as being distinct self-regulatory systems and that their impact on behaviour is mediated by the relevance of a particular context to the *ideal*s being aspired to. For undergraduate teacher trainees aspiring to become practicing classroom instructors, yet who had not anticipated using a second language in their practice, readjusting those visions may not be an easy task. The intention thus in analysing the interviews is to examine how two such undergraduates were coping with adjusting their sense of professional identity and future possible or *ideal* teaching selves to accommodate this new imposed condition of bilingual teaching selves, with particular emphasis on their perceptions of the sources of this external obligation.

Interviewee Recruitment

The main criterion for the selection of interview candidates was based on the specific objective of identifying perceptions of societal and *mileu* related sources of obligation to learn English. Therefore, the cohort selected from which to recruit interview candidates was the part of the sample involved in teacher training degrees.

The two interviewees selected from the final shortlist were assigned pseudonyms:
a) Elena: a 24 year-old second-year student of pre-primary education in the state university with a self-reported A2 level of EFL proficiency.
b) Andrés: a 32 year-old third year, primary education teacher trainee, with a specialisation branch in EFL teaching, at the private university. Andrés reported a B1+ level of EFL proficiency.

As one final consideration for recruitment, both interviewees were acquaintances of the researcher and interviewer: Elena was the daughter of a work colleague in the administration section of the Modern Language Department at the private university, and Andrés was as an intern student in the same department. It was felt that some degree of acquaintance would facilitate open communication on personal beliefs and behaviour regarding EFL learning and the governmental imposition for English. The interviewees themselves were not acquainted and were interviewed separately.

Interview analysis

To analyse the interviews, notes were taken immediately after finalising to record any non-verbal gestures and emotional overtones that would not be available in the subsequent transcription of the recordings. These post-interview notes also included immediate impressions on students' responses to avail of the benefits of memory so as to later contrast these with the more reflective analysis carried out with the transcriptions. At a later stage, the interviews were fully transcribed and theme coded by the researcher according to the research objectives, i.e. terms and synonyms that implied pressure or support in learning. The initial "in vivo" codings (Dörnyei, 2011, p. 251) were highlighted in the transcribed text and these were contrasted with those of

two work colleagues as a mode of external code checking (Lynch, 2003, cited in Dörnyei, 2011).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Elena

After an initial explanation of the purpose of the interview and some ice breakers about Elena's studies at university, we turned to Elena's thoughts on the government's imposition to certify English language competence. Elena demonstrates a certain reactance to the topic.

> (1)
>
> I see it as a business (a money racket), people want to make money. I see that it's important to demand it (English) in my degree …. it's in teaching, but I also see other things just as important – like first aid, for instance, and nobody talks about that. I also think that if it's a requirement for us, then it should be a requirement for those who are working, they've been earning for some years, but they (the Educational authorities) target the new ones, like us.… and, that's…that's not fair.

Elena appears quite defensive in her view of the L2 certification imposition. In referring to professionals already in service, she implies that students are 'new' to the community and suggests that it is the practicing or in-service teachers—the 'old-timers', as Lave and Wenger (1991) would call the more experienced within a field of practice—who should have to first deal with this L2 'constraint' in her eyes As deterrents to being able to access a peripheral position on the community, Elena appears to have two main arguments: cost, and her other educational priorities. On the one hand, her reference to the 'money making racket' seems to indicate a degree of indignation at the fact that this will be a drain on financial resources and that others are benefitting from this unwelcome proposition. On the other, she is currently taking an extra-curricular course on first aid, which she sees as an important skill as a future pre-primary teacher but one that does not appear equally significant for the community of practice. The latter is a prime example of how Elena has assessed the skills that may be required of her within the future teaching profession and has established short term goals to improve her professional skill set beyond her curricular activities.

In order to examine Elena's position and feelings as regards her current language skills we talked about her past experiences in learning English. Elena blames the methodology employed in her earlier learning, claiming that her teachers preferred to "teach verbs and vocabulary" instead of oral skills.

> (2)
>
> They explained to us (in class) that orange is written *or – an - je* (*She pronounces the syllables as in Spanish*) and then they say "it's pronounced like this" *orAnge*", and that's it.

Elena is not satisfied with her level of English and this also leads her to question the role of the educational system in English teaching at school:

> (3)
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> For a person that's had English since I was 6 or 7, my English isn't really good –not after 12 years. Something

is wrong in the system. It's not normal, I see people like myself at 20, that have been learning a foreign language since they were 6, and they can't speak…. Something's wrong.

