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Multilingual study mentoring for critical multilingual language awareness among migrant adolescents: scenarios of possibility

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ABSTRACT

This paper builds on a collaborative pilot project on *Critical Multilingual Language Awareness* (CMLA) in a linguistically diverse Preparatory Class with migrant adolescents in Sweden. Importantly, the approach involved Multilingual Study Mentors (MSMs), whose role normally is to provide scaffolding in the strongest language of recently arrived students to facilitate learning in the language of instruction. Previous research has shown that MSMs are left at the margins of education. This paper explores some of the many audio-recorded conversations on multilingualism between the six MSMs and the students as scenarios of possibility (Heath, S. B. 2000. "Seeing Our Way into Learning." *Cambridge Journal of Education* 30 (1): 121–132. doi:10.1080/03057640050005816), facilitated by the MSMs' widened epistemic authority and invested symbolic self (Kramsch, C. 2011. "The Symbolic Dimensions of the Intercultural." *Language Teaching* 44 (3): 354–367. doi:10.1017/s0261444810000431). Through their careful positionings and personal involvement, students were encouraged to engage in various themes on multilingualism via co-learning processes and translingual practices, beyond the mere display of accurate and efficient communication in the majority language, hence, moving towards increased student participation. These findings demonstrate the potential MSMs – or possibly other community members – have to shape co-learning that is of importance to CMLA.

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Multilingual pedagogies in a globalised world

The education system has long been an arena for the 'contestation over what sort of nation, identities and citizenship can be imagined' (Henry 1999, 92), including the role of language. At the heart of such a contestation are alternative 'scenarios of possibility' (Heath 2000), including visions of multilingualism and multilingual identities that are at variance with nation-state monolingual regimes (Henry 1999), underpinning many unfair educational systems (see Prasad and Lory 2020).

To explore scenarios of possibility in education, collaborative and action-based research has been found to be fruitful for opening up discourses that enable 'imagination, human rights, identity, languaging and intercultural being to come centre stage' (Phipps 2013, 337). One way to foster such goals is to implement collaborative approaches to *Critical Multilingual Language Awareness* (CMLA). The purpose of a CMLA approach is to enhance students' 'consciousness of language as social practice and a voicing of their own multilingual experiences' (García 2017, 268–269). By drawing on Clark et al. (1990, 1991), García (2017) points out that such an approach also needs to enable the reconfiguration of 'the social process and ideologies that underlie the

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conventions of language in school and society and act to transform them' (266). García (2017) notes, however, that although many projects on Multilingual Language Awareness address 'struggles surrounding the bilingualism/multilingualism of the group', they still lack 'an awareness of the rich multilingualism in their classroom, beyond the languages sanctioned by schools' (268; see Hedman and Fisher forthcoming).

In order to allow for such an awareness of the multilingualism represented in the classroom in more depth, we implemented a pilot project on CMLA in a Preparatory Class (PC) with recently arrived migrant secondary school students, which also involved six participating *Multilingual Study Mentors* (MSMs, see Hedman and Fisher forthcoming). MSMs usually support recently arrived students' learning in Swedish, the majoritised language/medium of instruction, through the students' 'strongest' language (Swedish National Agency for Education 2019). In the CMLA approach, however, the role of the MSMs was expanded to include more hours, and the approach may also entail a qualitative shift of role.

In this paper, we focus on the role of the Multilingual Study Mentoring within this approach by exploring some excerpts of the many audio-recorded conversations on multilingualism between the MSMs and the students. These conversations constituted new educational experiences that, in novel ways, visibilised the role of the students' whole linguistic repertoire and opened up *scenarios of possibility* (Heath 2000, see above) for enhanced critical multilingual awareness and learning. More specifically, the aim here is to explore and discuss in what ways the MSMs were involved in the conversations and the possible significance of their involvement for co-learning processes, where students are viewed as knowers (see further below). We did this by drawing on the notion of *epistemic authority* (Stivers, Mondada, and Steensig 2011) as well as emotionally charged expressions of stance (such as *affect*, see below). We also discuss personal investment in conversations as a power-laden phenomenon in a setting with asymmetrical power relations (between teachers and MSMs). Our key research question is: in what ways do the MSMs display epistemic authority and personal involvement in the conversations? The methodology draws from onto-epistemological underpinnings of Linguistic Ethnography, where analyses of micro-perspectives, from the viewpoints of the participants, are related to the wider socio-political context (Copland and Creese 2015), here, with respect to linguistic hierarchies within nation-state monolingual regimes.

