Introduction: The Imperative for the Politics of 'Researching Multilingually'

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Research now is increasingly multilingual, multidisciplinary and multinational, and often takes place in contexts where multiple languages are at play and are unequally positioned. There has been an increasing focus on how researchers harness, negotiate and manage their own linguistic resources and those of others in the research process (see, e.g. Andrews *et al.*, 2020; Byrd-Clark & Dervin, 2014; Creese & Blackledge, 2018; Holmes *et al.*, 2013; Martin-Jones & Martin, 2017). However, Risager and Dervin (2015: 6) remarked that power relations and the role of languages and language hierarchies in the research process are seldom reflected upon by researchers, and in a sufficient manner, notably 'in fieldwork, in interviews, in communication to different publics, including not least the role of translation and interpreting' (see also Liddicoat, 2016, where the same point is made). Thus, the purpose of this edited research volume is to foreground researcher experiences of the political dimensions of such multilingual research work. How researchers understand the role of their own linguistic resources and the multilingual aspects of their research, and— important in our focus here—the political implications of the conscious and unconscious decisions they make regarding their linguistic resources, is salient in all aspects of research.

We argue that researchers who are working within or across multiple languages must consider these issues when they are planning, developing, conducting and/or writing up their research. Whether or not researchers mobilise their linguistic resources (or those of others) may be impacted by institutional, contextual and interpersonal matters. For example, in contexts of forced migration resulting from poverty, precarity or conflict, languages and those who speak them may come into conflict with political regimes and/or other forms of structural power such as institutionalised language ideologies found within decision-making authorities (Blommaert, 2010). In research in such contexts, these languages risk being overlooked or their speakers silenced. Furthermore, the internationalisation of higher

education has led to the recruitment of international faculty and doctoral researchers. Many of these researchers bring additional languages into the academic environment, often resulting in a research context rich in diverse researcher linguistic resources that are underacknowledged (Araújo e Sá et al., 2020; Robinson-Pant & Wolf, 2017; Singh, 2017), or disregarded, in the research process. Thus, when undertaking their research, researchers must make decisions about how they mobilise and manage their linguistic resources and those of others: which language(s) to use, when, where, by and with whom, and why. We call this process researching multilingually, defined as:

> how researchers conceptualise, understand, and make choices about generating, analysing, interpreting and reporting data when more than one language is involved— and the complex negotiated relationships between research and researched as they engaged with one another in multilingual sites. (Holmes et al., 2013: 297)

The process of researching multilingually, and decisions researchers must make about languages, may be influenced by multiple factors, for example: (i) the topic of the research; (ii) the contexts that shape the research; (iii) the relationships among the researcher and various stakeholders (e.g. supervisors and funders of the research, gatekeepers such as governmental officials, non-governmental groups/employees and other community groups who determine access to the research site, resources, texts and other artefacts); (iv) the language hierarchies in play in the research context and (v) the languages of dissemination, e.g. for participants and stakeholders in the community, in theses (in the dominant national language only, or in multiple languages) and in publications (e.g. in high-impact journals that are often published in English). In this sense, the decisions researchers make about which languages to employ in the research process, including decisions about drawing on their own linguistic resources in the research process, are as much politically influenced as they are culturally or relationally, and they require researcher awareness and reflection.

<A>Political Questions and Concerns When Researching Multilingually

The conditions identified above invite an examination of how researchers address and negotiate power relations, and the structural and hegemonic status of their linguistic and other communicative resources, and those of others, in their research context. They also require an exploration of the multilingual dimensions of research methodologies, the relationship between languages, language ideologies and colonisation, power relations, identity politics and structural hierarchies. This examination is important for all researchers in helping them to

make more theoretically and methodologically informed choices about the political dimensions of languages in their research. In our call for chapters to this edited research volume, we invited researchers to investigate, theoretically and methodologically, the following key questions:

- How do researchers deal with questions of power and privilege, and recognition and non-recognition of languages in the processes of their research, and in the contexts in which the research is undertaken, formed and disseminated? In these conditions, how do researchers make choices about, and draw on, their own and others' (multiple) language resources through processes of translation and interpretation, languaging, translanguaging, linguistic preparation, flexible multilingualism and mediation?

- How do researchers negotiate the multilingual and intercultural relational and interpersonal work entailed among the various stakeholders (including supervisors and funders of the research, participants, gatekeepers, translators, interpreters and transcribers)? Under what conditions can and should interpreters be available? What can researchers do when they are not (which is often the case)?

- How are languages prioritised, minimised and/or silenced in the research process? Who benefits? Who is disadvantaged? What does it mean to research (for researcher and researched) in the language of the more (or less) powerful other? Who chooses who speaks for whom, when, where and how?

- What is the embodied experience of being granted access to or denied one language over another? What other communicative means—multimodal, affective, symbolic—are available for researchers and researched in undertaking and representing the research?

- In the representation of texts, how are excluded, forgotten or neglected, and politically-sensitive languages acknowledged and recognised, or not?

- What opportunities, complexities and challenges emerge in making decisions about language, given the disciplinary and/or methodological conventions that researchers work within? What languages do researchers choose to draw on during various stages of the research process? How do they decide, and what people, processes and structures facilitate or constrain those decisions, given that there is little training available to support their decision-making?

- What theoretical lenses support researchers to address these questions (and others not included in this list)?

These questions may also give rise to broader epistemological, theoretical and ontological questions that drive, or challenge, researchers who are researching multilingually, for example:

- How might an overtly critical approach to research, which aims to advocate for disadvantaged groups and challenge power and social inequality, be compromised if participants are excluded because of language choices made by the researcher, or conversely, be strengthened if participants are empowered through such choices?
- How do researchers' decolonising and decentring perspectives give 'voice' to groups whose languages are in the margins or periphery?
- To what extent is working with and through translations of data representing a participant's experience consistent with an interpretive approach to research, in which the researcher aims to understand, and then represent, that participant's experience as closely as possible?
- Given the inherent politics of language(s) and language choices, does the implementation of a researching multilingually approach automatically render a piece of research 'critical' in nature?

The contributing researchers have all, in one way or another, addressed these questions through an analysis of how multiple languages featured in their own researcher and research processes.

<A>Aims

The 16 chapters in our edited research volume aim to: (i) document and analyse how researchers deal with questions of linguistic power and privilege, and recognition and non-recognition of languages; (ii) identify and analyse the theoretical and methodological approaches researchers draw on when researching multilingually in politically-charged contexts, and amidst structural hierarchies of power and other forms of inequality and (iii) articulate the embodied researcher experience of researching multilingually in contexts where languages (e.g. of researchers, participants, interpreters, translators and colleagues) and discourse flows (evidenced in texts and other artefacts) are constrained and/or silenced.

