

A Sociolinguistics of the South

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First published 2022

ISBN: 978-1-138-63138-0 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-1-032-01946-8 (pbk)

ISBN: 978-1-315-20891-6 (ebk)

Chapter 10

What Can Southern Multilingualisms Bring to the Question of How to Prepare Teachers for Linguistic Diversity in Canadian Schools?

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DOI: 10.4324/9781315208916-14

10 What Can Southern Multilingualisms Bring to the Question of How to Prepare Teachers for Linguistic Diversity in Canadian Schools?

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Introduction

This chapter explores the contribution knowledge and expertise of southern and marginalized communities can make to the question of contemporary multilingualism in Canadian schools. Specifically, we consider what southern multilingualisms and diversities can bring to understanding questions of student diversity, the persistence of linguistic coloniality (Wiley, this volume) and to the development of teachers and curricula that offer equitable linguistic and epistemic access. All three authors of this chapter are involved in teacher education within the same university in the Canadian province of Saskatchewan. However, we come to this question from different positions: One of us, Rubina, is Bangladeshi, a PhD candidate, and a sessional lecturer in teacher education. Another, Russell, is Michif (also referred to as Métis) and a teacher educator in the Saskatchewan Urban Native Teacher Education Program (SUNTEP), which is an Indigenous teacher education programme. The third, Andrea, is a white settler Canadian and a teacher educator in a mainstream teacher education programme. In spite of our cultural and geopolitical differences, we are connected by our experiences with European imperialism and settler colonialism, albeit in different ways, and disturbed by the ongoing colonial project in Canada of suppressing language diversity through education. One common concern we share is the question of how to prepare pre-service teachers to teach in multilingual Canadian schools. In this chapter, we join others who use the term ‘southern’ not in a geopolitical sense but rather as a way to refer to individuals and communities that have experienced historical oppression (Santos, 2018). Through our use of the term ‘southern multilingualisms’, we are signalling our goal of exploring the practices, theories, and views of multilingualism held by communities on the periphery. In reflecting on teacher education in Canada, our chapter considers the possibilities of ‘mutual enrichment of different knowledges and cultures,’ what Santos (2018: 275) describes as the ‘raison d’être of the epistemologies of the South’. This chapter explores how the notion of southern multilingualisms can be used as a theoretical refocus to the preparation of teachers for linguistic diversity in schools.

Before we begin to consider this question, it is important to provide some details about the Canadian linguistic context, as well as the local context in which we work. While global patterns of migration and mobility are increasingly altering language ecologies, Canadian multilingualism is not new. Prior to European contact, Indigenous societies in the territory currently known as Canada were characterized by a high degree of diversity, and interrelated economies often necessitated the learning of multiple languages (Iseke, 2013). During the late 1800s and early 1900s, English settlers from eastern Canada and Great Britain made up about half of the population of Saskatchewan, then part of what was called the Northwest Territories. They were known as homesteaders. Saskatchewan joined the Canadian confederation in 1905. Until 1914, the Dominion Lands Act required that any new homesteaders be British subjects. After 1914, the Act was amended to allow other Europeans to homestead land. The federal government's active immigration campaign led to large numbers of immigrants coming to Saskatchewan from non-English-speaking European countries. By 1931, immigrants made up 34.6% of the province's population, and Saskatchewan had one of the highest immigration rates in Canada. Because of the desire at that time for Canada to serve as an overseas replica of England, the provincial government made many efforts to flatten linguistic differences through public education. Arguments from Mignolo and Walsh (2018: 195) are useful in problematizing these endeavours:

Obviously, Western Christian Europeans had the right to build their own image of the world, like anybody else who had done so before them. But it was an aberration to pretend and act accordingly as if *their specific image of the world and their own sense of totality was the same for any— and everybody else on the planet*. The strong belief that their knowledge covered the totality of the known brought about the need to devalue, diminish, and shut off any other totality that might endanger an epistemic totalitarianism in the making.

(Mignolo & Walsh's emphasis)

Part of producing linguistic homogeneity in Canadian schools, and the nation, involved ensuring linguistic homogeneity among Canadian teachers so that they could accomplish the Canadianizing of the West. Consider, for example, the following statement by J.T.M. Anderson (1918: 153), director of the Saskatchewan Department of Education who went on to be the premier of the province:

The only logical way of training and educating our New-Canadians to be loyal and patriotic citizens is to place before them in the public schools strong types of Canadian manhood or womanhood. This must be insisted upon in every foreign settlement throughout our Dominion. It will not suffice to place a half-educated 'foreigner' in charge of this work, as has been done in too many cases.

