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Neoliberal language policies and linguistic entrepreneurship in Higher Education: Lecturers' perspectives

Abstract: This paper analyzes English-Medium-Instruction (EMI) lecturers' orientations towards neoliberal language policies and linguistic entrepreneurship. The data includes interviews with six case-study lecturers' biographic narratives, audiologs and video/audio-recorded observations, collected in a market-oriented Catalan university. I show that lecturers problematize Englishization policies but operationalize them by presenting themselves as leading actors in the deployment of EMI. Following "managerialism" logics, they envision English as an economically-convertible "career skill" imperative to meet new economic employability/workplace demands. They carve advantaged professional ethos linked to their self-attained English-language resources. They devalue their "non-native" accent but present themselves as content *and* English-language lecturers, distinguishing themselves from "ordinary" colleagues who teach in local languages, in narratives of "competitiveness" whereby they naturalize a socially-stratifying system of meritocracy/revenue grounded on the marketization of English. This contributes to understand neoliberal-governance regimes which impose language-based mechanisms for lecturers' profiling based on views of education as the corporatized "making" of productive workers-to-be.

Keywords: neoliberal language-in-education policies, linguistic entrepreneurship, English-Medium Instruction lecturers, language biographic narrative

1   Introduction: Neoliberal governance, language policies and entrepreneurial culture in the EHEA

Under the conditions of the globalized new economy, universities have turned into profit-making educational systems which understand the market as their guiding principle (Martín Rojo, 2019). That is, following the tenets of "educational neoliberalism" (Block et al., 2012), here understood as a form of institutional governance and as a rationality/ideology (Martín Rojo & Del Percio, 2019), universities have started to be regulated through corporate managerial strategies based on a culture of audition and evaluation (Zimmermann & Flubacher, 2017). This "mercantilization" (Fairclough, 2006: 73) of education has imposed a capitalist logic of numbers based on efficiency, revenue, accountability and entrepreneurialism (Flubacher et al., 2018) which treats university members as market actors. That is, it constructs academic staff as a productive labor force; and students, as clients and as "profitable" workers-to-be (Urciuoli, 2010).

The institutions of the European Higher Education Area (EHEA) undergoing these neoliberal-governance reforms today compete in the monetized global educational marketplace through a series of "strateg[ies] of market expansion" (Codó, 2018: 471). These include "internationalization" plans aimed at accumulating resources like high-quality teaching programs and "campus of excellence" certifications, outcomes-oriented cross-border research alliances, and partnerships with powerful companies and monetary agencies. These internationalization strategies are concomitant with "multilingualization" strategies based on the incorporation of "productive" global lingua francas, along with local/minority languages, in the curriculum. These are language-in-

education policies, now mainstreamed (Pérez-Milans, 2015), which draw on neoliberal economic views of languages as cumulative employability tools; that is, as convertible instrumental work "skills" (Allen, 2018). These "skills" are expected to equip the individual with the communication abilities required to meet the market demands of supranational institutions like the European Council, who understands future European workers like university students as necessarily "international" and "multilingual", in order to equip them for the post-industrial language-based economy (see, e.g., the EU strategic framework for cooperation on education; EC, 2009).

In non-English-speaking European universities, "multilingualization" policies have been put into practice through the officialization of English as *the* lingua academica, following the "resource-rationalization" premises of the entrepreneurial culture which envision the "commonsensical" operationalization of linguistic diversity through this dominant language. This reinforces the hegemonic structures of power and the supremacy of English not only in the educational realm, where it has long been normalized as an index of "leadership", "innovation", "excellence" and "modernity" (Piller, 2016), but also in the generation and circulation of knowledge worldwide (Hu et al., 2014; Piller & Cho, 2013).

The investment in English has led to the establishment of Englishization agendas which are aimed at accommodating and "skilling" members of the university in this language (see Coleman, 2006). In practice, though, these plans have taken the shape of reductionist "English-plus-local-language(s)" policies that preclude the inclusion of more balanced, realistic ecologies of languages in HE – as they, for example, dismiss migrants' languages or non-standard plurilingual uses of English (Sabaté-Dalmau, 2016).

Englishization has led to the introduction of English-Medium Instruction (EMI), "the most significant trend in educational internationalization" (Chapple, 2015: 1), which has turned into a niche of distinction used to show proof of "excellence" in global rankings, in universities where this language is not of public social use (Dimova et al., 2015). EMI consists of the teaching of academic content in/through English by lecturers who may or may not be language specialists but who have a working-knowledge of this language so as to transmit disciplinary knowledge in it, normally under the assumption that students also have the English-language resources to aptly attain it (Cots, 2013). In this sense, EMI is grounded on a simplistic view of FL improvement as occurring "naturally" in an immersive manner, by virtue of exposing students to it (Moncada-Comas & Block, 2019).

With an interest in problematizing the links between neoliberal governance and the (re)production of social difference and inequality on the basis of language policies and practices at university, in this paper I provide a political economic perspective to EMI. That is, I approach EMI as an instance of a particular neoliberal language-in-education policy that epitomizes the market-driven culture of competitiveness and corporatization which today regulates HE (Sabaté-Dalmau, 2019). I zoom into the dynamics of EMI by exploring the extent to which it has opened the doors to the neoliberal regimentation and policing of language use at university, and by asking how, and with what consequences, it affects (and is affected by) university social agents. As detailed below, I do so in a particular university in a bilingual context of Southern Europe, through the lens of the situated perspectives and linguistic identities of the English-policy implementers, the EMI lecturers, traditionally under-investigated (Dafouz, 2018).