In addressing these aims, the chapters illustrate theoretical approaches that include decolonising, critical and social justice perspectives in educational and a range of geopolitical linguistic contexts where there is structural inequality, disenfranchisement, conflict,

oppression, forced migration and economic marginalisation—whether in the global North, South, East or West (Ladegaard & Phipps, 2020). The contributing researchers are located in multiple disciplines: applied linguistics, anthropology, deaf studies, development studies, education, languages education, participatory arts, media studies, sociology and translation studies. They are also from a range of language backgrounds, countries and researcher trajectories (e.g. doctoral, early career, established researchers; and researchers working on funded projects, in project teams and alongside non-governmental agencies). Their studies illustrate contexts where researchers face structural, hegemonic and colonial linguistic barriers as outsiders, marginalised language speakers and in communication with gatekeepers, interpreters and researched. These conditions have important implications for the ethics and trustworthiness of the research.

The contributors also bring a diversity of orientations: Some of the chapters report research findings from a study, often a doctoral study; others offer reflections over time; and others address experiences of working on multilingual projects, within multilingual teams and alongside non-governmental agencies. They also demonstrate different decisions concerning the presentation of their data, sources and other multilingual and multimodal material in languages other than English. As part of our review process we have discussed, and in some cases, challenged authors on this matter, but left the final decision as to whether or not to present excerpts in the original language and in translation to each author, albeit requiring them to justify their decisions in the text. We believe that this is in line with the 'researching multilingually' stance of awareness, intentionality and purposeful decision-making, and the need for transparency in relation to how researchers approach and/or treat the languages in their research.

Together, the chapters contribute to a discussion of how researchers' linguistic resources, and the languages they use in the research process, are often politically and structurally constrained; and thus, they offer useful illustrations to other researchers of how researchers negotiate—and challenge—normative uses of language and language inequalities in all aspects of their research. We discuss the contributions of these researcher accounts in the Afterword.

<A>Researching Multilingually: A Conceptual Framework

The chapters in this edited research volume are grounded in an approach to research which foregrounds language, and which we describe as 'researching multilingually' (defined above) (Holmes *et al.*, 2013, 2016).[1] Researching multilingually invites researchers to think about how they engage with and mobilise their linguistic resources at all stages of the research process:

> from the initial design of the project, to engaging with different literatures, to developing the methodology and considering all possible ethical issues, to generating and analysing the data, to issues of representation and reflexivity when writing up and publishing. (Holmes et al., 2016: 101)

Figure 1 offers a conceptualisation of the researching multilingually process. In essence, it is a three-step process through which researchers takes action. First, they develop awareness, or realisation, that it is both possible and permissible to use more than one language in the research process. Second, researchers consider the possibilities and particularities of their research, including being reflexive and reflective in their research. Researchers can then, as the third step, make purposeful, informed decisions about how to approach and conduct their multilingual research (which languages to use where, why and how), a stance described as 'intentionality' (Stelma *et al.*, 2013). Although we have described the three steps here as linear, they are more likely to be experienced iteratively, in recurring cycles of realisation, reflection and putting into action, reminiscent of the experiential learning cycle (Kolb, 1984). Hence, we have chosen to represent these stages using cogs and arrows in Figure 1.

This three-step process in the researcher action dimension is impacted by, and in turn impacts on, two major dimensions of research. The first of these is the relationships experienced in the research process. Research is not an isolated process as funders, supervisors, gatekeepers, people in the community and research participants may all be involved. Language becomes an important part of establishing and negotiating relationships, especially around questions of who may enter the discourse (Krog, 2018). For example, anthropologists must often study a language prior to entering the field site; then to ensure credibility, authority and legitimacy as a researcher, they must demonstrate 'native speaker' competence with gatekeepers to negotiate access to a site (Gibb, 2020).

The second major dimension involved in the researching multilingually process is the spaces within which the research is enacted: amongst them, the 'space' of the researched phenomenon (what is being researched); the research context (the 'where'); the space of the

researcher's own identity, including their knowledge, skills and linguistic resources; and the academic and other representational spaces into which the research findings are disseminated. Researchers must navigate these spaces, and doing so may require them to make certain linguistic choices. For example, the project by Fassetta and her three colleagues (Fassetta *et al.*, 2017) required them to navigate several complex and interlocking linguistic spaces as they developed an Arabic language programme with teachers of Arabic in Gaza (the 'what') through virtual communication via the internet (the 'where'). The Gaza teachers' first language was Arabic, and they had varying fluency in English. While the Glasgow researchers were all fluent English speakers, only one spoke Arabic, and none had English as a first language; two were Italian native speakers (which enabled them to provide an Italian language learning experience for the Gaza teachers); and one was a native German speaker. Although the Glasgow researchers all had language teaching experience, they questioned whether they were equipped to support the development of the language programme in Arabic (linguistic resources and skills). The 'representation' space was not only the online Arabic teaching programme but also publications in language journals and books. Other emergent spaces included the 'spaces' of friendship and resistance (given Gaza's context of occupation). Each of these spaces posed challenges to the researchers about which languages to foreground, and how to approach and conduct their research.
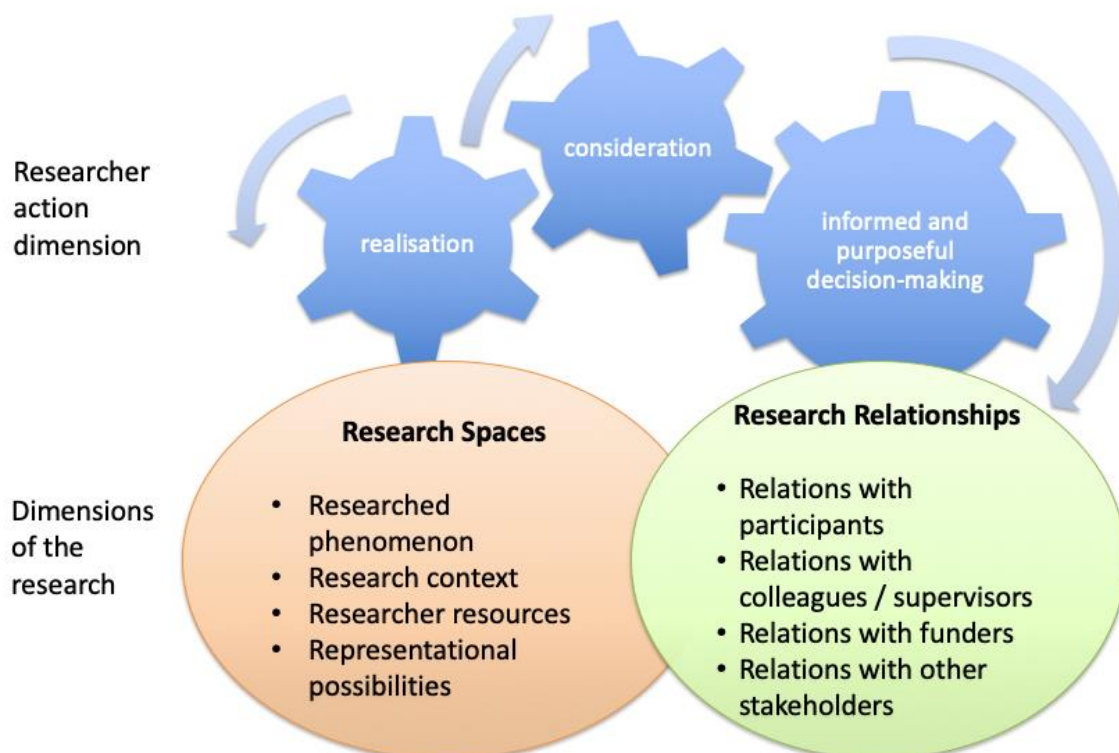
Figure 1 A framework for researching multilingually