In Saskatchewan schools, as in other Canadian provinces, the legislative administration of public schools was another way in which English was imposed on non-Anglophone communities (Mackey, 2010). For some 75 ensuing years,

the provincial government of Saskatchewan used the Education Act to prevent the use of any language other than English as a language of instruction in public schools in the province. In 1969, the Canadian government established legal equality between English and French, and the Saskatchewan Education Act was also amended shortly after to permit the use of French and eventually other languages as mediums of instruction (Mackey, 2010). In spite of these changes, English remains predominant in Saskatchewan today. In Saskatchewan, as in other settler societies and former colonies around the world, 'linguistic practices in the wider society still reflect the monolingual and monocultural colonial legacy' (Chimbutane, this volume). In the 2016 Canadian census, 82% of the Saskatchewan population claimed English as their mother tongue (Statistics Canada, 2018). In this context, the shift to preparing student teachers to support rather than suppress multilingualism represents a significant departure. Seventy years of legislatively imposed English use in schools has, in effect, normalized English-only discourses in Saskatchewan schools and teacher education. If we had to characterize some of the ways that teachers have traditionally approached school multilingualism in our local Canadian context, it might be safe to say that their role vis à vis language has been to focus on the development of English language proficiency (oral and written), actively suppress the use of other languages and dialects, and correct any influence from other languages and dialects on the production of English through speech and language pathology. Canadian schools and teacher education programmes have traditionally promoted a subjective and monolithic national 'standard' English to the exclusion of other languages and other English varieties (Sterzuk, 2011).

In modern-day Canada, English, and French currently share official language status, but these two languages are not the only immigrant languages spoken in the country. According to the 2016 Canadian census, the most current statistics available, linguistic diversity is on the rise in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2017). In fact, 215 languages were reported as home languages or mother tongues (Statistics Canada, 2017). These 215 languages included English and French but also many other immigrant languages, as well as over 60 Indigenous languages. The number of Canadians who speak multiple languages in the home is also on the rise. In 2006, 14.2% of Canadians reported speaking at least two languages at home. By 2011, that number had grown to 17.5% of the Canadian population. In 2016, 19.4% of Canadians indicated that they spoke more than one language at home. The most recent census also provides information about the status of Indigenous languages in Canada. In 2016, 1,673,785 people self-identified as First Nations, Métis or Inuit. According to the same census, of those 1.6 million people, 213,225 reported an Indigenous mother tongue and 91,250 people reported an Indigenous language as a secondary language. These numbers reveal a great deal about the threatened state of Indigenous languages in Canada. Despite government efforts to invent Canada as a society founded by two linguistic nations (Haque, 2012; Haque & Patrick, 2015) and efforts to suppress Indigenous and other minority languages (Ball & McIvor, 2013; Mackey, 2010), Canada continues to be linguistically highly diverse. Yet in a context that

continues to suppress such diversity (Wiley, 2014), there is an option to reimagine what southern multilingualisms might bring to a broader decolonial project of preparing student teachers for and opening their minds to linguistic diversity.

Saskatchewan today finds itself at a historic juncture. Recently, new languages have increased in Saskatchewan due to immigration (Statistics Canada, 2012). The 2011 census found 70 different languages spoken as mother tongues in Saskatchewan, and 16 were new to the province. And while our brief historical overview demonstrates that multilingualism is not new, it also shows that diversity has repeatedly been reinvented as a problem rather than a resource at various moments throughout this province's history. The present-day danger is that new solutions may be sought with little regard to historical experiences (also discussed in the chapter by Reynaldo Macias in this volume). Given these changes in local demographics, teacher education in our context might fall prey to what Heugh (2017) describes as the 're-discovery of multilingualism'. In northern settings, descriptions of linguistic diversity as a form of 'super-diversity' (Vertovec, 2007) potentially reinvent contemporary multilingualisms as a new phenomenon requiring new solutions. We take the position that neither settler nor Indigenous multilingualisms are new, and there are existing southern multilingualisms that we can draw on to help teacher candidates develop a pluralistic orientation towards linguistic diversity.

Because of our awareness of growing challenges to northern canons of knowledge (Mignolo, 2002, 2009, 2011), as well as the legitimacy of Indigenous epistemologies and their place in higher education (Battiste, 2013; Battiste & Henderson, 2000; Kovach, 2010), we are committed to recognizing the value of southern epistemologies (Santos, 2018) in our work in teacher education. Drawing on writing in the area of southern multilingualisms provides us with a way forward in our shared goal of determining ways to 'dispel the mirage of homogeneity' produced by early Canadian ideologies (Heugh, 2017: 210). We explore what southern multilingualisms and diversities can bring to understanding questions of student diversity, the persistence of linguistic coloniality (Wiley, this volume), and the development of teachers and curricula that offer equitable linguistic and epistemic access. In our consideration of this question, the rest of our chapter is divided into two main sections. We begin by describing the types of teacher education available in our local Canadian context, as well as the types of linguistic diversity student teachers will encounter in their teaching careers. Next, we move into a discussion of southern multilingualisms and teacher education. We explore this question with current examples, and we also discuss future projects. In our context, changes we make to teacher education have the potential to 'offer restoration and re-establishment of order through a 're-placement' of southern multilingualisms and through them diversities of knowledge, belief and ways of being' (Heugh, 2017: 210). Because the types of teacher education programmes we work in are varied, as are our teacher candidates and the learning contexts in which they will work, we want to consider some of the uses of southern multilingualism for working with settler and Indigenous teacher candidates.