Her observation that others of her age are equally disadvantaged in oral skills in English appears to lead her to blame the system other than herself or her own particular learning abilities. More recent *learning experiences* in her degree do not seem to have improved her opinion on teaching methodology as she has not perceived a meaningful contribution of the lessons to her language skills:

> (4)
>
> ..and …well, I had an English subject in first year of my Degree and we did the same grammar as in secondary school, so, what's that? A….another year lost? And we had a language assistant, they divided us into two smaller class groups. and she would put us in pairs and ask us to talk to each other about a particular topic. Of course, once we were in pairs, we talked in Spanish. about whatever we had done at the weekend. We did the exercises from the book and the teacher corrected them in class.

The 'another year lost' again reflects Elena's desire to acquire the knowledge that makes her eligible for participation in the teaching practice community but that she feels the educational system has not contributed to:

> (5)
>
> It's not right ….they say 'off you go and learn English on your own account' but.if at primary, secondary…. and here, at university, they don't teach me.……something's not working. And, now, all of a sudden, they go … 'mandatory requirement!'. just like that.

There is a sense of indignation that the same educational system having failed in its own responsibility to develop her communicative competence has now turned the onus on Elena to achieve a level of English without support of any type.

The mandatory L2 requirement for teachers actually started to come into force from 2009 with many schools starting to offer bilingual education, and the different autonomous communities progressively established local policies regarding implementation of the new system. Nonetheless, Elena in 2014 was in second year of her pre-primary training studies and did not seem to fully understand the objectives of the policy. This became patent through her questions on the implications of the proviso. For instance, when discussing her opinions on teaching methodology she suddenly interrupts her own line of thought:

> (6)
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> E: "So … if they want us to have English, is it because they're going to get rid of the English 'specialists'? … and …. the specialisation branch of English in primary?

By *especialistas* (specialists) Elena is referring to English language primary teachers who are trained to teach the EFL subject. She wonders what will happen to these specialist teachers who, currently also provide support in schools in bilingual teaching if general area, primary teachers are to use English in their lessons. From the view of communities of practice, this questioning is also a part of Elena's attempt to work out both her professional role and that of

the 'expert' members of the community she will join. Her confusion signifies that the norms and professional practices of the bilingual teaching community are not clear to her. To find out what information she has been offered as a student, the conversation centres on the information offered at her university:

(7)

No, nobody has explained anything, in my university no one has come into class to say "it's mandatory for you to have English at a B1 level to teach", no one, no one. It's word of mouth…one says 'we do', another one says 'we do. but we don't'. People know they won't get a job without a level of English but thanks to word of mouth. They know they may not get a job, but they don't know *why* they need a B1……there's a huge lack of information.

The above discourse is insightful both from the point of view of preparing oneself for a specific professional community and from the point of view of the ought-*ideal L2 self* construct. In both cases knowledge of the practices of the target community are essential to be able to plan and execute short-term and distal learning goals and acquire procedural knowledge both to become legitimate candidates for inclusion in the community and, in line with the premises of an *ideal self* as a motivational force, to construct a vision of oneself as a possible valid member of that community. In this case a future possible or ideal bilingual teaching self. As it stands, Elena's questioning the *why* of the demand suggests difficulty in positioning herself with regard to understanding the bilingual education objectives, as she cannot figure out what exactly the proviso entails for her as a teacher. Her confusion also implies that Elena cannot understand the relevance of English for her future profession. From the point of view of an *ought self*, there appears to be no sense of obligation or necessity to learn English from her educational institution or teachers.

The next question centres on how her classmates are facing the situation of obtaining certification:

(8)

In my class people know they have to work to get a B1, they know…. and they're enrolling in language schools or thinking about enrolling in language schools, even if it's at some stage of the future. Though. some people are trying to put it off ….well. I think it's because of a lack of motivation…. a lack of motivation from seeing that we have subjects in English and we come out of them the same ….

Two dimensions are worth highlighting in this extract of the interview. On the one hand Elena perceives that some of her peers are acknowledging that a plan of action is necessary; one that will require effort, and some are putting plans into action or contemplating future action, while others perhaps procrastinate. On the other, Elena also appears to be relating low motivation with lack of progress in L2 achievement in the English subject in her studies. In other words, the particular language subject she is referring to has not satisfied her expectations as regards her L2 skill development and has not contributed to her acquiring status as a legitimate member of her future professional community or her future

L2 self; this she see as unhelpful as regards L2 motivation. She elaborates on her peers' plans to certify their English.

