

Language use in bilingual classrooms in Norway

*A study of language use in six bilingual classrooms in
two lower secondary schools*

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two lower secondary schools*

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Abstract

Bilingual teaching has been accessible in Norwegian schools since the mid 1990's. A new type of bilingual program in Norwegian lower secondary schools, where both English and Norwegian are used as the language of schooling without specifying how much English should be used, has been offered since 2011. The implementation of bilingual programs that follow the principles of Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) create new ground for interpreting and investigating L2 language learning. The aim of this study is to investigate language use across six bilingual classrooms in two lower secondary schools. The overarching research question of this study is: *What characterizes language use during English lessons in six bilingual classrooms?*

In order to answer my research question, I have used data collected and made accessible through the Evaluation of bilingual Training Opportunities in School (ETOS) project. My data sampling and analysis consisted of 20 English lessons from these bilingual classrooms, coded using four different language codes.

The findings unveiled variations in language use across the six classrooms. The findings suggest a variation in language use on three levels: across the classrooms, across the individual lessons suggesting a variation in individual teacher practices, and between the two schools. English was found to be the predominant language used in the majority of the classrooms. Based on the variation in language use, each classroom was labelled either high frequency English or high frequency Norwegian. The same labelling was given to the individual lessons. Furthermore, the findings showed how other languages than English and Norwegian were rarely used in the classrooms, but nonetheless suggested a variation between the two schools.

Implications of this master thesis are that there is a need for considering how languages should be combined in bilingual classrooms in Norway in order to ensure language learning and language proficiency based on students' English proficiency and needs for development. Additionally, allowing students to be part of the decision regarding language use and content might be beneficial.

Sammendrag

Tospråklig undervisning har vært tilgjengelig i norske skoler siden midten av 1990 tallet. En ny type tospråklig opplæring i norske ungdomsskoler, hvor både engelsk og norsk blir brukt som undervisningsspråk uten krav om hvor mye engelsk som skal brukes, har blitt tilbudt siden 2011. Gjennomføringen av denne tospråklige opplæringen, som følger prinsippene til Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL), skaper grunnlag for å tolke og forske på L2 engelsk. Målet med masteroppgaven er å forske på språkbruk på tvers av seks tospråklige klasserom ved to ungdomsskoler. Hovedproblemstillingen i oppgaven er: *Hva karakteriserer språkbruk i engelsktimer i seks tospråklige klasserom?*

For å svare på problemstillingen benytter jeg data som er samlet og gitt tilgang til gjennom prosjektet Evaluering av Tospråklig Opplæring i Skolen (ETOS). Dataene som er brukt og analysert i oppgaven består av 20 engelsktimer fra disse tospråklige klasserommene. Dataene er kodet med fire språkkoder.

Funnene viser at språkbruk varierer på tvers av de seks klasserommene. Funnene tyder på at variasjonen i språkbruk er tredelt: språkbruk varierer på tvers av klasserom, på tvers av de individuelle timene, noe som antyder variasjon i språkpraksis hos de individuelle lærerne, og mellom de to skolene. Funnene viser at engelsk er det dominerende språket i de fleste av klasserommene. Basert på variasjonene i språkbruk på tvers av klasserom ble hvert klasserom kategorisert som enten *high frequency English* eller *high frequency Norwegian*. Den samme kategoriseringen kan bli gitt de individuelle timene. Videre viser funnene hvordan andre språk er sjelden brukt i klasserommene, men at dette likevel utgjorde en forskjell mellom de to skolene.

Implikasjonene for denne masteroppgaven tydeliggjør at det er et behov for en diskusjon om kombinasjon av språk innenfor tospråklig opplæring i Norge, for å sikre at språklæring og oppbygging av språklige ferdigheter skjer på elevenes premisser. I tillegg vil det være gunstig å la elevene ta del i beslutninger om språkbruk og faglig innhold i den tospråklige opplæringen.

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1.0 Introduction

The English language has become an important part of everyday life in Norway. English is no longer a foreign language only taught in school, but has become a language of communication and media consumption in everyday life (Brevik, 2019). English has, for many adolescents and young adults, become a language which they use every day both in and out of school – most students in Norwegian schools are thus increasingly bilingual (see section 2.4). Due to the increasing importance the English language holds for adolescents and young adults in Norway, the opportunities for implementing bilingual teaching is increasing as the extended exposure to English creates a natural gateway to bilingual language use in English and Norwegian. Simultaneously, one argument for bilingual teaching is the extended exposure to a target language. The implementation of bilingual teaching can, however, be argued not to be necessary since the exposure to English for Norwegian adolescents and young adults outside of school is vastly increasing. This then creates an argument that the exposure to the target language is already implemented in everyday life. It is therefore very interesting to research language use in bilingual classrooms. Bilingual programs have been offered in Norwegian lower secondary schools since 2011 (Brevik & Doetjes, 2020, p. 5), which is researched in the project Evaluation of bilingual Training Opportunities in Schools (ETOS) (see section 1.2).

When I was given the opportunity to become part of the ETOS research team, gathering data about bilingual classrooms in Norway, I was particularly interested in examining language use in bilingual English classrooms. Considering the importance of the English language in bilingual programs, the English subject becomes a link between content and language integrated teaching for most subjects, since most subjects are taught bilingually. English becomes the subject where the students get the opportunity to develop and focus on their English proficiency further. Because of this status of the English language and subject in bilingual teaching, I became motivated to write my MA study on this exact topic: what characterizes language use in English classrooms in bilingual programs. Prior research on language use in regular English classrooms (see section 2.6) shows how language use varies between classrooms. One of the central practices that vary between classrooms is the amount of English used during teaching. This MA study investigates such practices when it comes to actual language use in bilingual classrooms.

1.1 Context and relevance

The English subject in Norway has undergone a transition due to the shift in the status of English in Norway over the past decades, as well as the implementation of a new curriculum (UDIR, 2020). The use of English, and English proficiency, has increased among Norwegian adolescents. Prior research in English didactics has shown how the English language has become more than a foreign language to Norwegian adolescents, even becoming a second language important for their identity (Rindal, 2014; Rindal & Brevik, 2019).

The two most recent national curricula implemented in Norwegian schools, the national curriculum “Læreplanverket for Kunnskapsløftet 2020”, henceforth LK20 (UDIR, 2020), and “Læreplanverket for Kunnskapsløftet 2006”, henceforth LK06 (UDIR, 2013), underscored the relevance of English skills, and especially oral competence. Preceding LK20 and LK06, the English subject curriculum of L97 specified that “the classroom communication shall predominantly be done in English” (KD, 1997, p. 224, my translation). In LK20 and LK06, however, there are no explicit direction on how languages should be used in the English classroom. Furthermore, the two curricula show differences in specifications. LK06 shows a strong focus on communicative competence and strategies, and oral interactions, for instance the main subject area “Oral communication deals with understanding and using the English language by listening, speaking, conversing and applying suitable communication strategies” (UDIR, 2013). LK20, on the other hand, shows a strong focus on the students’ own communicative strategies, and the students’ experiences and explorations with the English language, for instance “the students should use suitable strategies in order to communicate both orally and written in different situations and by using different sources and media. The students should get to experience, use and explore the language from day one” (UDIR, 2020). In both LK06 and LK20, it is expressed that students should be able to “express him/herself with good flow and context adapted to situation, aim and recipient” (UDIR, 2013, 2020).

Although oral competence is given a particular focus, neither the English subject curriculum nor bilingual teaching give guidelines for language use (Brevik & Doetjes, 2020; Brevik & Rindal, 2020), including how, what, or how much languages should be used in L2 English classrooms. This situation is described as methodological freedom in the national curriculum. Due to this methodological freedom in both the curriculum and for bilingual teaching, there might be vast differences between bilingual classrooms similar to regular English classrooms (Brevik & Rindal, 2020). This situation makes it interesting to investigate what language use

looks like across six different bilingual English classrooms in 8th, 9th, and 10th grade at two different schools.

Bilingual programs have been offered in Norwegian lower secondary schools since 2011 and follow the principles of the umbrella term Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL), where the English language is used as the medium of instruction (see section 2.5). The main goal of bilingual teaching, such as CLIL, is to give students a strengthened competence in the target language, most often English. Bilingual teaching focuses on enhancing students' motivation for learning by teaching content through English (Brevik & Doetjes, 2020; Mearns et al., 2017; Sylvén, 2013, 2019).

1.2 The ETOS project

I was fortunate enough to be invited by Lisbeth M. Brevik, Associate Professor at the Department of Teacher Education and School Research at the University of Oslo and ETOS project leader, to become a part of the ETOS project. The ETOS project combines data from two lower secondary schools that offer bilingual teaching. The ETOS project's information page at the University of Oslo describes its main aim:

The ETOS project aims to increase our knowledge of bilingual education, which is instructed partly in Norwegian and partly in English. ETOS will consider student motivation, learning outcomes, and perceived relevance across individual subjects [...] The evaluation considers both language and content aspects of the instruction.

In the ETOS project, I was allowed to be a team leader during the data collection in January and February 2020. As a result, I was granted access to the data collection site, the participants and the collected data, as well as getting first-hand knowledge of General Data Protection Regulations (GDPR) over the course of the data collection period.

In the bilingual classes studied in the ETOS project, every subject, with the exception of Norwegian and foreign languages, is taught in both English and Norwegian. The students are, thus, taught bilingually, and the individual teachers decide how the two languages are combined (Brevik & Doetjes, 2020). Although the teaching is done bilingually, the final exams at the end of lower secondary school (i.e. 10th grade) are done in Norwegian, again with the exception of English and foreign languages. Any school who wishes to offer bilingual programs to their

students has to apply to the Directorate for Education and Training for a trial period. Students, in turn, have to apply to be part of the bilingual program at the respective school (Brevik & Doetjes, 2020). English teaching in bilingual programs follows the national English subject curriculum, like regular English classes. However, the English subject holds a particular responsibility in bilingual teaching. This is because the English subject becomes a link between content and language instruction for most subjects in bilingual education in Norway. Since the national English subject curriculum does not specify languages to be used or the amount of language use, and since there are no guidelines for teaching in bilingual programs, it is especially interesting to look at language use in English classrooms in such programs. The only requirement from the authorities, is that bilingual programs should follow the national curriculum and students should obtain similar learning outcomes through bilingual teaching in English and Norwegian as students in regular classrooms obtain in content subjects through Norwegian.

1.3 Research question

Based on the above, this MA study investigates language use in bilingual English classrooms in Norway. By using a unique set of primary data sources following six English classes from two schools which offer bilingual teaching, I look at which languages are used and how much these languages are used in these classrooms. Based on the topic of my MA study, my overarching research question is: *What characterizes language use during English lessons in six bilingual classrooms?*

To answer the overarching research question, I have formulated two sub-questions:

RQ1: *Which languages are used within and across English lessons in bilingual classrooms?*

RQ2: *How much of each language is used in these lessons?*

The methods I have used to answer my research question are video recorded observation data from six English classrooms in 8th, 9th, and 10th grade in two bilingual schools. The participants in my study comprise the English teachers and their students, including two substitute teachers. This MA study contributes with in-depth knowledge of how languages are used in bilingual classrooms in Norway.

1.4 Thesis outline

Following this introductory chapter, I will present the theoretical framework and an overview of relevant prior research in Chapter 2. Chapter 3 will outline the methods deployed for gathering and analyzing the data material used in this MA study. In Chapter 4, the findings of this study will be presented, whilst Chapter 5 will discuss the findings in light of theory and prior research, followed by a section on didactic implications. In Chapter 6, I will offer some concluding remarks as well as some suggestions for further research.

2.0 Theory and prior research

In this chapter, I will present the theoretical framework for my MA study and a review of relevant prior research. Due to the focus on language use, and variation in language practices and language approaches, I will present my theoretical framework in six main sections; L1 in L2 classrooms in Norway (2.1), Input and Output (2.2), Language approaches (2.3), English in Norway (2.4), CLIL (2.5), and prior research (2.6).

2.1 L1 in L2 classrooms in Norway

In this MA study, the term L1 refers to the shared language between teachers and most students, i.e. Norwegian. As the status of English in Norway is shifting, the term “L2 English” is sometimes used instead of EFL (English as a foreign language) or ESL (English as a second language) (Rindal, 2020; Rindal & Brevik, 2019). By using the term “L2” to refer to the English language, it is emphasized that English is an *additional* language for Norwegian language learners, which is learned and used in addition to one or more L1s (Rindal, 2020). The L1 and the L2 are vital parts of an on-going debate considering the use of the L1 in L2 classrooms. This debate will be introduced further in section 2.1.1.

2.1.1 The ‘L1 in L2 classrooms’ debate

There is an on-going debate considering the use of L1 in the L2 English classroom, dating back to the late nineteenth, early twentieth century (Brevik & Rindal, 2020; Hall & Cook, 2012; Macaro, 2001). This debate consists of disagreements about whether the L1 should have a place in the L2 English classroom, and how much L1 should be used. The on-going debate shows disagreements between those who believe the L1 is an important, and practical, tool for the student’s L2 language acquisition and those who believe the use of the L1 is detrimental for L2 language acquisition (Cook, 2001; Grim, 2010; Hall & Cook, 2012). Hall and Cook (2012) identified a divide in this debate between those who regard a monolingual approach as a given and those who teach using both the L1 and the L2.

The assumption that language teaching should be taught and learned monolingually, without the use of students’ own language(s), has been a leading theoretical approach since the late nineteenth century (Hall & Cook, 2012). It has been, and is still sometimes, believed that the best way to learn English is to use English only since the use of the L1 in the L2 classroom

takes the focus away from the L2 (Brevik et al., 2020; Chambers, 1991; Cook, 2001; Krashen, 1985) and deprives learners of the target language (Ellis, 1984; Hall & Cook, 2012). It is also believed that using English only “makes the language real” (Macaro, 2001, p. 531), as the L1 undermines the language learning process (Cummins, 1976).

During the twentieth century, another assumption considering language teaching emerged and became a new, leading theoretical approach: the use of the L1 and the target language in L2 classrooms bilingually. It is believed that the L1 is an important asset in the L2 classrooms because L2 acquisition will occur as long as any input is present in the L2 language classroom (Macaro, 2001). It is also believed that the L1 is an important tool for language learners because the L1 is linked to identity (see section 2.4.2), whilst also drawing on the student’s language repertoires (Cook, 2001; Grim, 2010; Hall & Cook, 2012). By using the L1 in the L2 classroom, a common language competence, or a shared language proficiency, is created. This entails a developed, shared understanding of L2 English bridged by the development between students’ L1 and L2 (Brevik & Rindal, 2020; Cook, 2001; Turnbull, 2001). The CULP model (Common Underlying Language Proficiency) refers to how different languages in a student’s language repertoire connects together. The idea of CULP is that “even though two languages may seem very distinct on the surface they nevertheless share certain attributes because they consist of common linguistic building blocks” (Carlsen, 2020, p. 43). Codeswitching, as a bilingual marker (Hall & Cook, 2012), is closely linked to the “L1 in L2 classroom” debate and will be presented further in section 2.1.2. The debate considering ‘L1 in L2 classrooms’ is relevant for this MA study as it gives insight into assumptions about appropriate language use, which might be connected to English teachers’ individual language practices.

