

Language Use in the Classroom: Balancing Target Language Exposure With the Need for Other Languages

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Recent trends in language education have promoted the use of students' linguistic repertoires in the classroom. However, research is lacking into how languages are actually used in target language instruction. This study contributes new knowledge from lower secondary classrooms in Norway, combining a large data set of video observed English lessons ($N = 60$) of naturally occurring instruction over time, with a survey of students' ($N = 179$) experiences of their teachers' language practices. The study reports how languages were used and perceived in seven classrooms across Grades 9–10. Findings indicate three main patterns. First, there was considerable variation in language use in these classrooms, which seemed dependent on the teacher rather than students and school. Second, there was hardly any use of languages other than the language of schooling (Norwegian) and the target language (English), but a few references to linguistic repertoires signalled a focus on multilingualism in some classrooms. Third, survey data indicate that students perceived teachers' use of Norwegian, regardless of amount, helpful. The study demonstrates teachers' and students' balancing of target language exposure with the need for other languages, even with extensive variation in the use of English and Norwegian and infrequent references to students' other linguistic repertoires in most classrooms.

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In the current globalised world, English is the foremost language of communication and the primary language of the Internet, providing individuals with opportunities to develop English proficiency in formal and informal contexts (Education First, 2018). The status of English in the world is increasingly characterised by those who use it as a second or additional language, rather than by its native speakers (Jenkins, 2015). English is not only spread globally, but also appropriated locally (Mufwene, 2010). Simultaneously, researchers have raised concerns

regarding the use of English at the expense of other languages as well as the lack of inclusion of students' existing language resources in the classroom (Cenoz & Gorter, 2017; Hult, 2017; Seltzer, 2019).

The issue of multilingualism is not a trivial concern linked to language education; rather, it is a central question regarding the education of current and future global citizens. The United Nations' Global Goal 4 (quality education) describes monolingualism as a social and economic disadvantage (Sustainable Development Goals Fund, 2018), and scholars promote linguistic diversity as a matter of social justice (Canagarajah, 2013; De Costa et al., 2017; Jaspers, 2018). Considering the increased mobility, economic development, information technology, international cooperation, and other processes related to globalisation, a timely question is to what extent and how adolescents learn and use languages in the classroom to enable their inclusion in local and global communication. Traditionally, languages have been taught separately in the school context, and although recent trends have suggested multilinguals and their language resources be used as reference, researchers disagree about the extent to which first languages (L1s¹), or other linguistic repertoires, should be used during target language instruction (Canagarajah, 2013; Macaro, 2001; Moore, 2013; Seltzer, 2019).

Despite disagreements, research into how languages are actually used in target language instruction is lacking. This article builds on and extends existing literature by investigating how languages are used in English instruction in Norway over time and how students experience these language practices. By systematically investigating 60 English lessons across seven lower secondary classrooms over two school years (Grades 9–10), we aim to gain new knowledge about language use in naturally occurring instruction as opposed to researcher-manipulated implementation that prompts certain uses of languages (Hassan et al., 2005).

UNPACKING LANGUAGE TEACHING PRACTICES AND PERSPECTIVES

Most researchers agree that exposure to and use of the target language is crucial for language learning, but many also emphasise that speakers' L1s occur naturally in classroom discourse. Some maintain that exclusively using the target language offers a richer, more optimal learning environment (Crichton, 2009; Polio & Duff, 1994) and have observed such attitudes among teachers (Ganuza & Hedman, 2016).

¹ We refer to L1 to describe participants' first languages in prior research and in the study context.

Others argue that strategic L1 use positively supports target language development (Lee & Macaro, 2013; Macaro, 2001; Moore, 2013) and that using L1 during target language instruction is beneficial (Cenoz & Gorter, 2014; Edstrom, 2006; Krulatz, Neokleous, & Henningsen, 2016). Because people do not finish learning one language before learning another, banning L1s from target language instruction might lead to unnecessary compartmentalisation of languages (Cook, 2001; Daugaard & Dewilde, 2017).

Notably, teachers' language use during target language instruction appears to have little connection to the amount of teacher experience (Krulatz et al., 2016; Macaro, 2001; Polio & Duff, 1994). Instead, professional judgement about when to allow students to use languages other than the target language seems to determine language practices in the classroom (Daugaard & Dewilde, 2017; Hult, 2017; Seltzer, 2019). Across contexts, teachers sometimes justify such judgement by acknowledging the pressure of time (Grim, 2010; Macaro, 2001), their assessment of students' needs for their L1s in the target language classroom (Macaro, 2001; Moore, 2013; Tsagari & Diakou, 2015), or their beliefs about such needs (Cook, 2001; Crichton, 2009; Krulatz et al., 2016).

Allowing any language resource during language instruction may reflect authentic language use. Some studies have revealed that students believe their L1s have a place in the target language classroom (Lee & Macaro, 2013; Moore, 2013; Tsagari & Diakou, 2015) and that L1 use during such instruction can help teachers show empathy, explain difficult terminology, and scaffold comprehension (Crichton, 2009; Krulatz et al., 2016; Macaro, 2001). Students' prior knowledge might be encoded in their L1s, making L1 use necessary to engage prior understandings (Bransford, Brown, & Cocking, 2000; Dewilde, 2019). Other studies challenge stable views of language and encourage teachers to unpack language ideologies both inside and outside the classroom (Daugaard & Dewilde, 2017; Seltzer, 2019). Scholars have viewed proficiency in any language as linguistic repertoires to be activated according to the communicative demands of different contexts (Canagarajah, 2013; Cenoz & Gorter, 2014). Some researchers have noted that multilinguals profit from drawing on their linguistic repertoires to aid language development (Beiler, 2019; Dahl & Krulatz, 2016; Dewilde, 2019). Although multilingual speakers are no longer expected to be ideal native speakers of several languages, researchers stress that the monolingual native speaker remains the ideal and a reference point for many language teachers in the monolingual ideology (Canagarajah, 2011; Cenoz & Gorter, 2017; Seltzer, 2019). However, a monolingual approach to language teaching might stifle students' overall language development (Canagarajah, 2013; Daugaard & Dewilde, 2017; Jaspers, 2018). The above studies have unpacked language teaching practices

and perspectives among teachers and students to characterise the complexity of language practices in language instruction.