(9)

There are two types of reactions. Some say 'It's not a problem, we'll get our degree and then … well if we don't get hired, we'll get the certificate'. Or the other type of person in second year that says 'I'm going to get the certification now and then I have it'… Maybe they'll have forgotten their English by fourth year but they say 'at least I have it' So they are the two most common types 'I'll sort it out in third or fourth year, when I have time' or 'I´ll do it now so I have it'

Although we cannot make conjectures about the rationale behind Elena's classmates' plans to acquire an L2 qualification or whether future intentions are subject to perceptions of time, effort, ability or a combination of all, we can perceive that there is a strong consensus within the peer group in that action must be taken. In some cases it is more immediate, and in others reserved for a future date, perhaps more convenient to the individual in question and for reasons we can only imagine– as they may be due to constraints in any number of variables, e.g. time, finance, ability, etc.

The next stage of the interview deals with Elena's own plans to certify her English.

(10)

…yes, I'm going to the language school at the university next year.,next year…. I *have* to. If it were up to me I'd do it more slowly, more relaxed. but I have to, I have to get a certification right now.

An *ought self* has emerged in Elena's rationale for her plans, i.e. "I have to", emphasised also by a clear indication that she would like to be able to do things differently. There is a sense of urgency in her words. However, she adds:

(11)

I also see that there's a difference between Cambridge exams and the Official School of Languages They say the Cambridge certificate won't do, only the Official School …. a teacher told me that.

In this extract, Elena makes reference to confusion about which language school certification will be considered valid for accreditation purposes. It was indeed a fact at the time of the study that no official announcement had been made on which certification would be valid for sitting state exams to obtain a teaching profession. This lack of consensus on behalf of the educational authorities as to what EFL qualifications would be accepted to work in a private or semi-private school or for enrolment on Master degree programmes is another source of confusion for candidates for the teaching profession.

With regard to seeing herself in the future as an L2 user, Elena, throughout her discourse, does show glimpses of a developing L2 teaching self in her references to what she has experienced as a classroom learner as shown in the following excerpt.

(12)

E: And this year I have the subject of English for pre-primary education. And that subject is taught in Spanish. The teacher made the mistake of asking us how we wanted the class, in English or Spanish, and everyone

said Spanish….but we do the practice for the morning assembly in English…. and practice a lot how to talk to the children … we repeat a lot and the teacher corrects us.that's good……. Yeah, it is good, we do a lot of practice for the pre-primary classroom, she (the teacher) shows us how to talk to the children … Yeah, it's good.

Elena sees that practical skills are being offered to her and can situate this learning as relevant to the development of her future teaching skill set. This observation is in stark contrast to her previous comments on repetitive grammar teaching, exercises and feigning dialogue on topics, which she does not feel contributed to her developing L2 self. Her work placement experience of the professional community has brought further development in her thinking as we can see in (13):

(13)

Ah, and another thing…. I've been doing work placement and …. the specialist (the English teacher) doesn't know how to deal with pre-primary children. In my two work placements and the summer school, the teachers that came in just put videos on for the children …… it's English hour and they put on that song '*one little monkey jumping on the bed'* and that's it and they're like that. (Elena crosses her arms). I think a person with a lower level of English but a good methodology would teach the class much better.

As a student of pre-primary teaching Elena is developing her conceptual and procedural knowledge on her future profession and can see that the 'expert' of the language teaching community does not follow the practices and norms she perceives as essential within the profession and that she is striving towards attaining; here we see a glimpse of her ideal teaching self in her judgment implying that as an efficient professional she would do things differently. Despite her admitted lack of English skills, she opines that SLA methodology is more than providing input for the class. She also indirectly makes a stand for her own professional eligibility in that with a lower level she could actually teach more effectively.

In the following excerpt we talk about Elena's perception of competent English speakers around her and any role model she might have regarding language skills.

