

Anne Reath Warren

Stockholm University

Multilingual study guidance in the Swedish compulsory school and the development of multilingual literacies

Abstract

Helping recently arrived pupils learn the language of education in the countries they move to is a significant responsibility for schools in Sweden and other immigrant-receiving countries. Also important but often overlooked is the continuing development of the language(s) these pupils already speak and their value in learning majority languages and subjects. This article asks what the functions of multilingual practices during Multilingual Study Guidance are and how they help recently arrived pupils in the Swedish school reach the learning goals of subjects in the Swedish curriculum. A functional analysis of linguistic ethnographic data shows how using languages pupils understand to reformulate, explain, discuss and raise task, metalinguistic and sociocultural awareness, creates a temporary space for translanguaging, which facilitates subject knowledge development in Swedish and other languages. It is argued that recognition and expansion of this space has the potential to improve opportunities for recently arrived pupils' on-going multilingual development.

Keywords: Multilingual study guidance; translanguaging, continua of biliteracy; recent arrivals; Sweden

Introduction

One October afternoon in a classroom at a linguistically diverse suburban school in a large Swedish city, a teacher is helping a grade eight pupil with the subject of Swedish as a second language (hereafter SSL). The pupil is Kurdish and had arrived in Sweden from Central Anatolia

in Turkey earlier that year. The school has arranged for her to have multilingual study guidance (hereafter MSG), conducted by her mother tongue teacher, to help her reach the learning goals of SSL. The teacher and pupil move between three languages, Kurdish, Turkish and Swedish, as they work. After the lesson the teacher explained:

Extract 1.¹ Post-lesson discussion with Kurdish MT teacher, MSG grade 8.

She has gone to school in Turkey and has learnt Turkish there but her Turkish isn't very strong. /.../ I don't know how many years she has gone to school but I know that she feels more secure when she explains things in Kurdish since she perhaps. perhaps I'm saying I don't know for sure. she feels that she doesn't know enough Turkish when it comes to writing. do you understand? But we spoke mostly Kurdish. Of course sometimes Turkish too so she had a better chance of understanding.

Extract 1 offers a glimpse into the complex linguistic resources that this particular pupil brings with her to the Swedish school context and how a teacher accesses these, to help her reach the goals of the school subjects she is studying. This is a practice often overlooked in the education of multilingual pupils (Cummins 2005; García and Kleifgren 2010; Cenoz and Gorter 2013). Speaking a variety of Kurdish influenced by Turkish as a mother tongue, but educated in a Turkish-medium school, this grade eight pupil is now in the process of adding Swedish to her linguistic repertoire.

This article introduces MSG and presents an analysis of 13 audio-recorded lessons (10 hours and 50 minutes in total) during which MSG was conducted with pupils from grades 2–8. Extracts from 17 interviews with a range of teachers and leaders in the Swedish compulsory school (grades 1–9) provide complementary perspectives on MSG. These data were collected during linguistic ethnographic fieldwork in a larger study. Resting on theories concerning the development of multilingual literacies (Hornberger 1989; Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester 2000) and multilingual practices (García 2009a; García & Kleifgen 2010), this study aims to add to our knowledge about how recently arrived pupils in the Swedish school develop literacies in more than one language. It investigates the following research questions: What are the observed and perceived functions of multilingual practices which take place during MSG in this context? How might these practices help pupils reach the learning goals of subjects in the Swedish curriculum?

Background

MSG is state-financed multilingual support which pupils in the Swedish compulsory and upper-secondary school have had a legal right to since 1966 (Utbildningsdepartementet 2010; Hyltenstam and Tuomela 1996:44–46)². It is a form of short-term educational support aimed at helping pupils reach the learning goals of subjects in the national curriculum by using languages they understand to work through material from Swedish-medium lessons (Utbildningsdepartementet 2010). These languages can include the mother tongue and other languages pupils have been educated in before arriving in Sweden (cf. extract 1). In English translations of Swedish educational policy documents MSG is called ‘study guidance in the mother tongue’, but in this article, it is re-cast as *Multilingual Study Guidance* as there are always languages in addition to the mother tongue, especially Swedish, used during these sessions.

MSG is provided most often for recently arrived pupils, ideally during both their first years in the Swedish school and for those who have first attended Introductory classes³, after transition to mainstream classrooms. For pupils who have subject knowledge in languages other than Swedish, MSG facilitates the transfer of this knowledge to the Swedish context. For pupils without subject knowledge, MSG provides an introduction to and short-term support in subjects in the Swedish curriculum. The number of hours provided per week is unregulated and varies between schools (Skolinspektionen 2010:22).

In the past MSG was mostly conducted by mother tongue (hereafter MT) teachers. As demand for MSG increases however, professionals and recent graduates of Swedish upper-secondary schools with subject expertise and the relevant language skills are now being employed to conduct it (personal communication with a local administrative manager of MT teachers, 13 Nov 2015). At the time of this study, the only available official resource for planning and conducting MSG was a 44-page handbook in Swedish (Skolverket 2015b) but there is a growing range of academic and vocational courses to prepare people to conduct it. This article focuses on MSG conducted by MT teachers, as they were the only category observed conducting it during fieldwork (see Methodology section for a full description). They are referred to as “teachers” or “MT teachers” although they are conducting MSG, not teaching the subject of mother tongue instruction.

In Sweden, during the 2014–2015 academic year, 225 497 pupils (23.8% of the total population of the compulsory school, i.e. grades 1–9) were eligible for mother tongue instruction (Skolverket 2015a). Of these, 17 300 (1.8% of the total population of the compulsory school) received MSG (Skolverket 2015c). 2802 MT teachers, teaching 150 mother tongues and if required, MSG, were employed in the compulsory school during the same year.

While some research has been conducted into the (elective) subject of mother tongue instruction (hereafter MTI; for recent research on this subject see Avery 2015; Ganuza & Hedman 2014; Reath Warren 2013), the separate and different work that MT teachers do with MSG is conspicuous by its absence. It is mentioned only as a sub-heading in research on general education issues for recently arrived pupils. These reports highlight the positive effects teachers believe MSG has on attainment of subject learning goals (Juvonen 2015:167–168), pupils' positive experiences of MSG (Nilsson Folke 2015:61, 65) and the role of MSG in interactional scaffolding (Uddling 2013:44).

Official reports investigating learning conditions for recently arrived pupils state that well-planned MSG can help prepare pupils for subject instruction in Swedish and help them integrate (Skolinspektionen 2009, 2010, 2014; Hyltenstam & Milani 2012:70; SKL 2010; Skolverket 2008:22). The lack of collaboration between subject teachers and those who conduct MSG is also brought to light, as are MT teachers' reflections on the problems of not always having the subject knowledge required (Skolinspektionen 2014:22). There are no reports or research based on observation of MSG which might show *how* it helps recently arrived pupils.

Theoretical perspectives on multilingual practices will be discussed in the next section followed by a description of the methodology of the study. The results are then presented and contextualized by a discussion before final conclusions are drawn.

