

# Ambulating teachers

A case study of bilingual teachers and teacher collaboration

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Hamar, 22 March 2013

Joke Dewilde

Marianne Skytte has given me permission to reproduce her model on the dimensions of freedom in individualistic and collectivistic life stances.

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# 1 INTRODUCTION

The kernel of this dissertation is a two-case study of bilingual education, bilingual teachers and teacher collaboration in primary and lower secondary school in Norway. The main objective of the study is to contribute to a better understanding of educational challenges and possibilities related to bilingual teachers' collaboration with other teachers in the education of emergent bilingual pupils in Norwegian compulsory schools. Hence, the bilingual teachers Maryam and Mohammed, working at Bergåsen barneskole (a primary school) and Ullstad ungdomsskole (a lower secondary school) respectively, are at the centre of my cases.<sup>1</sup> Both speak several languages, but Arabic is the main language Maryam shares with her pupils, and in Mohammed's case this is Somali.

In the main title of this thesis Maryam and Mohammed are described as ambulating teachers. This characteristic is chosen for two reasons. In the first place, being on the move is a vital characteristic of bilingual teachers' everyday life and working situation. Marko Valenta (2009) calls them "travelling teachers" (p. 32), stressing the fact that many bilingual teachers travel between several schools, attending to the teaching needs of a small number of pupils in each school. This is also true of the two teachers in my study. Both of them taught at three different schools, but Mohammed only worked at one of his schools on any given day, whereas Maryam often drove from one school to another during a break, covering two of her schools in the same day. However, they were not just travelling between schools. As I will demonstrate in the analyses of my two cases (see PARTS II and III), Maryam and Mohammed were also ambulating teachers within the boundaries of the schools where I observed them. This means that they were more often than other teachers on the move between classrooms, group rooms, and team rooms, and in a more figurative sense also between a wider range of subjects, grades, languages and cultures.

The term *ambulating teachers* also relates to the approach I have chosen in order to study these two teachers and their collaboration with others. Bilingual teachers live

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<sup>1</sup> The names of the schools, teachers and pupils have been anonymised, and the names used are therefore pseudonyms. In Norway, teachers are on a first-name basis with their pupils at all levels of state education. Czerniawski (2011) explains that the use of words 'sir' and 'miss' is anathema in Norwegian culture, and that from a linguist point of view Norwegians do not have a word for 'sir' and 'miss'. So pupils would never use these words, and parents and teachers would not expect them to do so either. On this basis, I have also used the teachers' and head's first names in this thesis.

“mobile [working] lives” (Büscher, Urry, & Witchger, 2011, p. 2), and this requires a methodological approach that is able to “move with, and be moved by, the fleeting, distributed, multiple, non-causal, sensory, emotional and kinaesthetic” (p. 1). I have developed and used a discursive shadowing technique (see Chapter 3), which has enabled me to observe my bilingual teachers by moving with them through work days at their main school, at the same time as I have recorded conversations between them and their colleagues or pupils, as well as conversations on the move between my informants and myself.

## BACKGROUND

There are many reasons why I chose to carry out research into issues related to the fields of bilingualism, bilingual education and teacher collaboration. On the one hand, they are connected to societal changes due to globalisation, which have created particular educational challenges and greatly increased the need for research based knowledge about bilingualism and bilingual education in general, and, more specifically, on the status, qualifications and work of bilingual teachers. On the other hand, my professional as well as personal background has played a role in my choice.

According to Else Ryen (2009), “Norwegian White Papers, teachers and school managers all express the importance of having bilingual teachers in the Norwegian school” (p. 117). Typically, these mention the teachers’ role as conveyors of and models for identity, and they point to the impact of bilingual teachers as professionals and adults in the multicultural school. However, bilingual teachers make up only a small percentage of the total teaching force in Norway, and several researchers have drawn attention to their low status in the Norwegian educational system (for example Engen & Ryen, 2009; Hvistendahl, 2009b; Myklebust, 1993; Valenta, 2009).

As I will discuss in greater detail in Chapter 11, the terminology used to describe teachers with an immigrant background in official documents and research from Norway may be confusing. Dewilde and Kulbrandstad (in preparation) note that an important distinction which is seldom made is between teachers with an immigrant background employed as mainstream teachers on the one hand and as teachers in mother tongue and bilingual subject teachers on the other. In fact, the term ‘bilingual teachers’ is mainly used to cover all teachers with an immigrant background, irrespective of their roles, whereas

the term mother tongue teachers is mainly used to refer to teachers who carry out the two specific tasks of mother tongue instruction and bilingual subject teaching. In this thesis, however, I use the term *bilingual teachers*, even though I only am studying them in their roles as mother tongue teachers, in order to emphasise their entire communicative repertoire which they draw upon for teaching and learning.

The total number of teachers with an immigrant background employed in Norway is unknown. Rambøll Management (2008) reports that the exact number of teachers involved in mother tongue and bilingual subject teaching is uncertain due to the lack of reliable national sources. They also suspect that many of these teachers may be registered twice, as they very often work at several schools. As Kjeldstadli (2008) notes, the teaching staff in Norwegian schools are mainly ethnic Norwegian, and so is the recruitment of students in teacher training.

As mentioned above, bilingual teachers have been called “travelling teachers” (Valenta, 2009, p. 32) because they very often work in part time positions at different schools.<sup>2</sup> Kjeldstadli (2008) links their low status precisely to their travelling: “Mother tongue teachers in the school do not hold the same status, and are seldom employed at just one school and are therefore not able to make their mark on the institution” (p. 119; my translation). Rambøll Management (2006) also notes that a high percentage of them lack formal qualifications, and the Government’s Strategic Plan *Equal education in practice!* (Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research [NMER], 2004–2009, p. 4) points out that there is a great shortage of qualified teachers in this field, that many of those who currently work as mother tongue and bilingual teachers lack formal qualifications, and that they only have mother tongue teaching duties thus underscoring the need for greater breadth in their professional competence, a concern which is also repeated in the most recent Strategic Plan *Kompetanse for kvalitet* [Competence for quality] (NMER, 2012–2015, p. 14).

In 2005, a three year subject teacher training programme for bilinguals was established (Ringen & Kjørven, 2009). Prior to this, Norway offered only short and limited qualification courses for mother tongue teachers, none of which could be compared to other teacher training programmes. Consequently, the post of mother tongue teacher was

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<sup>2</sup> In comparison, Vibe, Evensen, and Hovdhaugen (2009, p. 26) report that only 0.5 per cent of the total teaching force in Norway work at more than one school.

for a long time the only teacher position which did not require formal qualifications (Valenta & Berg, 2008), and has hence had “an extremely low degree of professionalism” (Norberg, 1991, p. 23; my translation).

This was changed in 2007 by the Regulation to the Education Act Section 14–4 which deals with mother tongue teachers for pupils from linguistic minorities. It states that in order for someone to be employed as a mother tongue teacher one of the following requirements must be satisfied:

- Teacher training from the home country and documented good Norwegian language skills
- Teacher with the same language background as the learner: University and/or university college education of an overall length of at least 3 years including approved teacher training, and documented good Norwegian language skills. 1 1/2 years of training must include the language and culture of the learner
- Norwegian language teacher who does not have the same native language as the learner: University and/or university college education in the pupil’s language that combined accounts for at least 90 ECTs, and a good knowledge of the cultural background of the pupil, in addition to the approved training programme
- 3 year subject teacher training programme for bilinguals pursuant to the approved plan. Appointment can be made for teaching when the teacher has the same mother tongue as the pupil (my translation)

In sum, bilingual teachers employed to teach mother tongue instruction or provide bilingual subject support need a good command of the language and culture of the emergent bilingual pupils, and of the Norwegian language and culture. However, there are no requirements directly linked to the teaching of these pupils in a specific subject. As I will discuss in Chapters 6 and 7, this is not unproblematic in practice. This is also in contrast to the increasing qualification requirements for mainstream subject teachers.<sup>3</sup>

As noted above, my personal and professional background has also greatly influenced my interest in bilingualism, bilingual education, bilingual teachers and teacher collaboration. I grew up in the Flemish speaking part of Belgium, came to Norway as an

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<sup>3</sup> In 2008, the qualification requirements for the employment of teachers in the subjects Norwegian, mathematics and English at lower secondary level were strengthened to having at least 60 ECTs in these three subjects. These requirements are related to employment; the current law has no provisions that directly determine the required qualifications to actually teach these subjects. In other words, school principals can decide that their staff should teach subjects for which they lack formal qualifications. However, the government has decided that from spring 2014 teacher qualifications will be directly linked to the teaching of a certain subject, that is, at least 30 ECTs to teach Norwegian/Sámi and mathematics in grades 1 to 7, and at least 60 ECTs to teach Norwegian/Sámi, mathematics and English in grades 8 to 10, and 30 ECTs for all other subjects (NMER, 2011–2012).

exchange student in upper secondary school when I was 18, and later studied at University level.

Before I became a Ph.D. candidate, I taught French courses at two lower secondary schools and worked in a *mottaksklasse* (reception class) for emergent bilingual pupils, both at primary and lower secondary level. I recall my nervousness when first standing in front of a class and taking the floor at staff meetings as a second language speaker, as well as my anxiousness about the correctness of my Norwegian when sending written information to parents.

When teaching in the reception classes, I worked closely together with bilingual teachers. Sharing the same pupils, I valued our conversations on language learning and bilingualism, and on finding one's place in the school. At present, I teach at the subject teacher training programme for bilinguals at Hedmark University College. Many of my students work part time at different schools, and a recurrent topic in our conversations is their experience that many schools are not aware of all of their qualifications. They also report that they struggle to be heard and appreciated.

A Norwegian Official Report entitled *Opplæring i et flerkulturelt Norge* [Education in a multicultural Norway] (Norwegian Ministry of Church, Education and Research [NMCER], 1995) mentions three roles for mother tongue teachers: mother tongue teaching, subject teaching and mediating contact between the home and the school. Based on an ethnographical study, Ryen (2009) comes up with a fourth one, which is being an adult that all pupils can identify with. She concludes in a way that also sums up much of the background for my study on bilingual education and teacher collaboration: “[I]n order for bilingual teachers to be able to convey these functions, it is important that the school’s management and all teaching staff have developed good collaboration competence” (p. 240; my translation).

## AIMS AND RESEARCH QUESTION

As mentioned initially, the overall aim of this two-case study is to gain deeper insight into bilingual teachers’ collaboration with other teachers with respect to the education of emergent bilingual pupils in Norwegian compulsory schools. In line with this objective my main research question is as follows:

## **How do bilingual teachers collaborate with other teachers with regard to the education of emergent bilingual pupils?**

I approach collaboration from a dialogistic perspective, with the bilingual teachers' conversations with others interpreted as situated interaction. Accordingly, my preoccupation is not with collaboration as a competence or as some sort of 'ideal dialogue'. Rather, I am interested in Mohammed's and Maryam's sense making, actions and interactions with other teachers, and in their collaborative possibilities and challenges. Hence, I conceive of and study collaboration in a broad sense, not limiting myself to formal meetings and more informal conversations, but also focusing on how teachers interact while teaching a lesson together (see Chapter 2).

My methodological approach is to study bilingual teachers' collaboration by shadowing them across school settings and audio recording their conversations with others. The latter may be conversations they have before entering a classroom, or when summing up a lesson, but also when planning the next week's teaching and collecting all necessary information, or while teaching in a *to-lærersystem* (dual teacher team). When teaching together with another teacher or alone, conversations with pupils also become relevant. So do conversations with and between parents at parent-teacher meetings, and conversations with me when walking to and from classrooms.

In an effort to identify and discuss a wide variety of aspects that are important with respect to bilingual teachers' collaboration with other teachers, my analyses focus on *activity types, communicative projects, topical episodes, renditions, coordinating moves* and *translanguagings*. Particularly important is how bilingual teachers connect their teaching to the mainstream (see Chapters 6, 7 and 10), how they emphasise their pupils' entire communicative repertoire to varying degrees (see particularly Chapters 6, 10 and 11), and how they collaborate with parents (see Chapter 8).

Collaborating on the education of emergent bilingual pupils situates my study in the fields of bilingualism and bilingual education. In Chapter 2, I describe and discuss different theoretical approaches, arguing for and relating my analyses to dynamic processes, taking the speech and interactions of multilinguals as my starting point.

Studying bilingual pedagogy conducted in languages I have no first-hand knowledge of has represented a recurring challenge and concern through-out this research project. My

only access to material in Arabic and Somali has been through the bilingual assistants I have involved in the transcriptions and translations. It has therefore been important to carefully document their contributions to the analytical process (see Chapter 3, p. 77ff.).

## A QUALITATIVE CASE STUDY DESIGN

The research project was designed as a qualitative study of two single cases. The first case is the study of Mohammed at Ullstad (conducted in autumn 2009; see Part II), and the second of Maryam at Bergåsen (conducted in spring 2010; see Part III).

A more detailed description of the schools and teachers will be given in Chapter 3 and in the introductions to PARTS II and III. Here, I will focus on the choice of case study as my overarching research strategy.

The literature does not provide us with a standard agreed definition of what constitutes a case study. One source of confusion seems to be that some regard it as a process of inquiry, whereas others perceive it as the product of that investigation (Stake, 2008, p. 121). Following Stake (2008), a case study is here considered to focus on the choice of study object rather than method. The methods used are shadowing as participant observation, audio recording, and to a lesser extent interviews and document analysis (see Chapter 3).

One of the central researchers in the field, Robert Yin (2009) defines case study as “an empirical enquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident” (p. 18). Several aspects of this definition are relevant to my study. For one, bilingual teachers are a contemporary phenomenon in the Norwegian education system. Secondly, this is an empirical study, in which I study bilingual teachers in their natural settings.

Stake (2008) is a researcher who is preoccupied with defining the unit of analysis. For him, case studies are bounded systems. He thus disagrees with the last part of Yin’s (2009) definition. Merriam (1998) agrees with Stake, arguing that “if the phenomenon you are interested in studying is not intrinsically bounded, it is not a case” (p. 27). This view is applicable to my study as I study both bilingual teachers at one of their schools over a

particular period of time. My cases are not, however, intrinsically bounded in time as I decided the length of my fieldwork myself.

Yin (2009) gives what he calls “modest advice” (p. 61) in selecting case study designs, advocating multi-case case studies, which have had increased in frequency in recent years. He notes that even a two-case case study enlarges the chances of conducting a good case study, strongly arguing that “the analytic benefits from having two (or more) cases may be substantial” (p. 61). He mentions the possibility of replication (though perhaps only at a theoretical level in contrasting case studies), in addition to parry criticisms of the single-case study and fears about the uniqueness or artifactual conditions surrounding the case. Even though my two case studies are neither duplicates, nor contrasting cases, I draw support from Yin’s argumentation of the increased powerfulness of the analytic conclusions coming from multiple-case case studies.

Stake (2008) makes a useful distinction between three types of cases: *intrinsic*, *instrumental* and *complex* cases. Intrinsic cases are undertaken because the researcher wants a better understanding of this particular case, because “in all its particularity *and* ordinariness, this case itself is of interest” (p. 122; italics in original). In contrast, instrumental cases are undertaken because they represent other cases. The cases themselves are of secondary interest, and are investigated to provide insight into an issue or to obtain generalisations. When instrumental case studies are extended to several cases, Stake calls them complex or multiple case studies. These are chosen to give an even better understanding of a larger collection of cases, and are hence even less interesting as cases themselves.

To me, the two single cases in my study were of interest in themselves at the time of my fieldwork thus corresponding to Stake’s (2008) intrinsic case study type. However, while conducting the analyses, I found myself more and more preoccupied with general insights from my case studies and their relevance to other cases, more in line with Stake’s description of instrumental and complex or multiple case studies. Studying each case in depth, scrutinising its contexts and everyday activities, facilitated my understanding of bilingual teachers’ collaboration with other teachers in general (see Chapter 4 for a more detailed discussion on generalisation).

The selection of my two cases was not a random, but rather a purposeful process. Stake (2008) points out that qualitative researchers draw on a purposive sample, “building



in variety and acknowledging opportunities for intensive study” (p. 129), aiming at maximising the “opportunity to learn” (p. 131). This is echoed by Patton (1990) who argues that the logic and power of purposeful sampling “lies in selecting *information-rich cases* for study in depth” (p. 169). I therefore purposely selected the case of Mohammed at Ullstad and the case of Maryam at Bergåsen because I viewed them as two information-rich cases which would be able to shed light on my research question from different angles. At the same time, they also ensure variety, but not necessarily representativeness, differing in school level and location, teacher gender, language background and the background of the pupils they teach (see Table 1).

**TABLE 1: VARIATION CASE SELECTION**

	School		Bilingual teacher		
	Level	Location	Gender	Language background	Background pupils
Case 1: <b>Mohammed at Ullstad</b>	Lower secondary school	Medium-sized town in urban area	Male	Somali	Little prior schooling
Case 2: <b>Maryam at Bergåsen</b>	Primary school	Small town in rural area	Female	Arabic	Full prior schooling

Even though the cases are different in many respects, as shown in Table 1, the point was not to have maximum sampling variation (cf. Patton, 1990, p. 172) as the variation could have been even greater by selecting a school in one of the larger cities of Norway where bilingual pupils are in the majority, for example, or a bilingual teacher at a complementary/supplementary school (see for example Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Hall, Özerk, Zulfiqar, & Tan, 2002). Rather, the aim was to learn from the two cases.

**EARLIER STUDIES**

In an international context, this study may be situated to the fields of bilingualism and bilingual education. In a Norwegian context, however, bilingualism and bilingual education do not exist as research fields in themselves. Instead, they are often subsumed under ‘norsk andrespråksforskning’ (Norwegian second language [NSL] research), which is an established field. When I now present earlier studies of bilingualism and bilingual education from Norway which are relevant to my study, many of these will be from the field of NSL research.

NSL research is related to but also broader than the international field of ‘Second Language Acquisition’ (SLA). A direct translation of the English term has consequently never gained a foothold in Norway. Instead, the term ‘*andrespråksforskning*’ (second language research) has been used in Norway, as well as in Denmark and Sweden. Golden, Kulbrandstad, and Tenfjord (2007) define the field in the following way: “It contains both the learning and the use of Norwegian – after you have begun to learn a first language and as part of bi- and multilingual practice” (p. 6; my translation). In this respect, on the one hand, the field is mainly linguistically oriented, but since it is also concerned how Norwegian is learnt, developed and used as a second language it also draws on disciplines such as education, psychology and literature. On the other hand, the field of second language research in Norway is not only limited to the Norwegian language, but also includes other languages, such as Sámi as a second language and foreign language learning (such as for example English) in Norwegian school.

In a historical review of the field, Golden et al. (2007) show how research has developed thematically, theoretically and methodologically. They describe the field in terms of three thematic strands: research on learner language, research on linguistic and cultural contact, and educational research.<sup>4</sup> Studies within the first strand are mostly based on written material. The focus has often been on syntax, but there have also been studies of phonology, orthography, morphology and vocabulary. In addition, the question of the role of mother tongue in the acquisition of a second language has been central in many studies. Even though this strand is the most extensive these, the two others are nevertheless of greater importance to my project.

The second strand, on linguistic and cultural contact, has been heavily influenced by sociolinguistic approaches. Some of the studies in this area are more relevant for my own study than others, since they shed light on language practices which are also visible in my material, particularly studies where fieldwork is used. Besides, researchers applying a sociolinguistic approach to NSL have an awareness of the interplay between language and various background variables, such as socioeconomic background, gender, education and occupation. These variables are not prominent amongst the more strictly linguistic studies in the first strand (Golden et al., 2007).

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<sup>4</sup> In Norway, we talk about *didaktikk* in the German sense of the word *Didaktik*. This is not compatible to *didactics* in English.

More than half of the recorded studies have been conducted after the year 2000. Of particular interest are the doctoral dissertations on code switching by Finn Aarsæther (2004) and Bente Ailin Svendsen (2004). In the first study, nine bilingual Pakistani–Norwegian ten year olds are in focus, whereas in the latter five bilingual eight/nine year old Norwegian–Filipino children are studied. Both studies document that multilingual switching is a common practice amongst the children, and argue that this is a sign of creative communicative competence rather than a sign of having weak language skills. Also, both researchers warn against a narrow conception of ‘mother tongue’ and ‘second language’ in a pedagogical context, in this way also contributing valuable insights for teachers working with multilingual children.

The other studies in this category are on language use and language choice, and other themes connected to multilingualism and the learning or usage of Norwegian. One particularly relevant example is Anne Birgitta Nilsen’s (2005) work on multilingual communication in the courtroom which discusses the issue of interpretation in multilingual settings. Her approach to interpretation has informed two of my analysis chapters (see Chapters 6 and 8). In terms of the defendant’s possibilities for communication, Nilsen notes that these are sometimes impaired due to the poor quality of interpretation. Plausible reasons for incomplete interpretations are, on the one hand, the poor development of the interpreter’s turn taking strategies, and on the other hand, participants’ lack of adaption to multilingual communication.

The third research strand in the field of NSL research contains “studies which aim to explore the aims and content of second language teaching, its reasons, conditions and practices, including assessment and testing” (Golden et al., 2007, p. 25; my translation). Here, Golden et al. (2007) emphasise the strong bonds between the academic world and kindergartens and schools. Three topics are particularly prominent, that is, evaluation and testing, analysis of learning materials, and classroom studies. Since my study is a classroom study, in a broad sense, the classroom studies are the most relevant.

In an extensive research overview on language teaching for minority language children, youngsters and adults, Ryen (2010) elaborates on Golden et al.’s (2007) third topic of classroom studies. Seven of the studies mentioned in her overview are related to second language instruction (Bezemer, Kroon, Pastoor, Ryen, & Wold, 2004; Anne Marit Danbolt & Kulbrandstad, 2008; Laursen, 2006; Myklebust, 2006; Palm, 2006, 2008;

Pastoor, 2008; Øzker, 2003), one deals with mother tongue instruction (Palm, 2010), and four with bilingual subject teaching (Bøyesen, 1997; Myklebust, 1993; Palm & Lindquist, 2009; Ryen, Wold, & de Wal Pastoor, 2005; 2009). Several of these studies show that minority language children are given fewer opportunities to participate actively in the learning situation than majority language children, which in turn leads to fewer opportunities in terms of linguistic and academic development.

Three of the four studies of bilingual subject teaching, defined as instances where pupils are given the opportunity to use both languages for learning, are of special interest here. These are Myklebust (1993), Ryen, Wold and de Wal Pastoor (2005, 2009) and Palm and Lindquist (2009). Like my own study, their concern with bilingual subject teaching also includes a focus on bilingual teachers. Different from my study, however, is the fact that all three studies concentrate on the macro level, both with regard to the organisation of the teaching and bilingual teachers' collaboration with others, and not on the micro level of classroom interaction. Comparative studies of classroom language from the English speaking world will be described where I relate my study to the international fields of bilingualism and bilingual education.

Myklebust (1993) has studied an educational model with bicultural classes used by the municipality of Oslo during the early 1980s and the early 1990s which involved dual language teacher teams. She found that in all teams, it was the 'monolingual' teacher who was in charge of the subject content and of the orchestration of learning activities, while the bilingual teacher acted as a support teacher with a special responsibility for the teaching of the Urdu speaking pupils. Based on classroom observations, Myklebust (1993, pp. 53–54) found three main patterns: "hviskemethoden" [the whisper method] where the bilingual teacher whispers translations of the 'monolingual' teacher's communications, "en-lærermethoden" [the one teacher method] which implies that the bilingual teacher is passive during parts of the teaching, and "innimellom-metoden" [the in between method] which describes a practice where the 'monolingual' teacher presents the subject matter, and the bilingual teacher translates what is being said across turns.

The objective of Ryen, Wold, and de Wal Pastoor's (2005; 2009) study was to gain more knowledge about the extent and the nature of mother tongue teaching and bilingual subject teaching. This is an ethnographic oriented case study in three compulsory schools, two in Oslo and one in a large municipality in the East of Norway. There was great variation

between the teachers in terms of the content of the lessons and the use of the mother tongue. Particularly relevant to my study are the reported differences in opinion on mother tongue and bilingual subject teaching. In one school there was a general scepticism towards mother tongue instruction because it entailed pupils being taken out of the mainstream classroom, in the second school the researchers found a more positive attitude, but no real focus in practice, whereas the third school had mother tongue teaching as one of their prioritised areas.

Palm and Lindquist's (2009) study dealt with bilingual education at primary school level. Their case school was a school in Oslo with 95 per cent minority language pupils, Tøyen skole. The school was different from other schools in Oslo in that half of the teachers were bilingual, and formally qualified to work as both ordinary subject teachers, mother tongue teachers and bilingual subject teachers, and that the school had clear aims for their pupils, in terms of Norwegian, mother tongue and subjects. Particularly relevant for this study, are their research questions on bilingual teachers' collaboration with other teachers, and the usage of multilingual pupils' languages for learning in different settings. The authors report that the bilingual teachers at Tøyen "have a much stronger and more equal position amongst the staff" (p. 4; my translation) than what has been reported from other studies. Some of the bilingual teachers with teacher qualifications from their home country, however, feel that their academic knowledge is less valued than it would have been if they had been educated in Norway. In terms of language practices and language use, many of the school's pupils receive basic literacy training in their mother tongue first, and in Norwegian when they have acquired good oral skills in Norwegian. The staff are positive towards multilingualism and pragmatic with regard to which language is most effective for learning in different learning situations, but some teachers report that there is a great variation in how this is carried out in practice.

In the final section of their research overview, Golden et al. (2007) mention some newer projects financed by the Norwegian Research Council without placing them in one of their three strands. One of these is the project *Den nye norsken* [The new Norwegian] at the University of Bergen. A contribution from this project which is relevant to my study is Jon Erik Hagen's (2004) discussion of the metaphor of host and guest. Traditionally, this metaphor has been used to describe majority speakers as hosts who own the country, culture and language, while linguistic minorities are guests. Accordingly, the host grants

her or his hospitality, insofar as the guests are given the opportunity to live in the country, use the language, and take pleasure in the culture. They do not, however, own the language and the culture. With reference to the international debate of English as a lingua franca to Norway, Hagen challenges this divide between owners or hosts and guests by introducing the metaphor of a housing cooperative. This metaphor has implications that I will come back to in Chapter 11.

In their section on educational second language research, Golden et al. (2007, p. 25) use terms such as 'andrespråksundervisning' (second language teaching) and 'andrespråkslæring' (second language learning). These are not further defined, but appear to be extensions of the term 'norsk andrespråksforskning' (NSL research), which is, as we have seen, defined as research on learning and using Norwegian as part of a multilingual practice. Similarly, Ryen (2010) uses the term NSL research, which seems to include studies of 'andrespråksopplæring' (second language instruction), morsmålsopplæring (mother tongue instruction) for linguistic minorities, and 'tospråklig fagopplæring' (bilingual subject teaching).

Terms are almost never neutral. Skutnabb-Kangas and McCarty (2008) argue that

[i]n contested arenas such as bilingual education, words and concepts frame and construct the phenomena under discussion, making some persons and groups visible, others invisible; some the unmarked norm, others marked and negative. Choice of language can minoritise or distort some individuals, groups, phenomena and relations while majoritising and glorifying others. Concepts also can be defined in ways that hide, expose, rationalise or question power relations. (p. 3)

In the international research literature, the meaning of the terms 'second language' and 'second language education' has been subject to dispute. Brutt-Griffler and Varghese (2004) argue that "[r]esearch on bilingualism has been handicapped with a terminology that does not suit its study, because it is one based, paradoxically, on monolingualist assumptions" (p. 2). Accordingly, Makoni and Pennycook (2007) question "the enumerative strategies based on the notions of *second* language acquisition, or English as a *second* language" (p. 36; italics in the original). In my opinion, Golden et al.'s definition of NSL research seems to favour Norwegian above other languages which are part of the multilingual user's communicative repertoire. Ryen's (2010) categorisation of studies of second language, mother tongue and bilingual subject instruction under the umbrella of NSL research also makes other languages than Norwegian less visible.

The term 'bilingual education' does not escape criticism either. Makoni and Pennycook (2007) recognise that some useful work has sought to break down these divides by using the term bilingual education, but argue that this still leaves us with a monolingual pluralisation. In this dissertation, I have chosen to follow García (2009) who argues that "it is easier to understand the complexity of bilingual education if we start with a discussion of two languages, and then extend these notions when considering more multilingual possibilities" (p. 11).

Bilingual education has a long history (see Edwards, 2010 for a detailed discussion), and formal scientific research in this field has been conducted since the 1920s (Cummins, 2008). Early research was heavily influenced by the widespread view in the field of psychology that "bilingualism had a detrimental effect on a human being's intellectual and spiritual growth" (Wei, 2008a, p. 139). When research on bilingualism and bilingual education received more attention during the 1970s, it was heavily influenced by linguistics and psychology. Issues such as multilingual knowledge, multilingual acquisition and multilingual use were central in both traditions.

Wei (2008b) identifies three broad research perspectives within the interdisciplinary area of bilingualism and bilingual education, that is, linguistic, psycholinguistic, and sociolinguistic perspectives, each one with its own distinct themes and methodologies. Whereas linguists are very much concerned with describing and explaining patterns of multilingual speech, psycholinguists are more preoccupied with the cognitive processes involved in receiving and producing multilingual speech. Methodologically, psycholinguistic studies differ from more theoretical and descriptive linguistic studies in that experimental and laboratory methods are often used.

My own study is in line with the third perspective, that of sociolinguistics, which perceives bilingualism and multilingualism as socially constructed phenomena and bilingual and multilingual persons as social actors. Wei (2008a) mentions two central approaches in this tradition, that is, the study of multilingualism and the negotiation of identities through social interaction (for example Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004; Svendsen, 2004, 2006), and the critical study of some of the concepts and notions which are commonly used by other researchers in the field of bilingualism and multilingualism, such as for example the notion of code switching (Bailey, 2007; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Heller, 2006). My study has elements from both of these approaches. Whereas I do not study identities, or

characterise my study as a critical study, I do study social interaction and challenge the concepts of language and code switching (see Chapter 2).

Studies by Arthur and Martin (2006) and Creese and Blackledge (2010) are of particular relevance here because they focus on the micro level of classroom interaction and describe the potentials behind code switching and translanguaging strategies for teaching and learning, something which is also central in my study. Having said this, however, my study differs from these in that the emphasis is not on the alternate use of two or more languages for teaching and learning per se, but rather on the bilingual teachers' strategies for collaborating with other teachers.

Besides monolingual English routines, Arthur and Martin (2006) find bilingual interaction in classrooms in both Botswana and Brunei. Some of the practices are similar across classrooms in both contexts, whereas others are different. The greatest difference between these two contexts is that while there seemed to be few restrictions on the use of Malay in the classroom in Brunei, in Botswana there are clear ground rules for the use of Setswana. The authors argue that their comparison of discourse patterns highlights the pedagogical validity of code switching, but emphasise that the development of a suitable bilingual pedagogy should be in response to local circumstances, and not based on mechanical generalisations across contexts.

Creese and Blackledge (2010) describe a flexible bilingual approach to language teaching and learning in Chinese and Gujarati community language schools in the United Kingdom. In their study, which focused on the interdependence of the teachers' and pupils' skills and knowledge across languages, teachers were for example found to use bilingual strategies in order to engage their audiences. By classifying utterances in English and Gujarati into different language groups, Creese and Blackledge demonstrate that such classification is meaningless for the speaker. Accordingly, they prefer the term translanguaging to describe language fluidity and movement.

The line of critical studies mentioned by Wei (2008a) is broadly informed by developments in anthropology, sociology, and cultural studies, and this had had important implications for the choice of research methods in the field. While many studies of language have primarily been linguistically oriented with an emphasis on the study of language structures, communicative practices have been studied within and across sites that can be ethnographically demonstrated to be linked. Working with the idea of



trajectories and discursive spaces, Heller (2006) is a typical example, as well as Blackledge and Creese (2010) who link the investigation of multilingual practices in school and homes. I am influenced by these choices of methods too, not in the sense of combining different sites, as I follow the bilingual teachers in a more bounded area, but in terms of linking interaction in different places in the school.

Whereas classroom studies in the fields of bilingualism and bilingual education focus on the bilingual teachers to varying degrees, these teachers are very much at the centre of my study. To be more specific, I am particularly concerned with their collaboration with other teachers. Bilingual teachers as such have been studied across different national contexts and language education policies, from varying theoretical perspectives, drawing on an array of conceptual and methodological approaches. The studies fall into two main types. Firstly, there is research that focuses on bilingual teachers as they move into teacher credential programmes and then into the teaching profession. Secondly, there are studies of bilingual teachers' work in schools as professional teachers. My study is of the second type. That is not to say, however, that issues raised in studies of bilingual teachers in teaching programmes are not relevant. In fact, there are (at least) two common themes across the two types: the multiplicity of dimensions expected from bilingual teachers, and the marginalised nature of the profession. I will come back to this below.

With regard to the first type of study, the issues of the great variety of roles played by the teacher and the low status of the profession are often linked to recruitment and retention of students, and the congruence between theory and practice. In an overview article, Quijoch and Rios (2000) have summed up studies between 1989 and 1998 on the experiences of pre-service and in-service minority group teachers in public school contexts, mainly in the United States. They point to the low interest amongst minority groups for choosing teaching as a career, and reflect upon the many barriers they face, including negative perceptions of the profession, inequities in testing and admission into teacher education, and the incongruence between their practical experience and the teacher education curriculum. Once graduated, minority group teachers are found to face discrimination in employment practices, lack of promotion opportunities, taboos with respect to raising the issue of racism, and the failure of others to recognise their leadership skills.

In a similar vein, Varghese (2004, 2006) has explored professional development in a particular district in the United States in her ethnographic study from a professional development series for apprentice/provisional bilingual (Spanish/English) teachers. She also points to the challenges of teacher training and recruitment for bilingual teachers, the retention of these teachers and the high percentage of provisional/apprentice bilingual teachers not passing national teaching examinations. Further, she mentions the bilingual teachers' feelings of discrimination or misunderstanding and alienation by mainstream educators, the lack of uniformity of bilingual teaching articulated by teachers and administrators, and the lack of space wherein these could have been discussed, partially explaining this by the lack of a unified language policy.

Quiocho and Rios's (2000) and Varghese's (2004, 2006) findings are similar to what has been found in research from Norway, which includes miscellaneous descriptions, reflections and evaluations of teacher training programmes for bilingual teachers (for example Engen & Ryen, 2009; Hvistendahl, 2009b; Ringen & Kjørven, 2009; Valenta & Berg, 2008). Similarly, questions of recruitment and suitable career path ways are objects of discussion in Norway.

The second type of study that investigate bilingual teachers employed in schools includes empirical studies such as ethnographies, questionnaires, interviews, or a combination of those, and matched guise tests, again in a variety of national settings. From Norway, there are only seven studies which focus particularly on bilingual teachers in compulsory schools, no doctoral dissertations and four master theses. Some of these studies have a clear sociocultural approach, but most of them lack on explicit theoretical orientation.

As was the case in the first type of study regarding teaching programmes for bilingual teachers, the themes of bilingual teacher's multiple roles (Benson, 2004; Ryen, 2009; Valenta, 2009) and the marginalised nature of the profession are in focus (Kristjansdottir, 2008; Sandlund, 2010). In terms of roles, the most common ones mentioned are mother tongue teaching, bilingual education and having contact between the home and school. With regard to the latter role, there is a vast body of research, both from Norway and internationally, on the collaboration between schools and minority homes (see for example Bouakaz, 2007; Holm, 2011), but few of them discuss the role of the bilingual teacher in this connection. However, the issue of possible loyalty conflicts has been

mentioned in a study on school management in multicultural schools (Vedøy, 2008), as has the (challenging) combination of the roles of interpreter and discussant during parent-teacher meetings in two text books (Becher, 2006; Hauge, 2007). I will particularly draw on these latter studies when discussing the bilingual teachers' role of mediator during the teacher-parent meeting for parents from a Somali background in Chapter 8.

With regard to bilingual teachers' competence, and on the basis of a series of modified matched guise tests, Sally Boyd (2003) measures the attitudes of school principals, pupils and other judges in Sweden to foreign born teachers' language proficiency and suitability to teach in the Swedish school. The results indicate that deviations in pronunciation seem to influence judgements of other aspects of language proficiency, which in turn are generalised further to professional competence. Boyd concludes that judgements regarding accent and language proficiency play an important role in the exclusion of foreigners from qualified employment in Swedish schools. She therefore strongly argues that, on the one hand, far more time should be spent working on pronunciation in the second language classroom, and on the other, employers and educators must be made aware of the fact that a foreign accent plays an important role in forming our first impressions of a person's competence and suitability for a qualified position. I will particularly draw on Boyd's findings in Chapter 11 in connection with different opinions amongst school staff with regard to bilingual teachers' use of (non-native) Norwegian for teaching purposes.

Related to the discussion of bilingual teachers' multiple roles and marginalised nature is the theme of teacher collaboration, which Arkoudis and Creese (2006) refer to as "a routine practice for many teachers working in multilingual and multicultural schools" (p. 411). A common type of teacher partnership in the English speaking world is between a bilingual or non-bilingual EAL [English as an additional language] teacher and a subject teacher. However, Arkoudis and Creese point out that these relationships have largely been under-researched and under-theorised. Moreover, they argue that particularly studies applying a discursive approach are able to conceptualise the professional collaborative relationships. Studies of this kind illuminate the interactional and epistemological complexity of the collaborative pedagogical relationships between bilingual or non-bilingual second language teachers, collaborating with subject matter teachers, and demonstrate that these are often "constituted in unequal and hierarchical

ways, in terms of both the teachers' professional identities and their pedagogical knowledge" (Hornberger, 2006, p. 495).

In a study on teacher collaboration in Victoria, Australia, Arkoudis (2003) has explored the epistemological authority of an ESL [English as a second language] teacher when planning curriculum with a science teacher. She argues that it is "only by exploring and understanding the distinct discourse communities that ESL and science teachers belong to, [that] we can begin to understand how teachers can negotiate shared understandings" (p. 161). In her study, secondary school teachers tended to debate and justify their views of teaching through the authority of their positions as subject specialists. While science has had a long and stable position in Victorian schools, ESL has not been a traditional academic subject in the same sense. Therefore, ESL teachers did not have the same authority in their schools as science teachers. On the basis of the study of planning conversations, Arkoudis argues that whereas the concept of mainstreaming ESL assumes that ESL teachers have the authority to influence subject specialists' views of language and teaching, this needs to be viewed as "a dialogical process negotiated within disciplinary prejudices [...] [which] demands that there be ongoing discussions between ESL and subject specialist about the educational needs of ESL learners that they teach" (p. 171). In Chapters 6 and 7, I will come back to the discussion of the authority of science teachers in planning conversations, as well as while teaching, when teamed up with a bilingual support teacher who has not specialised in science.

Particularly relevant is also the work by Creese (2005) on collaborative relationships between EAL [English as an additional language] teachers, who may or may not be bilingual in a community language, and subject teachers in three mainstream secondary school classrooms in England. In terms of collaborative teaching relationships, she leans on a descriptive taxonomy developed by Jill Bourne and Joanna McPake (1991) who distinguish between support teaching and partnership teaching, and the intermediary position of co-operative teaching. In addition, Creese (2005) argues that it is important to recognise that withdrawal is also a collaborative mode when carried out successfully. Even though the EAL literature favours partnership teaching over support and withdrawal teaching, she believes that

[i]f individual support work and withdrawal were properly planned into policy, implemented and evaluated carefully, then these modes could also have a higher status within schools along with the discourses and pedagogies which support them. (p. 112)

Based on her audio and fieldnote material, Creese set up various configurations of teacher collaboration between EAL and subject teachers, when working in support, withdrawal and partnership modes. I will discuss some of these in greater detail in Chapters 6, 7 and 9.

Contrasting bilingual and non-bilingual EAL teachers, Creese (2004, 2005) found that bilingual EAL teachers were able to develop additional roles beyond the more usual support role expected of non-bilingual EAL teachers. By using their home language in the mainstream context, these teachers were able to act as subject teachers. This enabled them to include the emergent bilingual pupils in the same endeavours as their peers. Creese also notes that subject teachers see themselves as teachers of subject content and not as language teachers, a role they assign to non-bilingual EAL teachers. Interestingly, however, subject teachers did not view bilingual EAL teachers in the same way. In fact, whereas subject teachers might feel they retained their subject knowledge but lost their pedagogic interpretive skills when teaching subject matter to emergent bilingual pupils, bilingual teachers had the subject expertise, could draw on the pupils' home language, and had the pedagogic skills needed to interpret whether students understood the subject matter or not.