THEORETICAL FOUNDATION

This study's theoretical foundation is that language use is related to a sociocultural view of learning as a social process framed within broader contextual practices (Vygotsky, 1986). Vygotsky (1986) emphasised the dialectic relations between the personal and the cultural. These relations indicate that learners shape and are shaped by the practices they inhabit. In a Vygotskian sense, active learners do not take sole responsibility for their learning processes and for discovering meanings. The teacher in the Vygotskian classroom carefully designs learning environments that enable learners to use languages in meaningful ways (Brevik, 2015). Likewise, a multilingual perspective on language learning acknowledges learners' linguistic repertoires, considering classrooms as fundamentally social contexts in which learners use their languages as they engage in various classroom practices (Cenoz & Gorter, 2017; García & Li Wei, 2014). Doing so, students shape and are shaped by their use of languages in communicative interaction in the social context of the classroom (Cenoz & Gorter, 2014, 2017; Park & De Costa, 2015).

Understandings of multilingualism contain conceptual differences in the distinction between *translanguaging* and *codeswitching*. Translanguaging focuses on the speakers and their actual language practices and repertoires (Cenoz & Gorter, 2017; García & Li Wei, 2014). In contrast, codeswitching focuses on the languages (rather than the speakers). Whereas codeswitching is conceptualised as the shifting between languages separated by distinct boundaries, translanguaging considers such boundaries softer, indicating a more holistic conceptualisation of actual language practices that draw on the speaker's linguistic repertoires and features of various languages for pedagogical purposes (Canagarajah, 2013; Cenoz & Gorter, 2017; De Costa et al, 2017; García & Li Wei, 2014). In the classroom, translanguaging is a linguistic decision or a strategy for learning that has a particular purpose, for instance, as a response to students' need for scaffolding to comprehend or communicate in the target language.

Teachers who encourage the use of other languages during target language instruction likely assume that proficiency is transferable across languages (Cummins, 2008; Hult, 2017). However, scholars have debated the concept of transfer. Some have completely disregarded the notion of discrete languages (e.g., García & Li Wei, 2014), and others have expressed more moderate views (e.g., Cenoz & Gorter, 2011, 2014,

2017). Still others have critiqued or contested the idea of translanguaging (e.g., Jaspers 2018; MacSwan 2017). Notably, MacSwan (2017) proposed three distinct models of language transfer and argued that translanguaging researchers (e.g., García & Otheguy, 2014) attribute the *dual competence model* to codeswitching between discrete languages and the *unitary model* to translanguaging, or the unrestricted use of multilinguals' linguistic repertoires, particularly minority languages. MacSwan (2017) further proposed the *integrated multilingual model*, which distinguishes between linguistic repertoires and grammars. He argued that multilingualism is universal and that everyone has a set of discrete languages that they alternate between, with "multiple overlapping rule systems acquired through [their] participation in divergent speech communities" (MacSwan, 2017, p. 179). Jaspers (2018) expressed concerns about the conceptualisation of translanguaging and asserted that linguistic repertoires should acknowledge all languages, both minoritised and majority languages, so that everyone might develop linguistic competence as a matter of social justice.

In this article, we draw on the more moderate views of translanguaging, because we aim to capture actual language practices in the social context of the target language classroom and incorporate students' perspectives on such language use. By doing so, we offer a distinct perspective on how languages were used in seven classrooms over time as well as how students and teachers used (or did not use) linguistic repertoires as a pedagogical tool for comprehension and communicative practices in these English classrooms, some of which included multilingual speakers. In line with Hornberger and Hult (2008), we focus on languages as they are used in social contexts and the relationships among these languages. We study language use in the social context of each classroom and among the classrooms as similar or different contexts. Finally, we study the relationships among individual speakers in these secondary classrooms in Norway.

CONTEXT

In the study context, Norwegian is an official language, most teachers' L1, and the main language of schooling, although these concepts are too simplistic to capture the language practices in and outside school (Brevik, 2019b; Rindal, 2014; Seltzer, 2019). In Norway, students begin primary school (Grades 1–7) at age 6, followed by lower secondary (Grades 8–10) and upper secondary school (Grades 11–13). English is mandatory in Grades 1–11 and an elective in Grades 12–13. Most students study an additional language in Grades 8–12. As in other contexts, language separation at the classroom level is common.

The Common European Framework of Reference (Council of Europe, 2001) describes language competence as beginner (A1, A2), intermediate (B1, B2), and advanced (C1, C2). Although test results indicate lower secondary students in Norway are generally at the B1 level in English, students are multilevel in class, suggesting that different students demonstrate different levels of competence and thus some find English to be more difficult than others (Brevik, 2017).

Despite the prominent status of English in Norway, the Norwegian school system only implicitly encourages multilingualism in the context of English teaching and the national English curriculum minimally addresses the use of students' L1s. Research has shown that English instruction draws on multilingual resources to a limited degree, and scholars have suggested more focus on students' linguistic repertoires (Beiler, 2019; Dahl & Krulatz, 2016; Dewilde, 2019). Although research has indicated that the use of L1 in target language instruction is sophisticated language behaviour and not plain laziness (Lipski, 2014), Krulatz et al. (2016) found that teachers expressed feelings of guilt for using Norwegian instead of English despite perceiving the use of Norwegian in English lessons to be advantageous in certain situations. The belief that L1 use reflects inadequacy or laziness is thus similar to findings in other contexts (Edstrom, 2006; Macaro, 2001).

METHODS

This study is part of the large-scale video study Linking Instruction and Student Experiences (LISE), led by Kirsti Klette and Lisbeth M. Brevik, at the University of Oslo. During 2015–2019, the LISE research team, including several research assistants, collected large-scale data over time (videos and surveys) and case study data (interviews, video-stimulated interviews and screen recording) among teachers and students in lower secondary schools in Norway. The study received approval from the Norwegian Centre for Research Data, and teachers, students, and parents provided written informed consent. The present study drew large-scale data from classroom observations via video recordings and student perspectives via survey responses from seven English classes (Grades 9–10, ages 13–15).

Sample

The sampling was based on a nationwide study that included Grade 8 classrooms in 49 schools (Klette, Blikstad-Balas, & Roe, 2017). In the present study, we sampled seven schools (S2, S7, S9, S13, S17, S50, S51) for variation in student achievement levels, based on high ($n = 3$),

average ($n = 2$), and below-average ($n = 2$) gains on the national reading tests from Grade 8 to Grade 9. The English reading tests showed achievement levels that were average ($n = 1$) or above average ($n = 6$) with a variation of close to one standard deviation. We also aimed for demographic and geographic variation across three school districts: urban ($n = 2$), suburban ($n = 3$), and rural ($n = 2$) schools in areas characterised by low ($n = 1$), medium ($n = 3$), and high ($n = 3$) socioeconomic status. The study followed the seven classes over two school years (Grades 9–10). The proportion of students who had different L1s from Norwegian varied between 4% and 26% in each classroom. We understand *multilinguals* as speakers who navigate between the languages they know by using these either in isolation or mixed, for different purposes (Cenoz & Gorter, 2017), using Norwegian and one or several additional languages in their everyday life with varying proficiency. Two classrooms (S13, S51) were multilingual classrooms where at least five students were multilinguals. Table 1 offers teacher and student background information.