2.1.2 Codeswitching

Codeswitching as a term is explained as a speech style where bilinguals are “using two languages simultaneously in social interaction” (Brevik et al., 2020, p. 96). Codeswitching has been a bilingual marker in language teaching since the twentieth century (Hall & Cook, 2012) and is seen as a resource where the conditions for learning is created (Hall & Cook, 2012; Levine, 2011). The use of codeswitching, and the extent of this use, might vary considerably between different speech communities (Langman, 2001). Codeswitching is the change of language by a speaker, and can occur within a sentence, at a sentence boundary or between two speakers in interaction (McKay, 2002). Codeswitching is important for the ‘L1 in L2 classrooms’ debate as codeswitching opens the classroom for the simultaneous use of the L1

and L2. Arthur (1996) suggested that codeswitching between the L1 and L2 creates a safe space where students can engage and contribute more critically in a lesson, as codeswitching becomes a more natural way of learning and producing language (Hall & Cook, 2012). Output (see section 2.2) looks at how students produce language. Output does not, however, specify how languages should be produced. Cook (2001) argue that by banning the L1 in L2 classrooms, students are not able to produce the language proficiency that “occurs naturally among bilinguals” through e.g. codeswitching (Macaro, 2005, p. 64). As codeswitching is a sign of bilingualism, it can be argued to be a natural part of bilingual classrooms where one aim is to increase English proficiency through bilingual teaching.

2.2. Input and Output

The main argument of those who argue for English-only is the importance of the quantity of input and output. The English subject curriculum in Norway (cf. section 1.1) values communicative competence, as stated in my introduction. The question that many scholars ask, relating to the value of communicative competence in the curriculum and the on-going debate about L1 in L2 classrooms, is ‘how best to teach English’. Second language acquisition (SLA) is a broad term which encompass the way humans learn additional languages, i.e. their L2 (Ellis, 1997; Ortega, 2009), and is an important perspective considering the question of ‘how best to teach English’. The Input and Output hypotheses in SLA has opened language learning to a better understanding of bilingual teaching (Cummins, 1976; Mahan, 2020).

Input, regarded as one of the main elements of language learning, is defined as “the samples of a language to which a learner is exposed” (Ellis, 1997, p. 5). Input in SLA is related to the receptive skills of the learner, the aspects of language they are exposed to through, for example, listening and reading. Prior research has shown how *teacher talk* or *teacher conversation* make up the majority of input in L2 classrooms (Cook, 2001). Teacher talk becomes the main source of input in language classrooms, and researchers question whether or not teacher talk is enough input (Ellis, 1994; Levine, 2011). Gass and Selinker (1994) argues that input needs to be adapted to the specific learner’s level of language understanding and proficiency, instead of overexposing students to *teacher talk*.

Output “pushes learners to process language more deeply – with more mental effort – than does input. With output, the learner is in control” (Swain, 2000, p. 99). Output in SLA is related to the productive skills of the learner, the aspects of language they produce through speaking and

writing, by “making meaning and producing messages” (Ortega, 2009, p. 62). Swain (1985) stated that students did not achieve a near-native language proficiency through “teacher talk and students listen”, instead stating that students needed to use the language actively in a meaningful context in order to learn a language (p. 247). Through language output, students are able to practice language through actively using it, which contributes to actual language acquisition (Swain & Lapkin, 1995). Output is necessary for all language learners, in order to produce a coherent and appropriate language proficiency (Swain, 2005). It is important to remember that output does not equal product (Cook, 2001; Swain, 1985). Output allows for student reflection, self-monitoring considering gaps in own language competence, as well as creating the opportunity to attempt to increase the potential for SLA learning (Swain & Lapkin, 1995).

2.3 Language approaches

The language use in classrooms, especially by the teacher, often relies on professional judgement (Brevik & Rindal, 2020), or teacher beliefs and language ideals (Borg, 2013; Kagan, 1992). *Teacher beliefs* are broadly defined as “tacit, often unconsciously held assumptions about students, classrooms, and the academic material taught” (Kagan, 1992, p. 65). *Teacher beliefs* can also be described, in short, as a teacher’s professional knowledge or their views on teaching, for example language use. Due to the lack of guidelines in the English subject curriculum and bilingual teaching, language *use* in L2 English classrooms shows variation in teacher practices which might reflect differences in *teacher beliefs*. Language practices in the classroom seem to depend, at least in part, on beliefs about appropriate language use or students’ language needs (Brevik et al., 2020; Cook, 2001). It is important to stress that this MA study does not investigate teacher beliefs or language ideals, as this study only uses video data. However, the study rather incorporates these theoretical terms to discuss teacher practices emerging from the video data in relation to theory and previous research, including research on teacher beliefs. Teacher beliefs on language use in L2 English classrooms has historically centred around two approaches to language use: *monolingual and bilingual* (cf. section 2.1.1, Hall & Cook, 2012). In Norwegian classrooms, the monolingual and bilingual approaches are found to be the approaches used most during English lessons (Brevik & Rindal, 2020; Dahl, 2019), however a third language approach has emerged in the past decade; the multilingual approach. Brevik et al. (2020) outline these three language approaches used in ELT (English Language Teaching): *monolingual, bilingual and multilingual*.

A monolingual approach involves that teachers, and students, aspire to use as much English as possible in the classroom – in turn, avoiding the L1 or language of schooling (Cook, 2001; Cummins, 2008). Within a monolingual approach, “the assumption is that the best way to learn English is to use English only” (Brevik et al., 2020, p. 95). The monolingual approach has roots linked to *the direct method* which aims to imitate the way children learn their L1 (Brevik et al., 2020; Cummins, 2008; Cook, 2001). In Norwegian schools, the monolingual approach has been the leading language trend when it comes to L2 classrooms and is still a teaching practice which teachers aim for (Brevik et al., 2020). It is still believed by some teachers in ELT countries “that they have to isolate the target language from other languages students use” (Cenoz & Gorter, 2014, p. 240).

A bilingual approach opens language use in ELT to the systematic use of a shared L1 or the language of schooling (Cook, 2001; Cummins, 2008). The bilingual approach is also a leading teaching practice in L2 classrooms in Norway (Brevik et al., 2020). The bilingual approach supports the use of the students’ shared L1 in the classroom, and argues that the use of L1 in the L2 classroom does not prevent them from learning English, but rather allows the students to use their language repertoire to learn a new language. Codeswitching (cf. section 2.1.2) is a term closely linked to the bilingual approach.

The multilingual approach is closely linked to the notion of opening the English classroom to accommodate a variety of language repertoires. “While a bilingual approach argues for the strategic use of the language of schooling in the English classroom, a multilingual approach expands this to include all languages present in the classroom” (Brevik et al., 2020, p. 97). Thus, the multilingual approach opens language use in ELT up for all languages which students and teachers speak other than the shared L1 and taught L2. The multilingual approach supports that multilingual students have a stronger building block in the CULP model (c.f section 2.1.1), which may help the multilingual students become better language learners (Carlsen, 2020; Haukås, 2014).

2.4 English in Norway

English is the foremost global language of communication – the world’s lingua franca (Crystal, 2003). The status of English in Norway has been, and still is, up for debate (Rindal, 2020). In Norway, English has been categorized as a foreign language and a global language in the previous English subject curricula (KD, 1997, UDIR, 2013). Norwegian adolescents use

English more on a daily basis, both in and out of school, through i.e. social media, the Internet and online gaming (Brevik, 2019).

2.4.1 English use outside school

Norwegian students are increasingly exposed to English outside school. Through the exposure to English outside school, the English language becomes an important part of students' social life and language development. This in turn creates a shift in the status of English in Norway. Through continuous exposure to English in society, the English language becomes the language of social communication (Brevik, 2019; Rindal, 2020; Sundqvist & Sylvén, 2016). For many Norwegian students, the status of English shifts closer to a *de facto second language*: “Although English does not have a status as an official language then Norway has a *de facto* bilingual policy, and we can assume that all now living Norwegians have had some form of English language teaching” (Rindal, 2010, p. 20). Through the use of English for activities outside school, the English exposure for students shifts from *teacher talk* to individually chosen activities. As activities where students use English are increasingly chosen by the students themselves, the level of input is not adapted to specific levels of understanding and proficiency (Gass & Selinker, 1994; Gee, 2017). Through spare time activities, students are able to choose the input they are exposed to themselves, which enables them to adapt to their own L2 input based on their individual needs (Brevik, 2019; Rindal, 2020; Sundqvist & Sylvén, 2016).

The massive exposure to English in society creates a space for students to use English more frequently outside of school. One consequence of this exposure is that the input source, or the responsibility of language exposure, is shifting from the L2 English classroom to English activities outside the classroom. Such voluntary use of English plays an increasingly important role in L2 English acquisition, however, determining what kind of input or how much output in English is produced by students is difficult. Sundqvist and Sylvén (2016) argue that adolescents spend time using English in different settings outside school. They suggest a difference between active and passive activities, with activities such as gaming being active, where adolescents are exposed to input and create output through communication.

2.4.2 Identity and language

Due to the increasing exposure to English, the English language is a growing identity marker for Norwegian students (Carlsen, 2020; Rindal, 2019). Because of this growing identity marker

for Norwegian students, it is essential to give insight into identity related to the English language. It is, however, important to stress that this MA study does not investigate identity, but includes theory on identity in order to discuss data on language practices in this particular context.

Identity is a *fuzzy* term in the sense that it is everchanging and can be linked to specific parts of our lives – past, present, and future. Gee (2017) writes about two different types of identities: relational identity and activity-based identity. Whilst one’s relational identity is defined “in terms of relations, contrasts or oppositions between different types of people” (Gee, 2017, p. 97) – and thus assigned to a person based on familiar relationships, traditions etc., activity-based identity is defined as “identities that people identify with by free choice [...]. Activity-based identities are ways for people to identify with something outside themselves, something that other people do and are” (Gee, 2017, pp. 96-97). For most Norwegian students, the English language becomes a part of their activity-based identity, as they use English through English activities which adolescents identify with, such as online gaming, the Internet and social media (Brevik, 2019; Gee, 2017; Sundqvist & Sylvén, 2016). This also includes students in bilingual programs. However, for bilingual students, it is not only the English language that becomes part of their activity-based identity. Being part of a bilingual program, specifically being a bilingual student, also becomes a part of their activity-based identity as the bilingual classroom is a place where students who share an interest for the English language come together. They identify by free choice with each other through the bilingual program and the English language.

Prior research on identity and language in Norway shows how students relate to English in such a way which shows a connection between the English language and identity. Brevik (2019) investigated how a group of “adolescents who scored markedly better on a national reading test in L2 English than the equivalent L1 Norwegian” (Brevik, 2019, p. 597), explained their English proficiency by the role of the English language through their English use. The analysis identified three language profiles that adolescents identified with: *gamers*, *surfers*, and *social media users*. Rindal (2019) identified aspects of *second language identity* among Norwegian adolescents. She argued that since the construction of oneself happens in part through communication with others, “it is inevitable that development of second language proficiency entails some kind of development of identity” (Rindal, 2014, p. 14).

The link between identity and language is also evident in bilingual classrooms. Brevik and Doetjes (2020) writes that many students in bilingual programs describe English as an important part of their identity, due to their English use in and out of school (Brevik & Doetjes, 2020). As students choose to apply to bilingual teaching, the English language, and the bilingual program, is a big part of both the language identity and the activity-based identity for students in such programs. As English is an important part of the students' identity, one could perhaps expect the teacher's language use to include a considerable amount of English. Brevik and Doetjes (2020) writes that some students in the bilingual programs they studied expressed disappointment over the fact that English did not occur more during their content and language teaching, as they expected the teaching to involve more use of English. It will therefore be interesting, and important, to look at language use in bilingual classrooms where the English language is an essential part of the students' identity, and whether or not the teachers' language use reflects the large part English plays in the lives of their students.

2.5 CLIL

Bilingual teaching in Norway has been known since the mid 1990's as Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) (Brevik & Doetjes, 2020; Svenhard et al., 2007), and has been known in Norway as a "grassroot initiative" (Mahan et al., 2018). CLIL is defined as teaching where a foreign language such as English is integrated into the teaching of other subjects (Dalton-Puffer et al., 2014). One aim of CLIL teaching is to integrate content and language learning, in order to offer content through two languages. Thus, CLIL combines content and language learning, which other types of L2 language education has kept separate (Brevik & Moe, 2012; Mahan, 2020; Mahan et al., 2018).

CLIL teaching has been seen as a new approach to language learning which furthers student language proficiency in, for example, L2 English and student subject knowledge with a specific focus on bilingual understanding (Hall & Cook, 2012). Since the emergence of CLIL teaching in Europe, there has been debates considering the benefits of bilingual teaching. Dalton-Puffer (2007) states how one appeal of CLIL teaching for L2 English language learning is the creation of a natural environment for L2 use, which focuses on communication. Another appeal of CLIL teaching is the fact that bilingual teaching gives students authentic access to the L2 (Dalton-Puffer, 2007; Dalton-Puffer et al., 2014; Nikula, 2007). Although CLIL teaching focuses on furthering language proficiency, Hall and Cook (2012) state that CLIL, however, most frequently furthers the monolingual teaching of English and how "the effects of CLIL have

been at times disastrous, maintaining the dominance of English and acting as a barrier to multilingual and multicultural socialisation” (Hall & Cook, 2012, p. 298). By furthering a monolingual approach, as stated by Hall and Cook (2012), the naturalistic environment to L2 language learning is taken away, which in turn takes the focus away from the bilingual side of language learning. This thus creates a question of whether CLIL is needed. Due to these differences in considering the benefits of bilingual teaching, it will be interesting to investigate language use in a bilingual program which follows the principles of CLIL in order to see if language use reflects a creation of a natural environment for L2 use (Dalton-Puffer, 2007) or a furthering of monolingual teaching.

2.6 Prior research

In this section, I will be presenting prior research about language use, especially language use in L2 English classrooms, and CLIL in Norway. These are studies relevant for interpreting and investigating language use in bilingual classrooms. At the present time, there is limited research on the topic of language use in bilingual classrooms and CLIL in Norway. Brevik and Rindal (2020) and Mahan (2020) will be presented in this section, as important research on language use and CLIL. This MA thesis will especially build on Brevik and Rindal (2020). Although relevant prior research and MA theses will be presented in the sections below, prior relevant research has also been presented throughout this chapter, integrated in the presentation of theoretical perspectives.

2.6.1 Prior studies on language use and CLIL

Brevik and Rindal (2020) investigated how languages were used in seven lower secondary classrooms in Norway. The study found that there was considerable variation in language use between classrooms, dependent on the individual teachers rather than the students. The study also found that languages used in L2 English classrooms were mostly the target language (English) and the language of schooling (Norwegian), or the use of both in combination. Other languages were hardly used in the L2 English classrooms, except for a few examples, despite other language being represented in the student’s language repertoires. Brevik and Rindal (2020) found that across seven lower secondary schools, 60 hours in total, English was used 77% and Norwegian 16% of the time. The remaining 7% was the use of both languages. These results support the notion that the monolingual approach is used by some teachers in L2 classrooms. However, the study also discovered how language use varies between classrooms.

The language use across classrooms indicates a teacher-dependent language approach. Based on the languages used, the classrooms were labelled as *high frequency English* or *high frequency Norwegian*. The findings show how high frequency English classrooms drew extensively on the target language (77–97%), whilst high frequency Norwegian classrooms contained long stretches of pedagogical use of Norwegian (28–51%). The findings showed how three of the four teachers who used the most Norwegian had taught the longest, whilst the fourth teacher had the least teaching experience (Brevik & Rindal, 2020).

All English teachers in this study encouraged the students to use English, although this practice was in fact more common of the teachers in high frequency Norwegian classrooms. The findings presented how a negotiation of language use was more prominent in high frequency Norwegian classrooms, where the students asked the teacher if they could speak in Norwegian, or asked if they were supposed to speak in English. The students in the high frequency English classrooms responded more commonly in the language which the teacher used. The findings indicated that no students spoke any languages other than English or Norwegian during the English lessons, although the teacher made a few references to other languages in high frequency English classrooms. The findings indicated how the teachers' language use influenced the student's language use. The topic of language use, investigated in Brevik and Rindal (2020), is interesting to investigate in bilingual classrooms where languages is payed particular attention to. This is what this MA study will investigate.