(15)

I. Do you know anyone that you admire for their ability to learn languages?
E: In my class?
I: In class, among friends, people in other degrees … I mean. in your surroundings how many people do you know who have an acceptable level of spoken English?
E: acceptable… (she laughs) in my surroundings …. my mother and that's about it.
I: But you probably know quite a few people.
E: Yeah, my old friends…. classmates …. friends that study other stuff …. Yes… I have a really good friend who has spent time in Dublin and. her sister who spent a year doing Secondary in California ….of course. the sister's level is unbelievable …. I say …pff. after two years away, she has a better level than me after 12 years studying …… it's the oral that fails in Spain … they teach the grammar. they teach the vocabulary… they teach you

everything… what they don't teach you is how to sit in front of a person and speak. that should be the first thing they teach and help us get rid of the embarrassment … the way they teach …correcting you all the time.makes you feel more embarrassed as you go on … you're afraid to make a mistake. you're afraid they'll say 'Gosh what bad pronunciation you have'. and as the years go on. the sense of ridicule gets worse. and you think 'I don't want to speak in public in another language.

Elena, as an outgoing university student, seems to have a large circle of friends and acquaintances, yet she found it hard to bring to mind two people with admirable oral skills in English. Her mother is taking English lessons, and while this may be indicative of some degree of family support, the fact that she did not continue to speak of her mother's influence may suggest that she does not perceive direct relevance to her particular situation in her family circle. Elena attributes her friend's admirable oral skills to time spent abroad and she is quick to return to the deficiencies of L2 teaching methodology in her own defence of her lack of L2 oral competence. Should this friend be her only reference for 'good' oral skills, there appears to be little support in Elena's immediate social and educational spheres to indicate that learning can indeed occur without spending time in an English speaking country.

We now turn to the second interviewee, Andrés and his particular view on the educational requisite for language competence.

Andrés

Andrés is a third year student of the Primary Education Degree at the private university, although slightly older than his classmates at 34. Teacher training is his second degree as his first line of studies was in a completely different area of environmental studies. He had taken the branch or itinerary of English as a Foreign Language subject within his degree, meaning that he would be qualified to teach EFL as a primary school subject and not only a bilingual subject.

I started by asking Andrés about his own English learning:

(1)

A: I've always found it easy, I've got some problems, but…. yeah, it's been easy for me.
I: So, can you see yourself teaching. using English in a classroom.
A: Yes… of course…. yes.

Although we do not go into detail at this point on an explicit vision of himself as a teacher, Andrés is very unhesitant in his reply, almost surprised at the 'obvious' question, giving the impression that he has no doubt as to an ability to see himself in language teaching classroom. At a later stage of the interview he refers to some extra-curricular lessons in EFL that he teaches to 6 to 12 year-olds in the evenings and how his experiences make him reflect on his future profession.

(2)

it's strange, some things come up that I know I used to know…vocabulary and stuff… and my mind goes blank and … I think. wow. but I used to know that…

and you're afraid …. you think… I have to be prepared to go into a classroom …

A further glimpse into Andrés' Ideal L2 (teaching) self is evident in this desire to appear competent in an EFL classroom and the fear of not attaining this objective in front of a class or not being able to provide a good model of English for the children perhaps driving, in part, his desire to improve his English. The use of '*I have to*' in the above extract appears more related to his *ideal self* than derived from an external source indicating an inner sense of responsibility to improve his English. In contrast to Elena's '*I have to get a B1 now*'', there seems to be an underlying tone of a desire to be an effective language teacher as opposed to an obligation to produce a certification. This notion is further reinforced when we turn to the perception of his peers on the L2 proviso.

(3)

I: So how do you see that it's a mandatory requirement now on behalf of the educational authorities? How are people taking it?

A: I see that that's stupid … to think like that. it shouldn't be seen as an imposition by the government … it should be an imposition for yourself … you're going to teach English so you have to have a knowledge of English.

I. So do you think that people feel that sense of responsibility … as internalised?

A: No, not at all… people see the language as necessary…they understand that ….they know that …but they see it as a demand from the market not a personal necessity… it's external.

Andrés' views appear mildly condescending in contrast to Elena's more empathising tone when she speaks of her peers. He seems to clearly distinguish his full endorsement of the linguistic proviso from the external imposition he perceives in his peers' attitudes. Even at this early stage of the interview Andrés also appears more knowledgeable, more informed than Elena about the specifics of the mandatory qualification. In terms of legitimate peripheral status, he seems to have a more advanced awareness of the mechanisms required for L2 accreditation in the teaching community.

(4)

I: And do you think that people see that it will be hard to work without English?

A: Yes, they do… people know that.and the other day. some news came out from the Education board that the only thing that is valid is the (official) School of Languages…. to teach English …. to teach other subjects… to be a bilingual teacher …. teaching another subject in English it's ok to have a Cambridge or ……. ehmmm there's another one too … I don't know…Trinity maybe.