Teacher Education in Canada

In Canada, education falls under the jurisdiction of provincial governments and is monitored and assessed at a federal level by the Council of Ministers of Education of Canada. All elementary and secondary teachers in Canada have university degrees, and teacher education is available in all Canadian provinces and territories. Depending on the jurisdiction, Canadian teachers generally hold a minimum of one of the following three types of educational backgrounds: a four-year Bachelor of Education (B.Ed.), a combined three-year Arts degree and two-year Bachelor of Education (BA/B.Ed.), and a Bachelor's degree in any area followed by a 'two-year after' degree (B.EAD). Professional standards for teacher education are generally established by provincial ministries of education through consultation with universities, professional teaching associations, and other stakeholders (Sheehan & Fullan, 1995). The decentralized nature of teacher education in Canada provides an opportunity to respond to the individual needs of the communities which they serve. In many jurisdictions, for example, teacher education programmes now encompass curricula and pedagogies that are inclusive of Indigenous, Francophone, and settler/newcomer values and perspectives.

The university in which we work, and an adjoining First Nations federated college called First Nations University of Canada, collectively house five separate teacher education programmes. The mainstream education programme is the largest and oldest of the programmes at the university. Instruction is delivered in English from a western epistemic perspective, and the programme focusses on social justice and anti-racist education. In Canada, teacher education candidates tend to be members of the dominant group: white settler, English-speaking, and Canadian-born (Bascia, 1996; Cho, 2010). Students in the mainstream programme tend to align with this demographic. There are also always some students from different backgrounds, including First Nations and Métis backgrounds and non-Indigenous students who are not white or who do not speak English as a first or only language. Increasingly, experienced and internationally educated teachers are enrolling in some parts of the programme in order to seek Canadian teacher certification. The university also offers a teacher education programme delivered through the French language to prepare French-speaking teachers to work in French immersion schools, as well as meet the needs of the minority Francophone communities and schools. In addition to these two programmes housed within the Faculty of Education, the university also partners with several Indigenous communities to broker classes and offer administrative support while allowing these programmes to remain semi-autonomous by means of staffing and curriculum development. These programmes include SUNTEP (with a mandate to serve the Métis/Michif community) and the Yukon Native Teacher Education Program (a programme delivered in one of Canada's northern territories). Additionally, the First Nations University of Canada offers a Bachelor of Indigenous Education that serves the needs of First Nations communities. All of these Indigenous teacher education programmes employ Indigenous staff, offer Indigenous language programming, and teach from perspectives which reflect the

pedagogies of the students' respective communities. Although these teacher education programmes differ in content delivery, each is designed to serve the educational (and linguistic) needs of an increasingly diverse community.

One of the fundamental differences between these teacher education programmes is how language is used and how it will be used once students graduate and become teachers. For example, in the French teacher education programme, students are educated in French and attention is given to language education pedagogy. The graduates go on to deliver content through French in French Immersion or Francophone schools. In the mainstream teacher education programme, students are educated in English and do required courses in multilingualism and language learning. These graduates generally go on to teach through English in mainstream schools and classrooms to students who speak English but, increasingly, other languages as well. Teacher candidates may also eventually find employment in several other types of schools where English is used alongside other languages. For example, in addition to English and French, other languages, including Cree, German, Ukrainian, and Arabic, have found their way into Saskatchewan schools as languages of instruction. The Hutterites, to give another example, are an Anabaptist population of approximately 45,000 people living communally in 475 colonies in Canada and the United States (Janke, 2008). In Saskatchewan, each Hutterite colony constructs and maintains a school building. The school division with which the colony is affiliated is responsible for hiring provincially certified English teachers to teach in the colony, paying their salaries, and providing necessary instructional resources (Kats & Lehr, 2012). The English teacher, a colony outsider, is responsible for teaching the provincial curriculum through the medium of English, a second language for Hutterite students who use three languages: spoken Hutterisch as a home and community language, written High German for religious worship, and spoken and written English for school and for communication outside the colony (Sterzuk & Nelson, 2016). This colony setting is just one example of the type of multilingualism that Saskatchewan teacher candidates graduating from the mainstream teacher education might encounter as they begin their careers as teachers.

Students of the Indigenous teacher education programmes may study Indigenous languages as a part of their programme; however, these programmes are delivered through the English language. Indigenous languages are rarely used as mediums of instruction for content courses, with the current exception of one community-based programme that delivers parts of the teacher education programme through the medium of the Dene language. Indigenous teacher candidates will work in diverse locales, including mainstream schools, and in homogenous Indigenous communities. However, as future teachers, the majority will use English as the medium of instruction. What emerges from this description of our local context is that preparing all teacher candidates for linguistic diversity poses many challenges, but also opportunities, for communities of learners which have such different linguistic goals and outcomes. In the following two sections, we shift in and out of our collective voice to share individual narratives and examples from our personal experiences.