In the following, the role of Multilingual Study Mentoring in previous research is outlined, as well as the theoretical concepts and the design of the study. The findings section is followed by a concluding summary.

Previous research on multilingual study mentoring

In Sweden, with a population of about 10 million people who speak about 150–200 languages (Parkvall 2019), the national Language Act states that Swedish is the principal language, notwithstanding the right for inhabitants to develop and use languages other than Swedish. In practice, Swedish is the language of instruction in schools, though students with a parent/caregiver who speaks a (minoritised) language other than Swedish on a daily basis, are – in accordance with the Swedish Education Act – entitled to so-called 'mother tongue' instruction (a non-mandatory language subject). Such students represent more than 25% of all students in compulsory schooling.[1]

Recently arrived migrant students' right to Multilingual Study Mentoring (different from mother tongue instruction) – often offered by mother tongue teachers – is stated in the Swedish School Ordinance and refers to the scaffolding of the students' subject learning in Swedish through the 'mother tongue' (or the 'strongest language', Swedish National Agency for Education 2019) during a transitional phase. In practice, this mentoring tends to be restricted to one or two lessons a week.

The MSMs' professional role thus centres around pedagogical scaffolding, which requires that the mentors well understand the students' competencies and interests (cf. Van Lier 2014) so as to effect a gradual handover of responsibility to the student. Support should be both 'safe but

somewhat challenging' (195), and the activities need to be designed and monitored in a way that allows for interaction to flow 'in a natural way' (195).

There has been recent research on the role of Multilingual Study Mentoring, where one focus is on pedagogical scaffolding as a translingual pedagogy, showing how MSMs' translingual and multimodal practices support students' learning in Swedish and other languages, as well as their metalinguistic and sociocultural awareness (Reath Warren 2016). Other studies have focused on the marginalisation of MSMs in Swedish schools, including Multilingual Study Mentoring as an underused practice (e.g. Avery 2017; Dávila and Bunar 2020; Rosén, Straszer, and Wedin 2019, 2020). In an interview study with 20 MSMs, Rosén, Straszer, and Wedin (2019) identified a need for improved integration of the MSMs' work in the overall organisation of the schools and increased opportunities to prepare and collaborate with subject teachers. In Rosén, Straszer, and Wedin (2020), the interviewed MSMs emphasised their role as mediators or a bridge into a new educational system, while stressing their lack of agency. Also, Avery (2017) found similar difficulties for MSMs to participate on equal terms with subject teachers and lack of opportunities to collaborate with them (cf. Martin-Jones and Saxena 1996). Drawing from an interview study with 20 MSMs, Dávila and Bunar (2020) highlight the role of the MSMs as 'advocates for their students in translanguaging spaces' (107) and a need to move the experiences of the MSMs from the margins to the centre of education.

Theoretical points of departure

CMLA as a response-able pedagogy

The CMLA approach applied in this project builds on response-able pedagogies (Bozalek and Zembylas 2017), which has the potential to enhance co-learning and the voicing of multilingual experience. In response-able pedagogies, mutual engagement is vital, which can only take place when students (and other participants) are rendered capable, as *knowers*, which may 'enlarge the competency of all' (Bozalek and Zembylas 2017, 68). This becomes evident in participants' 'responding to the other' (68), for example, through 'practices of curiosity' (68), in which interactants are open or susceptible to 'unanticipated encounters' (68). Potentially facilitated by MSMs, the classroom acts as a relational space for this to happen. Such co-learning also involves translingual pedagogies and practices, which, as discussed in Hedman and Fisher (forthcoming), have the potential to cultivate 'new ways of listening' that spur a 'linguistics of participation' (McDermott 1988, 44).

Furthermore, the approach builds on James and Garrett's (1992) five dimensions of Language Awareness: (1) *cognitive* (metalinguistic/-cognitive), (2) *performative* (including dynamic and creative language practices), (3) *affective* (emotions and language), (4) *social*/relational, and (5) *power* as an overarching dimension affecting the other (Prasad and Lory 2020; see Hedman and Fisher forthcoming).