Contrary to the bilingual EAL teachers in Creese's (2005) study, my bilingual teachers wore a microphone while teaching, which enables me to study teacher collaboration across languages. Marilyn Martin-Jones and Mukul Saxena (1996/2001) have also used microphones to investigate the discourse of bilingual teaching assistants collaborating with classroom teachers in primary schools in England. Studying teaching and learning events, the authors found that monolingual classroom teachers assumed the principle speaking rights, in terms of taking the floor whenever they thought it necessary, and allocating turns to the bilingual assistants which shaped patterns of code switching across turns. Martin-Jones and Saxena sum up that by doing so, classroom teachers in fact constrained the contributions that these bilingual assistants are able to make. They did not, however, study planning or other conversations outside the classroom as I have done in this study.

In order to further contextualise the bilingual teachers' collaboration with other teachers in my study I also have drawn on research from other areas. As I will discuss in greater detail in Chapter 5, the emergent bilingual pupils in Mohammed's case had little or no schooling prior to their arrival. Studies of challenges related to newly arrived youngsters from different contexts have highlighted that many of the youngsters are keen to engage

with the mainstream practices, at the same time as they acknowledge the dilemmas they face in terms of language and literacy expectations in school subjects (Brown, Miller, & Mitchel, 2006; Lødding, 2009; Miller, Mitchel, & Brown, 2005; Workgroup Second Language Newcomers Centre for Language and Education, 2006). As will be discussed in Chapters 6 and 7,

this poses an incredible tension [for teachers working with students in these contexts] as they struggle to create conditions in which students can participate in mainstream classrooms, and at the same time meet these students' particular academic, social and linguistic needs in ways that are not underpinned by deficit assumptions. (Brown et al., 2006, p. 161)

In connection with the subject lessons these youngsters attended, I have drawn on studies from science (Duschl, Schweingruber, & Shouse, 2007) and literature teaching (Rosenblatt, 1994) respectively. These studies are not concerned with the situation the emergent bilingual pupils and their teachers in my study find themselves in as described above. Rather they address to the subject/subject areas' distinctive character. Finally, with regard to two larger meetings chaired by assistant principals, in Chapters 8 and 11 respectively, two studies from the field of conversations analysis (Svennevig, 1999, 2012a) have been drawn upon.

My dissertation can be read as a contribution to the international field of bilingualism and bilingual education, and as a realignment of the Norwegian debate to more international questions. In 1996, Hyltenstam, Brox, Engen, and Hvenekilde (1996) pointed to the need for more classroom research in the field of NSL research. More than ten years later, Golden et al. (2007) admit that this has not come about. In this respect, my study is firmly placed in the institutional context of the mainstream Norwegian classroom, though understood in a broad sense, since a shadowing technique has permitted me to study bilingual teachers in different places in the school, beyond the classroom. In addition, the research overview by Ryen (2010) shows that most of the educational second language research from Norway has been conducted in lower primary school. The same is true for studies taking a discursive approach to teacher collaboration in the English speaking world (Creese, 2005). In this respect, Mohammed's case may be a contribution to both fields since it set in the context of lower secondary school. It is also hoped that the cases may contribute to classroom research on translanguaging, an area which has been identified as

in need of research by Wei (2008a), who has argued that there is a vast research literature from non-institutional contexts which regards code switching as acceptable bilingual talk, but that real tensions are often found in educational contexts.

Relating my study to previous research is not enough to understand my two cases. As Baker (2002) argues: "There is no understanding of international bilingual education without contextualizing it within the politics of its country" (p. 229). Bilingual education is never just about a dual language policy, provisions and language practices in classrooms. It is also related to national and regional language planning, often filled with pleas ranging from assimilation to the reversal of language shift. Similarly, García (2009) sees societal bilingualism as "a result of social and political forces that go beyond individuals, but that deeply affect them too" (p. 73). She links concepts such as *transglossia*, *language revitalisation*, *language ideologies*, and *language policy* to societal bilingualism and argues that even though these concepts refer to the macro level of society, they are of major importance to educators because "schools reflect society, and the bilingual policies and practices found at schools are a direct result of societal bilingualism" (p. 73). It is therefore necessary to give a brief overview of Norway as a multilingual society and its language educational policies.

## NORWAY AS A MULTILINGUAL SOCIETY AND LANGUAGE EDUCATIONAL POLICIES

Juxtaposing Norway's language situation in 1905 (when it became independent from Sweden) and 2005, Lars S. Vikør (2006) sees some changes that point in the direction of less variety, such as dialect levelling and growth in the use of English. The main picture, however, is that Norway has become much more multicultural. This is not to say, however, that Norway was linguistically or culturally homogeneous before the large immigration waves from the 1970s onwards. In fact, at the beginning of the twentieth century, there were a great variety of dialects as well as two written varieties of the Norwegian language, minority languages such as Sámi and Kven, and a number of foreign languages that were taught in schools. On the other hand, the ideal of a homogeneous culture was prominent in the political and cultural spheres, and a transition to the Norwegian language was seen as necessary for the modernisation of these groups (Engen & Kulbrandstad, 2004; NMCER, 1995).

Today, the demographics of Norway show that the population is approaching five million people (Statistics Norway, 2011). Around 500 000 people are immigrants, and 100 000 are the children of immigrants. Together, these make up 12.2 per cent of the total population. Immigrants are represented in all Norwegian municipalities, but Oslo has the largest immigrant population with 28 per cent. Statistics Norway reports that two in ten immigrants have lived in Norway for more than 20 years, and four in ten have lived here for less than four years. The largest groups are from Poland, Sweden, Germany and Iraq. The numbers of immigrants residing in Norway varies according to the government's immigration policy, labour market needs and shifting global crises.

In terms of adaptive education for these more recent minorities, mother tongue teaching and bilingual pedagogy have been a matter of much debate, and there have been many policy changes in this area in recent decades.<sup>5</sup> The Norwegian discourse has often related the use of the mother tongue in relation to learning and to pupils' school results. Pupils from more recent minorities appear to achieve poorer school results than their majority peers (see for example Bakken, 2007; Roe & Hvistendahl, 2006). In 1996, a so-called "consensus" conference was organised by the Norwegian Research Council where several researchers from different disciplines discussed the topic of adaptive education for minority pupils. A consensus was researched on the necessity of mother tongue teaching for emergent bilingual pupils (Hyltenstam, 1996). However, as Palm and Lindquist (2009) note, this discussion is still on-going (see for example Bakken, 2007).

In the National curriculum of 1974 (Norwegian Ministry of Church and Education [NMCE], 1974a), a Norwegian as a foreign language subject curriculum was developed for pupils who were learning basic Norwegian for the first time, first and foremost for pupils from Sámi homes, but also for Kvens and more recent minorities. During the 1980s, with the national curriculum of 1987 (NMCE, 1987b), there was a great willingness to support languages with non-Western origins in schools through extensive mother tongue teaching and Norwegian as a second language, particularly in Oslo, aiming at functional bilingualism and irrespective of the learner's Norwegian language proficiency (Vikør, 2006). However, as several studies have noted (for example Hvistendahl, 2009a; Øzerk, 2007), the political climate changed in the following years and with the introduction of the national curriculum

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<sup>5</sup> For a discussion on the education of pupils with a Sámi or national minority background see Lund and Moen (2010).



of 1997 (DCER, 1996) the right to mother tongue, bilingual teaching and basic Norwegian was reduced to only applying to pupils who do not have the Norwegian language skills needed to follow mainstream teaching. Øzker (2006, p. 61) has called this a 'paradigm shift'.

Pursuant to Section 1–3 of the Norwegian Education Act (2012), education should be adapted to the abilities and aptitudes of the individual pupil, which means that the school is obliged to adapt the education so that all pupils can achieve satisfactory results of their training. Section 2–8 safeguards the right to special language instruction (*særskilt språkopplæring*) for pupils from language minorities (see Appendix 1).

The first paragraph of this section states that the pupils who are entitled to special language instruction have a different mother tongue than Norwegian and Sámi, and that they are only entitled to this instruction until their Norwegian language skills are sufficient to follow mainstream teaching. Only when the school decides it is necessary, do these pupils also have the right to mother tongue teaching, bilingual subject support or both of these. Adapted education in Norwegian (*særskilt norskopplæring*) is thus the primary means for minority language pupils in compulsory school who do not master the Norwegian language. Mother tongue and bilingual subject teaching are subject to the requirements of necessity, and are secondary to adapted education in Norwegian. The Ministry notes that this may be applicable to newly arrived and other minority language pupils who are not able to follow teaching in Norwegian (NMER, 2003–2004). Any further training in their mother tongue after the pupils are able to follow teaching in Norwegian will be the responsibility of the parents. Municipalities may, however, decide to offer more mother tongue teaching than required.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> In 2003, the Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research launched the Strategic Plan *Equal education in practice! Strategy for better learning and greater participation by language minorities in day-care centres, schools and education* (NMER, 2004–2009) which included a number of measures to improve the school performances of minority language pupils. The Ministry announced changes to Section 2–8 of the Education Act in order to improve language learning and teaching in schools and to ensure greater flexibility with regard to special language teaching (NMER, 2003–2004, p. 9–17). Prior to 2004, municipalities had to offer pupils in primary and lower secondary school with a different mother tongue than Norwegian and Sámi the necessary mother tongue instruction, bilingual subject teaching and adapted education in Norwegian until they had sufficient skills to attend ordinary teaching. These three types of teaching were now placed side by side. The aim was to teach Norwegian as a tool to manage the transition to the mainstream as quickly as possible. After the pupil had the necessary skills in Norwegian to follow mainstream teaching, their rights pursuant to the Education Act end. The reasoning behind the changes were the facts that many municipalities had turned to the Ministry arguing that it was difficult to find mother tongue teachers and

The second and third paragraph of the same section both point to the lack of qualified mother tongue teachers. When schools do not have the suitable staff to conduct mother tongue or bilingual subject teaching, the municipality and the school have to facilitate teaching in a different school (paragraph 2), or provide alternative adapted language teaching (paragraph 3).

A fourth paragraph was added to the Education Act (2012), on 1 August 2009. It emphasises the duty of the school owner to map the Norwegian language skills of pupils from language minorities who are entitled to adapted education in Norwegian. This mapping is to take place at intervals throughout their education, and is to ensure their transition to the mainstream when the pupil's Norwegian language skills are sufficient. The new paragraph is a continuation of one of the measures in White Paper no. 23 *Språk bygger broer* [Language builds bridges] (2007–2008) where the lack of, or randomness in, mapping was pointed out.

A fifth paragraph was added on 1 August 2012. This makes it clear that the school owner can organise the education of newly arrived pupils from linguistic minorities in separate groups, classes or schools.<sup>7</sup> School owners are not required to provide such services, but may do so if they wish. Pupils do not have the right to such arrangements. The purpose is to teach the pupils Norwegian as fast as possible for them to benefit from mainstream teaching. Which students are to be considered as newly arrived is to be decided in each individual case (see also NDET, 2012a, p. 3). The municipality has to consider whether a reception arrangement is in the best interests of the pupil. In this judgement, considerations of integration will weigh heavily when the student has lived in Norway for some time. When all or part of the education is given in a separate group, class or school, this is to be specified in the formal decision on special language education. The Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research (2011–2012) emphasises that one year of separate education in most cases will be enough, but that for illiterates two years may be desirable. Due to integration considerations, a pupil may attend this separate group for no longer than two years.

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good organisational models, that Section 2–8 was too rigid, and that there was little correlation between funding for language stimulation in kindergartens and school.

<sup>7</sup> The organisation of reception groups, classes or schools had been recommended by the Østberg Committee (NMER, 2010) in 2010.

In the period during which the pupil attends a reception group, there may be made deviations from the curriculum in terms of the distribution of teaching hours per subject and the competence aims. Pursuant to Section 3–21 of the Regulations to the Education Act (2012), pupils who have all or part of their education in a reception group may be exempted from evaluation with grades for the whole period they are in this group.

In the school year 2011–2012, 7.2 per cent of all pupils in Norwegian primary and lower secondary school received teaching in adapted education in Norwegian. Of these, 60 per cent received bilingual subject training, and 15 per cent received only mother tongue teaching, and an equal number receiving a combination of mother tongue and bilingual subject teaching. Fewer than 10 per cent of the pupils who have adapted education in Norwegian, receive their teaching in separate groups such as groups for asylum seekers and reception classes (NMER, 2012, p. 14). Figures from 2005 also show that the ten most common language groups receiving mother tongue instruction, bilingual subject teaching or both, are pupils from an Urdu language background, Somali, Kurdish, Arabic, Vietnamese, Albanian, Turkish, Bosnian, Russian, and Tamil (Norwegian Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development, 2005, p. 186).

In sum, in this section I have aimed at giving a brief overview of Norway as a multilingual society and its language educational policies. As we have seen, the education of more recent minorities is a highly politicised field, and it is in this light that the bilingual teachers' work and collaboration with other teachers in the education of emergent bilingual pupils in primary and lower secondary school needs to be viewed.

## THIS STUDY

In this dissertation, I study how a bilingual teacher in primary school and one in lower secondary school collaborate in multiple ways with other teachers in connection with their teaching of emergent bilingual pupils. Accordingly, I hope to contribute to the development of new knowledge in several areas. Firstly, I study an issue which is under explored, at least in Norway, that is, bilingual education and teacher collaboration. Moreover, in Norwegian as well as an international context there are few studies which focus on lower secondary school, like I do in one of my cases. Secondly, I have developed a methodological approach which gives me the opportunity to study both physical and verbal interaction in detail. This gives me an insight into forms of collaboration which

otherwise are easily overlooked. In this way, on the one hand, I contribute with several and concrete examples of the collaboration challenges and opportunities bilingual teachers face in their everyday working life. On the other hand, I hope that this dissertation will contribute to and nuance the view of what teacher collaboration is and what it implies. Moreover, compared to most of the earlier studies in the field, I study bilingual teachers and teacher collaboration from a new theoretical perspective, that is, dialogism, which in itself contributes to new insights.

This dissertation consists of three main parts, framed by an introduction (Chapter 1) and conclusion (Chapter 12). In PART I, I present my theoretical (Chapter 2) and methodological approaches (Chapters 3 and 4). Theoretically, I combine a dialogical understanding of interaction and meaning making, with a heteroglossic understanding of language, bilingualism and bilingual education. Bilingual teachers' collaboration is hence broadly understood as their communication with other teachers situated in time and place. At the centre of the teachers' collaboration has been the bilingual education of their common pupils with their complex communicative repertoires. Methodologically, this has required flexible tools. In terms of production I used a discursive shadowing technique, and in terms of analysis, central concepts are *activity type*, *communicative project*, *rendition*, *coordinating move* and *translanguaging*.

PARTS II and III comprise Mohammed and Maryam's cases, respectively. Each case is framed by a stage setting account (Chapters 5 and 9). Mohammed's case is the largest case and consists of three analysis chapters (Chapters 6, 7 and 8), where I have told three stories from Mohammed's case, each focusing on different aspects of Mohammed's collaboration with other teachers when teaching his emergent bilingual pupils from a Somali language background in grade 10. In the first story I shed light on Mohammed's challenges and opportunities as support teacher, teaming up with two colleagues. The main purpose of the second story is to give the reader an insight into the different ways in which he catered for his pupils who were attending mainstream natural science lessons in spite of their interrupted schooling prior to arrival. The third story illustrates how Mohammed mediates between the school and the parents during a parent-teacher meeting for the parents from a Somali background, both acting as a bilingual teacher and as an interpreter.

In Chapters 10 and 11, I have told two stories from Maryam's case, each with a different focus on her collaboration with other teachers working with bilingual pedagogy (PART III). The main purpose of the story in Chapter 10 is to give the reader an insight into the complexity of Maryam's work as bilingual teacher and how she related it to other teachers' work in the mainstream, at all times. Finally, the story in Chapter 11 aims at explaining the ideological choices Maryam makes when teaching bilingually, taking the pupils' whole communicative repertoire as a starting point, instead of seeing their emergent language skills in Norwegian as a barrier.

Each analysis chapter ends with a discussion section. The study's main conclusions are presented in Chapter 12, which also contain a summary of the theories and methods employed in the dissertation.

#### NOTE ON TERMINOLOGY

My study is situated in a Norwegian educational context, but since it is written in English, it is both directed to a national and an international reading audience. In this dissertation, I have used the official terminology listed in the Norwegian-English Dictionary for the Primary and Secondary Education Sector published by the Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training (2011). When a term was not listed there, I have consulted Norwegian official documents which have an official English translation. When I have been unable to find an official translation, I have made my own, explicitly stating that the translation is mine or putting it in brackets.



## PART I

### THEORY AND METHODOLOGY

Since this is a study of bilingual education and bilingual teachers, it is necessary to touch on views on language in general, and on language in education more specifically, that inform my study. Chapter 2 deals with these issues. I aim at formulating a theoretical framework for studying bilingual teachers' conversations with other teachers concerning the education of emergent bilingual pupils. The overarching framework is dialogism, which also informs my understanding of bilingual pedagogy. A dialogical approach to interaction emphasises the study of teacher collaboration in its social and historical contexts and views the teachers' experiences, actions, thoughts and utterances as interdependent with those of others.

As mentioned in the introduction, my chosen research strategy is a qualitative two-case case study, of Mohammed at Ullstad and Maryam at Bergåsen. When studying bilingual teachers collaborating with other teachers it has been necessary to develop tools for producing material, combining shadowing with audio recordings. Chapter 3 deals with the methodological choices that were made when producing and preparing the material, while in Chapter 4 I present relevant analytical concepts associated with dialogical approaches, such as *communicative activity type*, *communicative project*, *topical episode*, *rendition* and *coordinating move*, and *translanguaging*.





## 2 A DIALOGICAL APPROACH TO INTERACTION IN BILINGUAL EDUCATION

In her book *Bilingual Education in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, García (2009) points out that the concepts of language and bilingualism underlie all understandings of bilingual education, language being both the medium of instruction and an important subject in schools. It is therefore necessary to establish an overarching understanding of language, before applying this more specifically to the field of bilingual education in this dissertation.

In this chapter, I aim at formulating a theoretical framework for studying how bilingual teachers verbally interact with other teachers with regard to the education of emergent bilingual pupils. In the first section, I give an overall presentation of dialogism as a meta-theoretical framework for studying sense making and interaction. In the second and third sections, I discuss two central ways of understanding language from a dialogical perspective, firstly language as situated utterances, and secondly the heteroglossic nature of language. Thereafter, I move on to the fields of bilingualism and bilingual education. Here, I introduce concepts such as *translanguaging*, and *monoglossic* and *heteroglossic bilingual education*, discussing different approaches to bilingual pedagogy.

### DIALOGISM AS A META-THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Linell (2009) observes the rich and diverse meaning of the term 'dialogue' in most European languages. The most down to earth meaning is the concrete, empirical sense of the word, that is, an interactive, face to face encounter by two or more people. Secondly, there is the normative sense of the word. This is an 'ideal' dialogue which is perfect in the sense that both participants contribute equally and interact in a symmetric way. Dialogically minded researchers, however, use the term in a more abstract and comprehensive sense. It refers to "*any kind of human sense-making, semiotic practice, action, interaction, thinking or communication, as long as these phenomena are 'dialogically' (or 'dialogistically') understood*" (Linell, 2009, pp. 5–6; italics in original). It should be noted that the word dialogue in this broader sense refers not only to overt interaction (socio-dialogue), but also to human thinking and sense making in general.

In his book *Dialogism: Bakhtin and his world*, Holquist (2002) uses the term 'dialogism' for "the interconnected set of concerns that dominate Bakhtin's thinking" (p. 15). He conceives it as one of several epistemologies that aim at understanding human behaviour

through the study of how we use language. But, as Igländ (2008) points out, even though Bakhtin is central, dialogism needs to be understood in a larger philosophical perspective.

Linell (2009) understands dialogism as a meta-theoretical framework which includes dialogically minded researchers and their ways of understanding and approaching human action, thinking and communication. For him, dialogism is not one theory, but a bundle of dialogical theories. Marková (1990) also draws attention to the diversity of disciplines these researchers work in, however stressing that “the authors all share certain fundamental philosophical and epistemological presuppositions” (p. 1).

As an epistemological approach, dialogism is “the study of mind and language as historical and cultural phenomena” (Marková, 1990, p. 4). This presupposes that it is only through the study of interaction in concrete social and historical contexts, that knowledge of language and communication can be advanced. The essence, as expressed by Linell (2009), is that “a human being, a person, is interdependent with others’ experiences, actions, thoughts and utterances” (p. 11).<sup>8</sup> This understanding is in sharp contrast to monologism which tends to see human beings as autonomous individuals and language as “a ready-made, normative and static system of signs” (Marková, 1990, p. 5).

Even though it is most common to perceive dialogism as an epistemology, some researchers such as Marková (2003) also view it as an ontology of humanity which “constitutes humans as symbolically communicating species” (p. 91). In this respect, dialogicality is a universal of human nature in the same fundamental way as biological and cognitive universals. Whereas monological researchers perceive the individual and the social as two elements that interact with each other, researchers applying a dialogical frame of reference perceive the Ego-Alter as interdependent and constituting each other in and through symbolic communication. Importantly, however, besides being interdependent, the Ego and the Alter also preserve their autonomy. It is precisely the opposition between interdependence and independence, and between setting one’s own perspective and adopting the other’s that creates tension and conflict. Through this tension and conflict partners “negotiate their position, deepen their understanding and misunderstanding and mutually change each other’s perspectives” (p. xvi).

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<sup>8</sup> For a discussion on the internal controversies, dilemmas and challenges of dialogical theories, see Linell (2009, pp. 387–430).

## LANGUAGE AS SITUATED UTTERANCES

Bakhtin (1986) criticises linguists for underestimating or reducing the communicative function of language. One of his objections to Saussure's division between *langue* (the system) and *parole* (the individual speech act) is that it treats the utterance as "an *instantiation* of the linguistic system, which in turn implies that utterances are mechanical accumulations composed of units of language (words, sentences, etc.)" (Morson & Emerson, 1990, p. 125; italics in original). Bakhtin does not dismiss the fact that utterances contain words and sentences, but to him, these are not the most important features of the utterance. Morson and Emerson offer a rough analogy: "[L]inguistics is in the position of someone trying to explain clothing in terms of fibers and shapes, but who has not based his or her analysis on the fact that clothes are designed to be worn, and worn for specific reasons (warmth, fashion, self-expression)" (p. 125). They continue to note that even though the chemistry of fibers is not irrelevant to the study of clothing, such a study would only give a partial and odd picture of the product as it would omit "[s]omething crucial and definitive of clothing as a social object" (p. 125).

Whereas traditionally the sentence is seen as the main unit of language, for Bakhtin (1986), the real unit of speech communication is the *utterance*, that is, "concrete utterances of individual speaking people, speech subjects" (p. 71). Crucial to the utterance is its framing. As Morson and Emerson (1990) put it: "Someone must *say* it to someone, must respond to something and anticipate a response, must be accomplishing something by the saying of it" (p. 126; italics in the original). This is also why an utterance, unlike a sentence, can never be repeated. It will necessarily have a unique meaning because the context and reason for saying it will always be different.

The dialogical stance strongly argues that "all discourse is (essentially) situated" (Linell, 1998, p. 117), as opposed to the argument about context free meanings, common in monological theories. In dialogical theories, meanings are never "not in a context" (p. 117). On the contrary, they are "open potentials, rather than fixed coded meanings" (p. 113). A prerequisite for a participant's meaning making, however, is access to socio-cultural resources such as language, concepts, knowledge about the world, identities and norms, which steer their expectations and efforts to construct meaning in concrete situations. Linell (2009) reminds us that these kinds of knowledge may be "socially shared or

sometimes individually conceived (though still socially permeated), tacit or explicitized, biographical and theoretical, conscious or unconscious” (p. 49). Socio-cultural resources are part of what Linell calls ‘traditions’, as opposed to ‘situations’. Traditions, then, are “*situation-transcending, sociocultural practices*, to which participants in situated interactions orient in producing and reproducing activity types and other routines” (p. 50; italics in original). Linell thinks of socio-cultural resources as bridging the gap between situations and traditions. The notion of *communicative activity types* will be further discussed in Chapter 4.

It is possible to distinguish between at least two different theoretical perspectives on contexts of discourse: one that treats context as a more or less stable outside environment and one that views contexts (in plural) as “*deeply embedded within discursive activities and as emergent with discourse itself*” (Linell, 1998, p. 134; italics in original). The former, Linell points out, is adopted for example by behaviourism in social psychology and in linguistic semantics. The other treats it as locally produced, continuously developing is by consequence highly transformable. This view is typical of Conversation Analysis and interactional sociolinguistics.

According to Linell (1998), many theorists vacillate between the two perspectives mentioned above. He himself draws on notions from both perspectives, but strongly argues that the more dialogistic position must be “to talk about the co-constitution of discourse and contexts; discourse-through-contexts and contexts-through-discourse” (p. 136), hence accounting for both situated interactions and situation transcending practices. In fact, for Linell, this “double dialogicality” (2009, p. 63) is part of the hallmark of dialogism. Adopting a position of social constructionism, cultural routines and norms always exist prior to interactions; at the same time, however, they are generated when individuals reproduce and transform them. In other words, these interactions and practices are dialogically related to, what Linell (1998) calls, a “continuity of praxis” (p. 60). Social constructionism in this form emphasises both the constructive and reconstructive practices in interaction and the sedimented routines and cultures, not giving primacy to either of them but insisting on the interplay between them.

One way to partly reconcile the two views, Linell (1998) argues, is to treat the given environment as *contextual resources* and the emergent aspects (also called *realised contexts*) as those resources actually constructed and deployed by interlocutors in

interaction. So, on the one hand, dialogist minded researchers assume that all sense making processes and situated discourse human beings engage in are interdependent with contexts. This means that discourse can never be understood outside its contexts, or as Linell puts it: “[w]ords and utterances do not express or contain the meanings actors want to convey in communication” (p. 127). In fact, their meanings are always situated interpretations. “What we say is not said only in and through words but largely between, behind and beyond words” (p. 127). Because of this, Linell argues, “a theory of discourse needs a theory of *contexts*” (p. 128; italics in original).

On the other hand, dialogist minded researchers assume that contexts and situations dynamically change because the interactants are involved in communicative and cognitive activities, and are hence not external characteristics of some specific event, as perceived in monologism. They are universal entities of these practices which cannot be singled out from the meanings of the utterances. Even if these contextual dimensions in themselves have no meaning, dialogists view them as contextual resources in the meaning making processes. As a consequence, they “are concerned with the *apprehension* of the environment and *the sense-making orientation* to it in discourse” (Linell, 2009, p. 17; italics in original).

Goodwin and Duranti (1992, p. 3) are convinced that

the focal event cannot be properly understood, interpreted appropriately, or described in a relevant fashion, unless one looks beyond the event itself to other phenomena ... within which the event is embedded, or alternatively that features of the talk itself invoke particular background assumptions relevant to the organization of subsequent interaction.

In this vein, Linell (1998) provides a list of phenomena which may serve as relevant contexts or contextual resources, including both immediate phenomena (such as co-texts and concrete situations) and mediate phenomena (such as background knowledge, beliefs about the topic and specific knowledge about persons involved).

As we have seen, all discourse and conduct is necessarily contextualised. However, Linell (1998) emphasises the fact that no thought or idea exists *ipso facto* without a context. Therefore, he argues, even more fundamental than the concept of contextualisation is that of *recontextualisation*. Taking contextualisation to mean “putting something in a context (or a matrix of contexts)”, recontextualisation means “moving something from one context to another” (p. 141, n. 24). This dynamic linking of discourses and contexts can be identified at all levels, that is, at the local level within a bounded

sequence or discourse event, also called an episode, of single conversations, and at a global level across different texts and discourse types. Discourses within episodes and across different texts are more concrete, and those in discourse types more abstract.

At the local level, interaction is contextualised for and by the participants. It is contextualised in time, place and as part of a situated activity. In addition, it is also integrated within “some sufficiently coherent, and appropriately activated, body of knowledge” (Linell, 1998, p. 141), by some also called discourse model or context space. Having said this, Linell warns against thinking that discursive actions simply imply contextualization of language. On the contrary, close analysis reveals that continuous fluctuations of contextualisations, decontextualisations and recontextualisations. In intratextual analyses, “the product of various kinds of recontextualizations [is therefore treated as] ... the *‘multi-voiced’ mix within single texts*” (p. 156; italics in original).

At a more global level, communication situations are “connected in countless and subtle ways, across space and time, through artefacts (such as written texts or computer files) and human beings who wander between situations” (Linell, 1998, p. 154). Linell calls this the travelling of discourse and discursive content across situations. This involves recontextualisation, here defined as “the dynamic transfer-and-transformation of something from one discourse/text-in-context (the context being in reality a matrix or field of contexts) to another” (p. 154). In practice, parts or aspects of a text or a discourse used in one context are in one way or another re-used in a different context. This process involves the reframing of for example “linguistic expressions, concepts and propositions, ‘facts’, arguments and lines of argumentation, stories, assessments, values and ideologies, knowledge and theoretical constructs, ways of seeing things and acting towards them, ways of thinking and ways of saying things” (Linell, 1998, pp. 154–155). Reframing almost always involves a change, be it as for example simplification, condensation, elaboration and refocusing. When recontextualised, some aspects of meaning from the ‘quoted’ sources are kept, whereas others are brought along in the new ‘quoting’ contexts. These changes also often involve “reversals of figure-ground relations” (p. 155). How recontextualisations can be studied is further discussed in Chapter 4.

## THE HETEROGLOSSIC NATURE OF LANGUAGE

For Bakhtin (1934/1981), the basic condition of human communication is *heteroglossia*.

This conception of language has

as its enabling *a priori* an almost Manichean sense of opposition and struggle at the heart of existence, a ceaseless battle between centrifugal forces that seek to keep things apart, and centripetal forces that strive to make things cohere. (Holquist, 1981b, p. xviii)

Bakhtin (1934/1981) notes that traditionally the philosophy of language, linguistics and stylistics have been preoccupied with the normative, systemic aspects of language and has accordingly only recognised two poles in the life of language, that is, the unitary language and the individual speaking this language. Following from this, Bakhtin argues, there is a one-sided emphasis on “those elements that can be fitted within the frame of a single language system and that express, directly and without mediation, an authorial individuality in language” (p. 265). However, Bakhtin reminds us that the basic understanding of notions embedded in such a framework has been conditioned by

the specific sociohistorical destinies of European languages and by the ideological discourse, and by those particular historical tasks that ideological discourse has fulfilled in specific social spheres and at specific stages in its own historical development. (Bakhtin, 1934/1981, p. 270)

Bakhtin (1934/1981) criticises the traditional philosophy of language, linguistics and stylistics for not being able to capture “*the forces that serve to unify and centralize the verbal-ideological world*” (p. 270; italics in original). For him, a unitary language is not “something given [*dan*] but is always in essence posited [*zadan*]— and at every moment of its linguistic life it is opposed to the realities of heteroglossia” (p. 270). At the same time, however, these unifying forces of language strive for mutual understanding, and consequently place limits on the realities of heteroglossia. In this vein, an utterance should be studied as “a contradiction-ridden, tension-filled unity of two embattled tendencies in the life of language” (p. 272). Importantly, however, Bakhtin does not have an abstract linguistic system in mind, but rather “language conceived as ideologically saturated, language as a world view, even as a concrete opinion” (p. 271).

Bakhtin (1934/1981) gives several examples of centripetal forces in socio-linguistics and ideological life, one of them being the centralisation and unification of the European languages “with its focus of attention, directed away from language plurality to a single proto-language” (p. 271). These forces operate amidst heteroglossia, giving way to

linguistic dialects and social languages, reminding us that “unitary languages are not given by nature but the products of people’s active unifying practices” (Linell, 2009, p. 248).

Wertsch (1991) notes that Bakhtin provides little detail on how national languages might enter into dialogical contact. Bakhtin was far more specific about the notion of social languages which he, according to Holquist and Emerson (1981a) defines as “a discourse peculiar to a specific stratum of society (professional, age group, etc.) within a given social system at a given time” (p. 430). Bakhtin (1934/1981) himself never defines the concept, but he mentions several examples, such as for instance

social dialects, characteristic group behavior, professional jargons, generic languages, languages of generations and age groups, tendentious languages, languages of the authorities of various circles and of passing fashions, languages that serve the specific sociopolitical purposes of the day. (pp. 262–263)

Wertsch (1991) points out that for Bakhtin, “any national language can be used in connection with several social languages, and a social language can invoke more than one national language” (p. 57). He reads Bakhtin’s notion of national language as “the ways in which various languages in a cultural setting are employed: one national language may be used at home, another in formal instructional settings, and yet a third in religious ceremonies” (p. 57). The notion of national language can be interpreted more dynamically than Wertsch does here. I will come back to this under the discussion of diglossia and transglossia in the next section.

Wertsch (1991) also notes that this is precisely the kind of phenomenon that has been studied under the heading of code switching. However, he hastens to add that Bakhtin’s concern goes beyond this: “It was not simply a matter of distribution in the use of various national languages; it was also a matter of how these languages and their uses are interrelated or enter into dialogic interanimation” (p. 57). In this vein, Bailey (2007) argues that “the fact that heteroglossia encompasses both mono- and multilingual forms allows a level of theorizing about the social nature of language that is not possible within the confines of a focus on code-switching” (p. 258), thus making a clear distinction between code switching and heteroglossia and by this moving beyond conventional code switching research.

Similarly, Heller (2007) argues that the term code switching is vexed, and that authors use it in different ways. Some, including myself, distance themselves from it altogether. The concept of code is often used in studies which do not orient themselves to a large



degree to the social side of language, traditionally being used in connection with the study of a linguistic system and not to the use of language. Code switching material, then, has been used to test theories of language, privileging the notion of universal grammar. This approach has especially been contested by researchers adapting a more social approach to language, putting the speakers and not the system at the centre of analysis. Alvarez-Cáccamo (1998), for example, replaces the idea of code with the idea of linguistic resources, which are socially distributed. Bailey (2007) uses the notion of heteroglossia as a conceptual entrée to social meanings of bilingual speech. Heteroglossia, then, encompasses both the local switches in conversations and their inherent political and socio-historical associations. Bailey argues that “[t]he perspective of heteroglossia explicitly bridges the linguistic and the sociohistorical, enriching analysis of human interaction” (p. 269).

In this study, the notion of heteroglossia is particularly central in analyses of two types of phenomena: 1) communicative events where bilingual teachers, emergent bilingual pupils and parents draw on different national as well as social languages, such as their home language which they also speak at home, on the one hand, and Norwegian, which is the dominant official language and also the school language in the society they now live in, on the other, and 2) formal meetings where different opinions on bilingualism and bilingual education are expressed.

#### A DYNAMIC APPROACH TO BILINGUALISM AND BILINGUAL EDUCATION

The term ‘bilingual education’ is by no means straightforward. In Baker’s (2006) words: “Bilingual education is a **simplistic label for a complex phenomenon**” (p. 213; bold in original) (see also Cummins, 2008). Baker makes a distinction between education which promotes two languages, and relatively monolingual education for pupils from linguistic minorities, and notes that the term has both been used to refer to both, that is to programmes which foster bilingualism, and to those which do not, underlining the complexity of the topic.<sup>9</sup>

In her book *Bilingual education in the 21<sup>st</sup> century – A global perspective*, García (2009) shows how the theories and practices of bilingual education, and the underpinnings that

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<sup>9</sup> For a typology of bilingual education see Baker (2006, pp. 214–225).

inform them, have grown and developed from a *monoglossic* view of bilingual education which reduces bilingualism to the use of two or more separate languages, to a *heteroglossic* view that acknowledges a wide variety of bilingual practices and possibilities.

Like García (2009), I adopt a heteroglossic understanding of bilingualism and bilingual education, but before defining this further, it is necessary to contrast it with a monoglossic view. There are two main reasons for this. First, contrasting a heteroglossic view with its monoglossic counterpart will help to better understand and evaluate the approach that I have chosen. Second, these orientations co-exist in the twenty-first century, “depending on the wishes of peoples and societies, as well as their histories and needs” (p. 17).

#### MONOGLOSSIC UNDERSTANDINGS OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION

According to García (2009), monoglossic approaches to bilingualism and bilingual education treat the child’s languages as “separate and whole, and view the two languages as bounded autonomous systems” (p. 7). This view is rooted in structural-functionalist concepts and a result of the development of the twentieth century’s modern nation state construction where languages came to symbolise national unity. Drawing on Ruiz’ (1984) metaphor of bilingualism as problem, García argues that monoglossic bilingual education became a means to improve the teaching of the official language and assimilate linguistic minorities, thus aiming at the homogenisation of the nation.

During the 1970s, García (2009) continues, language difference became increasingly viewed as a right that had to be negotiated, acknowledging that modernisation had failed and that decolonisation had not necessarily led to self-determination or sovereignty. This led to the increased attention of the role of socio-historical processes in shaping particular forms of bilingual education, as well as the roles of class, ethnicity, race, language and gender. Transitional programmes were criticised, and many language minority groups provided their own forms of bilingual education, either aiming at language revitalisation or at the development of the home languages (see for example Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000, and for a critique Duchêne and Heller, 2007).

Historically, the types of bilingual programmes developed during the twentieth century can be seen to respond to the societal bilingualism at the time, and the theoretical construct of *diglossia* (for a detailed discussion see Fishman, 1965). The aim was either native-like proficiency in the majority language, or native-like proficiency in both

languages, echoing Ruiz' (1984) metaphor of language as a problem and language as a right respectively. These programmes respond to what García (2009) calls “a *monoglossic belief* which assumes that legitimate linguistic practices are only those enacted by monolinguals” (p. 115; italics in original). Two bilingual models in line with this monoglossic belief are recurrent in the research literature, that is, *subtractive* and *additive* bilingual education, each with different aims and outcomes. The former programmes are often transition programmes, where the pupils' L1 is used in a transition phase and is eventually replaced by the L2, whereas in additive models L1 and L2 are meant to develop next to each other and result in bilingualism. This makes both models linear by nature (see also Jacobson & Faltis, 1990, p. 4).

Different models of bilingual education favour different types of language arrangements in the classroom. In subtractive bilingual frameworks, flexible convergent arrangements are commonly used, aiming at language shift. This includes the patterns monoliterate bilingualism and random code switching. The first requires that literacy is restricted to the dominant language only. The randomness of code switching is commonly found in transition programmes when bilingual teachers teach the same content concurrently in two languages, without specific pedagogical purpose shifting back and forth between the pupils' languages. Not having a clear control of their switching, García (2009, p. 296) argues that this in fact may promote language shift to the dominant language, especially in cases where two languages are of unequal value in education.

Additive bilingual programmes mostly adhere to strict language separation, arguing that this is the best arrangement to preserve the child's home language, as opposed to favouring the dominant language. This separation can be determined by time, teacher, place or subject. However, even in strict language arrangements, pupils and teachers adopt more flexible bilingual language uses such as translanguaging, but this is often met by resentment and misunderstanding in bilingual education circles. This language arrangement underlines the conception of bilingual as  $1 + 1 = 2$ , “reject[ing] any bilingual languaging which violates traditional concepts of language as an autonomous system” (García, 2009, p. 297).

Summing up, monoglossic understandings of bilingual education in the twentieth century are closely tied together with the positionings and ideologies towards bilingualism at the time. Being concerned with nation building at the beginning of the century and with

language diversity as a right during the 1970s, both imply a monological understanding of bilingualism, viewing language as bounded and stable systems. In the next section, I will discuss how the development of globalisation has challenged these conceptions.

#### HETEROGLOSSIC UNDERSTANDINGS OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION

The development of technology and the flux of people in the 21 century have challenged the sovereignty of the nation state (see also Chapter 1). Consequently, Heller (2007) notes that tools of enquiry used at a time where boundaries, stability and homogeneity were crucial, need to be refined in order to address movement, diversity and multiplicity. In this vein, scholars increasingly turn to wider, more interpretive, political economy, process and practice oriented approaches for studying bilingualism and bilingual education. The action oriented term 'ecology of language' used by Mühlhäusler (1996), and Creese, Martin, and Hornberger (2008) is an example of how language diversity is being rethought in a broader cultural, political and classroom context, and how studying underlying language ideologies is becoming central. The notion of diglossia is another term which is increasingly being called into question as it may give the impression that language hierarchies are both natural and stable. Here, García (2009) prefers the term *transglossia* to describe societal bilingualism in a globalised world, referring to "a stable, and yet dynamic, communicative network with many languages in *functional interrelationship*, instead of being assigned separate functions" (p. 79; italics in original).

García (2009) notes that with the increasing awareness of other languages, and the dominance, especially, of English, but also increasingly of languages such as Chinese, Spanish, and Arabic throughout the world (Graddol, 2006), bilingual education has taken yet another turn, now "growing often without the direct intervention of the state, and including forms that respond to a much more dynamic language use" (García, 2009, p. 15). However, Hélot (2012) is right to insist that non-European immigrant minority languages are often left out in European bilingual programmes, marginalising them in the classroom. García (2009) also admits that one of the most important challenges for bilingual education today is "to ensure that languages do not compete with each other, but that they be developed and used in functional interrelationship" (p. 79). In this way, bilingual education has a transformative function aiming at bringing about greater social equality.