Russell – Epistemic Disobedience, a Michif Perspective

In this section, I share an example of turning to what my community knows about linguistic diversity instead of relying on northern writings about new multilingualism. Michif is the traditional language of the Michif people, an Indigenous group native to Western Canada. Michif is a unique mixed language with grammar and organizational rules that derive equally from French and Nēhiyawēwin (a language Indigenous to Canada) that has been spoken by the Métis/Michif people for over 200 years (Bakker, 1997). It is an oral language whose rules confound many linguists and language learners and perhaps as a result has been studied very little. SUNTEP, the teacher education programme where I work, has been in operation for over 35 years. In the 1970s, its founders recognized that there was a significant underrepresentation of Indigenous teachers in the province and that this gap was contributing to the endangerment of Michif culture and language. Michif people and culture have existed on the Canadian Plains since as early as the late 18th century. As fur traders, explorers, bison hunters, guides, and teamsters, Michif people were in constant contact with English, French, Nēhiyawak, Nakoda, Dene, Siksika, Dakota, Anishinaabek, and Apsáalooke. Indeed, many Métis/Michif people married into these families and, as a result, absorbed their customs, traditions, and languages (Iseke, 2013). Renowned 19th-century leader and hunter, Gabriel Dumont, spoke French in addition to five Indigenous languages. Louis Riel the great Michif martyr/patriot who founded the province of Manitoba, used English, French, and Latin in addition to Nēhiyawēwin, Anishinaabemowin, and Michif. Although Michif is the national language of the Michif people, they have always represented ‘super-diversity’ from a linguistic perspective. This ability to speak and thrive in multiple languages was significantly interrupted by colonization and development in Western Canada, beginning in the late 19th century (Iseke, 2013). During the late 1800s, many First Nations in Western Canada signed treaties with the Canadian government and were placed on reserves which were governed directly by the Canadian federal government through a piece of legislation known in Canada as the Indian Act (1876). The Indian Act forbade trespassers on reserves and forcibly prevented First Nations Peoples from leaving reserves (Daschuk, 2013). The Act severed an important familial tie between Michif and First Nations peoples and their languages. By the time my great-grandparents settled in Saskatchewan, they each spoke four languages. My grandparents spoke three. My mother speaks two, and I speak only one, English. The closer my community existed to settlement and settlers, the less we spoke our Indigenous languages, and the more English came to dominate our conversations, our stories, and the ways we lived our lives. SUNTEP, as a Michif-specific teacher education programme, affords the Michif community an opportunity and venue to have discussions regarding how the colonial imposition of English and all of its effects on our community can be deconstructed, understood, and reversed.

SUNTEP provides an example of how southern multilingualisms are being used to rethink language education. In 2016, the programme developed a course in Michif. When SUNTEP decided it needed to be a part of the movement to

reclaim and preserve Michif, there were very few resources available to assist the endeavour. As a reflection of Michif pedagogy (and out of necessity), the programme involved Michif speakers ('Old Ones', or Elders, and community experts) in the development of a Michif curriculum suitable for pre-service teachers. The Old Ones were specific in their instructions and insisted that the curricula reflect, as much as possible, interactions that are authentic to Michif life, or what Sherry Farrell-Racette (2017) refers to as 'kitchen table theory'. This meant removing students from the classroom as much as possible and providing them with first-hand experiences (Crowther & De Costa, 2017). These included interacting with the land and visiting Michif speakers, Old Ones, artisans, and community leaders to have the opportunity to speak and listen to Michif phrases. In this sense, the accommodation was not made for the learners but rather for the community experts who themselves had no knowledge or experience of learning their language in a school or any other institution and thus speak their languages without awareness of the metalanguages that language teachers often use to describe language. These metalanguages, even the very idea of languages themselves, can be understood as 'inventions' (Makoni & Pennycook, 2005). The process of disinventing and reconstituting languages, then, involves developing an awareness of the history of 'invention, and rethinking the ways we look at languages and their relation to identity, geographical location and other social practices' (2005:138). Canagarajah (2006: 233) notes that 'in order to find answers for the new questions that emerge after disinvention, we have to return to precolonial/premodern societies and the ways language communication was practised then'. For the Michif course, this meant the development of modules which reflected Michif life and living and not necessarily traditional language reclamation discourses. For example, in one module entitled Pa-Mochikihitaw or 'Celebrations' students are tasked with memorizing traditional Michif songs. They then perform these at a gathering they have organized at a senior's home for Michif Old Ones. In another module, students are asked to write recipes in Michif and then to make the actual meals together with Old Ones who are invited to the classroom. In both these modules, students must challenge their own assumptions about language, particularly English, as phrases in Michif often follow completely different syntax rules and order. It is not enough to write and memorize. The point is that they should be understood by fluent Michif speakers. The more they interact with Old Ones, the less students care about rules or how they contrast with English and the more concerned they become with pausing, listening, emphasis, and physical interaction.