Video-Recorded Lessons

Data include four to six video-recorded lessons from each classroom during each year of participation, totalling 60 lessons (Table 2). We designed the frequency of observations to maximise the likelihood of

TABLE 1
Teacher and Student Background Information

Schools		Teachers				Students	
No.	Grade	Gender	Age	Education in English	Teaching experience	No. of students	L1 other than Norwegian
S02	9	Female	40–49 years	300 ECTS (MA)	14 years	46	4%
S07	9–10	Male	20–29 years	61–90 ECTS	6 years	27	11%
S09	9	Female	60+	31–60 ECTS	25 years	21	14%
		Female	30–39 years	None	16 years	26	23%
S13	9–10	Female	20–29 years	31–60 ECTS	3.5 years	19	26%
S17	9	Male	20–29 years	100 ECTS	1.5 years	15	7%
		Female	40–49 years	61–90 ECTS	20 years	16	
S50	9–10	Male	40–49 years	31–60 ECTS	18 years	27–29	7%
S51	9	Male	20–29 years	300 ECTS (MA)	3 years	25	28%
		Female*	50–59 years	31–60 ECTS	6 years		

Note. ECTS = European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System; MA = master's level; L1 = first language.

*This teacher considered herself bilingual (English–Norwegian); all other teacher participants reported their L1 to be Norwegian.

TABLE 2
Video-Recorded English Lessons (N = 60)

Grade	School						Total	
	S02	S07	S09	S13	S17	S50		S51
9	6	4	6	4	4	5	4	33
10	0	4	5	4	5	5	4	27

reliable estimates of teacher practice (Cohen, Schuldt, Brown, & Grossman, 2016).

Video recordings allow detailed, systematic investigation of complex educational situations (Blikstad-Balas, 2017; Klette, 2009). This study’s video design relied on two cameras simultaneously recording the same lesson. A wall-mounted camera at the back of the classroom faced the teacher and another faced the students; additionally, the teacher wore one microphone and another was fixed to capture the students (Brevik, 2019a; Klette et al., 2017). This design provided reasonably good video and audio recording of whole-class discourse and teacher–student interactions.

Video Analyses

Researchers use language categories for structural purposes to study linguistic diversity, to show how subsystems are connected across languages, and to examine the dynamics and social functions of language use (Cenoz & Gorter, 2011). Based on the language separation at the classroom level in Norway and the prominent status of English as a school subject, we used language codes to identify actual language practices (Step 1) and time-stamping to quantify these practices (Step 2) before analysing the functions of Norwegian (Step 3).² To ensure high levels of ongoing interrater agreement ($\geq 80\%$ exact-score agreement; Cohen et al., 2016), the research team validated 20% of the analyses, resulting in 88% agreement of the analyses. We discussed all analyses lacking initial exact-score agreement until we reached consensus. Finally, we coded another 20% of the video-recorded lessons twice to provide a measure of intracoder reliability on teacher and student talk; the second coding resulted in no changes. Macaro (2001) reported similar intracoder procedures and results.

² The video analysis included descriptive statistical analysis and qualitative analysis of classroom language use, resulting in systematic analysis of the context in which language use occurred, similar to Moore’s (2013) analysis of learners’ L1 use in target language classrooms.

Language codes. To capture actual language practices, we used four codes: Norwegian, English, both, and other (any other language). A code was activated when either teachers or students spoke and deactivated as they stopped speaking. The audio quality was insufficient to accurately capture all language use between students. Thus, we coded the teacher’s speech, students’ speech to the teacher, and student–student interactions to which the teacher was in close proximity or that was otherwise captured by the audio equipment. We coded interactions between the teacher and students involving both English and Norwegian as “both” utterances. For instance, these interactions occurred when a teacher asked a question in English, a student gave a brief one-word response in Norwegian, and the teacher offered an equally brief response in English, or vice versa. We did not code periods of classroom silence, and altogether, 78.2% of the total time in the 60 observed English lessons contained spoken language and were coded.

Time-stamping. Activation of the four language codes initiated time-stamping via the program InterAct, enabling quantification of the aggregate time spent on each language for each classroom. Language use lasting less than 3 seconds was not coded unless part of a “both” sequence. We developed this time-stamping methodology specifically for the LISE project (see Brevik, 2019a). In this study, the time-stamping is novel in its sampling of all language use throughout the lessons, except between students when the audio recorder did not capture student voices.³

Functions of the language of schooling. We categorised the functions of Norwegian in English lessons via an inductive approach (data-based), resulting in these categories: *academic functions* (scaffolding, metalinguistic explanation, task instruction, terminology, domain) and *nonacademic functions* (practical information, classroom management, empathy/solidarity). Previous research validated the framework (see Figure 1).

Student Surveys

Students responded to a survey immediately following the Grade 9 video observations. We analysed responses to two items that directly

³ Our time-stamping analysis resembles Macaro’s (2001) 5-second sampling technique of entire video-recorded modern language French lessons. Whereas Macaro sampled teacher talk only, we included student talk to obtain a holistic measure of the languages used in the classrooms.

Academic functions	
Scaffolding	Teacher uses the language of schooling to offer guidance, explains/expands a teaching point, bridges communication gaps, reduces ambiguity, or offers translation for students' lack of comprehension in the target language. Includes student responses to teacher follow-up and teacher responses to student questions (e.g. Grim, 2010; Macaro, 2001; Polio & Duff, 1994).
Metalinguistic explanation	Teacher uses the language of schooling to focus on linguistic forms through explicit explanations (e.g. Grim, 2010; Macaro, 2001; Polio & Duff, 1994).
Task instruction	Teacher uses the language of schooling to give task instructions for an activity or procedure (e.g. Grim, 2010; Macaro, 2001).
Terminology	Teacher uses the language of schooling to provide new subject-specific terminology or vocabulary clarification (e.g. Lee & Macaro, 2013; Macaro, 2001; Polio & Duff, 1994).
Other domains	Teacher uses the language of schooling to refer to another domain about a matter relevant to the target language topic.
Non-academic functions	
Practical information	Teacher uses the language of schooling to give information or instruction unrelated to the target language subject (e.g. Grim, 2010).
Class management	Teacher uses the language of schooling to manage students' behaviour in the classroom, lack of student concentration, talk, or misconduct (e.g. Macaro, 2001; Grim, 2010; Polio & Duff, 1994).
Empathy/solidarity	Teacher uses the language of schooling to develop closeness with students, to show understanding, or for relationship building related to their private lives (e.g. Grim, 2010; Macaro, 2001; Polio & Duff, 1994).