In this vein, García (2009) argues that subtractive and additive bilingual programmes are simply not enough to meet/deal with the complexities of multilinguals' communication in the twenty-first century's global world. She strongly believes that bilingual education in the twenty-first century needs to be "reimagined and expanded, as it takes its rightful place as a meaningful way to educate *all* children and language learners in the world today" (p. 9; italics in original).

Following from this, García (2009, p. 7) contrasts a monoglossic language ideology with a heteroglossic ideology, drawing on Bakhtin's notion of heteroglossia as multiple voices. I imagine that by this she means multiple social languages in interrelationship, and not multiple voices or polyvocality, since these are terms Bakhtin (1934/1981, p. 262) uses particularly for texts or utterances. When he refers to more comprehensive blends or struggles between different social languages, Bakhtin (1934/1981, p. 430) uses heteroglossia. In this way, a heteroglossic perspective on bilingualism and bilingual education stresses "the plurality of uses within each language and across different languages" (Hélot, 2012, p. 216).

Building on a heteroglossic understanding of bilingualism, García (2009) proposes two other models of bilingual education, *recursive* and *dynamic* bilingual programmes, which take into account the different realities of the twenty-first century. In recursive bilingual programmes the aim is to revive language competencies which were suppressed in the community in the past (such as for example Maori in New Zealand). Here, it is not so much that a new language is added, as is the case in additive bilingual education, but more that the language is revived and developed for use in new domains. Hence recursive bilingual programmes are based upon an understanding of heteroglossic language practices which are already present in the language community as the members use them to varying degrees and as they will be used in the future for new purposes, accepting the "flows of bilingualism" (p. 55; italics in original). Or as a Māori proverb goes: "Me haere whakmuri kia haera whakamua" (If you want to go forward, you must go back).<sup>10</sup>

García (2009) points out that although the model of recursive bilingualism originates from heteroglossic language practices, it is not able to reflect the complex multilingual networks many children engage in and the multilingual competence this requires. A more

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<sup>10</sup> Ted Glynn used this proverb in his plenary lecture "Indigenous Māori Initiatives within New Zealand Education" in the seminar *Indigenous education* at Hedmark University College (13.09.2012).

heteroglossic conception of bilingualism recognises its adaptive nature to complex contexts, and consequently that it is not simply linear but more dynamic. García uses Makoni and Pennycook's (2007) image of South Asian banyan trees which grow up, out and down at the same time, to describe the networks children participate in and the language practices this requires, stressing that these are not unidirectional but polydirectional as they "are interrelated and expand in different directions to include the different communicative contexts in which they exist" (García, 2009, p. 8). In other words, García suggests that the fluid ways in which languages are used in the twenty-first century will help us to understand the conceptual changes that are required to support children's language practices in classrooms.

This way, dynamic bilingual education models support the intermingling of bilinguals' languages in the form of translanguagings and other multiple linguistic modes and their interrelationships, aiming at actualising the potential of the child's intellect, imagination, and creativity instead of drawing on prescriptive theoretical frameworks about how language ought to be and ought to function. In other words, aiming at bringing about greater political, economic and social equality, bilingual education is reconceptualised and expanded in response to social interaction between pupils and teachers. As I will return to below, this reconceptualisation has naturally also important implications for curricula, pedagogy and assessment in bilingual education (García, 2009).

When reconceptualising bilingualism and bilingual education, in common with many scholars who apply wider approaches to bilingualism and bilingual education (for example Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Mick, 2011), García (2009) deconstructs language as a concept, and reconstructs it as language practices. Only then, García argues, are we able to understand "its power and potential as a discursive tool" (p. 40). Practices which may seem natural on the surface, in fact, turn out to control and restrict opportunities. She is influenced by Makoni and Pennycook (2007) who call into question "many of the significant issues that surrounded the study of language in the 20<sup>th</sup> century and that form the basis of our present understandings of sociolinguistics and applied linguistics in the 21<sup>st</sup> century" (García 2007, p. xii). They propose that our present conception of 'language' is *invented* by states, missionaries and linguists, who wanted to consolidate their position of power. Through the establishment of language academies and the compilation of

grammars and dictionaries, the states strengthened the position of the standardised language, at the same time masking the differences or similarities with other 'languages'.

In their account, Makoni and Pennycook (2007) not only present a critique (which, as they point out, has similarly been expressed by other linguists and anthropological linguists), but also intend to "find ways of rethinking language in the contemporary world" (p. 3). They argue that this rethinking and hence reconstituting language demands that we move beyond the "notions of linguistic territorialization" (p. 3) which links language to a specific geographical space. Rather, they aim at finding appropriate ways of thinking about language in the contemporary world, reflecting upon "the interrelationships among metadiscursive regimes, language inventions, colonial history, language effects, alternative ways of understanding language and strategies of disinvention and reconstitution" (p. 4). Importantly, Makoni and Pennycook's view of languages is non-materialist in terms of the non-existence of languages in the real world, but they do not deny the material effects languages have on language policies, education, language testing and so on.

From their position that languages are inventions, Makoni and Pennycook (2007) question the notions of *second* language acquisition, or English as a *second* language. Instead, they insist on asking questions such as: "[W]hat would language education look like if we no longer posited the existence of separate languages" (p. 36), arguing that language education would benefit from a focus on translingual language practices rather than language entities. García (2007) asks a similar question in her foreword to their anthology: "How would we teach bilingually in ways that reflect people's use of language and not simply people as language users?" (p. xiii), thus repeating that the bilingual education of today needs to reflect the complex multilingual and multimodal communicative networks of the twenty-first century. This lack of coherence in language education had earlier been pointed out by Hawkins (1999), who had questioned this lack in respect of the teaching of the school language, of classical foreign languages and of the languages of minority speakers. He viewed these clear borders between the subjects as barriers for collaboration between teachers across language subjects. Following from this, Hélot (2012) argues that these boundaries also prevent learners from developing a more holistic approach to language learning across the entire curriculum.

In like vein, Canagarajah (2007) believes that language teaching should "develop a repertoire of codes among our students" (p. 238), instead of aiming at an invented target

language. Here, he goes against what he calls the tendency of some multilingual scholars and researchers to romanticise the translanguaging practices of pupils, giving the impression that translanguaging practices do not have to be taught (Canagarajah, 2011, p. 402). Similarly, Cenoz and Gorter (2011) note that it is too early to determine the effect of pedagogical practices based on translingual practices on bilingual proficiency. According to Canagarajah (2007), the focus should be on developing negotiation strategies among students: “We have to train them to assume difference in communication and orientate them to sociolinguistic and psychological resources that will enable them to negotiate difference” (p. 237). Even though this presupposes a move away from an obsession with correctness due to its focus on rules and conventions, instead of communication strategies, this does not mean that competence and proficiency are not important. Rather, this bilingual teaching would enable pupils to “shuttle *between* communities, and not to think of only joining *a* community” (p. 238; italics in original), in an appropriate and effective manner.

Under the heading “A new angle”, García (2009) introduces a new metaphor for bilingual education in the twenty-first century. Instead of a bicycle with two equal wheels, here referring to Baker’s (2006) metaphor, she argues that the bilingual education of today should be more like a moon buggy or all-terrain vehicle “with different legs that extend and contract in order to ground itself in the ridges and craters of the surface” (p. 8). García explains that the communication between teachers and pupils is “full of craters, ridges, and gaps”, so “[a] bicycle just would not do for this terrain” (García, 2009, p. 8). Children of the twenty-first century bring with them different language practices to the classroom. These are, unfortunately, seldom exploited in terms of learning opportunities (see also Hélot & Ó Laoire, 2011).

Flexible multiple language arrangements belong to recursive and dynamic models, which are, as noted earlier, non-linear by nature (García, 2009, p. 297). The starting point for teaching, then, is not the single languages and the demand of native-like competence, but the bilingual practices already present in the classroom. Being able to translate, switch between languages and design information bilingually becomes increasingly important as it builds on language practices already present in multilingual societies. Several researchers have reminded us that these flexible bilingual arrangements have repeatedly been criticised for violating diglossia and favouring the dominant language in society (for



example Creese & Blackledge, 2010; García, 2009). Even though García recognises the warning to protect the minority language, she insists that “it is not a flexible bilingual arrangement itself that leads to language shift or language maintenance or addition, but *the uses to which these practices are put*” (p. 298; italics in original).

García (2009, p. 297–304) mentions five flexible multiple bilingual arrangements, responsible code switching both ways, preview/view/review, translanguaging, co-languaging, and cross linguistic work and awareness. She borrows the term translanguaging from Cen Williams (2000) who originally used it to describe a pedagogical arrangement which switches between two languages in bilingual classrooms, such as reading in one language and writing in another. However, García (2009) uses it in a much broader sense, describing translanguaging as “*multiple discursive practices* in which bilinguals engage in order to *make sense of their bilingual worlds*” (45; italics in original). I am unsure about how to interpret García’s distinction between responsible code switching both ways and translanguaging. To me, these terms belong to different philosophical traditions, as already discussed in detail in previous sections. In their study on complementary schools in England, Creese and Blackledge (2010) show how participants not only use translanguaging for teaching and learning, but also for identity performance.

In sum, a heteroglossic lens on bilingualism and bilingual education enables us to view teachers’ and pupils’ language practices as a resource for learning. Applying a heteroglossic understanding of bilingualism and bilingual education, a central notion in this dissertation is that of speakers’ linguistic resources, perhaps not so much in themselves, but more as a starting point for reflecting upon teacher collaboration, and upon challenges and possibilities in terms of teaching strategies. As discussed in Chapter 1, Norwegian education policy for emergent bilingual pupils belonging to newer minorities only supports the home language during the first phase of their schooling in Norway. Its transitional policy therefore places it in a monological framework. In contrast, however, I position myself in a heteroglossic framework, arguing for the sustainment of linguistic diversity in schools.



### 3 PRODUCING AND PREPARING THE MATERIAL

Whereas I have discussed the qualitative case study design of this study in Chapter 1, Chapter 3 centres on how the material for the study was produced (first section), and how it was prepared for analysis (second section).

In line with dialogically oriented understandings of bilingualism and bilingual education, I have considered a participant observation design to be the most fruitful approach to my study of teacher collaboration. More specifically, I have used what may be termed a *discursive shadowing technique*, which has involved spending constant and extended periods in the company of my key participants over time and across different school locations (cf. shadowing), as well as the ubiquitous recordings of verbal interactions (cf. discursive).

#### PRODUCING THE MATERIAL

As noted in the introduction, my study is situated within a tradition of qualitative research. Denzin and Lincoln (2011) point out that this field has “no theory or paradigm that is distinctly its own. [...] It does not belong to a single discipline. Nor does qualitative research have a distinct set of methods or practices that are entirely its own” (p. 6). Accordingly, qualitative researchers do not privilege one methodological practice over another. Instead, these are seen as means of producing different insights, different stories and hence different knowledge. Yet, despite the fact that many of the qualitative methods and research practices are used across disciplines, “[e]ach bears the traces of its own disciplinary history” (p. 6).

Historically, qualitative research was shaped by positivist and postpositivist traditions, which contended that it is possible to study and capture or approximate a reality, relying on traditional deductive methodologies, instrumentation and quantification. Whereas some poststructuralists and postmodernists have later accepted these approaches as “one way of telling a story about society or the social world” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011, p. 9), many have rejected them, arguing that they silence too many voices. An important characteristic of qualitative methodology is therefore its *interpretive* stance, or in Denzin and Lincoln’s (2011) words: “qualitative research is a set of complex interpretive practices” (p. 6).

At the most general level, I position myself in a constructivist-interpretive paradigm, assuming that there are multiple realities. Furthermore, I assume a subjectivist epistemology where the knower and the respondent co-construct understandings, and I rely on a naturalistic set of methodological procedures.

#### GETTING STARTED: A PRE-STUDY

Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) argue that research design is a “[r]eflexive process that operates throughout every stage of a project” (p. 21). Similarly, Flick (2007) has noted that “a good design should [...] be *sensitive, flexible and adaptive* to conditions in the field, and in this be *open to new insights* resulting from the first steps or during the progress of the research” (p. 50; italics in original).

Even though the work of teaching emergent bilingual pupils was not entirely new to me, it was new from the viewpoint of the bilingual teacher. Therefore, I conducted a pre-study (September–October 2008). On the basis of some of the literature I had read on bilingual teachers’ collaboration with other teachers (Hauge, 2007; Myklebust, 1993; Vedøy, 2008), I found myself preoccupied with formal teacher meetings, especially from a conversation analytical point of view, inspired by Linell (1998, 2009; Linell & Gustavsson, 1987). Because I was not able to find a bilingual teacher who participated in this type of meetings on a regular basis, I staged four meetings between a bilingual teacher from a Polish language background and a natural science teacher (Dewilde, 2009).<sup>11</sup> In addition to observing and audio recording these meetings, I observed the science lessons and I interviewed both teachers individually.

Early in my pre-study, it became apparent that collaboration between the two teachers was not limited to the meeting room, but that they also frequently conversed while moving between the team room where they had their desk and the classroom. Also, walking with them gave me the opportunity to ask questions about observations which gave me a deeper insight into their joint teaching of a newly arrived pupil. On the basis of this pre-study, I made two main decisions with regard to methodology. Firstly, I decided to not only record the teachers’ conversations during formal meetings, but to do fieldwork which would enable me to study teacher collaboration naturally occurring in different

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<sup>11</sup> I was also inspired by Arkoudis (2005, 2006) who staged meetings between an ESL and a natural science teacher in order to explore how they constructed their professional relationship and negotiated their subject knowledge when planning a science lesson together.

settings, mirroring Creese's (2005) study. Not limiting the scope to meeting rooms, team rooms and classrooms, I decided to use a shadowing technique to gain insight into all the different places the bilingual teacher moves and converses with other teachers, also enabling me to have frequent field conversations with my key participants, inspired by Vedøy's (2008) shadowing approach in her Ph.D. study of management in multicultural schools.<sup>12</sup> Secondly, my curiosity about the bilingual teacher's conversations with her pupil in Polish, led me to realise the importance of multilingual material in my study, again aiming at producing information rich case studies.<sup>13</sup>

#### SELECTING THE SITE AND PARTICIPANTS

The study's research question guided me in planning the selection of schools. A number of aspects were decisive for the type of material that could be produced. First of all, it was important to select schools which had employed a bilingual teacher who taught within school hours, which I see as paramount for conducting a case study of teacher collaboration.<sup>14</sup> Secondly, the bilingual teacher had to be involved in bilingual teaching, and not only in basic Norwegian, as proved to be the case in some schools.

I did not have any preference with regard to the language background of the bilingual teachers. Whereas some researchers are insiders to the community they study, recruiting teachers from a Somali and Arabic language background for instance, I did not share the same linguistic and cultural background as them. Like Aarsæther (2004) who studied code switching among Pakistani-Norwegian ten year olds, I needed help to transcribe and translate the material (for a more detailed discussion see p. 77ff.). Lanza (2008) emphasises the importance of studies such as Aarsæther's, as they are very often motivated by "a need to gain more research-based knowledge about a particular community in order to provide better social or educational support for these individuals"

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<sup>12</sup> As will be described in greater detail on p. 100, it is common for Norwegian schools to organise their teachers in teacher teams, according to the grade they have the most responsibilities for, rather than according to the subjects they teach. Each team often has a common working area, called a 'team room'.

<sup>13</sup> Even though Janesick (2003) also recognises the value of a pre-study before the main study, she rejects the term pilot study, being too limited for qualitative researchers. She calls this sort of background work prior to the main study "stretching exercises" (p. 58), drawing on a dancing metaphor. Janesick goes on to argue that "[s]tretching exercises allow prospective qualitative researchers to practice interview, observation, writing, reflection, and artistic skills to refine their research instruments, which are the researchers themselves" (p. 58). Never having conducted fieldwork prior to my pre-study, I very much felt that I stretched my skills as a fieldworker.

<sup>14</sup> Some teachers may primarily correspond via e-mail or text messages, which would also be interesting to study.

(p. 76). In these cases, it is the need for knowledge which motivates the selection, not the researcher's identity. In my study, I shared an interest in, had expertise in, and positive attitudes towards the education of emergent bilingual pupils, which was decisive for the access to and selection of participants (for a detailed discussion of my researcher role, see p. 98ff.).

I started the recruitment process by contacting local school authorities in a municipality which was known for its work with newly arrived emergent bilingual pupils. They referred me to the principal at Ullstad, one of their lower secondary schools. Expressing a positive attitude towards my study, the principal recommended Mohammed, who was the bilingual teacher with most teaching in the school. When Mohammed said he was interested, I arranged for an initial meeting. With regard to the recruitment of additional teachers, Mohammed collaborated closely with Linn, who became a natural choice to ask. Because most Somali language pupils were in grade 10, I decided to concentrate on the teaching there. On the basis of this choice, Sverre (and later Mette) were asked to join the project by the school principal.

For my second case, I contacted the principal of a primary school in a different municipality after I had conducted my fieldwork at Ullstad. The principal also recommended the bilingual teacher with the largest teaching post, Maryam. When I met Maryam to discuss the details of the study, she suggested that I study her collaboration with Brit. On the basis of my experience of the close collaboration between Linn and Mohammed in the first case I expressed an interest in Maryam's collaboration with Kine, the teacher in the reception class.

Both schools received a letter informing them about the study, and all teachers involved signed a letter of consent (see Appendices 3 and 4). Mohammed and Maryam informed their pupils during a lesson. Mohammed talked to the parents during a parent-teacher meeting, while Maryam rung them, before sending off letters of consent (see Appendix 5). Both bilingual teachers introduced me to their pupils at the beginning of my fieldwork, and asked for their consent once more.

#### SHORT DESCRIPTION OF THE MATERIAL

The length and intensity of the two fieldwork periods differed depending on the bilingual teacher's teaching schedule. In Mohammed's case, I did 11 days of fieldwork during a 4

month period, whereas in Maryam’s case there were 13 days during a 5 week period. This resulted in 21 hours of audio recording and 80 pages of fieldnotes in Mohammed’s case, and 47 hours of audio recording and 85 pages of fieldnotes in Maryam’s case. The main material for this study consists hence of transcriptions and, when necessary, of translations of a selection of the audio recordings, and fieldnotes. Procedures for transcription and translation will be discussed in the next main section.

During each period of fieldwork, I also collected relevant documents, such as teacher and pupil plans, copies of books, handouts, and so on. These have the status of contextualising material. In addition, I conducted four individual semi-structured interviews at each school, more precisely of the bilingual teacher, the teacher in basic Norwegian, one subject teacher colleague and the assistant principal. I focused on biographical details, their work at the school and especially with emergent bilingual pupils, and their collaboration with the bilingual teacher/others. These interviews were recorded and transcribed by me, and are supplementary material, contributing to the detailed descriptions of the two cases. Table 2 below contains an overview.

**TABLE 2: GENERAL OVERVIEW MATERIAL**

	Mohammed’s case	Maryam’s case	Status in the study
Audio recordings	21 hours	47 hours	Primary material
Fieldnotes	80 pages	85 pages	Primary material
Semi-structured interviews	4 interviews; average time 56 minutes	4 interviews; average time 38 minutes	Supplementary material
Documents	Teacher timetables, pupil weekly/period plans, copies from textbooks, teacher hand outs	Pupil weekly/period plans, copies from textbooks, teacher hand outs	Contextualising material

In the following sections, I will discuss the discursive shadowing technique I used, before going into more detail with regard to the audio recordings and fieldnotes.

**SHADOWING**

Across the social sciences, existing interpretive methods have been criticised for dealing poorly with movement, multiplicity and change. Law and Urry (2004) argue that instead of wanting to pin down and dissect these phenomena, researchers should try to engage with the fleeting, the distributed, that which slips and slides between one place and another, and the multiple. In a similar vein, Büscher et al. (2011) criticise social sciences for

presuming “a ‘metaphysics of presence’, proposing that it is the immediate presence of others that is the ‘real’ basis of social existence” (p. 5). On the contrary, they claim that in today’s world many connections between people are not constructed through proximity in time and place, but rather through “imagined presence” (p. 5), made possible through objects, people, information and images travelling across time and space.

Büscher et al.’s (2011) work is part of a body of research aiming at developing a mobility paradigm. For them, the term ‘mobility’ does not just refer to movement, but also to the broader project of

establishing a ‘movement-driven’ social science in which movement, potential movement and blocked movement, as well as voluntary/temporary immobilities, practices of dwelling and ‘nomadic’ place-making are all viewed as constitutive of economic, social and political relations. (p. 4)

The ‘mobilities turn’ is thus a critique of the assumption that humans are able to think and act independently of their material worlds. In fact, Büscher et al. (2011, p. 7) claim that when researchers immerse themselves in the mobile world of their study objects, they are not only able to understand movement as regulated by systems, but also as methodically generative.

Eisenhart (2001) describes several of the difficulties ethnography must address in ‘post-structural’ times, movements of people across time and space being one of them. She argues that this can only be addressed superficially through current ethnographic methods. Her argument is that ethnographic methodology has not kept pace with its core theoretical literature, and to her, various reflexive practices are one way to respond methodologically to new theorisings of social life. For Jirón (2011), shadowing is a reflexive method: indeed, she also classifies it as a mobile method.

There are several related terms for describing shadowing. Kusenbach (2003) speaks of ‘go-alongs’, consisting both of walk-alongs and drive-alongs. Büscher et al. (2011) see parallels to researchers who ‘go along with’, and Marcus (1995) to researchers who ‘follow the people’. Shadowing is the preferred term used by Czarniawska (2007b) and McDonald (2005) in the field of management, Jirón (2011) in urban studies, Gilliat-Ray (2011) in the field of religious and theological studies, and Sclavi (2007) in sociology. Common to all terms, though, is the researcher’s focus on moving together with a key participant across contexts.



Exploring the methodological perspectives in studies applying a shadowing approach, it is possible to distinguish between at least two different understandings of shadowing: one that distinguishes shadowing from other forms of participant observation, and one that perceives it as a form of participant observation with specific characteristics. The first approach appears to have particular currency in research on organisations and management (Czarniawska, 2007b; McDonald, 2005; Presthus, 2010; Vedøy, 2008) where it produces detailed material on the “trivial or mundane and the difficult to articulate” (McDonald, 2005, p. 457). This literature shows how shadowing focuses on the individual, examining them “in a holistic way that solicits not just their opinions or behaviour, but both of these concurrently” (p. 457). Interestingly, in these organisational and management studies some researchers draw a clear line between shadowing and participant observation, distinguishing the two as subtly different epistemologically and methodologically.

The second approach, which perceives shadowing as a form of participant observation, seems to be embedded in a more ethnographic tradition. Creese and Dewilde (in progress), for example, view it as a hybrid form of participant observation which allows for participation in the research setting and affording opportunities for ethnographic interviews with participants.

Kusenbach (2003) claims that go-alongs overcome shortcomings inherent in both participant observation and semi-structured interviews. When observing, participants often do not comment on their actions, making it difficult to “access their concurrent experiences and interpretations” (p. 459). Interviews, on the other hand, are often detached from naturally occurring activities. When conducting go-alongs, the researcher keeps close company with the participant, taking an active stance through constantly asking questions, listening and observing. This “allow[s] researchers to focus on aspects of human experience that tend to remain hidden to observers and participants alike” (p. 478). It could be argued that Kusenbach polarises observation and interviews too much, not mentioning for example situated field conversations or field interviews. However, I agree with her that shadowing conversations potentially differ from field conversations in for example larger fieldworks where the researcher does not keep close company with one key participant, but observes a larger number of people at the same time. More so, the

close company in shadowing offers unique opportunities for relationship building which again may lead to different opportunities to understand the work of the key participant.

McDonald (2005) also points to what she calls the “running commentary” (p. 456) from the person being shadowed in response to the researcher’s questions. The adjective ‘running’ is well suited to the movement, but I prefer ‘dialogue’ instead of ‘commentary’ as it underlines the reflexive potential of shadowing. As mentioned above, Jirón (2011) sees shadowing precisely as a reflexive practice. She argues that “‘becoming the shadow’ of mobility practices, as a reflexive endeavour, involves not only acknowledging routines, but also entering into practices, into dialogue and interaction in a constant engagement with the people whose lives they constitute” (p. 36f.).

Both Jirón (2011) and McDonald (2005) mention the considerable amount of material produced by shadowing. In fact, McDonald uses this as a reason for advising the shadowing researcher against audio recording. I have myself chosen to audio record the conversations between myself and my key participants. These conversations not only become a means to discuss unfolding and exploratory thoughts and preliminary analyses; they become a source of additional interactional field material in which I participate with the key participant in the activity of school events. Creese and Dewilde (in progress) call shadowing combined with audio recordings *discursive shadowing*.

Treating the shadowing conversations as conversational events and making them available as material, the researcher’s voice is worked into the analysis, playing a part in shaping and representing the social action that is being observed. This is in line with what may be called the reflexive enterprise of doing ethnography (Creese & Dewilde, in preparation), which requires the researcher to pay attention to her own voice, taking responsibility for what she says, how she says it, and to whom. This brings up issues of boundaries, ethics and perspective.

In a dialogical framework, interactions are not only interesting in terms of the dialogical relationship between the shadowing researcher and the key participant. Creese and Dewilde (in progress) point to the lost opportunities in terms of the produced interactional material that does not take into consideration the fact that discourse and discursive content travels across situations, and thus involves recontextualisation (Linell, 1998). Discursive shadowing, because of its mobility and its audio recording, allows for the study of discourse chains or trajectories to be viewed across speech events with the

potential to understand how enduring patterns become established in institutional settings. In other words, the analysis of "*interactional chains*" (Linell, 1998, p. 156) amounts to looking for series of communicative situations in which the 'same' content is treated. These recontextualisations at different levels involve the recycling and reinterpretation of meanings, such as "shifts of meaning, new perspectives, accentuation of some semantic aspects and the attenuation or total elimination of others" (p. 157). Also, in a study of bilingual education where part of the key participants' interaction is in languages the researcher has no knowledge of, audio recordings are essential for gaining access to these conversations and to be able to treat them as material.

A noted in Chapter 1, for many bilingual teachers the travelling aspect is a crucial part of their work (Valenta, 2009). Following them across several schools would have permitted me to gain a better insight into the challenges connected to their multi-sited travel, relating to and rushing between an enormous number of teachers and pupils, different school cultures and ways of organising the teaching. However, it would also have made it more demanding to study their relationships to other teachers in depth and to build relations of trust, and I would most likely have had to spend much longer time in the field. Choosing to study how bilingual teachers' ambulated within one school instead enabled me to study more closely their collaboration with a smaller number of teachers with regard to the education of a small group of pupils. It also allowed me to familiarise myself with some of the bilingual teachers' colleagues and pupils.

Another important aspect of the work of bilingual teachers is their contact with the homes. This contact is not only limited to working hours, but also happens during their spare time, as they are often part of the same minority community. Shadowing the teachers beyond the school building would definitely have given me greater insight into their collaboration with parents. This, in turn, would have given me the opportunity to reflect upon how this after school contact affected their work in school and vice versa. When I have chosen not to do so, this is because of the nature of my research question emphasising teacher collaboration in school, and because this would have provided me with even larger amounts of material in Arabic or Somali, languages I do not master.

## AUDIO RECORDING

Researchers interested in bilingualism and bilingual education, across the disciplines but particularly in sociolinguistic, sociological and anthropological approaches, have used audio recordings of conversations as one of their methods for material production. Clemente (2008) mentions other advantages such as being able to review the material, the possibility for making audio (or video) databases, to make the material available to others, and to capture the immediate context of the bilingual phenomenon.

Some sociolinguists send off participants to record themselves in the field. Johnstone (2000) notes that when doing so, the researcher cannot interact with their participants and reflect upon what occurs or ask them to repeat something that is unclear because of background noise for example. Important contextual information may be missed, such as where people look, or what their body language is like. Just like fieldnotes, audio recordings “capture but a slice of ongoing social life” (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995, p. 9). What is actually recorded very much depends on where, when, and how the recording device is positioned, and on how those being recorded respond to this.

Applying a discursive shadowing technique in my study, I would always be present at the school before the bilingual teacher’s arrival. In my first case study, I would wait for Mohammed in the staffroom (which he had to pass to go to his own team room), and accompany him to team room 8 after exchanging some greeting phrases. Mohammed would then clip a microphone onto his shirt, and put the corresponding digital voice recorder into one of his trouser pockets. He would only turn it off during his lunch break. At the end of the working day, he would return the recording device to me.

I tended to wait for Maryam at a desk in team room 2 which I borrowed during my fieldwork. Maryam did not wear her microphone as consistently as Mohammed did. The first week I wore one myself, while during the rest of the fieldwork we both wore one while Maryam was teaching, but she did not always wear it while collaborating with others. She would also leave me to talk to other teachers, and refer to the conversations when she got back. I often tried to anticipate if she was planning to go and talk to other teachers, and join her, or ask if she could wear a microphone. Therefore, I have more recordings where Maryam initiated collaboration, than when other teachers came to talk to her. Having said this, a characteristic of Maryam’s collaboration with other teachers was

precisely the fact that she was mostly the one initiating, collecting the information needed for her teaching. This will be further discussed in PART III.

As a rule, I would talk while moving from one place to another, whereas I would keep more in the background and listen in when Maryam and Mohammed were around other teachers and pupils (see also p. 72). The microphone was sensitive enough to capture the bilingual teachers' conversations with me, other teachers and their pupils while teaching. The recordings from the hallways were sometimes of poorer quality, especially when many pupils were returning to their classes at the same time.

Even though shadowing implies for following a person continuously, sometimes the teachers would wander off without me. On those occasions, the recordings would give me access to and provide me with the conversations when they occurred, but they would not be enriched by fieldnote observation, nor would I be given the opportunity for situated field conversations. These recordings would, however, help me fill in the gaps between the events.

The bilingual teachers' continuous movement between different places would have made it almost impossible for one researcher to video record the entire trajectory. Büscher, Urry and Witchger mention the possibility of mobile video ethnography, but admit that this requires mobility in the form of "anticipatory following" (Garfinkel cited in Büscher et al., 2011, p. 9). Even though schools are not nearly as complex as for example cities, it was not always easy to anticipate where bilingual teachers were planning to take their pupils, as rooms would sometimes be occupied by others on their arrival. Helena Andersson (2009) uses some of the same reasons for not video recording in her study of the communication of second language speakers in a Swedish hospital. The nurses Anderson shadowed throughout their working day would constantly move around, and she never knew in advance where they would wander off to. Also, she was afraid that by trying to capture her moving participants in video recordings, she would lose her overview of everything that went on in the nurses' working day.

From her study on teacher collaboration, Creese (2005) reports that none of the bilingual teachers allowed her to audio record them while teaching. She wonders if this may be because of a certain ambiguity or even hostility within the schools to use the home languages. In my study, one of the bilingual teachers expressed a concern several times of

her/his non-native Norwegian being recorded. This resistance against audio recording may be used as an argument against video recording as well.

#### WRITING FIELDNOTES

There is no consensus on how fieldnotes should be written. Some experts insist on a sharp division between what others do and say and the researcher's own reflections, whereas others make no distinction at all. Some write their fieldnotes as logs at the end of each day, whereas others write them after they have left the field. Some see fieldnotes as the core of their research, whereas others argue that fieldnotes hinder deeper understanding. Emerson et al. (1995) conclude that "different researchers write very different notes, depending upon disciplinary orientation, theoretical interests, personality, mood, and stylistic commitments" (p. xi).

While shadowing, I wore a shoulder bag carrying around a small portable computer. In addition to making fieldnotes on this computer, I had a small scratch pad which I used to draw the seating of the participants who surrounded me, and make drawings of posters on the wall. My writing of fieldnotes is inextricably intertwined with my dialogical approach. Taking an interactionist and interpretive approach to interactions, activities and situations, I do not perceive taking notes as a way of 'capturing' the real world. Rather, my descriptions always involve perception and interpretation. Jotting down some things as significant, and leaving other things out, hence perceiving them as non-significant, always involves selection. Equally important, what I have perceived and noted down is always framed in a particular way, missing out on other possible ways. Fieldnotes also have an "experiential character" (Emerson et al., 1995, p. 10), meaning that their content and concerns change over time, reflecting the fieldworker's sense of what is interesting or important to the people being observed.

While in the field, I adopted what Emerson et al. (1995) call a participating-to-write style which emphasises the

interconnections between writing, participating, and observing as a means of understanding another way of life: this approach focuses on learning how to look in order to write, while it also recognizes that looking is itself shaped and constrained by a sense of what and how to write. (Emerson et al., 1995, p. 19)

In my case, this meant that while Mohammed and Maryam were teaching, I would continuously note down my observations and reflections. At Ullstad I would often enrich

these notes during Mohammed's lunch breaks and after his working day, whereas I would do the same during the evenings when doing fieldwork at the Bergåsen, Maryam's school.

In addition, I would often wait until the end of the day to write up notes on the basis of my talks with Mohammed and Maryam in the hallways while going between rooms. I did this because the movement simply did not allow for writing, but also because I used this time to interact and build a relationship of trust, rather than distancing myself through writing notes.

Emerson et al. (1995) claim that "*what* the ethnographer finds out is inherently connected with *how* she finds it out" (p. 11; italics in original). Bearing this in mind, it has therefore been important for me to note down my own activities, circumstances and emotional responses to what I observed, since these factors necessarily shape the process of observing and recording the bilingual teachers' work. In line with what Emerson et al. (1995) also note, my prior experience, training, and commitments also influenced what I foregrounded in my notes, and which insights were made available by that orientation. It is likely that this made me more sensitive towards these issues, and that they in turn shaped my conversations with my key participants.

A preliminary analysis of a researcher's fieldnotes starts from when she makes jottings into full notes, deciding on what to include and what to leave out (Emerson et al., 1995). Yet it happened that I had left out something seemingly unimportant, and that I later went back to my jottings to re-include it.

The researcher also starts interpreting and analysing situations while still in the field. So, in addition to descriptive writing, I pursued analytical writing, which "can bring a more probing glance to further observations and descriptive writing and consequently help us become more selective and in depth in our descriptions" (Emerson et al., 1995, p. 100). In my fieldnotes, I wrote these comments and questions in red, to make them stand out from the remainder.

All notes were taken in Norwegian, which was a natural thing to do since I was surrounded by Norwegian in the schools, and it was the common language between me and my key participants. The notes included in this dissertation are of course translated into English.

## A RESEARCH ETHICS ON THE MOVE

“Ethical dilemmas and concerns are part of *the everyday practice* of doing research—all kinds of research” (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004, p. 262; my italics). During the entire research process, the everyday practice of my study has been very much linked to my discursive shadowing approach, hence also the subtitle of this section: “*A research ethics on the move*”. In my highly contextualised case studies, a research ethics on the move is necessarily a situated ethics. In this section, I will therefore highlight specific ethical issues that arose from my shadowing, each time documenting the reflexive process I adopted in dealing with, though not necessarily resolving, these issues. In doing so, I hope to contribute to the discussion of the importance of the situatedness of research ethics.<sup>15</sup>

As a framework for thinking about ethics in qualitative research, Guillemin and Gillam (2004) distinguish between what they term *procedural ethics* (macroethics) and *ethics in practice* (microethics), and the relationship between these two major dimensions. By procedural ethics they mean the process of seeking approval from ethics committees to carry out research with people, whereas ethics in practice pertains to the everyday ethical issues that arise while doing research. A third dimension, which is not elaborated on in the article, concerns the research ethics as articulated in professional codes of ethics or conduct. In my study, I relate to the Norwegian guidelines formulated by NESH – National Committees for Research Ethics in Norway. The study has been approved by NSD – Norwegian Social Science Data Services (see Appendices 3, 4 and 5).

Even though qualitative researchers’ perception of applying to research ethics committees is often seen as “a hurdle to surmount” (p. 266), Guillemin and Gillam (2004) view the committees’ emphasis on the protection of the basic rights and safety of research participants as “a helpful aid in designing a research project that will be ethically acceptable in its broad methodology” (p. 268). This is not to say, however, that these procedural ethics have much impact on how the researcher actually conducts the research in the field. This responsibility, Guillemin and Gillam note, falls back on the researchers themselves. However, they do not disregard the continuity between the ethical concerns expressed by the committees and those at the more practical level. Rather, they suggest

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<sup>15</sup> See Haverkamp (2005) and Kubanyiova (2008) for similar discussions in applied psychology and applied linguistics respectively.



that the “notion of *reflexivity* encapsulates and extends the concerns of procedural ethics” (p. 269).

Guillemin and Gillam (2004) argue that their understanding of the notion of reflexivity is broader than what is common in qualitative research. For them, reflexivity is not only limited to rigour in the production of knowledge, but it also includes the “interpersonal and ethical aspects of research practice” (p. 277). Ethical reflexivity to Guillemin and Gillam means: acknowledging microethics, sensitivity to *ethically important moments*, and the ability to respond to ethical concerns when they occur. In this sense, reflexivity becomes a “helpful conceptual tool for understanding both the nature of ethics in qualitative research and how ethical practice in research can be achieved” (p. 262f.).

As a way to articulate and understand ethical dimensions of research practice, Guillemin and Gillam (2004) have coined the notion of “ethically important moments” (p. 265). These are moments where the researcher has to make a decision which has important consequences. They avoid the term *ethical dilemma* which may give the impression that there is a choice between different options, all leading to equally ethical advantages and disadvantages. Often we know what the right thing to do is, but this does not make the situation less trivial. This decision making, Guillemin and Gillam argue, is part of the “researcher’s ethical competence” (p. 269). By this they mean: “the researcher’s willingness to acknowledge the ethical dimension of research practice, his or her ability to actually recognize this ethical dimension when it comes into play, and his or her ability to think through ethical issues and respond appropriately (p. 269).<sup>16</sup>

I find the term *ethically important moments* a valuable one for discussing about issues that arise while shadowing and which often have to be dealt with on the spot, or occasionally also during the analysis and writing phase. In what follows, I will provide three examples from my material, illustrating different ethical issues related to my shadowing approach: *the intimacy of shadowing and audio recording*, *loyalty to the key participant*, and *access to unexpected places and people*. In sharing my reflexive process, I also hope to show how general ethical principles may be challenged by the participants, and their concerns, needs and interests.

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<sup>16</sup> See Dobson (2008) for a similar discussion in the field of sociology.

Shadowing is a technique which involves constant closeness, perhaps closer than most other qualitative research methods, both in terms of physical and social proximity. Accordingly, the technique provides the researcher with a lot of detail about the key participants and about the landscape they move in. This intimacy very much contributes to the complex dynamics between the researcher and the participant. This means for example that the researcher does not necessarily have the immediate trust of the participant and hence access to all places and all conversations. In this vein, Jíron (2011) reminds us that the researcher's position and methods constantly need to be adapted reflexively. She argues that "the proposed mobile methods are always in construction, always becoming" (p. 37).

When discussing the study's design, methods and research question at the initial meeting with Mohammed, he asked not to be shadowed during his lunch breaks. This was not an ethically difficult moment in the field, but rather part of our negotiation. In respecting Mohammed's wish, I came a step closer to gaining his trust. In this respect, it was an ethically important moment.

Gaining Maryam's trust, on the other hand, was a longer and more difficult process (see particularly Chapter 11). Even though she gave her approval to being shadowed and audio recorded at the outset of the study, she left me behind on so many occasions (without wearing the microphone) that I have less observational and interactional material from her collaborations. Instead, she would often retell her conversations with other teachers, forcing me to revise my discursive shadowing design to a certain extent. When I saw she planned to move to a different room, I would sometimes ask if she was on her way to talk to another teacher. If she confirmed this, I would ask her if she could wear the microphone. Even though I tried to tread carefully and respect her wishes, I cannot be sure that she did not feel the pressure to do so. I experienced Maryam as more preoccupied with her bilingual teaching than with sharing her conversations with other teachers in the field. Adapting my design was a way of meeting and respecting her focus and wishes. This adaptation did not occur over night, however, but was part of a process consisting of many ethically important moments.

#### THE LOYALTY TO THE KEY PARTICIPANT

The constant companionship that I established with both Mohammed and Maryam created feelings of loyalty and alignment which shaped the way I considered ethical issues in the field. An *ethically important moment* occurred when Mohammed suddenly got up to take his pupils to the library, while co-teaching science in the laboratory (see Chapter 7 for a detailed discussion). The sudden movement took me by surprise, and I needed some extra time to gather my belongings. When I was finally ready to leave, the science teacher Sverre accompanied me to the door and started discussing Mohammed's difficult situation of being a teacher aid when his pupils skip the science classes often. Sverre pointed out that I probably see more than he does, and asked if the pupils also skip other classes.