In Norway, there is limited research on bilingual classrooms. Mahan (2020) explored teaching practices in CLIL classrooms in three Norwegian upper secondary schools with English as the language of instruction. Mahan found that the CLIL teaching observed was largely effective as the teachers were able to convey content and language learning through L2 English. The study found that English was used 83–97% across classrooms. Mahan (2020) also found how CLIL teaching did not show many examples of language teaching. The findings rather suggested how students learned language through immersion. The students felt intellectually challenged and CLIL was emphasized as a positive experience by the students. CLIL aims to integrate content and language learning, and the findings in Mahan (2020) indicated that the CLIL teaching was content-driven with consistent language support. Mahan (2020) also presented areas of challenge which is up for development in CLIL teaching in Norway. Lack of reading and writing opportunities and how to balance the L1 in CLIL classrooms are some of the challenges presented in the study which she argues needs development. Mahan (2020) presented the

challenge of how to balance the L1 in CLIL classrooms as it is unclear when and how the L1 should be used. She also reported how “CLIL students commented on a lack of teaching of the L1, even though they were expected to know the presented terminology for exams in the L1” (Mahan, 2020, p. 85).

2.6.2 Prior relevant MA studies

Tveiten (2019) studied two teachers’ reports of “their own language practices, and how these reports coincide with data on their actual practices” (p. VII). The study also explored whether these language reports and practices reflected *language ideals*: how a teacher desires language use to be in their L2 English classroom. The study found that the teachers are aware of their language use, how much of each language they use in the L2 English classroom and, to some extent, what influences their language choices. The study also found that only one teacher showed an identifiable language ideal, based on assumptions made about language ideal in theory. As language ideal is defined as how a teacher desires language use to be, the findings presented how evidence supported the identification of one teacher having a “*monolingual language ideal*” (Tveiten, 2019. p. 68), meaning one teacher desires language use in their L2 English classroom to be monolingual, whereas the other teacher did not demonstrate an identifiable language ideal.

Skram (2019) studied influences and preferences considering how the L1 and L2 is used in the L2 English classroom from the perspective of six students. The study aimed to investigate, and provide information, about the six student’s views on language use in the L2 classroom. The findings of the study indicated that the languages used by the teachers in different scenarios, for example task instruction, did not always coincide with the students preferred language of this specific scenario. What this discrepancy entails is that the language students preferred to use during, for example, task instruction was not the language the teacher used. This connected to how the students believed they learn English best. The study also found that the students had different language preferences dependent on different language functions, such as *task instruction*, *scaffolding* and *practical information*. The study also found that the students were supportive of the use of codeswitching in the L2 English classroom as codeswitching allowed for authentic language use.

2.6.3 Relevance for my study

In this chapter, my aim has been to show how language use is explained and viewed in the ongoing debate considering ‘L1 in the L2 classroom’, how the status of English in Norway has shifted from a foreign language closer to *a de facto second language*, and how different theoretical frameworks play a part in relation to language use in Norwegian bilingual classrooms. The terms which are of particular relevance for my MA study are the concepts of Input and Output (Ellis, 1997; Swain, 1985, 2000; Ortega, 2009), Language approaches (Brevik et al., 2020; Cook, 2001; Cummins, 2008), Codeswitching (Cook, 2001; Macaro, 2001), and the status of English, including language profiles and identities (Brevik, 2019; Brevik & Doetjes, 2020; Gee, 2017; Rindal, 2014, 2019; Sundqvist & Sylvén, 2016). I am interested in examining the language use in bilingual programs in lower secondary school in Norway. This MA study aims to analyse what characterizes language use in six bilingual classrooms, by looking at which languages are used, and how much of each language is used across the six classrooms. In the following chapter, I will elaborate on the methodological choices I utilize.

3.0 Methodology

In this chapter I will present the methodology that I have used to answer my overarching research question: *What characterizes language use during English lessons in six bilingual classrooms?* First, I will present the ETOS project (3.1), which my master thesis is part of, before I describe my research design (3.2). Then I will present the sample and sampling procedures used in the selection of lessons (3.3). Next, I will describe the methods used in my data collection (3.4) and data analysis (3.5). Finally, I will address research credibility, reliability and validity, and ethical considerations (3.6).

3.1 The ETOS project

I was invited to become a part of the research project ETOS in the academic year of 2019–20. As mentioned, ETOS aims to investigate bilingual teaching in two lower secondary schools in Norway, in order to increase our knowledge of bilingual education, where instruction is given partly in Norwegian and partly in English. The project also looks at the role bilingual teaching has for students' learning outcomes, motivation and relevance across subjects, including English. The ETOS project was initiated in 2019 and will continue through 2022. It is led by project leader Lisbeth M. Brevik and deputy project leader Gerard Doetjes, the former being my co-supervisor. The project received approval from the Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD), and all participants gave written informed consent prior to data collection. The sampling of the project consists of two schools in areas with different socioeconomic status.

Prior to the data collection, all participating members of the ETOS project signed consent forms agreeing to confidentiality regarding the project and its data. My role in the ETOS project was team leader for collection of data in the two 10th grade classes in the spring of 2020. My responsibility concerned data collection through classroom observation and video recording, student surveys and student interviews. As team leader, I was responsible for safe storage of the video recording equipment, securing and transporting the data from the participating schools to the Teaching Learning Video Lab (TLVlab) at the University of Oslo, finding available rooms for student interviews at the school and conducting some of the interviews. I was also responsible for going through the collected video data from 10th grade in all subjects and for keeping a log for all data that needed to be edited according to the GDPR privacy regulations. I was also the primary contact for the other master students and research assistants who were part of the 10th grade team.

3.2 Research design

Since the purpose of this MA study was to investigate language use in bilingual classrooms, I found the most suitable research approach to be mixed methods (Brevik & Mathé, 2021). Qualitative data approaches are suitable to investigate and develop questions of a phenomenon, the “how” or “why”, while quantitative approaches are suitable for investigating “how much”, which taken together provide the opportunity to examine which languages are used in the classrooms and for how long. I found recorded video observation to be the most suitable method to use in order to answer the qualitative and quantitative dimension of my research question (Boeije, 2010; Emerson et al., 2011; Firebaugh, 2008; Rapley, 2016). By using qualitative and quantitative video observations, I will examine language practices in bilingual classrooms through the two research questions below:

RQ1: *Which languages are used within and across English lessons in bilingual classrooms?*

RQ2: *How much of each language is used in these lessons?*

Table 3.1 gives a brief overview of my research design, including the overarching research question, the methods I have used, the data material and analysis, and analytical concepts.

Table 3.1. An overview of the research design

Research question	Research Design	Data material	Data analysis	Analytical concepts
What characterizes language use during English lessons in six bilingual classrooms?	Qualitative and quantitative video data observations	Video recordings from the ETOS project; 20 English lessons in bilingual classrooms in two lower secondary schools	Direct content analysis of video recordings Frequency analysis	1: Language use (English, Norwegian, other languages) 2: Individual teacher practices

The data material consists of 20 video recorded English lessons from the ETOS project. The data analysis conducted for my MA thesis consists of a direct content analysis of the sampled video recordings (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005) and frequency analysis of time spent using various languages (Brevik & Rindal, 2020). I will present this further in section 3.4.1 and 3.5. In my analysis, I use two analytical concepts: 1) language use and 2) individual teacher practices. These are based on Brevik and Rindal’s (2020) analytical framework, which means that my master thesis will investigate language use in bilingual classrooms on the same premise as Brevik and Rindal (2020), where video data from the LISE project was coded in order to investigate language use in seven L2 English classrooms. As there are limited number of studies on language use in bilingual classrooms in Norway (for exceptions, see Brevik & Moe, 2012; Mahan, 2020; Mahan et al., 2018), I decided on the observation of video data similar to that of Brevik and Rindal (2020). In line with this choice, Brevik and Rindal (2020) will function as a theoretical framework for my study. In addition, the observation of video data offers the opportunity to systematically investigate language use from “naturally occurring social situations” (Cohen et al., 2011, p. 456), which aligns with the data material in the ETOS project.

3.3 Sampling

In this section, I will elaborate on the sample of my MA thesis. The ETOS project collected data from three different grades (8th, 9th and 10th). As I was interested in a comparative investigation of language use within and across bilingual English lessons, I have chosen to focus on all English lessons in 8th, 9th and 10th grade at the two schools. I chose this sample because it enabled me to investigate, and compare, data across the six different classrooms in both schools. The ETOS project used purposeful sampling (Creswell, 2007) in the sense that the schools and classes were recruited on the basis that they offered bilingual programs on the lower secondary level. This resulted in a total of six classrooms.

Table 3.2. Overview of data material

Method	Data	Participants	Quantity
Observation	Video recording (English)	Teachers (<i>n</i> =8)	20 Lessons

Table 3.2 shows that a total of eight teachers are included in my study: six English teachers and two substitute teachers. In total, 20 lessons were sampled from the six classrooms. Table 3.3 shows the total number of lessons sampled for this study, including duration.

Table 3.3. Video-recorded English lessons

	S01K8I	S01K9I	S01K10I	S02K8I	S02K9I	S02K10I	Total
Lessons	3	4	4	2	4	3	20
Duration	2:48:1	3:45:46	3:05:59	1:36:58	3:01:55	2:52:19	17:10:58

Table 3.4 presents relevant background information about the participants in the sampled classrooms. The table presents the grades, the teaching experience of the teachers, the number of participants in each class and the percentage of students with a different L1 than Norwegian.

Table 3.4. Sampling overview

	School 1			School 2		
	8 th grade	9 th grade	10 th grade	8 th grade	9 th grade	10 th grade
Teaching experience	5-10 years	0-5 years	20-25 years	15-20 years	25-30 years	10-15 years
No. of participants**	27	27	26	30	28	27
L1 other than Norwegian across schools*	61%			33%		

Note. *L1 = first language **Number of consenting participants in each class

Table 3.4 shows varying teaching experience among the six English teachers, from less than five years and up to 30 years. The proportion of students who had a different L1 than Norwegian varied between 31% and 74% at each school.

3.4 Data collection

In this section, I will explain the standards and procedures deployed in the ETOS data collection. This section will give a broader overview and understanding of the data collection as a whole when discussing aspects of reliability and validity, as well as my own observations and experiences from the data collection process. By giving the readers insight into the data collection process, my MA thesis contributes to openness and transparency, thus increasing its legitimacy (Befring, 2015).

Preparations for data collection started in the autumn of 2019, with preparations at the University of Oslo before entering the research sites. The school term started in January, and the data collection was conducted in January and February 2020. The ETOS research team

collected qualitative data and quantitative data in three phases (see Figure 3.1), and I used data from Phase 2 (video recordings).

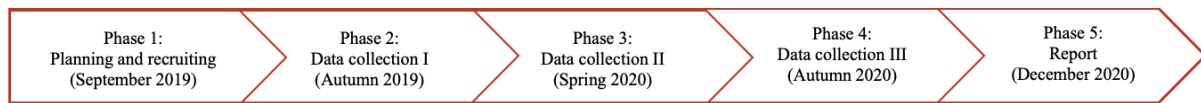


Figure 3.1. The five phases of the ETOS project (Brevik & Doetjes, 2020, p. 46)

3.4.1 Classroom video recordings

Classroom video recordings has become a data collection method which is increasingly popular in classroom research – especially due to this precise, complete and subtle analysis of teaching and learning processes (Blikstad-Balas, 2017; Klette, 2016). Silverman (2011) also states the importance of not choosing too many research methods and data sets in order to answer a research question when wanting to interpret and describe different sides of a phenomenon. As my study will investigate language use in bilingual classrooms, I believe my choice of research methods and video material ensures a well-constructed entity. This is because video observation “offers an investigator the opportunity to gather “live” data from naturally occurring social situations” (Cohen et al., 2011, p. 456). Video observation also enables me to return to the data over and over to see if explanations and interpretations make sense (Creswell & Miller, 2000). Klette (2016) states that an advantage of using video observation is that “video documentation has proven especially powerful in the investigation of teaching and learning, as it enables more precise, complete, and subtle analyses of teaching/learning processes” (p. 1). Thus, by using video recordings, I am not only presented with “live” data of languages used in classrooms, it also ensures my MA study a precise, complete and subtle analysis of language use in bilingual English lessons, enabling me to answer my research question in a systematic and well-structured manner.

As my MA study focuses on language use, teaching processes in classrooms, video recordings became the method which gave me insight into the naturally occurring language use situations in English classrooms. The video design relied on two cameras recording the same lesson at the same time. A small camera was placed at the front of the classroom and another in the back of the classroom. In addition, the teacher wore one microphone, whilst another microphone was placed in the middle of the classroom in order to capture the students (Brevik, 2019; Brevik & Rindal, 2020; Klette et al., 2017). This video design provided reasonably good video and audio

recordings of the whole classroom and teacher-student interactions. Video recorded data makes it easier to capture certain patterns of a classroom lesson, compared to *in situ* observation whilst also allowing the researcher to review the data material as many times as needed (Blikstad-Balas, 2017).

Strict procedures and standards established in the ETOS project were followed before, during and after the video recording (Brevik & Doetjes, 2020). The lessons varied in duration, with an average duration of about 60 minutes. During filming, I was sitting in the back of the classroom, watching the video and audio at the same time whilst recording. I was able to both hear and watch the whole-classroom interaction and interactions between the teacher and the students, and between the students. By being present in the classrooms, I was also able to make sure the technical equipment was working as they should as a way of establishing credibility. I transferred the recordings from the schools to the secure ETOS area at TLVlab on a daily basis.

3.4.2 Overview of video data

In this section, the video data will be presented in more detail. Tables 3.5–3.7 present the activities of the lessons. This is done in order to summarize the information in this section.

Table 3.5. 8th grade

		School 1			School 2	
		Lesson 1	Lesson 2	Lesson 3	Lesson 1	Lesson 2
Task	Teacher presentation. Individual student work.	Individual student work; presentations about a US state.	Individual student work; presentations about a US state. Classroom discussion.		Reading and listening to an audio book.	Teacher presentation on formal and informal language. Reading and listening to an audio book.

The duration of the lessons had an average of 55 minutes. During the two weeks of data collection, 8th grade in school 1 worked on the topic of USA, where the teacher had presentations and the students worked on tasks, made presentations and participated in class discussion on the topic. In school 2, the 8th grade class worked with a *Harry Potter* novel by listening to an audiobook whilst reading it simultaneously. The teacher also had a presentation about formal and informal language, based on the novel.

Table 3.6. 9th grade

School 1					School 2			
	Lesson 1	Lesson 2	Lesson 3	Lesson 4	Lesson 1	Lesson 2	Lesson 3	Lesson 4
Task	Teacher presentation.	Individual student work.	Individual student work.	Individual student work.	Teacher presentation.	Classroom discussion.	Teacher presentation.	Substitute teacher.
	Whole-class reading.		Reading.		Group discussion.	Bingo	YouTube video.	Test.
							Bingo.	Individual student work.

The duration of the lessons had an average of 50 minutes. During the two weeks of data collection, 9th grade at School 1 worked on the topic “making a difference”. The teacher had presentations about people who has made a difference in the world. The students worked on a written assignment about a person of their choosing who had made a difference, and read texts from the textbook, both individually and in plenary. In school 2, the 9th grade class worked on topics related to the environment and global warming. The classroom activities varied from teacher presentations to student group discussion, plenary term-bingo relating to the topic, and relevant YouTube videos. In the last lesson, a substitute teacher gave a test about environmental change, and the students worked individually on a task.