FIGURE 1. Functions of the language of schooling.

addressed learners' attitudes to and experience with their teacher's language use: "My English teacher uses Norwegian to help us understand" (Item 1) and "I find it easy to understand my teacher when they speak English" (Item 2). Importantly, Item 1 measured not how often teachers used Norwegian but how often students found that use helpful. The students responded anonymously on a 5-point Likert-type scale indicating whether they *never*, *rarely*, *sometimes*, *often*, or *always* experienced these situations. We used SPSS software to analyse the distribution of the items within and across classrooms. In total, 179 students responded to the survey across the seven schools. We calculated means for each school for overall scores and investigated response distribution. We conducted a one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) with a Tukey post hoc test to identify differences between students' answers, and we determined Pearson's bivariate correlation to investigate

relationships between the two items and observed language use in each classroom.

FINDINGS

The findings from the video observations and student surveys indicate three main patterns across the 60 English lessons. First, we identified considerable variation in the language use in these lessons, which seemed dependent on the teacher rather than students and school. Second, we found little use of languages other than the language of schooling (Norwegian) and the target language (English), but a few references to linguistic repertoires signalled a focus on multilingualism in some classrooms. Third, the survey data indicate that students found teachers' use of any amount of Norwegian helpful.

Variation in Language Practices

The findings show that teachers and students used English 77% of the time and Norwegian 16% of the time; for the remaining 7% of the time, they drew on both languages with no use of other languages (Figure 2).

English was used the most across all classrooms (Figure 2). The overall pattern indicates a teacher-dependent approach to language use, because the classrooms with the same teacher both years (S07, S13, S50) also used languages similarly both years, whereas communication in Norwegian was reduced in two classrooms (S09, S17) that changed teachers in Grade 10. In S51, both teachers had a similar language approach. Of note, three of the four teachers who used Norwegian the most had taught the longest (18–25 years), and the fourth teacher had the least teaching experience (1.5 years). Based on the language practices in the classrooms, we labelled these high-frequency Norwegian classrooms (S09, S17, S50) and high-frequency English classrooms (S02, S07, S13, S51). Although teachers and students used linguistic repertoires more flexibly than such labels indicate, there was considerably more communication in Norwegian in the former classrooms (34%–51%) than in the latter ones (1%–12%). The exception was S09, which resembled the high-frequency Norwegian classrooms in Grade 9 (28% Norwegian) and high-frequency English classrooms in Grade 10 (3% Norwegian) after they changed English teachers. We placed S09 in the former group to emphasise the variation in linguistic repertoires. Interestingly, whereas all teachers encouraged their students to use English in these lessons, this practice was more common

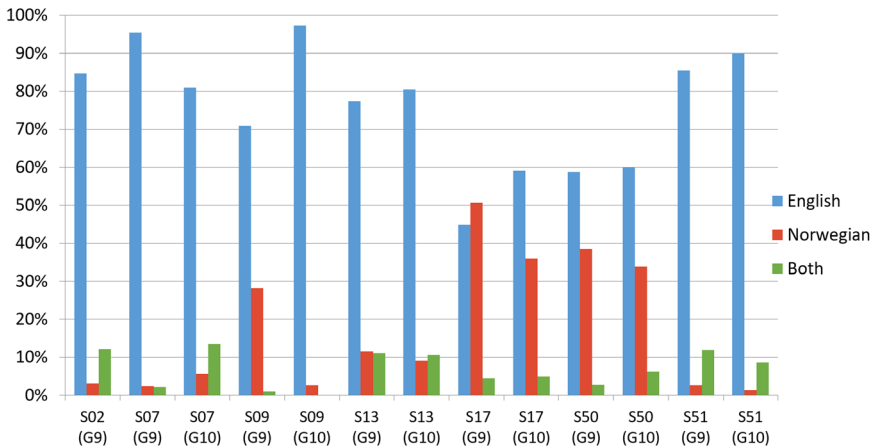


FIGURE 2. Languages spoken in 60 video-recorded English lessons; Classrooms identified by numbers (S = school); Grades in parentheses (G = grade).

in the high-frequency Norwegian classrooms, regardless of which languages the teachers themselves used⁴:

Teacher (S17) : Nå kan dere få lov til å diskutere i to minutter med de dere sitter ved siden av. [Now you may discuss for two minutes with those sitting next to you.] And please do so in English. Good!

Teacher (S50) : Remember, you're going to talk in English, right?

Student : Yes, yes.

Teacher : In English. [...] Have you found out anything yet?

Student : Ikke på historical events, så har vi ikke ... [Not for historical events, so we have not ...]

Teacher : In English.

Another prominent practice in these classrooms, as opposed to the high-frequency English classrooms, was the negotiation of language use based on students' needs and requests for clarification:

Student (S09) : Kan jeg snakke på norsk? Jeg skjønnte ikke helt hva vi skulle gjøre. [May I speak Norwegian? I did not quite understand what we should do.]

Teacher (S17) : [to one student] Then you just, eh, say it in Norwegian. Yes.

⁴ All translations are by the authors.

Teacher (S17) : What is teenage pregnancy?

Student : *Ehm, skal jeg snakke på engelsk? [Ehm, am I supposed to speak English?]*

Teacher : *Yes, please.*

Student : *Okay, ehm, it's when a teenager, I think younger than eighteen [...]*

The students in the high-frequency English classrooms commonly responded in the language used by the teacher. A few exceptions occurred when students responded in English to the teacher's Norwegian (i.e., S07) or used both languages in the same sentence (i.e., S51):

Teacher (S07): *Har dere noensinne, bortsett fra at dere må, spurt dere om hva som er poenget med skolen? [Have you ever asked yourselves, except that you have to go, what is the point of schooling?]*

Student: *Are we supposed to answer?*

Teacher: *Ja [Yes]*

Student: *To understand the world better, so we don't end up like in [location] where a lot of people are barely educated and don't understand how the systems work and how to change [...] the world.*

Student (S51): *Kan du skrive summary om national security? [Could you write a summary about national security?]*

Some Multilingual References

We observed no students speaking any languages other than English or Norwegian, and no teachers suggesting that students might use other languages they knew. A few rare references to other language resources occurred in high-frequency English classrooms, for instance, when a teacher used *anglais* (French)⁵ and *anglofil* (Norwegian) to explain the English word *Anglican*:

Teacher (S07): *The word Anglican, what do you think of in French? Anglican—does that remind you of anything in French? [...]* *Anglais [English (in French)]. Anglican. Those of*

⁵ French, German, and Spanish are learned as additional modern languages in Norwegian schools.

you who like English football, or those who do, often call themselves in Norwegian: anglofile [anglophile].