2   The study

2.1 Aims and theoretical considerations

By providing a *critical sociolinguistics ethnographic perspective* to language in institutions (Duchêne et al., 2013), this paper departs from an understanding of universities as socially-stratifying spaces that establish mechanisms of control of who gets access to superior education, and as sites where the information circulated and the knowledge that gets transmitted (as well as the languages, pedagogical models, etc., in which it gets transmitted) is closely regulated (Martín Rojo, 2019). In line with this, I interpret *language policy and planning* as a form of *sociopolitical action* which responds to private rather than public needs (Codó, 2018).

Following this framework, I approach *EMI* as a regulatory gatekeeping tool and as *a neoliberal-governance instrument of social differentiation, stratification* and *competition* in HE (Gao & Park, 2015; Hu et al., 2014). I argue that it has become a mechanism to select and profile administrative and academic staff and students on the basis of language productivity and maximization; more specifically, on the basis of self-attained capitalization of (particular forms of) English, understood as an imperative "career skill" (Urciuoli, 2010: 166).

This critique to the neoliberal marketization of HE, and to the role that English-language regulations play in it, is provided through the analysis, on the one hand, of a group of EMI lecturers' orientations towards, and engagement with, EMI directives, and, on the other hand, of the academic content and/or English-Foreign-Language (EFL) instructor identities that interplay with them, gathered in language biographic narrative. I contextualize my study in Catalonia, a Catalan/Spanish bilingual society[1] of about 7.5 inhabitants in Spain, with eight public universities. I focus on the University

of Lleida (henceforth, UdL, the Catalan acronym for "*Universitat de Lleida*"), which is unique in that it stands out in the offer of EMI courses, by exploring six case-study EMI lecturers at the Polytechnic and Agricultural Engineering Schools there (see Section 3).

I focus on *lecturers* for two reasons. Firstly, academic staff is crucial for the success or failure of language-policy implementation (Lasagabaster et al., 2013). Secondly, important career changes (e.g., starting to teach in a lingua franca) become turning points in life during which individuals reshape their professional sociolinguistic comportments (Pujolar, 2019). This, in turn, has an effect on the ways in which individual actors rethink and renegotiate their language-based personhoods (e.g. as proficient speakers of a FL). I depart from *"the multilingual self"* (in this case, the EMI lecturer) as the locus where to unpack the ways in which language policies are understood, experienced and adopted or resisted on the ground, in mundane interpersonal narrative discourse (for a renewed emphasis on the individual as key to assess how policies are put into practice, see Spolsky, 2019). This justifies my decision to conduct an in-depth analysis of EMI lecturers on a case-study basis.

I understand the first analytical aspect, *orientations towards EMI*, as language-related perspectives and indexes of observable sociolinguistic norms which govern individual/collective language comportments (Schieffelin et al., 1998). I approach *academic identity practices* and enactments, the second analytical focus, as *a lens into how individuals unfold*, negotiate, assert or reject *who they are*, where, with whom, and why, in situated narrative events such as telling one's story (Bamberg et al., 2007). This perspective allows me to zoom into a particular presentation of the self which has gained salience among researchers who investigate neoliberal governance in HE, that of the *"linguistic entrepreneur"*, which I adapt from Pujolar (2019). Neoliberal linguistic

entrepreneurship identities are identities whereby active resourceful individuals engage with (new) language learnings and uses in ways which denote dispositions that draw, to various degrees and not exclusively, on market-driven economicist mindsets. These dispositions speak of, and are conditioned by, the individuals' inherited socioeconomic/linguistic background, social standing and aspirations (Pujolar, 2019). In this regard, they are similar to those of the self-enterprising or corporatized economic rational individual (explored, e.g., in Martín Rojo, 2019; Urciuoli, 2010), who orients towards self-responsibilization, self-actualization/operationalization of his/her language resources and towards self-valorization and branding, when providing accounts of language "investments" (Duchêne, 2016: 73) in the personal and professional realms.

I follow the view that *language biographic narratives* provide fertile ground to analyze perspectives and identities concerning EMI lecturing because it forces informants to employ metalinguistic self-reflexivity and introspection when making sense of, and voicing, their orientations with regards to English-language institutional policies and local classroom dynamics ([author]). In this sense, I interpret narratives as a social act accomplishing both representational and interactional functions (De Fina, 2009), as seen, e.g., when EMI lecturers (re)present themselves as "nativelike English speakers" or when they interactionally position themselves as "sympathetic colleagues" in front of the researcher.

2.2 Methods, data and informants

The data was collected through a three-year project called [name] which explored the impact of EMI instruction on FL learning, disciplinary knowledge and academic identities. The data presented here was selected from the following sets:[2]

1) Semi-structured interviews with six EMI lecturers teaching Mechanical and Agronomic Engineering, Veterinary Sciences and Biotechnology, aimed at eliciting language biographies broaching the following narrative themes: (1) academic life, research trajectories and career accomplishments; (2) mobility experiences; and (3) language background and multilingual competence involving English. These interviews lasted for eight hours and 35 minutes and were audio-recorded in the languages chosen by the informants (Catalan/Spanish). They were transcribed verbatim (see transcription system in the Appendix).

2) Biweekly video/audio-recoded observations in the classrooms, offices and laboratories of two of the six EMI lecturers, Vero and Anna (pseudonyms), who were teaching a group of 24 Catalan/Spanish-speaking students in the Animal Science Department, over an academic semester (between 2017/18). The ethnographic work also included one post-observation interview to these lecturers, each lasting for an hour and a half. These addressed perceptions concerning their observed EMI performance, as well as future plans of engagement with English-language policies, like conducting more (or fewer) EMI courses for the upcoming years.