Theoretical perspectives: The continua of biliteracy

MSG is a form of educational support based on multilingual practices, defined in this article as the concurrent use of all linguistic resources that pupils and teachers have access to and can draw on in interaction (cf. Lytra & Baraç 2009:57). It is not 'bilingual education' by any tradi-

tional definition, but provides a space and time for learning multilingually within the Swedish compulsory school. Theories relating to the development of multilingual literacies, including translanguaging provide useful and complementary perspectives for analysing perceptions of and language practices in MSG.

The continua of biliteracy (Hornberger 1989; Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester 2000; Hornberger 2003) is an ecological model which represents the development of literacy in more than one language, emphasizing the multidimensionality and complexity of this process. Biliteracy, defined by Hornberger as “the use of two or more languages in or around writing” (Hornberger 2003:xii) also encompasses multilingual, vernacular, indigenous and everyday literacies (Hornberger 2000:357). In this article, the term ‘multilingual literacies’ will be used, as most pupils observed were in the process of developing literacies in more than two languages.

The model proposes that the development of multilingual literacies is a dynamic process taking place along four groups of nested and intersecting scales (see Figures 1 and 2 in Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester 2000: 97). It represents visually how the development of multilingual literacies is affected by where, when (context) and how (development) multilinguals read, write and use the languages they are developing competence in, as well as what they read and write (content) and the nature of the languages themselves (media) (cf. Hornberger and Link 2012a:268).

The context, development, content and media in the model each respectively comprise three intersecting and interdependent continua:

- *Contexts of biliteracy*: macro–micro; oral–literate; bi(multi)lingual–monolingual
- *Development of biliteracy*: reception–production; oral–written; L1–L2
- *Content of biliteracy*: minority–majority; vernacular–literary; contextualized–decontextualized.
- *Media of biliteracy*: simultaneous exposure–successive exposure; dissimilar structures–similar structures; divergent scripts–convergent scripts.

The *contexts* in which multilingual literacies develop include both micro and macro environments characterised by various patterns of monolingual and multilingual language use, and situations where either oral or literate competency is privileged. Individual *development of biliteracy* develops along continua where receptive-productive and oral-written abilities vary, and the languages within the repertoire are drawn on to different degrees at different times. The *content* read and used by individuals developing multilingual literacies can focus on minority or majority perspectives. Some material is highly vernacular, other more literary, and all content can be contextualised or decontextualized. The development of biliteracy is also influenced by the nature of the languages themselves, or the *media of biliteracy*. Individuals might have been exposed to the languages they are developing simultaneously or successively, the languages might be structurally similar to each other or not, or have relatively convergent or completely divergent scripts. All of these factors impact on the development of multilingual literacies.

The continua are infused with power relations. In the list above, less power is traditionally invested in the first of each pair of continuum end points, e.g. in contexts where biliteracy develops, the resources of home environments (micro-contexts) are invested with less power than the resources at schools and other social institutions (macro-contexts) (See Figure 3 in Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester 2000:98).

The continua of biliteracy model supports the view that bi/multilinguals' learning is maximized when they are able to draw on all points of each continua, a dynamic movement which allows them to access and develop their own linguistic and cultural resources (conventionally less powerful) as well as develop competences at the more powerful ends of each continua, (conventionally representing dominant majority contexts, cultures and literacies). This movement challenges the traditional power balance by promoting that resources at the conventionally less powerful ends of the continua are valuable in their own right and not just as vehicles for attaining competence at the more powerful ends.

The very salient links between the development of multiliteracy and translanguaging have been noted (Hornberger and Link 2012a, b; García 2009a, b). García (2009a:45) has argued that translanguaging comprises the "*multiple discursive practices in which bilinguals engage in order to make sense of their bilingual worlds*" (*italics in original*). Referring

specifically to pupils who are in the process of acquiring a new language (whom she calls ‘emergent bilinguals’) she notes:

Emergent bilinguals do not acquire a separate additional language, but develop and integrate new language practices into a complex and dynamic bilingual repertoire in which translanguaging is both the supportive context and the communicative web itself. (Garcia 2009b:11)

In this understanding, translanguaging encompasses strategies which draw on both “old” and “new” language practices to support each other’s mutual development (the supportive context), by taking advantage of the ways in which emergent bilinguals naturally communicate (the communicative web).

Optimally, translanguaging offers pupils the opportunity to incorporate their full linguistic repertoires into all their learning and daily lives. As such, translanguaging practices have the potential to “explicitly valorize all points along the continua of biliterate context, media, content and development” (Hornberger & Link 2012a:268) thus contributing to the development of pupils’ multilingual literacies.

Methodology of this study

To investigate the observed and perceived functions of multilingual practices during MSG and the role these play in the helping pupils reach the learning goals of subjects in the Swedish curriculum, data collected over three years during a larger research project using qualitative methods from linguistic ethnography were drawn on (Copland and Creese 2015; Rampton et al. 2004; Dewilde 2015; Snell, Shaw, and Copland 2015). In keeping with the ecological perspective taken in the larger study, the classrooms where MSG takes place are regarded as embedded in, informed by and informing their surrounding socio-political and historical environments.

Data collection and material

For this article, 13 lessons (10 hours 50 minutes in total) during which MSG was conducted by four MT teachers were observed, audio-recorded, transcribed and selectively translated. These lessons and the field

notes, photographs and classroom artefacts collected comprise the analysed material. To include perspectives from people actively involved with MSG, extracts which focus on MSG from transcribed interviews with the four MT teachers, 11 other subject teachers and three school/organization heads were also analysed. Drawing from a range of data (triangulation) helps to broaden and deepen understanding of the issue in focus (Hood 2009:81).

Setting and participants

MSG in this study took place at four different highly multilingual schools (grades 1–9) in the two different municipalities in a large Swedish city. I came into contact with the four MT teachers through a process of snowball sampling. The selected teachers have between 19 and 33 years of teaching experience in Sweden and other countries. They teach Turkish, Arabic Kurdish and Urdu (in the subject of MT instruction) and conduct MSG using these and other languages that they and their pupils know. The 11 other teachers (of SSL, social sciences, natural sciences and mathematics) and leaders that were interviewed are all employed by or work for the same schools as the MT teachers.

The majority of the pupils in this study had attended Swedish schools for two years or less at the time of the study. The youngest pupils (grades 1–3) attended mainstream classes while older pupils (grades 4–9) were mostly enrolled in Introductory classes. Pupils had MSG for at least one hour per week, supporting the subjects of natural sciences, social sciences, SSL and mathematics.

Information letters were given to the informants and informed consent documents signed by those who were interviewed or their parents. The ethical guidelines recommended by the Swedish Research Council (Vetenskapsrådet 2011) have been followed and every attempt has been made to protect the identities of the participating schools, teachers and pupils. As a qualitative study the results do not aspire to be directly generalizable, rather can be considered in relation to similar contexts where MSG takes place (Rallis & Rossman 2009:272). As the organisation of MSG varies so widely (Skolinspektionen 2009:24), this is particularly important to keep in mind in this study.