Table 3.7. 10th grade

School 1					School 2		
	Lesson 1	Lesson 2	Lesson 3	Lesson 4	Lesson 1	Lesson 2	Lesson 3
Task	Substitute teacher.	Glossary test.	YouTube videos.	Individual student work.	Quizlet.	Individual student work.	Classroom-discussion.
	Individual student work.	Whole-class reading.	Whole-class reading.	Whole class translation.	class discussion.	Creative writing and reading.	YouTube video.
			Individual student work.				Individual student work.

The duration of the lessons had an average of 1 hour. During the two weeks of data collection, the 10th grade class at School 1 worked on different topics. In the first lesson, a substitute teacher asked the students to work on individual presentations about a famous person from Britain or Ireland. In the second lesson, the students worked on a glossary test, and individual reading.

The third lesson consisted of YouTube videos about British history and famous artists, reading in plenary, and individual work with textbook tasks. The last lesson consisted of individual and plenary translation. In school 2, 10th grade worked on different topics, mainly the novel *The Hate U Give*. Classroom activities ranged from Quizlet, whole-class discussion, reading and creative writing, classroom discussions about empathy and sympathy, YouTube videos and writing valentine day cards to each other.

3.5 Data analyses

In this section, I will present the procedure I have used to analyse the video data. As mentioned, I have used the same analytical framework by Brevik and Rindal (2020) for my analyses. Coding is invaluable for structuring video data into manageable portions (Saldaña, 2016). Coding of video data is often divided into deductive and inductive coding. This study used a deductive approach to coding, where already established coding systems (see Brevik & Rindal, 2020) are applied to the data material (Miles et al., 2014). In direct content analysis where deductive coding is used, the main goal of data analysis is to build on, and extend, prior research (Fauskanger & Mosvold, 2014; Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). In my analysis, I have used four specific codes for language use, adapted from Brevik and Rindal (2020): Norwegian, English, both and other (any other language):

A code was activated when either teachers or students spoke and deactivated as they stopped speaking [...] 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 (Brevik & Rindal, 2020, p. 933).

As the codes used in my data analysis are adapted from prior research, I followed a coding manual. I attended a coding workshop at the TLVlab arranged for MA students, where I learned how to code using the program *InterAct*. The language codes are duration codes, meaning that the code is applied during the entire period of teacher and student talk. Only one code can be active at a time, which sometimes created conflicting decisions regarding which code to use. In such cases, I consulted the researchers who had used the codes in their research for confirmation and validation of the codes. The different codes were activated when the teacher spoke, during teacher-student interactions and whenever the teacher actively listened to student conversations. The codes were deactivated when the interactions stopped. Classroom silence

was not coded. The coding used in my MA study is based on both contextual (rules) and theoretical (agreement) framework.

When coding, I transferred the video data to the software program *InterAct*. The majority of coding was done at the TLVlab at the University of Oslo. Due to the Covid 19 pandemic, some of the coding had to be done using an encrypted and secure computer made accessible by TLVlab, with secure access to data material. Coding recorded video data is a demanding process which requires the full attention of the researcher. During the coding process, I used the provided coding manual in order to follow language use based on information given to me by the researchers who had used the same coding manual in prior research (Brevik & Rindal, 2020).

If the main goal of research is to identify and categorize all instances of a particular phenomenon, reading a transcription is beneficial in order to highlight particular instances in the data material (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). As I wanted to investigate language use across bilingual classrooms, illustrating how languages are used through transcribed excerpts was important for my study. Most of the English lessons had been transcribed prior to my data analysis. I watched through all video recorded data and transcriptions in order to choose excerpts of language use which illustrate different types of teacher conversations. The excerpts chosen, and used, for this MA study has been transcribed in full.

3.6 Research credibility

In this section, I will discuss the validity and reliability of my MA study, as well as ethical considerations. Validity and reliability are two components which all research projects and studies aspire towards. According to Johnson (2013, p. 279), validity refers to a study's truthfulness and correctness; whether or not a study is valid, whilst reliability refers to a study's trustworthiness and repeatability; whether it is reliable. Brevik (2015) argues that the difference between validity and reliability is "the accuracy and transparency needed to enable replication of the research (reliability)", and "the trustworthiness of the inferences drawn from the data (validity)" (p. 46). In order for a study to have validity it must have reliability; however, a study can have reliability without validity.

3.6.1 Reliability

Reliability refers to whether or not the data results collected in a research study can be repeated by other researchers, in order to be repeatable or reliable (Everett & Furseth, 2012, Johnson, 2013; Johnson & Christensen, 2017). However, qualitative data, which is the main data source used in my study, is in itself impossible to repeat. Brevik (2015) states that “research where people are involved can never be fully replicated; for instance, the atmosphere in a classroom will never be identically recreated and identical utterances will not be uttered” (p. 46). Still, a study’s reliability concerns the consistency and stability of the process (Johnson, 2013). As I base my data analysis on the same analytic framework as Brevik and Rindal (2020), by using deductive coding through pre-set codes in my MA study, the coding manual used in my analysis can be replicated.

Reliability can be divided into two categories; inter and intra reliability (Hallgren, 2012). Whilst inter reliability measures numerous researcher’s results and the agreements between them, intra reliability measures the degree of agreement between multiple repetitions by the same researcher (Bryman, 2016). As I used codes that were previously used in another study, the codes themselves have been validated as an analytical instrument (Brevik & Rindal, 2020). By using this pre-set coding manual the inter reliability is enhanced, as I was able to discuss certain sequences of my data material with the researchers who had created the coding manual, in order to arrive at an agreement considering the results. Also, by using a pre-set coding manual, a similar understanding of language use can be accomplished across studies.

By using video recordings as my main data source, I had the opportunity to watch the video data prior to, and repeatedly throughout my data analysis. This gave me the opportunity to watch specific segments multiple times in order to focus on language use before coding (Creswell & Miller, 2000). I was able to assess specific segments in light of the analytical framework used. Since my MA study is part of the ETOS project, and as the coding manual deployed in my study has already been used in the LISE project (Brevik & Rindal, 2020), I have had the opportunity to discuss my interpretations with my fellow MA students and peers linked to ETOS, other members of both the ETOS team and LISE team, the project leader and my supervisor. This strengthens the reliability of my study.

3.6.2 Validity

In this section, I will give an account of the strategies I have used in order to enhance the validity, or trustworthiness, of my study. For a study to be valid it has to be “plausible, credible, trustworthy, and therefore defensible” (Everett & Furseth, 2012; Johnson, 2013). Validity does not refer to the data itself, but rather the judgement of the researcher, thoroughness of the process of a study, and whether or not the conclusions drawn from the data are defensible and trustworthy (Brevik, 2015). To ensure validity, it is important that the researcher accurately represents the participants’ realities of a social phenomenon, emphasising the representation of reality (Creswell & Miller, 2000). Therefore, in order to have validity, one also needs reliability.

Firstly, all video recordings and the coding manual used in my data analysis are available to everyone on the ETOS team. The coding manual has also been deployed in another study; Brevik and Rindal (2020). This adds to the validity and transparency of my study (Johnson, 2013), as readers can decide the degree of trustworthiness through the presentation of my data analysis. By using all collected video recordings from the English classrooms in the ETOS material, 20 lessons in total, I have observed and deployed samples of teachers of different genders, ages and teaching experiences as well as samples of classrooms of different sizes and language backgrounds. This strengthens the external validity of my study, which Johnson (2013) refers to as “the extent to which the result of a study can be generalized to and across populations of persons, settings, times, outcomes, and treatment variations” (p. 291). In order to strengthen the descriptive validity of my study, I have presented the language codes used in my data analysis, and described the coding process in order to make my study as transparent as possible (cf. section 3.5).

One aspect which is important to mention when it comes to the trustworthiness of the data, is reactivity, or the potential influence the researcher has on the behaviour and surroundings of the participants. As I was a present observer during data collection, this could have had an effect on the participants and their behaviour. In turn, this could create an unnatural environment for the participants. However, Blikstad-Balas (2017) argues that the effect of reactivity can be overrated as the participants seem to forget that they are being filmed to some extent over time, since “when asked about it, participants often claimed to forget that they were being recorded – not at all times, but for periods of time” (Blikstad-Balas, 2017, p. 514). This aligns with my observations during data collection and analysis.

Another aspect which is important to mention when it comes to the trustworthiness of the data, is researcher bias. Researcher bias might influence the reasoning I draw from my study, affecting the results and validity of my analysis. Researcher bias “refers to ways in which data collection or analysis are distorted by the researcher’s theory, values, or preconceptions” (Maxwell, 2013, p. 243). I have consistently tried to minimize researcher bias during the process of both data collection and in the writing of my MA study. Working with the ETOS team, other MA students, the project leader and my supervisor has limited this threat. As a way of maximizing the trustworthiness of my data analysis, and to prevent the loss of contextual frameworks, I watched all the lessons before conducting my data analysis. This provided a broader understanding of the video recordings, as well as my own coding and data analysis; thus the context of my study. This in turn enhances the validity of my study, as I knew the content of my data material before coding.

3.6.3 Ethical considerations

Throughout the data collection, data analysis and writing of this thesis, research ethics is one of the most important factors for me as a researcher, and plays a major role in ensuring the privacy, and well-being, of my participants. Being responsible for the video recording in the 10th grade classes at both schools, I was able to receive first-hand knowledge about the participants in these classes. This led to long periods of interaction with both students and teachers, which created trust between me and the participants. This made it possible for me to establish rapport (Rapley, 2016). Conducting repeated observation for two weeks in each classroom, it was important for me to keep interacting with the participants. I chose to not appear as a fly on the wall, but instead to actively interact and socialize with the participants, aligning with theory presented in Creswell and Miller (2000) and Emerson et al. (2011), who state that socialization with participants not only builds trust, but also increases the researcher’s sensitivity to social life as a process.

During the data collection, the ETOS team received first-hand knowledge and experience with how to protect the privacy of the schools, teachers and students who participated in the project, in line with the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR). GDPR is a regulation in EU law on data protection and privacy regulation, with a focus on the protection of personal data and the transfer and storage of this data. All teachers, students and parents gave their voluntary written consent prior to data collection (Brevik & Doetjes, 2020). All participants were assigned specific codes in the data sources and this study, so the participants are not identifiable. All of

the data collected at the research sites were brought straight to the TLVlab on password-protected devices, and transferred straight into the secure ETOS area at TLVlab.

The right to privacy and ensuring the privacy of, specifically, those who are especially vulnerable is an important aspect of research projects, and is one of the biggest responsibilities of a researcher (NESH, 2016). Befring (2015) specifies the importance of the right to privacy for those who do not want to participate, suggesting that a researcher cannot collect data at all costs. Although all students agreed to *in situ* observation during the data collection, some students did not want to be part of the video recordings, and therefore declined such participation. These students were then placed in a blind zone in the classroom, thus a zone in which the cameras did not record (Brevik & Doetjes, 2020). When these students spoke, or the teacher spoke to them, the microphones were turned off, and it was noted by the observer when these interactions occurred in order to edit the video recording further at TLVlab (Brevik & Doetjes, 2020). If the students became part of the video recording, the observer wrote down when this occurred and then edited the students out of the video, in order to ensure their right to privacy and not be part of the data (Brevik & Doetjes, 2020).

4.0 Findings

In this chapter, I will present my main findings and results from the data analysis. The findings indicated three main patterns considering language use across the six classrooms. First, I identified variation in language use between the two schools. Second, I identified considerable variation in language use between the different grades, which seem dependent on the individual teachers. Third, I identified some variation between the individual lessons, which again emphasises how language use seems dependent on the individual teachers. I also found, similar to Brevik and Rindal (2020), that there were few examples of use of other languages than English and Norwegian. This chapter will present my findings in three sections: firstly, section 4.1 will present variations in language practices across the two schools and across grades. Secondly, section 4.2 will present a lesson overview of both schools in order to see differences in language use across individual lessons. In section 4.3, the use of other languages will be presented. The following sections and sub-sections will elaborate on these findings, with figures which present the different results from classroom video recordings.

4.1 Variations in language practices across classrooms

In the following section, the first main findings from the analysis of video recordings will be presented. This will be achieved in three sub-sections; 4.1.1 will present an overview of the coded spoken time and quiet time in each classroom, 4.1.2 will present a classroom overview of language use, and section 4.1.3 will present the categorization of the different grades as high frequency English and high frequency Norwegian classrooms.

4.1.1 Coded spoken time vs quiet time

The 20 recorded English lessons which make up my data material contained 46% of total coded spoken language. As presented in section 3.5, the coded spoken time was based on teacher conversation in the classrooms. While analyzing the coded language use, I calculated the percentage of quiet time in each classroom, firstly in seconds, then in percentage. Figure 4.1 illustrates an overview of the coded spoken time and quiet time in each classroom.

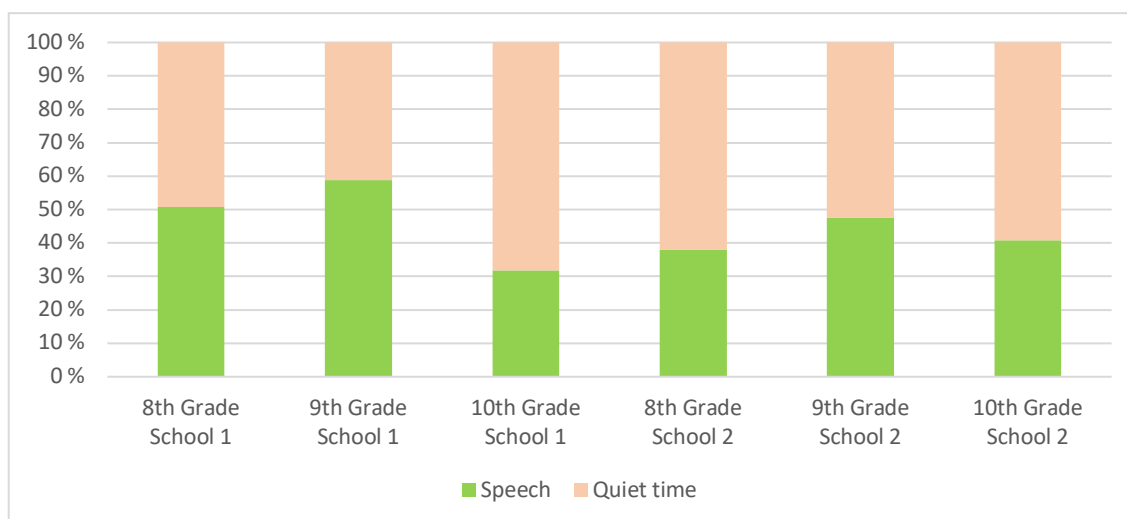


Figure 4.1. Coded spoken and quiet time

Figure 4.1 shows how spoken time varied between 32% and 59% across the six classrooms. The figure shows a difference between not only the six classrooms, but also between the two schools. School 1 showed a higher percentage of coded spoken time than school 2, although there was some variation between classrooms and lessons. For instance, 8th and 9th grade in school 1 showed a coded spoken percentage between 51-59%, whilst 10th grade showed a coded spoken percentage of 32%. Coded spoken time in school 2 ranged from 38% and 47%. In order to get a closer insight into coded spoken time, Table 4.1 will give an overview of classroom activities from each lesson across the six classrooms, as well as an overview of spoken time from each lesson.