Epistemic authority, affect and symbolic self

In our interactional analyses, we employ the notion of *epistemic authority* regarding who is entitled 'to talk about what' (Shuman 1992, 140), or to 'ownership of experiences and the right to represent those experiences' (156–157). This means that 'speakers should make assertions only when they have sufficient knowledge and rights to do so' (Stivers, Mondada, and Steensig 2011, 14). In the current study, subject teachers' epistemic authority is connected to their formal qualifications and subject expertise, which is superordinate to the authority of the MSMs. There is thus an epistemic power-asymmetry between subject teachers and MSMs, with respect to what is considered valid knowledge in this educational setting (cf. Martin-Jones and Saxena 1996). The MSMs may still 'share privileged epistemic authority over some domain' (Stivers, Mondada, and Steensig 2011,

6). This may include the MSMs' linguistic and cultural knowledge and also the 'biographical facts' (Goffman 1971, 39), which MSMs have about their students.

The logic of epistemic authority in conversation thus entails that speakers who have *epistemic access* to a certain domain, in terms of detailed and in-depth knowledge, for example, about various languages, may enjoy or experience 'primary rights to make assertions and assessments regarding this domain' (cf. *epistemic primacy*, Stivers, Mondada, and Steensig 2011, 14). Speakers with more detailed knowledge may also feel obliged to share their knowledge (cf. *epistemic responsibility*, Stivers, Mondada, and Steensig 2011) in that 'interactants treat knowledge as a moral domain with clear implications for their relationships with co-interactants' (9). This means that interlocutors could consider themselves 'accountable for what they know, their level of certainty, their relative authority, and the degree to which they exercise their rights and fulfil their responsibilities' (Stivers, Mondada, and Steensig 2011, 9).

We are thus interested in how the power relations between the MSMs and the subject teachers (and the students) are possibly altered within this CMLA approach, in which the MSMs could be expected to have more detailed knowledge about various languages and multilingualism. We analyze the MSMs' epistemic claims as indications of epistemic authority (interconnecting epistemic primacy, access and responsibility). We also consider how the MSMs, just like any other social actor, 'actively and agentively select, resist and revisit positions' (De Fina and Georgakopoulou 2012, 163), in particular, by drawing on *affective* stance-taking as expression of positionality in terms of 'emotional states of the speaker' (Jaffe 2009, 7). According to Jaffe (2009), 'affective display can do the work of evaluation, self-presentation, and positioning' (7). In addition, we consider *involvement* as 'non-gradable resources' of negotiating relations, such as solidarity (Martin and White 2005, 33), which could be related to Goffman's (1981) notion of 'footing', focusing on speaker alignment.

As stated, we further discuss involvement in conversations as a power-laden phenomenon, particularly in a setting with asymmetrical power relations, meaning that the MSMs are engaging in a symbolic power game in which one's personal and social identity, or *symbolic self*, is invested (Kramsch 2011). According to Kramsch (2011), the symbolic self represents 'the most sacred part of our personal and social identity' (354), building on an individual's symbolic competence. Kramsch and Whiteside (2008) outline symbolic competence as: (i) *subject-positioning*, here, with regard to the possibility of positioning oneself as a multilingual subject (664); (ii) *historicity* or an understanding of historical-cultural memories (665) such as 'collective memories, emotions and aspirations' (Kramsch 2011, 357); (iii) *performativity* or 'the capacity to perform and create alternative realities' (Kramsch and Whiteside 2008, 666); and (iv) *reframing* 'as a powerful means of changing the context' (666). According to Kramsch (2011, 359), these elements of symbolic competence could challenge established meanings or 'truths' (see also Kramsch 2006).

In this paper, we analyze the MSMs' personal investment or symbolic self in terms of 'careful positioning', for example, as 'delicate facework', and/or the possible framing and re-framing of events (Kramsch 2011, 354).

The study's design and methodology

As stated, the paper draws from a CMLA project in a PC for recently arrived secondary school students at Sessile Oak,[2] situated in a relatively socioeconomically stable suburban area in Sweden (including also students from less stable areas). In this collaborative approach, we adapted a thematic frame from the *We Are Multilingual* (https://www.wamcam.org) strand of the *Multilingualism: Empowering Individuals, Transforming Societies project* (http://www.meits.org; see Fisher et al. 2020) comprising an initial set of c. 10 lessons during a period of two months. Although the original material was aimed for discussions of multilingual identities among foreign language-learning

students, the teachers in the current study (particularly one teacher in Swedish as a second language) adapted the design to the conditions of the PC.