Analysis

After each session of MSG, all Swedish utterances in the recordings were transcribed by the researcher, and field notes and photographs taken during the lessons woven into the transcripts for contextualization. After discussions of the content of lessons with the MT teachers, three full lessons and extracts from the remaining ten lessons in which Swedish and other languages were used together to support learning, were selected for transcription and translation. The selected recordings were then transcribed and translated by other speakers of that language (not the MT teacher) or students studying the languages at an advanced level. All translations and transcriptions were then checked by another speaker of the same language.

Extracts from the transcripts where Swedish and other languages were used in the same utterance or stretch of speech (cf. García 2009a; Creese & Blackledge 2010) or which deal with situations where information in one language is discussed, referred to or passed on in another language were identified. Field notes, photographs and sections from transcribed interviews with teachers and school/organization leaders and field notes which refer to MSG were also identified. All these identified examples from the data collection were then classified into functional categories, adapted and expanded from models developed in other contexts where multilingual practices in the classroom were in focus (Fennema-Bloom, 2009/10; Martin et al. 2006; Yoxsimer Paulsrud 2014:159). A function of multilingual practices not identified in the original models emerged from the analysis, resulting in a new, additional functional category.

Functions of multilingual practices during Multilingual Study Guidance

In this section, the observed and perceived functions of multilingual practices during MSG and how they help pupils reach the learning goals of subjects in the Swedish curriculum are described and presented under five headings: reformulation, explanation and discussion, metalinguistic awareness, task awareness and sociocultural awareness. All categories are illustrated with data examples.

Reformulation

This category includes extracts where multilingual practices are used to clarify the meaning of individual vocabulary items (e.g. priest) or short phrases (e.g. greater than) by re-wording them in another language to check understanding and make content comprehensible, without explicit teaching. Bilingual label quests, where a request is made for the translation of a word or phrase, have been identified in other contexts where flexible bilingual pedagogies are practiced (Martin et al 2006; Creese and Blackledge 2010, 2011; Hornberger and Link 2012a; Dewilde 2013). Similar processes in classrooms where the teacher did not share the same linguistic resources as the pupils have been described as multilingual labels quests (Bonacina-Pugh 2013). Oral reformulations resemble bilingual label quests, but the strong presence of written as well as spoken multilingual practices of this kind, calls for them to be categorised collectively as reformulations. Reformulation can be requested by pupils or elicited by teachers in Swedish or other languages. In this data, reformulation has been identified in classroom interaction, pupil notebooks, teaching handouts and other resources used during MSG.

In classroom interaction, reformulation provide pupils with instant clarification of subject-specific and more general vocabulary. During MSG with the Kurdish MT teacher, a recently arrived pupil in the Introductory class (grades 4–6) was reading a mathematics problem aloud from the textbook and the words *ökar* 'increase' and *sänker* 'decrease' were translated by the MT teacher as she read. Other words indicating whether the problem required addition or subtraction (*dyrare* 'more expensive', *höjer* 'raise', *lägre* 'lower') were translated and written by the pupil as the problem was solved. Another MT teacher mentioned in conversation that general vocabulary in mathematics problems were as important for understanding as the more subject specific words (field notes, 6 September 2012). I was reminded of this comment during another MSG lesson, when the word *matolja* 'cooking oil', used in a mathematics problem, was translated. Without an understanding of the vocabulary in the context, the subject-specific knowledge may not be clear.

Reformulation in the form of written glossaries created by pupils recurs often during MSG. A grade 6 pupil from Turkey showed the Turkish MT teacher a glossary he had made of the key mathematical terms from a chapter of the textbook they were currently working on. The terms

in Swedish including “odd”, “even”, “equal to” more than”, “less than”, “in total” etc. had been copied into the pupil’s notebook then translated into Turkish (see figure 1).

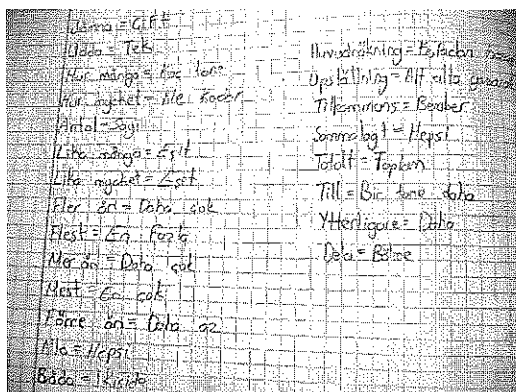


Figure 1. Reformulation: Swedish/Turkish. Mathematical terms, pupil glossary, grade 6.

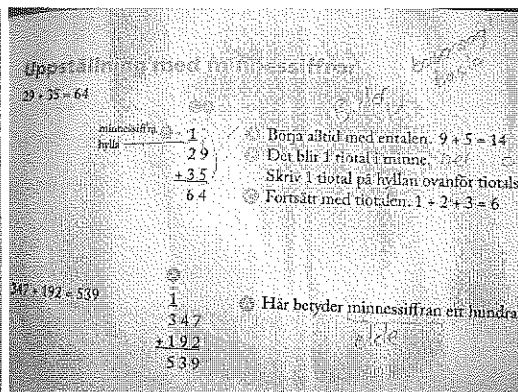


Figure 2. Reformulation: Swedish/Turkish. Mathematical terms, textbook notes, grade 6.

The Turkish MSG teacher supported the creation of the glossary and translated other terms which arose during the lesson, both orally and by writing in the textbook. Figure 2 shows the mathematics textbook used by this grade 6 pupil, with written translations of key terms (“carried number”) and the instruction (“start with the ones”).

During MSG with the Arabic MT teacher, a pupil brings up a word he is uncertain about from a text he has been reading in SSL classes:

Extract 2. Reformulation: Swedish/Arabic, classroom observation, MSG in SSL, grades 4–6.

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---|
| 1. P: tror | P: believe [in Swedish, reading from word list] |
| 2. T: tror | T: believe [in Swedish, repeating] |
| 3. P: uh, uh cayaan, la' | P: ummm, to witness? No... |
| 4. T: la' | T: No |
| 5. P2: byactaqad, yacni | P2: It means believe. |
| 6. T: bravo. tror yactaqid. | T: Bravo, believe [in Swedish] believe [in Arabic] |

In turn 3, the pupil makes a guess at what the word *tror* means in Arabic, then takes it back ('No'). The Arabic MT teacher agrees that it is incorrect and when another pupil supplies the correct word the teacher (in turn 6) first gives positive feedback ('bravo'), then repeats the target word in Swedish, then in Arabic.

Explanation and discussion

This category includes examples of multilingual practices in which Swedish subject matter is explained and discussed to make content and procedures comprehensible. In this data, multilingual explanations and discussions have been identified in classroom interaction and referred to in interviews. Extended written texts produced during MSG are exclusively in Swedish, although discussions are often in other languages. There are no written explanations, resources or books in any languages other than Swedish in the classrooms visited. In extract 3, the Turkish MT teacher explains the process of addition to his grade 6 pupil.