This teacher further demonstrated openness to students' language resources when a student found online information in French:

Teacher (S07): What's that? [...] A French page? Right, so you need to translate the French for me then.

Another teacher used an example from Arabic, *wallah quran* (i.e., "I swear on the Quran") to explain the English word *profanity* in a multilingual classroom:

Teacher (S51): Profane, "marked for contempt or irreverence for what is sacred." Hmm. So, wallah quran—is that profanity? Isn't it weird that I say that?

Student 1: Hva da? [What?]

Teacher: Wallah quran.

Student 1: Å, ja. [Oh, yes]

*Student 2: Oh, well, if *you* speak Arabic, it would be.*

Other high-frequency English classrooms (S07, S13) offered very few similar examples of French, German, and Spanish. These infrequent practices most clearly prompted students to use their linguistic repertoires in such high-status modern languages, even if the utterances were brief and used only by the teacher. Of note, the teacher in one high-frequency English classroom tried to minimise the use of other languages, although this classroom was not labelled multilingual:

Teacher (S02): Of course, I asked you to discuss in English, I think most of you did, but sometimes I can hear the switches over to Norwegian so try to avoid that the next time. Shh, so ... or to some other language of course.

Interestingly, although this teacher discouraged the oral use of multilingual resources, she encouraged the students' use of bilingual (English–Norwegian) dictionaries to scaffold their English reading comprehension (Brevik, 2019a). Thus, whereas teachers in most high-frequency English classrooms briefly affirmed students' language resources, this teacher (S02) explicitly prompted students *not* to use languages other than English. Whereas English was the main language in all classrooms for academic purposes relating to reading, writing, talking, and reasoning with text, Figure 3 shows that Norwegian was frequently used for the academic purposes of scaffolding (40%),

metalinguistic explanation (17%), and task instruction (15%), followed by the nonacademic use of providing practical information (13%). Less frequent Norwegian use involved references to terminology (6%), other domains (3%), class management (2%), empathy/solidarity (2%), and other uses (2%).

Although the mean communication in Norwegian was relatively low (16%), it varied considerably across classrooms. Notably, some practices were characterised by brief instances of Norwegian to respond to student needs (e.g., scaffolding, terminology, domains), in contrast to longer stretches of Norwegian (e.g., metalinguistic explanation, task instruction, practical information, class management, empathy/solidarity). In the social context of the classrooms, the teachers' practices influenced students' use of languages, making each classroom a different context.

Brief Instances of Norwegian

The video observations show brief instances of Norwegian in all classrooms, in terms of teachers consciously responding to students' language needs. As mentioned above, such practices occurred, for instance, when one student (S09) asked if she could use Norwegian due to a lack of understanding, when another student (S17) asked whether she was supposed to speak English, and when a teacher (S17) encouraged a student to use Norwegian instead of English.

The most frequently identified function of using Norwegian (Figure 3) was scaffolding (40%), commonly used to ensure students' comprehension. Such practices typically involved the teacher translating for a few students or providing supplementary information to the entire class. Scaffolding occurred in all classrooms except one (S51) and was usually brief. Student-initiated scaffolding occurred as responses to teacher follow-up and other students' questions. The following excerpt illustrates teacher-initiated scaffolding to ensure comprehension:

Teacher (S17) : Did you girls in the corner find any action verbs, descriptive adjectives, or adverbs in the novel? Var det noen beskrivende adjektiver eller adverb der eller noen handlingsverb i utdraget? [Were there any descriptive adjectives or adverbs there or any action verbs in the extract?]

Teachers commonly used Norwegian when providing terminology. Although infrequently (6%), all teachers gave brief Norwegian explanations of English terms, either as stretches of Norwegian or as one

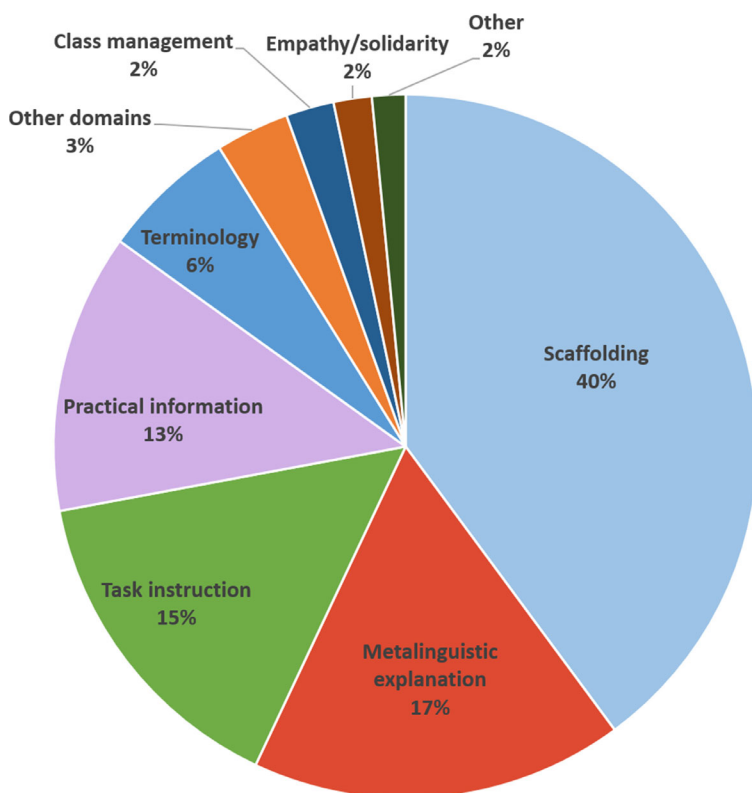


FIGURE 3. Functions of Norwegian use in English lessons across classrooms.

word or concept in otherwise English representations, as in the excerpts below:

Student (S07) : *Hva betyr ratify? [What does “ratify” mean?]*

Teacher : *Å ratifisere betyr å, jeg fornorsker, å skrive under på en avtale, gå med på en avtale. Sånn at alle land må, for eksempel i FN, må alle land ratifisere en avtale. Og når de gjør det så må de følge den. [To ratify means to, I am Norwegianising, to sign an agreement, agree to a contract. So every country has to, for instance, in the UN, all countries have to ratify an agreement. And when they do that they have to follow it.]*

Teacher (S51) : *We need some of the themes here. Like, what could a possible theme be in this story, if you remember. Like, tema [theme].*

Student : *Like what it’s about?*

Teacher : Yeah, well, what do you think in “The Sniper,” the story, like what could be a theme? Also, some symbols and things like that.