3) 37 audiologs sent by the six EMI lecturers to the researchers via WhatsApp, upon completion of each class. These asked informants to reflect on each session's: (1) disciplinary knowledge transmission/learning; (2) multilingual dynamics and English-language teaching/learning events; (3) students' questions on content and/or language; (4) perception of students' attitudes/performance; and (5) perception of one's classroom performance.

The EMI lecturers under study, four women and two men, completed their PhDs between 1988 and 2009. They had worked in three other Catalan/Spanish universities and had conducted research in the US, the UK, Portugal, France and Ireland. They had held positions in well-known engineering firms and had contacts with the business world. One had been hired by the Ministry of Agriculture. They had a command of at least three languages, including Catalan, Spanish, English, French, German, Italian, Galician, Portuguese and Arabic, with various degrees of proficiency in each. Most of them had accessed tenured positions as associate professors and had proved lectureship "excellence", because they had obtained competitive fellowships and "additional merits" for their innovative pedagogical practice (e.g., with flipped teaching). Across Faculties, they were acquainted with each other; within the same BA, they had close contacts and called themselves "*conejitos de indias*" ("guinea pigs"). They engaged in EMI during 2012/13 and had been managing the same courses for an average of six years. All but one had enrolled in the Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) 6-hour courses offered by the UdL. In this sense, *they pioneered the deployment of EMI* in disciplines where the UdL stands out, like Animal Sciences.

The choice of informants responded to the fact that they were the EMI lecturers who kindly agreed to be exposed to classroom observations. They were found by selecting the UdL courses that employed English as a language of instruction, with the help of the heads of the two Faculties under study. From my position as a Catalan English lecturer in the [Name] Department, I established rapport with, and interviewed, Vero and Anna. I visited them on a regular basis and contact is still kept at the time of writing.

3   The research space: Neoliberal Englishization policies in Catalonia

Catalonia epitomizes the ways in which neoliberal educational reforms in HE have affected language policymaking in non-English-speaking societies where the mainstreamed teaching and learning of EFL is relatively new. Targeting "*Europeïtzació*" ("Europeanization"), understood as a form of internationalization, in 2002 the Catalan government established a series of "trilingual" policies (Garrett et al., 2012) to gradually make it imperative for all university members to certify a command of a third FL, preferably English. This was presented in productivity terms as "a first-order strategic choice" [Catalan original: "*una opció estratègica de primer ordre*"] (Mas-Colell, 2002: 19) to access the global educational marketplace.

At present, the expected level for lecturers to implement EMI is the C1 ("proficient user") level of the Common Framework of Reference for Languages (CFRL). A certified B2-level ("independent user") command of a FL has become a "*mèrit*" ("merit") for academic staff's promotion and extra remuneration, as well as for the selection processes to access tenure (Consell de Govern UdL, 2018: 13). The same B2-level has become a requirement for students, who, since the academic year 2018/19, have to certify their competence in a third FL upon completion of their degree in order to have their "BA title" issued, as established in *Llei 1/2018* (DOGC, 9/5/2018).

I understand *Llei 1/2018* as a new managerialist measure to regulate access to a degree certification through a linguistic regime based on a compulsory language test. This test has been outsourced and is now handled by the universities' private/privatized language services (e.g. Official Language Schools), which has turned it into a business, despite some governmental financial support.

Another measure undertaken by policymakers for the institutionalization of trilingualism is the establishment of directives to increase the offer of EMI programs, following the Spanish governmental agenda for Englishization, which envisions that by 2020 one-third of all degrees will be conducted in English (Dafouz, 2018: 5). At present, the average percentage of FL-medium instruction for Catalan universities is 10% (GDLP, 2017: 35). This is considered to be a low percentage, compared to that of other Central Western and Nordic European universities (Linn, 2016: 102), which may be attributed to the fact that institutional support is scarce, under-planned and non-systematized (Mancho-Barés & Arnó-Macià, 2017).

The extent to which "Europeanization" has been put into practice in Catalonia needs to be historicized within a context of a reduction of public expenditure in HE, which has left universities in a situation of precarity. On the one hand, academic staff' salaries are equal to those of the 1980s, and new contracts are scare, temporary and/or part-time (OSU, 2016: 4-5). On the other hand, degree prices have increased by 69%-291% (Sacristán & França, 2013: 3), and the cost of a credit in Catalonia doubles that of public universities in Spain. This makes the Catalan HE system the sixth most expensive system in Europe (CCOO, 2016: 56, 18), which may explain why EMI plans have not been deployed in its entirety; the lack of lecturer-training persists; and the B2-level exam has been monetized.

3.1 EMI at the UdL

The UdL is a community of 13,724 members (OQ, 2018) where the language of instruction is Catalan (82.9%), followed at distance by Spanish (8.6%) and English (8.5%) (GDLP, 2017: 35). It occupies the fourth position in the ranking concerning the

offer of EMI courses (OPUC, 2018), which is noticeable, given the fact that this is the same position as that of large-sized universities like *Universitat de Barcelona*.

The two latest policies established at the UdL which target global competitiveness include a Plan for Internationalization (POI, 2012-2016) and a Plan for Multilingualism (POM, 2013-2018), both engrained in educational neoliberal governance and corporate discourse. The POI seeks to "increase the presence of English in teaching, to favor […] the command of Academic English by UdL students" [Catalan original: "*Incrementar la presència de l'anglès en la docència per tal d'afavorir* […] *el domini de l'anglès professional dels estudiants UdL*"] (ORI, 2018: 9). The POM targets the officialization of English as the third "vehicular working-language […] for a successful professional insertion" [Catalan original: "*llengua vehicular* […] *per a una inserció professional d'èxit.*"] (POM, 2013: 3–5).