Extract 3. Explanation/discussion: Swedish/Turkish, classroom observation, MSG in mathematics, grade 6.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>7. T: elde bir diyorsun, Türkiye'deki gibi, elde bir, ondan sonra bunu yapıyorsun değil mi? Ne diyor. Börja alltid med entalen. Ne diyor burada?</p> | <p>T: You say "carry the ten", like in Turkey, carry the ten, and then you do this don't you? Always start with the ones. What does it say here? [pointing to mathematics textbook]</p> |
| <p>8. P: şeyden başla diyor...</p> | <p>P: It says start from the...</p> |
| <p>9. T: hep birler basamağı ile başla, yazalım mı yanına? Birler basamağı ile başla. Her onluk ne oluyor? elde oluyor, sonra yazalım. Her onluk elde oluyor. Ne diyor, burası ile başla diyor, burası ile başla diyor, tamam, ondan sonra her onluk bir elde oluyor, elde buraya üstte yazılıyor, ondan sonra da onu topluyorsun iki üç daha beş ir de elde altı. Minnessifra neymiş? Elde.</p> | <p>T: always start with the ones, shall we write that beside it? Start with the ones. What becomes of every ten? You carry it in your memory, let's write it then. What does it say, it says start here, it says start here, OK, and then every ten becomes a carried number and the carried number is written here above, and then you add it, two plus three makes five and then the carried number makes six. What did it mean now Carried number? Carried number.</p> |

In extract 3 the teacher explains, pointing to the textbook (turns 7 and 9), the steps that need to be taken to solve the problem. The teacher, being familiar with the expressions used in Turkey, compares them with the

Swedish expressions and reminds the pupil to say 'carry the ten', "like in Turkey" (turn 7).

In another classroom, a pupil who had been in Sweden for approximately two years and had recently moved from the Introductory to the mainstream class had MSG for one hour per week with the Turkish MT teacher. The pupil had brought the material she wanted help with and they worked through it together. They spoke about a text the pupil had written in Swedish for the subject of social science about the four social groups in pre-industrial Sweden (see extract 4).

Extract 4. Explanation/Discussion: Swedish/Turkish, classroom observation, MSG in social science, grade 6.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 10. P: Jag har skrivit om, vänta vad heter de, om den fyra risk- riksdagens fyra grupper | P: I have written about, wait, what are they called? About the four parliamentary four groups |
| 11. T: fyra grupper i samhället, adel ... | T: Four social groups, the nobility... |
| 12. P: Hmm aa, adel | P: Hmmm, aah, the nobility |
| 13. P/T: präster borgare bönder | P/T: the priests, the merchants and the peasantry. [teacher and pupil say the final groups together] |
| 14. P: de vill också bestämma men de kan inte | P: They wanted to decide too but they can't. |
| 15. T: bunlar ne oluyor şey eeh adel ne oluyor Türkçesi? | T: Who are they? Who are the nobility in Turkish? |
| 16. P: şu zengin olanlar değil mi? | P: Aren't they the rich ones? |
| 17. T: zenginler evet, aynen präst | T: They are the rich, yes, exactly, priests ? |
| 18. P: Şu kyrk alarda çalışanlar | P: The ones that worked in the churches . [Swedish base form of the word 'church' and the Turkish suffix] |
| 19. T: dinciler, hmm Türkiyede olsa hocalar imamlar değil mi? | T: The religious ones. Hmmm. If it was in Turkey. The professors and the imams, right? |

In extract 4, the pupil starts reading her Swedish text about "parliamentary groups" (turn 10). The MT teacher implicitly corrects this by saying (in Swedish) "four social groups" then giving the name of the first one "the nobility" (turn 11). The pupil picks up his cue and continues saying the rest of the names of the social groups and the teacher joins

in. To confirm that she understands, the teacher asks in Turkish “Who are they?”, then uses the Swedish word for nobility (turn 15). The pupil explains, the teacher confirms and so this extract continues, using the names of the Swedish groups and discussing them in Turkish. In turn 19, the teacher refers to Turkey, comparing the role of the priests to the role of the imams. Creese and Blackledge (2010:110) refer to terms comprising elements from different languages, such as *kyrkalarda* ‘in the churches’ (turn 18), as “heteroglossic terms” to highlight the normality of multilingual forms and allow them to be theorized in their social and historical context (Bailey 2007:267). As the pupil comes from a region of Turkey where churches are not common (and thus not commonly referred to), using the Swedish base form of ‘church’ *kyrka*, in a Turkish sentence keeps her on task, speaking about the content rather than struggling with language.

After the lesson the teacher continues to talk to me about the lesson, explaining what he did and why:

Extract 5. Explanation/discussion: Swedish/Turkish, grade 6. Post-lesson discussion with MT teacher.
You have to take advantage of every opportunity to check up, help with small bits and pieces /.../ We found a few words which she has misunderstood “spin yarn”; she thought it meant “run” [‘spin’ in Swedish is *spinna*, ‘run’ is *springa*], so we have changed that, “spinning yarn”, I have explained, so she knows that you spin yarn, make thread and you can weave a fabric from that, so, small, small things like that.

During MSG with the Arabic MT teacher, questions about a story which has been read in the SSL lesson are read aloud (in Swedish) by the MT teacher. After each question, the MT teacher pauses and explains and expands on the question in Arabic to ensure that pupils have understood (extract 6):

Extract 6. Explanation/discussion: Swedish/Arabic, classroom observation, MSG in SSL, grades 7–9.

T: Halla': **Skriv orden på ditt modersmål** – iktub əl-kilme fī luḡataka l-ʕarabiyya lle hiya təḥkiya. halla': nəḥna mənšūf. il-kilme lle ma taʕrəfa, ḥa-təktaba ʕal-waraqqa, mazbūt? Miš 'aḥsan? 'aḥla mən təktobon kəllon. u-mənšūf.

T: Now, **write the words in your mother tongue** [reading from the Swedish text] Write the words that I say in Arabic. Write the words that you don't understand on the paper, ok? Isn't that the best thing to do? Better than writing them all. We'll see.

Metalinguistic awareness

This category includes extracts where multilingual practices are used to focus on language as opposed to content. Many examples in this category take place during MSG in SSL but it was also identified during MSG in other subjects, e.g. mathematics. In all cases, the linguistic item in focus is explicitly taught, demonstrated, practised in its different forms or corrected to make content and production comprehensible. Metalinguistic discussions were always in languages other than Swedish in this data, and were led by the teacher. Extracts that draw awareness to metalinguistic issues have been identified mostly in classroom interaction, although they are referred to in conversation with the MT teachers as well.

Three Kurdish pupils from Turkey in the Introductory class (grades 7–9) receive help with spelling, conjunctions, word order, prepositions, gender, pronunciation and punctuation during MSG in SSL. They are preparing a written Powerpoint presentation on their week of work experience, which will be presented orally to the class. In extract 7, the MSG teacher helps one of the pupils, who has mixed up the spelling and pronunciation of two similar words in Swedish; *glass* 'ice-cream' and *glas* 'glass'.