Another infrequent (3%) Norwegian use concerned some teachers’ references to domains relevant to the English subject topic, such as linking the Troubles in Northern Ireland to the Russian Revolution, as in this excerpt:

Teacher (S07) : Well, some people died, so there are some similarities between the two Bloody Sundays in Russia and in Northern Ireland. What happened after the Bloody Sunday in Russia? Did . . . Hvis dere tenker tilbake på Russland, etter at tsaren berordret skyting av demonstranter, stoppet revolusjonen der? Oh, come on, dere har vært til stede i historietimene. [If you think back on Russia, after the tsar ordered the shooting of protesters, did the revolution stop there? Oh, come on, you were present in the history lessons.]

Longer Stretches of Norwegian

We observed longer stretches of Norwegian use in the high-frequency Norwegian classrooms. The most prominent practices concerned metalinguistic explanations (17%), where teachers explicitly changed from expressing content in English as soon as they mentioned grammar or pronunciation, and instead expressed these topics in Norwegian, as the following excerpts reveal:

Teacher (S50) : Your grammar tests, which you had a few weeks ago—da snakker jeg litt norsk, jeg, selv om vi har engelsk. Dere husker prøven? [then I will speak some Norwegian, although we have English. You remember the test?]

Teacher (S17) : Sist torsdag dere, så jobba vi med [...] en diftong. Husker dere hvilken diftong det var? Var det en sånn typisk britisk en? Som slutta på den derre slappe lyden som vi bruker fordi dem ikke har r. Husker dere den nå? [...] Det var den ah. [Last Thursday, you guys, we worked on [...] a diphthong. Remember which diphthong it was? Was it a typically British one? That ended in that weak sound that we use because they don’t have r. Remember it now? [...] It was that “ah” (pronounced schwa)].

Another frequent practice concerned providing task instructions in Norwegian (15%). The teachers' explicit instructions in Norwegian before or during an activity suggested the pedagogical aspect of this practice. In the following excerpt, students wrote individual texts in English before being asked to swap texts with a peer:

Teacher (S50) : Are you ready to get feedback? [...] Hvis dere begynner nå å se på hverandres tekster, så vet dere jo fra tidligere at dere vurderer tre hovedområder som dere får tilbakemelding på. [If you now begin to look at each other's texts, you know from earlier that you assess three main areas that you will get feedback on.]

In addition to academic functions, teachers frequently used long stretches of Norwegian for nonacademic purposes, for instance, to give practical information (13%), typically to the whole class at the beginning and end of a lesson, to address student conduct (2%), or to offer empathy/solidarity (2%) to individual students, as this excerpt illustrates:

Teacher (S50) : I think we will sum up, eh, as a class. Yes?

Student : Kan jeg bytte plass? De bare tuller. Det er ikke noe morsomt å sitte mellom de to. Jeg mener det [Can I change places? They just fool around. It is no fun sitting between the two. I mean it.]

Teacher : Akkurat no? Ja, kan ikke dere gi henne litt mer rom da? [...] Vil du det? Ja, det går bra, fint! [Right now? Well, why don't you give her some space? [...] Can you do that? Right, that's fine!]

Teacher : [Addresses the whole class] Okay! I think we'll sum up what we've talked about.

These examples of Norwegian use demonstrate extensive variation between classrooms in the pedagogical language practices. However, students' experiences of these practices were more similar, as discussed in the following section.

Student Experiences of Norwegian Use

Figures 4 and 5 illustrate student experiences of the teachers' language use across classrooms. When asked whether their English teacher used Norwegian to help them understand, 58% of students selected *often* or *always*, 33% selected *sometimes*, and only 9% selected *rarely* or *never* (Figure 4). For Item 2, 88% of all students reported that

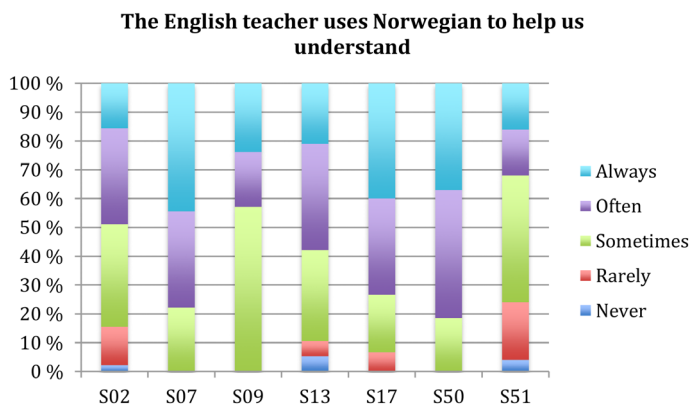


FIGURE 4. Percentage distribution of answers for each classroom to survey Item 1: The English teacher uses Norwegian to help us understand (S = school).

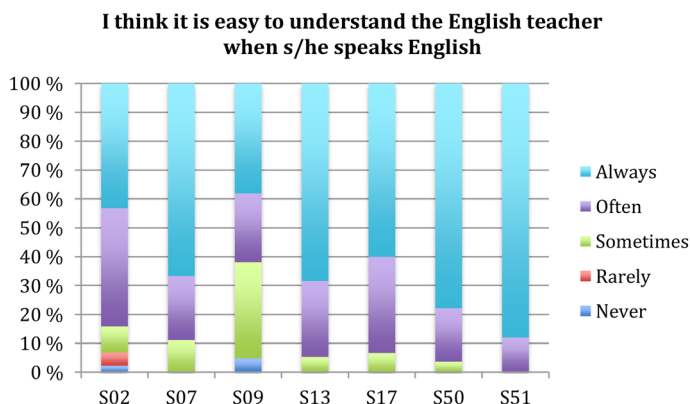


FIGURE 5. Percentage distribution of answers for each classroom to survey Item 2: I think it is easy to understand the English teacher when they speak English (S = school).

they *often* or *always* found their English teacher easy to understand when they spoke English (Figure 5).

Table 3 presents the means and standard deviations of the responses to Item 1 and Item 2 together with the percentages of Norwegian use in the classrooms.