The participating teachers were two qualified teachers in Swedish as a second language (Amanda and Lena), together with Oliver (a qualified teacher of another core subject). The lessons were dynamic and activities in small-group work and teacher-led whole class instructions and discussions were open to changes, for example, in response to student suggestions. The initial ten lessons were followed up the subsequent term with the preparation of an exhibition (see Hedman and Fisher forthcoming).

The study involved the ten recently arrived students who were currently enrolled in the PC at Sessile Oak, ages 13–15 years, who originated from countries in the Middle East, Eastern Europe, South and Central America and North and Eastern Africa. Their experiences from schooling in Sweden ranged from three to six months. Half of them had schooling backgrounds and the other half had no or interrupted schooling. All students had begun to integrate gradually into their mainstream classes in accordance with national regulations.

Based on careful planning, the six MSMs, who participated in the study, were able to take part in each of the ten lessons, and the students therefore met their MSMs more frequently during this theme compared to the regular multilingual mentoring of 1–2 lessons per week. Apart from Swedish, the MSMs scaffolded the students mainly in the following languages: Nura (Azerbaijani, Turkish[3]); Valentina (Spanish); Ana (Arabic); Yasmine (Dari); David (a North African language[4]); and Andrew (English). Some of the MSMs also taught the students in mother tongue classes.

The first author, situated in the field of multilingualism and the teaching and learning of Swedish as a second language, took part in all the lessons, located in the PC classroom. She also initially informed all participants about the project. An ethical vetting was approved by the Swedish Ethical Review Authority[5] and informed consents were collected from all participants.[6]

Data consist of audio- and video-recordings from classroom observations, student, teacher and MSM interviews, and observational fieldnotes from the lessons, as well as instructional material and photos of student-produced texts and images. The video-recordings mainly captured whole class interaction, while audio-recorders on tables mainly captured small-group interaction, here, between students and the MSMs. The MSMs participated in the student interviews (which were carried out individually or in pairs, triads – depending on the common language and the students' preferences), with the intention to include them not only as interpreters. The informal artefact-based interviews were carried out in a separate room at the end of the project by the first author and centered around thoughts about the CMLA frame and the various sub-themes, for example, based on some of the student-produced texts (Hedman and Fisher forthcoming). The dialogue in the interviews, as well as in classroom interactions, is viewed to be socially co-constructed by all participants (cf. De Fina 2019). The methodology of this study also draws from onto-epistemological underpinnings of Linguistic Ethnography, where micro-analyses are related to power asymmetries in the classroom and linguistic hierarchies in the wider socio-political context (Copland and Creese 2015). Audio-recordings of small-group interaction, and most of the student interviews, were transcribed and translated into Swedish or English.

The focal point of this paper was generated through initial readings of the whole data set, identifying the role of the MSMs in the interactional transcripts as an analytical focus, and more precisely, instances where the MSMs introduced knowledge claims in task-based conversations on multilingualism with the students, as well as in the student interviews involving MSMs. The initial analysis was primarily carried out by the first author, but subsequently jointly discussed by both authors.

The analytical procedure involved an abductive analytical process (Alvesson and Kaj 2017; also Copland and Creese 2015). Interactional core foci were indications of epistemic authority/primacy and epistemic responsibility among the MSMs, building on their epistemic access to

biographical facts, linguistic knowledge and language competences, including lived experiences of language. Their epistemic claims were also related to stance-taking in terms of affect and alignment. Involvement in conversations were further analysed in terms of personal investment of a symbolic self (see above). In Findings, these analyses are represented by excerpts under the three headings: *Epistemic primacy, epistemic accountability and affect; Personal involvement*; and *Dialoguing linguistic hierarchies on a time-scale.* The presented excerpts are discussed on a micro-interactional level relating to an educational task and a language ideological level in line with a Linguistic Ethnographic approach.

Findings

Epistemic primacy, epistemic accountability and affect

Excerpts 1 and 2 are based on an assignment where the students were asked to identify words or phrases in one of their spoken languages that could not easily be translated into any other language. The assignment was introduced via an episode of an educational TV series in which adolescents with various language and cultural backgrounds talked about how they use language in their everyday lives, where non-translatable language use was discussed. During this task, the MSMs were seated in class with the students. In excerpt 1, student Hasad discusses the task with MSM Nura. Since he has difficulties finding a word or a phrase in one of his spoken languages that is not translatable into Swedish, Nura adjusts the instruction by suggesting that Hasad primarily makes comparisons between two of his spoken languages, Turkish and Azerbaijani, since he 'doesn't know Swedish very well'.