This ethically important moment highlights the intimacy between me as the shadowing researcher and Mohammed. I did not feel comfortable having this conversation about Mohammed with Sverre, nor did I feel at ease when being asked to share information or insights gained through shadowing. Sverre positioned me as somebody who had information he was curious about, but which he did not have access to. I somewhat vaguely answered that the pupils do not skip the lessons in the reception class for emergent bilingual pupils, aiming at avoiding having to say anything about other subject classes or Mohammed.

#### ACCESS TO UNEXPECTED PLACES AND PEOPLE

As a shadowing researcher, I sometimes gained access to unforeseen places and situations. When shadowing Mohammed, for example, I observed a meeting with three members of staff and six parents from a Somali background (for a detailed discussion see Chapter 8). This meeting became one of the most ethically demanding moments of this study, not because of the decisions I had to take in the field, but because of the nature of the material after it had been transcribed and translated. The parents had been informed about the study and had signed the letter of consent on behalf of their children. Before the meeting started, they were reminded of the study and asked by the bilingual teacher if it was acceptable that I observed and recorded them at this parent-teacher meeting. All consented. Because I became uncertain about the formalities I phoned NSD. I was told by the caseworker that as long as I anonymised the parents and had their oral consent on tape, there should be no problem. Nevertheless, working through the transcripts and

translations, the access to large amounts of private talk by the parents about their children, their challenging housing conditions, and so on worried me.

One of Mohammed's tasks at the meeting was translating what the parents talked about to the Norwegian speaking staff. Mohammed did not translate many of the private matters. I will come back to possible reasons for this in Chapter 8, but one of them may have been Mohammed's wish to protect the parents, against me or perhaps also the Norwegian staff. At one point, Mohammed explicitly reminded the parents of the audio recorder. One reason for this may be the conversations' private nature. Mohammed may have thought that exposing the parents' and pupils' private situation could hurt them as a minority group in Norway.

Stake (2010) asks if it is ethical for a researcher to enter into an anonymised, consenting, collaborating individual's privacy. He argues that the researcher needs to draw a boundary early on, and that it cannot be up to the participants alone to identify this intrusion. He lists 17 possible rules to diminish intrusion, the first one being particularly relevant here:

Regardless of where data are to be gathered, "personalistic research" will enter the "spaces" of personal experience. The researcher needs to get close enough to comprehend that experience and stay far enough away to avoid intrusion into the truly felt private. (p. 208)

Stake (2008) calls this the participants' "zone of privacy" (p. 205). Hence, in dealing with this ethically important moment in my analysis I tried to focus on my research question and be sensitive to the information that was needed to answer it, without intruding into the parents' private sphere. This is also in line with Stake's advice not to probe into low-priority sensitive issues.

Summing up, three ethical issues particularly related to the nature of discursive shadowing approach used in this study were illustrated through ethically important moments. Discursive shadowing is an intimate technique, bringing up issues of boundaries, both in terms of relationship building with the key participants and loyalty and access to unexpected places and people. Audio recordings in languages I had no knowledge of could not be accessed until after these had been transcribed and translated, hence delaying some ethically important moments. By sharing my reflexive process I have shown how a general ethical principle such as informed consent was challenged by the participants and by me during and after the fieldwork, and how it was dealt with.

## PREPARING THE MATERIAL

As I have accounted for in the previous section, the main material of this study consists of fieldnotes and audio recordings, in addition to documents collected during the fieldwork and a number of short interviews which were used as supplementary and contextual material. The different sets of material required different preparation for analyses. I have already commented on how I turned jottings into full notes and analytical writing while still in the field (see p. 70). I will concentrate on the preparation of the large number of audio recordings from the field, which were the most time consuming.

It was neither possible nor desirable to transcribe and translate all audio recordings obtained from discursive shadowing. The selection process was guided by the research question and fieldnotes. This will be discussed in greater detail in the next section.

## TRANSCRIBING

Hutchby and Wooffitt (2008) distinguish between the audio recording as reproduction of a specific social event, and the transcript as a representation of the audio recording of naturally occurring interactions. For interaction analysts, the practice of transcribing and the product of the transcription are distinctive stages in the process of material analysis. Importantly, it is the interaction itself which is regarded as material, not the transcripts. The transcripts become “a convenient referential tool” (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008, p. 70).

Mishler (1991) strongly argues that transcription is more than a technical procedure; it is also an interactive practice. His view is in line with a realist philosophy of the relationship between language and meaning, understanding it as “contextually grounded, unstable, ambiguous, and subject to endless reinterpretations” (p. 260). Mishler calls the way speech is displayed in transcripts “a critical step in the social production of scientific knowledge” (p. 261). In other words, when representing speech, the researcher has to make an endless number of procedural and methodological decisions which reflect theoretical assumptions, and which in turn have serious implications for how the discourse is understood.

Linell (1994) emphasises that transcription is not only dependent on theoretical orientations, but also on the aim of the study. Ideally, he argues, the researcher should know what kinds of analyses are desirable in advance, but this, however, is often not the case. In fact, often times the researcher is not aware of which features are relevant and interesting until after some sort of transcription has been carried out. Therefore, Linell

advises the researcher to build up her own set of broad transcription conventions, which in turn can be complemented in different directions by more specific transcriptions.

In my study of bilingual teachers' collaboration I was first and foremost interested in the content and interaction format of their conversations with others, rather than the details of their ways of expression. When transcribing a selection of my material, I listened repeatedly to the recordings and thus built up a set of broad transcription conventions which reflected this interest. I stuck closely to the audio recordings, identifying speakers, the language chosen, turns, truncated utterances and words, longer pauses, and indecipherable talk. These transcriptions were sometimes specified later when necessary, adding for example overlap, stress, and especially high or low pitch (see Appendix 2).

My fieldwork resulted in a large amount of interaction material. In order to be able to describe broader patterns across the material, I engaged a postgraduate student who had some previous experience with transcription to help me to make broad transcriptions. He mainly followed my conventions. Afterwards, I repeatedly listened to the audio recordings, further specifying these broad transcriptions accordingly to my needs.

Some of the recordings were of very good quality, especially when teachers collaborated in their team rooms when few other teachers were present, or when others present did not talk, whereas recordings from the hallways were sometimes overlain with background noise. In my transcripts, I used the symbol 'xx' for indecipherable talk. As for the transcription of the audio recordings in languages I do not have knowledge of, I engaged native speakers who transcribed for me (see below for a detailed discussion). I asked them to use the same symbols, and went through their transcripts while listening to the audio recordings, hence aiming at ensuring that everything was transcribed. Some of the transcripts were also double checked by other native speakers.

There were many decisions to be made concerning representation that shape how the speakers and their speech in the transcribed conversation are understood by readers. Linell (1994) points out that a transfer from the analysis stage to the final publication may involve several changes based on compromise. The requirement of authenticity, that is, being truthful to the nature of speech, may for example be difficult to reconcile with adaptation to standardised language norms for readability purposes. The intended audience of this dissertation consists of researchers in the field of bilingualism and bilingual education who may have varying experience of transcribed materials, and may

not be conversation analysts. Having said this, however, I have still chosen to include some more specific features in some of the transcripts presented in the analysis chapters, for two reasons. First, I used these features for analytical purposes, not always knowing in advance which features would be of interest. Second, detailed transcriptions may also be used by other, more interactionally oriented, researchers for different purposes than those of my study.

My theoretical orientation towards heteroglossia as the simultaneous use of different (social) languages is also reflected in my transcriptions. Hence, I have chosen to include dialectal and non-native features and thus emphasise regional differences as well as ‘accents’ that add to the diversity of spoken Norwegian. It could be argued, however, that including non-native features may promote a negative image of the speakers. As one of my informants was very preoccupied with correct language, I have taken her/his interest into account by normalising this informant’s minor variations in pronunciation, as they do not in any way compromise my analytical needs. In the English translations, however, a more standardised, nevertheless oral, language has been aimed at, as dialectal and other deviations from standard language sometimes were difficult, if not impossible, to translate. When a speakers’ speech deviates substantially from native-like speech, I have chosen to use a footnote to suggest a possible native-like equivalent, in order to rule out misunderstandings, but to retain heteroglossic language use.

Blackledge and Creese (2010, p. 76) have opted not to follow normal multilingual conventions that commonly distinguish between the different languages by using bold, normal and underlined fonts, and argue that they thereby avoid creating a boundary between languages by marking them as different. This is in line with their arguments on translanguaging and heteroglossia. When I have chosen to follow the usual conventions, it is first and foremost for reasons of clarity for the reader. When speakers use hybrid forms, I have chosen to mark these in both languages. So, in the transcripts, utterances drawing on Arabic and Somali are underlined, those drawing on Norwegian italicised, and for those drawing on English I have used bold. I have both done this in the extracts (see for example in Table 3 in p. 81 below), when including them in the main text of the story, and in the translation of these utterances.

Summing up, my transcription system has been dependent on my theoretical orientation of heteroglossia, and the aim of studying how bilingual teachers collaborate

with other teachers. Consequently, in the transcriptions I included dialectal and what can be characterised as non-native features. Due to ethical considerations, I normalised some of the pronunciation of one of the participants. Most of the transcripts are broad transcriptions favouring content and interaction format, but also occasionally including a more narrow transcription.

## TRANSLATING

Translation is a central aspect in this dissertation in several ways. The bilingual teachers and their pupils and parents drew on languages neither I nor my intended audience have knowledge of. In order to gain access to this speech, audio recordings needed to be translated to a language both I and my readers were familiar with. This has been a demanding and time consuming process. As I will show in Chapter 8, this was also demanding for Mohammed who interpreted at a parent-teacher meeting drawing on Somali and Norwegian, and Chapter 11 illustrates that the basic Norwegian teacher Kine does not believe Maryam should switch between languages, but stick to her home language Arabic.

In order to be able use the recordings in Arabic and Somali as material, I engaged bilingual assistants who transcribed and translated for me. I was not able to find assistants who felt comfortable translating from Arabic/Somali to English. Because the bilingual teachers also drew on Norwegian, including hybrid language forms, I prioritised expertise in Arabic/Somali and Norwegian above English, and made the translations from Norwegian to English myself. These were all copy edited by a native speaker of English and double checked by the bilingual assistants.

When including interaction in the main text of the dissertation, I consistently present the original first, followed by the translation in English. Even though I realise this may be demanding for the reader, it has been important for me to do so for two reasons: first, only including the English translations may give the impression that the original conversations were in English; second, putting English first and the translation in brackets behind, may give the impression that English has a favourable position compared to other languages; and third, as already mentioned, translation was demanding and not unproblematic for me or the bilingual teachers, pupils and parents involved in this study. It is to be pointed out that unlike transcriptions from Norwegian speech, most transcriptions



from interaction drawing on Arabic/Somali remained broad transcriptions, and only when requested to do so did the bilingual assistants provide a narrow transcription including certain features. Again, my intention has not been to favour Norwegian above other languages, but is related to my own linguistic background which enabled a more detailed analysis of speech drawing on Norwegian and English.

Only one of the bilingual assistants had previous experience in transcribing. I therefore met them in person and listened together with them to some of the recordings, discussing possible challenges and ways of dealing with these. This was for example related to undecipherable speech, overlap and the inclusion of dialect features, but also about how to write hybrid language in Arabic, Norwegian/English with regard to different writing directions.

Also, it was not the case that once the audio recordings in Arabic and Somali had been transcribed and translated, I could carry out a straightforward analysis. Every time I had discovered a pattern, but also when I was unsure or just curious about something, I sent the bilingual assistants an e-mail with my queries. They would often ring me to discuss these matters. Let me illustrate this with an example from the recordings in Somali.

I sent an audio file from a lesson where Mohammed and the teacher in basic Norwegian Linn taught together, Mohammed mainly drawing on Somali and Linn on Norwegian. The two left columns in grey in Table 3 illustrate the transcription and translation I received from the bilingual assistant. The column on the right is my own translation for the English readers of my dissertation:

**TABLE 3: EXAMPLE TRANSLATION AND TRANSCRIPTION PROCESS**

Bilingual assistant's transcription	Bilingual assistant's translation	My translation
L: <i>Ho VAR med. Det er det motsatte. En voldsutøver betyr at du utøver vold. Du slår. Vold, slår.</i> M: <u>Lyadaa dadka billowday in ay disho. Ayadaa dadka dad feedhi jirtay.</u>	M: <u>Det var hun som begynte å slå folk. Det var hun som begynte å bokse folk.</u>	L: <i>She DID join. It's the opposite. A person committing violence means that you commit violence. You hit. Violence, hit.</i> M: <u>It was she who started hitting people. It was she who started boxing people.</u>

After having scrutinised the transcription and translation, I sent the bilingual assistant an e-mail asking the following question (original in the left column):

Bruker Mohammed det somaliske ordet for "voldsutøver" her, eller gir han kun en forklaring. Og hvis han ikke bruker noe somalisk ord for voldsutøver, finnes det i språket? På engelsk, for eksempel, gjør det ikke det, så langt jeg vet.

Does Mohammed use the Somali word for "person committing violence" here, or does he only give an explanation. And if he doesn't use a Somali word for a person committing violence, does it exist in the language? In English, for example, it doesn't, as far as I know.

The answer from the bilingual assistant confirmed my assumption, that is, Mohammed did not use the Somali word for 'voldsutøver' (a person committing violence), even though a commonly used word for this exists. As I will discuss in greater detail in Chapter 6, the reason for my question was a pattern I discovered where Mohammed very often explained the Norwegian word, using Somali, not giving the Somali equivalent. In order to be sure of my analysis, I each time double checked with the bilingual assistant. Translation is by no means a straightforward business, but based on many decisions regarding for example idiomatic language or word for word translation.

## 4 ANALYSING THE MATERIAL

Henning Olsen (2002) notes that there are no universally accepted rules for carrying out qualitative analysis. This does not mean, however, that “*anything goes*” (p. 103), but it is rather a reminder of the importance with respect to transparency of the analytical strategies applied.

The starting point for my analysis is grounded in the broadly accepted thesis in philosophy of science, “that how we interpret phenomena is always perspectival and that so-called facts are always theory-laden” (Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2009, p. 3). In this vein, I have applied an abductive analytical approach. Similar to induction, abduction has its point of departure in empirical material. It does not, however, reject theoretical preconceptions, being closer to deduction in this respect. The research process “alternates between (previous) theory and empirical facts whereby both are successively reinterpreted in the light of each other” (p. 4). Even though the literature commonly distinguishes between inductive and deductive analyses, Alvesson and Sköldbberg note that abduction is “probably the method used in real practice in many case-study based research processes”, comprising elements from both induction and deduction, at the same time as “it adds new, specific elements” (p. 4).

In more concrete terms, I base my interpretation of the material on a combination of a thematically oriented analysis of fieldnotes and a dialogically oriented discourse analysis of audio recordings. I present these analyses in the form of five narratives, three for the first case and two for the second. Each narrative focuses on different aspects that are important with respect to bilingual teachers’ collaboration with other teachers, presented through a focused example, which is also seen in connection with broader patterns across the material.

### ANALYSING FIELDNOTES

Emerson et al. (1995) point out that in fieldwork the mass of fieldnote material may be overwhelming. In order to create a coherent and focused analysis of some of the aspects of the social life that have been observed, they suggest several distinct practices, which involve close reading, combined with coding. In the process of coding, the researcher’s stance changes from being closely involved while in the field to treating the fieldnotes as

texts to be studied and analysed (although still linked to personal memories and intuitions). They describe two phases: *open coding* and *focused coding*. In the first phase, the researcher reads through the notes and identifies wide ranging ideas, themes and issues. In the second phase, the researcher uses “a smaller set of promising ideas and categories to provide the major topic and themes for the final ethnography” (p. 143).<sup>17</sup> While reading and coding, Emerson et al. (1995) suggest that the fieldworker writes *theoretical memos*, that is, *initial memos* around specific topics and issues at the beginning, and *integrative memos* which “seek to clarify and link analytic themes and categories” (p. 143) later on. Similar analytical strategies have been suggested by Hammersley and Atkinson (2007), and also by Strauss and Corbin (1990) within a grounded theory tradition.

Following Emerson et al.’s (1995) analytical suggestions, I started by reading through a printed version of the complete set of notes in each case successively, thus “taking in the entire record of the field experience as it [...] evolved over time” (p. 142), and aiming at identifying themes, patterns, and variations. Even though I had already analysed bits and pieces from both cases, at this point I viewed them in another, more distant, perspective. It was important for me to search for the particular in each intrinsic case, with the aim of understanding the features that are important for the specific cases (Stake, 2008). Only after having analysed both cases individually did I compare and contrast features that were for example prominent in one of the cases, but not in the other, and reflect upon possible reasons for, and consequences of this (see PART III).

After having read through the fieldnotes and started the open coding, I elaborated on some ideas and insights by means of writing initial memos. Often, I would use these memos to identify and explore a general pattern or theme, trying to link a number of events or conversations. The following example is one of the memos I composed on the basis of notes taken during my fieldwork at Bergåsen:

Det forekommer mange eksempler i materialet der Maryam på en eller annen måte understreker viktigheten elevenes arabisk kunnskaper. Det kan enten være ved å framheve av elevene sine, eller ved å referere til

In the material, there are several examples where Maryam in one way or another underlines the importance of her pupils’ skills in Arabic. This may be by praising her pupils, or by referring to pupils who brag about her

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<sup>17</sup> Emerson et al. (1995) work in an ethnographic tradition. My study is not ethnographic in itself, but it does borrow methods from (linguistic) ethnography. The analytical strategies for analysing fieldnotes suggested by Emerson et al. are therefore also relevant for my study.

elever som skryter av hennes undervisning. Hun blir også tydelig stolt når andre lærere eller jeg sier vi er imponerte over jobben hun gjør. Hvis elevene av en eller annen grunn mister timer eller deler av timer med henne, tar hun dem ut i pausene eller i andre timer.

teaching. She is also clearly proud when other teachers or I tell her we are impressed by the work she does. If pupils for some reason miss classes or parts of classes with her, she takes them out during breaks or other classes.

This particular memo became the starting point for one of my stories in Maryam's case (see Chapter 10).

On the basis of my coding and memoing, many ideas and themes could potentially have been pursued in this dissertation. I have, however, selected three core themes for Mohammed's case and two for Maryam's case, each illustrating different aspects that are important with respect to their collaboration with other teachers. The choices for selection were governed in two ways, firstly, on the basis of themes which were recurrent and hence appear to be important, such as home-school collaboration in Mohammed's case; and secondly, on the basis of issues which were recurrent and referred to as important by my key participants, such as the way lessons were composed in Maryam's case. Besides, these topics were of an overarching character, thus also relating to smaller issues. In Maryam's case, for example, a less frequent issue was talk about choices of teaching methods due to different teaching traditions. This issue related to the more overarching pattern of different opinions about bilingual pedagogy, pursued in Chapter 10.

After having identified five core themes and patterns, I grouped my fieldnotes accordingly in five separate word documents. At this stage, I also used the selection of the themes as a guideline in my listening to parts of my audio recordings. The transcriptions and translations of these selected recordings also resulted in five separate word documents. In the section below I describe the analysis of the audio recordings in greater detail. Here, I am concerned with the analyses produced by combining the two sets of word documents, based on the two different types of materials, fieldnotes and audio recordings.

Reading through my two sets of word documents line by line (combined with consistently listening to the audio recordings), I built up and elaborated on analytically interesting themes. For example when analysing Maryam and Kine's conflict on bilingual pedagogy presented in Chapter 11, I tried to connect fieldnotes and audio recordings, not only discovering subthemes such as different teaching methods belonging to different

teaching traditions, different opinions of the bilingual teachers' roles, but also gaining insight into how they positioned themselves in conversations. At this stage I also decided on the main focus of the five stories (see p. 95ff.).

Combining these two sets of material gave me the possibility to tie down the fieldwork and open up the interaction, a core argument also used in linguistic ethnography (Rampton et al., 2004, p. 4). Creese (2008) puts it as follows: "Linguistic ethnography argues that ethnography can benefit from the analytical frameworks provided by linguistics, while linguistics can benefit from the processes of reflexive sensitivity required in ethnography" (p. 232). This is not to say, however, that without linguistic analysis, the ethnographic accounts are speculative; a criticism expressed by for example Hammersley (2007, p. 693), but rather that by combining these two analytical approaches, I gain access to different aspects that are important with respect to bilingual teachers' collaboration with other teachers, in sum giving a richer description of some of the aspects of social life.

Also, it is important to note that the dialogical approach to interaction and sense making applied in this dissertation takes context as fundamental to analysis and is hence more easily combined with ethnographic methods than traditions within linguistics which do not address language and culture together, but rather treat them as autonomous system.

In sum, I used my fieldnotes for two main purposes. Firstly, I used them to acquire ideas, insights and patterns from the social life that I observed during my fieldwork, or more specifically from some of the aspects of the bilingual teachers' collaboration with other teachers. Secondly, I used them to make selections in the mass of audio recordings obtained during the fieldwork. The epistemological assumptions in dialogism permit the combination of addressing language and culture together, since it involves a context sensitive approach to sense making.

## ANALYSING AUDIO RECORDED CONVERSATIONS

Audio recorded conversations can be analysed in multiple ways, depending on the researcher's theoretical and methodological assumptions and purposes. In line with my theoretical framework presented in Chapter 2, the analytical tools employed in this study are embedded in a dialogical understanding of language and discourse. I have thus chosen

a dialogical approach which is flexible and dynamic and can provide a framework for multidirectional and multilayered processes of interaction.

As noted in the previous section, the analyses of the bilingual teachers' conversations with others contribute to tying down the fieldwork by providing insights into language use not available through participant observation and the taking of fieldnotes. In Rampton's (2007) words:

the empirical heuristics developed in linguistics are an important resource that researchers can play in dialogue with [...] introducing a set of highly developed tools for analyzing and uncovering unnoticed intricacies in the discursive processes through which cultural relationships and identities are produced. (p. 596)

Furthermore, the 'unnoticed intricacies' mentioned in the above quotation can be studied by others when transcriptions are made available. This, Rampton argues, "increas[es] the amount of reported data that is open to falsification" (p. 596). In fact, in a study of bilingual education where participants draw upon languages unfamiliar to the researcher, detailed study of transcriptions and translations also contribute to the understanding of the construction of cultural relationships and identities.

Sidnell (2009, pp. 49–51) makes some useful suggestions for developing analytical skills: looking for patterns across and within material samples, selecting formulations (repetition, referents) and formats. This is precisely how I went about analysing my audio recordings. Let me give an example. While reading through my fieldnotes on Linn and Mohammed's joint teaching at Ullstad, I became interested in Mohammed's support role, and how he filled this role. While transcribing and analysing conversations between the two teachers before, during and after their teaching, I discovered a pattern, that is, Mohammed had many minimal responses or laughter (underlined in the transcript below) when the topic was sensitive. Transcript #3.1 below is an extract from a conversation between Linn and Mohammed where Linn initiates talk on complicated family relations amongst Somali.

#### TRANSCRIPT #3.1

01	L: Ja, for det er noe med	L: Yeah, because there is something about
02	hvem er hva. Er det flere koner egentlig	who is what? Are there several wives?
03	ut og går? At det er det det er, at det er-	That that is what it is, that there is-
04	At det med at det er stemor- og	That with that it is a stepmother- and
05	du har ei- at du skiller deg fra	you have a- that you get divorced from

06	ei kone så har du i utgangspunktet flere	one wife so you have several
07	koner i Somalia.	wives in Somalia to start with.
08	M: <u>Mm.</u>	M: <u>Mm.</u>
09	L: Men så kommer du til Norge der det	L: But then you come to Norway and there
10	bare er lov å ha ei kone,	you're only allowed to have one wife,
11	og så må du skille deg ifra	and so you have to get divorced from
12	den ene kona.	one wife.
13	M: <u>Haha.</u>	M: <u>Haha.</u>
14	L: Og så- ja men- og da blir det mest	L: And so- yes but- and then it is most
15	sannsynlig den eldste- at du	likely that it is the oldest- that you get
16	skiller deg fra den eldste og så beholder	divorced from the oldest and you keep
17	du den yngste som kan fortsette å	the youngest who can continue to
18	få en masse barn.	produce loads of children.
19	M: <u>Hehe.</u>	M: <u>Hehe.</u>
20	L: Ja men det er- det blir jo fort er eller det	L: Yeah but it is—it easily gets er or it
21	det blir så komplisert at du klarer ikke å	it gets so complicated that you can't
22	nøste på det heller,	unravel it either,
23	M: Det er det.	M: That's right.
24	L: i forhold til- ja hvilket	L: when it comes to- yeah which
25	familieforhold er det egentlig da. Men	family relations do we have then. But
26	det er ikke det at det er så ukompliserte	it's not that we have such uncomplicated
27	familieforhold familieforhold i Norge	relationships relationships in Norway
28	heller, med mine og dine og våre	either, with mine and yours and ours
29	og-	and-
30	M: <u>Hehe.</u>	M: <u>Hehe.</u>
31	L: Men er- ja .. det er jammen ikke-	L: But er- yeah .. it's certainly not-
32	M: <u>Ja.</u>	M: <u>Yeah.</u>

As the extract shows, Mohammed has minimal responses in lines 9, 14, 20, 31, 33, not developing this possibly sensitive topic of family relations amongst Somali people in any way. In the same discourse event, Linn and Mohammed talked about pupils being new and about bullying. Analyses of Mohammed's initiative and response with regard to these topics showed that he was more active, as he had few minimal responses and hence contributed to the development of the topic.

Uncovering patterns in interaction is a central analytical strategy in my study. However, these elementary contributions and local sequences are not units of meaning but rather units of expression, and may hence be looked upon as "building blocks or procedural (action) constituents" (Linell, 1998, p. 233) of *communicative activity type*, *communicative project*, *topical episode*, *rendition* and *coordinating moves*, five central discourse analytical concepts in this dissertation, which I will discuss below. In the introduction to each story, I refer to which of these analytical concepts are central in each story.



These concepts were also used for analysing interaction drawing on Arabic, English and Somali. In addition, I studied Mohammed and Maryam's processes and strategies of what has been called flexible bilingualism (Blackledge & Creese, 2010), heteroglossia (Bailey, 2007; following Bakhtin, 1934/1981), and translanguaging (García, 2009) in two different ways: firstly, as *renditions* of original speech when support teaching and when interpreting at a parent-teacher meeting, following Wadensjö (1998); secondly, as teaching strategies when flexibly drawing on communicative resources from different languages.

#### COMMUNICATIVE ACTIVITY TYPE

As noted earlier (see p. 43ff.), one of the basic assumptions of dialogical thinking is that actions and utterances are interdependent with the overarching activity they are part of, at the same time as these activities are made up of their constitutive acts and utterances. This act-activity interdependence assumption serves as a starting point for Linell's (1998) concept of *communicative activity type*. The notion is closely related to that of communicative (or speech) genre (Bakhtin, 1934/1986). However, whereas the latter originates in literary theory and the classification of written text and is first and foremost oriented to forms of utterance, the former comes from social theory and the philosophy of action and is focused on actions, situations, social encounters and settings (Sarangi, 2000, p. 2).

Communicative activity types are subject to habit, physical and social constraints, impositions and intentions, as well as a range of occasional features. Their nature is recognised by participants, and they are framed by specific expectations and purposes. This does not mean, however, that actors always entertain the same situation definitions (that is, the meaning that participants attribute to context) of the interaction they are involved in. Rommetveit (1974) has noted that participants may have what he called different tacitly held contracts about what they are doing in a particular situation. The parent-teacher meeting for Somali language parents in Chapter 8 is an example of this.

Marková, Linell, Grossen, and Orvig (2007, p. 70) suggest 'situation definition' and 'framing' as central concepts in the analysis of communicative activities.<sup>18</sup> Activity framings are situation definitions which govern people's understandings of a situation, and

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<sup>18</sup> The notion of framing is based on Erving Goffman's (1974) notion of frame, but as it, from a dialogical perspective, can be criticised for being too static, Marková et al. (2007, p. 71) prefer the more dynamic notion of framing.

consequently also their expectations. They define aspects such as their purposes and activity roles, which are often asymmetric and complementary, with certain rights, responsibilities and obligations (Sarangi, 2000). Marková et al. (2007) distinguish between *pre-interactional* or *external framing*, on the one hand, and *on-line interactional* or *internal framing* on the other (p. 72). The former aspect concerns how the participants' perceptions may be framed beforehand, through for example information, seating arrangements and topics chosen. The latter is about how participants build their discourse from moment to moment in and through on-going interaction. These two framings are intertwined, and since actual framings are emergent, internal framings may take precedence over external framings.

Communicative activity types involve participants exploiting *social roles* and adopting *activity roles*. Marková et al. (2007) define the former as "patterns of positioning that people orient to in social life, irrespective of their participation in specific activities" (p. 73). They give examples such as being a man, a woman, a middle-aged person, a medical doctor, a married person and so on. These memberships may be oriented to by oneself and others in specific activities and involve role expectations, norms and patterns of conduct. In contrast, activity roles are linked to the specific activity type and "concern the shifting positions that participants actually take and give each other in the dynamic interaction" (p. 73). Examples of such roles are chairperson, active discussant, interviewer, main speaker, active (main) addressee and overhearers.

In this dissertation, each case contains three different activity types, that is, one formal meeting (Chapters 8 and 11), a number of classroom lessons, and for the rest informal conversations. The informal conversations can again be divided into two subtypes, being teacher-teacher conversations and bilingual teacher-researcher conversations on the move. In addition, Mohammed had a number of conversations in the hallway with pupils who were skipping class, prompting them to go to their classes. I view these as a specific own activity type, but closely linked to the activity of classroom lessons.

#### COMMUNICATIVE PROJECT

Another central concept in dialogical analysis is Linell's (2009) concept of communicative projects. The basic idea behind this concept is that a speaker's utterance is always part of a bigger whole. It is "responsive, addressed, and involves an implicit or overt co-action

between two or more parties” (p. 193). This is a critique of Searle’s ‘speech act’ theory in what Linell calls monologic pragmatics, which views a speech act as a decontextualised action where the speaker alone is responsible for the utterance. In line with Linell, I use communicative project to refer to “a task carried out (among other tasks) by participants in and through their interaction (acts and activities)” (p. 190). The term is dynamic as it has a course-of-action, that is, it progresses through phases such as planning, development, performance and retrospective evaluation. In addition, many communicative projects are linked to overarching non-communicative projects.

Communicative projects are partly shared between individuals, as it takes two to communicate. These are not planned activities, and they may consequently develop differently than anticipated. Usually there is what Linell (2009) calls an “*asymmetrical distribution of communicative labor*” with parties making “mutually *complementary contributions*” (p. 193; italics in original), dependent on the participants’ shifting attentions, concerns and commitments.<sup>19</sup> A communicative project can also be said to be dynamic due to the way in which it is part of a flow of action; it is “open-ended and multiply determinable” (p. 194). In addition, it is also often “multiply purposeful and multi-functional” (p. 194).

Viewing discourse as “a flow of projects” (Linell, 2009, p. 188), the interactants are involved in communicative projects of varying size, partly overlapping and nested in each other. Communicative projects can both cover entire encounters and series of encounters. Whereas they are comprehensive units of meaningful action, they can also be seen as bridging the gap between elementary contributions (such as turns) and local sequences on the one hand, and the global, more abstract notion of *activity type* on the other.

#### TOPICAL EPISODE

Even though utterances and texts are always about something, dealing with content has been “a problem-ridden aspect of psychology, linguistics and even some forms of discourse analysis” (Linell, 2009, p. 245). Traditionally, content or topic has been treated as consisting of static semantic structures in the text, or as something in the world which the text is about, hence mapping the text onto (a representation of) a world. In contrast to this monological approach, dialogistic theories perceive topics more dynamically, as being

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<sup>19</sup> The term ‘mutually complementary contribution’ is originally from Collins and Marková (1995).

constituted and transformed. Accordingly, Linell (1998) perceives this notion as “something characteristic of the *activities* of discourse in contexts, if you will, a semantic structure bridging discourse and contexts, and emerging with the unfolding interaction” (p. 181; italics in original). Hence, besides studying what topics are about, it is equally important to investigate how “the interactional flow is structured in terms of junctures (boundaries or boundary-like phenomena)” (p. 181). Accordingly, Linell prefers the notion of *episode*, rather than topic, as the basic unit of analysis, emphasising the organisation of sequences and not only what they are about. In other words, episodes are dynamic events, including both action (communicative projects) and topics (content) (see also Marková et al., 2007, pp. 135–139).

Talk-in-interaction is produced on a turn-to-turn basis at a local level. Topic structure is closely related to the initiative-response structure. A topic candidate may be introduced, but it is not until it has been responded to, that the topic is established and sustained, and hence turned into a joint accomplishment (Linell, 1998, p. 183). It is thereafter possible to analyse this evolving discourse as episodes, with a beginning and an end, focusing on the treatment of a problem, issue or topic, tied together by cohesive devices.

The way topics in a conversation are organised involves a high degree of flexibility. They may be short or long, tightly organised around a limited number of referents or loosely and associative. Not all, but most episodes are about something. Linell (1998) calls these episodes *topical episodes*, *topical spaces* or *topical sequences* (p. 187). This does not, however, imply a one-to-one correlation between topic and episode. Some episodes include more than one topic (polytopical), gliding from one to another, whereas others have no focused topic. Also, Linell reminds us that coherence in episodes is not only built on local topical coherence, but also on global coherence, dependent on the framing activity type (which is more comprehensive in terms of action and social situation), along with the macro-topical agenda.

Because of the dynamic nature of topical episodes, Linell (1998) finds it instructive to talk about “*topical trajectories* through the collectively produced and sequentially organized discourse within a topic space” (p. 193; italics in original). In this dissertation, however, I chain topical episodes in a different manner, employing an analytical strategy for studying how a certain topic evolves and is recontextualised in time, place and with different interlocutors, thus shedding light on different aspects of teacher collaboration.

I have followed Marková (2007, p. 135f.) in their suggestion to start topic analysis by trying to draw boundaries between topical episodes and labelling their topic. In identifying a boundary between the episodes, they exploit the fact that the closing of an episode is often characterised by chains of minimal responses, pauses and laughter, in addition to the absence of new semantic contributions. When different episodes deal with approximately the same content, I have given them the same label, such as for example 'pupil presence/presence' (see particularly Chapter 7). In the next analytical step, I have looked for recurrent topics, or at least recurrent instances of similar topics.

#### RENDITION AND COORDINATING MOVE

Wadensjö (1998, p. 103–104) points out that traditionally studies of translation and interpretation are normative in character, and most of them apply a textual mode of thinking. Accordingly, two fundamental units of analysis are *source text* and *target text*. Source text orientated studies normally investigate how the work of the interpreter is dependent on and reflects the content and intention of the source text, whereas target text orientated studies investigate how interpretations depend on or may be received by recipients in the 'target culture'. This unidirectional process of transfer from one person to another is in line with a monological approach to language and language use.

Applying a dialogical approach, however, Wadensjö (1998) approaches mediated talk on the one hand as an *activity* and on the other hand as a *text*. When exploring interpreter-mediated talk as a situated activity, she views conversations of this kind as three-party conversations or "pas de trois" (p. 152), investigating the communicative dynamics and the organisation of the joint product. In this dissertation, I address this through the above mentioned concepts of communicative activity types, communicative projects and topical episodes. I combine this with Wadensjö's approaches to mediated talk from a textual point of view, where utterances are analysed as texts. Aiming at investigating the interdependence between various kinds of 'texts', Wadensjö distinguishes between two types of utterances: *originals* which refer to all utterances voiced by primary interlocutors and *interpreters' utterances* which refer to all utterances voiced by interpreters. Following from this, the interpreted text is juxtaposed to the original text, and she distinguishes on the one hand between more or less 'close' or 'divergent' *renditions*, and on the other hand between more-or-less implicitly or explicitly

*coordinating moves*. These two foci are closely related to the two core functions an interpreter has, translating and coordinating others' talk.

Regarding the translation aspect of interpreting, Wadensjö (1998) points out that most interpreters' utterances can be analysed as reformulations of prior originals and can therefore be called *renditions*, giving the following definition: "A 'rendition' is a stretch of text corresponding to an utterance voiced by an interpreter" (p. 106). These renditions can relate to originals in different ways, and Wadensjö suggests the following taxonomy for classification at an utterance-to-utterance level, emphasising that utterances can be classified in several categories at the same time (p. 107–108). In brief, her categories can be summarised and explained in the following way:

- *Close renditions* which resemble to the original utterance both in content and style;
- *Expanded renditions* which include more than the original;
- *Reduced renditions* which include less;
- *Substituted renditions* which are a combination of expanded and reduced renditions;
- *Summarised renditions* which are a combination of two or more utterances;
- *Two part or multi-part renditions* which consist of two interpreter's utterances corresponding to one original utterance;<sup>20</sup>
- *Non-renditions* which do not correspond to any original utterance, but which are the initiative of the interpreter;
- *Zero-renditions* which take the original text as the starting point and reveal original utterances which are left untranslated.

Even though my study is not a study in the field of interpretation, I have found Wadensjö's categories useful in connection with Mohammed's interpretations during science and basic Norwegian lessons in Chapter 6, and his role as interpreter during a parent-teacher meeting in Chapter 8.

Regarding the coordination aspect of interpreting, Wadensjö (1998) points out that interpreters' utterances not only aim at bridging a linguistic gap (between two languages in use), but also a social gap between two or more language users. Interpreter's utterances occasionally bear traces of both these tasks, with the one usually more foregrounded than the other, dependent on the interpreters' orientation. When interpreters are text orientated, they first and foremost aim at bridging a linguistic gap and are found to *implicitly coordinate* using for example requests for clarification, time to translate, or comments on translation. Whereas when they are more interactionally orientated and aim

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<sup>20</sup> I perceive this category as too detailed for the purpose of this thesis and have hence not used it.

at bridging a social gap, they are found to *explicitly coordinate* using for example requests to observe the turn-taking order, invitations to start or continue or stop talking, and requests for solicited but not yet provided information.

Wadensjö (1998) notes that one likes to think that the skills of a professional interpreter should guarantee the avoidance of misunderstanding. Applying a dialogical theoretical framework, she prefers the term 'miscommunication' to 'misunderstanding', arguing that within a particular communicative exchange, miscommunication is taken as "*lack of fit between the sense aimed at by one interlocutor, and what is displayed by another as the sense made of the current message*" (p. 198). Since interpreters normally have access to what all other parties say, they are in a special position both to foresee and to see through how people make sense of interaction. As a consequence, when seeing the need for suppressing or counteracting miscommunication, interpreters tend to do this, sometimes at the expense of exactness in translation.

#### WRITING UP THE CASES – COMBINING FIELDNOTES AND AUDIO RECORDINGS

Flyvbjerg (2011) notes that "[c]ase studies often contain a substantial element of narrative" which gives rise to questions about plot, that is "a sequence of events and how they are related" (p. 311). The way this plot is created varies, but it often starts with a hook, trying to get the attention of the reader, followed by a presentation of the issues at hand, including their relationships, and the way the protagonist of the case deals with these issues, typically leading to a conflict, and finally a discussion of how this may be resolved or at least explained.

Czarniawska (2007b, p. 107–121) presents a number of field work studies based on a shadowing approach where the results have been written up in a way that may be quite conventional within anthropology or ethnography, but "shockingly deviant" (p. 108) when compared to studies within education. She argues that whereas a more conventional method consists of analysing the field material in such a way that "it produces quantifiable categories, followed by the traditional rhetorical structure that has been modified by the requirements of the modern science" (p. 107), the structure of the studies she presents deviate from this norm in a variety of ways.

In his study on the work of a school principal, Harry Wolcott used a whole range of literary devices, such as characters, scenes, serials, and stories during one day to

emphasise that a principal's job requires multitasking, whereas Julian Orr chose to present a series of vignettes illustrating the work of a technician repairing copying machines. He spoke of the characters, territories and stories which are at the heart of their work. Daniel Miller conducted a theoretical study of shopping, and organised the text along the main facets of his theory: making love in supermarkets, shopping as a sacrifice, and subjects and objects of devotion. Marianella Sclavi (e.g. 2007) built her texts as dramaturgies, a structure copied by Czarniawska (2007b) who framed snippets from the field in different narrative forms, such as repetitive situations as scenes, a series of connected episodes as plots, and 'serials'.