These two interrelated Plans understand language-learning investments as a matter of individual willingness, self-determination and self-disciplining; that is, as a matter of constant rational self-improvement via "self-optimization" one's academic/professional communicative resources. These personal investments, envisioned in "meritocratic" productivity terms, are expected to be convertible into profit, leading to more/better employability chances and work conditions (see Del Percio, 2018). The following quote from the POM illustrates how English-language command is constructed in neoliberal terms as a matter of the administrative, academic staff 's and students' "*responsabilitat*" ("responsibility"), showing an institutional engagement with the culture of "incentivization" to promote but *not* to offer specific mechanism for FL command (note the use of "*encoratjar*", "encourage"):

"Obtaining sufficient […] language knowledge is, first of all, a *personal responsibility of each individual*, the university must make available resources so that all university groups can improve […] their linguistic knowledge, and it should *encourage* them to expand it and also to certify it properly."

[Catalan original: "*Tenir o assolir uns coneixements suficients* […] *de llengües és, en primera instància, una* **responsabilitat** *personal de cadascú, la Universitat ha de posar a l'abast recursos per tal que tots els col·lectius universitaris puguin millorar* […] *els seus coneixements lingüístics, i els ha d'*encoratjar *a ampliar-los i també a acreditar-los adequadament.*"] (POM, 2013: 15, my emphasis)

This quote illustrates how the UdL carves a projection of EMI lecturers as responsible for their own self-management of multilingual competence, in "competitiveness" neoliberal mindsets where the lecturers who possess and accumulate certified abilities for EMI are presented as being more prepared, qualified, professionally worthier, and with more commitment and initiative than "ordinary" (inferior?) lecturers with no FL credentials (Dafouz, 2018; Gao & Park, 2015).

4   Analysis and findings

This section is organized as follows. I first focus on the lecturers' perspectives towards EMI and, more generally, towards Englishization (Section 4.1). I show that they mobilize narrative discourse strategies that present English as a convertible economic "currency" and "added-value" competitive tool for academic excellence, following market-oriented views of language. This allows me to provide an account of how and

why EMI lecturers display (total) professional/personal investment in the efficient unfolding of local EMI directives.

I secondly focus on corporatized English-mediated multilingual identities that interplay with these neoliberal orientations (Section 4.2). I unpack the ways in which, by investing in the neoliberal tenets of "self-improvement" and "self-valorization" (Martín Rojo, 2019: 172), EMI lecturers embody advantaged linguistic entrepreneurship identities invested in continued, effortful, long-term accumulation of English-language "abilities", (re)presented in narrative as a moral imperative.

I analyze the complexities of such identity positionings and show that, on the one hand, informants devalue their "accent" and EMI-lecturing performance, in acts of linguistic "deskilling" (i.e. self-delegitimations of one's English-language resources; see Allan, 2018). On the other hand, though, simultaneously, they naturalize their "faulty" English and rationalize their observed use of local languages in class, for the sake of organizational efficiency, in "self-skilling" acts. I claim that these two seemingly contradictory academic (de)legitimations, phrased dichotomously in terms of either "failure" or "success" in EMI praxis, build on, and reproduce, the hegemonic precept that the English "nativelike" speakerhood is what should be targeted to meet the standards of professional communication at the workplace. I argue that the lecturers' gliding through these apparently paradoxical identity positionings serves the interpersonal narrative function of ultimately branding themselves as "self-made", efficient content *and* EFL lecturers. This is so because both the "refitting" (Urciuoli, 2010: 166) of the self to overcome difficulties in developing English proficiency *and* the self-attribution of an exceptional nativelike command of this language draw on neoliberal linguistic entrepreneurship personhood traits and "proper" morality values. I

conclude Section 4 by claiming that this allows EMI lecturers to distinguish themselves from workmates who only use local languages, in situated *narratives of competition* whereby they take a leadership attitude and act as English-language "facilitators" responsible for enhancing the students' "marketization" of professional English communication.

4.1 Neoliberal entrepreneurship orientations towards EMI policies: Leadership in teaching English as a career skill

All EMI lecturers mobilized favorable attitudes towards English and showed positive orientations towards local EMI directives (see Dafouz, 2018, and Lasagabaster et al., 2013, for similar results in Spain). These orientations are in line with the long-established neoliberal views of multilingualism described above, which treat languages as discrete convertible economic assets. They normalized the officialization of this language as the lingua academica of Catalan HE, by (re)presenting it as the most "commonsensical" rational choice and the most efficient way to operationalize linguistic diversity at university.

Thus, EMI lecturers constructed English in productivity terms as a global employability "career skill" (Urciuoli, 2010: 167) and vehicle for academic development and professional success. Following this logic, they expected their self-investment in attaining English proficiency (certified via excellence curriculums, international scholarships and mobility experiences) to bring, in return, symbolic resources like prestige (recognition) and tangible results like upwards career development in the near future. This was so because in their Faculties there was the expectation that those who self-selected for the experimental deployment of EMI in

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their Departments would be "compensated" with a -0.20 credit reduction in their annual teaching load, and that they would be prioritized if opportunities for promotion or tenure arose.