The framework emerged from 35 seminar presentations by a network of researchers working across multiple disciplines in the arts and humanities and social sciences, largely in the European context, who presented their experiences of researching multilingually in their research (see the 'Researching Multilingually' project).[1] Thus, it is limited in its origins (of researcher approaches and experiences on which it is based). Further areas for exploration have emerged in the follow-up project 'Researching multilingually at the borders of language, the body, law and the state' (RM@borders), which we discuss next.

One area concerns the moniker 'researching multilingually' itself. The term 'multilingual' suggests named languages that are somehow countable, where individuals have a 'first' language and can speak a 'second' and 'third' language, as if these named languages are discrete separate entities. The result can often be the privileging of powerful languages such as world languages, or the languages taught in secondary and higher education, while neglecting tribal, regional, local, colonial and travelling languages that may be in circulation resulting from migratory flows of people (Risager, 2012). Canagarajah (2018) notes that languages are not discrete, structured, autonomous entities that can be named and counted, but resources for communicating and shaping meaning, and accommodating the messiness and unpredictability of material life and social practice.

'Multilingual' invokes its opposite: 'monolingual'. Gramling (2016) argues that 'monolingual' is an invention that supports nation statehood and the power associated with claims to a national language that inevitably marginalises minority languages. He believes that 'human speakers are always less and more than monolingual' (p. 5), but for structural reasons often beyond their control, 'are obliged to dwell . . . in one language for their research despite having other linguistic repertoires' (p. 208). This situation raises the question of whether monolingual research is even possible, or desirable, especially where researchers' multiple linguistic identities are concerned. This stance thus raises questions about the role of translanguaging and other semiotic repertoires in communication.

A second area of interest concerns language as emotional, embodied and lived experience of 'being a person in that language in the social and material world of everyday interactions', which Phipps (2011: 365), drawing on Becker (1991), calls 'languaging'. In the RMly@Borders project, the multilingual Glasgow team of four researchers (Fassetta *et al.*,

2017 'languaged' as they engaged with their group of Arabic speaking counterparts in Gaza. Through multilingual and multimodal online communication, they collaborated, established relationships and collapsed professional, personal and researcher identities. This embodied and languaged experience enabled them to inhabit one another's spaces, build relationships, construct a language of trust, express shared respect for the Gaza context and to share a desire for the project's success (Andrews *et al.*, 2020).

Throughout the RMly@Borders project, creative arts processes also became important as an alternative to linguistic representation, especially when words are 'broken'. For example, the researchers—as linguists, musicians, costume designers and dramaturgs—collaborated with the young people of Noyam, Ghana and others there to devise and improvise the story of forced migration, but also resistance and safety, through cultural and multilingual forms of dance. The emergent production 'Broken World, Broken Word' (2017) illustrated the themes of the project—the body, language, law and the state under duress, pressure and pain.

Given the limitations of language (discussed earlier), some scholars prefer the concept of 'translanguaging': understood as the flexible, creative and strategic use of a speaker's full linguistic and non-linguistic, i.e. semiotic repertoire (Canagarajah, 2013; García & Li, 2014 Li, 2018), and a resource for performing identity (Creese & Blackledge, 2015). For researchers, this often means grappling with research approaches and methods, including multimodality, in order to 'voice' the speakers of other (e.g. minority and marginalised) languages, and how to understand and represent the texts (whether linguistic, artistic, photographic, dramatic, musical) produced in and through these languages, when researching in multilingual contexts. It may also require researchers to consider how they voice their own linguistic resources, account for their own researcher linguistic identity and address assumptions about languages in circulation in the research process. Following Canagarajah (2013), Andrews *et al.* (2018: 84) suggest that researchers may adopt a 'translingual mindset' to maintain an open mind. Finally, 'translanguaging' encourages researchers to transcend the boundaries of named language systems, disciplinary boundaries and boundaries between language and other cognitive and semiotic systems (Zhu, 2020).

Beyond the RMly@Borders project, further work has focused on the importance of researcher reflexivity. For example, Ganassin's postreflexive application of the researching multilingually framework to her multilingual doctoral study enabled her to understand how linguistic choices shaped power and ethical relationships. She concluded: 'a non-judgemental

acceptance and accommodation of participants' language skills are fundamental in building rapport and trust' (Ganassin & Holmes, 2019: 23). This study highlighted the importance of researchers' constant and critical (self) reflection throughout the research process. Related to this, the multiple researcher experiences in Warriner and Bigelow's (2019) edited volume provide various illustrations of the ethical concerns that researchers confront as they become aware of, deploy and account for their own linguistic resources in their research. Discussions of these extended ways of thinking about researching multilingually—reflexivity and ethics, myths concerning monolingualism and the concepts of translanguaging and languaging—appear in various ways in the chapters in this edited research volume.

<A>Underpinning Themes

We now turn to the four inter-related, foundational themes in our volume which underpin the politics of researching multilingually and discuss how these themes are central to the authors' contributions. These themes are: (i) hegemonic structures (Chapters 1 to 4); (ii) power relations (Chapters 5 to 8); (iii) decolonising methodologies (Chapters 9 to 12) and (iv) decolonising languages (Chapters 13 to 16). While we have structured the chapters into these general thematic headings, we acknowledge their overlapping and interconnected nature.