Extract 7. Metalinguistic awareness: Swedish/Kurdish/Turkish, classroom observation, MSG in SSL, grade 7–9.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>20. T: Glass och gla-a-as. Te li vir çi putsa kirîye? Dondirme yan cam?</p> | <p>T: Ice-cream and gla-a-ss [The vowel sound in 'glas' is drawn out to illustrate that it is a long sound]. What have you polished here, ice-cream or glass?</p> |
| <p>21. P: Gla-a-as. Cam</p> | <p>P: Gla-a-ass [pupil reproduces the long drawn out vowel sound]. Glass.</p> |
| <p>22. T: Glas, cam. Ferqa xwe çi ye? A ya dirêj dikî glas.</p> | <p>T: Glass, glass. What is the difference? It is a long "a" sound, you stress the "a". Glass.</p> |
| <p>23. P: Glas, yekî s rakim cam dibe.</p> | <p>P: Glass. If I take away an "s" it becomes glass.</p> |
| <p>24. T: Glas, cam, a ya xwe dirêj nakî dondirme.</p> | <p>T: Glass. Glass. If you don't pronounce it with a long "a" sound, you'll be saying ice-cream.</p> |
| <p>25. P: Glass, dondirme.</p> | <p>P: Ice-cream. Ice-cream.</p> |

26. T: **Glass** erê, dondirme, du s s a dirêj
nakî.
- T: **Icecream** Yes, icecream you pronounce this with a short vowel sound as it has two s-es [Swedish word for 'icecream is spelt 'glass'].

In extract 7 the teacher contrasts the pronunciation of long and short vowels in a minimal pair exercise, and connects it to spelling in a humorous way by asking in turn 20 “What have you polished, ice-cream [Swe. *glass*] or glass [Swe. *glas*]?” Prior to this extract, the teacher had explicitly taught the pupil that double consonants are preceded by short vowel sounds, and single consonants by long vowel sounds, and this is referred to again by both the teacher and the pupil in extract 7. The word in focus for this piece of writing and speaking is *glas* ‘glass’ and it is repeated by the teacher and the pupil six times in this seven-turn dialogue.

There are twelve further examples of working with pronunciation in this 50-minute lesson. The MT teacher helps the pupil sound out long and difficult words in Swedish, e.g. *varukorgarna* ‘shopping baskets’, which consists of five syllables, soft consonants and rolled “r”s. The pupil is preparing for an oral as well as a written presentation, which explains the extended work on pronunciation.

The Urdu MT teacher explains the Swedish superlative forms *dyrast* ‘most expensive’ and *billigast* ‘cheapest’ in Urdu during MSG in mathematics with a grade 2 pupil. The superlative form in Urdu is complex and is thus explained in simple Urdu, appropriate for the child’s age:

Extract 8. Metalinguistic awareness: Swedish/Urdu, classroom observation, MSG in mathematics, grade 2.

- T: [name of pupil] **titta på mig!** /.../ **Jool!**
Pata he abko () eki sasti hoti he eki mahangi hoti he. Sasti hoti usko tola price ye hota he mahangi ye usko ziata price ye hota he. **eller hur?**
- T: [name of pupil], **look at me!** /.../ **Yees!**
You know () one means cheap, one means expensive. “Sast” means that little price “mahangi” means much price [asks for the most expensive one with a circumlocution to explain the superlative] **Right?**

The word “price” is also used in her explanation, indicating that this child may have attended an English-medium school in Pakistan (it was not possible to confirm this with the teacher however) and the Swedish

expressions 'Look at me', 'yes' and 'right?' are used phatically in this multilingual utterance.

Task awareness

This category includes extracts where multilingual practices are used to draw attention to the task at hand, and move the pupil towards task fulfilment by clarifying what is required. The MT teacher and pupil often discuss the task in languages other than Swedish, but draw on Swedish instructions in books, or given orally by the subject teacher. This category of multilingual practices has been identified in classroom interactions, and was also spoken about in interviews.

Multilingual practices which make pupils aware of the task at hand include explaining ways of learning that may contrast with those the pupil has become used to in other contexts. For example, learning how to expand a text to include the pupils' own critical perspectives is mentioned in a post-MSG conversation with the Turkish MT teacher:

Extract 9. Task awareness: Post-lesson interview with Turkish MT teacher.

I asked her certain things and she has written very little of her own thoughts about the Whodunnit so I challenged her a bit, and told her "You have barely written anything at all! You have to fill out the text a bit with your own opinions. How do you think the book should have ended?" And "Was it right or would you change it if you could?" and I helped her and she changed some things.

In extract 9 the teacher explains how the grade 6 pupil he was working with had written a book review which didn't include many of her own thoughts. A related example is when a Kurdish pupil is encouraged to include more details in a text she wrote in Swedish.

Extract 10. Task awareness: Kurdish/Swedish, MSG in SSL, grade 8.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 27. P: [reading from the text] Min chef heter John. | P: My boss's name is John. |
| 28. T: Din chef heter John. John yekî çîng bû? John snäll? | T: Your boss's name is John. What is John like? John kind? |
| 29. P: Snäll bû. | P: He is kind |
| 30. T: John snäll e. | T: John is kind |

In extract 10, the Kurdish MT teacher encourages his grade 8 pupil to write more about a person in her text for SSL than his name, thus expanding her text and moving towards task fulfillment.

The last examples in this category are from the end of the session of MSG in which the grade 8 Kurdish pupil (from extract 10) is being supported in SSL. Extract 11 has two components. Firstly, the MT teacher speaks with the pupil in Kurdish and tells her what the task expectations and those of the Swedish school are. Secondly, he passes information on to the Introductory class teacher in Swedish. As the MT teacher has worked with the pupil, it has become obvious that she is not the author of the text; so he asks her and is told that her sister wrote it. The MT teacher reacts to this by asking her to delete the words they have not already re-written. The pupil is naturally upset, and protests in Kurdish.

Extract 11. Task awareness: Kurdish/Swedish, MSG in SSL, grade 8.

P: Ama hocam!

P: but sir!

To which the teacher responds:

T: Vaya ne îsweçca te ye.

T: This is not your Swedish

The MT teacher then speaks with the Introductory class teacher and explains in Swedish that the pupil will not be finished with her text as they are in the process of re-writing in. (IT = Introductory class teacher).

Extract 12. Task awareness: Kurdish/Swedish, MT teacher and IT speaking during MSG in SSL.

T: So now [name of IT] we are re-writing.

IT: OK

T: because it's her sister who has written this for her, and now we're working through it bit by bit and she says which parts she's done and then says it word by word in Swedish so she needs more time.

IT: Yes? That's OK.

T: She won't be finished.

IT: No, mmm, I understand.

Extracts 11 and 12 illustrate how knowledge communicated between the MT teacher and the pupil in one language (Kurdish) is passed on to the Introductory class teacher, in another (Swedish). As well as reinforcing academic expectations, the use of both languages provides the

Introductory class teacher with important information about the pupil's progress in and approaches to learning Swedish.