Some differences between the classrooms in Table 3 are significant. For Item 1, S07 had the highest mean response, differing significantly from S02 ($p = .018$) and S51 ($p = .002$), which had the lowest mean responses. S50 had the second highest mean response and also differed significantly from S02 ($p = .030$) and S51 ($p = .004$). For Item 2, S09 had the lowest mean response and differed significantly from S13

TABLE 3
Responses to Survey Items 1 and 2

	Schools						
	S02	S07	S09	S13	S17	S50	S51
Item 1*	3.47 (0.99)	4.22 (0.80)	3.67 (0.86)	3.63 (1.07)	4.07 (0.96)	4.19 (0.74)	3.20 (1.08)
Item 2**	4.18 (0.95)	4.56 (0.70)	3.91 (1.09)	4.63 (0.60)	4.53 (0.64)	4.74 (0.53)	4.88 (0.33)
Norwegian use	3%	2%	28%	12%	51%	38%	3%

Note. This table presents the mean responses (scale 1.0 to 5.0) to survey Items 1 and 2 with standard deviations in parentheses and the amount of Norwegian use for the seven classrooms (Grade 9).

*"The English teacher uses Norwegian to help us understand."

**"I think it is easy to understand the English teacher when they speak English."

($p = .042$), S50 ($p = .004$), and S51 ($p = .001$), which had the highest mean responses, and S02 had the second lowest mean response, differing significantly from S50 ($p = .043$) and S51 ($p = .005$).

Although some classrooms used Norwegian considerably more frequently, student responses to the survey suggested that most students found the use of Norwegian helpful, no matter the circumstances. Table 3 shows that students in all classrooms reported teachers using Norwegian to help them understand to a considerable extent, highlighting the relationship between the languages. A relatively strong, but not significant, correlation existed between Item 1 and the amount of Norwegian use ($r = .516$, $p = .236$), indicating that students in classrooms with more Norwegian use reported that their teacher used Norwegian to help them understand more often than students in classrooms with less Norwegian use. The outlier here was S07.⁶ This classroom had the significantly highest score of perceived helpfulness of Norwegian but also had the least Norwegian use in Grade 9 (2%; see Table 3). Interestingly, this is also the classroom where students answered in English even when the teacher used Norwegian.

Table 3 shows that the student responses to Item 2 were even higher than responses to Item 1, indicating that they found their English teacher easy to understand when they used English. No significant correlation existed between Item 2 and the amount of Norwegian use in the classroom ($r = .063$, $p = .892$), indicating that students in all classrooms found their teacher's English equally easy to understand.

⁶ Excluding S07 from the analysis leads to significant correlation between Item 1 (perceived helpfulness of Norwegian) and Norwegian use in the remaining six classrooms ($r = .9$, $p = .014$).

DISCUSSION

Recent trends in language education have promoted the use of students' linguistic repertoires and focused on translanguaging as a strategic approach to the speakers' actual use of languages in the classroom (Cenoz & Gorter, 2017; Hult, 2017; Seltzer, 2019). The major concern is not whether to allow other languages into the English classroom but how to balance target language exposure with students' needs for other languages. In the context of this study, students and teachers were expected to speak mainly English in class (Krulatz et al., 2016). To examine actual language practices in the classroom, we conducted video observations of naturally occurring instruction and student surveys in seven classrooms with English as the target language, across two school years (60 lessons).

The most transparent insight concerns variation in the use of English in these classrooms. Although all teachers emphasised the use of English, we uncovered large differences between classrooms and infrequent references to students' linguistic repertoires. Whereas high-frequency English classrooms drew extensively on the target language (77%–97%), high-frequency Norwegian classrooms contained long stretches of pedagogical use of Norwegian (28%–51%). Beyond English and Norwegian, teachers infrequently prompted the use of primarily modern linguistic repertoires (i.e., French, German, Spanish), developed through schooling and offered as separate school subjects.

Such language practices emphasise the critical position of high-status languages in this context, similar to what Seltzer (2019) found in a New York City classroom. The prioritisation of the high-status languages English and Norwegian—and their place as school subjects—was prominent in these classrooms. In Norway, the use of English in higher education is steadily increasing, which might lead to English being attributed status as a more “appropriate” language than Norwegian for the academic domain (Language Council of Norway, 2018). Thus, teachers might not feel conflicted over using either of these languages in their English instruction due to their high status. Conversely, students' minoritised language backgrounds hold lower status in this context, which may limit how different linguistic resources are used. It is important for teachers to be aware of status and power differences among languages to avoid reproducing language hierarchies in the classroom (Beiler, 2019; De Costa et al., 2017; Dewilde, 2019). The status of English in some European countries, including Norway, Sweden, and the Netherlands, is not entirely clear (Education First, 2018); students are sometimes referred to as learners of *English as a foreign language* (EFL) and sometimes as learners of *English as a second*

language (ESL), indicating that the status of English is in transition (Rindal, 2014; Rindal & Brevik, 2019; Sylvén, 2019). It might not matter for the individual student whether English is labelled EFL or ESL. However, it will matter if a move towards ESL status involves a recognition of students' linguistic repertoires in the English classroom.

We determined that the observed practices could be framed within moderate translanguaging (Cenoz & Gorter, 2011, 2017). The practices show how principles of translanguaging align with students' needs for other languages (i.e., Norwegian) and target language exposure (i.e., English), even with infrequent references to other linguistic repertoires in most classrooms. The pedagogical aspect of translanguaging is recognised in planned academic discourses (e.g., metalinguistic explanations, task instruction) and nonacademic discourses directed at the entire class (e.g., practical information) and at individual students (e.g., class management, empathy/solidarity). Teachers' and students' language practices can also be seen as tools for scaffolding purposes, for references to other domains, and for explanations of terminology. In these situations, observation and evaluation of students' needs for scaffolding seemed of utmost importance, supporting the argument that teachers must find ways of making both the target language and students' linguistic repertoires part of the target language classroom (Cenoz & Gorter, 2017; Edstrom, 2006; Hult, 2017). These strategies seemed to be at the core of the teachers' language practices in these classrooms, even though teachers mainly referred to English and Norwegian.

Notably, applying a translanguaging lens, this study provides new knowledge of actual language practices and student experiences that promote language awareness. Through systematic investigation of these 60 English lessons over time, the study supports literature arguing the relevance of using different languages to develop students into users of the target language (e.g., Cenoz & Gorter, 2011; Hult, 2017; Macaro, 2001). Previous research has shown that the perceived level of students' language proficiency influences teachers' language practices in English instruction (Beiler, 2019; Krulatz et al., 2016; Tsagari & Diakou, 2015). Surprisingly, the survey results in the present study show that the amount of Norwegian did not covary with student reports of how understandable they perceived their teacher's English use to be. Most students (88%) reported that they often or always found their teacher's English use easy to understand, and students in classrooms with more Norwegian use did not find it more difficult to understand their teacher's English. For instance, S02 and S09 had significantly lower mean responses to Item 2 (whether they found their English teacher easy to understand when they spoke English), but the English

instruction in S09 included 28% Norwegian use, whereas S02 included only 3%.