Unanimously, EMI lecturers also expected students to comply with the English-language policies requiring them to have the B2-level certificate (based on the measurement of standard forms of English only) by the end of their degree. In this sense, they mobilized neoliberal mindsets that revolved around the students' need for investing in "efficiency" and "meritocracy". In fact, some presented themselves as pioneering educational agents in charge of providing students with the communicative "skills" to "engineer" (Del Percio, 2018: 239) them towards the English-policy regimes of their future workplace realms. This is illustrated by Raquel, who, in Excerpt 1, envisions her students as transnational workers-to-be ("professionals", line 2) in need of accessing disciplinary knowledge and know-how in English.

Excerpt 1

		@Back:	Raquel (RAQ). Department's office. 16/02/2017. Topic: English as a self-investment "skill" and "employability vehicle".
→	1	*RAQ:	està molt bé que als nanos se'l hi demani un mínim nivell d'anglès [...] abans d'acabar
→	2		<la> [//] una carrera perquè sí que és veritat que formem professionals.
		%tra:	it's really good that kids are required a minimum level of English […] before finishing <the> [//] a degree because it's true that we train professionals.
		[…]	
→	3	* RAQ:	si tu saps que has d'arribar aquí amb aquest be dos doncs busca't la vida per arribar en
→	4		aquest be dos-, no tens perquè acompanyar a tothom de la mà,,<d'acord> [?].
		%tra:	if you know you need to attain this b two level then get by on your own to attain this b two level -, you don't have to accompany everybody by the hand,, <ok> [?].
		[…]	

→	5	* RAQ:	jo crec que és bo que tinguin l'anglès i que facin alguna experiència d'estada a
→	6		l'estranger # ja sigui professional o d'estudis o: però crec que aporta moltíssim
→	7		<marxar> [/] marxar fora [...] jo els insisteixo aneu <ma aneu> [//] fora marxeu tot un
→	8		estiu aneu a ficar copes -, no cal que sigui un escorxador.
		%tra:	I think that it's good that they have English and that they do a stay abroad experience #
			professional or to study o:r but I think going abroad gives [one] quite a lot <going> [/]
			going abroad […] I insist go <leav go> [//] abroad go for an entire summer go to serve
			drinks -, it doesn't need to be a slaughterhouse.

In Excerpt 1, Raquel presents the B2-level as a dictum, with the qualifying adjective "good" (lines 1 and 5), illustrating how this language was conceived of a requirement for the Animal Sciences and Biotechnology workplace realms (lines 1-2). She establishes that the investment in English as a productivity "skill" shall rest upon individual students (emphatically in lines 3-4). Thus, in line with non-language integration approaches which understand EMI as content-focused (common among EMI lecturers who see themselves as subject specialists, not as language instructors; Mancho-Barés & Aguilar-Pérez 2016), Raquel detaches herself from participating in the students' English-learning stages, with the statement "you don't have to accompany everybody" (line 4). In this sense, she assumes that it is the students who are ultimately responsible for accumulating the professionalizing multilingual "skills" provided in class, as autonomous workers-to-be. In fact, she seems to expect students to become self-made linguistic entrepreneurs who, like her, proactively engage with EU English policies and UdL requirements. This view reproduces and normalizes the neoliberal culture of "effort" in academic and in career development where "the self-entrepreneur is a being made to succeed" (Martín Rojo, 2019: 177).

In Excerpt 1, Raquel also foregrounds the students' need for "internationalization" by fusing English-learning processes with academic/professional

mobility trajectories. She presents efficient English-language competence and geographic mobility as mutually constitutive (lines 5-6) and envisions students as work-seekers in the transnational arena (lines 2 and 6). This connection with the "international experience", understood as key to EFL development, is grounded on nativist conceptions of language which link particular language forms to fixed territories and homogenous cultures; in this case, to English-speaking countries, where students are expected to undergo "authentic immersion", projected, unproblematically, as the quickest route to nativelike "correct" EFL (Codó & Patiño, 2017; Gao & Park, 2015).

The mainstreamed centrality of mobility stays, seen in Raquel's repetition of "go abroad" (five times; in lines 5-8) and in her emphatic use of "I insist" (line 7), is linked to her explicit attempts at guiding students towards the "corporatization" of the well-travelled economicized multilingual self. While doing so, she seems to minimize her students' realistic job prospects, when she provides underqualified and under-paid job opportunities as examples of EFL-learning spaces for international career development, thereby leaving students' prospects of precarity (detailed in Moyer, 2018) undernarrated. This is seen when she states "go to serve drinks […] it doesn't need to be a slaughterhouse" (line 8).

In Excerpt 2, Anna also constructed English as an "employability vehicle" by more explicitly emphasizing the pragmatic, utilitarian use of English for terminological-expertise attainment and for success in the business realm (in a "company"; line 1). These English-vocabulary "skills" were seen, again, as a taken-for-granted requirement and as a must for accessing global discipline-specific information (lines 4-5; note, too, the emphatic use of "of course!" in line 3) (see, also, in Moncada-Comas & Block). Non-command of basic English terminology is (re)presented by Anna's as "non-

communication" (in line 4, with "it would sound Chinese"). Moreover, a command of work-related knowledge in local minority/majority languages was seen as "meagre" (line 7); that is, as "not enough" for career development and, in fact, as a hindrance to access up-to-date information. This goes in line with neoliberal mindsets that link local languages to non-modernity, non-efficiency and lack of innovation, both in academia and at the workplace (Krzyzanowski & Wodak, 2011).