<B>Hegemonic structures

The focus in the researching multilingually framework on research spaces and contexts invites critical examination of the role of institutional structures—funders, gatekeepers, community organisations/non-governmental organisations (NGOs), the academy and other educational institutions, the publishing industry—in prioritising and legitimising languages in the research process. The languages in circulation within these structures are usually the result of political decisions by governments and institutions as they implement language policies that prioritise certain languages and language varieties over others (Stemper & King, 2017). For example, Tesseur's study of international NGOs operating in Kyrgyzstan reveals the limitations of a reliance on English as a global language. It highlights the importance of collaborative and equitable relationships among researchers, funders and the beneficiaries of the research, which recognise and resist linguistic imperialism and marginalisation so that grassroots change is possible.

Educational settings, which are central to research practice, manifest language ideologies that researchers must navigate. The internationalisation of higher education has given rise to superdiverse campuses of faculty and students, presenting the opportunity to develop new educational and social practices, open-mindedness and cultural and linguistic hybridity (Preisler *et al.*, 2011). Yet, despite the multilingual environment of universities, monolingual expectations and practices tend to prevail (Araújo e Sá *et al.*, 2020), and especially in Anglophone universities (Ryan, 2011; Singh, 2017). Other chapters grouped under the theme of *hegemonic structures* point to the challenges of researching in these multilingual environments, which are influenced by their structural determinants and the emergent interactions among researchers working individually or in teams, and doctoral supervisors and supervisees (Blommaert, 2010). For example, Oozeerally's chapter discusses the tensions of researching in an interdisciplinary, multilingual research team in a Mauritian university, where the dominant language ideologies of surrounding institutional/departmental and disciplinary/epistemological structures (both social and conceptual) presented complex challenges for the delivery of a research project staffed by a linguistically and disciplinarily diverse team of researchers who have differing linguistic identities and epistemological perspectives. Oozeerally concludes that empathy and an understanding of the complex multilingual research space are important in making such projects a success.

Where doctoral researchers are concerned, Araújo e Sá *et al.* (2020) point out the focus on English as the lingua franca of science in doctoral education in the multilingual European context. Yet, many doctoral researchers have English as their second, third or fourth language, requiring much investment to meet institutional monolingual norms. This situation threatens multilingualism, and knowledge expression and creation in other languages (Araújo e Sá *et al.*, 2020; Singh, 2017). Furthermore, the expert/novice binary can tacitly shape doctoral supervisor and researcher communication; it also embodies the power relations implicit in the doctoral researcher process, thus further diminishing doctoral researchers' agency in challenging status-quo, institutionalised academic norms and practices (Holmes *et al.*, 2020). For example, Nemouchi and Holmes' chapter illustrates the assumptions of a French/Arabic-speaking doctoral researcher from Algeria (Nemouchi) who uncritically prioritises English in her research in accordance with the English language norms of her Anglo university. Through her reflexive account of her fieldwork, Nemouchi shows that denying her multiple linguistic identities created power struggles with her participants, thus risking the credibility of her fieldwork. The study responds to Araújo e Sá *et al.*'s (2020)

concern regarding the need for policy development and guidance on how to deal with the linguistic challenges, where doctoral researchers are frequently multilingual, and yet monolingual norms within the academy remain rooted. Both this chapter and the contribution from Oozeerally illustrate how institutional norms can prioritise certain knowledges, epistemologies and methodologies within which (doctoral) researchers are required—whether prescriptively or tacitly—to work, thereby risking the silencing of knowledge generated in other languages (Connell, 2017).

The language of publication creates further difficulty, and inequality, for multilingual researchers, especially at the early career stage. Wilson's chapter describes this situation in French universities: Early career researchers (ECRs) are often required to publish in French (to protect the French language and research traditions), yet publication in both French and English can help to secure tenure and advancement, a situation that creates an additional burden. As Phipps (2019) reminds us, 'structural inequalities … endure and must be endured, as part of the disquieting and enduring dis-ease of all activism that is at the heart of all critical and decolonising work' (p. 11). Thus, while the continued emphasis on publication in English, and in high-ranking journals, prevails in the global neoliberal university environment, multilingual researchers and international doctoral researchers should seek out and nurture informal local and transnational academic research networks to both support English-medium publication success (Curry & Lillis, 2010) and at the same time contest these hegemonic norms. Wilson's chapter attests to this advice.

<B>Power relations

The second theme around which this volume is organised is that of *power relations* in researching multilingually. This theme supports critical reflection about the complex, intricate and multiple connections between different research spaces and research relationships, the role of language(s) in shaping and constituting research relationships and the impact of this on research outcomes. We are reminded that research is a domain of social life, involving individuals affiliated to diverse groups, communities or institutions interacting within a range of different environments. As in other social domains, certain actors will have greater power than others (Risager & Dervin, 2015). The relations of power that exist and develop within research relationships in each research space—relations that are constituted and enacted through language—may facilitate, constrain, enable or impede aspects of the research.

We understand power in the context of doing research broadly in terms of 'unequal role relations' (Spencer-Oatey & Franklin, 2009: 106) between actors in the research process. In practical terms, power represents the ability to have your own interpretation or view accepted and acted upon over somebody else's, whether by force or coercion or through persuasion, influence and consent (Fairclough, 2001: 3, drawing on Foucault, Bourdieu and Habermas). Inequality is an effect of power (Blommaert, 2005: 2), which can manifest both at the level of personal interactions in research (such as the right to define the topic in an interview) and at a more macro-social level (such as access to social goods because of institutional status as a researcher). Frequently these two levels of power are connected, and—adapting Thornborrow's observation to apply to the research process—'power relations emerge in the interplay between participants' [and researchers'] locally constructed, discursive identities and their institutional status' (Thornborrow, 2002: 1). Thus, there is an inherent interconnection between the two themes of power relations and hegemonic structures in this volume. Although there is considerable overlap, the chapters in the *hegemonic structures* section engage more explicitly with the impact of macro-social structures on power dynamics in the research process, whereas the chapters in the *power relations* section focus more on how relations of power are negotiated between individuals at the micro-interactional level.

Researchers have considerable power in the research process, and the academy seeks to promote and/or enforce the responsible exercise of researcher power through 'procedural ethics' (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004: 263) enshrined in institutional research ethics frameworks. Such frameworks, however, are widely acknowledged as unsuitable or inadequate for the complexities of qualitative research involving multilingual speakers (Lincoln & Tierney, 2004; Perry, 2011). Many intercultural and/or multilingual researchers therefore call for others to acknowledge, and where possible mitigate, the effects of researcher power by exercising reflexivity in their research processes and relationships, particularly with participants (e.g. Ganassin & Holmes, 2019; Martin-Jones *et al.*, 2017; Warriner & Bigelow, 2019; Woodin, 2016). The chapters in this part of the volume provide insightful reflexive accounts from several researchers, focused on the role of language(s) in the negotiation of power in research processes. In these accounts, the related concepts of identity and voice, or 'the capacity to make oneself understood' (Blommaert, 2005: 255), as they are connected to language use and language choice, are salient and so we discuss these briefly here.