We also identified a relatively strong, albeit not significant, correlation between the amount of Norwegian and students' perception of the helpfulness of their teacher's Norwegian use. Because the amount of Norwegian did not covary with students' understanding of their teacher's English, and because perceived helpfulness related to the teacher's Norwegian use was high overall, we determined the explanation for this covariation was probably not related to the amount of Norwegian use. Instead, these language practices aligned with the notion of translanguaging as a pedagogical tool for learning that had a particular purpose to help students understand, specifically their needs for scaffolding and terminology. Furthermore, because S07 deviated from the pattern, exhibiting the lowest Norwegian use despite students' perception of Norwegian use as helpful, this finding suggests the language of schooling is helpful even in small amounts. Lee and Macaro (2013) had a similar finding in a different context related to vocabulary clarification.

We observed such language practices in all classrooms (e.g., the theme/*tema* example). By explaining concepts used in multiple domains, teachers might engage students' linguistic repertoires (De Costa et al., 2017). Researchers have identified the establishing of student-teacher relationships via personal communication, including class management and empathy/solidarity, as a common L1 function in target language classrooms (Crichton, 2009; Edstrom, 2006; Grim, 2010). We found limited evidence of such language use, which could be because the relatively high English proficiency levels in Norway accommodate the development of English-mediated identities (see also Rindal, 2014; Seltzer, 2019; Shahri, 2018). Conversely, if student identity is a reason to use the language of schooling during target language instruction, teachers should encourage the use of several languages in these classrooms (Cenoz & Gorter, 2017; Daugaard & Dewilde, 2017; De Costa et al., 2017). If the role of the teacher is to model appropriate language use, it is only natural that they draw on various languages, because this characteristic is normal for multilinguals (Cenoz & Gorter, 2014; Cook, 2001; Edstrom, 2006). Following this reasoning, scaffolding, which emphasises brief student-teacher interactions and builds on student requests to aid comprehension, also seemed helpful. Indeed, the two prominent Norwegian language practices identified across all classrooms were scaffolding and terminology, in line with the effective use of L1 highlighted in prior studies (e.g., Crichton, 2009; Grim, 2010; Krulatz et al., 2016; Lee & Macaro, 2013), and Seltzer (2019) who argued the need to move past understandings

of translanguaging as mainly scaffolding and into actual language practices in the classroom.

Nonetheless, in this study, pedagogical translanguaging can be seen in some high-frequency Norwegian classrooms where Norwegian had a different function than English. Although most classrooms showed little use of Norwegian for metalinguistic explanation, the teachers in the high-frequency Norwegian classrooms used extended Norwegian for grammar and pronunciation explanations. In these classrooms, teachers emphasised why students should use Norwegian, the language use was explicit, and students commonly responded in Norwegian when their teacher used Norwegian. Edstrom (2006) argued that such language practices are not necessarily related to the difficulty of the grammar, but rather the difficulty of making the explanation comprehensible through the target language. Indeed, and in contrast to the present study, Grim (2010) observed that teachers offered grammatical explanations in L1 before explaining content in the target language. Such pedagogical language practices might be crucial to differentiate instruction and to facilitate metalinguistic awareness (Hult, 2017).

Adopting a translanguaging lens, teachers might thus employ strategic uses of various languages from the students' linguistic repertoires that support development of target language competence while not depriving them of exposure to the target language. Strategic ways of using the language of schooling are also strategic ways of using other languages (Cummins, 2008; De Costa et al., 2017; Dewilde, 2019; Seltzer, 2019), such as when a teacher provided the words *anglais* in French, *Anglican* in English, and *anglofil* in Norwegian to explain concepts. This approach does not require great amounts of other languages and thus does not deprive students of opportunities to hear and speak the target language. If embraced, such instruction can benefit all students and, by extension, aid in supporting better understanding in areas with culturally diverse populations, aiming to fracture the English language with words from other parts of the world (De Costa et al., 2017).

Based on this realisation, the main objective of the present study was to provide robust conclusions about the instructional practices of this video-supported research project, focusing specifically on actual language use in the classroom combined with students' experiences of such practices, that can be rigorously implemented in subsequent studies. Understanding various instructional pathways in the classroom, particularly regarding how target language instruction fits naturally with the use of other languages, is key to understanding how adolescents develop not only as language learners, but also as language users. In acknowledging such practices, "the classroom becomes a space for interrogating language relationships, expanding participants'

repertoires, and developing metalinguistic awareness, among other valuable educational outcomes” (De Costa et al., 2017, p. 470).

CONCLUSION

This article contributes new knowledge about how linguistic repertoires are being used (or not used) in English classrooms at the lower secondary level in Norway, and the combination of video and survey data identifies considerable variation between classrooms concerning language practices. We argue that the essential factor in the English classroom is an attitude of flexibility, acceptance of discovering students’ linguistic repertoires, and adoption of language approaches responsive to student needs as emerging or proficient target language users. This study raises new questions about why teachers choose to use the language of schooling rather than prompting students to use the target language and whether students’ use of other languages develops their target language proficiency over time. The design may not capture teachers’ perspectives on language use, unless verbally commented. Although research suggests language ideologies among teachers, such as the belief in languages as separate entities (Canagarajah, 2013; Cenoz & Gorter, 2017), this monolingual ideal did not translate into a fully monolingual approach in the present study, except in one instance where the teacher explicitly discouraged students from using any language other than English. However, because we did not investigate teacher ideology in the study, we refer this issue to future research, for instance, through interviews with participating teachers (Beiler, 2019). Future research should prioritise observational designs combined with student and teacher perspectives to capture diverse voices, for instance, by selecting video segments from classroom observations to use for stimulated recall interviews. Such questions indicate a need for longitudinal research to follow up on the effects of making other languages part of daily life for students in the target language classroom and to enhance target language development. These considerations have particular relevance for the observation of naturally occurring classroom practices combined with participant perspectives, and they should be key to future studies of language use in target language classrooms.

The ability to interact locally and globally is the foundation of intercultural understanding and participation. It is imperative to study how such conversations are fostered in schools and the extent to which they take place in multiple languages. Instead of looking at languages to define our differences, we need to identify how languages are used to unite classrooms and communities, for instance, by identifying practices of inclusion and participation in the target language classroom.

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