The first Michif course in SUNTEP has produced promising results. There is a renewed interest among Michif youth to learn their language and to make an effort to learn how to teach the language in classrooms. At the beginning of the year, none of my Métis students could speak Michif, nor were they able to articulate the history of the language. Many of my students knew of Michif speakers in their families, but it was generally described by them as 'a language that is rarely spoken'. The very small proportion of Michif speakers that remain did not actively attempt to pass this language to succeeding generations for fear

of their children and grandchildren being perceived as different in mainstream environments. As a result, the language has largely gone underground and is spoken almost exclusively by one generation. The newly developed Michif course provided a context for important family discussions to occur. Suddenly, my students were seeking out Michif speakers and learning Michif not just from those in my class but also from speakers in their own families. The pride my students have in learning their language has germinated and spread within the context of their own families and communities. We have witnessed a groundswell of Michif speakers who are increasingly more comfortable sharing the language with young people and, more specifically, with those who will be teachers.

The Old Ones have become more involved with the planning, development, and instruction of a Michif course to pre-service teachers. In the process, they have offered important advice to us on how to scale up the process to include a more immersive language experience that is reflective of how Michif might once have been learned. In conjunction with our Michif communities and speakers, SUNTEP has created a land-based, intensive immersion programme that will continue the disruption of traditional language discourse that was begun with the development of a module-based Michif course. Beginning with the first offering in spring 2019, this experience attempts to replicate traditional Michif practices such as hunting, gathering, medicine making, artisanship, singing, construction, dancing, and visiting – all while using the Michif language. As instructors, we are excited at the possibilities of reinventing (or perhaps returning to) an authentic process for reclaiming Michif in which our fluent speakers and Old Ones can play an integral role in the planning, instruction, and assessment of language learning.

Practising what Mignolo (2009) calls ‘epistemic disobedience’ (or alternatively, being obedient to a traditional epistemology) can be challenging in an academic setting. SUNTEP, like most teacher education programmes, is housed and bureaucratically administered by a university and must continue to uphold academic and professional standards set by the university and by external stakeholders who have a say in teacher development. In the context of a Michif class, who is considered accreditable is of particular concern. An intensive immersion course based on the land and taught by fluent Michif speakers requires fluent Michif speakers, most of whom are over the age of 60 and have little or no experience of teaching in, or of even attending, a post-secondary institution. In the Michif community, these people are leaders, experts, and knowledge carriers. However, having them recognized (and compensated) at levels equivalent to faculty can be challenging. In SUNTEP, it has been critically important for us to build strong, caring, and reciprocal relationships with members of the Faculty of Education, who are able to act as bureaucratic brokers. The expertise lies within the Michif community; however, these brokers help to create space for conversations to occur in the faculty regarding important questions such as, ‘What is knowledge, and who holds it? Who can best decide how local languages can and should be learned? How does a lack of flexibility contribute to existing hegemonic structures which deny Indigenous communities and learners self-determination?’ Answering these questions lies at the heart of disinvention.

We shift now to a discussion of Indigenous teacher education programmes and language. Increasingly Indigenous teacher education programmes are concerned with the learning and teaching of traditional languages. In the same way as the French teacher education programme has helped to maintain and strengthen the use of French in Western Canada, Indigenous teacher education programmes seek to use their institutional advantage to help revitalize Indigenous languages on the verge of extinction. However, because Indigenous languages do not enjoy the status or support that comes with being an ‘official language’ like French or English, they have had to find innovative ways to reinvent the process of language reclamation. This has been a process that has involved important discussions on how language is learned, used, retained, and reflects community values. This ‘reimagining’ of language learning and a reliance on community speakers and knowledge keepers rather than language theory provides us with a Canadian context for southern multilingualism in action.

Indigenous teacher education programmes have existed in Canada for over half a century. They were born of a grassroots-driven desire to produce teachers who would be sensitive to the cultural needs of Indigenous children. Initially, capacity shortfalls often meant that these early programmes were partially staffed and administered by well-meaning, non-Indigenous academics. The goal was to produce teachers who could not only be culturally sensitive but also successful in obtaining jobs in non-Indigenous environments. The result was programmes that largely resembled mainstream teacher education with a bit of cultural iconography and some land-based experiences thrown into the mix. This helped to produce teachers who were able to share Indigenous cultural experiences in mainstream classes but did nothing to disrupt the continual process of monolingual replication of settler tongues. This process began to shift once Indigenous academics and communities began to exercise their own growing capacity and epistemic sovereignty through the involvement of communities, Old Ones (Elders), and cultural carriers. Mignolo (2011: 45) describes epistemic disobedience or ‘delinking’ as a way ‘out of the coloniality of power from within Western categories of thought’. As more Indigenous teacher education programmes seek to make Indigenous languages an essential part of their delivery, the notion of southern multilingualism provides a necessary tool in helping to avoid the replication of linguistic processes and metadiscursive regimes that uphold dominant colonial understandings of language. As Makoni and Pennycook (2005: 148) note,

language planning research therefore needs to focus not only on the political contexts in which it operates, but also on the nature of the concepts of language which underpin the different policy options to question not only the *realpolitik* but also the *reallinguistik* of the 20th century.

(Makoni & Pennycook’s emphasis)

For Michif, this means practising rules of reinvention which originate from community expectations.