Excerpt 1 (M = MSM Nura; S = student Hasad; T = teacher in *Swedish as a second languge*, Amanda):

01 M:	[turns to Hasad] fikirləş də Hasad, indi Azərbaycan dilində bir dənə söz tapa bilmədin başqa dildə olmayan? […] İndi sən də isveççəni çox yaxşı bilmədiyin üçün müqayisə eləyə bilərsən türkcə ilə <*think Hasad, have you not been able to find a word in Azerbaijani that's not available in other languages?* […] since *you don't know Swedish very well you can compare with Turkish* […]
02 S:	buxqalter doğrudan onlarda var? <*is buxqalter [Russian word for auditor] in their language?*>
03 M:	nə? <*what did you say?*>
04 S:	buxqalter var ha <*auditor*>
05 M:	buxqalter isveççədə var amma o rus sözüdü də buxqalter mühasibdi Azərbaycan dilindəki mühasibdi (.) amma o isveççədə o bir peşədi o isveççədə da var bütün dillərdə onun qarşılığı var (.) başa düşdün? […] <*buxqalter is in Swedish but it's a Russian word it means mühasib mühasib [bookkeeper] in Azerbaijani (.) but this word in Swedish it's a profession and can be translated into all languages (.) do you understand?*> […]
06 M:	məsələn, mən bir dənə misal deyim sənə? <*should I give an example?*>
07 S:	hə <*yes*>
08 M:	deyirik (.) İsveç dilində vətən sözü yoxdu yəni, *land* var məsələn ölkə < *(.) this word* vətən *doesn't exist in Swedish so there's land [Swedish for country]*>

In excerpt 1, Nura is not fully satisfied with Hasad's suggestion of the Russian word for *auditor*, and later in the conversation she provides another example, the word *vətən* in Azerbaijani (08), which she compares with the Swedish word for 'country' (*land*). She introduces this new example via a question of courtesy (06: 'should I give an example?'), as a 'moral calibration' (Stivers, Mondada, and Steensig 2011, 8) by which she aligns with Hasad and his difficulty with the task. Nura's knowledge claim is that these words are different, but she does not say in what way, suggesting that she wants to keep the task 'somewhat challenging' (Van Lier 2014, 195).

Later in the same lesson, teacher Amanda (T) asks Hasad if he has 'come up with something' when also Nura takes part in the conversation (excerpt 2).

Excerpt 2 (M = MSM Nura; S = student Hasad; T = teacher Amanda):

01 T: [T turns to student] Hasad (.) du tänker vidare eller har du kommit på något? <*Hasad (.) you think further or have you come up with something?*> […]
02 S: *vatan* […]
03 T: och vad säger man på svenska? <*and what do you say in Swedish?*>
04 S: land <*country*>
05 T: är det olika eller samma? <*is it different or the same?*>
06 S: nej olika <*no different*>
07 T: vad är det som är skillnad mellan *vatan* och land? <*what's the difference between vatan and country?*>
08 M: M [turns to T] det är ju olika (.) alltså land (.) det har inte samma betydelse (.) så *vatan* det är mer (.) alltså det är ju mer starka känslor <*well it's different (.) so country (.) it doesn't have the same meaning (.) so vatan it's more (.) so there are stronger emotions*>
09 T: jaha? ok <*yes? ok*>
10 M: mer starka känslor än land (.) det är ett land man bor i men *vatan* det är någonting man har ju starka känslor <*stronger emotions than country (.) it's a country you live in but vatan it's something you have strong feelings (for)*>
11 T: jag förstår (.) det är mer som (.) man har en nationalistisk känsla (.) det här är mitt land liksom i hjärtat <*I see (.) it's more like (.) you have nationalistic feeling (.) this is my country like in the heart (puts hand on her heart)*>
12 M: precis <exactly>

Although Hasad acknowledges a difference between the proposed words, Nura engages in the conversation by providing an explanation of the difference (line 08) via an affective stance (line 10: 'stronger emotions', 'strong feelings'), indexing personal involvement and also a sense of epistemic responsibility in the situation (see above).