The Kurdish MT teacher explains his actions in a conversation after the lesson:

Extract 13. Task awareness: Post lesson discussion with Kurdish MT teacher.

That is what she has to learn, when it comes to doing school work and homework that there is a difference between between Turkey and Sweden, where she thinks perhaps that she has to show her work and get a grade, and get through school that way without learning to read or write Swedish. And now she has got the message from me that this is not the way to go, your sister should not do your homework [tapping on the table for emphasis] on the contrary, you need to think yourself, and the work you do yourself is what is valued [taps on table again], it is that which shows that you are smart and that you are learning.

Sociocultural awareness

This category includes extracts where multilingual practices are used to help recently arrived pupils understand broader sociocultural issues which go beyond specific subject-based tasks. Their relevance extends outside of the subject classroom, and, indeed the schools themselves. Examples in this category mainly emerged in interviews and include comments on the ways that MSG is perceived as offering information about life and learning in Sweden, which help pupils understand the sociocultural environment in which they live and study. From an ecological perspective, contextual understanding of the sociocultural environment in which learning takes place, can support pupils' learning. This functional category was not included in the original analytical models (Fennema-Bloom, 2009/10; Yoxsimer Paulsrud 2014), thereby offering an expansion of the models.

While walking to the bus with the Urdu MT teacher late one afternoon, we met another MT teacher on her way into the school. I wrote what she said in my field notes later that day:

Extract 14. Sociocultural awareness: Field notes reporting on MT teacher reflections.

She said she thought MT teachers had two tasks, MSG and MTI – the former being like a mentor, leading pupils to understanding in both the mother tongue and Swedish – MTI being about culture, literature and so on.

In an interview with the deputy principal at the school where the majority of the lessons observed in this project took place, she talked about the need for MSG in the following terms:

Extract 15. Sociocultural awareness: Interview with deputy principal.

In the beginning, all recent arrivals [in the Swedish school] need MSG because they need that translation and that guidance into both the school, the school system and the culture and everything. So then, MSG is so much more than just study guidance in different subjects.

In another conversation with the Urdu MT teacher, on a bus-trip between schools, she related a story which so upset her that we almost missed our stop. I wrote about it in the field notes:

Extract 16. Sociocultural awareness: Field notes reporting on conversation with Urdu MT teacher.

[The Urdu MT teacher] told me on the bus how the [grade 2] boy we met this morning [at MSG] ate almost nothing [at school] in his first term – he didn't know how to get water – just held the cup [up to the drink dispenser] but didn't press, couldn't eat with a knife or fork. A leisure centre teacher was apparently angry, "He is not allowed to leave the cafeteria, he hasn't eaten anything!", but he didn't understand what she said /.../ it was not until [the Urdu MT teacher] started talking and eating with him that he started eating a tiny tiny bit.

Extracts 14–16 all index situation where words and cultural concepts and expectations framed in one language are explained in another. All the languages used play different and integral roles in meeting the needs of recently arrived pupils, and facilitating communication between these pupils, the Swedish school and Swedish society in general.

Discussion

The functions of multilingual practices during MSG identified in this study show how using languages that recently arrived pupils understand alongside their emerging Swedish helps them understand Swedish words, concepts and subject tasks and develop metalinguistic and sociocultural awareness (extracts 2–4, 6–8, 10–11, figures 1–2). This can certainly help them reach the learning goals of subjects in the Swedish curriculum. These positive effects are corroborated in extracts from interviews (extracts 1, 5, 13–16), which also reflect the positive evaluations of MSG referred to in previous studies (Juvonen 2015; Nilsson Folke 2015).

Examples of classroom interaction (extracts 2–4, 6–8 and 10) suggest that MSG offers pupils interactional scaffolding by facilitating dialogue and discussion of subject material (cf. Uddling 2013).

MSG provides a space where emergent bilinguals can engage in multilingual practices which provide a “supportive context” and are the “communicative web” (García 2009b:11) for learning. As such, these practices can be identified as translanguaging. Through MSG thus, the Swedish school has created a space for translanguaging to ensure that recently arrived pupils’ learning is not interrupted, and to help them achieve the learning goals of subjects in the Swedish curriculum. Not yet officially recognised, is the potential that these practices offer for the development of multilingual literacies.

The continua of biliteracy model argues that the more that multilingual pupils are able to draw on resources along the whole length of the twelve intersecting continua, the better their opportunities are for developing multilingual literacies (Hornberger 1989; Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester 2000). Translanguaging facilitates this development, as will be illustrated in the following sections which describe how pupils in this study draw on a range of resources along and across the continua during MSG.

Contexts of biliteracy

The fact that MSG exists as a form of multilingual support for recently arrived pupils legitimizes their use of the oral and multilingual resources traditionally associated with micro (home) contexts in the macro setting of the Swedish school, an environment which conventionally privileges literate and monolingual resources.

Development of biliteracy

MSG is built on the use of oral and receptive skills in languages the pupil understands for the comprehension and production of Swedish. When Swedish words and concepts are reformulated, explained, discussed and contextualized by use of languages and drawing on situations the pupil recognizes from previous learning contexts (extracts 3, 4 and 7),

they are able to draw across the whole length of the continua in the development of biliteracy.

Content of biliteracy

Although there were no subject textbooks in languages other than Swedish (e.g. mathematics books in Turkish or Arabic) in the classrooms that I visited, explanation and discussion of Swedish history (extract 4) and problem solving in mathematics (extract 3) show how majority, literary and decontextualized content is contextualized through the use of minority languages. Reminding pupils of the language and approaches used in these subjects in other cultures develops and reinforces the value of those languages and approaches and facilitates understanding.

Media of biliteracy

During MSG, pupils and teachers are able to draw on the whole range of their linguistic resources including divergent varieties and languages acquired at different times in the pupil's learning trajectory, rather than being limited to use of any particular form or language. In the context of the MSG conducted by the Kurdish MT teacher, this means that the variety of Kurdish spoken by that particular pupil and Turkish were used to help her understand the writing and oral presentation task she was working on in SSL (see extracts 1, 7). Discussion of structural aspects of Swedish in other languages (see extracts 7, 8) draws explicit attention to the variation in the media of biliteracy, and facilitates better understanding of both languages as well as the Swedish subject matter.

Movement between the scales

The nested and intersecting nature of the continua model emphasizes movement *between* the scales as well as *along* the continua of the individual scales. For example, during MSG, discussion of "L2" (Swedish) content in "L1" (languages other than Swedish) facilitates understanding of literary, decontextualized, majority, Swedish content. This use of languages other than Swedish (in the development of biliteracy scale)

facilitates the understanding of dominant majority texts (in the content of biliteracy scale).

In summary, translanguaging during MSG facilitates understanding of majority Swedish subject matter, and has the potential to contribute even more fully to the development of multilingual literacies in recently arrived pupils. The functions of multilingual practices identified in this study go some way towards valorising the languages of recently arrived pupils by viewing them as resources for learning (cf. Hornberger and Link 2012b:242), but only on a short-term basis, and as a medium for learning Swedish subject matter.