Andrea and Rubina: Conscientization of Diversities in Teacher Education

One of the classes we both teach in the Faculty of Education at the University of Regina is a language and literacy education course within the mainstream education programme. The majority of students in this programme, as well as this course, are white settlers, descended from European settlers who began to arrive in Canada in the early 20th century. Most speak only English, and most have experienced historical family language shift. For many of these students, language loss and monolingualism can therefore seem mundane and to-be-expected, which has the potential to influence their dispositions towards other languages in their future classrooms. The course content is designed to prepare these future teachers to develop critical multilingual language awareness. It helps students to develop an understanding of language development across social contexts as well as how classroom instruction can constitute and maintain social categories. The course also addresses literacy instruction that works to foster equity and justice in the classroom and beyond. Finally, there is an eight-hour field observation component that sees pre-service students working with English language learners in local elementary and secondary schools. In this section, we consider what southern multilingualisms may bring to the goal of re-shaping settler dispositions towards linguistic diversity. We begin with reflections from Rubina.

Rubina

I bring my Bangla language experience into the classroom so that both pre-service teachers and I can understand the nature of multilingualism. My mother tongue or first language is Bangla. Bangla is spoken in Bangladesh and in the Indian states of West Bengal, Assam (a state of northeast India), and Tripura (a state of northeast India) and exhibits variations in each of these regions. Whenever I want to set up or change a language setting in my electronic devices or operating systems, they ask me to choose 'Indian Bangla', 'Bangladeshi Bangla', 'Assam Bangla', or 'Tripura Bangla'. To be clear, I use Bangladeshi Bangla because I was born there. Bangla has many varieties in Bangladesh as well. Every district (officially recognized territory) has its own distinct variety of language of Bangla. Then regions under those districts have variations. For example, I have friends who are from a different district in Bangladesh to me. We grew up speaking two different variations of Bangla. We understand each other's variations with the exception of a few words. However, we use 'standard Bangla' as a lingua franca for our daily interaction. Interestingly, we switch to our own varieties of Bangla whenever we talk to our parents back home. Like other Bangladeshis, we learned 'standard Bangla' in schools. I went to schools where students and teachers were from middle- or upper-middle-class backgrounds, but I was not. These schools had good reputations for their quality of education. Although my family struggled financially, they sent me to those schools to make sure that I grew up in a 'good environment'. Language – i.e. 'standard Bangla' – was a major part of this 'good environment'. Recently, I had dinner with a couple of

Bangladeshi friends in my new home of Regina, Canada. Two women in the group were new immigrants from Bangladesh. One of them was from my hometown. I jumped to the conclusion that she would be from my school because it was the best in town. As soon as she started speaking, I realized that we were not from the same schools because of her non-usage of ‘standard Bangla’. Another new Bangladeshi immigrant woman promptly compared our varieties of Bangla and called my Bangla ‘good Bangla’ and the other woman’s Bangla ‘fake Bangla’. I was unable to take her comment as a compliment. I was ashamed of myself. I had taken part in this insulting incident by associating her educational background with her variety of Bangla. Ironically, I have been laughed at for my Bangla on several occasions. My Elders corrected me by telling me to ‘speak properly’ in front of the guests. I suppose I ‘speak properly’ now since people mark my Bangla as ‘good Bangla’.

I look at multilingualism in the Canadian context through the lens of my own experience with multilingualism in Bangladesh. In South Asian countries, multilingualism is nothing new (Tupas, this volume). In Bangladesh, the most common languages used are Bangla, English, Indigenous languages, Arabic, and Urdu. Although multilingualism exists in Bangladesh, there are also inequalities of multilingualism (Tupas, this volume). I learned Bangla and English together. In Regina, Canada, where I now reside, I am often asked, ‘When did you learn English? How did you learn English?’ I began to learn English when I was a child. My first English teacher was my mother, and she prepared me for an admissions test in a kindergarten which was the only one in town and renowned for its good quality of education since they used English. One morning, I went to a principal’s office with my mother and recited my ABCs; counted 1, 2, 3; and wrote my name in English. I realized I had passed the test when I saw my mother smiling. My English learning was often limited to reading and writing in school, which mirrored my experience in learning Arabic. I had to learn Arabic from Grade 2 for religious reasons. My family wanted me to know how to read the Quran, and they hired a private tutor for me. Arabic was also a compulsory subject, and I learned to read and write it. In my life, I have learned to give tremendous importance to English. I limit my use of Bangla, and I totally ignore the fact that I learned to read and write Arabic as a child.