Table 4.1. Classroom activity and spoken time

	Activity	Spoken time
School 1		
8th Grade	Lesson 1: Teacher presentation, individual student work	Lesson 1: 56%
	Lesson 2: Individual student work	Lesson 2: 42%
	Lesson 3: Individual student work, classroom discussion	Lesson 3: 55%
9th Grade	Lesson 1: Teacher presentation, whole-class reading	Lesson 1: 69%
	Lesson 2: Individual student work	Lesson 2: 47%
	Lesson 3: Individual student work, reading	Lesson 3: 64%
	Lesson 4: Individual student work	Lesson 4: 57%
10th Grade	Lesson 1: Individual student work (substitute teacher)	Lesson 1: 32%
	Lesson 2: Glossary test, whole-class reading	Lesson 2: 23%
	Lesson 3: YouTube-videos, whole-class reading, individual student work	Lesson 3: 37%
	Lesson 4: Individual student work, whole-class translation	Lesson 4: 31%
School 2		
8th Grade	Lesson 1: Listening to audiobook	Lesson 1: 15%

	Lesson 2: Teacher presentation, listening to audiobook	Lesson 2: 55%
9th Grade	Lesson 1: Teacher presentation, group discussion	Lesson 1: 54%
	Lesson 2: Classroom discussion	Lesson 2: 57%
	Lesson 3: Teacher presentation	Lesson 3: 48%
	Lesson 4: Test, individual student work (substitute teacher)	Lesson 4: 33%
10th Grade	Lesson 1: Quizlet, whole-class discussion	Lesson 1: 45%
	Lesson 2: Creative writing, reading	Lesson 2: 34%
	Lesson 3: Classroom-discussion, individual student work	Lesson 3: 43%

As can be seen in Table 4.1, all classes had a certain element of individual student work, teacher presentation and whole class discussion. The table shows how the classes differed not only in what type of activities were represented, but also the amount of activities: some classes contained many activities, whilst some contained few. Looking at the specific classroom activities, firstly school 1, 8th and 9th grade shared a similarity in classroom activities through teacher presentations and individual student work with teacher scaffolding. In school 2, 9th grade showed activities based on teacher presentations, whilst 10th grade showed how classroom activities was based on classroom discussions and individual student work.

Two of the six classrooms stood out when it came to spoken time and quiet time, school 1 (10th grade) and school 2 (8th grade), where spoken time varied between 15% and 55%. In school 1 10th grade, the activities ranged from individual student work, such as making presentations and conducting glossary test, to whole-class activities involving reading. In school 2 (8th grade), the activities centered mostly around the class listening to an audiobook. The teacher had a presentation about formal/informal language; however, the majority of the lessons focused on the audiobook which explains the quiet time. It is important to consider (cf. section 3.5) that the coded language use was based on teacher conversation, teacher-student talk and teacher listening to student talk which contributed to the coding of spoken time and quiet time. In the two classrooms where spoken time and quiet time stood out, school 1 (10th grade) and school 2 (8th grade), the language use did not show any indicators of deviating language patterns. This shows the importance of contextualisation to understand variation in language use. The language patterns, and the individual lessons, of each classroom will be presented further in section 4.1.2 and 4.2 to give further insight into language use across classrooms where quiet time varies in percentage.

4.1.2 Language use across classrooms

In the following section, I provide an overview of the languages used in the different classrooms, similar to Brevik and Rindal (2020), pertaining to RQ1: *Which languages are used within and across English lessons in bilingual classrooms?* This means that during spoken time in Table 4.1, I have identified the languages used. Figure 4.2 shows an overview of languages spoken in the six English classrooms.

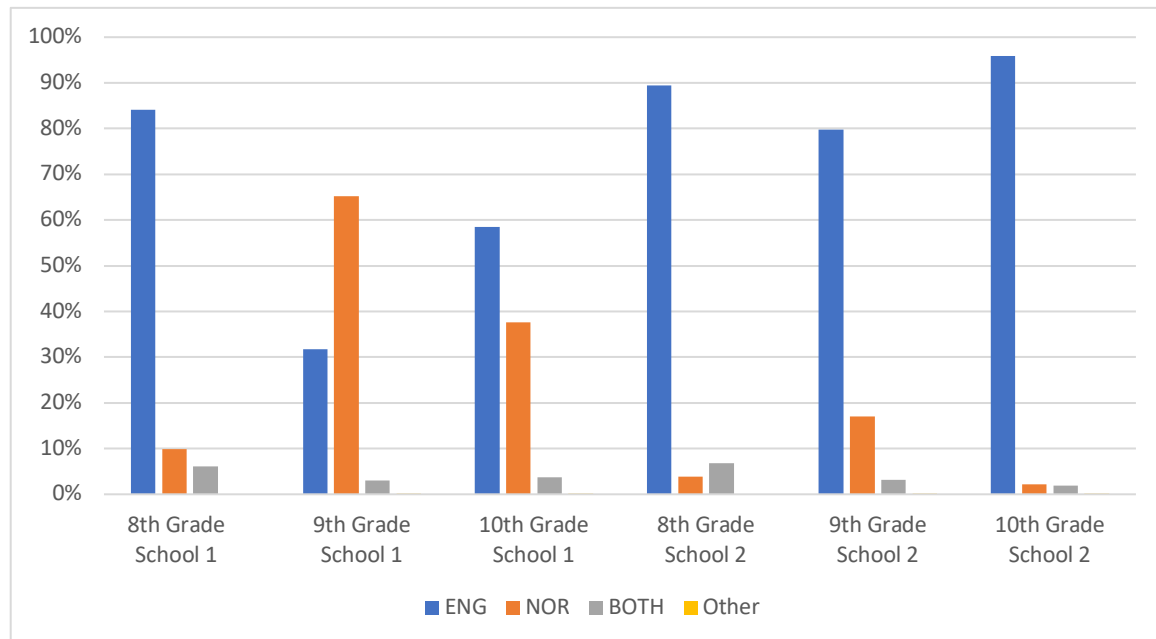


Figure 4.2. Overview of languages spoken

The first indication of variation in language use was between the two schools. As can be seen in Figure 4.2, the use of Norwegian is higher in school 1 than school 2, with variation between the different grades. Figure 4.2 shows how school 1 (9th grade) stood out considering Norwegian use, with a percentage of 65%. This will be elaborated further in section 4.1.3 and 4.2. The findings showed that the teachers used English 68% of the time and Norwegian 29% of the time; for the remaining percentage, the teachers drew on *both* languages and few examples of other languages (see section 4.3).

English was used the most across the majority of the classrooms; 54% in school 1 and 87% in school 2 (Figure 4.2). In school 1, English was used 32-84% whilst Norwegian was used 10-65%. Figure 4.2 showed how English was the predominant language in school 1 8th and 10th grade, whilst Norwegian was the predominant language used in school 1 9th grade. In school 2,

English was the predominant language used across all three classrooms, varying between 80% and 96%. The use of Norwegian was fairly low across the classrooms in school 2 (2-17%)¹.

Looking at the use of *Both*, which consisted of either codeswitching or interaction where both English and Norwegian are used where use of each language lasts for less than 3 seconds, the percentage varied between 2% and 7% across the six classrooms. In school 1, use of *both* varied between 3% and 6%, whilst in school 2, use of *both* varied between 2% and 7%, which indicated a similar pattern considering the use of *both* across the two schools. To give an example of the use of *both*, I will give an excerpt from transcriptions of the observed video data. Excerpt 1A shows an example of a teacher-student interaction where both English and Norwegian was used: specifically, where English was used by the teacher and Norwegian by two students:

Excerpt 1A. School 2 (8th grade) Use of “both” in teacher-student conversation.²

Teacher: So we're going to finish chapter 5, and continue with chapter 6

Student 1: Kan vi sitte hvor vi vil?

Teacher: Yes you can sit where you want

Student 2: Husker du hvilken side det er?

Teacher: [student name] It's page 90

Student 3: Maybe 89

Teacher: 89?

In excerpt 1A, the class was preparing for whole class listening of an audiobook (see. Table 4.1). The teacher was conversing in English with three students about what they were going to listen to, where they could sit and what page they were starting on. Two students asked their questions in Norwegian, whilst the third student answered the teacher in English. As each person's use of English or Norwegian lasts for less than 3 seconds, this conversation was coded as use of *both*. The use of *both* in 8th grade school 2 was 4%, and the excerpt gave insight into what the use of *both* might have looked like in this class: the teacher spoke in English whilst the students answered in Norwegian.

Other was the language code used the least in all six classrooms. The use of *other* languages was fairly low across the six classrooms (0,015-0,102%). As it is interesting to look at how

¹ The use of both English and Norwegian are presented, as the use of English and Norwegian alone does not account for 100% of languages used.

² Excerpts are numbered consecutively from 1-4 and A-Z (indicating order), for example 1A.

other languages were used in bilingual classrooms, where many students have a different L1 than Norwegian (cf. section 3.3, Table 3.4), the use of *other* languages will be presented further in section 4.3.

Considering the amount of quiet time across the six classrooms (cf. section 4.1.1), it would be interesting to see whether the portrayal of languages used would change if considering seconds rather than percentages. Therefore, in order to get some more insight into the language use, I calculated the languages used across the six classrooms in seconds as well. I found that there were no considerable differences between the analysis of language use in percentages and seconds, which indicates that quiet time did not influence the pattern of language use in these classrooms. The function of doing both analyses was to show how the main language patterns in the different classrooms did not vary although the number of seconds spoken by the teacher varied based on quiet time. As the language use in seconds did not show major differences from the percentages, the portrayal of findings in this chapter will be presented in percentages overall. Alternative visual representations of language use in seconds was made for the findings, however, as no considerable differences was found between the findings presented in seconds and the findings presented in percentage, the representation of language use in seconds is not included in the following sections.

The second indication of variation in language use was between the different grades. It is interesting to see how language use presented in Figure 4.2 does not indicate that the use of English increases from 8th to 9th grade, or from 9th to 10th grade – this can also arguably be called a natural increase in language use as the students become better at the L2. What the findings indicated was that in school 1, English use peaked in 8th grade, decreased in 9th grade, and increased in 10th grade again without reaching the level of English use in 8th grade. This is interesting, as one would imagine language use to either increase as the students became older (from 8th to 10th grade) or stay at approximately the same level with some increases or decreases as could be seen in school 2. The language use across the grades in school 2 showed how the use of English stayed at approximately the same percentage, with a decrease in 9th grade and an increase in 10th grade.

4.1.3 High frequency English vs. high frequency Norwegian

Based on my observations of how the different classrooms showed indications of considerably higher use of either English or Norwegian, they were labelled as either *high frequency English*

or *high frequency Norwegian* classrooms, similar to the findings in Brevik and Rindal (2020). The function of the two labels was to indicate what language was used considerably more in each classroom. In this section, I will elaborate on these labels as well as give examples through excerpts from transcriptions of the observed video data.

Language practices across the classrooms indicated how the majority of the classrooms could be categorized as high frequency English. Based on the language practices shown in Figure 4.2, all classrooms in school 2 could be categorized as high frequency English since English was used considerably more (80-96%) than Norwegian. 8th and 10th grade in school 1 could also be categorized as high frequency English as English was used considerably more (59-84%) than Norwegian. Although the language practices were more flexible than the label indicated, as stated in Brevik and Rindal (2020), these classrooms used considerably more English (59-96%) than Norwegian (2-38%). When considering how language practices might be more flexible than the labels indicated, it is interesting to start by looking at school 1 (10th grade). Although categorized as a high frequency English classroom, this label might be considered borderline in this case, as English was “only” used 59%. However, not only is English used over 50%, but also, Norwegian is used only 38% of the time. The remaining time comprise both languages. This indicated a classroom where English was used more frequently than Norwegian.

In order to give examples of high frequency English classrooms, I will provide two excerpts from transcriptions of the observed video data. Excerpt 2A shows an example from school 1 (8th grade) of a teacher-student conversation about visiting the United States, whilst Excerpt 2B shows an example from school 2 (9th grade) where the teacher explained “sustainability” to the class and asked a student for a translation:

Excerpt 2A. School 1 (8th grade) Teacher-student conversation in a high frequency English classroom.

Teacher: Do you want to go to the United States [...] some day?

[Student nods]

Teacher: Where do you want to go there?

Student 1: New Jersey

Teacher: New Jersey. Ok. Because of a star? [...] What about the rest of you?
New Jersey

Student 2: and California. Og kanskje [...]

Teacher: What about the rest of you [student name]?

Excerpt 2B. School 1 (9th grade) Teacher talk in a high frequency English classroom.

Teacher: Important process regarding nature, in order for our natural world to be sustainable it needs to be able to regenerate itself. It needs to continue the way that it is, it doesn't mean that it doesn't change but that we don't destroy something, that we uphold it, that we keep it, that we support it, that we nurture it. That we protect it. So that we don't lose it. If you sustain something you do what's necessary to keep it going. Does that make sense? What's sustainability in Norwegian? What's the Norwegian word that we usually use? [student name]

Student: Er det ikke sånn bærekraft eller bærekraftig?

Teacher: Yeah, bærekraft. And here you see an example, and I'm sure you've noticed this [inaudible] before but because Norwegian is a Germanic based language and not a Latin based language, more difficult scientific terms are often easier to understand than the English words are. Because, bærekraft I mean that's a literal translation of that word. Bærekraft.

Looking at excerpts 2A and 2B, one can see how each example is a different context of teacher-student conversation. In excerpt 2A the teacher asked the students if they wanted to visit the United States and where they would like to visit, which was linked to the task at hand where the students were learning about the states in the USA. The teacher spoke English whilst the students answered in both English and Norwegian. Although the student that used Norwegian was interrupted, the excerpt showed how the teacher allowed the students to use Norwegian in classroom discourse. In excerpt 2B the teacher was explaining the word sustainability and asked a student for the Norwegian translation in order to, without extrapolating too much, give students a deeper understanding of the terminology. The teacher spoke only English whilst explaining the word sustainability to the class. The student was asked to translate the term to Norwegian, which implied that the teacher allowed Norwegian to, for example, explain academic content, such as teaching terminology and etymology in both languages. Excerpts 2A and 2B show examples of what language use looked like in two of the classrooms categorized as high frequency English, where English was used for 80% and 84% of the coded time.

Furthermore, these excerpts also showed how the use of Norwegian was allowed by the teacher in classrooms where English was the predominant language. The teacher did not forbid nor avoid Norwegian but allowed the students to use the L1.

Language practices across the classrooms indicated how only one classroom stood out when it came to Norwegian use: school 1 (9th grade). The language use in this classroom, presented in Figure 4.2, labelled it as a high frequency Norwegian classroom as this classroom used considerably more Norwegian than English and also considerably more Norwegian than the other classrooms (65%). Although the classroom could be labelled as high frequency Norwegian, the language use in the individual lessons showed how language practices were more flexible than the label indicated as one lesson showed considerably more English use than the other lessons (see section 4.2). To give examples of language use in a high frequency Norwegian classroom, I will give two excerpts from transcriptions of the observed video data. Excerpts 2C and 2D will show examples of teacher-student conversation about the task at hand:

Excerpt 2C. School 1 (9th grade) Teacher-student conversation in a high frequency Norwegian classroom

Teacher: Ja gjør dere det ja, okei jeg sitter der, så jeg hører hva dere snakker om.
Write down your thoughts then share them with your learning partner.

Student: [Laughter] I don't care, big brain, du vet det her har sånn lavere

Teacher: [student name] fikk du med deg oppgaven?

Student: Ja

Teacher: Ja, ja, ja? Write down your thoughts.

Student: Du trenger ikke gjøre noe stort for å gjøre en forskjell

Teacher: Can you try to speak English.

Student: Yeah

Teacher: Yes good

Excerpt 2D. School 1 (9th grade) Teacher-student conversation in a high frequency Norwegian classroom.