Conclusions and implications

The existence of MSG represents macro-level awareness that the linguistic resources of recently arrived pupils are valuable and should be actively accessed to help them achieve the knowledge goals of subjects in mainstream curricula. However, reports on recently arrived pupils indicate that MSG is not always offered to pupils who need it and that understanding and organisation of MSG varies considerably between schools (Skolinspektionen 2009, 2010, 2014). Moreover, even if it is provided, the potential that the translanguaging practices in MSG have for the broader, on-going development of multilingual literacies is as yet unacknowledged at the macro-level, for as soon as pupils are deemed ready for monolingual instruction in Swedish, MSG is stopped. This very much reflects the implicit power imbalance which is typical of many approaches to language education, where minority languages and resources, if recognized at all, are only drawn on to the extent that they facilitate the development of majority languages and resources, and seldom for their own inherent value (Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester 2000:98–101). Once MSG is withdrawn, the only space available for the on-going development of other languages spoken by recently arrived pupils in the Swedish compulsory school is the elective subject of MTL.

This has a number of implications. First of all, as Nilsson Folke (2015) has pointed out, MSG is often stopped when pupils move to the mainstream classroom, but this is when pupils in her study felt they needed it the most. The short-term nature of MSG is therefore experienced negatively and potentially impacts negatively on on-going understanding of

Swedish subject content. Secondly and crucially, if recently arrived pupils do not choose to study MTI, both during and especially after MSG has finished, their formal educational opportunities for developing literacies in languages they use at home will be curtailed.

This study demonstrates how translanguaging practices identified during MSG contribute to the attainment of learning goals of subjects in the Swedish curriculum in the context examined. I make no claim that the same practices and functions exist in other settings where MSG is conducted. I do however argue that they provide examples of how translanguaging can function in MSG in a more general sense. By facilitating and extending the provision of MSG, MTI and validating and expanding translanguaging practices into other spaces in the school, recently arrived pupils may have access to another, more dynamic model of multilingual education and fuller, on-going development of their multilingual literacies.

Abbreviations used

MSG – multilingual study guidance (*studiehandledning på modersmål*)

MTI – mother tongue instruction (*modersmålsundervisning*)

MT teacher – mother tongue teacher (*modersmålslärare*)

SSL– Swedish as a second language (*svenska som andraspråk*)

Om forfatteren

Anne Reath Warren – doctoral student, Department of Language Education, Stockholm University

Notes

- 1 Extracts from interviews in this article have been translated by the author and only appear in English. Extracts from classroom interaction are in the original languages accompanied by a translation. Theoretical foundations in translanguaging question strict boundaries between 'languages'. In the translanguaging literature, different 'languages' in multilingual transcriptions are sometimes deliberately not distinguished from each other (e.g. Blackledge and Creese 2010:ix). When English is one of the languages in the transcription and the language of the literature itself, readers 'see' the intersection between English and other 'language-

ges' but when the languages of the transcription do not include English, as in this article, 'seeing' the translanguaging is difficult. I have emboldened the Swedish words in the original transcriptions and their translation in this article, so readers who do not understand Swedish will see where the translanguaging occurs. This decision was taken for the sake of clarity, but perhaps at the expense of the theoretical notions at the heart of translanguaging.

words = transcribed speech in all languages other than Swedish

words = transcribed speech in Swedish and translated words originally in Swedish

words = *translated/transcribed speech/words* (in the main body of the text, often Swedish)

() = inaudible speech

/.../ = words left out

[] = explanations.

T = teacher (the person conducting MSG; unless otherwise stated)

P (1,2) = pupil

- 2 All in-text references to Swedish authorities and documents are in Swedish and listed alphabetically under their Swedish names in the reference list, where their English translations are also included.
- 3 New arrivals in the Swedish school can either be placed directly in a mainstream age appropriate class (common in lower grades) or attend a composite (mixed grade) Introductory class, where there is a focus on learning Swedish as a second language and other subjects are introduced gradually. Attendance in the Introductory class is restricted to a maximum of two years (Utbildningsdepartementet 2010). See Bunar 2015, for an anthology in Swedish concerning the education of recently arrived pupils in Sweden, and Axelsson and Juvonen (this volume) for the legislative and organisational aspects.

Litteratur

- Avery, Helen 2015: Teaching in the 'edgelands' of the school day: The organisation of mother tongue studies in a highly diverse Swedish primary school. *Power and Education*, 7(2), 239–254.
- Bailey, Benjamin 2007: Heteroglossia and boundaries. In: Heller, Monica (ed.), *Bilingualism: A social approach*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. 257–74.
- Blackledge, Adrian & Angela Creese 2010: *Multilingualism – A critical perspective*. London: Continuum.
- Bonacina-Pugh, Florence 2013: Multilingual label quests: A practice for the 'asymmetrical' multilingual classroom. *Linguistics and Education*, 24(2), 142–64.
- Bunar, Nihad (ed.) 2015: *Nyanlända och lärande – Mottagande och inkludering*. Stockholm: Natur och Kultur.
- Cenoz, Jasone & Durk Gorter 2013: Towards a plurilingual approach in English language teaching: Softening the boundaries between languages. *TESOL Quarterly*, 47(3), 591–99.
- Copland, Fiona & Angela Creese 2015: *Linguistic ethnography – Collecting, analysing and presenting data*. London: Sage.
- Creese, Angela & Adrian Blackledge 2010: Translanguaging in the bilingual classroom: A pedagogy for learning and teaching? *The Modern Language Journal*, 94(i), 103–15.
- Creese, Angela & Adrian Blackledge 2011: Separate and flexible bilingualism in complementary schools: Multiple language practices in interrelationship. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 43(5), 1196–1208.