In linguistically diverse countries like Bangladesh and Canada, language policy plays an important role in determining which languages become most visible. In both contexts, I find that language policy generally aligns with the colonial understanding of one language and one nation. It is interesting to me that I have learned three languages but, until now, I have never called myself multilingual. This new courage I have to call myself multilingual has come from readings about language policy in the Canadian context (Haque, 2012; Haque & Patrick, 2015; Mackey, 2010) and my own PhD research on English language policy and planning in Bangladesh. My understanding is that Canada, as a settler colonial country, and Bangladesh, as a postcolonial country, share similar colonial mindsets that ignore the existence of other languages or that create hierarchies among languages. I grew up in a nation-state where people were murdered for fighting

for their language rights. Since its independence from Pakistan in 1971, Bangladeshi education policy has emphasized the importance of Bangla for creating national identity (Khuda-e-Qudrat, 1974). I was also brought up in a country where people are sensitive about language, especially Bangla because of its past bloody history (Ghosh, 2014). Tupas discusses three strategies of ‘forgetting’ in the context of language policy and language reform in the Philippines, ‘Forget the War. Forget the Pain. Forget the Fight’ (Tupas, this volume: 115). In Bangladesh, I find it is the opposite. Borrowing from Tupas, I might name it as three strategies of remembering. Remember the sacrifice. Remember the pain. Remember the fight. To remember and honour the past, I assimilated into a one-language and one-nation policy and ignored my own multilingualism.

In the Canadian province where I now reside, 2,795 people use Bangla as their first language, and it is the seventh fastest-growing language in the province (Statistics Canada, 2018). However, in my current linguistic landscape (Shohamy, 2017), there is little evidence of this. For example, if I consider the University of Regina where I study and work as my linguistic zone, I know exactly how many signs in Bangla are there and where to find them. The number of places where Bangla signs can be found on campus is very few. Out of personal interest, I have enquired at public and university libraries and bookstores to check if they have a collection of Bangla books. The university library does not have any at this moment. The public library has a very few items in Bangla, but most are of poor reading quality. The university bookstore does not have a single Bangla book. My personal collection of 63 Bangla books on a small shelf is the only place where I can go when I crave to read Bangla. In the case of writing, I do not have any contexts or reasons to write in Bangla. I was not even allowed to write my dissertation in Bangla (‘Writing Your Thesis’, University of Regina Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, 2011–2017). I do not think I would have been able to write my dissertation in Bangla even if I had wanted to. Since my childhood, I have academically invested in English. I did not learn how to write an academic paper in Bangla. Less of a presence and sometimes a total absence of Bangla in my life in Saskatchewan have created alienation and loneliness. Therefore, I take shelter in English to get a sense of belonging. My choice is rather limited when 82% of Saskatchewan residents report English as a mother tongue (Statistics Canada, 2018). The presence of Bangla in my life in Saskatchewan is very limited. I have to rely heavily on online and social media to be connected with the Bangla world. I pass many days when I do not get an opportunity to use a single Bangla word.

As a teacher, I bring my experiences to the class, and I share examples from my multilingual life in Canada and in Bangladesh. I talk to these future teachers about my experiences with language learning, belonging, and my experiences of learning English to my advantage (including access to educational institutions and mobility). I also talk about my childhood experiences of being around multiple languages and share examples of banal activities like watching television in Hindi in my Bangla household. My goal throughout these exchanges is to show students that even though colonial language policy and, to some extent, national language policy, have worked to shape my country as monolingual, in

reality, we use multiple languages every day to our advantage. I work hard to use my own stories to normalize multilingualism for them. My experiences with linguistic diversity places me in a unique position in classrooms where I prepare pre-service teachers. I call it a unique position because I relate more to English as an Additional Language (EAL) students than to pre-service teachers. In this case, my experience helps me to understand the need for awareness of linguistic diversity among the pre-service teachers. Although the EAL students know more than one or two languages, they often experience discrimination, stereotyping, and racialization because they speak a different variety of or lack proficiency in English. Monolingual English teachers may fail to recognize the value of knowledge that EAL students bring with them from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds. In addition, English language dominance in schools and in Saskatchewan suppresses the EAL students' use of mother tongue or does not provide enough opportunity to foster it (Sterzuk, 2011). Unfortunately, language loss occurs, and multilingual students are gradually assimilated into monolingualism in a multilingual society, as discussed in the next paragraph.

Andrea

The desire for homogeneity in communication is a characteristic of settler nationalism. In settler families like mine, this shift to English monolingualism occurs very rapidly. While my paternal grandfather, born in what is now Ukraine, spoke four languages (Ukrainian, French, English, and Cree) and my paternal grandmother, also born in what is now Ukraine, spoke three (Polish, Ukrainian, and English), my father, born in Canada, spoke Ukrainian and English, and I grew up speaking only English. This pattern of family language shift is common among immigrant families. Because I share this experience of historical family language shift with the majority of my students, my reflections on these experiences can help me in my contributions to teacher education. A key awareness emerging from this habitus is that a family background of language loss has the potential to shape some potentially harmful beliefs about multilingualism. I feel that I have a professional and ethical obligation to negotiate my own white settler fragility in relation to languages and settler colonialism and to devise learning opportunities that help my students to do the same. What I have learned about instilling critical multilingual language awareness in teacher candidates is that it must push learners when they are struggling to see the mundane in new and critical ways. Many of our teacher candidates hold normative beliefs about language that often accompany the production of homogeneity. Because of their own linguistic profiles (which are intertwined with their racial profiles), they have also often directly benefited from this aspect of settler nationalism. These beliefs might include the belief in the correctness of one particular type of English over others. Examples of this type of disposition might include the assumption that some Englishes (or languages) are better suited for official spaces (like universities or schools) than others. Another example of a possible view held by English-speaking teacher