Excerpt 2

		@Back:	Anna (ANN). Anna's office. 5/10/2017. Topic: EMI lecturers as transmitters of required discipline-specific English terminology for work.
→	1	*ANN:	res que tinguin coneixement per si després ells van a una empresa que es dediqui o en
	2		medicaments <de:> [/] de: animals i que sàpiguen el cicle reproductiu,,<vale> [?] #
→	3		han de saber com,, <vale> [?] crec jo han de saber una terminologia <clar> [!] perquè
→	4		després els hi sonaria tot a xino.
		%tra:	Nothing that they have knowledge in case that later they go to a company based on or on drugs <fo:r> [/] f:or animals and they know the reproductive cycle,, <ok> [?] # they have to know how,, <ok> [?] I think they need to know a terminology <of course> [!] because later it'd all sound Chinese.
		[…]	
→	5	*ANN:	perquè home veuran tot en anglès ara un biotecnòleg que hi ha de: # amb tota la
→	6		recerca que faci ha de ser en anglès ## perquè si vols buscar informació d'una cosa si
→	7		fas la cerca en català i en castellà és molt # minsa [...].
		%tra:	Because come on they'll see everything in English now a biotechnologist who has to: # with all the research s/he will do has to be in English # because if [you] want to search information if you do this the search in Catalan and in Spanish is very # scarce.

Excerpts 1 and 2 illustrate that, in following output-oriented perspectives on multilingual resources, lecturers dismissed the private-life side of language backgrounds and trajectories, because there was no mention of their (or their students') engagement

with EMI by reason of personal motivations or interests, linguistic identity affiliations or willingness to experience intercultural-communication mediated in/through English. This provides further evidence that their economicist, rational orientations towards the academic/professional self unpacked identity enactments based on neoliberal linguistic entrepreneurship, as argued below.

4.2 Neoliberal entrepreneurship identities: (De)skilling the English-speaking self-in-the-making

When enquired on their English competence, EMI lecturers displayed "linguistic insecurity" (Canagarajah, 2013: 4) by self-attributing some "lack" of proficiency in it. At some point, they all mobilized identity enactments based on the self-censoring of their EMI performance, which in no case put into question their ability to transmit disciplinary knowledge. This self-deskilling insecurity is grounded on the "introspective self-evaluation", "internal accountability" and "self-doubt" logics that index "proper" neoliberal personhood (Martín Rojo, 2019: 174, 177), as illustrated in Excerpt 3 with the case of Vero. Vero reported that in her first EMI lectures she worked hard to "superprepare" tasks based on communicative-interaction classroom techniques (lines 1-3). However, she later unfolds a narrative of unexpected "failure" by voicing how she felt that these tasks, when put into practice, turned out to be "boring", due to what she called, censoriously, "rubbish English", presented as the outcome of an involuntary bodily reaction linked to "stress" (line 4). This stress led to "fear", and which was somatized in the form of "stutter" (line 11) (note her mention of "emotions" as inhibiting English-mediated communication, in line 9). Thus, she downplayed the many EMI resources that she had adapted from the CLIL courses that she had repetitively

attended. Nonetheless, this "failure" also allowed her to display her effortful, painful

investment, as a self-disciplined neoliberal self, in developing techniques of (emotional)

"self-control" (Urciuoli, 2010: 165) for effective EMI classroom management.

Excerpt 3

@Back:			Vero (VER). Vero's office. 9/3/2017. Topic: Linguistic insecurity as a narrative tool to valorize one's personal/professional investment in EMI.
→	1	*VER:	*yo venía de: # <unas pre> [//] súper preparaciones de: actividades interactivas y:*
→	2		*claro tú vienes con todo esto llegas con súper bien montado <sí sí> [!] voy a hacer*
→	3		*todo súper interactivo y lo que me encuentro es que mi nivel de inglés es una*
→	4		*porquería cuando me sube -, el nivel de estrés mi inglés hace así.*
		%com:	Vero puts her right hand down.
		%tra:	I came fro:m # <some pre> [//] super preparations of interactive activities a:nd of course you come with all this get here all superwell prepared <yes yes> [!] I'll do it all super interactive and what I find is that my level of English is rubbish when my level of stress increases -, the stress level my English does this.
		%com:	Vero puts her right hand down.
→	5	*VER:	*entonces claro porque yo no tengo experiencia hablando inglés o sea tengo mucha*
→	6		*experiencia en inglés de leer de entende:r +... # entonces claro te puedes saber una*
→	7		*clase en inglés y sí que te puedes poner a vomitar el contenido leyendo el*
	8		<u>powerpoint</u> *pero es que no se trata de eso es que si tú sabes- si tú vienes de dar una*
→	9		*buena clase en castellano y sabes cómo tú puedes transmitir las emociones claro*
→	10		*<no:> [//] ya no te digo transmitir las emociones en inglés […] yo lo que sentía*
→	11		*literalmente era miedo entonces # empecé a tartamudear.*
		%tra:	then of course because I do not have experience speaking English that is I have a lot of experience in English reading understa:nding +... # then of course you can know an English class and indeed you can get to vomit the content by reading the powerpoint but this is not about this it is that if you know if you come to have given a good lecture in Spanish and you know how you can transmit emotions of course <no:> [//] I'm not telling you about transmitting emotions in English […] what I felt was literally fear so then # I started stuttering.

In Excerpt 3, Vero foregrounds her vast experience in conducting "international research" in English (lines 5-6), and, in an unmitigated manner, she emphasizes her success in transmitting knowledge in "good" Spanish classes (line 9). In the post-observation interview (5/10/2018), she also valorized her self-improvement attitude by highlighting that she was taking weekly conversation classes with a "native" colleague, and by making it clear that she had obtained the (highest) C2 English-level certificate, after having taken her three kids in an English-speaking country via a stay-abroad experience. In the end, she presented herself as being more qualified than EMI lecturers who merely "vomit knowledge" (see Excerpt 3, line 7) or those whom she (re)presented as having "rusty English", in narrative statements like "one of these colleagues whose English is rustier" (Spanish original: "*una de estas compañeras que tiene el inglés más oxidado*").