I: Ah, really?

A: Yes, I see it as stupidity… it's the same…whether I teach English or teach another subject …I need an excellent level of English to be a teacher ….I almost see it as more important to have a good level as a bilingual teacher than as an English language teacher…. because you're supposed to talk all the time in English …I see it as it's silly…. ehmm. me personally.

Andrés has a clearly internalised sense of responsibility as a future language teacher and appears to have a much firmer stance than Elena with regard to the skills required for integration into the community of language teachers. He is derisive of any differentiation between the communicative competence required to teach English as a foreign language and that required for teaching content and language integrated learning (CLIL). He does not believe that the linguistic policy should differentiate the two. He is however, equally derisive of the lack of effort on behalf of the government to provide for language certification.

(5)

A: "I see it as a money making racket – in the Official Schools of Languages (EOIs)…but it's an unintelligent policy. 'If I make you go to the Official School of Languages, but I don't provide more staff, I don't provide more places.… so they're creating a bottle neck.and then there's another problem, in the EOI they only provide up to a B2 …right?

I: well, yes, some EOIs have requested permission to teach up to a C1 but only a few

Both interviewees have coincided in using the expression *negocio* a business or a money maker' to refer to the procedures for foreign language qualifications in the teaching profession. The repetition of the derisive *negocio* could suggest the case that this view of the legislation is common among the university student population. However, the tone of Andrés' argument does not appear as defensive as Elena's. While he is disapproving - seeing the move on the part of the Ministry of Education as badly planned in order to cope with the multitude of students that may enrol either for lessons in the EOI or to sit language exams — Andrés actually believes the imposition is not strict enough:

(6)

They should demand more, I don't think that it's right that any teacher of any speciality can get a B2 and is considered qualified to teach English …it should be a C1… minimum.

Andrés implies that his ideal of an English teaching professional involves a highly competent language user and there is a further implication in his conjecture that he himself feels both willing and able to reach a C1 level of English. In Situated Learning Theory, we are told that a community of practice engages people in mutual sense-making – about the enterprise they're engaged in, about their respective forms of participation in the enterprise and Andrés appears to be very involved in this 'sense-making'. He is not only informed as to the procedures in place for certification but, clearly judgmental on the nature and significance of the L2 requirements.

Curious as to the sources of Andrés' knowledge on L2 qualifications — he does not ask any questions as Elena had done — we then discuss how he has informed himself on the different procedures and requirements. The following exchange makes it clear that Andrés is proactive is seeking information:

(7)

I: Some people seem confused about what is required exactly. so how do you know all this?

A: There's a blog called (…)… by a guy who's an intern.
I: So you get information from there?
A: Of course.". and the news …
I:. And. do you think other students do the same?
A: No… not at all.
A: I also know that any private or semi-private school right now will ask for a B2……. Even if you're a PT (pedagogical therapist) and you're not going to teach… ever… you have to have a B2."

Through his online research, Andrés is making a concerted effort to consult with 'experts' or old-timers in his target community to align his knowledge with those involved in the teaching profession. In terms of the L2 MSS theory on an effective *ideal self*, he has put procedures in place, not only to consolidate his L2 skills, but also to know what is expected of him as a teacher. In the lack of a physical community of old timers that he could participate in, he has taken advantage of the possibility of engaging with the community through the resource of blogs and, undoubtedly, other forms of technology and news media. For newcomers, in the words of Lave and Wenger (1991 pp. 108-9), "the purpose is not to learn *from* talk as a substitute for legitimate peripheral participation; it is *to* learn to talk as a key to legitimate peripheral participation, and Andrés shows his efforts in this vein.

From the discussion so far, we see that Andrés appears to have internalised an *ought L2 self* and gives no indication that he feels a sense of external imposition. I was interested to know how he felt this had come about. I asked him about his parent's role in his sense of responsibility:

(8)
A: "My parents! …well.your family surroundings are important.but … they don't have any language… they only have basic education. that's all they had.
I: But do you feel they brought you up to be responsible?
A: There's no doubt that your family environment influences that …and your personal life. all your experiences … if you've left the university and started to work… like me…I've been working for thirteen years … that gives you a degree of responsibility to …. you know.
I: Ah, I see, is that a question of maturity?
A: Yes. you work… then you get married… a house …a car. and you spend a lot of money to get another degree … you can't risk it …. You can't mess around.