Language is 'a social practice in which identities and desires are negotiated' (Norton, 2016: 2), and the question of how multilingual speakers selectively negotiate their identities through leveraging their diverse repertoires (Kramsch, 2009) is relevant to all aspects of researching multilingually. The expansive literature on identity and positionality in field research has been extended still further by multilingual researchers giving accounts of their language use in the field impacting on their status as relative insiders or outsiders, and on attendant dynamics of power between themselves and participants (Giampapa, 2011; Giampapa & Lamoureux, 2011; see Martin-Jones *et al.*, 2017 regarding the deconstruction of insider-outsider positionings in research). The accounts of these scholars illustrate that language acts as a source of symbolic power (Bourdieu, 1991), facilitating or impeding access to the social field, in research settings as in other social arenas. Our volume extends this scholarship with a range of contributions foregrounding different sets of research relationships in different research spaces. The connection between researcher–participant power relations, and the multiplicity of individuals' linguistic and cultural identities (as enacted through their communicative practices), is explored in Part 2 in relation to heritage language learners (Chandras); multilingual child (Hookoomsing) and refugee child (Georgiou) participants; and in a postcolonial context (Hernández Morales and de Mejia); as well as in other contexts in other parts of the volume. Bringing in a different research relationship, Tesseur and Backhaus in their contributions examine the complicating yet enriching impact of involving an interpreter on the negotiation of identities and power relations in two very different research projects. Further, Hookoomsing and Oozeerally both shed light in their contributions on how language can impact on power relations within a research team. The range of contributions thus complicates and complexifies the notion of the social field of research and the role of language and identity negotiation within it.

Decisions about language use in research can disenfranchise or empower, which is where voice comes in as a second major concept in researching multilingually practice. Critical sociolinguistic studies have shown how power over others can be exercised in a multilingual situation by one party prescribing the choice of language, or imposing a certain way of using language, thus constraining the other's voice (e.g. Blommaert, 2005; Maryns & Blommaert 2002; Moyer, 2011). Researchers can also silence others, or be themselves silenced, by the linguistic practices they exclude from their research or are excluded from using (e.g. in publications and other outputs), as is highlighted by the chapters by Wilson and Tesseur in this volume. Conversely, researchers have the capacity to make purposeful choices

about language in their research which can empower themselves and their participants, helping to ensure that they have a voice in the academic or policy context. Whilst some authors describe the consequences of an initial lack of awareness here (Backhaus, Nemouchi and Holmes), the contributors to Part 2 evidence how purposeful decision-making is central to managing issues of voice, whether through adopting a certain epistemological stance (Hernandez and de Mejia, Hookoomsing), making choices about particular methods or methodologies (Georgiou, Hookoomsing), or opting to acquire a particular set of linguistic resources oneself (Chandras). Overall, our contributors demonstrate through this theme that power relations are thus a consideration for researching multilingually not just in the field, but throughout the research process: We must at every stage make purposeful and careful decisions, bearing in mind whose voice(s) we intend to foreground.

Decolonising methodologies

The four chapters in this third theme of *decolonising methodologies* respond to calls (over the past four decades or more) to decentre, decolonise and transform Eurocentric epistemologies and prioritise the myriads of ways of understanding knowledge produced locally and in the periphery (Connell, 2017; Mignolo & Walsh, 2018; Said, 1978). This response includes calls to decolonise the position occupied by English as a global language and other colonial languages, recognising the multiple languages, forms of engagement and modalities employed to express such (localised forms of) knowledge (Canagarajah, 2018; Phipps, 2019). The researching multilingually framework, with its focus on the research spaces, invites researchers to adopt methodologies that are sensitive to and empathetic towards local languages, epistemologies and methodologies when investigating how knowledges are understood in these spaces (Smith, 1999/2012). In doing so, researchers can extend these spaces to include a plurality of knowledges and practices that recognise local and indigenous, and not just colonial and dominant, languages (Menezes de Souza & Guilherme, 2019). The contributions in this section focus on how, in designing research and making deliberate and critical choices about the methodologies employed and their underpinning epistemologies, researchers can work to recognise and foreground other ways of being, knowing and expressing the human condition.

In decolonising methodologies, researchers might also focus on their research relationships (within the researching multilingually framework)—to work with and for the research participants and not on or about them, to decentre and question their own power in

the research process and resist hegemonic narratives (Ladegaard & Phipps, 2020; Phipps, 2019). According to Phipps, this positionality would require researchers to undertake their fieldwork from a position of 'lack, limitation, wound and partiality' (2013: 336). Relationality also invites researchers to engage dialogically and relationally with those in the research spaces in a process of 'intercultural intersubjectivity' (Holliday & Macdonald, 2019) and through languaging and embodied experience (Phipps, 2014). Byrd Clark and Roy explore these relational processes in their research on language education for multilingual migrant youth in Canada. They reflect on the transdisciplinarity of their own diverse, complex linguistic, social and pedagogical backgrounds as multilinguals to critically investigate whose voices (researchers and researched) are audible in the context of French as an official and colonial language.

Decolonising methodologies problematise social science methods and associated theories that use coding and categorising of data to reveal patterns and regularities, methods that result in 'static knowledge', risking 'closure' and 'stasis' (MacLure, 2013: 659). Instead, MacLure (2013) envisages research as 'entanglement'—of epistemologies, disciplines, methods, languages and other communicative resources—as researchers access the multiple voices, and hence, multiple truths of their research. Kalocsányiová and Shatnawi's chapter is a collaborative exploration of this entanglement, between researcher and translator, concerning judgements about how to represent voice in writing, what level of detail to choose, in which language(s) and for whom. Through an interdisciplinary framework, they disrupt translation conventions to account for the unorthodox communicative resources and mixed language practices of forced migrants who are learning a named language, French, in Luxembourg.

Continuing the theme of translation in methodologies, Backhaus adopts a cognitive justice framework in researching alongside interpreters in the multilingual context of south India. Her research demonstrates the value of cognitive justice (Viswanathan, 2009) as a framework for engaging with postcolonialism, and when researching multilingually. The framework offers a collaborative approach that is inclusive and respectful of interpreters as contributors in co-creating knowledge through translation in complex, multilingual environments.

The fourth chapter in this theme, by Wilson, explores the colonising practice of audism—the ideology that it is preferable to be, or to behave as though one is, hearing. Wilson states that audism results in the oppression of deaf people and the denial of their

language preferences, limiting their participation in wider society. Wilson adopts decolonising methodologies, drawing on Freire (1970) and participatory action research (PAR), to question this practice and introduce both British Sign Language and hearing methods into his research to address inequalities. He critiques his methodological decisions to foreground British Sign Language while also considering the actions of interpreters, the institutional context and the hegemony of spoken (and written) language over signed language.