candidates is the notion of language difference as something that should be suppressed. This type of belief might take the form of believing that all second language speakers should work towards sounding like native speakers or that writing of second language students should not reveal any influences of their first languages. Other problematic viewpoints might include an investment in native-speakerism, a resentment of linguistic difference, and a belief in the inevitability or naturalness of monolingualism. Some of these beliefs might emerge as an unwillingness to communicate with parents of children who do not speak English fluently. Resentment in a native speaker over having to 'deal' with linguistic difference can manifest as an unwillingness to communicate with the non-native speaker. Conversely, if we draw on what southern multilingualism tells us, someone can be open to linguistic difference or intercultural interaction and demonstrate a willingness to negotiate or achieve communication. From this perspective, we can orient teacher candidates towards what Canagarajah refers to as 'multidialectal competence', part of which entails 'passive competence to understand new varieties [of English]' (2006: 233).

As co-teachers, we use several approaches to building teacher awareness of colonial histories and a productive disposition towards multilingualism. We send students on eight-week classroom practicums where they interact with multilingual language learners. We talk to them about the types of negotiation strategies they need to develop, including the assumption of difference in communication, making use of sociolinguistic and psychological resources that will enable them to negotiate sociolinguistic difference, and sharing the communication burden with their conversation partners (Canagarajah, 2006). We also have students engage in pedagogical activities designed to destabilize their understandings of their families' language shift, as well as the role of societal institutions in producing English monolingualism. One particular pedagogical activity is rooted in the assumption that Canada's colonial history is highly visible in the settler colonial linguistic landscape (Dagenais et al., 2009). Fixed and nonfixed signs are overwhelmingly English; street names like Albert, Victoria, and Prince of Wales reflect Canada's colonial past and present, and Indigenous languages are largely rendered invisible or are reinvented as English. For this assignment, students begin by taking photos of their neighbourhoods and analyse them in writing. For many, these reflections on their familiar environment are the starting point for building an awareness of how settler colonialism interacts with linguistic diversity in their context. They consider how their identities, and those of others, are shaped in interaction with diverse languages of print in the linguistic landscape in which they live. They consider whether the languages present in the photographs represent their own linguistic identities, as well as how this alignment, or lack thereof, reinforces or undermines their own identities. They also reflect on which Indigenous languages are displaced from the landscape. We also have students engage in some self-study activities that ask them to examine their family's linguistic profiles. Often, students are surprised to find extensive multilingualism, as well as language loss. These activities are designed to push a predominantly white settler student body to understand themselves as historical

and raced educators. Assignments ask students to make connections between course content and their own lived realities. The reflective aspect of these assignments is necessary precisely because of the ways in which white settlers and English monolingualism continue to be produced as the educational norm.

Conclusion

Canada has two official languages at present, neither of which is endemic. Once home to hundreds of Indigenous languages, colonial policy (inclusive of language policy) has decimated those languages in an effort to create and maintain the supremacy of French/English languages and values (Ball & McIvor, 2013; Kirkness, 1998). Although Canada continues to be a place where languages from all over the world are spoken and where multicultural policy is entrenched in law and practice, English (and to a lesser extent French) remains dominant as the language of power and privilege. Teacher education programmes across the country continue to be vehicles for the replication of French/English supremacy but are also the best hope for encouraging and nurturing not just what Makoni and Pennycook (2005) call a 'pluralisation of monolingualism' but also rather true linguistic diversity in Canadian society.

Immigration and a fast-growing Indigenous population continue to drive the need for making space for linguistic diversity and resisting acts of intolerance against linguistic minorities which are on the rise (Wiley, this volume). As we have attempted to outline in this chapter, this is not the creation of a new reality but rather a recognition and acceptance of (and return to) the linguistic diversity that has always defined a post-confederation Canada and a precolonial Turtle Island. Our Indigenous and non-Indigenous forebearers accepted and lived in a context that made room for multilingualism. Colonial attempts to privilege and enforce Canada's two official languages, French and English, have limited the richness of language diversity but not the memory of how that diversity strengthened and enhanced our relationships and interactions across a dizzying array of geographies and socio-political realities. Our objectives as teachers of teachers are to help prepare our students to meet the challenges of contemporary classrooms, which includes deconstructing the 'sameness' of language that continues to marginalize and alienate speakers of non-dominant languages. We, like decoloniality itself, seek 'to make visible, open up, and advance radically distinct perspectives and positionalities that displace Western rationality as the only framework and possibility of existence, analysis, and thought' (Mignolo & Walsh, 2018: 17). Southern multilingualism offers tools to teacher education for engagement in this deconstruction but also provides warnings. As Heugh (2017: 223) relates, 'Either we choose to exchange northern with southern hegemony, or we choose to replace hegemony and predation with reciprocity'. As we work to reclaim traditional languages and to honour and respect newcomer languages, teacher education must be careful not just to re-create sameness but rather to imagine and prepare for a world where true multilingualism is a powerful force for decoloniality.

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