Nura thus scaffolds this task (excerpts 1 and 2) via a high degree of involvement, as evident in her reframing (to compare words only in Turkish and Azerbaijani) and the shaping of content through the suggested knowledge claim. This epistemic primacy is based in her language and cultural expertise as well as her knowledge of the students' language competencies (cf. Van Lier 2014, 207). Nura's knowledge claim in excerpt 2 further taps into a national discourse, as she reframes the task into expressed emotions relating to a nation (Kramsch 2011, 354).

Lines 08–12 involve a discursive balancing act in which Nura maintains this emotionally charged positioning in the presence of teacher Amanda, considering that their relation is asymmetrical in this context. Such a balancing act requires care for the interactants' 'well-being' (cf. Kramsch 2011, 354), as displayed through teacher Amanda's reinforcement of Nura's affective stance and her successful uptake of Nura's explanation of the difference between 'vatan' and 'land' (line 11).

Personal involvement

In other interactions, for example, between MSM Valentina and the students Jennie and Adriana, Valentina drew explicitly on her own experience of being a Spanish-Swedish speaking person in Sweden. These experiences were presented as 'small stories' (Georgakopoulou 2015), which were told with a humorous stance, considering that story telling involves elements of performance to engage the listeners. The students found these narrations entertaining, and they were listening attentively. In excerpt 3, the students were asked to discuss when and how they usually 'mix' (Swedish: *blanda*) languages. Valentina starts by providing an example of her own.

Excerpt 3 (M = MSM Valentina; SA = student Adriana; SJ = student Jennie):

01 SA: a ver (.) när jag brukar blanda (reads the assignment in Swedish) amita:: jag brukar blanda qué es lo que sería, blanda <*look (.) when I use to mix (reads the assignment in Swedish) de::ar I usually mix what would it be to mix*>
[…]
02 M: yo creo que uno blanda (Swedish) cuando hay bromas <*I think you mix when it's a joke*>
03 SJ: *en bromas no* <*kidding huh?*>
04 M: cuando está no sé yo por lo menos yo digo muchas palabras eee *te sakno* digo yo a mis lo de hago en español y esa la uso yo mucho <*well it's I don't know at least I at least say many words e:: te sakno I say to mine I do it a lot in Spanish and I use it a lot*>

(*Continued*)

Continued.

Excerpt 3 (M = MSM Valentina; SA = student Adriana; SJ = student Jennie):

05 M: y cuando quiero (unaudible) echo de menos y mi nieta pone *te sakno* och när jag vill *jag saknar dig* (Swedish) *<and when I want (inaudible) I miss you and my grandson writes te sakno (I miss you) and when I want I miss you (said in Swedish)>*
06 SA: a:::
07 M: es jag saknar dig (Swedish) está de echo de español y de sueco esa la uso mucho *<it's I miss you it's made of Spanish and Swedish I use it a lot>*

With this small story, Valentina provides an example of creative language use, which she tells with an affective stance, involving how she communicates emotions ('I miss you') with her grandson through translingual practices (04–05). Although the example may indicate that mixing language is appropriate only for informal language use in the domestic domain, she, at the same time, acknowledges and legitimises this type of everyday translingual practice, communicated within an institutional frame. This personal story provides a stronger sense of flow when all interactants, not only the students, contribute (cf. Van Lier 2014, 195). Importantly, not everybody is entitled to tell these types of stories, as they require a shared multilingual experience. Valentina's contribution thus involves a way to align with the students, who were not accustomed to talking about these language practices.

Dialoguing linguistic hierarchies on a time-scale

The following example of epistemic authority comes from one of the informal interviews, which the first author conducted in Swedish with two of the Arabic-speaking students when MSM Ana also participated. In the interview, the first author reminded them of where she comes from in Sweden, which was something that she had brought up in her initial presentation, see fieldnotes:

> I try to start up on a more personal note by showing photos from my municipality where I grew up. This municipality is located in a mountain area in the northern part of Sweden. Among other things, I show a photo of my old school. Today, the school's name is also written in Southern Sámi [a language spoken by the Sámis, Sweden's indigenous people]. I tell them that the Sámi language has been forbidden for a long time. I also found that this topic connected well with the project's theme (fieldnotes October 22, 2020, translated from Swedish).

In this informal interview, the first author again showed photos from her home county, as the students showed her their trajectories via a digital map. Hence, the history of the Sámis was brought to the fore once more regarding how their language was previosly forbidden, but is now part of the (visual) linguistic landscape of the municipality. When talking about these issues in Swedish, Ana translated for the two students in Arabic. As evident from excerpt 4, she also contributes new knowledge on the topic.