The studies within this theme (and others throughout the volume) present researchers' attempts to decolonise and decentre their research epistemologies and methodologies through processes of (self) criticality and reflexivity, and with awareness of and sensitivity towards the multiple modes of communication mobilised by researchers and researched in the research process. Kalocsányiová and Shatnawi argue in their chapter that 'one of the main rationales for researching multilingually is to achieve a more democratic and inclusive research praxis'. Yet, as the researchers demonstrate, their attempts to engage in democratic researching multilingually praxis are fraught with struggles and tensions, and successes and failures in enabling voices and languages—their own, and others—to be visible, audible, represented and circulated.

<B>Decolonising languages

The poststructuralist critique of 'named languages' as 'politically named linguistic entities' (Li, 2018: 18) has been an emergent issue in applied linguistic research foregrounding language-in-use for some decades (Blommaert, 2005). This understanding of named languages as inherently political, and as 'constructs of the frameworks that make them' (Makoni & Pennycook, 2012: 445), has also informed related work in postcolonial and decolonial thought (Gandhi, 2019; Mignolo, 2000; Phipps, 2019). Drawing on these influences, the fourth theme of the volume, *decolonising languages* in researching multilingually, supports critical reflection about researchers' conceptualisations of language itself, and how these feed into the research spaces of the researched phenomenon and the research context. In the contributions to this part of the volume, the researcher action dimension of the researching multilingually framework is foregrounded, as researchers discuss their realisations about the historicity and the political dimensions of (the constructs of) named language(s) in their research; their reflections on and consideration of the

implications of working on or with these languages and their purposeful decision-making regarding how to engage with these implications in their research.

The theme has two interconnected dimensions. The first is the recognition of 'the political entities of named languages' (Li, 2018: 19) as inherently political instruments, leading to critical examination of the effects on research practice of working in and through particular named languages in a range of research contexts. In this dimension, contributors are asking, in the context of their research, 'who benefits and who loses from understanding languages the way we do, what is at stake for whom, and how and why language serves as a terrain for competition' (Heller & Duchêne, 2007: 11). The second dimension is the implications for research of the inadequacy of the traditional understanding of (named) languages to describe and represent our lived experience of doing and being through a diverse and multimodal range of communicative practices—in other words, our languaging (Becker, 1991; Phipps, 2011) and translanguaging (García & Li, 2014).

Throughout this part, and indeed elsewhere in the volume, contributors draw on the potentially transformative and emancipatory impact of conceptualising language not from above (i.e. in terms of normative, separated linguistic systems) but 'from below' (Baynham & Lee, 2019: 5), i.e. from everyday linguistic and communicative practices. This stance invites researchers to recognise 'who has access to such linguistic resources and under what conditions, given that such resources do not exist in a social or power vacuum' (Menezes de Souza & Guilherme, 2019: 239). This is a decolonial approach to thinking about language (Mignolo, 2000) that seeks at once to recognise, and resist, the imposition of constructed linguistic (and thus identity-related) categories and categorisations from above on participants and researchers whose diverse communicative practices do not neatly conform to such categorisations (see also García & Li, 2014; Makoni & Pennycook, 2007). It is in this sense that we mean decolonising in relation to language.

Our contributors offer a range of possibilities for finding a way forward in the effort to decolonise languages when researching multilingually. As a first step, all authors in this part argue for researchers to develop a critical consciousness of the ideological baggage carried by the languages they are working with. This entails an awareness of linguistic hierarchies and how they operate in different contexts (Blommaert, 2010), as well as of any political associations (whether of colonial practices, language policy related to promotion or suppression of ethnic identities, or otherwise) invoked by the language for different individuals and groups. In the context of Western European-based research, Meyer Pitton and

Schedel's contribution illustrates how impactful different values and perceptions attributed (by self and other) to different linguistic repertoires can be on the research process, right through from job applications to dissemination; they point out that this linguistic dimension of power dynamics in research is largely underreported in the literature. In their chapter, speaking from the very different context of postcolonial South America, Medina and Austin also emphasise the importance of developing awareness of the histories and sensitivities attached to language practices and acknowledging these in the research approach and design. Both examples illustrate that researching multilingually of necessity involves a politics of difference, and processes of categorisation attached to language, that researchers must negotiate.

Responding to the recognition (discussed above) that in the reality of communicative practice, languages are not bounded, sealed, discrete systems, three of the four contributions in this part (from Gordon, Holsapple and Medina and Austin) advocate the adoption of a translanguaging stance, in different ways, as a means to address linguistic power dynamics in research. With her development of a classroom-based translanguaging pedagogy (García *et al.*, 2017) into a translanguaging methodology for use in working multilingually with participants, Gordon proposes a tool for researchers to mitigate power imbalances between researcher and participant in research interactions. Holsapple charts the development of her own awareness of languages as political categories during an ethnographic project on language practices in the Eastern European region of Gagauzia, where translanguaging is prevalent and argues for researchers to adopt the stance of a 'non-knower', focusing on actual language practices over any pre-defined categorisations of named languages. And Medina and Austin explore how, in a postcolonial context, researchers can carry out more sensitive and effective research by explicitly engaging with both researchers' and participants' linguistic repertoires, adopting fluid language practices in research activities, and critically reflecting on the linguistic dimensions of the research. These contributions, responding to the inadequacy of the construct of named languages when researching multilingually, highlight the potential of the concepts of languaging and translanguaging for critical and emancipatory multilingual research practice.

The outline of the chapters presented next is organised according to the four thematic parts of the volume: hegemonic structures (Part 1), power relations (Part 2), decolonising methodologies (Part 3) and decolonising languages (Part 4). The 16 chapters can be read in any order or according to the thematic structure that we propose.

<B>Part 1: Hegemonic structures

Chapter 1, *Linguistic Hospitality and Listening through Interpreters: Critical Reflections and Recommendations on Linguistic Power Relationships in Multilingual Research*, takes us to Kyrgyzstan. The chapter draws data from a larger project that aimed to raise the profile of languages in the development sector, and particularly in contexts in which international NGOs claim to listen to their so-called beneficiaries. Wine Tesseur draws on her experience of conducting interviews with staff from local development organisations to investigate the role of languages and culture in their work. Tesseur's analysis demonstrates that the concepts of listening and linguistic hospitality helped her to gain insights into the personal, institutional and sociopolitical issues that influenced her linguistic choices and assumptions. The chapter also offers practical recommendations for researchers that can help in designing, delivering and reporting multilingual research in a more linguistically equitable way.