These linguistic (de)skilling acts revolved around a shared "success/failure" axis which served to "measure" the lecturers' degree of investment in a "native-speaker" command of "inner-circle" (British or American) standardized norms, taken as *the* legitimate English-proficiency measures in HE (Hu et al., 2014). In accordance with this, narratives of "failure" were modulated through prescriptivist notions of grammar-based approaches to EFL (see, also, Mancho-Barés & Arnó-Macià, 2017). Juan provides evidence of this in Excerpt 4, where he orients positively towards Englishization by highlighting the need for "correct" nativelike proficiency in EMI. He delegitimizes his grammar competence (e.g. concerning modality; lines 1-2) and his "Spanish" pronunciation (line 5), reporting a general lack of "superior linguistic knowledge" (line 4) or "skills" so as to correct his students' written/oral production. However, he self-ascribes an apt metacommunicative expertise ("more language"; line

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7) to successfully transmit disciplinary knowledge in English – in fact, we observed that he used some corrective feedback in actual practice. While he claimed not to be an "English teacher" (line 7) in front of the researcher, whom he categorized as an EFL lecturer (see the interpersonal narrative function of "you" in line 3), he showed investment in linguistic entrepreneurialism. In his language biography, he projected his EMI identity as part of a personal long-term "process of self-constitution" (Martín Rojo, 2019: 178) based on self-determination and on principled self-training to become an English-speaking professional. This was seen in statements like "I learnt a lot. I don't know if they [students] learn as much!" [Spanish original: "*Yo aprendo mucho. ¡Yo no sé si ellos* [los estudiantes] *aprenden tanto!*"] (audiolog; 17/01/2018).

Excerpt 4

		@Back:	Juan (JUA). Juan's office. 7/3/2017. Topic: Detachment from "English teacher" identities and investment in the process of becoming an efficient EMI professional.
→	1	*JUA:	*yo tampoco tengo la formación para poder : -, eh # para poder -, eh # corregir eh*
→	2		*<o:> [/] o saber cuándo es un <u>may</u> un <u>should</u> o un <u>ought to</u> ## entiendo que eso*
	3		*corresponde <al> [//] a <vos> [//] o sea a gente que: # hm que realmente: tenga unos*
→	4		*conocimientos lingüísticos superiores.*
		%tra:	I don't have either the training to be able to: -, eh # to be able to: -, eh # correct eh
			<o:r> [/] or know when it's a may or a should or an ought to ## I understand this
			corresponds <to> [//] to <you> [//] that is to people who: # hm who really: have superior
			linguistic knowledge.
		[…]	
→	5		*me falta pronunciación algunas cosas gramaticales -, hm # la lengua la tienes que:*
	6		*hacerla # hm # a menudo tienes que: ## preparar una clase en inglés -, hm # tienes que*
→	7		*utilizar más la lengua de lo que la utilizamos los que no somos profesores de inglés.*
		%tra:	I lack pronunciation some grammatical issues -, hm # the language you have to: do it
			# hm # frequently you have to: ## prepare a class in English -, hm # you have to use the
			language more than those of us who are not English lecturers use it.

Four informants made explicit use of "native-speaker" metrics and presented multilingual practice and use of non-standardness as not legitimate for EMI. This was further evidenced with their (re)presentations of "non-nativelike" performance in pejorative terms, whereby they envisioned their English resources as not being "pure" or as being "too accented". This was seen in comments such as Anna's, who later in her interview stated: "I speak Catalan English" [Catalan original: "*Parlo un anglès català*"]. It was also observed in Pere's interview (conducted on 5/10/2017; not reproduced here for space constraints), where he once minimized his "skills" to the point that he seemed not to conceive of English as part of his professional multilingual resources, with the comment: "I'm not even trilingual" [Catalan original: "*No sóc ni molt menys trilingüe*"].

Approaching academic identities on a case-study basis allowed me to unpack their complexity by going beyond the dichotomous "disciplinary-content" versus "EFL lecturer" categorizations which informants used to account for their EMI performance. More specifically, it allowed me to observe that most informants on occasions also legitimized non-standardness and "non-native-speaker" proficiency, in self-skilling acts based on "linguistic assertiveness" (Canagarajah, 2013: 4). This apparently contradicted the narratives of "linguistic insecurity" that they simultaneously mobilized (analyzed above). Linguistic self-skilling took the shape of comments like Anna's, who claimed: "maybe I say silly things,, <right> [?] but I just dare and I have no fear […] I go on and on" [Catalan original: "*Potser dic bestieses,, <no> [?] però jo em llanço i no tinc por [...] m'enrotllo*"]. This tolerance for some language deviation from "native-speaker" norms, which has also been reported by Mancho-Barés and Arnó-Macià (2017: 268), at times revealed self-attributed "Englishness" identities whereby lecturers self-ascribed

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not only apt "skills" but also a special "feel" for FLs, as illustrated by Raquel in Excerpt 5.