I used Czarniawska's (2007b) review of more unconventional suggestions for writing up material as an inspiration for writing up my two case studies. At first, I ordered the material according to location in the school based on the insight that bilingual teachers ambulated between different rooms in the school. At this stage, I was interested in the challenges and opportunities for collaboration linked to these different places. However, I soon discovered that this reliance on place worked well with larger meetings, but made it more difficult to make sense of the bilingual teachers' many brief and more informal conversations which they had on various topics with other teachers in the team rooms or while on the move with me, without connecting them to events and episodes in other places. In fact, I experienced what Büscher et al. (2011) warn against, that is, "[t]he temptation [...] to hold down and dissect these phenomena [as] [...] this would destroy them" (p. 1). In other words, holding down and dissecting these bilingual teachers' collaboration in each place would have made it difficult to capture the ambulating aspects of their work. In turn, this would also inhibit reflection upon how their ambulating activities create challenges and opportunities for their collaboration with others. In addition, by not favouring larger meetings above shorter conversations as an analytical and narrative unit I emphasise the broad understanding of bilingual teachers' collaboration with others I acquired in the course of working on this dissertation.

From a position where I relied heavily on the different places the bilingual teachers collaborated with others, I moved towards a temporal ordering of events and topical episodes, writing up my case studies by means of constructing five stories.<sup>21</sup> By doing so, I

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<sup>21</sup> I follow Czarniawska (2004a, p. 17) who distinguishes between narratives as purely chronological accounts, and stories as emplotted narratives.



suggested a connection between these events and topical episodes, and studied them accordingly as “*chains of events*” (Czarniawska, 2004b, p. 779) and chains of topical episodes focusing on teacher collaboration. Even though this may infer some kind of causality, the nature of the connections is left open. In Czarniawska’s (2004a) words: “openness to competing interpretations – is a virtue in narrative” (p. 7). This means that the same set of events can be organised around different plots.

Czarniawska (2004b) makes an interesting distinction between “chronological accounts” and “kairotically organized narratives” (p. 776). Chronos (*Chrónos*) was the Greek god of time and Kairos (*Kairós*) the god of right time, of proper time (Eide, 2004, p. 84). Whereas Chronos divides time in mechanical intervals, Kairos leaps in time, dwelling longer in certain periods than others and even omitting some time. The difference between a purely chronological account such as an annual and a kairotically organised narrative is that the latter has “a central subject, a geographically center, a social center and a beginning in time” (Czarniawska, 2004b, p. 775).<sup>22</sup> According to Czarniawska, these kairotically organised narratives cannot be experienced, but must be created, both by the participants and by the researcher. Some events must be made important and others unimportant. In other words, these events do not chain spontaneously, rather “the actors or the observer tie them to one another, usually in the activity of *story making*” (p. 779; italics in original). Czarniawska calls the process *emplotment*, at all times emphasising the importance of openness to the nature of connection, that is, the fact that “the same set of events can be organized around different plots” (Czarniawska, 2004a, p. 7).

For each story, I made a table giving a chronological overview of relevant events serving as raw materials for my stories. For example, the story of Mohammed mediating between the school and the homes was constructed on the basis of events and topical episodes related to ‘talk with parents’ and ‘talk about parents’. I registered all relevant events per day in the field, carefully noting down the number of times they occurred and clearly marking these days with colours to make them stand out from the rest in the overview (see Table 4). When plotting my stories, I highlighted some events whereas others were excluded, hence structuring them according to kairotic time. Table 4 is an example of an overview of raw material for my story presented in Chapter 8.

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<sup>22</sup> In this article, Czarniawska (2004b, p. 775) uses the term ‘kairotically organised narrative’ seemingly in line with the term ‘story as emplotted narrative’. See previous footnote.

**TABLE 4: EXAMPLE OVERVIEW RAW MATERIAL FOR STORY**

Event	04.2	05.2*	11.2	03.3	18.3	14.4	15.4	28.4	29.4	05.5	19.5
Talk with parents	-	-	-	2	1	2	-	-	-	-	-
Talk about parents	1	-	-	6	2	3	1	1	-	-	-

\* only present during afternoon/evening because of extra meeting

The above overview also enabled me to occasionally take a bird’s eye view and comment on patterns across the material, and hence on the particularity of an event. All overview tables are included in the booklet with appendices (see Appendices 6 and 7).

## TRUSTWORTHINESS

Is my study trustworthy? Or as Lincoln, Lynham, and Guba (2011) frame the question:

Are these findings sufficiently authentic (isomorphic to some reality, trustworthy, related to the way others construct their social worlds) that I may trust myself in acting on their implications? More to the point, would I feel sufficiently secure about these findings to construct social policy or legislation based on them? (p. 120)

These questions all relate to the much debated construct of validity for what constitutes rigorous research.<sup>23</sup> The findings’ authenticity in terms of the production of the material and the process of interpretation are related to what can be called internal validity. The question of how trustworthy the findings are general terms and as a base for action, are related to the construct of external validity. Viewing these questions through the dialogical lens of my own study, I would like to emphasise that we are always compelled to “perspectivise the world, to apprehend it and respond to it in particular and different ways, depending on, e.g., cultural traditions, languages, situated commitments and concerns etc.” (Linell, 2009, p. 27). The methodological grounding of this study needs to be understood from this epistemological position.

The choice of methods for the collection and production of material is an important aspect of a study’s trustworthiness. In my case, the combination of shadowing and audio recording has been the most decisive methodological choice and may even constitute an important methodological contribution to the field of educational research. Following the two teachers in their daily work has given me a good insight into the challenges they encountered and the choices they made with regard to the teaching of emergent bilingual

<sup>23</sup> For a detailed discussion on the validity debate see Lincoln et al. (2011).

pupils and their collaboration with other teachers related to this. Continuously reflecting with them while on move has given me trustworthy insight into how they construct their social world. Audio recording their conversations with other teachers and with myself has given me the opportunity to study their communication in depth and investigate how certain topics dominate and are recontextualised across situations and interlocutors, whereas other topics are absent.

The methodological choice of combining shadowing and audio recording has led to valuable insights with regard to my research question. Moreover, it has contributed to opening up the complexity of the phenomenon under scrutiny, and has hence laid grounds for further research on the different aspects of bilingual teachers' collaboration with others, identified in the analysis chapters. A broad approach like this has been especially important since there is little earlier research on this topic (see p. 17ff.). A narrower scope such as for example only focusing on the bilingual teachers' collaboration with other teachers related to contact with the pupils' homes, could have provided me with an even deeper understanding of this one aspect, but would not be a rich enough approach to shed light on the complexity of the phenomenon of bilingual teachers' collaboration with other teachers.

The choice of method is only one aspect of a study's trustworthiness; another is the process of interpretation. Flyvbjerg (2011) points to the danger of what has been called the narrative fallacy, that is, the tendency to prefer compact stories over complex data sets. He suggests dense narratives based on thick description as one way of dealing with this. I have used multiple methods in this study, to gain an in-depth understanding of bilingual teachers and their collaboration with other teachers, not to capture an objective reality. Combining several methods to study the same phenomenon has traditionally been called *triangulation*, a term inherited from quantitative research and post-positivist traditions, which used it as a method of validation (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). In comparing with more postmodern oriented researchers (Ellingson, 2011; Janesick, 2003), I find the term *crystallisation* more suitable, aiming at providing "a deepened, complex, thoroughly partial, understanding of topics" (Richardson, 2000). The metaphor of the crystal combines

symmetry and substance, transmutations, multidimensionalities, and angles of approach. Crystals grow, change, alter, but are not amorphous. Crystals are prisms that reflect externalities *and* refract within themselves, creating different colors, patterns, and arrays,

casting off in different directions. What we see depends upon our angle of repose. (Richardson, 2000, p. 934; italics in original)

In this vein, I believe that discursive shadowing has given me richer material of, richer insights into and hence a more nuanced understanding of my phenomenon than for example interviews alone could give.

As accounted for in the previous section, I have chosen to present the analyses of this study through factual texts organised as stories. Polkinghorne (1995, p. 7) also uses the term 'story' (instead of, for example, the neologism 'emplotted narrative'), but admits that he hesitates to do so as it carries a connotation of falsehood or misrepresentation. It is also a genre which is often treated with suspicion by other researchers, who want to know how they have been constructed (Czarniawska, 2007a, p. 397). To circumvent this difficulty, I have been careful to explain which material my stories are based on in the introduction to each story, and in the Appendices 6 and 7. Also, in the stories it has been important to report on my preconceived views, assumptions and notions, as well as which source I base my claims on, whether it is from observations, from audio recordings, or from both. In addition to describing the setting as accurate as possible in my stories, I have included many extracts from my transcriptions, so that readers can engage with my interpretations. After I had written a first draft of all five analysis chapters, I met Mohammed and Maryam again and presented my findings, not to verify them, but as a way of ensuring that they recognised themselves in my interpretations (see p. 299ff.).

Altheide and Johnson (2011) stress that the qualitative researcher should always, implicitly or explicitly, account for possibly problematic issues of material production and material analysis; and how these were addressed, resolved, compromised, or avoided, so that readers are able to approach the study in an interactive and critical manner. The same perspective is expressed by Mullings (1999) who argues that "recognizing and naming these uncertainties is an important step towards not only establishing rigor in the research process, but also to displacing the indomitable authority of the author" (p. 337).

In this light, shadowing involves studying individuals, hence very much relying on the bilingual teacher's perspective on collaboration. A looser form of participant observation design would have given me the opportunity to study teacher collaboration from the point of view of the bilingual teachers' colleagues. I have some material on other teachers' reflections, especially from occasions when the bilingual teacher had left me behind. This,

however, led to ethical challenges which I have discussed above (see p. 72ff.). I did, however, interview some of the bilingual teachers' colleagues at the end of the fieldwork, to supplement my shadowing material. Another way of sharing the research process is the fact that I audio recorded my own conversations with the bilingual teachers and treated them as material. In this way, I include reflections on uncertainties and challenges in the field.

Another clear challenge in my study is the fact that much of my material is in languages I have no knowledge of. I never had first-hand access to these conversations, nor could I take part in them when they occurred in the field. During the analysis phase, it has therefore been important to me to describe in detail to the reader how I met this challenge, by being continuously in dialogue with bilingual interpreters during this phase (see p. 77ff.).

Stake (2008) asks: "What can one learn from a single case?" (p. 133). This question stems from a common critique of case study research that one cannot generalise on the basis of a single case, and that case studies consequently cannot contribute to scientific development. This critique, Flyvbjerg (2011, p. 304) argues, is particularly prevalent amongst researchers who favour a natural science ideal in social science. Another criticism has been that case studies are only generalisable if they are carried out in some numbers. Flyvbjerg acknowledges and values this formal generalisation, but maintains that it is only one possible way, arguing that the possibility to generalise very much depends upon what sometimes is a case of, and how it has been chosen.

Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) note that strategically chosen cases particularly lend themselves to analytical generalisation. This involves "a reasoned judgement about the extent to which the findings of one study can be used as a guide to what might occur in another situation" (p. 262), based on comparison between two situations.

As noted in the introduction (p. 15ff.), the two cases comprising this study are cases of bilingual teachers at their main school. They were not randomly chosen, but rather strategically chosen, with the aim of producing information rich cases in order to accumulate knowledge on the phenomenon under scrutiny. Both schools are so-called focus schools, having a special focus on the education of pupils from linguistic minorities. Mohammed and Maryam are also typical cases in the sense that they both hold temporary, part time positions, and speak Norwegian as a second language, which is

common for bilingual teachers in Norwegian schools (Kjeldstadli, 2008; Valenta, 2009). It is therefore reasonable to assume that possible challenges faced by these schools are likely to occur in other schools as well. Findings connected to the bilingual teachers' working conditions are also likely to be transferrable to other bilingual teachers, and can accordingly be used for reflecting on policy documents and legislation.

Stake (2008, p. 133) explains that researchers not only share their insights of their case study analysis with their readers; they also facilitate for what educationalists call 'discovery learning', as they provide opportunities for readers to learn from the cases on their own. It is impossible for researchers to know which cases the reader already knows, and readers will always interpret the new case against the background of cases previously known, independently of the researcher's intentions. Based on this, Stake underlines the importance of researchers' "safeguarding the trip" (p. 135), that is, the need to "protect and substantiate the transfer of knowledge" (p. 136). As a way of dealing with this challenge, I read a draft of my analysis chapters with two of my former students at the subject teacher training programme for bilinguals. I was interested in their readings, their generalisations to other cases, and whether they thought my generalisations were plausible, which they did. At the same time, I also aimed at safeguarding the complexity and contradictions of my cases, and therefore, when necessary, adding greater detail to the text.

## PART II

### MOHAMMED'S CASE

The analyses of Mohammed as bilingual teacher at Ullstad lower secondary school is conducted and presented through three stories, each shedding light on different aspects of his collaboration with other teachers regarding the education of their common emergent bilingual pupils. Chapter 6 focuses on how Mohammed collaborated with Mette in the science class and with Linn in the reception class for emergent bilingual pupils, while functioning as a support teacher. Chapter 7 shows how he collaborated with Sverre by looking after his pupils when science was on their timetable. Finally, chapter 8 illustrates his concerns and challenges when mediating between the school and the homes during a parent-teacher meeting for parents from a Somali background. The stories are based on a combination of observational material and interaction analysis. The first two are dominated by contextual stage setting accounts of recurring interaction patterns. The last story is naturally dominated by conversations as this story is about a single meeting. Observational material from this meeting as well as from other parts of the fieldwork is used to elaborate on and further contextualise the conversations. Each story is first discussed individually, and the main findings are further discussed after the two cases (see Chapter 12).





## 5 MOHAMMED AT ULLSTAD

### MOHAMMED AS BILINGUAL TEACHER

At the time of my study, Mohammed was around 40 years of age. He had moved from Somalia to Norway fifteen years earlier, thus being amongst the first Somali asylum seekers to come to the country. He had a good command of the Norwegian language, he was knowledgeable about Norwegian society in general and the school system in particular, and was about to finish a subject teacher training programme for bilinguals, specialising in Somali, and social sciences.

Mohammed had worked as a bilingual teacher at primary as well as at lower secondary school level for the past five years, and was, during my fieldwork, in his third year at Ullstad secondary school, where he was employed in a temporary fifty per cent position in addition to smaller temporary positions at two primary schools in the same municipality. At Ullstad he taught two weeks in a row, but not the third, and the weeks he taught, he was at the school on Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Thursdays. Holding a fifty per cent position, he was required to attend half of the weekly staff meetings, and half of the weekly team meetings. Because of his job and his relatively long experience of living in Norway, Mohammed also had a lot of contact after school hours with his pupils' parents and with other Somali refugees who had arrived more recently; answering questions, talking about the education of their children, and so on.

Mohammed told me that he liked working at Ullstad. He cared a lot about his pupils, and it was important for him to help the parents from a Somali background and the school staff to maintain a good dialogue. At the same time, however, he described his job as difficult, explaining that the teaching was organised in such a way that his pupils constantly had to work outside what he referred to as their own zones of development.

### THE SCHOOL

Ullstad is a mainstream lower secondary school with approximately 320 pupils from grade 8 to 10 (age 13 to 16).<sup>24</sup> It is situated in a medium sized town in South East Norway, and the town is located in a municipality which has fewer immigrants than the national

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<sup>24</sup> In a Norwegian context, a small school is considered one with less than 100 pupils, a medium sized school has between 100 and 299 pupils, and large schools have 300 or more pupils (NDET, 2010a).

average. There are three lower secondary schools in the municipality, Ullstad being one of them. Together, they are responsible for the education of all lower secondary pupils in the municipality.<sup>25</sup>

Ullstad was known for its work in the field of education for pupils from linguistic minorities. A few years before my study, they had become a so-called focus establishment or focus school, and hence linked to the National Centre for Multicultural Education (NAFO).<sup>26</sup> The municipality had located all emergent bilingual pupils aged 13 to 16 in Ullstad. In addition, the school was responsible for the education of pupils from the town's asylum seeker centre and asylum seekers from several housing establishments for unaccompanied minors in the town. In total, more than fifteen per cent of the school's pupils spoke another language than Norwegian at home, which was a higher percentage than for the two other lower secondary schools to which pupils were sometimes transferred on achieving sufficient fluency in Norwegian. Most of the bilingual pupils had a Somali language background, but there were also pupils who spoke Amharic, German, Slovenian, Tigrinya and Turkish at home.

Two years prior to my study, the municipality had established a reception class for emergent bilingual pupils at Ullstad. At the time, 21 of the schools' emergent bilingual pupils attended this class to varying extents. Those who had just arrived had nearly all their lessons there, whereas those who had acquired some Norwegian only had lessons in Adapted English, mathematics, natural science and Norwegian in the reception class. The rest of the time, they were in ordinary classes with their peers. When Ullstad found that the pupils had the language skills needed to follow mainstream teaching, they were either transferred to ordinary classes at Ullstad, or to one of the two other lower secondary schools, depending on which school is the closest to their home.<sup>27</sup> After this transfer, they often still received teaching in basic Norwegian and bilingual teaching.

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<sup>25</sup> Only a small proportion of all pupils attending compulsory school, go to private schools. In the school year 2011–2012 this was 2.7 per cent (NMER, 2011).

<sup>26</sup> NAFO is a national centre for competence development in multicultural schools and education, established in 2004 (NMER, 2004–2009).

<sup>27</sup> According to Section 8–1 of the Education Act primary and lower secondary school pupils have the right to attend the closest school or the school designated for the catchment area where they live (*Opplæringslova [Education Act]*, 2009). This is also true for newly arrived pupils of compulsory school age except if they have chosen to accept a time limited special class (for example a reception class) for newly arrived pupils at a different school. After they no longer attend the special education arrangement, they have the right to attend the closest school or the school designated for the catchment area where they live (NDET, 2012c).

Ten years ago, the school building was partly renovated and extended because it lacked classrooms. Today, it is still short of rooms, especially for the teaching of smaller groups, which is particularly important for bilingual teachers. In addition to ordinary classrooms, Ullstad had its own library, physical education (henceforth PE) hall, school kitchen, natural science laboratory, and several areas for the subject Arts and Crafts. The school's outdoor areas consisted of tarmac with wooden benches, a lawn and a large soccer field. It is also close to the forest.

The building is made up of three floors. As shown in Appendix 8, the ground floor is reserved for special rooms such as the natural science laboratory, the kitchen, and the arts and craft area. The first floor consists of working areas for the school's management and teachers, the PE area, the library, and the classrooms and group rooms for grade 8 (see p. 108 for an explanation of the organisation into teacher teams). The classrooms and group rooms used by the grade 9 and 10 pupils are all on the second floor.

The shaded areas in each of the three figures were places where Mohammed was to be found during my fieldwork, that is, the laboratory on the ground floor, team rooms 8 and 10, the staffroom and the library on the first floor, classrooms 10A and 10B, the reception class and the group room on the second floor, in addition to the hallways on all floors. These places will therefore play an important part in the stories I am going to tell, especially in connection to my shadowing of Mohammed and his ambulating activities within the school building. It is important to bear in mind, however, that I only shadowed Mohammed while he was teaching in grade 10, whereas unlike most other teachers he also taught in grades 8 and 9, consequently ambulating between a larger number of rooms than his colleagues, who had their main teaching responsibilities within the same grade (see Chapter 6 for a more detailed discussion of Mohammed's working area).

## MANAGEMENT, TEACHERS AND PUPILS

Ullstad's management consisted of a school principal and a deputy school principal. During the time I shadowed Mohammed, it was the assistant principal, Sjur, who was responsible for the education of bilingual pupils. At the time, he had been employed quite recently and had no prior experience in this field.

The equivalent of 28 full-time teachers worked at the school. Two of the members of staff had formal qualifications in either basic Norwegian or in multicultural pedagogy, Linn

being one of them. This is not unlike the national average reported by Rambøll Management (2006, p. 45). The others had experience in teaching bilingual pupils, but no formal qualifications for this form of teaching. Five members of staff were employed as bilingual teachers in part time positions. None of them held permanent positions, and none of them was as yet formally qualified as a teacher.

As with most Norwegian lower secondary schools, Ullstad divided its staff into 3 teacher teams – team 8, team 9 and team 10 – according to the grade in which teachers have the major part of their responsibilities, and not according to the subject(s) they teach, which is more common in the English speaking world (see for example Arkoudis, 2003). Accordingly, each team had its own working area where teachers prepared lessons or did supplementary work. The team rooms were also used when the teams had their weekly meetings, except for team 8, who used the meeting room in connection to their team room (see Appendix 8).

The pupils were divided into classes. Each grade had 4 classes of approximately 25 pupils (8A–D, 9A–D and 10A–D). These classes did not consist of pupils of similar levels of ability, but mixed classes where teachers were supposed to adapt their teaching according to the abilities and aptitudes of the individual pupil.

In Norwegian schools each pupil is assigned to a contact teacher with specific responsibility for the practical, administrative, and social educational tasks concerning the child, including contact with the home.<sup>28</sup> In grade 10, for example, there were eight contact teachers, each responsible for 12 or 13 pupils each. It was also common for teachers at this level to teach several subjects, and thus pupils of one class only relate to a small number of teachers. The pupils in 10A, for example, had one teacher in mathematics, natural science and PE, and one in Norwegian, English, social science, and Religious and Ethical Education (henceforth REE). Together, these two teachers were also contact teachers for the 25 pupils in the class. The rest of the subjects were taught by other teachers who were not their contact teachers.

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<sup>28</sup> The former term *klassestyrer* (*class teacher*; my translation) was replaced by *kontaktlærer* in 2003 (NDET & MER, 2008). The English translation *contact teacher* is used in *The Education Mirror* (NDET, 2010a). Similar arrangements are found in other countries, for example *klassföreståndare* in Sweden, *klasseforstander* in Denmark, *form teacher* in the UK, *home group teacher* in the US, and *titularis/coach* in the Flemish-speaking part of Belgium.

## MOHAMMED'S COLLEAGUES AND PUPILS

Mohammed taught all emergent bilingual pupils from a Somali language background at the school. During my fieldwork, I only focused on his teaching of the grade 10 pupils and hence his collaboration with two of the grade 10 teachers, being Sverre and Mette, and the teacher responsible for the reception class, Linn. Figure 1 gives an overview over their respective team rooms, backgrounds and positions.

Name/ROOM	Background	Position
<b>Mohammed (M) ♂ TEAM 8</b>	Somali background; In his early 40s Has lived in Norway for 15 years Is studying at a subject teacher training programme for bilinguals Good oral language command of Norwegian Around 5 years of teaching experience	Bilingual teacher for emergent bilingual pupils from a Somali language background
<b>Linn (L) ♀ TEAM 8</b>	Norwegian background; In her mid 30s Qualified teacher Specialises in multicultural education Around 10 years of teaching experience	Principle teacher for reception class for emergent bilingual pupils Taught French
<b>Sverre (S) ♂ TEAM 10</b>	Norwegian background; Around 60 years old Qualified teacher More than 30 years of teaching experience	Contact teacher for 10A Taught natural science, mathematics and special needs
<b>Mette (Me) ♀ TEAM 10</b>	Norwegian background; In her mid 30s Qualified teacher Around 10 years of teaching experience	Contact teacher for 10B Taught natural science, mathematics and PE
<b>Sjur (Sj) ♂ OFFICE</b>	Norwegian background; Around 40 years old Qualified teacher Previous experience as teacher Around 5 years as assistant principal	Assistant principal Responsible for the education of emergent bilingual pupils

FIGURE 1: SELECTED STAFF AT ULLSTAD

As shown in the overview, all teachers except Mohammed were qualified teachers with ten or more years of teaching experience. Whereas Mohammed and Linn both specialised in the teaching of bilingual pupils, the three others did not.

As a rule, the contact teachers had full time positions. The reasoning behind this was that this would give the best opportunities for teacher-pupil contact. Consequently, Mohammed was not employed as a contact teacher. As a bilingual teacher, his task was to teach emergent bilingual pupils from a Somali language background from grades 8, 9 and 10. In addition, he often had contact with the homes, not as a contact teacher, though, but again as a bilingual teacher.

When Mohammed acted as a support teacher in a subject lesson, he would often sit in at the side or in a corner of the room. If he took out the pupils, he sometimes brought them to the group room nearby, or the school's library. If he wanted to use the group room, he would have to negotiate with the teacher in special needs, and the library was often used by other pupils and teachers too. In contrast to his colleagues who for example taught three subjects in the classroom belonging to 10A, Mohammed did not have a designated place or room that belonged to him and his 10A pupils, which meant that when taking out these pupils, he had to search for a place to be.

At the time of my fieldwork, there were 13 emergent bilingual pupils in grade 10, all 15 or 16 years old.<sup>29</sup> Nine of them were from a Somali language background, the four others from Dhari and Turkish language backgrounds. Below is an overview of the pupils from a Somali language background in grade 10. The overview includes my names for them, their languages and schooling background before coming to Norway, and the number of years they had stayed and received schooling in Norway:

Name	Language background and schooling prior to arrival in Norway	Time and schooling in Norway (approx.)
<b>Abdullahi (Ab)</b> ♂	Received private schooling in Somali	5 years
<b>Ahmed (Ah)</b> ♂	Lived four years in transit in Yemen where he received his first schooling Spoke Somali with his mother and friends and Arabic with his brothers and sisters	4 years
<b>Asad (As)</b> ♂	Received some schooling in Somalia	4.5 years
<b>Ayuub (Ay)</b> ♂	Received no schooling prior to arrival	4 years
<b>Deeq (D)</b> ♂	Lived and received schooling in Yemen for five years Used both Arabic and Somali at home Used Arabic for educational purposes	less than 1 year
<b>Khalid (Kh)</b> ♂	Received some private schooling in Somali	1 year
<b>Sihaam (Si)</b> ♀	Received no schooling prior to arrival	2.5 years
<b>Sumeya (Su)</b> ♀	Received little or no schooling prior to arrival	4.5 years
<b>Zakaria (Z)</b> ♂	Lived four years in transit in Kenya where he received his first schooling Had good knowledge of Swahili	2.5 years

FIGURE 2: SELECTED PUPILS AT ULLSTAD

<sup>29</sup> In Norway, even emergent bilingual pupils with interrupted schooling are placed in the same grade as their peers. In many other countries this is not the case (see for example Brown et al., 2006; Workgroup Second Language Newcomers Centre for Language and Education, 2006).

As Figure 2 shows, the education of all these pupils had either been severely interrupted or they had not had any substantive schooling at all. Consequently, most of them had little or no literacy training in either Somali or another language prior to their arrival in Norway, whereas three had received their first schooling in Arabic or Swahili while in transit. Those who had received private schooling had little knowledge of the routines of school. Needless to say, these pupils faced the daunting task of learning Norwegian, (beginning) literacy and numeracy, and other subjects at the same time. Deeq, Asad, Sihaam, Ahmed and Ayuub had been to Norwegian primary school for a few years, whereas for Abdullahi, Khalid, Sumeya and Zakaria, Ullstad was their first school in Norway. None of these pupils were going to take ordinary exams at the end of grade 10 like their peers. Instead, they were going to apply for entrance to an upper secondary school which offered special classes for newly arrived emergent bilingual pupils in order to receive their diploma for compulsory school.

As noted in Chapter 1, in the school year 2011–2012, 7.2 per cent of all pupils in Norwegian primary and lower secondary school received teaching in adapted education in Norwegian. Of those, 60 per cent received bilingual subject training. Less than 10 per cent of the pupils receiving adapted education in Norwegian, receive their teaching in separate groups such as groups for asylum seekers and reception classes (NMER, 2012, p. 14). Thus, the nine emergent bilingual pupils in the story belong to the 60 per cent who receive bilingual subject teaching, in addition to teaching in adapted education in Norwegian, and to the 10 per cent who receive some of their education in a separate group, here in a reception class. With regard to the number of hours a week, they received slightly more teaching in adapted education in Norwegian and bilingual education than the national average.

Prior to 1988, there were hardly any immigrants from Somalia in Norway. Today, Somali refugees to Norway constitute one of the largest immigrant groups residing the country. Taken together, these nine pupils represent common traits of the Somali immigrant group in Norway. Numbers from Statistics Norway (2010), for example, show that 75 per cent have lived in Norway for less than ten years. Their main reason for immigration is fleeing conflict and reunification with their families. Many of them have not received any form of education, and only 14 per cent of them have completed higher education. In this way, Mohammed is an exception. The pupils are typical examples; some

having no schooling, others some private schooling from Somalia, and others again having Arabic or Swahili as their preferred language for educational purposes, which is neither their home language, nor the language of the school or Mohammed.



## 6 SUPPORT TEACHING

*Vi har aldri satt oss sammen, skal vi vurdere Zakaria eller Ayuub eller Abdullahi eller Sumeya. Skal vi vurdere og se hva liksom hvor vi begynte og hvor langt vi har kommet. [...] Det hender jeg og Linn sitter sammen og snakker om liksom om at for eksempel den ene elev har problemer med det og det og det, og det er bedre utvikling der og der og der [...] men det er ikke så liksom planlegge også så skal vi gjøre noe med det liksom.*

*We have never sat down together, in order to evaluate Zakaria or Ayuub or Abdullahi or Sumeya. As if we were to evaluate to see what like how we started and how far we have got. [...] It happens that Linn and I sit together and talk about like for example one pupil has problems with this and this and this, and that there is better development there and there and there [...] but it is not official or like sit and like plan and then we like do something about it.*

Mohammed, interview 16.06.2009

### INTRODUCTION

Mohammed had his desk in team 8, next to Linn, the teacher responsible for the school's reception class. This was not because they had most of their responsibilities in grade 8, like the eight other teachers in the room, but because there happened to be available desks. Next to Mohammed and Linn's desks, there was a desk for the special needs teacher who was responsible for the teaching of one specific grade 8 pupil. Consequently, these three teachers had much less in common with the teachers in team 8 than was common for teachers who shared the same working area. Instead, they formed a variety of different classroom and school collegiate relationships in the school. Physically, the three teachers were also apart from the rest of the teachers and placed in a row, whereas the others sat in two groups of four on the other side of the room. When shadowing Mohammed in the team room, I very often got to use the desk of the special needs teacher, who was seldom at her desk. Figure 3 illustrates the teachers' seating in team room 8.

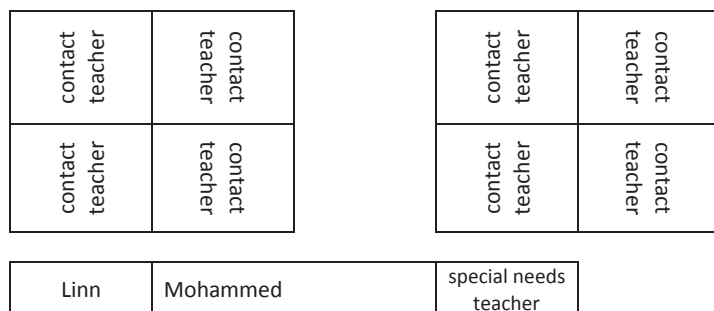


FIGURE 3: TEACHERS' PLACING IN TEAM ROOM 8

As shown in Figure 3, all the other teachers in the team room were contact teachers, jointly responsible for individual grade 8 pupils and the contact with their homes. As one teacher usually taught three or four subjects to the pupils in 8A and 8B and a colleague taught the same subjects to the pupils in 8C and 8D, this created good opportunities for joint planning and academic discussions.

Mohammed's desk was bigger than the desks of other teachers. Occasionally, he shared it with another bilingual teacher. However, these teachers held very small positions and consequently spent most of their time at Ullstad teaching their pupils before rushing off to their next school, not working at their desks. Consequently, there were very few opportunities for Mohammed to discuss bilingual education with any of them. Mohammed himself reported that he discussed issues related to his work when meeting other bilingual teacher students for lessons at the university college he attended in connection with his teaching degree, and that he missed being able to do so at Ullstad.

Not having any mainstream teaching in grade 8, like Mohammed, Linn also did not belong to grade 8. Mohammed liked sitting next to her as he admired her as a teacher for emergent bilingual pupils, and found it easy to work with her. Without Linn, he said, his pupils would not make any progress, adding that *"hun er den mellom, den ledden der som som gjør at ting fungerer"* (she's the link that that makes everything work). Mohammed and Linn's physical proximity also allowed them to talk regularly before and after lessons, continuously building their working partnership. Their common focus on and shared interest in the education of emergent bilingual pupils strengthened their professional relationship.

Due to the fact that Mohammed taught Somali language pupils in all three grades, he collaborated with teachers having their desks in team room 8, team room 9 and team room 10. The natural science teachers Sverre and Mette, for example, had their desks in team room 10, which was the team room furthest away from team room 8, at the end of a long corridor (see Appendix 8). When Mohammed and the science teachers wanted to plan teaching and learning activities together, they needed to go to the other's team room and call on her or him. Building a good working relationship therefore demanded more effort, compared to when the teachers shared the same working area. This was further challenged by the fact that as subject teachers, Sverre and Mette were responsible for the

teaching of subject knowledge to all pupils, whereas Mohammed was meant to deliver support and to just a few of them.

As teacher responsible for the reception class, Linn spent a lot of time making individual *period plans*, also called biweekly plans, for all emergent bilingual pupils. These plans stated the pupils' lessons for each day and their homework for each subject. Mohammed would be able to access them from the school's virtual learning platform. In addition, Linn made timetables for all bilingual teachers in the school. This meant that every two weeks, Mohammed would get a new timetable in his pigeon hole. During my interview with Mohammed, he admitted that just getting a new timetable every three weeks without having been involved in setting it up, often frustrated him, not knowing the rationale behind it. Because of the limited number of hours a week with each pupil, he never got to teach them all lessons on a specific theme the grade was working on. Rather, he would for example only teach the introductory lesson, or a number of lessons in the middle, and if he was lucky, he was scheduled to teach the summing up. In addition, during our interview, Mohammed pointed out that most lessons were far too advanced for his pupils and that instead of being with them in Sverre or Mette's science lessons he would prefer to teach them something completely different, such as literacy training or adapted mathematics, which he often did when he was scheduled for mother tongue teaching.

Table 5 below is an example of one of Mohammed's timetables, which Linn always made accessible for other teachers, such as Sverre and Mette, in the school's learning platform.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> I have translated the plan from Norwegian and anonymised it. The lay out is the same as the original, except for an asterisk behind the teachers' names which was added by me for reasons of clarity.

**TABLE 5: EXAMPLE PERIOD PLAN FOR MOHAMMED MADE BY LINN**

Timetable Mohammed Ullstad lower secondary school 13.5 hours a week during working-weeks					
Week 16					
Time	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
08.30–10.00 1 <sup>st</sup> period		Norwegian Reception classroom Grade 10	Maths Reception classroom Grade 8	English Reception classroom Anne*	Names of two other schools
10.00–10.15 Fruit break					
10.15–11.45 2 <sup>nd</sup> period		Natural science 10b Zakaria, Ahmed, Abdullahi	ICT Reception classroom Sjur*	Support 8a Maths	
11.45–14.00 Lunch break					
12.30–14.00 3 <sup>rd</sup> period		Maths and nat. science 10a	Mother tongue Reception classroom Grade 8 (Abdullahi)	Mother tongue Reception classroom Ayuub Asad Mohammed Abdullahi	
<b>Team meeting:</b> Thursday 16 April:           grade 8					

Table 5 shows Mohammed’s nine teaching periods during week 16, partly specifying subjects, pupils and teacher. In seven of them, he was a support teacher in basic Norwegian, English, ICT or natural science. In the other two periods, he taught what was called ‘mother tongue’ in the timetable, but which rather meant that he taught his pupils alone, and that they together decided what was most desirable to spend time on, very much resembling homework help. For these lessons, Mohammed had to find an available group room. When he was not able to do so, he used one of the tables in the library. However, since the library was also used by other pupils, Mohammed preferred to teach in one of the group rooms.

In this story, I am mainly concerned with collaboration connected to Mohammed’s support role, and the varying ways he filled this role, very much dependent on the teacher with whom he was teamed. When teaching with Sverre and Mette, he often whispered renditions of their mainstream teaching (see also Chapter 7). When teaching with Linn in

the reception class, however, he would be a bit more in the foreground. Studying these different ways of joint teaching, I also aim at exploring the challenges and the opportunities this created in terms of multilingual spaces for learning for the emergent bilingual pupils.

The starting point for the analysis in this story is Wadenjö's (1998, p. 104) distinction between originals and interpreters' utterances. Hence, three central analytical concepts used are *renditions*, *coordinating moves*, *communicative projects* (see Appendix 10). Linell's (1998, p. 217ff.) notion of communicative projects can refer to joint products of varying sizes. Here I am concerned with 'middle-sized' projects, which are pursued over a (local) sequence in talk. In addition, I analyse Mohammed's speech in terms of *translanguagings* (Bailey, 2007; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; García, 2009).

The fieldnote material used for this story is presented in Appendix 6, story 1. As for the audio recordings, the analyses of Mette and Mohammed's science lesson are based on the audio recordings and detailed transcription and translation of the science lesson of 28.04.2009, and more basic transcriptions of the Norwegian interaction of Sverre and Mohammed's two lessons of 05.05.2009. As for Mette and Mohammed's collaboration before and after lessons, these analyses are based on the audio recordings and transcriptions of their interaction during the entire fieldwork.

The analyses of Linn and Mohammed's interaction during their joint lesson in the reception class of 15.04.2009 are mainly based on the audio recordings, detailed transcriptions and translations of that lesson and their lesson of 04.02.2009. As for their collaboration before and after their teaching, these analyses are based on the audio recordings and transcriptions of their interaction across the entire material.

With regard to the numbering of the transcripts, all relevant conversational events were pasted into a separate document and numbered consecutively, one for Mohammed and Mette, and one for Mohammed and Linn. I have chosen to retain this numbering in the transcripts included in this chapter, on the one hand, as a reminder that these extracts are part of a chain of events, and on the other hand, to give the reader an impression of the approximate place in the chain.

## TEAMING UP WITH METTE

During my fieldwork, I observed Mohammed during six natural science lessons in grade 10: twice when teamed up with Mette, three times with Sverre and once with a substitute teacher for Sverre. Common for Mohammed and Mette's teaching was that there was little communication between them, before or after the lessons, as well as during the lessons. They thus conformed to the patterns of what Creese (2005, p. 123) has called *in-class language support with no consultation between teachers*. Mohammed would sit with his pupils in a corner of the mainstream classroom. I will describe this type of collaboration mode by zooming in on one of Mohammed's lessons with Mette.

## PLANNING THE LESSON

It was Tuesday 28 April 2009, Mohammed's first working day of the week at Ullstad. It was also the first day of his two week teaching period there, having worked somewhere else the week before. I arrived a bit early at the school that day and decided to wait in the staffroom. Some of the teachers had gathered there for a cup of coffee before the lessons started, and when Mette saw me she commented that this meant that Mohammed was also coming this week. I confirmed this and added that we would be joining her in the science lesson with 10A in the first period. Even though Linn had told me at the beginning of my fieldwork that all teachers could access Mohammed's teaching schedule in the school's learning platform, Mette was clearly not aware that Mohammed would be joining her before I told her, adding that she never knew when he came. Mette informed me that we would be doing an experiment in the school's laboratory, and that she was going there now to set it up and try it out since she had not done this particular experiment for a very long time.

A few minutes before the bell rang for the first period, and the teachers had left the staffroom, Mohammed arrived. I greeted him and accompanied him to team room 8, saying that Mette had informed me that the science lesson would be in the laboratory, and not 10A's classroom. This was new information to Mohammed. My fieldnotes record:

Var det greit å ha denne samtalen med Mette? Det føles ikke riktig å vite mer om naturfagstimen enn Mohammed gjør. Samtidig tror jeg det er viktig å bygge en god relasjon med lærerne Mohammed samarbeider med.	Was it ok to have this conversation with Mette? It doesn't feel right to know more about the science lesson than Mohammed does. At the same time, I believe it is important to build a good relationship with the teachers Mohammed
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Samtalen gir meg også innsikt i hva de ikke samarbeider om. Men spørsmålet forblir likevel om jeg krysser en grense her.

collaborates with. The conversation also gives me an insight into what they do not collaborate about. But the question remains if I crossed a boundary here.

These fieldnotes show what can be gained from not shadowing Mohammed at this point: meeting up with Mette before the start of the working day allowed Mette's voice to be heard and hence shed light on her collaboration with Mohammed. This event, however, also brings up issues of boundaries, ethics and perspective. Having information Mohammed needed but did not have, challenged our roles of key participant and shadowing researcher.

One could say that it is not important for Mohammed to know where the science lesson was going to be, in the laboratory or in the pupils' classroom, and that he would discover this when getting to the classroom where Mette was to meet all pupils to take them to the laboratory. At the same time, however, this episode illustrates a pattern across the material, one of lack of communication between Mette and Mohammed with regard to the teaching of science to their common pupils. This is identical to the lack of communication between Sverre and Mohammed (see also Chapter 7). Consequently, the aim of the lesson or suitable ways of working for the emergent bilingual pupils were never discussed. Presumably this also means that Mette had not taken Mohammed's presence into consideration when planning the lesson. It is also likely that the aim was not the same as for the other pupils, since the Somali language pupils were not going to take final exams in the subject as their teachers had rated their basic skills as too weak.