In the above exchange, Andrés, while attributing some relevance to his family's contribution to his development as a person, does not go into detail and quickly changes the track of the explanation to his life experiences. He is quick to attribute the process of internalising a sense of duty to the various stages of work and marriage to his *ought self* development. Incidentally, neither of the participants dwell on their family's role on their language learning, and any attempts on my part to return the question of family are resisted by the interviewees switching the conversation back to themselves, suggesting that while general personal support may exist in the family circle, there does not appear to be a significantly proactive role on behalf of the family in the two interviewees' L2 learning attitudes and beliefs or on their chosen professions.

Regarding Andres' *ideal L2 self*, we turn to the question the steps he takes to improve his own English and his future plans.

(11)
I: So, how can you see yourself. let's say. in three years' time?
A: Well, I don't know really. it depends on the state exams next year. if I pass. and I get a job. then I'll make plans to do something else. I don't want to stop there. but once I have a salary sorted out. I might do another post graduate course to keep studying.

Andrés is clearly ambitious, although we cannot guarantee that his plans will work out. His self-confidence leads me back to the question of his ability to see himself teaching primary children. Curiously Andres' reply (13) is now more cautious compared to his initial 'of course' at the start of the interview:

(13)
A: mmm, well, I'm not so sure.I haven't done my work placement yet so I really don't know what that will be like or if I'll be good.
I: But you teach and you have a good level of English
A: Yes, but it's a different level of teaching, and the extracurricular lessons are more relaxed, not regulated teaching, I don't know. I'll have to see. Maybe I won't be so good in that age group at that level.

Andrés' caution shows that he does not automatically extrapolate his current teaching experiences to the constraints of a formal primary classroom, which gives the impression that he is a reflexive person who also takes lack of relevant experience into account. In contrast to Elena's more confident account of her perceptions of a pre-primary classroom, which she has experienced, Andrés still lacks real world knowledge in this regard. This insight shows a developing ideal L2 teaching self that still resorts to imagination, but in doing so Andrés is aware that there may be aspects he cannot confidently anticipate without real experience that will enable him to assess his suitability or capability in a particular classroom. Andrés, in this sense, appears full aware that he is indeed on the periphery of the bilingual teaching community.

CONCLUSIONS

In this article, we have attempted to highlight two different perspectives of two teacher trainees faced with an unexpected linguistic proviso when nearing the end of their university education. Elena and Andrés have clearly shown different positions regarding the L2 proviso. While both appear to have developing ideal teaching selves and both clearly reflect on their knowledgeable skills base for their future professions, the Ideal L2 teaching self is only apparent in Andrés' discourse and behaviour as he clearly self-regulates his progress towards his ideal L2 teaching self — he autonomously engages with available resources to gain information, and interact with old-timers in the community, and is improving his language skills. His *ought self* appears as fully internalised and enhanced by feelings of competence. Indeed, a sense of competence, mastery of the subject mat-

ter and intrinsic motivation underlies Andrés' discourse at all times.

Elena, on the other hand, confesses to an inability to generate the highly desired L2 teaching vision owing to her current insecurity in her language skills, and she is slightly resentful of the demand on newcomers to the community of a challenge that she feels the 'experts' should also face. The language proviso also interferes with the priorities she has established to improve her skill set beyond her basic educational qualification bringing to mind Dörnyei (1998) and Dörnyei and Ushioda's (2011) concerns for parallel multiplicity or conflicts of priorities at a given time in an individual's learning path. Contrasting Elena and Andrés' attitudes and self-regulatory behaviour, which subsumes feelings of (in)competence, it is clear that there are parallels with Deci, Vallerand, Pelletier and Ryan's (1991, p. 327) view on self-determination theory in that:

When a behaviour is self-determined, the person perceives that the locus of causality is internal to his or her self, whereas when it is controlled, the perceived locus of causality is external to the self. The important point in this distinction is that both self-determined and controlled behaviours are motivated or intentional but their regulatory processes are very different.

Elena and Andres' stories bring to light a future consideration for research into learner motivation under the umbrella of the L2 motivational self system in that the dynamics of L2 selves can be supported or hindered by possible or ideal professional selves with the *ought self* in one field and the *ideal self* in another. The view offers support for a deeper consideration of desires and responsibilities in overlapping self domains and the dynamics of interaction between an *ideal L2 self* and other *ideal selves*, in particular, in the case that a more developed professional Ideal teaching self must work in conjunction with a newly constructed and underdeveloped *ideal L2 self.*

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