Excerpt 5

@Back:			Raquel (RAQ). Department's office.16/02/2017. Topic: Skilled "English teachers" with a "feel" for FLs.
→	1	*RAQ:	tenia trenta tres anys o així # em # buscaven gent que tingués una mica de nivell
→	2		d'anglès per fer colònies d'estiu amb nens i em vaig apuntar # [...] fèiem veure que
→	3		érem anglesos i que parlàvem anglès i que no enteníem res i:-, vaig esta:r quatre anys
→	4		fent això [...] la majoria professors d'anglès tenim aquesta afinitat pels idiomes.
		%tra:	I was thirty three years old or so # em # they were looking for people who had a little
			level of English to do summer camps with children and I joined them # […] we pretended
			we were English and that we spoke English and that we understood nothing a:nd -, I spent
			four years doing this […] [we] the vast majority of English teachers have this fondness for
			languages.
		[…]	
→	5	*RAQ:	jo diria que ara hi tinc facilitat pels idiomes però <és: una co> [//] és una: intel·ligència que
	6		he desenvolupat més tard.
		%tra:	I'd say that now I have easiness for languages but <i:t's a thi> [//] it's an intelligence that
			I have developed later on.

In Excerpt 5, Raquel highlights a relevant event in her biographic English-language trajectory. By means of narrative devices which act as downtoners, such as "a little" (lines1-2) or "I'd say" (line 5), she presents herself not only as an "English teacher" (line 4) but also, seemingly, as a "near-native" speaker (in "we pretended we were English"; lines 2-3). This self-skilling act may be understood as an interpersonal narrative device to self-valorize the distinctive EMI lecturer identity that she self-attributed, by claiming to have an exceptional "gift" and "easiness" (an "intelligence"; line 5) and a "feel"/"fondness" for FLs. This resonates with neoliberal professional

linguistic identities based on the self-ascription of a unique ability for multilingual competence and of a (pleasurable) capacity for maximizing one's potential to produce intellectual labor (Sabaté-Dalmau, 2019), adding narrative power to self-presentations as noteworthy linguistic entrepreneur.

5   Concluding thoughts

During our interview, Vero provided the following reflection, here reproduced by way of conclusion:

"Why have I lectured in English? Because I was looking for recognition from the system. As simple as that. Not because it brought me anything back because this complicated my life […] because they have told me that if I teach in English they will promote me".

[Spanish original: "*¿Que por qué he dado clases en inglés? Porque estaba buscando el reconocimiento del sistema. Así de claro. No porque a mí me aportara nada porque a mí me complicaba la vida.* […] *porque me han dicho que si doy las clases en inglés me van a promocionar*"].

I believe that Vero's reproach towards neoliberal governance ("*el sistema*") is an illustration of how EMI instructors critique the implementation of market-oriented (supra)national "Englishization" policies, while they naturalize them and, in fact, seem to take up the role of leading actors in their deployment. More specifically, Vero's statement shows how EMI lecturers valorize themselves as being exceptional self-

enterprising individuals fully invested in the continued self-learning, and accumulation of, certified English-language "career skills". These "skills" are now marketed as a measurable product of intellectual labor, as they are (re)presented as an imperative to meet the demands of (and try to stand out in) a HE market with shrinking employability niches.

In this sense, Vero's reflection epitomizes the ambivalence whereby EMI lecturers make themselves accountable for their positioning concerning their exceptional engagement with language (testing) regimes that act as mechanisms for selecting, profiling and disciplining academic staff's (and students') sociolinguistic behavior on the basis of language "skillification" (Allan, 2018: 467). All in all, this quote allows me to claim that *EMI lecturers* may emerge as telling cases that may contribute to, and be *a magnifying window into, the exploration of* the recently theorized *neoliberal "linguistic entrepreneurship" orientations, identities and practices* in the global era –particularly because of the centrality that the economic rationalities have in the three of them.

The objective of this paper was to problematize the establishment of these language-mediated gatekeeping tools in "the system" by unpacking the social meanings and the consequences that such institutionalized mechanisms may have for the university community. To this aim, I proposed a political economic approach to the English-language policies and practices of a "trilingual" university, via the lens of six case-study EMI lecturers ("multilingual individual agents/actors") who were led to pioneer a "first-order mission" in order to boost "competitiveness" in the educational marketplace: to put EHEA "Internationalization" and "Englishization" schemes into practice.

What I have found that these neoliberal schemes are saturating the non-democratizing language-policy plans of non-English-speaking Southern European universities that are undergoing quick "austerity" or privatization reforms, linked to a global economic recession. I argue that this enhances the precarization of superior education, which adds complexity to already existing structural socioeconomic imbalances in the public system. Overall, this may contribute to the exploration of how, under the conditions of neoliberal governance, social difference and inequality gets (re)produced through the exclusionary regulation of language in a key space of knowledge/information generation and transmission, in newer capitalist shapes and actualized neoliberal discourses, in universities whose social actors are relentlessly pushed and put at the service of the globalized new economy.

Notes

[1] Spanish is the official language of the Spanish nation-state, and a global language, too. Catalan is a minority "vernacular" language with no official recognition in the EU, which has been historically socioeconomically and politically persecuted.

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[2] The data was collected with informed consent and was anonymised, following university ethics and confidentiality protocols.

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Appendix: Transcription System

Language coding

Plain: Catalan

Italics: Spanish

Underlined: English

Conventions

@Bck:	Background information
%com:	contextual information about the previous turn
%tra:	free translation of the turn for languages other than English
#	pause
[/]	repetition
[//]	reformulation
<>	scope
:	lengthened vowel
[…]	Turns omitted for space or confidentiality constraints

Intonation

.	end-of-turn falling contour
?	end-of-turn rising contour
!	end-of-turn exclamation contour
-,	intra-turn fall–rise contour