So, instead of going to classroom 10A first, Mohammed and I went straight to the laboratory. Upon seeing all the chemical material, Mohammed commented that Mette clearly had prepared the experiment. Pointing to the material, I concluded that I knew very little about this kind of chemical experiments. Mohammed laughed and said that it was not his "thing" either. This is a reminder that the science curriculum in grade 10 is specialised, a specialisation Mette had, and not Mohammed. This lesson, for example, was a lesson in organic chemistry. It also illustrates a general challenge with regard to the competence of bilingual teachers: Mohammed was to help his emergent bilingual pupils in the science lesson because of his bilingual competence, but he did not specialise in natural science. Consequently, he was unfamiliar with the subject specific vocabulary, in addition to the

epistemology of the field with its specific characteristics based on scientific knowledge and scientific ways of working (Duschl et al., 2007).

#### PARTICIPANTS AND LESSON STRUCTURE

For some reason Mohammed's three 15 year old pupils, Ahmed, Deeq and Zakaria, arrived before Mette and the rest of their class. Common to Ahmed and Deeq was that they had received their first schooling in Arabic while in transit in Yemen, lasting between four and five years, whereas Zakaria had received his first schooling in Swahili while in transit in Kenya for four years. Ahmed and Deeq had come to Norway at the age of 11 and 10 respectively while still in primary school, whereas Zakaria had been 13 years of age, and thus a lower secondary school pupil. Mohammed could not draw on Arabic or Swahili for educational purposes, so their common register was based on Somali and Norwegian. I do not know how much basic knowledge the pupils had of natural science, but since it was inadequate compared to their peers, the school had exempted them from taking the natural science exam for grade 10.

Mohammed greeted his pupils, and told them to take the three seats on the left of the first row. He grabbed a chair from the back of the room and sat straight behind them. In the meantime, I sat down a bit behind them along the laboratory's left wall. When Mette and the rest of the pupils arrived a few minutes later, she asked them to find a seat, clearly being in charge of the lesson.

Table 6 gives an overview of the lesson's different phases and teacher activity, both for Mette and for Mohammed.



**TABLE 6: OVERVIEW PHASES AND TEACHER ACTIVITY, SCIENCE LESSON 28.04.2009**

Time	Phase	Content	Teacher activity	
			Mette	Mohammed
08:41 (5')	1	Science homework according to period plan	Pupil conversations with three of the pupils about issues not related to period plan <sup>31</sup>	Got his pupils organised and started with the science homework in their period plan
08:46 (32')	2	Scientific experiment	Conducted experiment	Gave occasional renditions of Mette's talk
09:18 (17')	3	Lab report	Wrote on the blackboard while conducting a dialogue with class	Guided his pupils, occasionally giving renditions of Mette's talk
09:35 (14')	4	Science homework according to period plan	Helped individual pupils in the class	Helped his pupils

As the table above shows, during the first phase, Mette had pupil conversations with three pupils, while the rest of the class worked on their own. During the other three phases, she conducted the experiment, wrote the lab report with the whole class, and helped individual pupils with the science homework according to their period plan. Parallel to Mette's activities, Mohammed took care of his three pupils during all four phases, helping them getting started with their homework, giving renditions of Mette's talk during the experiment and the writing of the lab report, and finally continuing to help them with their science homework. It is worth noting that Mohammed worked fairly independently during the first and last phases of the lesson, which were pupil centred, whereas he closely related his teaching to Mette's during the other two phases, which were teacher directed.

#### PHASE 1 – PERIOD PLAN

While the pupils were taking seats, Mette announced that she needed to have *pupil conversations* with three individual pupils, and that in the meantime the rest of the class could work alone with their science homework. She gave the class two short instructions, which presupposed a high degree of independence: "*Kan alle bla opp i naturfagsboka si og begynne med lekser?*" (*Can you all open your science book and start with your homework?*), and "*Dekk fikk beskjed om hva dekk skulle gjør.*" (*You have been told what to do.*). The homework was from a theme the class had worked on during the past two weeks, and which they were about to finish by answering a number of questions on their own.

<sup>31</sup> Pursuant to Section 4–7 of the Regulations to the Education Act (*Forskrift til opplæringslova [Regulation to the Education Act]*, 2012), twice a year pupils have the right to a conversation with their teacher about their development in relation to the competence aims in the subject as part of their ongoing assessment. This conversation is sometimes called *elevsamtalen* [the pupil conversation].

Mette's communicative project here was instructing. Following from this, I observed how the class took their books and their period plan, and how they quietly started working with the exercises in their book. This shows that the class had established routines.

Turning to his three pupils, Mohammed did not take their independence or the routine for granted. From an interpretive perspective, he gave a divergent rendition of Mette's communicative project of instructing, explicitly coordinating her speech. From a pedagogical perspective, however, he did much more than that. He contextualised the instruction, both for himself and for his pupils. He did this by asking if they knew what to do, and if not, he could ask Mette, clearly not knowing himself. In other words, "*Dekk fikk beskjed*" (*You have been told*) alludes to something neither Mohammed, nor the three pupils were told about or had established as a routine. Zakaria replied that it was written in their period plan, finding it in his school bag. Mohammed followed up by pointing at the plan and asking which week it was today, in addition to prompting them to find their science book. Asad said he had forgotten it, and Mohammed gave out to him for this. Following from this, Mohammed again pointed to the period plan and read the page number out loud, adding that they should ask him if there was anything they did not understand. So, after having organised the three pupils, Mohammed aimed at individual work, just like the rest of the class.

Thus, Mohammed's communicative project was more multiply purposeful than Mette's original project. In addition to instructing, he checked, prompted, gave out to them, and offered help, in this way transforming Mette's project through adapting her instructions more to the needs of his pupils. The analysis clearly shows how Mette's instructions were meant for the mainstream pupils, not for the three emergent bilingual pupils. One imagines that she counted on Mohammed to transform, but as we will see, this was not always easy. Indeed it was not always possible, especially since he was not present in her classes.

When analysing the transcribed and translated audio recordings of Mohammed and the pupils' talk, it becomes clear that the three pupils were not able to do their homework on their own. Ahmed did not know where to start, asking questions such as "Waxaan maxaa waaye?" (What is this?), "Intee la akhrinaa?" (Where shall I read?), "Inta maa la akhrinaa?" (Shall I read here?), "Wax badan maa la akhrinaa?" (Do we need to read many pages?), and "Skal jeg lese sånn?" (Shall I read like this?). In response to this, Mohammed

revised his original plan of letting his pupils work alone, and decided to do the homework together with them, saying “*Skal vi begynne?*” (*Shall we start?*).

Mohammed started his homework session, not by going to the exercises, but by asking his pupils what the theme was, thus aiming at building a common understanding. The transcript below shows that even though Zakaria knew that the theme was climate (#6–1, 0195), the pupils only had a slight idea of what this meant. Zakaria said it had to do with the weather (#6–1, 0197), and Ahmed did not think that humans could create problems, influence or destroy the climate (#6–1, 0204–0208).

#### TRANSCRIPT #6–1 LABORATORY

- |      |     |  |     |   |
|------|-----|--|-----|---|
| 0192 | M:  | <u>Maxay ku saabsantahay? Maxay ku</u>     | M:  | <u>But what is the theme? But what is the</u> |
| 0193 |     | <u>saabsantahay? Teamaha maxay</u>         |     | <u>theme? What are we</u>                     |
| 0194 |     | <u>kusaabsantahay?</u>                     |     | <u>talking about?</u>                         |
| 0195 | Z:  | <u>Klima, waxaa waaye.</u>                 | Z:  | <u>It's climate.</u>                          |
| 0196 | M:  | <u>Maxaa laga wadaa?</u>                   | M:  | <u>What does it mean?</u>                     |
| 0197 | Z:  | <u>Væraha camal.</u>                       | Z:  | <u>Like the weather.</u>                      |
| 0198 | Ah: | <u>Væraha.</u>                             | Ah: | <u>Weather.</u>                               |
| 0199 | M:  | <u>Cimilada, jawiga, aduunka. Globalka</u> | M:  | <u>Climate, weather, world. The global is</u> |
| 0200 |     | <u>waa aduunka oo dhan soo ma aha?</u>     |     | <u>the entire world.</u>                      |
| 0201 | Ah: | <u>Waxii oo dhacaayo waaye.</u>            | Ah: | <u>That what is happening.</u>                |
| 0202 | M:  | <u>Cimilada aduunka.</u>                   | M:  | <u>The climate of the world.</u>              |
| 0203 | Ah: | <u>Hee?</u>                                | Ah: | <u>What?</u>                                  |
| 0204 | M:  | <u>Innaga wax ma u dhimi karnaa. Wax</u>   | M:  | <u>Can we create problems? Do</u>             |
| 0205 |     | <u>ma kasamayn karnaa?</u>                 |     | <u>we have any influence?</u>                 |
| 0206 | Ah: | <u>May.</u>                                | Ah: | <u>No.</u>                                    |
| 0207 | M:  | <u>Wax ma u dhimi karnaa?</u>              | M:  | <u>Can we destroy it?</u>                     |
| 0208 | Ah: | <u>May.</u>                                | Ah: | <u>No.</u>                                    |

This transcript, and in fact the entire first phase of this lesson, gives us an insight into the challenges the emergent bilingual pupils faced when trying to follow mainstream natural science with their peers. Similar findings have been reported by Miller et al. (2005) from their study of African refugees with interrupted schooling in the high school mainstream in Victoria, Australia. At the same time, it also illustrates the extensive, time consuming adaptation this requires from Mohammed, both in terms of getting the pupils organised and started, and with regard to the teaching of an advanced theme such as the climate, by a teacher who did not specialise in science, to pupils who did not have the background knowledge expected at this level. Having said this, I did not have access to the school's learning platform with the pupils' period plans and can therefore not be sure if their homework was the same as that of their peers. They did, however, use the same textbook.

## PHASE 2 – CONDUCTING THE SCIENTIFIC EXPERIMENT

Mette had been absent during the previous week’s science lesson, and Sverre had replaced her. As a repetition and starting point for her own lesson, she asked the pupils which experiments they had conducted with Sverre. One of the girls answered that they had conducted two different experiments with Fehling’s solution. In the first, they had mixed the solution with grape sugar and water, and in the second with ordinary sugar. The pupil continued by saying that the first mixture had changed colours, from blue, to green and finally to brown. Mette confirmed this and followed up by asking what had happened with the mixture with ordinary sugar, to which the same pupil answered that this mixture was blue. Again Mette confirmed this and added that the colour of Fehling’s solution is blue, so when the mixture was blue this meant that nothing had happened.

Following from this, Mette asked “*Hva er forskjellen da på druesukker og vanlig sukker?*” (*What’s the difference then between grape sugar and ordinary sugar?*), adding that they had been through this before. While she was waiting for an answer of the class, Mohammed turned to his pupils, not to translate the whole conversation between Mette and the pupils, but instead asked if they knew the answer (#6–1, 0262):

### TRANSCRIPT #6–2 LABORATORY

0262	M: <u>Ma taqaanaa?</u>	M: <u>Do you know?</u>
0263	Ah: <u>Iyaa?</u>	Ah: <u>What?</u>
0264	M: <u>Maxaa u dhexeeya? Druesukker iyo</u>	M: <u>What’s the difference? What’s the</u>
0265	<u>vanlig sukker maxaa u dhexeeya?</u>	<u>difference between grape sugar and</u>
0266	<u>Forskjellen?</u>	<u>ordinary sugar? The difference?</u>
0267	Z: <u>Druerka waxaa laga soo keenay maxa-</u>	Z: <u>Grapes are a product-</u>
0268	<u>sukkerka waxaa laga soo keenay</u>	<u>Sugar is a product of</u>
0269	<u>druerka, soo ma aha?</u>	<u>grapes, right?</u>

As transcript # 6–2 shows, Mohammed checked if his pupils knew the answer to Mette’s question by briefly asking if they knew. When Ahmed asked “Iyaa?” (What?) (#6–2, 0263), Mohammed gave a close rendition of Mette’s question, mainly drawing on Somali, but saying the two key words (grape sugar and ordinary sugar) in Norwegian. Zakaria suggested that sugar was a product of grapes, and checked with Mohammed by asking if he was right (#6–2, 0269). Mohammed did not reply to this, however.

In the meantime, Mette had written the two key words grape sugar and ordinary sugar or sucrose on the blackboard, and repeated her question: “*Og hva er forskjellen på*

det her?" (And what's the difference between them?), pointing at the two terms. Again Mohammed gave a close rendition of Mette's turn (#6-3, 0273-0274):

**TRANSCRIPT #6-3 LABORATORY**

0273	M:	<u>Maxaa u dhexeeya? Ma fahmaysaan</u>	M:	<u>What's the difference? Do you</u>
0274		<u>waxa u dhexeeya? Labaad?</u>		<u>understand? The difference?</u>
0275	Z:	<u>Maxaa waaye waxaas?</u>	Z:	<u>What is it?</u>
0276	M:	<u>Labadaas waxa u dhexeeya taas-</u>	M:	<u>The difference between these two is-</u>
0277	Z:	<u>Maxaa?</u>	Z:	<u>What?</u>
0278	M:	<u>Differensaha u dhexeeya ma</u>	M:	<u>What's the difference? Do you</u>
0279		<u>fahmaysaan? Druesukker iyo sonkorta</u>		<u>understand the difference between</u>
0280		<u>caadiga ah waxa waxa u dhexeeya?</u>		<u>grape sugar and ordinary sugar?</u>
0281		<u>Druesukker iyo sukrose.</u>		<u>Grape sugar and sucrose.</u>
0282	Z:	<u>Sukrose maxaa waaye?</u>	Z:	<u>What is sucrose?</u>
0283	M:	<u>Waa sonkorta caadiga ah. Taas</u>	M:	<u>That's ordinary sugar. That's</u>
0284		<u>sonkorta caadiga ah.</u>		<u>ordinary sugar.</u>
0285	Z:	<u>Sonkorta caadiga ah xxxx waaye e.</u>	Z:	<u>That's the ordinary sugar xxxx.</u>
0286	M:	<u>Waxa u dhexeeya fiiri.</u>	M:	<u>Look at the difference.</u>

In the transcript above, Zakaria explicitly asked Mohammed what the difference was between the words (#6-3, 0275). First, Mohammed started an answer (#6-3, 0276), but then repeated his question instead (#6-3, 0278-0280), before turning the pupils' attention to the blackboard again (#6-3, 0286), explicitly coordinating the speech. There is reason to believe that Mohammed did not know the answer to this subject specific question. When Mette finally answered the question herself, Mohammed gave a reduced rendition for his pupils. This example illustrates a common pattern across the material from Mohammed's lessons with Mette and Sverre, and shows one way of collaborating with them during teaching, that is, giving close or reduced renditions of the teachers' questions and answers to the class, in addition to directing his pupils' attention to what the teachers wrote on the blackboard or to the experiment they were conducting.

Not being familiar with the subject content was a challenge for Mohammed, as it made him very dependent on Mette, during this (and the next) teacher directed phase. While Mohammed was giving renditions of Mette's talk, she continued her teaching irrespective of his talk. Directing the pupils' attention to the blackboard was therefore also a strategy Mohammed used to be able to listen to Mette's talk and hence hear the answer to the question, which he did not know himself. Not hearing the answer would mean that he would not be able to give a rendition for his pupils, which again would reduce the likelihood of them being able to follow the lesson.

Having said this, however, the material shows at least two different patterns which help explain why continuously listening to Mette's teaching was not always easy for Mohammed. First, Mohammed often needed to give expanded renditions in order for the pupils to understand Mette's talk. An example of this is when Mette explained to the class that cellulose consists of linear chains with a rod-like conformation, whereas starch consists of units joined by bonds and consequently branches. Following from this, she asked "*Hva har det å si for fordøyelsen av dissa to her?*" (*What does this mean for the digestion of those two?*). Instead of giving a close rendition of Mette's question, Mohammed turned to his pupils and asked if they understood the word "*fordøyelse*" (*digestion*). When Zakaria said he did not, Mohammed both said that it was called "dheef-shiid" in Somali and gave a quite extensive explanation of the process. On this occasion he had the time to do so, as Mette had stopped her explanation to reprimand two pupils who were chewing gum. In fact, while pointing at an illustration in the textbook, Mohammed had started answering Mette's question before she had. At other times, however, Mette would have moved on with her teaching, leaving it to Mohammed and his pupils to catch up again.

Secondly, Mohammed did not have time to give renditions of all of Mette's talk. There would consequently be long stretches which were left untranslated. Sometimes his pupils asked additional questions for clarification. For example, during Mette's explanation of why human beings could not digest cellulose whereas cows could because of a certain enzyme in their stomachs, Zakaria asked Mohammed what Mette was saying about cows. While Mohammed was explaining this to Zakaria, Mette moved on to talk about sugar substitutes answering another pupil's question, in fact applying what they had learnt from the experiment in another context. Mohammed never gave any rendition of this sequence. There was probably no time to do so, perhaps he did not find it an important enough issue to give a rendition, perhaps viewing it as being a bit off topic. This is therefore also an example of a decision Mohammed had to make on the spot by himself, even though he was not familiar with this specific subject matter.

Summing up, Mohammed had not specialised in natural science, but was to adapt the subject specific content to the needs of his three pupils. During this (and the next) teacher directed instruction phase, this lack of subject specific knowledge made him very dependent on Mette's talk. He collaborated with her by giving close renditions and

explicitly coordinating the talk by directing the three pupils' attention to Mette. Since the science teacher was responsible for the whole class, she did not adapt her speech to Mohammed's, or to the three emergent bilingual pupils' needs, passing the responsibility of teaching the curriculum over to Mohammed. This often made it difficult for Mohammed to help his pupils, as he was unfamiliar with what was being taught, and his pupils needed a lot of assistance.

### PHASE 3 – WRITING A LAB REPORT

After the experiment, Mette instructed the class on how to write their lab reports. She wrote the title on the blackboard, "*Kjennetegn på sukker*" (*Characteristics of sugar*), and asked the pupils to copy this. While interacting with the class, she jotted down the five required steps of a report, materials, assignment, hypothesis, procedure and drawing, and conclusion, each time followed by a few key words or a sentence or two.

Mohammed's way of collaborating with Mette during this phase was to make sure his pupils wrote down the different steps in their report, using the correct terminology in Norwegian. He did this in several ways, each time drawing on translanguaging practices: by providing a close rendition in Somali, while repeating the key word in Norwegian (#6-4), by using a hybrid form of the key word when providing a rendition in Somali (#6-5), or by using the Norwegian word in the Somali rendition (#6-6).<sup>32</sup> As noted in Chapter 1, similar practices have been described by Arthur and Martin (2006) and Creese and Blackledge (2010).

When Mette, for example, asked the class "*Hva slags utstyr brukte vi?*" (*What kind of equipment did we use?*), Mohammed turned to his pupils and said:

#### TRANSCRIPT #6-4 LABORATORY

1349	M:	<u>Maxaan isticmaallay? Maxaan</u>	M:	<u>What did we use? What did</u>
1350		<u>isticmaallay? Utstyr, utstyr,</u>		<u>we use? Equipment, equipment,</u>
1351		<u>utstyr. Qalabka la isticmaalay.</u>		<u>equipment. The equipment we used.</u>

Here, Mohammed first gave a reduced rendition of Mette's words in Somali, leaving out the key word 'equipment' (#6-4, 1349-1350). Next, he repeated the Norwegian word for 'equipment' three times (#6-4, 1350-1351), before using the equivalent in Somali while referring to the experiment (#6-4, 1351).

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<sup>32</sup> These translanguaging practices are also found during the other phases of the lesson but I choose to elaborate on the issue here.

The fact that Mohammed used the Somali equivalent for the Norwegian key word ‘equipment’, was not so common, however. More often, he used the Norwegian word in a Somali turn and gave it the definite form in accordance to Somali grammar, hence using a hybrid form, as is shown below in #6–5. Mette said “*Men først er det oppgave.*” (*But first there is assignment.*), and Mohammed interpreted, giving an extended rendition by not only telling his pupils to write down the word but also asking what the assignment was:

#### TRANSCRIPT #6–5 LABORATORY

1456	M:	<u>Oppgave qor marka.</u>	M:	<u>Write assignment afterwards.</u>
1357		<u>Hoosta ka xariiq.</u>		<u>Underline.</u>
1358		<u>Oppgavaha maxuu ahaa.</u>		<u>What was the assignment?</u>

Here, Mohammed gave the Norwegian noun “*oppgave*” the definite form in accordance to Somali grammar, turning it into “*oppgavaha*” (#6–5, 1358). Later, Zakaria also used the hybrid form “*utøvelsaha*” (*the process*), which was repeated by Mohammed, and seemingly accepted by both teacher and pupils.<sup>33</sup>

At other times again, Mohammed embedded the Norwegian key term in a Somali turn, not changing it in any way; #6–6 is an example of this. Mette asked the pupils: “*Hypotese. [...] Da husker dekk at hva dere trudde ville skje*” (*Hypothesis. [...] Then you remember that what you thought was going to happen*). Mohammed turned to his pupils and gave a reduced rendition, leaving out Mette’s explanation of the term:

#### TRANSCRIPT #6–6 LABORATORY

1502	M:	<u>Hypotese maxaa u malaynaysaan inay</u>	M:	<u>What do you think hypothesis</u>
1503		<u>tahay?</u>		<u>is?</u>

Similarly, Mohammed also used the Norwegian terms when describing the colour changes of the liquid, being “*oransje*” (orange), “*brun*” (brown) and “*blå*” (blue), not providing the equivalent in Somali.

My main reason for presenting Mohammed’s different strategies is to show that he collaborated with Mette by closely sticking to her communicative project of instructing the pupils in how to write the report in Norwegian. He did this by using the scientific key words in Norwegian, but at all times drawing on both Somali and Norwegian, providing hybrid

<sup>33</sup> In English the definite pronoun is ‘the’. In Somali, as in Norwegian, the definite article is a suffix to the noun. Here, -ha gives the noun the definite form: ‘the assignment’ (*oppgava*, in Norwegian) becomes ‘*oppgavaha*’. Other suffixes can be -ta, -ka, -a, -da and -ga, depending on the surrounding phonemes (personal correspondence translator).



and other forms of multilingual speech. Mohammed may have given little thought to why he mixes, which is not uncommon for bilingual teachers in transitional bilingual education classrooms (García, 2009, p. 296). However, Mohammed's collaboration strategy may in fact contribute to promote the shift to Norwegian, as the key words were never translated into Somali.

By this time, the pupils had copied the first three steps of the lab report from the blackboard, each consisting of a key word and one or two sentences which explained what had been used or done. For the fourth step, the hypothesis, Mette only jotted down the key word and encouraged the pupils to think back what their hypothesis was before they conducted the experiment, and requested them to write it down. One of the pupils (PG) sitting in the first row said to Mette that she really did not know what was going to happen before the experiment (#6–7, 1505–1507).<sup>34</sup> Mette turned to the class and replied that in that case they could just write this. Mohammed also instructed his pupils to write down the word 'hypothesis', and asked if they knew what was going to happen. When Ahmed said that he did not, Mohammed replied that he could just write that, indirectly referring to Mette's answer (#6–7, 1523–1524).

#### TRANSCRIPT #6–7 LABORATORY

1505	PG: <i>xx rett og slett. Hadde ikke peiling</i>	PG: <i>xx simply. Had no idea</i>
1506	<i>hva som kom til å skje. Vi hadde</i>	<i>what was about to happen. We like had</i>
1507	<i>liksom ingen anelse.</i>	<i>no idea.</i>
1508	Me: <i>Nei. Da da må det stå</i>	Me: <i>No. Then then this has to be written</i>
1509	<i>på hypotese. Hadde ingen formening</i>	<i>under hypothesis. Had no idea</i>
1510	<i>om hva som kom til å skje.</i>	<i>what was about to happen.</i>
1511	PB: <i>xx</i>	PB: <i>xx</i>
1512	M: <i>Hypotese gorhee. Markaas ma aqoonin</i>	M: <i>Write hypothesis. Afterwards you can</i>
1513	<i>dheh waxii dhacay.</i>	<i>say that you didn't know what was</i>
1515	<i>Mataqaanay waxii. Waxii</i>	<i>about to happen. Do you know what</i>
1516	<i>dhacaayay? Wax ma</i>	<i>will happen? Can you imagine what will</i>
1517	<i>qiyaasaysay? Mmm?</i>	<i>happen? Mmm?</i>
1518	As: <i>lyaa?</i>	As: <i>What?</i>
1519	M: <i>Hypotese. Hva tror du ville</i>	M: <i>Hypothesis. What do you think would</i>
1520	<i>skje? Maxaa u malaysaa inuu dhici</i>	<i>happen? What did you think was going</i>
1521	<i>lahaa?</i>	<i>to happen?</i>
1522	As: <i>Ma aqaani.</i>	As: <i>I don't know.</i>
1523	M: <i>Mataqaanid, qor marka inaad</i>	M: <i>Don't know. So write that you didn't</i>
1524	<i>aqoonin.</i>	<i>know.</i>
1525	As: <i>Maxaan qoraa?</i>	As: <i>What shall I write?</i>
1526	M: <i>Waxba ma aqoonin dheh.</i>	M: <i>Say that I didn't know anything.</i>

<sup>34</sup> PG stands for Pupil Girl, and later in this story PB is used for Pupil Boy.

- |      |  |   |
|------|--|---|
| 1527 | As: <u>Sideen u qorraa?</u>                  | As: <u>How do I write this?</u>                 |
| 1528 | M: <u>Waxaa qortaa waxba ma ... ma ogayn</u> | M: <u>Write that ... I didn't know what was</u> |
| 1529 | <u>waxa dhacaaya. Ma ogayn waxa</u>          | <u>going to happen. I didn't know what</u>      |
| 1530 | <u>dhacaay.</u>                              | <u>was going to happen.</u>                     |
| 1531 | As: <u>Norske maan ku qoraa?</u>             | As: <u>Shall I write it in Norwegian?</u>       |
| 1532 | M: <u>Haa norske ku qor.</u>                 | M: <u>Yes. Write in Norwegian.</u>              |
| 1533 | As: <u>Norske maxaa lagu dhahaa?</u>         | As: <u>What does this mean in Norwegian?</u>    |
| 1534 | M: <u>Adiga inaa soo hesho waaye.</u>        | M: <u>You have to find out yourself.</u>        |
| 1535 | As: <u>li sheeg.</u>                         | As: <u>Tell me.</u>                             |
| 1536 | M: <i>Mmm? Hadde ikke noe mening.</i>        | M: <i>Mmm? Didn't have an opinion.</i>          |

As the extract shows, even though Mohammed provided Ahmed with an answer in Somali about what to write if he did not know what the hypothesis was prior to the experiment (#6–7, 1523–1524, 1526, 1528–1530), the boy was not able to write this in Norwegian. Perhaps Mohammed wanted Ahmed to be independent and make an effort himself.

It is not possible to know which language Ahmed would have chosen himself for the report. Not having received any schooling in Somali, it is likely that he had not developed literacy skills in Somali. Also, as we have seen, since Mohammed did not provide the Somali equivalents for the specific scientific vocabulary, an entire report in Somali would not be possible. Ahmed did go to school in Yemen for four years, using Arabic as his school language, but this is a language neither Mohammed nor Mette master.

Going one step further, however, a pressing question arises as to whether allowing Ahmed to draw on his entire communicative repertoire for doing this lab report would have created new opportunities for writing. It would resemble the way Mohammed and his pupils “talked science” by drawing on their entire communicative repertoire which encompassed translanguaging practices when talking about the experiment (see #6–4, 6–5 and 6–6 above). Bearing Canagarajah’s (2011) criticism of some researchers’ tendency to romanticise pupils’ translanguaging practices for teaching and learning in mind, there is of course the same danger as pointed to in the second phase, that is, that the pupils’ language practices are put to the service of Norwegian, valuing it more highly and hence encouraging a shift towards Norwegian only, and taking space and time away from the rest of their communicative repertoire, consisting of minority languages in a Norwegian context (García, 2009). Irrespective of this discussion, however, allowing these emergent bilingual pupils in the science class to draw on their entire communicative repertoire need perhaps not only be about enhancing metalinguistic awareness, but about creating opportunities

and safe spaces for them to adopt their multilingual repertoire for learning science, and in this case, for writing a lab report.

Canagarajah (2011) also reminds us that translanguaging in writing is more challenging than in speaking, arguing that “[b]ecause formal writing is a high-stakes activity in schools, with serious implications for assessment, translanguaging is heavily censored in literate contexts” (p. 402). To my mind, a report in hybrid language would put Mohammed in a unique position in the collaborative relationship with Mette, since he would be the only one who would be able to make sense of it languagewise, sharing most of the pupils’ communicative repertoire. Importantly, however, Mette and Mohammed would have to make sense of the report together, since only Mette has qualifications in chemistry. They could even involve the bilingual teacher in Arabic in the school, as Ahmed and Deeq are likely to draw on Arabic too. Assessing a report in hybrid language would potentially make the teachers talk science, which would be valuable for Mohammed when giving renditions of Mette’s speech or teaching science to his pupils alone in a group room. It would also allow for reflection on bilingual pedagogy and strategies for teaching chemistry bilingually, including assessment, which Mohammed would be able to make a strong contribution to, but which they also should be able to develop jointly. In addition, the pupils’ multilingual reports could also be a good starting point for joint reflection on the appropriateness of this exercise for these pupils and on the grade 10 science curriculum for them more in general.

#### PHASE 4 – PERIOD PLAN

Mette announced that the last fifteen minutes of the teaching period were to be spent on homework, saying that they started well (referring back to the first phase), so that they now had to end well too. She then started walking around in the class, making sure all pupils knew what to do and answering possible questions. Focusing on his three pupils, Mohammed picked up where they had ended, saying that the homework was from page 135, that the theme was climate changes, and asking them if they thought this was important. Ahmed wanted to give up, explaining that he was tired. As he put his head on his desk, Mette passed by and asked if it was difficult. Ahmed answered something inaudible, whereupon Mette asked if he was having difficulties, or if he was tired. When

Ahmed replied that he was tired, Mette laughed and said that there was still one more lesson on his period plan after this science lesson.

Mohammed tried to get Mette's attention and started asking about next Tuesday. Mette continued talking to Ahmed, Deeq and Zakaria, however, and added that "*Så har dere i hvert fall lært det med Fehlings væske.*" (So now you've at least learnt about Fehling's solution.). When the pupils did not respond to this, Mohammed asked "*Tirsdag neste uke. Er det det sa- i det samme kapitlet eller?*" (Tuesday next week. Is it the sa- in the same chapter?), evading Mette's question too. This question represents a typical pattern in Mohammed's collaboration with Mette and Sverre. Not talking before or after the science lessons on a regular basis, Mohammed would very often ask them towards the end of the lesson what the lesson for next week would be about. Very often he would get an answer referring to a chapter in the textbook, but this time Mette replied that Sverre would be substituting for her the following week, so that he had to ask him. The teachers swapped between teaching mathematics and science on Tuesdays, and she did not know what Sverre had planned. Typical of the collaboration between Mohammed and the science teachers is also the fact that their talk is about organisation and not in response to Mette's turn that they now had learnt about Fehling's solution, or about the fact that they were having difficulties doing their science homework on their own. The teachers did not discuss the written lab report the pupils were to hand in the following week either.

The rest of the lesson, Mohammed and his pupils spent talking about the pupils' period plan, and Ahmed being tired. Mohammed checked if he slept enough, to which the boy responded that he had, but that he was tired due to soccer practice. A couple of minutes later, Mette ended the lesson, and everybody left the laboratory. The pupils went back to their classes, Mohammed and I walked back to team room 8, while Mette stayed behind to clean up after the experiment. Not sharing the same team room, they did not naturally meet up for joint reflection later that day either. On the way, we met Linn, who started talking about an upcoming interdisciplinary project in grade 10. Consequently, Mohammed and I had no opportunity to jointly reflect upon the science lesson.

Summing up, as we have seen in the last phase of the lesson, the only time the teachers talked together during the lesson was when Mohammed briefly asked Mette about the content of the following lesson. Consequently, there were many issues which were not aired. Neither Mette nor Mohammed initiated any conversation on the pupils'

understanding of the science lesson, the homework, or the written report they were to hand in.

Being teamed up with Mette in a subject he did not specialise in, however, did not leave Mohammed with many opportunities to adapt his teaching to the needs of the three pupils during the teacher directed phases. Whereas he was able to adapt his teaching more to the needs of his pupils during the first pupil centred phase, particularly phases two and three show his reliance on the content of Mette's teaching. The analyses also show that Norwegian and Somali were valued differently for teaching and learning purposes. Mohammed (and his pupils) translanguaged in a way that did not always contribute to the potential of developing the pupils' Somali repertoire in the domain of natural science, but which rather focused on the scientific key words in Norwegian. In addition, Mohammed insisted that the lab report was to be written in Norwegian, even though this was difficult, if not impossible for the three pupils. Yet, I would argue that valuing Norwegian over Somali was one of the ways Mohammed collaborated with Mette.

In the next section, we will see how Mohammed deals with being teamed up with Linn, teaching together in the transition class in basic Norwegian, which is more adapted to the needs of their common pupils.

## TEAMING UP WITH LINN

As already noted (see p. 113ff.), Mohammed formed a different sort of professional relationship with Linn than with Mette. They sat next to each other in the same team room, had the same professional interests, and worked both with the language learning of emergent bilingual pupils. Linn had all of her teaching in the school's reception class, being responsible for the teaching of the subject basic Norwegian for all pupils in the classroom. When Mohammed was teamed up with her, he assisted her in further adapting the education to the needs of the pupils from a Somali background by drawing on Somali. Linn and Mohammed's collaborative framework was hence unlike the most common alternatives described in the ESL literature (for example Bourne & McPake, 1991; Creese, 2005) where one teacher focuses on content teaching and the other on language teaching. Also, unlike the policy of mainstreaming English as a second language, basic Norwegian a school subject in itself. Linn was therefore a subject teacher in charge of the teaching, and

not a support teacher. Instead, it was Mohammed who supported her as a bilingual teacher, not in all her lessons in the reception class, but in some of them.

In the course of my fieldwork at Ullstad, I observed Linn and Mohammed teaching together in the reception class three times. In the first lesson (04.02.2009), the pupils were asked to make an individual, oral presentation where they compared an industrial and developing country of their own choice. In the second lesson (11.02.2009), the pupils wrote their own CV, while in the third lesson, they worked with a literary text (15.04.2009). Since the lessons in the reception class were to be adapted to the needs of all the pupils, Mohammed never took them out, but would assist Linn in the classroom.

To illustrate their professional relationship, I will zoom in on Linn and Mohammed's lesson of 15.04.2009 (see Figure 4), sometimes zooming out to comment on patterns across the material.

Teaching-period	Time (appr.)	Place	Transcript	Interactants	Add. participants	Topical content
14.04.09						
Before 1 <sup>st</sup>	08:20	Staff room	#4–8	L, M	J	Tomorrow's lesson
After 3 <sup>rd</sup>	14:10	Team 8	#4–9	M, L	J, other teachers	Tomorrow's text
	14:30	Team 8		M, L	J, other teachers	Question-sheet for pupils
15.04.09						
1 <sup>st</sup>	08:32	Reception class	#4–10/11/12/13/14	L, M, pupils	J	Reading and discussing new text
After 1 <sup>st</sup>	10:03	Reception class	#4–15	L, M, J		Lesson, pupils' families

J (Joke), L (Linn), M (Mohammed)

**FIGURE 4: OVERVIEW COLLABORATION BASIC NORWEGIAN LESSON, 15.04.2009**

Figure 4 illustrates Mohammed and Linn's collaboration before and after their joint lesson, having three conversations before the lesson and one after. Two of them were initiated by Linn, and two by Mohammed. Having taken Mohammed's timetable into consideration, Linn taught the introductory lesson together with him and the following up alone later in the week. As I will come back to in greater detail below (see p. 140), the pupils in this lesson were two girls, Sihaam and Sumeya, and three boys, Ahmed, Deeq and Zakaria, all with parents from a Somali language background, and two boys, Radha and Hicham, with parents from an Arabic language background.

## PLANNING THE LESSON

It was the first day of teaching after the Easter break, and Mohammed and I were sitting in the staffroom, drinking coffee. Linn came up to us and initiated a conversation with Mohammed about the next day's lesson with grade 10 in the reception class (#6–8).

### TRANSCRIPT #6–8 STAFF ROOM

- |      |    |   |    |   |
|------|----|---|----|---|
| 0001 | L: | <i>Og så, jeg tenkte i morgen i</i>         | L: | <i>And then, I was thinking tomorrow in</i>   |
| 0002 |    | <i>norsken da jeg skal prøve å så-</i>      |    | <i>the Norwegian lesson then I'll try to-</i> |
| 0003 |    | <i>for den teksten av den her boka av</i>   |    | <i>cause that text of this book about</i>     |
| 0004 |    | <i>Saynab,</i>                              |    | <i>Saynab here,</i>                           |
| 0005 | M: | <i>Mm.</i>                                  | M: | <i>Mm.</i>                                    |
| 0006 | L: | <i>Jeg kunne tenke meg å lese et utdrag</i> | L: | <i>I'd like to read an extract</i>            |
| 0007 |    | <i>fra den og så jobba litt med den</i>     |    | <i>and then work a bit with the</i>           |
| 0008 |    | <i>teksten, spesielt med tanke på de</i>    |    | <i>text, especially with regard to the</i>    |
| 0009 |    | <i>jentene og sånt.</i>                     |    | <i>girls and stuff.</i>                       |
| 0010 | M: | <i>Ok, mm.</i>                              | M: | <i>Ok, mm.</i>                                |
| 0011 | L: | <i>Ja, se litt på sjanger og innhold</i>    | L: | <i>Yeah, look at the genre and content</i>    |
| 0012 |    | <i>og sånt.</i>                             |    | <i>and stuff.</i>                             |
| 0013 | M: | <i>Ok.</i>                                  | M: | <i>Ok.</i>                                    |
| 0014 | L: | <i>Må nesten finne den, så kan du få</i>    | L: | <i>I'd better find it, so you can have a</i>  |
| 0015 |    | <i>se på den.</i>                           |    | <i>look at it.</i>                            |
| 0016 | M: | <i>Ok, ja.</i>                              | M: | <i>Ok, yeah.</i>                              |

As the extract shows, Mohammed, who was not familiar with the text in question, responded with continuation markers. Before closing the topic, Linn elaborated by saying that she wanted to work with the text, particularly with the girls in mind, and focus on the genre and content. When collaborating with regard to their dual teaching on 11.02.2009, they also focused on the possible content of the lesson. In neither case did the teachers talk about language learning, which is central in the teaching of basic Norwegian.

The text Linn had chosen to read with the grade 10 pupils in the reception class was an excerpt from a novel called *Saynab, min historie* (*Saynab, my story*; my translation) (Norderhaug & Mohamud, 2004). This excerpt is printed in a textbook series called *Kontekst* in the subject Norwegian for lower secondary school (Blichfeldt, Larsen, & Heggem, 2006). *Kontekst* has three volumes; one that includes texts up to 1980, one with texts published after 1980, including *Saynab, my story*, and one that contains contemporary texts.

In the textbook, the excerpt is introduced in the following way:

ABOUT THE TEXT – Saynab Mohamud was born in Somalia in 1978. When she was twelve she was reunited with her father in Norway. Her father beat and mistreated her, and she was

exposed to racism and bullying at school. After a while she joined a tough girl gang in Oslo, where she took part in anti-social activities. In 2002, she turned up in a TV-documentary in order to make clear that circumcision and genital cutting were common also in Norway. *Saynab – my story* is an autobiographical novel in which the journalist Eva Norderhaug helped Saynab Mohamud tell her life-story.

In the text extract Saynab has just moved from Kristiansand to Holmlia in Oslo.<sup>35</sup> She has been abandoned by her father, and together with her younger brother, Abdi, she lives with a family she does not know. (p. 162, my translation)

In the extract, Saynab has just started a new school and has got two new friends, both from a Somali background: Fatima and one who was called “Spagetti” (Spaghetti) because she was as thin as a spaghetti string. Spagetti’s parents had higher education, good jobs in the city, and they were against circumcision. Fatima, on the other hand, was only allowed to be outside one hour after school, she had to take care of the housekeeping and babysit her younger brothers and sisters. Her parents were divorced and Fatima’s father had taken her to Norway to help his new wife. Her stepmother treated her badly and only cared about her own children.

While I was writing fieldnotes during Mohammed’s lunch break, Linn sat at her desk preparing the next day’s lesson. She put a copy of the text excerpt and sheet of questions on Mohammed’s desk for him to read later, and gave me an extra copy. She told me she was not sure if she was only going to talk about family violence or also about circumcision, but that perhaps Mohammed would have an opinion on this. She did not normally use this textbook, but had chosen this particular text because of the theme as one of the girls, Sihaam, had shown a particular interest in family relations in Somali families and in circumcision. Besides, Linn also knew that this text had been read and discussed by the pupils in grade 8 in the Norwegian lesson.