Student 1: Lag en innledning eller et avsnitt, skriv hvem han var, når han døde og hvordan du [inaudible] døde.

Teacher: På oppgave 1, informasjon, tenk at jeg aldri har hørt om han før. Hva er det du hadde fortalt meg da, hvem var det, ikke sant, tenk litt sånn.

Også blir de neste oppgavene mer refleksjon, litt deres meninger, sant.
Hva blir de husket for, hva var det de gjorde som gjorde en forskjell.
Det er mere de neste oppgavene, mens første er mere fakta,
informasjon. Biggie.

Student 2: Hva er sånn [inaudible]

Teacher: Awareness

Student 2: Ja

Teacher: Dere er kjent med Clarify, ikke sant?

Students: Ja

Teacher: Bruk det, det er kjempefint for å bruke litt fancy ord, fremmedord og sånne ting. Mhm.

Looking at excerpt 2C, one can see how the teacher and student use both English and Norwegian in the conversation. The excerpt indicated how English was used by the teacher to restate the task at hand, task instruction, whilst Norwegian was used for both class management and task instruction. In excerpt 2D, one student stated how to do the task at hand in Norwegian. The teacher continued the conversation by explaining how the students could answer the different parts of the task, in Norwegian. The conversation in excerpt 2D was exclusively done in Norwegian, with the exception of the teacher using the words “awareness”, “clarify” and “biggie”. Interestingly, as shown in excerpt 2C, the teacher asked the student to try to speak English.

In the following section, the language use in the individual lessons from each classroom will be presented.

4.2 Lesson overview

In the following section, I will present the second main finding of my MA study; an overview of the languages used in the individual lessons. This finding will also include the third indication of variation in language use, which is between the individual teachers. This section will present each lesson from both schools and the languages used in the individual lessons, pertaining to RQ2: *How much of each language is used in these lessons?* The labels of high frequency English and high frequency Norwegian will be used for the individual lessons as well. Figure 4.3 presents the individual lessons from the three classrooms in school 1, whilst Figure 4.4 presents the individual lessons from the three classrooms in school 2.

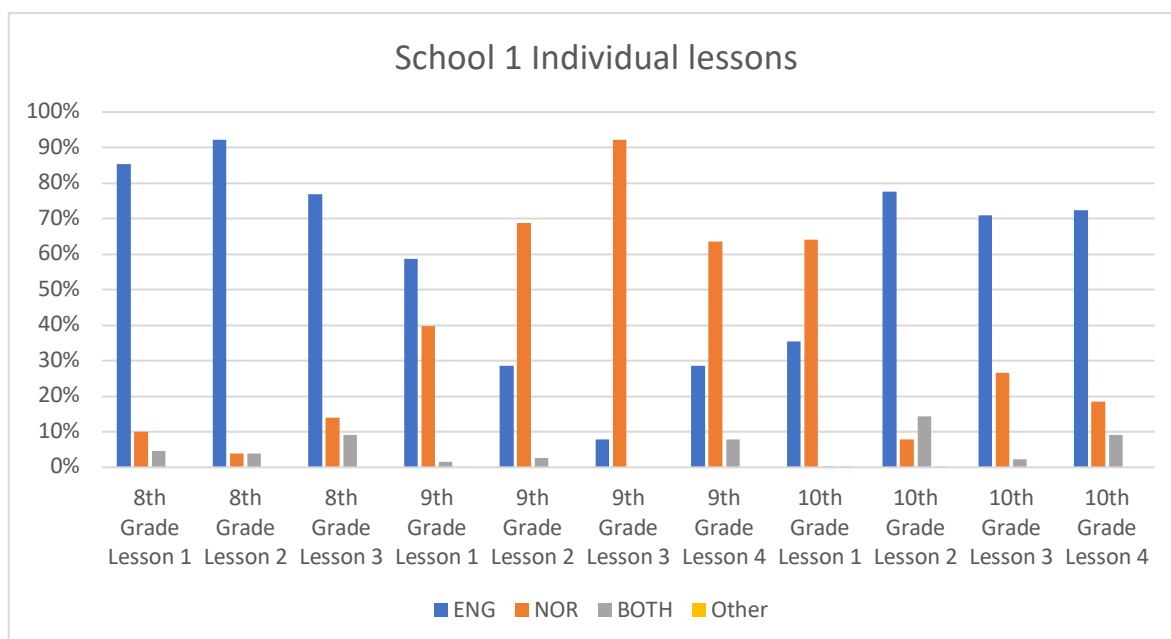


Figure 4.3. Languages spoken in the individual English lessons at school 1

As can be seen in Figure 4.3, language practices in school 1 varies between individual lessons and across the different classrooms. The findings portrayed in Figure 4.3 shows how language use in 8th grade kept a language pattern where English was the predominant language. The language use in the individual lessons from 9th and 10th grade showed how one lesson in each grade stood out from the language pattern of the grade. In 9th grade, the language pattern showed how Norwegian was the predominant language, except for lesson 1 where English was used 59% of the time. In 10th grade, the language pattern showed how English was the predominant language, with the exception of lesson 1 where Norwegian was used 64% of the time. Interestingly, lesson 1 in 10th grade was a substitute teacher lesson. This will be looked closer at in Table 4.2.

The findings in Figure 4.3 made it possible to label the individual lessons as high frequency English or high frequency Norwegian respectively. It is interesting to see how language practices were somewhat more flexible than the labels indicated, as the different classrooms were labelled as high frequency English or Norwegian whilst the language use on lesson level might have indicated different categorizations than that on the grade level, for example school 1 9th and 10th grade.

In order to look closer into the language use of lesson 1 in 10th grade, a substitute teacher lesson, Table 4.2 presents an overview of languages used by both the regular English teacher and the substitute teacher.

Table 4.2. Languages spoken in 10th grade lesson 1

	English use	Norwegian use	Use of both	Use of other	Time
English Teacher	98%	1%	1%	0,3%	12 minutes
Substitute teacher	5%	95%	0%	0,20%	60 minutes

In lesson 1, 10th grade, the substitute teacher took over the lesson from the English teacher after 12 minutes. During these 12 minutes, English was used 98% of the time. Looking at rest of the lesson, 60 minutes, Norwegian was used 95% of the time. To give further insight into the language use in lesson 1 (10th grade), excerpt 3A shows an example of the transition from English teacher to substitute teacher.

Excerpt 3A. School 1 (10th grade) Teacher transition in a substitute teacher lesson.

- Teacher: You can do it yourself or you can do it with someone else
- Teacher: There is a meeting. What do I do? I'll give it to [substitute teacher]. You can finish 14:50 because, because. 14:50.
- Substitute teacher: Jeg må sette sånn her [...] vi er ikke ferdig 14:30 ass [student name]. Hører du meg? [student name] focus. You have to focus.
- [English teacher leaves]
- Substitute teacher: Hvorfor grupperommet? Er det bråk her?
- Student: Nei men [inaudible]
- Substitute teacher: Ja to og to ja. Men skal du jobbe sammen med noen?

Looking at excerpt 3A, one can see how the English teacher leads the class using English predominantly. When the transition of teacher occurred, the English teacher stuck to English whilst the substitute teacher switched between Norwegian and English. After the English teacher had left, the excerpt showed how the substitute teacher used Norwegian when talking to a student. The excerpt also showed how the student mirrors the substitute teacher's language use, by answering in Norwegian.

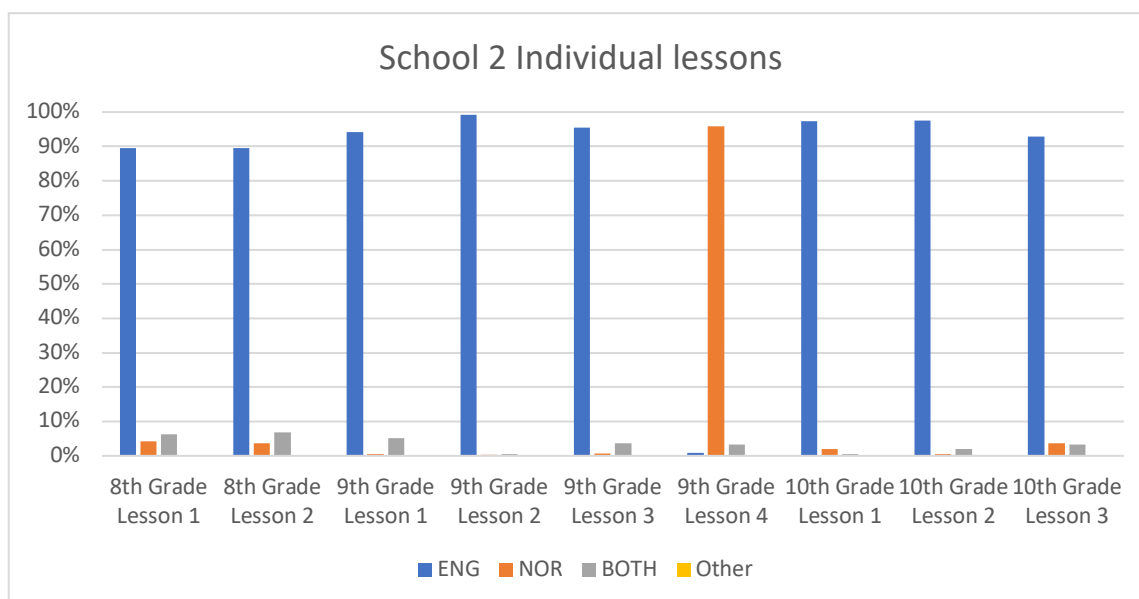


Figure 4.4. Languages spoken in the individual English lessons at school 2

As can be seen in Figure 4.4, language use across the classrooms in school 2 shows similar language patterns as Figure 4.2 (cf. section 4.1.2). The findings portrayed in Figure 4.4 shows how the language use in 8th, 9th and 10th grade kept a language pattern where English was the predominant language, except in lesson 4 in 9th grade which stood out from the language pattern. Interestingly, lesson 4 in 9th grade was a substitute teacher lesson, in which Norwegian was used for 96% of the time.

The findings in Figure 4.4 made it possible to label the different classrooms and the individual lessons in school 2 as high frequency English or Norwegian. All classrooms could be labelled high frequency English, with lesson 4 in 9th grade labelled high frequency Norwegian. In fact, this is the only lesson in school 2 which could be labelled as high frequency Norwegian.

In order to give further insight into language use in high frequency English lessons in school 2, I will present an excerpt from transcriptions of the observed video data. Excerpt 3B shows an example from 10th grade, where the teacher gave instruction to students about the task at hand.

Excerpt 3B. School 2 (10th grade) Teacher instruction in a high frequency English classroom.

Teacher: Ok any questions about what you're supposed to do? I'll give you five minutes, five minutes to discuss in your groups. Everybody has to bidra, everybody has to contribute to what's actually being said in the group. Yes please. Good. So you have a word bank you can use, and

you also have your own ideas too. And I want to get concrete examples, so give me examples, not just throw words out, there give me example where you see that in the book.

Student: See what in the book. Oh, oh themes.

Teacher: What you learned about the USA, by reading this book.

The excerpt showed how the teacher used English during instruction, with one example of codeswitching “Everybody has to bidra”. The excerpt also showed how the teacher and one student used English in conversation. This excerpt is an example of what language use looked like in high frequency English lessons, where the predominant language used by the teacher and students was English with examples of Norwegian words used through, for example, codeswitching.

4.3 Use of *other* languages

In this section, the use of other languages than English and Norwegian during English lessons will be presented. As stated in the methods chapter, the code OTHER was used when languages other than English and Norwegian was used. As the use of *other* was below 1%, the presentation of the use of *other* will be presented in seconds (Figure 4.5).

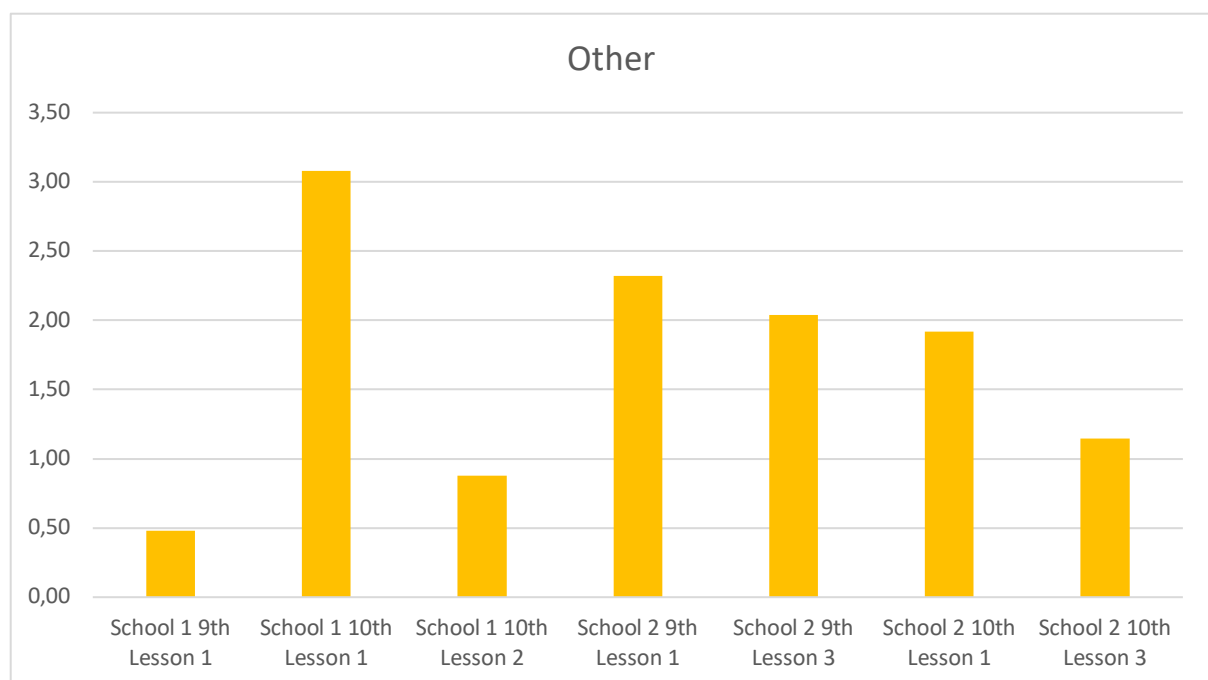


Figure 4.5. Use of *other* languages

As can be seen in Figure 4.5, not all classrooms had examples of use of other languages. The seven lessons presented in Figure 4.5, three from school 1 and four from school 2, showed short instances of use of *other* languages.

To give further insight into the use of other languages, I will present two excerpts from transcriptions of the observed video data from both schools, 4 excerpts total. Excerpt 4A shows an example from school 1 (9th grade), 4B shows an example from school 1 (10th grade), 4C shows an example from school 2 (9th grade), and 4D shows an example from school 2 (10th grade).

Excerpt 4A. School 1 (9th grade) French

Teacher: Yes [student name]. Oui.

Excerpt 4B. School 1 (10th grade) Spanish and French

Substitute teacher: [student name]. Please, focus. English. No habla Norvege.

Excerpt 4C. School 2 (9th grade) French and Latin

Teacher: Remember I taught you the French word séquestrer, which means keep together, hold together

Teacher: And Interestingly, urchin is from a Latin root hericius, I think.

Excerpt 4D. School 2 (10th grade) French and Spanish

Teacher: Amiable, another word we came across [student name]

Student: Being friendly

Teacher: Yeah.

Student: Like it comes from the French word for friend.