- Cummins, Jim 2005: A proposal for action: Strategies for recognizing heritage language competence as a learning resource within the mainstream classroom. *The Modern Language Journal*, 89, 582–617.
- Dewilde, Joke 2013: Ambulating teachers A case study of bilingual teachers and teacher collaboration (Doctoral dissertation). Oslo: Department of Teacher Education and School Research Faculty, University of Oslo.
- Dewilde, Joke 2015: Discursive shadowing as a methodological approach in a study of bilingual teachers. In: Smyth, Geri & Ninetta Santoro (eds.), *Methodologies for researching cultural diversity in education: International perspectives*. Stoke-on-Trent: Trentham Books. 10–24.
- Fennema-Bloom, Jennifer R. 2009/10: Code-scaffolding: A pedagogic code-switching technique for bilingual content instruction. *Journal of Education*, 190(3), 27–35.
- Ganuza, Natalia, & Christina Hedman 2015: Struggles for legitimacy in mother tongue instruction in Sweden. *Language and Education*, 29(2), 125–139.
- García, Ofelia 2009a: *Bilingual education in the 21st century*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.
- García, Ofelia 2009b: *Reimagining bilingualism in education for the 21st Century*. NALDIC (National Association for Language Development in the Curriculum) 17th Annual Conference: Integrated language, integrated curriculum. (Transcribed keynote address). <http://www.naldic.org.uk/Resources/NALDIC/Professional%20Development/Documents/NQ7.2.3.pdf> Retrieved 160809.
- García, Ofelia & Jo Anne Kleifgen 2010. *Educating emergent bilinguals: Policies, programs and practices for English language learners*. NY: Teacher's College Press.
- Hood, Michael 2009: Case study. In: Heig-ham, Jusnita & Robert A. Croker (eds.), *Qualitative research in applied linguistics*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 66–90.
- Hornberger, Nancy H. 1989: Continua of biliteracy. *Review of Educational Research*, 59(3), 271–96.
- Hornberger, Nancy H. (ed.) 2003: Bilingual education and bilingualism 41: *Continua of biliteracy: An ecological framework for educational policy, research and practice in multilingual settings*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Hornberger, Nancy H. 2000: Multilingual literacies, literacy practices, and the continua of biliteracy. In: Martin-Jones, Marilyn & Kathryn Jones (eds.), *Multilingual literacies*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 353–68.
- Hornberger, Nancy H. & Holly Link 2012a: Translanguaging and transnational literacies in multilingual classrooms: A biliteracy lens. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 15(3), 261–78.
- Hornberger, Nancy. H. & Holly Link 2012b: Translanguaging in today's classrooms: A biliteracy lens. *Theory into Practice*, 51(4), 239–247.
- Hornberger, Nancy & Ellen Skilton-Sylvester 2000: Revisiting the continua of biliteracy: International and critical perspectives. *Language and Education*, 14(2), 96–122.
- Hyltenstam, Kenneth & Tommaso Milani 2012: Del 1: Flerspråkighetens socio-politiska och sociokulturella ramar. In: Hyltenstam, Kenneth et al. (eds.), *Forskningsöversikt om flerspråkighet*. Stockholm: Vetenskapsrådet. 17–152.
- Hyltenstam, Kenneth & Veli Tuomela 1996: Hemspråksundervisningen. In: Hyltenstam, Kenneth (ed.), *Tvåspråkighet med förhinder?* Lund: Studentlitteratur. 9–109.
- Juvonen, Päivi 2015: Lärarröster om direkt-placering av nyanlända elever. In: Bunar, Nihad (ed.), *Nyanlända och lärande – mot-tagande och inkludering*. Stockholm: Natur och Kultur. 139–76.
- Lytra, Vally & Ta kin Baraç 2009: Multilingual practices and identity negotiations among Turkish-speaking young people in a diasporic context. In: Stenström, Anna-Brita & Annette Myre Jørgensen (eds.), *Youngspeak in a multilingual perspective*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing. 55–78.

- Martin, Peter, Arvind Bhatt, Nirmala Bhojani & Angela Creese 2006: Managing bilingual interaction in a Gujarati complementary school in Leicester. *Language and Education*, 20(1), 5–23.
- Nilsson Folke, Jenny 2015: Från inkluderande exkludering till exkluderande inkludering? In: Bunar, Nihad (ed.), *Nyanlända och lärande – mottagande och inkludering*. Stockholm: Natur och Kultur. 37–80.
- Rallis, Sharon. F & Gretchen B. Rossman. 2009: Ethics and trustworthiness. In Heigham, Juanita & Robert A. Croker (eds.) *Qualitative research in Applied Linguistics*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. 263–87.
- Rampton, Ben, Karin Tusting, Janet Maybin, C. Barwell, Angela Creese & Vally Lytra 2004: *UK Linguistic ethnography: A discussion paper*. <http://www.lingethnog.org/docs/Retrieved150607>.
- Reath Warren, Anne 2013: Mother tongue tuition in Sweden: Curriculum analysis and classroom experience. *International Electronic Journal of Elementary Education*, 6(1), 95–116.
- SKL 2010: *Nyanlända elevers utbildning – goda exempel från tio kommuner* [Recently arrived students' education – good examples from ten municipalities]. <http://webbutik.skl.se/bilder/artiklar/pdf/7164-553-1.pdf>. Retrieved 160203.
- Skolinspektionen [The Swedish schools inspectorate] 2009: *Utbildning för nyanlända elever – rätten till en god utbildning i en trygg miljö* (Rapport 2009: 3) [Education for recently arrived students – the right to good education in a safe environment. Report 2009: 3]. Stockholm: Skolinspektionen.
- Skolinspektionen [The Swedish schools inspectorate] 2010: *Språk- och kunskapsutveckling för barn och elever med annat modersmål än svenska*. (Rapport 2010:16) [Language and knowledge development for children with mother tongues other than Swedish – report 2010:16]. Stockholm: Skolinspektionen.
- Skolinspektionen [The Swedish schools inspectorate] 2014: *Utbildningen för nyanlända elever*. Rapport 2014:03 [Education for recently arrived students. Report 2014:03]. Stockholm: Skolinspektionen.
- Skolverket [Swedish National Agency for Education] 2008: *Med annat modersmål – elever i grundskolan och skolans verksamhet* [With another mother tongue – students in the compulsory school and school organisations]. Stockholm: Skolverket.
- Skolverket [Swedish National Agency for Education] 2015a: *Skolor och elever i grundskolan – tabell 8B Elever med undervisning i modersmål och svenska som andra språk* [Schools and students in compulsory school – table 8B Students studying mother tongue instruction and Swedish as a second language]. Stockholm. <http://www.skolverket.se/statistik-och-utvardering/statistik-i-tabeller/grundskola/skolor-och-elever/skolor-och-elever-i-grundskolan-lasaret-2014-15-1.232202>. Retrieved 151009.
- Skolverket [Swedish National Agency for Education] 2015b: *Studiehandledning på modersmålet* [Multilingual study guidance]. Stockholm. http://www.skolverket.se/om-skolverket/publikationer/visa-en-skild-publikation?_xurl_=http://www5.skolverket.se/wtpub/ws/skolbok/wpubext/trycksak/Blob/pdf3038.pdf?k=3038. Retrieved 160209.
- Skolverket [Swedish National Agency for Education] 2015c: *Särskilt stöd i grundskolan* [Extra support in the compulsory school]. Stockholm. <http://www.skolverket.se/om-skolverket/publikationer/statistik>. Retrieved 160209.
- Snell, Julia, Sara Shaw & Fiona Copland (eds.) 2015: *Linguistic ethnography: Interdisciplinary explorations*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Uddling, Jenny 2013: *Direktintegrerade elevers möjligheter till lärande i ämnesundervisningen* (Master's thesis). Stockholm: Department of Language Education, Stockholm University.
- Utbildningsdepartementet [Ministry of Education and Research] 2010: SFS 2010:800 *Skollagen* [The Swedish Education Act]. Stockholm: Utbildningsdepartementet.

Vetenskapsrådet [The Swedish research council] 2011: *Codex: regler och riktlinjer för forskning. Forskningsetiska regler och riktlinjer* [Codes Regulations and guidelines for ethical research].

Yoxsimer Paulsrud, BethAnne 2014: English-medium instruction in Sweden. (Doctoral Thesis). Stockholm: Department of Language Education, Stockholm University.