After teaching that day, and after Mohammed had had the time to read through the text excerpt about Saynab, he initiated the following conversation with Linn in the team room (#6–9):

#### TRANSCRIPT #6–9 TEAM 8

0017 M: *Fin historie. Hehe.*

M: *Nice story. Heh.*

0018 L: *Ja, det er jo i hvert fall en kjent en kjent historie da.*

L: *Yeah, it’s a well-known a well-known story anyway.*

0020 M: *Ja.*

M: *Yeah.*

---

<sup>35</sup> Holmlia is a suburb of Oslo, the capital. It has a large number of minorities from all over the world.



- 0021 L: *Det som jeg er litt sånn usikker på, men*  
0022 *nå er det- De er fine å prate med, og*  
0023 *jeg vil at de skal tenke litt selv,*  
0024 *men for for da å komme inn*  
0025 *på sant euh omskjæring og*
- 0026 M: *Mm.*
- 0027 L: *Som jeg tenkte- som jeg synes er litt*  
0028 *vanskelig.*
- 0029 M: *Det er mange som finner seg i*  
0030 *denne situasjonen egentlig i den*  
0031 *gjengen liksom.*
- 0032 L: *Ja.*
- 0033 M: *Det er litt euh- Det blir litt euh- Og*  
0034 *kanskje venter spent og ser*  
0035 *reaksjoner.*
- 0036 L: *Ja mm.*
- 0037 M: *Mm.*
- 0038 L: *Ja, jeg vil liksom at det skal være litt av*  
0039 *deres eget, altså at de skal reflektere,*  
0040 *og det skal være litt sånn viktig*  
0041 *og da at man må-*
- 0042 M: *Mm.*
- 0043 L: *Jeg har ikke lagd noen oppgaver ut i fra*  
0044 *det da for jeg tenkte at de*  
0045 *kanskje vil komme med innspill*  
0046 *som vi kan spille litt videre på i forhold*  
0047 *til det med omskjæring og kanskje ta*  
0048 *det litt sånn filosofisk tilnærming på*  
0049 *det.*
- 0050 M: *Mm.*
- 0051 L: *Hva- ... Er det riktig- ja- hva ja- jeg*  
0052 *vet ikke. Har du noen tips?*
- 0053 M: *... Mm.*
- 0054 L: *Hva?*
- 0055 M: *Mm.*
- 0056 L: *Eller skal vi rett og slett se hva de*  
0057 *kommer med av innspill og sånt for jeg*  
0058 *tenker det er jo noe å ta, det er jo, for*  
0059 *det går an å ta sånn der faktagreier på*  
0060 *det altså, hva det faktisk er.*
- 0061 M: *Ja.*
- 0062 L: *Og vet de hva det er. Kjenner de til*  
0063 *det.*
- 0064 M: *Mm.*
- 0065 L: *Altså, ja.*
- 0066 M: *Mm, mm, mm.*
- 0067 L: *Vi ser litt på hva de kommer*  
0068 *med av utspill, tenkte*  
0069 *jeg.*
- 0070 M: *Ja, det tror jeg er- Helt enig.*
- 0071 L: *Jeg tror det er litt morsomt for jentene*
- 0072 M: *Mm.*
- L: *What I'm a bit uncertain about, but*  
*now it's- They're easy to talk to, and*  
*I want them to think a bit themselves,*  
*but in order in order to then touch on*  
*eh circumcision and*
- M: *Mm.*
- L: *As I was thinking- which I find is a bit*  
*difficult.*
- M: *There's many who find themselves in*  
*this situation actually in this*  
*group kind of.*
- L: *Yeah.*
- M: *It's a bit eh- It'll be a bit eh- And*  
*maybe wait anxiously and see*  
*reactions.*
- L: *Yeah mm.*
- M: *Mm.*
- L: *And, I kind of want that it'll be a bit of*  
*their own, that they reflect,*  
*and that it'll be a bit like important*  
*and that you have to-*
- M: *Mm.*
- L: *I haven't made any exercises on the*  
*basis of it cause I thought that they*  
*maybe wanted to make suggestions*  
*that we can relate to with regard*  
*to circumcision and maybe have*  
*a bit of a philosophical approach to*  
*it.*
- M: *Mm.*
- L: *What- ... Is it right- Yeah- What yeah- I*  
*don't know. Do you have any tips?*
- M: *... Mm.*
- L: *What?*
- M: *Mm.*
- L: *Or should we simply see what they*  
*come up with of input cause I would*  
*think that could be a start, it's, cause*  
*it's possible to do like facts stuff,*  
*what it in fact is.*
- M: *Yeah.*
- L: *And do they know what it is. Are they*  
*familiar with it.*
- M: *Mm.*
- L: *Like, yeah.*
- M: *Mm, mm, mm.*
- L: *We'll wait and see a bit what*  
*suggestions they come up with, I*  
*believe.*
- M: *Yeah, I think that's- Totally agree.*
- L: *I think it's a bit of fun for the girls*
- M: *Mm.*

0073	L:	<i>for at noen av de har sikkert vært i hennes og, og kjenner til henne og-</i>	L:	<i>cause some of them have probably been in her and, and know of her and-</i>
0074				
0075	M:	<i>Ikke sant, og det er liksom- Når hun kommer til en ny skole- Mange av dem når de-</i>	M:	<i>Right, and it's like- When she comes to a new school- Many of them when they-</i>
0076				
0077				
0078	L:	<i>Ja.</i>	L:	<i>Yeah.</i>
0079	M:	<i>Ikke sant.</i>	M:	<i>Right.</i>
0080	L:	<i>Ja, litt, det er å kjenne seg igjen.</i>	L:	<i>Yeah, a bit, it's to recognise yourself.</i>
0081	M:	<i>ikke sant.</i>	M:	<i>Right.</i>
0082	L:	<i>Hva som var verst?</i>	L:	<i>What's worse?</i>
0083	M:	<i>Mm.</i>	M:	<i>Mm.</i>
0084	L:	<i>At det var bedre å gå i gatene i Mogadishu, selv om, for da kunne hun i hvert fall språket.</i>	L:	<i>That it was better to walk in the streets of Mogadishu, even though, cause then she at least she mastered the language.</i>
0085				
0086				
0087				
0088	M:	<i>Mm.</i>	M:	<i>Mm.</i>
0089	L:	<i>Så var det noe som var kjent.</i>	L:	<i>So there was something that was familiar.</i>
0090				
0091	M:	<i>Mm.</i>	M:	<i>Mm.</i>
0092	L:	<i>Mm.</i>	L:	<i>Mm.</i>
0093	M:	<i>Og liksom, hun blir mottatt veldig fint av en Spagetti. Hehehehe.</i>	M:	<i>And like, she was received very well by a Spagetti. Hehehehe.</i>
0094				
0095	L:	<i>Ja.</i>	L:	<i>Yeah.</i>
0096	M:	<i>Ikke sant, og mange er- liksom har-guttene liksom. Jeg ser at når vi får ny ungdommer. Dem blir ikke mottatt som de skulle egentlig de- noen av dem blir mobbet egentlig</i>	M:	<i>Right, and many have- like have-like boys. I see that when we get new youngsters. They are not received as they should really they- some of them are being bullied really</i>
0097				
0098				
0099				
0100				
0101	L:	<i>Ja.</i>	L:	<i>Yeah.</i>
0102	M:	<i>fordi fordi de er nye, av sine egne.</i>	M:	<i>because because they are new, by their own.</i>
0103				
0104	L:	<i>Ikke sant. Det er jo, ja det er mye å ta opp, mm.</i>	L:	<i>Right. It's, yeah there's a lot to discuss, mm.</i>
0105				
0106	M:	<i>Mm.</i>	M:	<i>Mm.</i>
0107	L:	<i>Nei, men jeg tror det- for de er gode å snakke med og sånt, de er de er ganske reflekterte en del av de.</i>	L:	<i>No, but I think it- cause they're good at talking to and stuff, they're they're quite reflected some of them.</i>
0108				
0109				
0110	M:	<i>Ja, mm.</i>	M:	<i>Yeah, mm.</i>

Mohammed started the conversation by saying that it was a nice story (#6–9, 0017). Linn answered that it was at least a well-known story, toning down Mohammed's light tone and indirectly stressing the seriousness of some of the issues dealt with in the text. Following from this, Linn expressed her uncertainty about how to talk about the theme of circumcision (#6–9, 0021–0028). Her communicative project was thus seeking Mohammed's advice. Mohammed replied that many of the pupils were in a similar situation (#6–9, 0029–0031), by this not only progressing the topic, but also elaborating it with a new element. Since most of the pupils in the class were boys, there is reason to

believe that Mohammed did not link his turn to Linn's concern for how to talk about the sensitive issue of circumcision, but to the more general themes in the text, such as bullying, starting at a new school and stepmothers. In this way, Mohammed did not follow up on Linn's communicative project directly, but rather evaded the topic of how to teach about circumcision by suggesting other possible foci. This is further progressed in lines 0033–0035, where Mohammed hesitantly suggests that they perhaps could wait and see what kinds of reactions the pupils would have, perhaps knowing or hoping that there would be no extensive discussion on this issue.

However, even though Linn seemingly agreed that they wait and see, saying that she wanted the pupils to feel that they could relate to the text (#6–9, 0038–0041), she returned to the issue of circumcision, this time suggesting possible teaching approaches: a philosophical approach (#6–9, 0043–0049), or a more factual approach (#6–9, 0056–0060), thus developing her communicative project of seeking advice. Mohammed also maintained his communicative project of evasion through only contributing minimal responses (#6–9, 0042, 0050, 0053, 0055, 0061, 0064, 0066). Linn concluded that they would wait and see, hence repeating Mohammed's original advice, which Mohammed strongly confirmed (#6–9, 0070).

After having concluded, Linn developed her communicative project, this time convincing perhaps both Mohammed and herself about the choice made, hinting that the topic would be interesting for the girls, thus keeping her focus on the girls, elaborating that they may recognise themselves in Saynab (#6–9, 0071, 0073–0074). In response, Mohammed recontextualised Linn's comment of recognition by drawing parallels between Saynab's situation of being new at a school and that of the pupils in the reception class (#6–9 0075–0077), thus also further developing his communicative project of evasion to more strongly suggesting other possible foci in the text.

In a similar vein, when Linn followed up by imagining if Saynab's situation had been better in the streets of Mogadishu, where she at least knew the language (#6–9, 0084–0087), Mohammed again returned to the pupils' (this time the boys') situation of not being well received, and being bullied (#6–9, 0096–0100). Linn confirmed this, but did not elaborate the topic further. Instead she closed by saying that there was a lot to talk about.

Summing up, even though Linn and Mohammed jointly planned the next lesson, each one had her or his individual focus: Linn was concerned with the girls, and how she would

introduce the topic of circumcision, whereas Mohammed focused on the pupils' situation of being new to a class. The teachers' communicative projects in the above extract went through different phases: Linn's project went from seeking advice, to suggesting, concluding, and convincing, whereas Mohammed's followed up more indirectly by redefining the project to be about something he is willing to talk about. Mohammed's subtle and indirect ways of giving advice did not lead to a thorough discussion of the matter, or to Linn changing her mind about which issues to focus on in the text. As we will see below, however, since Linn is in charge of the lesson, Mohammed had to relate more directly to the issue of circumcision in the lesson.

#### PARTICIPANTS AND LESSON STRUCTURE

Linn, Mohammed and I walked together to the reception class. When we arrived, Ahmed, Deeq, Hicham and Ridha had come, whereas Zakaria, and the two girls, Sihaam and Sumeya, were late. As mentioned earlier (see p. 109), all pupils had severely interrupted schooling. They had been in Norway for between less than a year and five years, and none of them had the language skills needed to follow mainstream teaching, and hence received basic Norwegian with Linn a varying number of hours a week dependent on their Norwegian language skills.

Both teachers greeted the pupils, Linn drawing on Norwegian and Mohammed on Somali. Deeq had lost his period plan, and he asked Ahmed, not Mohammed, to help him ask Linn for a new plan. To do so, both boys drew on Arabic, which they both had learnt in school while in transit in Yemen. Both having parents from Somalia, and accordingly a bilingual teacher from a Somali language background, this is a reminder of the complexity of the notion of language background and home language. After having fetched a new period plan, Linn walked to the front of the classroom, whereas Mohammed remained at the side of the room, leaving her in charge.

Table 7 gives an overview of the lesson's different phases and teacher activity, both for Linn and for Mohammed.

TABLE 7: OVERVIEW PHASES AND TEACHER ACTIVITY, BASIC NORWEGIAN LESSON 15.04.2009

Time (76')	Phase	Content	Teacher activity	
			Linn	Mohammed
12:40 (14')	1	Information	Checked attendance, asked pupils about Easter break, informed about project in grade 10	Checked attendance, assisted pupils in their interaction with Linn, gave extended renditions of information
12:54 (10')	2	Introducing text	Prepared pupils for text, asked word definitions	Gave extended renditions of Linn's concept definitions
13:04 (20')	3	Reading text	Read through text, asked if pupils had understood certain words	Gave extended renditions of Linn's concept definitions, asked additional words
13:24 (32')	4	Checking understanding	Asked pupils to make one comment, followed by a freer discussion	Provided minimal responses, encouraged pupils to speak Norwegian

As the different stages of the lesson in Table 7 show, the entire lesson was very much teacher directed. In phase 1 Linn checked the attendance, asked the pupils about their Easter break and talked about a project all grade 10 pupils would be involved in for the next couple of weeks. Mohammed also checked the attendance by drawing on Somali, assisted pupils in talking about their Easter break and gave a few extended renditions of Linn's description of the project in grade 10. In phases 2, 3 and 4, Linn's way of working with the text extract to a large extent resembles what Louise Rosenblatt (1994, pp. 22–30) has called *effere* reading, mainly being concerned with the learning of new words in Norwegian and the information the text can give us. This is opposed to what Rosenblatt has called *aesthetic* reading which focuses on the reader's experience while reading and the text itself. Mohammed closely stuck to Linn's project by giving extended renditions in the second and third phase, in addition to occasionally initiating additional words from the text himself, hence checking the pupils' understanding, and by providing confirming minimal responses and encouraging the pupils to speak Norwegian in the fourth phase.

At the very end of the lesson, Linn handed out a sheet with questions on the text. She had copied them from the textbook (see Appendix 9), leaving out the last question where the pupils were asked to find information on the circumcision of girls and its harmful effects, and write an article or reader's letter with suggestions on what can be done to stop this practice, perhaps deciding that this last question was too advanced for them. When showing the question sheet to Mohammed before the lesson, Linn had commented that the pupils should have no problems answering them. These questions were discussed

in a basic Norwegian lesson in the reception class later that week, where Mohammed and I were not present.

#### PHASE 1 – INFORMATION

Linn started the lesson by asking the pupils to organise their desks and chairs in a horse shoe to read the text. Before turning to the text, she addressed Deeq saying that the text might be a bit too difficult for him, and suggested that he worked at the computer instead. Having been in Norway for less than a year, he was the most recently arrived pupil in the class. However, Deeq wished to join the class and read the text. In the meanwhile, Mohammed had taken a place next to Zakaria, thus sitting amongst the pupils, and not standing in front of the class like Linn, and in this way very much like his seating in the science lesson with Mette. Having said this, however, Mohammed's role differed greatly when teaching with Linn or with Mette. Mette adapted her teaching to the mainstream and not the emergent bilingual pupils in the science class, leaving him with the responsibility of adapting Mette's teaching in terms of language and content. On the other hand, Linn aimed at adapting her teaching to the whole class, consisting of all emergent bilingual pupils, involving Mohammed in her teaching, and sharing the interest in language teaching and learning.

#### PHASE 2 – INTRODUCING THE TEXT

After having handed out the text extract, Linn turned to the pupils and asked if they were able to see who the author was (transcript #6–10, 0026–0028), writing the word on the flip over. She used the Norwegian word *forfatter*, which she immediately translated into English, **author**, specifically looking at one pupil with some knowledge of English.

#### TRANSCRIPT #6–10 RECEPTION CLASS

- |      |       |  |       |  |
|------|-------|--|-------|--|
| 0026 | L:    | <i>Når dokker ser sånn umiddelbart når</i>     | L:    | <i>When you look like straight away when</i>   |
| 0027 |       | <i>æ gir dere den teksten klarer dere å se</i> |       | <i>I give you the text are you able to see</i> |
| 0028 |       | <i>hvem som er (7.0) ((skriver på tavla))</i>  |       | <i>who (7.0) ((writes on flip over))</i>       |
| 0029 |       | <i>forfatter? Author?</i>                      |       | <i>the author is? Author?</i>                  |
| 0030 | Si:   | x  | Si:   | x  |
| 0031 | M:    | <u>M- Markaad tekistaan fiirisaan ma</u>       | M:    | <u>W- When you see this text, do you</u>       |
| 0032 |       | <u>fahmaysaan qofka qoraaga ah?</u>            |       | <u>understand who the author is?</u>           |
| 0033 |       | <u>Forfatter waa qoraaga ah qofka qoray</u>    |       | <u>Author is the person who has written</u>    |
| 0034 |       | <u>sheekadaan.</u>                             |       | <u>the text.</u>                               |
| 0035 | Si:   | Euh.   | Si:   | Eh.  |
| 0036 | (1.0) |  | (1.0) |  |

0037	Ah: x	Ah: x
0038	D: x ((henvender seg til Mohammed))	D: x ((turning to Mohammed))
0039	M: <u>Yaa qoray?</u>	M: <u>Who wrote it?</u>
0040	Ah: <i>Eva på TV2. Eva Norderhaug.</i>	Ah: <i>Eva at TV2.<sup>36</sup> Eva Norderhaug.</i>
0041	L: <i>Eva Norderhaug, ja.</i>	L: <i>Eva Norderhaug, yeah.</i>

Sihaam started answering hesitantly (#6–10, 0030) and was interrupted by Mohammed, who first gave a close rendition of Linn’s question drawing on Somali (#6–10, 0031–0032). Then, he repeated the word “*forfatter*” (*author*) in Norwegian and explained that this was the person who had written the text, again drawing on Somali (#6–10, 0033–0034). Mohammed thus recontextualised Linn’s question in two different ways, through a close rendition in the pupils’ home language and through giving a definition of the word, not taking for granted the pupils’ literary competence, and hence giving an extended rendition. When Ahmed was able to give the right answer (#6–10, 0040), Linn repeated it and proceeded to ask what *f. 1958* at the top of the sheet meant.

Both Linn and Mohammed translanguaged, drawing on Norwegian and English, and on Somali and Norwegian respectively, hence using cross linguistic learning strategies and the learners’ metalinguistic awareness as learning resources across languages. It is not possible to know how much the pupils understood of Linn’s talk in Norwegian, and they most likely did so to varying degrees. When Ahmed, for example, gave the correct answer to Linn’s question and was able to contextualise the author (#6–10, 0040), we do not know if this is because he understood her original question, or if he gained understanding on the basis of Mohammed’s contribution, or a combination of both.

During the rest of this phase, Linn communicated with the pupils in Norwegian, seemingly without difficulties, and Mohammed was neither invited in, nor did he initiate a turn. This is very much like the pattern found in the fourth phase when the text was discussed. As Linn takes charge of the lesson, it may seem that it is more difficult to involve Mohammed when there are seemingly no communication difficulties, and hence more difficult for Mohammed to make a contribution, than while reading the text in phase three, where Linn explicitly checked the pupils’ understanding of the text.

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<sup>36</sup> Name of Norwegian TV-channel.

### PHASE 3 – READING THE TEXT

Linn started reading the text and paused at possibly difficult key words, addressing the pupils and asking if they knew what these meant. After such a break, Mohammed often took a turn, checking additional words. This was the phase where Mohammed was most active. He did not, however, interrupt Linn while she was reading. Teachers in the Brunei classrooms, as described by Arthur and Martin (2006), also frequently check pupils' comprehension of key terms and concepts through label quests. However, whereas this pattern of discourse is performed by a single bilingual teacher, in my study two teachers collaborate about this.

When Linn asked if the pupils were familiar with a certain concept, she used a common pattern, namely, "Do you know what [word] is?". She proceeded by giving a general explanation, not by linking it to the specific text they were reading. In transcript #6–11, for example, Linn stopped reading and asked if the pupils knew what *voldsutøver* (person committing violence) was (#6–11, 0210–2012).

#### TRANSCRIPT #6 –11 RECEPTION CLASS

- |      |       |   |       |  |
|------|-------|---|-------|--|
| 0200 | L:    | ((leser høyt fra teksten)) <i>eh Saynab</i>     | L:    | ((reads aloud from the text)) <i>eh Saynab</i> |
| 0201 |       | <i>Mohamud ble født i Somalia i</i>             |       | <i>Mohamud was born in Somalia in</i>          |
| 0202 |       | <i>nittensyttiåtte. Som tolvåring kom</i>       |       | <i>nineteen seventy-eight. When she was</i>    |
| 0203 |       | <i>Saynab til Norge for å bli</i>               |       | <i>twelve Saynab came to Norway to be</i>      |
| 0204 |       | <i>gjenforent med sin far. Her opplevde</i>     |       | <i>reunited with her father. Here she was</i>  |
| 0205 |       | <i>hun å bli slått og mishandlet av faren</i>   |       | <i>beaten and mistreated by her father in</i>  |
| 0206 |       | <i>i tillegg til å bli utsatt for rasisme</i>   |       | <i>addition to being exposed to racism</i>     |
| 0207 |       | <i>og mobbing på skolen. Etter hvert</i>        |       | <i>and bullying at school. After a while</i>   |
| 0208 |       | <i>ble hun med i en svært tøff jentegjeng i</i> |       | <i>she joined a tough girl gang in</i>         |
| 0209 |       | <i>Oslo der hun selv var</i>                    |       | <i>Oslo, where she herself committed</i>       |
| 0210 |       | <i>voldsutøver. ((slutter høytlesning))</i>     |       | <i>violence. ((ends reading aloud))</i>        |
| 0211 |       | <i>Vet dere hva volds-</i>                      |       | <i>Do you know what is meant by a</i>          |
| 0212 |       | <i>utøver er?</i>                               |       | <i>person committing violence?</i>             |
| 0213 | M:    | x ((hvisker til en elev))                       | M:    | x ((whispers to a pupil))                      |
| 0214 | (1.0) |   | (1.0) |  |
| 0215 | Z:    | <i>At eh- at hu ikke var med sånn derre</i>     | Z:    | <i>That eh- that she wasn't part of such a</i> |
| 0216 |       | <i>voldingen.</i>                               |       | <i>volance.<sup>37</sup></i>                   |
| 0217 | (0.8) |   | (0.8) |  |
| 0218 | L:    | <i>Hm?</i>                                      | L:    | <i>Hm?</i>                                     |
| 0219 | Z:    | <i>At hu ikke var med på vold- vold-</i>        | Z:    | <i>That she wasn't part of vol- vol-</i>       |
| 0220 |       | <i>voldingen.</i>                               |       | <i>volance.</i>                                |
| 0221 | L:    | <i>Ho VAR med. Det er det motsatte.</i>         | L:    | <i>She WAS part. It's the opposite.</i>        |
| 0222 |       | <i>En voldsutøver ble-</i>                      |       | <i>A person committing violence was-</i>       |
| 0223 |       | <i>betyr at du utøver vold.</i>                 |       | <i>means that you commit violence.</i>         |

<sup>37</sup> The pupil meant to say "voldsutøver" (person committing violence).



0224	<i>Du slår. Vold (1.0) slår.</i>		<i>You hit. Violence (1.0) hit.</i>
0225	M: <u>lyadaa dadka billowday in ay</u>	M:	<u>It was she who started hitting</u>
0226	<u>difsho.</u>		<u>people.</u>
0227	L: [Mm.	L:	[Mm.
0228	M: <u>Ayadaa dadka dad feedhi jirtay.</u>	M:	<u>It was she who beat people.</u>

After Zakaria had failed to answer Linn's question (#6–11, 0215–0216), she provided a general explanation “*that you <commit> violence. You hit*” (#6–11, 0222–0224). Subsequently, Mohammed gave an explanation in Somali, not a general one though, as Linn's, but one that he linked to the text by referring to Saynab who hits people (#6–11, 0225–0228), hence providing a substituted rendition. As a second language teacher, Linn focused on the comprehension of the word in Norwegian, whereas Mohammed was mainly preoccupied with the understanding of the text. Interestingly, he did not provide the Somali equivalent of “*voldsutøver*”, only a description drawing on Somali. I will come back to possible reasons and consequences for this below.

Similarly, Linn stopped up at the words ‘circumcision’ and ‘genital cutting’, this time more hesitantly asking “*Har dere hørt- Vet- Kjenner dere til omskjæring og kjønnslemlestelse?*” (*Have you heard- Do you know- Are you familiar with circumcision and genital cutting*) (#6–12, 0251–0253). When Zakaria answered that he had not heard of circumcision, but that he understood genital cutting, though slightly mispronouncing it (#6–12, 0256–0257), Linn and Mohammed started their response at the same time: Linn repeated the word Zakaria had mispronounced (#6–12, 0258), and Mohammed repeated the word the pupil had not understood (#6–12, 0259).

#### TRANSCRIPT #6–12 RECEPTION CLASS

0251	L: <i>Har dere hørt- Vet- Kjenner dere</i>	L:	<i>Have you heard- Do you know- Are you</i>
0252	<i>til omskjæring og</i>		<i>familiar with circumcision and</i>
0253	<i>kjønnslemlestelse?</i>		<i>genital cutting?</i>
0254	Si: <i>Ja.</i>	Si:	<i>Yeah.</i>
0255	(2.0)		(2.0)
0256	Z: <i>Omskjæring ↓nei, men jeg skjønner</i>	Z:	<i>Circumcision ↓no, but I understand</i>
0257	<i>kjønnslemlestelse.</i>		<i>genital cutting.</i>
0258	L: <i>[Kjønnslemlestelse]</i>	L:	<i>[Genital cutting]</i>
0259	M: <i>[Omskjæring]</i>	M:	<i>[Circumcision]</i>
0260	L: <i>Det er litt det samme.</i>	L:	<i>It's a bit the same.</i>
0261	M: <i>hh</i>	M:	<i>hh</i>
0262	L: <i>Da-</i>	L:	<i>When-</i>
0263	M: <i>.h omskjæring [ma</i>	M:	<i>.h Circumcision [Do you understand</i>
0264	<i>fahmaysaa adi?</i>		<i>the word?</i>
0265	L: [Mm.	L:	[Mm.
0266	Z: <i>Omskjæring maxaa waaye abti?</i>	Z:	<i>Circumcision what is it uncle?</i>

0267	M:	<u>Waa gudniin.</u>	M:	<u>It's circumcision.</u>
0268	(2.0)		(2.0)	
0269	A:	<u>Gudniin?</u>	A:	<u>Circumcision?</u>
0270	(2.0)		(2.0)	
0271	M:	<u>Haa.</u>	M:	<u>Yeah.</u>
0272	A:	<u>Haa?</u>	A:	<u>Yeah?</u>
0273	M:	<u>Gudniin.</u>	M:	<u>Circumcision.</u>
0274	A:	<u>Gudniin?</u>	M:	<u>Circumcision?</u>
0275	M:	<u>Haa.</u>	M:	<u>Yeah.</u>
0276	Z:	<u>Kjønnslemlestelse waxaa waaye dadka</u>	Z:	<u>Kjønnslemlestelse it's people</u>
0277		<u>oo-</u>		<u>who've-</u>
0278	M:	<u>Waa isla gudniin.</u>	M:	<u>It's the same as circumcision.</u>
0279		<u>Kjønnslem- mwaa- waa- waa-</u>		<u>Kjønnslem- It's- It's- It's-</u>
0280		<u>lacuryaamiyay. Gudniinkii waa adi.</u>		<u>She was circumcised. It's circumcision.</u>
0281		<u>Waxbaa loo dhimay meeshi oo</u>		<u>Her abdomen was</u>
0282		<u>caruurta laga dhalayay.</u>		<u>violated.</u>
0283	Elever:	xx	Pupis:	xx
0284	Z:	<i>[Ja.</i>	Z:	<i>[Yeah.</i>
0285	M:	<i>[Ja.</i>	M:	<i>[Yeah.</i>
0286	L:	<i>Så omskjæring at du skader,</i>	L:	<u>So circumcision that you violate,</u>
0287	M:	<i>Mm,</i>	M:	<i>Mm,</i>
0288	L:	<i>euh underlivet [til kvinner,</i>	L:	<i>eh the abdomen [of women,</i>
0289	M:	<i>[m,</i>	M:	<i>[m,</i>
0290	M:	<i>m,</i>	M:	<i>m,</i>
0291	(3.0)		(3.0)	
0292	L:	<i>eller menn.</i>	L:	<i>or men.</i>
0293	M:	<i>m, m,</i>	M:	<i>m, m,</i>

As the extract shows, after their overlap, Linn continued first, saying that the terms circumcision and genital cutting were about the same (#6–12, 0260). Later in the lesson, she also drew attention to how the verb 'to circumcise' is conjugated, again very much acting in her role as a second language teacher. Mohammed, on the other hand, gave a rendition in Somali of the term Zakaria had not understood, circumcision, and linked his explanation to the girl in the text, again providing a substituted rendition (#6–12, 0263–0283). The transcript also shows that Mohammed took a long time from when he asked the pupils if they understood the word, till he gave an explanation. This may be related to the sensitivity of the topic. Explicitly coordinating the talk, Zakaria and Mohammed uttered 'yes', indicating that they had finished their turn and that Linn could go on reading.

From time to time, when Linn had stopped reading to ask if they understood a certain concept, and an explanation had been given, Mohammed used the opportunity to ask about an additional concept. He did this by repeating the word in Norwegian using a rising intonation, in this way asking the pupils if they were familiar with it. By only uttering the

Norwegian word, he included Linn, who was thus to a certain extent able to know what was being discussed. After such an initiative, as a rule, Mohammed gave an explanation in Somali, linking it to the text. Transcript #6–13 is an example of this.

**TRANSCRIPT #6–13 RECEPTION CLASS**

0229	M:	<i>.h euh .. Mishandlet?</i>	M:	<i>.h eh .. Mistreated?</i>
0230	(1.0)		(1.0)	
0231	Ah:	x [x]	Ah:	x [x]
0232	Z:	<i>[Hun ble mishandlet, ja.</i>	Z:	<i>[She was abused, yeah.</i>
0233	M:	<i>Mis- &lt;x she x&gt; euh</i>	M:	<i>Ab- &lt;x she x&gt; eh</i>
0234	Z:	<i>Mishandlet waxaa waaye si xun aa loo</i>	Z:	<i>Abused <u>means that she was</u></i>
0235		<i><u>galay camal no.</u></i>		<i><u>abused.</u></i>
0236	M:	<i>Ja. Mis- <u>Si xun aa loo.</u></i>	M:	<i>Yeah. Ab- <u>It's to abuse.</u></i>
0237		<i><u>Waa la xumeeyay.</u></i>		<i><u>She was treated very badly.</u></i>
0238	M:	<i>Ja.</i>	M:	<i>Yeah.</i>
0239	L:	<i>Skjø- ja, dere skjønte det, ja.</i>	L:	<i>Di- yeah, you understood it, yeah.</i>
0240	Z:	<i>Ja.</i>	Z:	<i>Yeah.</i>
0241	M:	<i>Mm.</i>	M:	<i>Mm.</i>
0242	L:	<i>Bra.</i>	L:	<i>Good.</i>

Mohammed asked with a rising intonation “*Mishandlet?*” (*Abused?*) (#6–13, 0229). Zakaria replied in Norwegian that she was mistreated, referring to Saynab, linking the word to the text (#6–13, 0232). Zakaria continued by repeating the Norwegian word and repeating his explanation in Somali (#6–13, 0234–0235). Mohammed confirmed this, repeated the Somali equivalent Zakaria used and provided an explanation in Somali, also linking it to Saynab (0236–0237). Subsequently, Mohammed shifted to Norwegian, *ja* (*yeah*), signalling to Linn that he had finished his explanation and that she could go on, explicitly coordinating the talk. Linn double checked, asking if they had understood (#6–13, 0239), which Zakaria confirmed, not adding a general explanation as she normally did when she had initiated the word to discuss herself. This is perhaps not surprising, since Linn was not aware of Mohammed’s different approach since she did not understand Somali.

In sum, Linn was in charge of reading the text, occasionally stopping at a difficult word. As a rule, she would provide a general, dictionary like, explanation of the term, and Mohammed would give a substituted rendition focusing on the comprehension of the text. This shows that the two teachers each had their unique approach to the text, Linn as a second language teacher, and Mohammed as a bilingual teacher, focusing more on content than on language learning. As we saw in # 4–11, Mohammed did not provide the Somali equivalent of the new concept. When viewing the two teachers’ languaging as a

joint product, their collaborative strategy of simultaneously drawing on Norwegian and Somali (and sometimes English), hence translanguaging across turns, brings up issues of value, pressure and focus. The fact that Somali is a minority language in Norway, and has little space in the education policy, makes it less valued than Norwegian for educational purposes. Consequently, the teachers seemingly feel a pressure to teach the pupils the Norwegian language as quickly as possible, which in turn seems to lead to a lack of focus on the potential resource the Somali language may be for these pupils for educational purposes.

As we have seen, there is an additional challenge tied to teaching in a dual teaching practice when one of the two teachers does not speak both languages used in the classroom, in this case Linn not speaking Somali. In the second phase of the lesson, one of the answers was a name, which automatically re-included her. In the third phase, Mohammed's question pattern "[Word]?" also included Linn. Otherwise, he (or the pupils) uttered *ja* (*yeah*) or a minimal response at the end of their discussions, explicitly coordinating the talk and indicating that she could go on reading.

#### PHASE 4 – CHECKING UNDERSTANDING OF THE TEXT

The fourth and longest phase of the lesson focused on the content of the text. As was the case during the second and third phase, Linn was in charge and therefore dominated the interaction. Unlike his language choice during these two phases, however, Mohammed mainly drew on Norwegian when he took part. In fact, on two occasions he explicitly stated that the pupils should speak Norwegian, not Somali. Transcript #6–14 below is an example of this.

Linn asked each pupil if they had understood the text, encouraging them to mention one thing. When they were able to formulate a correct answer in Norwegian, Mohammed contributed with confirmative minimal responses. A different pattern was established, however, when the pupil was unable to answer Linn's question. In transcript #6–14 several pupils and Mohammed joined in when Deeq did not seem to understand the question.

#### TRANSCRIPT #6–14 RECEPTION CLASS

1748	L:	<i>Deeq?</i>	L:	<i>Deeq?</i>
1749	(1.0)		(1.0)	
1750	D:	<i>Ja.</i>	D:	<i>Yeah.</i>
1751	L:	<i>Hva tenker du at- Hva har du</i>	L:	<i>What do you think- What did you</i>

1752	<i>lest?</i>		<i>read?</i>
1753	D: xx		D: xx
1754	Ah: [xx		Ah: [xx
1755	L: [ <i>Hvis du skal si en ting om hva du har</i>		L: [ <i>If you're to say one thing you've</i>
1756	<i>lest.</i>		<i>read.</i>
1757	D: xx		D: xx
1758	M: <u>Hal wax ka sheeg waxaad sheekadaan</u>		M: <u>Can you say one thing you've</u>
1759	<u>ka fahantey?</u>		<u>read?</u>
1760	Ah: <u>Maxaa ka fahantey sheeg.</u>		Ah: <u>Say what you understood.</u>
1761	D: <i>jeg skull- euh jeg skull gå</i>		D: <i>I was- euh I was going to</i>
1762	<i>på barneskolen men jeg skulle på å gå</i>		<i>primary school but I was going on to go</i>
1763	<i>i[nn-</i>		<i>i[n-</i>
1764	Ah: [ <i>Nei.</i>		Ah: [ <i>No.</i>
1765	Si: [xx		Si: [xx
1766	M: <i>Mm. Mm.</i>		M: <i>Mm. Mm.</i>
1767	Ab: <u>Nei, waxaa ka fahmay ma</u>		Ab: <u>No, what I understood from the text,</u>
1768	<u>ahinoo?</u>		<u>right?</u>
1769	M: <u>[haa waxaa ka fahatey sheeg, inaa</u>		M: <u>[You don't need to read the text, just</u>
1770	<u>aqriso looma</u>		<u>say what you understood from the text.</u>
1771	L: [ <i>ja, husk- ja.</i>		L: [ <i>Yeah, rememb- yeah.</i>
1772	D: <u>Waxaan ka fahmey intaan-</u>		D: <u>I think I understood that-</u>
1773	M: <u>Sheekada genarali aa la rabaa</u>		M: <u>Just say in general what you</u>
1774	<u>guud ahaan.</u>		<u>understood from the text.</u>
1775	L: <i>Hva forsto du i fra teksten? Forsto</i>		L: <i>What did you get from the text? Did</i>
1776	<i>du noe i</i>		<i>you understand something from the</i>
1777	<i>teksten?</i>		<i>text?</i>
1778	M: <u>Sheekada guud ahaan maxaad</u>		M: <u>You understand anything from the</u>
1779	<u>ka fahantey?</u>		<u>text or what was it about in general?</u>
1780	D: <u>Waxaan ka fahmay walaalkeeda-</u>		D: <u>I understood that the brother-</u>
1781	M: <u>Af norske ku sheeg.</u>		M: <u>Say it in Norwegian.</u>
1782	D: <i>Min bror vil euh gå på euh-</i>		D: <i>My brother was eh go to eh-</i>
1783	M: <u>Su'aasha ma fahantey horta?</u>		M: <u>Did you get the question?</u>
1784	Ab: <u>Su'aasha waa fahmay.</u>		Ab: <u>Yeah I got it.</u>
1785	M: <u>Maxaa waaye su'aasha?</u>		M: <u>What's the question?</u>
1786	D: <u>Su'aasha waxay tahay walaalkeeda-</u>		D: <u>The question is that the brother-</u>
1787	M: <u>Walaalkeed ma lagu waydiinin.</u>		M: <u>You're not asked about the brother.</u>
1788	Ab: euh		Ab: eh
1789	M: <u>Sheekada dhan maxay ku saabsan</u>		M: <u>But what's the whole text about,</u>
1790	<u>tahay?</u>		<u>the story?</u>
1791	D: <u>Waxay ku saabsan tahay iyada ahaan</u>		D: <u>It's about the girl.</u>
1792	M: <u>Maxay ka sheegaysaa?</u>		M: <u>What does the text say about the girl?</u>
1793	D: <u>Boroboleemkeeda.</u>		D: <u>Her problems.</u>
1794	M: <i>Kan du si det på norsk?</i>		M: <i>Can you say it in Norwegian?</i>
1795	D: <i>Hun sa jeg jeg har problemer</i>		D: <i>She said I I have problems.</i>
1796	L: <i>Mm. Hvem har problemer?</i>		L: <i>Mm. Who has problems?</i>
1797	Z: <u>Saynab.</u>		Z: <u>Saynab.</u>
1798	D: <u>Saynab.</u>		D: <u>Saynab.</u>

Linn repeated her question "*Hvis du skal si en ting om hva du har lest.*" (*If you're to say one thing you've read.*) (#6–14, 1755–1756). Mohammed gave a close rendition in Somali

(#6–14, 1758–1759), and Ahmed also repeated it with different words in Somali (#4–14, 1760). When Deeq tried again, Ahmed, Sihaam and Mohammed interrupted him, indicating that he had misunderstood the question (#6–14, 1764–1766). Deeq double checked if he had understood the question, but when he tried answering again he was interrupted by Mohammed (#6–14, 1773–1774, 1778–1779) and by Linn (#6–14, 1775–1777) who both repeated their questions. When Deeq started formulating his answer again, Mohammed interrupted him, drawing on Somali to say that the boy should answer in Norwegian (#6–14, 1781), hence explicitly coordinating the talk. Deeq tried in Norwegian, but Mohammed interrupted him, again asking if he had understood the question (#6–14, 1783). All the time, Deeq talked about a brother. It is difficult to say if he was talking about his own brother, or in fact Saynab’s brother, whom we briefly read about in the text.

When Mohammed got Deeq talking about the girl (#6–14, 1791), Mohammed once more asked him to answer in Norwegian, again explicitly coordinating the talk. When he did this, saying that “*Hun sa jeg jeg har problemer*” (*She said I I have problems*), Linn was able to re-enter the conversation, and asked Deeq who had problems (#6–14, 1796). Before Deeq was able to answer, Zakaria said “Saynab”, which Deeq repeated (#6–14, 1798).