Teacher: Yeah it does, yeah. And what's the word for friend in

Student: Amie

Teacher: Amie. And that word, I think that word comes from, also comes from the word love, also love. Doesn't it? Amour. Je taime doesn't that mean love?

Student: Yeah

Student: In Spanish

Teacher: Amor

In excerpt 4A, the teacher used the French word for yes to start a conversation with a student. Excerpt 4B showed how a substitute teacher used both Spanish and French to tell students to speak English rather than Norwegian in class. In excerpt 4C, the teacher explained the etymology of the words *séquestrer* and *urchin*, words used in the lesson activities about climate change and Kelp forests. Excerpt 4D showed how the teacher and students discussed a word from a Quizlet they used during class. The teacher explained the word *amiable* by asking the students about the French and Spanish meaning of the word. The excerpts showed a difference in the use of other languages between the two schools. The use of *other* in school 1 showed how teachers used single, non-academic words or expressions when speaking to students. In school 2, the use of *other* was exclusively used to explain etymology or to compare languages (academic use, see Brevik & Rindal, 2020).

4.4 Summary of main findings

In this chapter, I have presented three main findings. Firstly, the differences in language use between the two schools indicated that the use of Norwegian was higher in school 1 than in school 2. Secondly, the differences between grades indicated how in school 1, language use did not follow a natural increase, meaning that the use of English did not increase from 8th to 10th grade, but rather decreased from 8th to 9th grade and then increased from 9th to 10th grade, which showed how teacher dependent language use was. In school 2, language use showed patterns which indicated how the use of English stayed at approximately the same percentage, however, decreased slightly in 9th grade, then increased in 10th grade. If language use in lesson 4 was not counted towards the total percentage of language use in school 2 9th grade, the language use across the different grades in school 2 would show patterns of a natural increase in language use where English use would increase from 8th to 9th grade, and English use in 9th and 10th grade would be at the same percentage.

Lastly, the findings indicated how individual lessons in each grade might vary considering language use, and the categorization of high frequency English or Norwegian. Although the classrooms could be categorized as high frequency English or Norwegian, the individual lessons might be categorized otherwise. This supports Brevik and Rindal's (2020) specification that language practices are more flexible than the labels indicate. The main result which can be taken from this chapter, is that language use depended vastly on the individual teacher. The high frequency Norwegian classroom, school 1 (9th grade), and the two substitute teacher lessons, school 1 (10th grade lesson 1) and school 2 (9th grade lesson 4), are examples of how

language use varied depending on the individual teacher. The results showed how most of the English teachers stuck to specific language patterns across their lessons. The variation in language use across three levels – schools, classrooms, and lessons, will be discussed in detail in the next chapter, by discussing language use in light of theory and prior research.

5.0 Discussion

In the previous chapter, I presented my main findings. First, I found variation in language use across the six different English classrooms where there was a varying degree of use of other languages than English, predominantly Norwegian. These classrooms were labelled either as high frequency English or high frequency Norwegian. The variation in language use across the six classrooms presented itself through variation between the different teachers and between the two schools. In this chapter, my main findings will be discussed in light of prior research and relevant theory, in order to investigate my research question:

What characterizes language use during English lessons in six bilingual classrooms?

Throughout this chapter, I discuss how languages are used in six bilingual classrooms in Norway. The field of research considering language use in bilingual classrooms is relatively small in the Norwegian context, and I argue that the findings and discussion of this MA study offer new insight into this research field. Prior research on language use in L2 English classrooms in Norway has focused on teachers' language use in 'regular' L2 English classrooms (Brevik & Rindal, 2020), whilst prior research on bilingual classrooms has focused on classroom practices and student perspectives in CLIL classrooms in Norway (Mahan, 2020, Mahan et al., 2018).

In order to discuss the data thematically, the main findings identified in this study will be grouped into three main themes; Language use across classrooms (5.1), possible explanations for individual language practices (5.2), and language use between the two schools, including patterns of a collective language practice in one of the schools (5.3). Lastly, section 5.4 will discuss didactic implications.

5.1 Language use across L2 English classrooms in Norway

Research has shown that English is the predominant language used in L2 English classrooms, due to e.g. assumptions about appropriate L2 language learning (cf. section 2.1.1, Cook, 2001; Hall & Cook, 2012), although language use varies vastly between classrooms (Brevik & Rindal, 2020). Brevik and Rindal (2020) uncovered how “the most transparent insight concerns variation in the use of English in these classrooms” (p. 945), although teachers were expected

to speak mainly English in class (Brevik & Rindal, 2020; Krulatz et al., 2016). The findings of this MA study align with this statement, as this study uncovered variation in language use, especially the amount of English and Norwegian, across six classrooms.

5.1.1 A comparison of language use

The findings of this MA study show how L2 English was used extensively by almost all English teachers; the teachers spoke English 32-96% of the time, 68% on average across the six classrooms, aligning with the findings of Brevik and Rindal (2020), which presented how English was used 77% across seven classrooms. A key result of this study is the labelling of high frequency English and high frequency Norwegian classrooms, based on the variations in language use. In their study, Brevik and Rindal (2020) found that the use of English in high frequency English classrooms varied between 77% and 97%, whilst the findings in this MA study found that the use of English in high frequency English classrooms varied between 59% and 96%.

The overall patterns of language use show how a majority of the teachers emphasised the use of English. In both studies, high frequency English classrooms drew extensively on the target language. In Brevik and Rindal (2020), high frequency Norwegian classrooms “contained long stretches of pedagogical use of Norwegian (28-51%)”, whilst the use of Norwegian in the one high frequency Norwegian classroom in my study contained both pedagogical and non-academic use of Norwegian (65%). Notably, aligning with Brevik and Rindal (2020), the teachers’ language use in L2 English classrooms appear to have connection to the amount of teacher experience (cf. section 3.3). In my study, the teacher who used Norwegian the most had the least teaching experience (0-5 years), similar to the findings in Brevik and Rindal (2020, p. 935). Looking at the findings from this MA study in relation to Brevik and Rindal (2020), the findings show how each classroom becomes a unique context considering language use, as each teacher has their own individual practice concerning the amount of English and Norwegian language use. The findings suggest that L2 use in English lessons in bilingual classrooms align with that in regular classrooms.

5.1.2 Language approaches

The findings indicate how language practices vary between the classrooms labelled as high frequency English and high frequency Norwegian. Firstly, the high frequency English classrooms, with the exception of school 1 (10th grade), show language use which arguably

follows the principle, or share attributes, of the direct method, where the students are exposed to the target language through immersion – as much L2 input as possible (Brevik et al., 2020; Cummins, 2008; Ellis, 1997; Hall & Cook, 2012). School 1 (10th grade) is also a high frequency English classroom, although this label is borderline (cf. section 4.1.3). It shares attributes of both the monolingual and bilingual approach. Although English is the predominant language used, Norwegian is used 38% of the time. The language use can arguably indicate how the students are exposed to L2 input through immersion, at the same time as the use of L1 is available to the students, and not prevented by the teacher. Due to the presented language use, it could be argued that the language use indeed indicates a bilingual language practice where English and Norwegian are combined.

Secondly, the relatively high L1 use in the observed high frequency Norwegian classroom (65%) indicate how the teacher in school 1 (9th grade) allows a significant amount of Norwegian to be used. Interestingly, although the teacher allows use of Norwegian, the teacher still encourages students to use English, cf. excerpt 2C – a principle of the monolingual approach. As also shown in Brevik and Rindal (2020), encouraging students to use English is more common in high frequency Norwegian classrooms. However, the analysis shows how both the target language and language of schooling is used in the L2 classroom, either intentionally or spontaneously. Without extrapolating too much, it is possible to consider the language use of a substitute teacher to be less intentional and more flexible than that of a regular English teacher.

Looking at the language practices from each classroom, as discussed above, most teachers used a general language pattern. A *general language pattern* in this MA study implies that the teachers used the same languages in the same manner across individual lessons. The language use across individual lessons (cf. section 4.2) suggests it does not deviate from the general language pattern unique to the individual teacher. These general language patterns might reflect the teachers' individual assumptions about appropriate language use. However, as shown in the results (cf. section 4.2), there are some exceptions to the general language patterns across classrooms. This will be discussed further in section 5.2.2.

5.1.3 The use of *codeswitching* and *other* languages across classrooms

The theory chapter presented *codeswitching* as a bilingual marker which occurs naturally among bilinguals (Cook, 2001; Hall & Cook, 2012; Macaro, 2005). In line with prior research, one 'common' type of codeswitching is the rapid switching between languages which can occur

within a sentence, as seen in excerpt 3B; “*everyone has to bidra*”, or between two speakers in interaction, as seen in excerpt 1A; “*kan vi sitte hvor vi vil? Yes you can sit wherever you want*” (McKay 2002). It is interesting that the use of *codeswitching* (cf. sections 2.1.1 and 2.1.2), in the form of interchangeable use of *both* English and Norwegian by one or more speakers, is quite low across the six classrooms (2-7%). As one aim of the bilingual programs is to increase English proficiency through bilingual teaching, and as codeswitching is a sign of bilingualism, one would imagine codeswitching to be a natural part of the bilingual classes. It would be beneficial to investigate the use of codeswitching in the form of interchangeable use of *both* languages in bilingual classrooms further, in order to investigate how both languages are used and why the percentage is quite low in this study.

The findings of this MA study also identified how *other* languages were hardly used in bilingual teaching. Brevik and Rindal (2020) also found that other languages than English and Norwegian were hardly used in the L2 English classrooms, with the exception of a few examples, despite other languages being represented in student’s language repertoires. The analysed data of this MA study, indicated how this finding in Brevik and Rindal (2020) is also evident in bilingual classrooms. As the findings of this study shows, other languages were used less than 1% of the time, although 31-74% of the students had a different L1 than Norwegian (cf. Table 3.4). The findings indicate how the teachers in school 1 used other languages either through random single words or short sentences when conversing with students, while the teachers in school 2 used other languages in order to explain etymology and terminology; specifically, explaining the meaning and root of different English words. Although the teachers were open to the brief use of other languages, the findings indicate how the teachers do not take advantage of the represented language repertoires in the classroom nor encourage students to speak their own L1. The findings show how the very limited use of other languages centres around majority languages offered as separate school subjects or root languages such as Spanish, French, Latin, and Greek. This was also found in Brevik and Rindal (2020).

Of note, the findings show how one teacher used other languages as a strategy for language learning, similar to one of the teachers in Brevik and Rindal (2020). Looking at excerpt 4D, the teacher and students in school 2 (10th grade) provided the words *amiable* in English, *amie*, *amour* and *je t’aime* in French, as well as *amor* in Spanish. As stated in Brevik and Rindal (2020), this type of interaction with other language can benefit all students in the classroom, as it allows for opportunities to hear and speak other languages in order to build their L2 English

proficiency. However, it is interesting how other languages represented in students' language repertoires were not present in the L2 classroom. If the teacher uses the language of schooling because of the students' language identity or "if the role of the teacher is [to] model appropriate language use" (Brevik & Rindal, 2020, p. 947), then other L1's represented in the classroom should arguably also be present.

5.1.4 A note on bilingual classrooms

Similar to the findings in this MA study and the findings of Brevik and Rindal (2020), Mahan (2020) also found that the L2 was extensively used in three upper secondary CLIL classrooms; in her study, English was used by the teachers and students 83-97% of the time. Mahan's (2020) study did not specify any variation between the teachers considering language use. However, as the use of the L2 was higher in the upper secondary classrooms in her study compared to my findings in lower secondary school (59-96%), this might suggest how students in upper secondary CLIL classrooms are more proficient users of English. Furthermore, the extensive use of the L2 in both the bilingual classes in both her study and my MA study might reflect how English in bilingual L2 classrooms in Norway is both an aim and a medium of instruction, and how the competence level of Norwegian students is high enough to use and learn English through exposure and dialogue (Mahan, 2020, Rindal, 2014). As the teachers use English in order to teach the students *through* language in addition to language being an educational object itself, this might indicate how L2 English functions as more of a *de facto second language* in Norway (cf. section 2.4.1, Rindal, 2014).

5.2 Possible explanations for individual language practices

The findings identified how variation in language use was evident across classrooms, indicating individual teacher practices. The variation across individual lessons confirm this, as the majority of the lessons which stand out from the general language pattern of the classrooms is substitute teacher lessons. The one high frequency Norwegian classroom is the only example where the teacher shows individual language practices which vary considerably between lessons. This MA study has not investigated teacher backgrounds, nor asked the teachers about specific reasons for their individual language practices. However, by using theory and prior research, this section will discuss some possible explanations for individual language practices – including teacher beliefs about appropriate language use (5.2.1), language pattern exceptions (5.2.2), and L2 input (5.2.3).

5.2.1 Teacher beliefs about appropriate language use

One possible explanation for the individual language practices is individual assumptions of appropriate language use, how the individual teachers might believe that specific language practices is appropriate when teaching English. The variation in language use across classrooms might indicate that individual teacher assumptions could explain language practices, as each English teacher in my study has their own, general language pattern that they follow. The explanation of individual language assumptions is closely linked to the debate considering ‘L1 in L2 classrooms’ (cf. section 2.1.1) and language approaches (cf. section 2.3), considering how different approaches to teaching the L2 has been discussed in order to find an “appropriate” language approach. Indicators of language approaches across the classrooms has been discussed in section 5.1.2.

Looking at the findings in this MA study, all teachers use the L1 (Norwegian) in the L2 classroom, although this use varies (2-65%). This might suggest how the individual language assumptions of the teachers do not consider the L1 as detrimental, but rather as a tool for language acquisition (Cook, 2001; Grim, 2010; Hall & Cook, 2012). The difference in L1 use between the teachers might, however, suggest how the individual language assumptions vary between those who lean towards a monolingual approach where the L1 is used in shorter interaction as a language tool through codeswitching (cf. section 5.1.1, Hall & Cook, 2012) and those who lean towards a bilingual approach where the L1 and L2 is used bilingually, which in turn might build on a shared language proficiency, linked to CULP (cf. section 2.1.1, Carlsen, 2020). This possible explanation for individual language practices can arguably align with the findings in Tveiten (2019).

Tveiten (2019) found that language use and language practices vary between classrooms based on individual teacher beliefs about appropriate language use and language ideals (cf. section 2.6.2, Kagan, 1992). The study found that reported language beliefs coincided with observation data, especially the amount of languages used. Tveiten (2019) uncovered how language use varies in L2 English classrooms in Norway, which coincide with the individual teachers’ belief about what appropriate language use is and the language use the teacher aimed at based on how they desire the use of language to be in the classroom. Due to the lack of set guidelines in bilingual teaching (cf. section 1.1.1), it is relevant to imagine that individual teacher beliefs and language ideals might play a part in the individual teacher practices across the six classrooms in this study, too. As language practices could be linked to individual assumptions about

appropriate language use, one can argue that these assumptions are linked to individual teacher beliefs and language ideals about language use, specifically considering the use of ‘the L1 in the L2 classroom’ (cf. section 2.1.1 & 2.6.2, Kagan, 1992, Tveiten, 2019). Since this MA study does not look at teacher beliefs, nor has the opportunity to investigate teacher beliefs based solely on video data, it would be interesting to investigate teacher beliefs in bilingual classrooms in order to get further insight into teachers’ language practices. This will be discussed as an avenue for further research in section 6.1.

5.2.2 Language pattern exceptions

Although most classrooms showed a *general language pattern* used across the individual lessons (cf. section 5.1.2), where the teachers used the same languages in the same manner across all individual lessons, some lessons deviated from this language pattern. Language use deviating from a general language pattern suggest how language practices might not always be deliberate. Three lessons deviate from the general language patterns presented in three classrooms: the teacher in 9th grade from school 1, and the two substitute teachers.