Methodological complexities and challenges in team-based research on multilingualism are the focus of Chapter 2, *Multilingualism, Shifting Paradigms and the 21st Century: Negotiating Multilingual Research in Teams through the Lens of Complexity*. Shameem Oozeerally provides an account of the 'ECE Project', a research project aiming to explore the implications of using a complexity-based approach to investigate heterogeneous language practices of pre-primary school children in Mauritius (see also the discussion in Chapter 6). The findings highlight several linguistic and ideological issues, which were both challenging and useful to the research process and required negotiations regarding the multilingual identities and representations of the researchers, who were all at least trilingual.

The multilingual researcher experience is also central to Chapter 3. *Multilingual Researching, Translanguaging and Credibility in Qualitative Research: A Reflexive Account* is located in the context of the internationalisation of higher education. Lamia Nemouchi and Prue Holmes offer a critique of monolingual policies, particularly in Anglophone universities. The chapter is based on Nemouchi's experience as a multilingual-international doctoral researcher, who is engaging with multilingual participants in the multilingual context of a university in Algeria. The chapter builds researcher awareness of the need for an ethical stance concerning languages in the research process. Such awareness should go beyond matters of informed consent to acknowledge how individuals negotiate and affirm their

identities and positionalities in and through languages, all of which impact the trustworthiness of the research.

In the final chapter in the first part of the volume, *Publish or Perish, Publier ou Périr? How Research Publication Language Choice Is Shaped among Linguistics Early Career Researchers in France*, Adam Wilson problematises how publishing can be a key issue in the politics of researching multilingually for researchers working in contexts in which there are multiple, competing scientific languages. Wilson explores the publication strategies and the related language choices and ideologies employed by ECRs in French academia, showing how these are aimed primarily at improving employment prospects. The findings of the chapter demonstrate that these ideological dynamics are linked to institutional gatekeeping: They contribute to the reproduction of a certain linguistic order, safeguarding the positions of established academics and shaping the linguistic practices of ECRs. Such ideologies thus, potentially, sit at the heart of questions relating to the (re)production of institutional exclusion and inequality in academia.

<B>Part 2: Power relations

As a result of migration flows and of the recent refugee crisis, classrooms around the world are now becoming more linguistically and culturally diverse. Yet, the multilingual complexities of conducting research in these contexts are underexplored. Chapter 5, *Conducting Multilingual Classroom Research with Refugee Children in Cyprus: Critically Reflecting on Methodological Decisions*, focuses on power relationships when engaging refugee children as active research participants. Alexandra Georgiou discusses her ethnographic research with refugee children in Cyprus whose language repertoires (i.e. Arabic and Farsi) did not overlap with those of the researcher. A repertoire approach allowed the researcher to take informed methodological decisions that balanced power relations to allow authentic representation of the children's voices. Georgiou argues that an inclusive research practice that relates researchers' methodological decisions to their language choices is needed so that ethnographic researchers can develop an awareness of their researcher practices with vulnerable participants whose linguistic and cultural experiences they do not share.

The complexities of doing research with multilingual child-participants who do not share the same linguistic repertoire as the researchers are also explored in Chapter 6, *Voice and Power Relations: Researching Multilingually with Multilingual Children in Mauritian*

Pre-primary Schools. Helina Hookoomsing draws insights from the 'ECE Project'—which was introduced in Chapter 2—to explore the ethical and linguistic issues of informed consent when researching multilingually with young children in the colonial context of the Mauritius. In Chapter 2, Oozeerally investigates the challenges emerging in a multidisciplinary, multilingual research team where the researchers bring differing researcher backgrounds and trajectories. The focus is on the implications of working across these trajectories when one particular theoretical approach—complexity theory (from the French scholarship)—is foregrounded. Instead, Hookoomsing draws on an autoethnographic framework to reflect on her experience as a researcher formed within the Anglo research tradition. Her work highlights the tensions that emerge when applying this research approach to the Mauritian context where both French and English have different positions vis-à-vis Mauritian Creole (KM), the language of everyday communication. Overall, Chapters 2 and 6 are complementary in that they draw on the same research project, but they also provide contrasting insights informed by the authors' different positionalities as researchers.

Chapter 7, *Challenges and Tensions in Researching Multilingual Communities in the Caribbean*, explores the challenges and tensions faced by a doctoral student from the Colombian mainland conducting critical ethnographic research in San Andrés Island in the Caribbean, where she is an outsider and does not speak the native language, Kriol (Creole). Olga Camila Hernandez and Anne Marie Truscott de Mejia draw on a decolonial perspective to discuss the nature of the power relations that emerge in this multilingual research context. The chapter examines decisions made on how to accompany the research process, in order to give access to the voices of the participants and place these in dialogue with other voices, while at the same time taking responsibility for constructing an account rooted in the socially situated subjectivity of the researcher. Furthermore, the issue of legitimacy in speaking on behalf of others from the perspective of an outsider researcher is addressed and power relationships between researcher and participants are reflected upon.

Chapter 8 addresses power relationships in multilingual research through negotiating a heritage language learner identity. In *Speaking Marathi Like a Punekar: Learning Class and Caste in India*, Jessica Chandras reflects on her experiences as a bi-racial American female anthropologist of Maharashtrian descent collecting data in Pune, a city in the western Indian state of Maharashtra. Complexities of learning a heritage language as a field language, specifically in the multilingual setting of urban India, ultimately impacted Chandras' access to research participants as well as shaping research findings. Simultaneously, during the

fieldwork, the politics and power embedded within balancing one's identity as a cultural and linguistic insider/outsider impacted on her own identity as a researcher as this became embedded within networks of power structures of caste, gender and classed expectations.

Part 3: Decolonising methodologies

Chapter 9, *Multilingual Research for New Social Realities: Towards a Transdisciplinary Approach*, opens up the theme of decolonising methodologies. Julie Byrd Clark and Sylvie Roy draw from an ongoing longitudinal research project on the significance of bi/multilingualism for multilingual students of immigrant origin participating in French language education programmes in Canada to discuss their own researching multilingually practices in relation to larger discourses and representational systems of power (e.g. official bilingualism, the complex position of French in Canada). Although a number of researchers and educators worldwide are investigating multilingual youth and the impact of multilingual practices, few have focused on what multilingual researchers do when researching multilingually and interculturally. The chapter addresses this gap, and it examines, in particular, the contextual, intercultural and relational aspects of the research processes, including the researchers' own interpretations and blind spots when trying to make decisions on what information to include, and whose 'voices' to share, vis-à-vis their own complex trajectories.