Excerpt 4 (M = MSM Ana; S = student Mustafa):

هما الساميين أصل سكان السويد، عرفت
شلون؟
01 M: *the Sámis are the indigenous people of Sweden you know*

[…]
أملاكهم، قالولهم ممنوع تحكون لغتكم
02 M: *they told them they're not allowed to speak their own language […]*

فتقول، يعني، هاي المشاكل موجودة في
السويد أيضاً مثل ما موجودة في بلدان
أخرى
03 M: *so she says I mean these problems exist in Sweden just like it does in other countries*

وبالـ. انتو بالسوريا ممنوع الواحد يقول
أنا كردي، يقرا شو اسمو..
04 M: *and in the (.) in Syria one is forbidden to say I'm Kurdish they study what's called*

(*Continued*)

Continued.

Excerpt 4 (M = MSM Ana; S = student Mustafa):

أي من الأول..
05 S: *yeah from the beginning*

أي من الأول، يقرا باللغة الكردية، ما
تقرون باللغة الكردية.
06 M: *yes from the beginning to study in the Kurdish language you don't study in the Kurdish language*

In excerpt 4, Ana clarifies that similar issues also exist in other parts of the world and she exemplifies with the situation of the Kurdish language in Syria. Epistemic primacy is indexed in 03, where Ana shifts from 'she says' to 'I mean'. Through this shift, she asserts epistemic authority, although not necessarily emerging from her own lived experiences. As with many of the MSMs, their epistemic authority was built upon access to accumulated knowledge of migrant students and their families over time. In line with Goffman (1971, 39), 'biographical facts about the individual' may also grant the MSMs epistemic authority in this context. In excerpt 4, the knowledge claim called for an understanding of linguistic hierarchies between Kurdish and Arabic in Syria as well as between Sámi and Swedish on a time-scale involving both present and 'historical-cultural memories', demonstrating the MSMs' symbolic competence (Kramsch and Whiteside 2008, 665).

Linguistic hierarchies were also addressed more implicitly. In excerpt 5, the students had previously talked about their linguistic repertoires and use of languages. MSM David reframes some of the questions in a North African language to involve language learning on a wider time scale. (Only English translations are presented to protect the integrity of the participants).

Excerpt 5 (M = MSM David; SC = Student Chris; SJ = Student John):

01 M:	When you grow up in the future your kids (.) what language should they speak?
02 SC:	I want them to speak a language that I can speak
03 SJ:	I want them to speak English and Swedish
04 M:	What about your home languages?
05 SJ:	Yes also

By addressing possible futures, David's implied claim to continue using 'your home languages' (04) functions as a moral evaluation of the exclusion of minoritised language use (04) as part of imagined future linguistic repertoires. This implicit call for change of behaviour is acknowledged in the final student answer (05). David's question thus functions as an advocacy of the students' continued use of the minoritised languages of less prestige than Swedish and English in this context (see Hult 2012).

Such implicit calls for change could be viewed as emotionally charged positionality (cf. Jaffe 2009), which is also evident in the interview with student Ali and MSM Yasmine. When asked about his imagined future, Ali says he wants to speak Swedish and English, and Dari 'not so much'. In excerpt 6, Yasmine thus asks Ali both in Dari and Swedish about the possibility of forgetting a language.

Excerpt 6 (R = Researcher; S = Student Ali; M = MSM Yasmine):

01 M: نمیشه که یک زبان را فراموش کرد *<can't you forget a language?>*
02 M: kan man inte glömma ett språk? *<can't you forget a language?>*
03 S: nej, det går inte *<no that's not possible>*
[…]
04 M: jag har tappat bort *<I've lost>*
05 R: ja det går fort *<it goes fast> (light laughter)*
06 M: ja jättefort jag måste tänka tänka tills jag kommer på nåt ord (laughter) *<yes very fast I have to think think until I come up with a word (laughter)>*
07 R: just det jag förstår *<exactly I understand that>*
08 S: ها فراموش میشه اما نه که دیگه همه چیز را فراموش کند و پشتش را الا کند مگنه استاد! زیاد که فراموش کند شاید ۳۰٪ یا۴۰٪ دیگرش که فراموش نمیشه. *< well you forget but not that you forget completely maybe 30 percent or 40 percent but not everything>*

When Ali resists the implicit claim that one can forget a language (03), Yasmine provides a personal experience of forgetting words in Dari (04), by which she addresses the problem without dismissing Ali's perspective in a face-threatening way. Through a personal story, Yasmine thus invests her symbolic self to prove a point via 'delicate facework' (Kramsch 2011, 354). Yasmine's careful positioning further exemplifies a sense of epistemic responsibility in her sharing of a lived experience of language, by which she aligns with Ali in the danger of future language loss. This symbolic power game could be understood in relation to Dari as a less prestigious minoritised language in this context.