Firstly, looking at school 1 (9th grade), the presented results show how the first lesson stands out from the rest as a high frequency English lesson in a high frequency Norwegian classroom. I expected to identify language patterns similar to that of the other classrooms, where either the L1 or L2 is used predominantly across the individual lessons, meaning that I expected to find a similar language pattern in lesson 1 as the other lessons in this 9th grade classroom. It is interesting how English was used considerably more than in the other lessons, consequently being labelled a high frequency English lesson in a high frequency Norwegian classroom. One possible explanation for the language use in this lesson could be that this was the first lesson filmed during data collection, which might indicate reactivity (cf. section 3.6.2, Blikstad-Balas, 2017). Another possible explanation could be that the teacher believed English to be the appropriate language for an introductory lesson (Brevik et al., 2020). This cannot, however, be answered based on video data only.

Secondly, looking at school 1 (10th grade, lesson 1) and school 2 (9th grade, lesson 4) the substitute teacher lessons, the results show how these lessons are labelled as high frequency Norwegian in high frequency English classrooms. The two substitute teacher lessons are labelled differently than the rest of the lessons in school 1 (10th grade) and school 2 (9th grade), aligning with the concept of individual language practices. The substitute teachers deviate from

the language pattern of the regular English teachers, following their own, individual practices. One explanation for the language use in the two substitute teacher lessons could be that they might not have built-up teaching practices considering language use. Another explanation might be that the substitute teachers are not used to teaching English, which could result in a higher use of Norwegian in order to create a safe learning space (Hall & Cook, 2012).

5.2.3 Student needs and L2 Input

Another possible explanation for individual language practices might be how different student groups present varying language proficiency levels, where the teacher might adapt language practices to the specific language understanding and proficiency of the learners (Gass & Selinker, 1994). Differences in language proficiency between student groups is closely linked to the L2 input produced by the teacher which students are exposed to. *Teacher talk* has been found to comprise the majority of coded spoken time in the six bilingual classrooms, aligning with prior research stating that teacher talk make up the majority of input in L2 classrooms (cf. section 2.2, & 4.1.1, Cook, 2001; Ellis, 1994; Levine, 2011). Teacher talk in L2 classrooms is linked to the ‘L1 in L2 classrooms’ debate, as the amount of L2 input exposure might vary depending on individual teacher language practices (Ellis, 1994, 1997; Hall & Cook, 2012; Levine, 2011).

A teacher’s language practice has implications on the amount of L2 input the students are exposed to. Gass and Selinker (1994) argued that input needs to be adapted to the specific language understanding and proficiency of the specific learner, instead of overexposing students to teacher talk. The question of L2 input needs to be discussed in light of English activities outside school, which is increasing in use amongst students in the Norwegian context (cf. section 2.4.1, Brevik, 2019; Rindal, 2019; Sundqvist & Sylvén, 2016). As exposure to the English language, and L2 input, is found also outside school, the appropriate language use of the teacher can be argued to both mirror the students’ language level based on language proficiency and exposure in and out of school. As every teacher’s language practice, and every student group, is unique, this makes each classroom a different context considering language use and L2 input (Brevik & Rindal, 2020; Cummins, 1976; Hall & Cook, 2012). Therefore, the variation in language use suggest how the amount of L1 and L2 use in the different classrooms in this MA study might be appropriate, as each classroom has a different student group.

Although a majority of input in L2 English classrooms is through *teacher talk* (Cook, 2001), the increased use of English activities at home allows for language exposure and L2 input to happen both in and out of school. Thus, L2 input through *teacher talk* might not deprive the students of vital L2 input in the classroom, due to the increasing L2 input they are exposed to outside of school. Furthermore, the English input they are exposed to across contexts, as stated in section 2.4.1, allows the students to adapt English exposure to their own language needs through individually chosen activities. Therefore, the question of whether the L2 input which students are exposed to in the classroom through teacher talk is enough (Ellis, 1994; Gass & Selinker, 1994; Levine, 2011) might not be as necessary, as students are exposed to L2 input both in and outside school.

5.3 Language use across the two schools

The findings identified how differences between the classrooms indicated variations in language use across the two schools. In this section, I discuss this variation – especially looking at individual vs collective language practices (5.3.1), and a note on identity (5.3.2).

5.3.1 Individual vs collective language practices

The findings suggest that there is a considerable difference in language use between the two schools. The overall language patterns show how L2 English was used between 32% and 96% of the time. As shown in Figure 4.2 (cf. section 4.1.2), the use of English varied from 32% to 84% in school 1, and from 80% and 96% in school 2. The findings indicate how more instances of data coded for high frequency English was identified in school 2, whilst more instances of Norwegian use were identified in school 1 (10-65%). The variations in language use between the two schools show language patterns which indicates how the two schools behave differently. Although individual variations between the classrooms occur, school 2 shows a clear, consistent behaviour regarding language use where English is the predominant language across classrooms, whilst language use across classrooms in school 1 seems to consist of considerable individual variation.

The most transparent insight concerns variation in language practices between two schools which offer the same type of bilingual programs. The teachers in school 2 seem to share similar attributes in their language practices, although they have different student groups. The use of English in school 2 might suggest how the students learn language through immersion. Norwegian is mostly used for scaffolding and terminology, whilst *other* languages are arguably

used pedagogically, specifically for terminology and etymology, in line with the national curricula (UDIR, 2013, 2020). It is of particular interest how language use in school 1 varies across the three grades, where either English or Norwegian is used as the predominant language. The languages used suggest how 8th grade at school 1 shares similar attributes as school 2, where the findings suggest that the students are exposed to the L2 through immersion. 9th grade at school 1, on the other hand, draws extensively on the language of schooling – where Norwegian is used 65% of the time whilst English is used 32% of the time. Lastly, 10th grade draws on both the target language and the language of schooling, although the L2 is predominantly used – English being used 59% of the time whilst Norwegian is used 38% of the time.

As presented throughout this chapter, the classrooms show varying individual language practices considering language use. By looking closer at language use across the two schools, the findings indicate how *individual language practices* are more prominent in school 1, suggesting that the teachers might draw on individual beliefs about appropriate language use (Brevik et al., 2020). The teachers in school 2, on the other hand, draw on similar language practices across classrooms – which in this MA study will be categorized as *a collective language practice*.

The use of *other* languages also suggests a difference between the two schools, as school 2 specifically uses other languages for pedagogical purposes whilst school 1 uses other languages for non-academic conversations with students. Based on this realisation, one main finding of this MA study was how language use varied between two schools which offer the same bilingual program. Looking at the differences considering language use between the two schools, it seems as though the two schools interpret the bilingual offer differently. The language practices identified in school 1 could perhaps suggest an interpretation of bilingual teaching as teaching where the L1 and L2 should be used bilingually even in the L2 classroom, in a varying degree based on individual teacher assumptions about appropriate language use. The language practices identified in school 2 might in turn suggest an interpretation of bilingual teaching where the L2 should be the predominant language with short instances of the L1 as a practical or strategic tool for language acquisition, perhaps where the teachers share assumptions about appropriate language use. Thus, the differences in language practices identified in this study suggest how school 1 might interpret the L2 classroom as bilingual similar to the other subjects in the program, whilst school 2 might interpret the L2 classroom

as monolingual in terms of language learned through immersion. However, since bilingual teaching refers to the use of two languages, and since Norwegian is indeed used in the L2 classrooms in school 2 as well, this might be a matter of adapting the language use to students' needs in both schools.

5.3.2 A note on identity in bilingual classrooms

The theory chapter presented *identity* as an important aspect considering language learning and language use (Brevik, 2019; Carlsen, 2020; Gee, 2017; Rindal, 2019, 2014), especially in relation to how English language input is shifting from the English classroom to English activities outside school (Brevik, 2019; Rindal, 2019; Sundqvist & Sylvén, 2016). The theory chapter also presented how the English language is closely linked to activity-based language identity for bilingual students (Brevik & Doetjes, 2020, Gee, 2017, Rindal, 2014). Due to the importance the English language holds for bilingual students' identity, it might be surprising that the use of English varied considerably between the two schools, and how the use of English in some classrooms was quite low. At the same time, it was not surprising to identify extensive Norwegian use in some classrooms, as some of the bilingual students who participated in the ETOS project expressed disappointment over the fact that English did not occur more during their lessons (Brevik & Doetjes, 2020). Considering the different language profiles of the two schools, one can argue that one school might meet the assumed expectations of the students considering language use in a more relevant manner.

5.4 Didactic implications

There are no "correct" answers considering what language use should look like in the L2 English classroom, pertaining to the debate considering 'L1 in the L2 classrooms' (cf. section 2.1). There are no guidelines in the English subject curriculum stating how the English language should be used, or how much the L1 and L2 should be used in the classroom, although the main purpose of teaching English is to build communicative competence (cf. section 1.1, UDIR, 2013, 2020). Communicative competence entails being able to use the English language (Cook, 2001), which arguably requires students to be exposed to input and produce output (Ellis, 1997, Swain, 1985). The English subject is important in bilingual teaching, as the English subject becomes the classroom where the students' L2 language progress further. Considering how these students choose to become part of a bilingual program, bilingualism thus becoming part of their activity-based language identity (Brevik & Doetjes, 2020; Gee, 2017; Rindal, 2014), one would perhaps expect the English subject in bilingual teaching to 'stand out' from other L2

English classrooms in Norway. The findings of this MA study indicate, however, that the English subject in bilingual teaching does not stand out from ‘regular’ L2 English classrooms, researched in Brevik and Rindal (2020).

The variation in language use found in this study might be due to a lack of set guidelines in the English subject curriculum. However, it might also indicate language awareness by the teachers, who are used to allowing for the use of L1 to support the L2 in content subjects. Teacher talk has been found to comprise the majority of input in L2 English classrooms (Cook, 2001), and the teacher’s language choice has vast implications on the input present in the classroom. When there are no set guidelines for language use, teachers must make decisions on their own, which might acknowledge the L1 as a resource in L2 teaching and learning. The question is whether the L1 is used strategically for this purpose, which would be an avenue for further research. Individual language practices and assumptions about appropriate language use has been found to implicate the language use in L2 English classrooms. The findings of this study and prior research has shown how language use in some classrooms draws primarily on the L2, suggesting an assumption that maximizing English use is considered an appropriate language practice in L2 classrooms. Through the analysis of the findings in this study, as also presented in Brevik and Rindal (2020), it is shown how language use varies between classrooms in Norway, even classrooms where the L1 and L2 are taught bilingually.

Theory and prior research suggest that language use will differ based on a plethora of variables, such as individual language practices and beliefs about appropriate language use. I argue that the target language and the language of schooling, as well as other languages which make up student language repertoires, should be used as building blocks for students’ language learning, especially in bilingual L2 English classrooms. It is important to use the target language, as well as using the target language and the language of schooling together, in order to create further understanding of the L2.

Furthermore, the findings arguably suggest a need for critical reflection considering the use of Norwegian in bilingual classrooms, “for unchecked [the L1] will be used most frequently in communicative contexts that might undermine rather than support maximal L2 use” (Levine, 2011, p. 100). Although subjects are taught in both the L1 and L2 in bilingual programs, due to the status of the English classroom in these programs, the use of Norwegian might be reserved for situations when needed in order to further the student’s language proficiency. The most

important take from this MA study is that although language use will vary across classrooms, as bilingual teachers and student groups are different, it is important that students in bilingual teaching has the opportunity to use both languages in their language learning.

Lastly, the theoretical framework and findings of this MA study suggests how allowing for the students to be part of the decision regarding language use and content in L2 lessons might be beneficial, as their English for activities outside school, their activity-based identity and language identity might then be represented. Since students in bilingual classes choose to apply to, and become part of, the bilingual community, this in turn makes the bilingual program a part of their activity-based identity. At the same time as students' language learning is increasingly dependent on their use of English outside school, including students in the decision regarding language use and content would ensure, to some extent, that the students' expectations would be met as well as their individual language needs would be catered for.

6.0 Conclusion

In this final chapter, I summarize the data material and findings of the present study. I will also offer some suggestions for further research (6.1). Finally, I offer some concluding remarks on my study (6.2). This MA study has aimed to answer the overarching research question:

What characterizes language use during English lessons in six bilingual classrooms?

I have used 20 hours of recorded video data from the ETOS project, as well as excerpts from transcriptions of video data, collected during four weeks at the research site – two lower secondary schools which offer bilingual programs. The findings resulting from the analysis of the collected data were compared to the findings presented in Brevik and Rindal (2020). The study found language variation across three levels in the findings: variations across the classrooms, between the individual lessons, as well as between the two schools. These three variations can be categorized in two main findings: a variation on individual teacher level, and variation on school level.

6.1 Summary of findings

The first main finding shows how language use seems teacher dependant. The findings of this MA study uncovered considerable differences between classrooms, similar to Brevik and Rindal (2020). Both across the different classrooms but also across the individual lessons, language use depended on what appears to be individual language approaches (Brevik et al., 2020), perhaps linked to teacher beliefs about appropriate language use (Hall & Cook, 2012; Kagan, 1992; Tveiten, 2019). English was the predominant language used across the majority of the classrooms, and language use made it possible to label the classrooms as either high frequency English or high frequency Norwegian.

The second main finding shows variation in language use between the two schools. School 2 shows more instances of data coded for high frequency English, whilst school 1 shows more instances of data coded for use of Norwegian, as well as instances of data coded as high frequency English. The two schools show different approaches to language use, as school 2 shows evidence of a *collective language practice*, whilst school 1 shows evidence of *individual language practices*. The findings suggest how it seems as though the two schools either

interpret the bilingual program differently or pertain to different student needs, but also how one school might meet the assumed language expectations of the students in a more relevant manner. The use of other languages also supports the identification of different language practices between the two schools. Whilst school 2 specifically uses other languages for pedagogical purposes, school 1 uses other languages for non-academic conversations with students. The main implication of this MA study is that involving students in language practices for bilingual teaching might be beneficial.

6.2 Suggestions for further research

There is limited research on bilingual teaching in Norway, specifically on language use in the English classroom. I therefore offer some specific suggestions for further research in this context below.

Firstly, it would be very interesting to look at student language use in bilingual teaching, in light of the findings considering teacher language use in this MA study. It would be interesting to see if there is a difference in language use between teachers and students. Also, it would be interesting to see if students' language use show variations between classrooms and schools, similar to the teachers presented in this MA study.

Secondly, I argue that teacher beliefs in bilingual teaching should be investigated further. It would be interesting to see what drives the teacher's language use, as this MA study found considerable differences between the individual teachers.

Thirdly, it would be interesting to investigate bilingual teaching in light of identity and use of English outside school. I argue that the role of language identity for students in bilingual programs should be investigated to a larger degree. How much does language identity colour language use in bilingual teaching. In light of this, I believe it would be interesting to see how identity influences the students' language use in bilingual teaching. I also suggest that how teachers consider the students' language identity in their language practices would be interesting to investigate further.

6.3 Concluding remarks

The process of writing this MA study has been very educational, both from a professional and a research perspective. Through theoretical and practical work, including data collection and

data analysis, it has become clear to me that the use of language in L2 English classrooms, regular or bilingual, is very teacher dependent. I have developed the belief that language choices made by teachers should incorporate the students' opinions through their language repertoires and language identities when teaching the L2. This will, without a doubt, influence my future language teaching in my own L2 English classroom. I also believe that the implementation of bilingual teaching in Norway is a unique opportunity to create an atmosphere where students who identify with the English language can create their English language profile further and develop into international citizens. Considering the role English plays in young Norwegians' everyday life, I believe bilingual teaching should be an accessible study opportunity for all Norwegian students.

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