Several authors have argued in the past that transcribing is a political act: It involves judgements about how to represent voice in writing, what level of detail to choose, in which language(s) and for whom. In Chapter 10, *Transcribing (Multilingual) Voices: From Fieldwork to Publication*, Erika Kalocsányiová and Malika Shatnawi provide one of the first in-depth accounts of the processes and politics of multilingual transcribing. In reflexively analysing different transcript formats, the chapter casts light on the complexities, challenges and opportunities that emerge in making collaborative decisions about the translation of speech to a written medium, as well as into other languages. The transcripts for the analysis have been taken from a qualitative study on forced migrants' linguistic integration in Luxembourg. Particular focus is given to transcripts that capture the sometimes-unorthodox resources and mixed language practices of migrants, and their reception in an interdisciplinary framework.

Chapter 11, *Interpreting Cognitive Justice: A Framework for Interpreters as Co-researchers in Postcolonial Multilingual Research*, focuses on the role of interpreters in

multilingual postcolonial and anthropological research contexts. Drawing on ethnographic work conducted at two community radio stations in South India, Bridget Backhaus uses cognitive justice as a framework for theorising multilingual research, and she explores the role of interpreters within this framework as co-creators of knowledge alongside the researchers. Backhaus argues that engaging with the politics of interpreting in the context of ethnography offers insight into how researchers might navigate this complex, multilingual environment. The chapter also proposes practical steps towards ethical, respectful recognition and valuing of the role of interpreters.

Chapter 12, *Bilingual Theatre in British Sign Language and English: A Reflection on the Challenges Faced During a Doctoral Applied Theatre Project*, draws on a multilingual research study with deaf and hearing participants. Michael Richardson provides an understanding of audism as a colonising practice within which the preferable positionality is to be hearing or to accommodate to this. The chapter provides methodological insights from a multilingual Applied Theatre project using the principles of PAR to interrogate the potential for equality of participation for deaf and hearing people in theatrical performance processes. The chapter seeks to critique the researcher's decision-making in the design and realisation of the study, identifying how such decisions and their consequences influenced language practices within the project. It concludes with recommendations for researching multilingually when using a PAR approach.

Part 4: Decolonising languages

Chapter 13, *Translanguaging Pedagogy as Methodology: Leveraging the Linguistic and Cultural Repertoires of Researchers and Participants to Mutually Construct Meaning and Build Rapport*, introduces the theme of decolonising languages. In this chapter, Rebekah Gordon shares her reflexive experiences as a doctoral student working with transnational language teachers. Gordon considers her methodological decisions through a translanguaging pedagogy lens in an effort to leverage the linguistic resources of her research participants, five Chinese language teachers in the USA, while confronting her own perceived monolingualism. The chapter proposes four methodological purposes for translanguaging to support researchers and participants. The chapter also recognises the potential of such translingual practices in dismantling the power hierarchies of research relationships as well as standard language ideologies.

With globalisation and connectivity, people, their languages and cultures come into contact and sometimes clash with each other, producing hybrid linguistic practices. In Chapter 14, Rosa Medina Riveros and Theresa Austin explore how researchers and participants use critical multilingualism and translanguaging as decolonising research tools that illuminate how to navigate such hybridity and semiotic diversity. Their chapter, *Decolonizing Research through Translanguaging: Negotiating Practices with Multilingual Teachers in Colombia*, draws primarily on two views of multilingual practice: critical multilingualism and translanguaging. Through a yearlong transnational professional development project with multilingual teachers of English as a foreign language in Colombia, Medina Riveros and Austin discuss the five research practices they developed, which could prove useful for other researchers trying to examine the use of multilingual resources across time. Overall, this chapter contributes to decision-making processes in heightened awareness of a heuristic and decolonising use of translanguaging in pedagogy and research.

While language choice is a common focus in research on multilingualism, few studies explicitly problematise language choices as related to questions of power/(dis)empowerment in a holistic perspective throughout all stages of research projects. In Chapter 15, *The (Hidden) Politics of Language Choice in Research on Multilingualism: Moments of (Dis)Empowerment*, Liliane Meyer Pitton and Larissa Schedel address this gap by providing a detailed autoethnographic analysis of three projects investigating multilingualism in the context of migration and tourism in Switzerland and Malta. They propose a genealogical approach to language choices using a Foucauldian perspective to analyse the various forms of power, hierarchical structures and underlying linguistic ideologies, which inform and ensue from those choices. Language choices and their consequences are discussed in relation to the research process, with a focus on situations of (dis)empowerment of the people and languages involved in or excluded from the research. The authors argue that a critical analysis of language choices at every stage of the research is crucial as it reveals the hidden politics of language choice and its impact on research outcomes.

Chapter 16, the final chapter of the volume, *Speaking 'No Language?': Reflections on (Il)Legitimate Multilingualism from Fieldwork in Gagauzia*, draws data from a 12-month ethnographic study exploring the politics of belonging in Gagauzia, an autonomous region in southern Moldova. Christiana Holsapple scrutinises how 'no languages' or non-standard language has played a role throughout the research process, thereby problematising normative notions of multilingual research practice that often make visible only codified, named

languages. The chapter positions languages as political, not ontological or linguistic categories, and it draws attention to the larger geopolitical embeddedness of linguistic choice and positionality in research. Arguing that multilingual researchers should give attention to the historic and political 'baggage' of the languages in/through which they work, Holsapple maintains that critical reflexivity of one's own multilingualism allows researchers to unpack how often only a particular kind of multilingualism is legitimised in our research processes.

<A>Conclusion

Together, the 16 contributions from the authors of this edited research volume open up space for discussion, reflection and debate about the importance of focusing on languages in the research process—of the researcher, researched and the research context. The authors illustrate the importance of being critical of their own researcher praxis through reflexive and reflective investigation of languages in their research process and context. In doing so, they acknowledge that communication in research is not just about linguistic choice but involves translanguaging, language as embodied expression and multimodal repertoires and symbolic forms of communication. More importantly for this volume, and in response to its aims, the researchers shed light on the dangers of uncontested, uncritical, theoretical and methodological researcher stances when undertaking research multilingually. By focusing on power relations, agency, hegemonic structures and decolonising approaches to and understandings of languages and research, the authors offer insights into the political dimensions of researching multilingually. We invite readers to take inspiration from these offerings by acknowledging and accounting for the political dimensions of their own research endeavours.

<B>Note

1. The concept 'researching multilingually' has been developing through two Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC)-funded projects *Researching Multilingually* (AH/J005037/1; http://researchingmultilingually.com/; led by Prue Holmes) and *Researching Multilingually at the Borders of Language, the Body, Law and the State* (AH/L006936/1; http://researching-multilingually-at-borders.com/; led by Alison Phipps). We acknowledge the role of Jane Andrews and Richard Fay in the development of this concept across these two projects.

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