Discussion

As found in previous research, Multilingual Study Mentoring tends to be a marginalised resource in the Swedish school. At the same time, the potential of MSMs for transformative agendas have been stressed (e.g. Dávila and Bunar 2020), despite the constraints of the transitional design in which they operate. In the current CMLA approach, the MSMs were found to scaffold the students multilingually in line with their formal professional role, based in careful monitoring of student activity and in their background knowledge of the students (Van Lier 2014, 207). Via a focus on non-formal MSM–student(s) interactions, we found, however, that the MSMs – within this CMLA frame – moved beyond translating and mediating (subject) knowledge or the scaffolding of 'accurate', 'effective' and 'appropriate' communication (Kramsch and Whiteside 2008, 664). Instead, the MSMs, based in their areas of expertise, reformulated and shaped the conversations on multilingualism through translingual practices. Our close-up analyses show that the MSMs' participation – building on involvement and epistemic authority – contributed added value, including the 'ability to play with various linguistic codes' (Kramsch and Whiteside 2008, 664). This *symbolic competence* was displayed in shared *subject-positionings* with the students, performed understandings of *historicity* relating to linguistic hierarchies, as well as in the shaping of (future) envisionings (cf. Kramsch and Whiteside 2008, 664–665). The MSMs' influence on 'the very context in which the language is learned and used' (664), was notable in fine balancing acts of measured positionings, intricate facework, here, building on own experiences, and (re)framing of events (Kramsch 2011, 354). This type of investment is, we argue, important for 'reciprocal exchanges of knowledge' (Bozalek and Zembylas 2017) and is contingent upon epistemic authority and personal involvement, as evident from our findings. Expressions of epistemic authority among the MSMs were also found to be closely connected to epistemic accountability (cf. Stivers, Mondada, and Steensig 2011), meaning that knowledge was shared despite power asymmetries, which we also relate to their *symbolic competence*.

We thus find that the involvement of MSMs in this CMLA approach among migrant students may qualitatively expand on their professional role, not least, as 'agents through whom ideology is spread' (Shohamy 2005, 79), implying the MSMs' potential to shape co-learning of importance to Critical Multilingual Language Awareness.

This paper contributes new knowledge on what may constitute multilingual support in CMLA, which is relevant also to other educational contexts that do not include this type of Multilingual Study Mentoring. The role of the MSMs could be related to 'community members' who may be engaged in design-based CMLA research 'to contribute their language and cultural expertise' (Prasad and Lory 2020, 805). We also see a need for further exploration of the role of MSMs or community members within future research in CMLA.

Conclusion

The current findings shed further light on the intricacies and multifaceted competences involved when MSMs or other 'community members' are invited to contribute to CMLA. The findings support Dávila and Bunar's (2020) call for moving the experiences of the MSMs to the centre of education. This is what happened within the current approach, indicating that even small-scale pedagogical adjustments may initiate processes of reframing institutional interactions and

educational experiences (cf. Van Lier 2014, 189). Engaging Multilingual Study Mentoring in CMLA, as in this study, affords *scenarios of possibility* (Heath 2000) insofar as the MSMs' role may be expanded by building on their epistemic authority, involvement and symbolic competence, all of which are important for the development of co-learning processes that may spur *a linguistics of participation* in an emotionally safe learning environment (McDermott 1988; see also Hedman and Fisher forthcoming).

Notes

1. Source: Statistics Sweden (scb.se).
2. All names are pseudonyms.
3. MSM Nura also knew other Turkic languages.
4. The language is not specified for reasons of confidentiality.
5. Decision number: Dnr 2020-00087 [The Ethical Review Authority, Uppsala].
6. The first author gave oral information that was translated in class together with the written information. In addition, a video of the information was made available.

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