In this phase of the lesson, Mohammed often acted as a translator for Linn, giving close renditions and not taking a different approach like he did when explaining difficult words while reading the text, and explicitly coordinating the talk by requiring that the boy answered in Norwegian. A possible pedagogical reason for this choice may be that Mohammed helped the pupils at the beginning of the lesson when the text was introduced and read, but that they should be able to manage on their own in Norwegian during the last phase. It is also possible that, on a more overarching level, silencing the pupil’s voice is a consequence of the lingering influence of the one language one nation ideology and the belief that multilingual learning strategies impede the development of the language of schooling, in this case Norwegian. In this respect, Deeq’s home language became a burden, rather than a learning resource.

A possible collaborative reason for the insistence on the usage of Norwegian, on the other hand, may be linked to Mohammed’s wish to include Linn, who after all was the one checking the pupils’ understanding of the text. Whereas Mohammed drew on Somali while

explaining new concepts to the pupils during the second and third phase, allowing the pupils to draw on Somali during this last phase would require him to give renditions of their talk in Norwegian in order to include Linn. Hence, Mohammed's collaborative strategy with Linn hindered the boy from expressing meaning about the text.

Summing up the third phase, Linn checked that the pupils had understood the text, and there seemed to be pressure on the pupils to formulate an adequate answer in Norwegian. When the pupils were able to do this, Mohammed was in the background, providing affirmative minimal responses. When the communication between the pupils and Linn broke down in this phase, Mohammed dealt with this in two ways. He either reminded the pupil to speak Norwegian, or he remained silent. When the latter happened, the other pupils translanguaged, hence re-establishing the communication.

#### COLLABORATING AFTER THE LESSON

When the pupils had left the classroom, Linn immediately turned to Mohammed and asked what he thought of the way the theme of circumcision had been dealt with during the lesson. Her communicative project was seeking for confirmation about her decision not to talk about it more extensively during the lesson. For the first time, in fact, Mohammed elaborated on this topic, confirming that the pupils had understood what it was (#6–15, 1987–1988):

#### TRANSCRIPT #6–15 RECEPTION CLASS

- |      |       |  |       |   |
|------|-------|--|-------|---|
| 1983 | L:    | <i>Mohammed, hva tenkte du om- Jeg</i>           | L:    | <i>Mohammed, what did you think of- I</i>       |
| 1984 |       | <i>tenker at det var ikke naturlig å si</i>      |       | <i>believe that it wasn't natural to say</i>    |
| 1985 |       | <i>noe mer om om omskjæring ..</i>               |       | <i>anything more about circumcision ..</i>      |
| 1986 |       | <i>men de skjønnte hva det var?</i>              |       | <i>but they understood what it was?</i>         |
| 1987 | M:    | <i>Dem dem skjønnte veldig godt hva det</i>      | M:    | <i>They they very well understood what it</i>   |
| 1988 |       | <i>var.</i>                                      |       | <i>was.</i>                                     |
| 1989 |       | [To elever kom in med en rapport fra             |       | [Two pupils come in with a report from the      |
| 1990 |       | elevråde – sidesekvens utelatt]                  |       | student council – side-sequence omitted]        |
| 1991 | M:    | <i>Jeg jeg så på Sihaam hehe &lt;x&gt;</i>       | M:    | <i>I I looked at Sihaam hehe &lt;x&gt;</i>      |
| 1992 | L:    | <i>Ja, jeg også tenkte at &lt;x&gt;</i>          | L:    | <i>Yeah, I was also thinking that &lt;x&gt;</i> |
| 1993 | M:    | <i>hehe ikke sant, særlig når hun- Når du</i>    | M:    | <i>hehe, right, especially when she-</i>        |
| 1994 |       | <i>leste liksom det med tissing liksom at</i>    |       | <i>When you like read about peeing like</i>     |
| 1995 |       | <i>de satt der hehe ((i teksten satt jentene</i> |       | <i>that they sat there hehe ((in the text</i>   |
| 1996 |       | <i>der i 10 minutter))</i>                       |       | <i>the girls sat there for 10 minutes))</i>     |
| 1997 | L:    | <i>Ja.</i>                                       | L:    | <i>Yeah.</i>                                    |
| 1998 | (5.0) |  | (5.0) |   |
| 1999 | J:    | <i>Er hun omskjært?</i>                          | J:    | <i>Has she been circumcised?</i>                |
| 2000 | L:    | <i>Vet ikke.</i>                                 | L:    | <i>Don't know.</i>                              |
| 2001 | M:    | <i>Nei. Sihaam sikkert. Sumeya har</i>           | M:    | <i>No. Sihaam certainly. Sumeya has</i>         |

2002	vært i andre steder før hun kom	been other places before she came
2003	hit, men Sihaam er direkte fra	here, but Sihaam came straight from
2004	Somalia, så jeg	Somali, so I
2005	J: Mm.	J: Mm.
2006	M: Jeg er nesten sikker på at hun ble	M: I'm nearly sure she's been
2007	omskjært.	circumcised.
2008	L: Og mora, mora til Sihaam er	L: And the mother, Sihaam's mother is
2009	har- Hun snakker jo veldig åpent om	has- She speaks very openly about
2010	om familien sin i Somalia.	about her family in Somalia.
2011	M: Mm.	M: Mm.
2012	L: De er jo veldig konservative, sånn typisk	L: They're very conservative, typically
2013	har ikke noe er vestlige referanser da.	without any Western references.
2014	M: Nei, ikke i det hele tatt.	M: No, not at all.

As the transcript shows, Mohammed not only confirmed, he also elaborated on Linn's initiative, shifting the focus from the pupils' knowing what circumcision was, to Sihaam's reaction to the topic while reading, hence implicitly indicating that she had been circumcised (#6–14, 1991–1995). The rest of the conversation the teachers spend on further discussing the pupils and their families. This was a common focus in Linn and Mohammed's talk in team room 8 across my fieldwork. What is interesting here is that it is also the topic of their collaboration after their joint teaching, which is in contrast to how the text was treated in the lesson, that is, as a starting point for language learning. First, the difficult words were explained, and subsequently the pupils were asked what the text was about, which is a traditional approach to language teaching. Even though Linn and Mohammed's teaching approaches differed, this was not something they discussed or jointly developed in order to create multiple and multilingual entry points to the text for their pupils. This was also shown in the ingress at the beginning of the story (see p. 113), where Mohammed notes that Linn and himself never plan their lessons together with a clear focus on the pupils' development.

## DISCUSSION

As pointed out in the introduction of this chapter (see p. 17ff.), the climate bilingual teachers work in is set by the educational policy in Norway which encourages the use of the pupils' home language for transitional purposes only, that is, until the pupils have the Norwegian language skills needed to follow mainstream teaching. Only pupils who are entitled to basic Norwegian have the right to mother tongue instruction, bilingual subject teaching or both. This makes the aim of mother tongue and bilingual subject teaching



instrumental with regard to the learning of Norwegian and not valued in its own right and hence a part of the development of the pupils' multilingualism. Consequently, bilingual teachers are employed to ease the transition to monolingual mainstream teaching, not to teach the curriculum bilingually, nor to teach the home language as a subject of its own. At the time of my fieldwork at Ullstad in 2009, it was not allowed for municipalities to organise the schooling of newly arrived bilingual pupils in permanent reception classes/schools. This meant that except for the teaching in adapted education in Norwegian, it was not permitted to permanently group the pupils according to their language skills for subject teaching.

The story told in this chapter particularly highlights three themes which on the one hand show the connection between the more overarching contextual conditions, in line with dialogical thinking, and which on the other are characteristics that can be discussed in the light of other studies. These are the continuity and fragmentation in the bilingual teacher's work, the teachers' academic backgrounds, and the complexities of the pupils' language backgrounds and language practices. These three themes all shed light on the collaboration of bilingual teachers with other teachers.

As described in this first story, Mohammed held a part time position at Ullstad where he was put to cover all emergent bilingual pupils from a Somali language background at the school. The municipality's establishment of a reception class at Ullstad for all emergent bilingual youngsters in the municipality contributed to continuity in Mohammed's work, since he only had to relate to one lower secondary school, instead of all three. However, when Linn set up Mohammed's timetable, his work was spread across all three grades and across curriculum subjects. As a consequence, Mohammed taught each pupil only a few hours a week, in different subjects and most of the time while teamed up with different teachers. A distinctive feature of his work as a bilingual teacher was therefore the fragmentation of his work, due to the lack of continuity in terms of pupils, subjects and collaborating teachers.

In the first part of the story, Mohammed was teamed up with Mette, functioning as a support teacher for three pupils in a science lesson, and in the second part he was teamed up with Linn for five pupils in a basic Norwegian lesson in the reception class. The analyses clearly show how Mohammed formed different professional relationships with the two teachers. With Mette, he formed a support mode resembling Creese's (2005, p. 123f.) in-

class language support mode with no consultation between teachers, as there was hardly any communication between the two teachers before, during or after the lessons. Even though Mette had the overall responsibility for the teaching of science for all pupils in the class her focus, during the lesson observed, was on the mainstream pupils who would be having their final exams in June, expecting Mohammed to pick up as the lesson went on and leaving the teaching of the three pupils entirely to him, never checking their understanding. In sum, Mette decided the content and ways of working in the science class, and Mohammed was expected to work with his three pupils on the margins of the class to provide support. This resembles what Creese (2005, p. 123) found in her study from three London schools where subject teachers tended to pass the responsibility for teaching the curriculum to the EAL teachers, not being able to adapt it to the needs of the emergent bilingual pupils themselves.

Mohammed's support mode with Linn is interesting because it does not fit the description of support in the Bourne and McPake (1991) descriptive typology, or Creese's (2005) typology based on the different types of interactions between teachers, in which they suggest that the subject and support teacher each have a different focus, subject and language teaching respectively. In Linn and Mohammed's case, however, Linn and Mohammed were both concerned with language teaching. In terms of teacher collaboration before or after the lesson, Linn and Mohammed frequently talked about the pupils, with Linn sometimes asking Mohammed for advice with regard to the lesson's content and suitable ways of working. It continues to be a support mode, however, since it was Linn who decided on the content of the lesson and who orchestrated the action of the classroom, whereas Mohammed was expected to provide support alongside her.

Not surprisingly for teachers working in a support mode, in both lessons described it was the subject teachers who assumed the principal speaking rights in the classroom. Mohammed never interrupted them, not when Linn was reading, nor when Mette moved on while the emergent bilingual pupils needed further explanation from Mohammed to understand the teaching. Similarly, from their study from northwest England, Martin-Jones and Saxena (1996/2001) reported that monolingual class teachers teamed up with bilingual assistants took the floor whenever they deemed it to be appropriate, and in her study of the bicultural classes in Oslo, Myklebust (2003) described how there were few opportunities for bilingual teachers to take the floor in the dual teacher system. This also

supports Creese's (2005, p. 115) findings that the support teachers' lack of continuity also led to the lack of control of place in the classroom, reasoning that since they were not present in all classes of any particular subject, they could not be part of the setting and marking of homework because they would have missed some lessons in between.

The teachers had different academic profiles; Mette being a science teacher, Linn a teacher in basic Norwegian, and Mohammed a bilingual teacher. As noted in Chapter 1, the requirements for employment as a mother tongue teacher for pupils from language minorities are not linked to relevant specialisation in a specific subject as is the case for other teaching positions, but are limited to having an approved teaching certificate, a certified good knowledge of Norwegian, and either sharing the pupils' home language or having 90 ECTS in this language. In other words, bilingual teachers are employed because of their bilingual competence, irrespective of any subject specialisation. Consequently, Mohammed was often set to support his pupils in subjects he did not specialise in. Hence, working on the margins in the science classroom with Mette, a subject he did not specialise in, and providing support alongside Linn in the basic Norwegian lesson, which was not as subject specific, created different challenges and opportunities for teacher collaboration and for making contributions to the lesson for Mohammed, and for drawing on Somali.

With Mette, Mohammed had the freedom to draw on Somali to adapt the teaching to the needs of his pupils whenever he found it suitable (cf. Myklebust's whisper method). This freedom, however, was largely restrained since he did not specialise in science, and Mette did not adapt her teaching to him or the three pupils, or relate her talk to Mohammed's in any way. Since Mette did not specialise in the teaching of emergent bilingual pupils, she may not have known how to adapt her teaching to their specific needs, and she may not have realised the challenges Mohammed faced when trying to do so, irrespective of his common language with the pupils. The challenges posed by many subject teachers' lack of knowledge in second language didactics will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 7.

A further challenging factor was the fact that most of the subjects outside the reception class were too advanced for the emergent bilingual pupils from a Somali background, considering their lack of or interrupted prior schooling (for a further discussion see Chapter 7). These two factors made it difficult, if not impossible, for

Mohammed to adapt the science lesson to the needs of his pupils. The analysis of the teacher monitored phase, moreover, showed that Mohammed aimed at close or reduced renditions since he did not have any knowledge of the topic that was being taught.

One of the bilingual teachers in Creese's (2005, p. 173–176) study was science trained. This teacher described her primary role as keeping emergent bilingual pupils up with the subject matter, enabling them to follow the same agenda as the rest of the class. Indeed, the bilingual teacher's role had grown into teaching rather than supporting the science content. Creese reported that this not only assured the subject teacher who felt that the pupils were learning and understanding the content, but it also changed the role of the subject teacher fundamentally, as she retained her subject knowledge expertise, but lost her pedagogic interpretive skills. Creese's findings are particularly interesting in two ways. Firstly, it is the bilingual teacher's knowledge of science, which Mohammed did not have, that leads to the shift from supporting to teaching science. Secondly, the bilingual teacher saw her role as keeping the pupils up with the subject matter, which for Mohammed was not possible due to the lack of science knowledge on the part of his pupils.

When working with Linn, on the other hand, Mohammed worked more alongside her than with any other teacher in the school, very much like the *in between method* as described by Myklebust (1993, p. 54). When reading the literary text, for example, he occasionally took the floor, asking the pupils if they had understood a certain word, making an independent contribution. This was possible since he had read the text in advance, and since it was not subject specific like the lesson with Mette on organic chemistry. Also, Linn would always wait for Mohammed and the pupils to finish their talk before continuing. Nevertheless, Mohammed's freedom to make contributions was limited by the fact that he was working alongside Linn, who controlled the teaching activities. The analyses of Linn and Mohammed's lesson showed the different approaches the teachers had to making sense of the text for the pupils, Linn focusing on second language learning and Mohammed on the content of the text, hence providing substituting renditions of her talk. This, however, was never discussed. Similar findings were reported by Martin-Jones and Saxena (1996/2001, p. 119) where the class teacher and the bilingual teacher did not work out in detail how the lesson was to be organised, or talk about the specific nature of the contributions that they would each make. Rather, during the lessons they took the floor

whenever they deemed it, and allocated turns to the bilingual assistants, which shaped patterns of code switching across turns.

Following from this, there is a clear unequal hierarchy assigned in science and basic Norwegian as subject areas on the one hand, and in bilingual pedagogy as an instrumental strategy on the other. A similar hierarchy has been described by authors across different national contexts studying collaboration between subject teachers and ESL teachers (Arkoudis & Creese, 2006). They have all argued for “a more equal place for the facilitative and metalinguistically-oriented ESL teaching vis-à-vis referentially-oriented content teaching” (Hornberger, 2006, p. 498).

Having a common focus on language teaching, the challenge in the planning conversations between Linn and Mohammed was not related to content versus language teaching, but rather to the topics in the text chosen by Linn, dealing with circumcision amongst other issues. The analyses show how Mohammed tried to redefine Linn’s communicative project, suggesting that the focus should be on more general topics such as bullying and being new in a school, without succeeding. One may wonder why Linn chose this particular text for language teaching, and why she persisted in her focus, considering the mixed gendered pupil group, with complex identities. It is striking that an issue particularly related to some of their (parents’) home countries is chosen, in preference to a text relating to more general youth culture issues which should interest them. A possible explanation may be the periodically strong media coverage of circumcision of particularly Somali girls living in Norway, where health care professionals, teachers, nursery staff and religious leaders have been criticised for not notifying the police in case of suspicion.<sup>38</sup> Mohammed’s indirect contributions may also be interpreted as being loyal to Linn’s text choice, since she is the one in charge. It is not the case that he did not talk about the issue, but he aimed at avoiding it in front of the pupils.

The emergent bilingual pupils’ language use during the first phase of Linn and Mohammed’s lesson in the reception class is a reminder of the complexity of the pupils’ language backgrounds and accordingly language repertoire and use. Two pupils with a so-called Somali language background, both having lived in Yemen where they used Arabic as

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<sup>38</sup> See for example the newspaper articles in the Norwegian newspaper *Aftenposten*: *Legger ned kontor mot omskjæring* (28.10.2007); *Samuelsen and Lerbak* (14.11.2007); *Imamer vil forby omskjæring* (05.12.2007).

their school language, preferred to talk in Arabic instead of in Somali. This complexity and their heteroglossic language situation is by no means reflected in Section 2–8 of the Education Act regulating pupils from language minorities' rights or in Section 14–4 of the Regulations to the Education Act regulating the competency requirements of mother tongue teachers. This complexity is not reflected in the municipality's or school's organisation of bilingual subject teaching either, since Mohammed is put to teach all of the emergent bilingual pupils from a parental Somali background in all the lessons the pupils are entitled to bilingual support, and never, for example, another bilingual teacher colleague who is able to draw on Arabic.<sup>39</sup>

The heteroglossic complex language situation also came to the fore when Mohammed collaborated with Linn and Mette by frequently drawing on Somali in order to create opportunities for teaching and learning for their common pupils, also including hybrid forms. Having said this, however, the lack of understanding of the pupils' heteroglossic language backgrounds was also prevalent in the lessons. Considering Mohammed's limited number of contributions compared to Linn's and Mette's, there was no doubt that Norwegian was the language which was most valued for teaching and learning. In a similar vein, Myklebust (1993) and Martin-Jones and Saxena (1996/2001), from Norway and England respectively, have argued that when bilingual practitioners are positioned as assistants in the classroom, this gives a clear message to the pupils about the relative value of the languages used and of the bilingual assistant within the class hierarchy.

When Mohammed did draw on Somali, he was seemingly more preoccupied with the pupils' understanding of the content and learning of Norwegian, than with developing the pupils' Somali language skills. This reminds us of García's (2009, p. 295–297) description of flexible convergent arrangements in subtractive bilingual frameworks, where the randomness of for example code switching does not seem to contribute to the

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<sup>39</sup> The complexity of emergent bilingual pupils' language backgrounds is partly reflected in the mapping tool *Språkkompetanse i grunnleggende norsk* [Language competence in basic Norwegian], which was developed by the Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training (2007) in the style of the European language portfolio, and is closely linked to the curriculum in Basic Norwegian. In contrast to parts two and three (the mapping tool and the pupil's language portfolio), the first part is called 'Min språkbiografi' [My language biography] where the pupils are asked to give a description of her or his overall language competency. In the guide to the national curriculum in Mother tongue teaching for language minorities, it is specified that it is possible to use the entire mapping tool in connection with assessing the pupils' competence in the home language too (p. 57). In that case, it is advised that the bilingual teacher translates the questions orally for the pupil, and that the pupil gives an oral answer too.

development of the academic language necessary in schooling. This can be explained by the prevalent influence of the one language one nation ideology in Norway, still strongly linking the Norwegian language to the Norwegian territory and thus leaving little space for other languages.

In both lessons Mohammed explicitly restrained the pupils from drawing on Somali when the end product was to be evaluated by either Linn or Mette. When Zakaria asked Mohammed if he had to write the lab report in Norwegian, Mohammed did not suggest that he could use hybrid language. As discussed above, on both occasions multilingual strategies could have enhanced the pupils' possibilities for expressing themselves. Likewise, when Deeq was asked by Linn what he had understood from the text, and he was not able to say so, Mohammed explicitly discouraged him from drawing on his Somali repertoire. This, however, would require different collaborative strategies between the teachers and an increased value placed on the Somali language for teaching and learning purposes.

The overarching themes I have discussed here are the questions of continuity, teachers' academic backgrounds and qualifications, and the pupils' heteroglossic background and language use. I will come back to these topics in different ways in other chapters. In the next chapter, I will particularly focus on one aspect of teacher collaboration, that is, collaboration with regard to the pupils who lack or have severely interrupted earlier schooling.





## 7 LOOKING AFTER EMERGENT BILINGUAL PUPILS

- M: *De timene som jeg er der så kommer dem [elevene].*
- J: *Ja, for du henter dem jo. (latter)*
- M: *Ja, ja, ja, ikke sant. Jeg finner dem hvor, ikke sant. Ingen andre som bruker tid på det.*
- J: *Nei.*
- M: *Så er det for vanskelig, så er det lett å skulke.*
- M: *The lessons I'm here, they [the pupils] come.*
- J: *Yeah, because you fetch them. (laughter)*
- M: *Yeah, yeah, yeah, right. I find them where, right. No one else spends time on this.*
- J: *No.*
- M: *So when it's too difficult, it's easy to skip classes.*

Interview, 16.06.2009

### INTRODUCTION

The previous story gave a glimpse of the daunting task the emergent bilingual pupils faced when trying to acquire advanced science and the Norwegian language at the same time. Whereas they had turned up for that particular science lesson with Mette, this was far from always the case. In fact, Mohammed spent a lot of time herding, instructing and nagging these pupils as they often tried to skip their subject lessons. This story follows Mohammed through one day's effort of looking after seven pupils from a Somali background, while teamed up with Sverre for science in two consecutive lessons. I will particularly focus on the teachers' collaborative mode and their joint effort to adapt the teaching to the needs of their common emergent bilingual pupils. It is the connection of observed events and recorded conversational events and episodes that I am interested in as they appear through my discursive shadowing approach. Whereas this allows me to study a pedagogical trajectory, a more thematic approach in terms of topical episodes is also of interest. I will thus comment on the recurrence and absence of certain topics in Mohammed's interaction with Sverre, his pupils and myself as I go along, before discussing this in greater detail at the end of the story.

The fieldnote material used here is presented in Appendix 6, story 2, based on occurrences of finding pupils skipping class, talking about these pupils, and talking to pupils about skipping lessons. Narrowing down the scope of this topic to particular day (05.05.2009), all conversations between Sverre and Mohammed during the entire fieldwork were transcribed, as were their conversations with me from that particular day. Mohammed's teaching that day was transcribed and translated, in addition to the few

conversations between the two teachers during the lesson. The central analytical concept used is Linell's (1998) *topical episodes* (see p. 91). Topical episodes are, however, approached both as content and actions, using the concepts of *topics* and middle sized *communicative projects* (see p. 90) (see Appendix 11 for an extract).

## TEAMING UP WITH SVERRE

As noted earlier (see p. 109), Sverre had most of his teaching responsibilities in grade 10 and hence had his desk with team 10. This team room was the furthest away from team 8, where Mohammed had his working area (see Appendix 8). Normally, Sverre and Mohammed were teamed up once a week, for teaching science in 10A on Tuesdays before the lunch break. However, on 5 May 2009, which is the focus of this story, they were teamed up for two consecutive lessons as Sverre substituted for Mette for science in 10B after lunch.

Sverre and Mohammed's working relationship resembled the relationship Mohammed had with Mette, that is, in-class language support with no consultation between teachers (see previous story). On this particular day, however, Sverre contacted Mohammed before the teaching to discuss the organisation of the two upcoming lessons. Accordingly, their working relationship on this day contains elements from what Creese (2005) has called *Subject teacher directed curriculum for the whole class: Teachers targeting different students* (p. 117–119), and *Temporary withdrawal* (p. 124–126). This combination underlines the complexity and flexibility of the sort of professional relationships teachers form with one another.

More specifically, in line with Creese's collaborative mode of *Subject teacher directed curriculum for the whole class*, as the teacher in charge of the science lessons, Sverre was primarily concerned with teaching science content and directed the objectives of the whole class. He would sometimes inform Mohammed either before or during the class what would be covered in the lesson. Mohammed was to assist Sverre with this aim through adapting the science teaching to the needs of the emergent bilingual pupils by drawing on Somali. When teaching together, Mohammed would sit with his pupils in a corner of the mainstream classroom and whisper renditions of Sverre's talk, similar to his renditions of Mette's talk described in the previous story. Whereas Mohammed would specifically target the Somali language pupils throughout the lesson, Sverre targeted the

whole class, occasionally addressing the Somali language pupils too. There would also be longer stretches where Mohammed did not talk, especially when Sverre introduced a new theme without having any dialogue with the class, as in Myklebust's (1993, p. 54) description of the *one teacher method*.

In addition, it sometimes happened that Sverre asked Mohammed to withdraw the emergent bilingual pupils for parts of the lesson, in line with Creese' collaborative mode of *Temporary withdrawal*. The content and the aims of the lesson would be the same as for the rest of the class. Sverre would often suggest possible ways of working, and Mohammed was expected to adapt the teaching to the needs of the pupils by drawing on Somali.

Table 8 shows the teacher activity for Sverre and for Mohammed that day, in addition specifying time and place, as well as how the material was produced (see key below table).

**TABLE 8: OVERVIEW PHASES AND TEACHER ACTIVITY, SCIENCE LESSON 05.05.2009**

Period	Sverre			Mohammed		
	Time	Place	Teacher activity	Teacher activity	Place	Time
Before 2 <sup>nd</sup>	10:15	Team 8/ 10A	Went to meet pupils in classroom 10A. Took pupils to laboratory.	Collaborated with Linn.	Team 8	10:15
	10:20	Lab.	Introduced aims of lesson.	Arrived at lab. Went looking for pupils. °	Hall/ recep.	10:20
2 <sup>nd</sup>	10:24	Lab.	Instructed and assisted pupils in conducting experiment with starch.	Returned to lab. Went looking for pupils. °	Lab./ hall/ recep.	10:26
				Returned to lab. Gave occasional renditions of Sverre's talk. ◊	Lab.	10:32
	10:53 11:45*	Lab.	Supervised pupils doing test.*	Took Zakaria to library. ◊	Libr.	10:53
				Went looking for pupils. °	Hall/ recep.	10:55
			Returned to library. Assisted pupils in doing exercises. ◊	Libr.	10:57 11:45	
Lunch						
Before 3 <sup>rd</sup>	12:30	10B	Took pupils from classroom 10B to lab.	Took pupils from classroom 10B to lab. °	10B	12:30
3 <sup>rd</sup>	12:35	Lab.	Explained about upcoming exams.	Gave a few renditions of Sverre's talk. ◊	Lab.	12:35
	12:59 14:00*	Lab.	Supervised pupils doing test.*	Assisted pupils with test as exercises. ◊	Libr.	12:59
				Read newspaper with Asad. ◊		Did mathematics with Sihaam. ◊

\* Planned time/activity which I did not observe.

° Activity I did not observe, but of which I have recordings.

◊ Activity I observed and talk I listened in on which was in a language I did not understand, but which I gained access to after the fieldwork, through transcriptions and translations made by others.

Table 8 clearly shows Mohammed's mobility in contrast to Sverre's more static work. Mohammed continuously ambulated between team 8, reception class, laboratory, library, 10B and hallways, whereas in a more figurative sense, he ambulated between grade 10 science, basic Norwegian and adapted mathematics. This is in contrast to Sverre, who moved from team 8 to classroom 10B to laboratory before lunch, and from team 10 to classroom 10A to the laboratory after lunch, teaching grade 10 science at all times.

#### THE EMERGENT BILINGUAL PUPILS

Together Sverre and Mohammed were responsible for four pupils in 10 A, Ahmed, Deeq, Sumeya and Zakaria, and three in 10B, Abdullahi, Asad and Sihaam (see p. 109). Apart from having parents from a Somali background, what these pupils had in common was that they had little or no previous schooling prior to their arrival to Norway, and none of them would be taking final exams with their peers as their teachers had decided that their basic skills were too weak.<sup>40</sup> Before 2012, it was not allowed by law to organise these emergent bilingual pupils permanently according to ability except for basic language teaching.<sup>41</sup> Accordingly, they had basic Norwegian in the reception class, and some lessons in adapted English, mathematics and science, which focused specifically on the learning of new concepts in Norwegian. When not receiving teaching in the reception class, they were part of an ordinary class and followed mainstream teaching with their peers.

As mentioned earlier (see p. 109), Linn was responsible for making timetables for all emergent bilingual pupils in the school. The table below is an example of Ahmed, Deeq, Sumeya and Zakaria's plan for week 19 (04.05 till 08.05.2009).<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Pursuant to the Regulations of Section 3–21 of the Education Act, pupils in compulsory school who have a formal decision for special language training entirely or partly in a reception class can be exempted from assessment with grades for the entire period they are in the reception class.

<sup>41</sup> On the situation after August 2012, see p. 32.

<sup>42</sup> I have translated the plan from Norwegian and anonymised it. The layout is the same as the original. The teachers' names are in bold.

**TABLE 9: TIME SCHEDULE WEEK 19 EMERGENT BILINGUAL PUPILS GRADE 10**

Time	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
08.30-10.00 1 <sup>st</sup> period	In class	In class	Nine o'clock Distribution of assignment	Working with assignment <b>Mohammed</b> computer class	Watch film with grade <b>Mette</b> Auditorium
<b>10.00-10.15 Fruit break</b>					
10.15-11.45 2 <sup>nd</sup> period	Norwegian <b>Linn</b> reception class	Science <b>Mette/ Mohammed</b> In class	Working with assignment <b>Marit/ Mohammed</b> reception class	?	
<b>11.45-12.30 Lunch break</b>					
12.30-14.00 3 <sup>rd</sup> period	Science <b>Gunhild</b> reception class	In class	Working with assignment <b>Marit/ Mohammed</b>	?	

According to the plan, sometimes the pupils had teaching with their peers, with or without assistance from Mohammed, whereas at other times they were withdrawn and received adapted teaching in the reception class. In the last period on Monday, for example, they had adapted science in the reception class with Gunhild, a teacher who specialised both in science and basic Norwegian. The aim of these lessons was to fill the pupils' academic and linguistic gaps and prepare them for the upcoming science lesson with their peers in 10A, which was scheduled for Tuesday before the lunch break. Mette was responsible for this lesson, and the four pupils would be assisted by Mohammed. While the pupils received teaching in adapted science with Gunhild, however, their peers attended lessons in another subject.

To understand the timetable above it is also necessary to point out that it deviates from timetables throughout the year because of the upcoming exams. From Wednesday morning onwards, there were no ordinary subject classes. Instead, all pupils in grade 10 would get a leaflet which was meant to prepare them for the upcoming exams. Linn had made an adapted version for the emergent bilingual pupils, for whom the school organised oral mock exams.

## PRESENCE AND ORGANISATION

Mohammed and Linn were sitting at their desks in team 8 preparing the next day's joint lesson, when Sverre called upon Mohammed. As usual, I sat next to him at the empty desk, listening in on the teachers. Sverre's science colleague Mette was absent that day, and

Sverre would be substituting for her in 10A during the second period of the day, in addition to teaching his own science class in 10B during the third period. Because Sverre did not know whether Mohammed normally joined Mette during this second period, he started his conversation by asking whether this was the case (#7-1, 0002). When this was confirmed by Mohammed, Sverre informed him about the place, content and organisation of the teaching, and touched upon the presence of their common pupils.

#### TRANSCRIPT #7-1 TEAM 8

0002	S:	Hei. Er du med meg nå eller etterpå?	S:	Hi. Are you with me now or afterwards?
0003	M:	J- (3.0) Er det A?	M:	I- (3.0) Is it A?
0004	S:	Ja.	S:	Yeah.
0005	M:	Mm.	M:	Mm.
0006	S:	Før euh vi skar euh skar euh gjørra	S:	Cause eh we're eh going eh we're going
0007		litteranna forsøk først i euh		to do a bit of an experiment first in eh
0008		A-klassa og så skar dom ha ei prøve.		the A class and then they'll have a test.
0009	M:	Ok. Ok. Vi skal være med deg i-	M:	Ok. Ok. We'll be with you in-
0010	S:	med på naturfagsrommet.	S:	together in the science room.
0011	M:	naturfagrommet. Ok.	M:	the science room. Ok.
0012	S:	Og da skar de- da har dom ei	S:	And then they'll- then they'll have a
0013		prøve.		test.
0014	M:	Ok.	M:	Ok.
0015	S:	Der euh først forsøk,	S:	There's eh first experiment,
0016	M:	Mm.	M:	Mm.
0017	S:	det forsøket har jeg- har dem ikke fått	S:	the experiment I haven't- they haven't
0018		gjort i A-klassa så skar je gjøre det med		done in the A class so I'll do it with
0019		dem i dag.		them today.
0020	M:	Mm.	M:	Mm.
0021	S:	Je er egentlig vikar for a Mette jeg nå.	S:	I'm actually substituting for Mette here.
0022	L:	Å ja. For euhm-	L:	Oh yeah. For ehm-
0023	S:	Ja. Og så skal dom ha ei prøve.	S:	Yeah. And they'll have a test.
0024	M:	Mm.	M:	Mm.
0025	S:	Det får dom om en cirka halv times tid	S:	They'll get it in about a half hour they
0026		så får dom den prøva. (1.0) Og da-		get the test. (1.0) And then-
0027		Vet ikke om du skal ta med (2.0) Zakaria		Don't know if you'll take (2.0) Zakaria
0028		og Ahmed og		and Ahmed and
0029	M:	Deeq.	M:	Deeq.
0030	S:	Og- (1.0) Vet ikke om han møter opp	S:	And- (1.0) Don't know if he'll turn up.
0031		jeg.		
0032	M:	Deeq, han er her.	M:	Deeq, he's here.
0033	S:	Han er her.	S:	He's here.
0034	M:	Han er bå skolen.	M:	He's at school.
0035	L:	xx	L:	xx
0036	S:	xx så kan euh du- egentlig så er det	S:	xx so can eh you- actually it's
0037		beste om du går ut med dom så kan		best if you go out with them so they can
0038		dom gjøre prøva som arbeidsoppgaver.		do the test as work exercises.
0039		At dom bruker boka si og gjør dom som		That they use their book and do them as
0040		arbeidsoppgaver.		work exercises.
0041	M:	Mm.	M:	Mm.

0042	S:	For da kan du bare ta med dom på	S:	So then you can just take them to
0043		biblioteket eller [noe sånn.		the library or [something like that.
0044	M:	[Ja. .h. M.	M:	[Yeah. .h. M.
0045	S:	Og i i siste del så skal jeg snakke	S:	And in in the last part then I'll talk
0046		litteran om først snakke om euh om		a bit about first talk about eh about
0047		euh eksamen og-		eh the exams and-
0048	M:	Ok.	M:	Ok.
0049	S:	xx så skal dom ha den prøva.	S:	xx then they'll have the test.
0050	M:	Ok.	M:	Ok.

As the boundaries between the topical episodes drawn in the above extract show, using grey and white shades, there are four topics, that is, organisation twice (#7-1, 0002-0005; #7-1, 0045-0050), content three times; (#7-1, 0006-0008; #7-1; 0012-0026; #7-1, 0045-0050), place twice (#7-1, 0009-0011; #7-1, 0042-0044) and the presence of the pupils once (#7-1, 0027-0034). In fact, these four topics are typical for the conversations between Sverre and Mohammed, not on during this particular day, but during the entire fieldwork. This is perhaps not surprising as joint teaching requires discussion of how the teaching is to be organised, what is to be taught and where the lesson will be held. What is more interesting, however, is the topic of pupils' presence initiated by Sverre, combined with the lack of talk on the pupils' understanding of the science lessons and work on routines such as bringing the right books and meeting up at the right time in the right place. As we will see below, both these topics were frequent in Mohammed's talk with the pupils and with me while on the move.

In terms of communicative projects, Sverre's project in the topical episodes above is mainly one of informing, whereas Mohammed's project is mainly completing the project by following up Sverre's initiatives and asking a few clarifying questions. This does not mean, however, that Mohammed necessarily agreed with Sverre's proposed way of working. In fact, as I will discuss in greater detail below (see p. 172ff.), Mohammed strongly believed that the mainstream science lessons were too advanced for the emergent bilingual pupils and preferred to take them out to work on their basic skills instead. This, however, was never talked about, and it seems that it was Sverre's communicative project of informing which made it difficult for Mohammed to make stronger contributions.

## ROUTINES

After the bell rang, Sverre went to the pupils' classroom 10A on the second floor to accompany them to the laboratory on the ground floor. In the meantime Mohammed and I walked from team room 8 to the laboratory. When we arrived, Mohammed discovered that only Sumeya had shown up. Consequently, he went to the second floor, leaving me behind, and found the three other pupils, as he told me later, in the reception classroom, which was not used for other teaching at the time.

I would have liked to join him on his way to find the pupils, but felt unable to negotiate this with Mohammed. My fieldnotes record:

Jeg skulle gjerne ha blitt med Mohammed for å finne elevene som skulker, men han inviterer meg ikke med. Jeg føler meg ikke i posisjon til å spørre om jeg kan være med. Han vil kanskje spare meg for turene opp og ned. Han synes kanskje heller ikke at det er relevant for meg å være med. Jeg har jo sagt at jeg er her for å studere samarbeidet hans med andre lærere.

I would have liked to join Mohammed when finding the students who skip class, but he does not invite me. I don't feel as if I am in any position to ask him if I can join him either. Maybe he wants to save me the trips up and down. He may not think it is relevant for me to join him either. After all, I told him that I am here to study his collaboration with other teachers.

There are many possible reasons why Mohammed chose to leave me when searching for the pupils who were skipping classes: he may have found it embarrassing that he so often had to search for the pupils, sometimes even losing them on the way to the classroom. He may have wanted to spare me the long walks between floors, or he may not have understood my rationale for wanting to accompany him on his journey as no 'real teaching' was going on. The fieldnotes reveal a frustration with the failure to shadow Mohammed as he travelled upstairs on this occasion but they also served as an aide memoire of the significance of the missed event and the recurring topic of skipping lessons. Having been left behind deprived me of the possibility to reflect upon what was happening together with Mohammed. Instead, I had to listen to the recording when I was back at the office after my day in the field, and wait for the transcription and the translation of talk in Somali.

Transcript #7-2 below shows that Mohammed nags the pupils when he finds them, translanguaging in English, Norwegian and Somali. When listening to the recordings for the first time, I understood words in Norwegian and English, and I could hear from Mohammed's voice that he was annoyed. He shouted that they had to get out, and I heard



the word 'naturfag' (natural science), clearly referring to the lesson they were supposed to be attending with Sverre.

**TRANSCRIPT #7-2 RECEPTION CLASS**

- |      |     |   |     |  |
|------|-----|---|-----|--|
| 0101 | M:  | <b>OUT! OUT! OUT! OUT!</b> <u>Xisadaan galaskiinaa leedihiin, hoos. Wuxuuna (.). joogaa naturfag rumka (.). sadexdiina Asad aawey bax, soobax adna. Abdullahi sidoo kale. Now, now. Sidoo kale adigana. Ja, out. Asad nawad gidaarka ha isku dhajinine.</u> | M:  | <b>OUT! OUT! OUT! OUT!</b> <u>You have a lesson with your class, downstairs. The class is in the science class. You three. Where's Asad? Go. You too. Abdullahi too. Now. Now. The same for you too. Yeah, out. Let's go. Asad don't hide.</u> |
| 0102 |     |   |     |  |
| 0103 |     |   |     |  |
| 0104 |     |   |     |  |
| 0105 |     |   |     |  |
| 0106 |     |   |     |  |
| 0107 |     |   |     |  |
| 0108 |     |   |     |  |
| 0109 | M:  | <u>Ikke prøv meg en gang. Deeq adna soo soco. Dhaqso hee.</u>   | M:  | <u>Don't even try me. Deeq come on you too. Hurry up.</u>  |
| 0110 |     |   |     |  |
| 0111 | Z:  | <u>Hoos may joogaan?</u>  | Z:  | <u>Are they downstairs?</u>  |
| 0112 | M:  | <u>Haa haa naturfag romaha.</u>   | M:  | <u>Yeah, yeah, in the science room.</u>  |
| 0113 | Z:  | <u>Hoosmay joogaan?</u>   | Z:  | <u>Are they downstairs?</u>  |
| 0114 | M:  | <u>Haa dadkii dhan, ardaydii dhan hoos.</u>   | M:  | <u>Yeah all of them, all pupils are downstairs.</u>  |
| 0115 |     |   |     |  |
| 0116 | Z:  | <u>Galaaskayga hadda ma furan yahay?</u>  | Z:  | <u>Is my classroom open?</u>   |
| 0117 | M:  | <u>Fiiri.</u>   | M:  | <u>Look.</u>   |
| 0118 | Z:  | <u>Cidna ma joogto?</u>   | Z:  | <u>Is there no one in there?</u>   |
| 0119 | M:  | <u>Cidna ma joogto.</u>   | M:  | <u>There's no one in there.</u>  |
| 0119 | M:  | <u>Ardaydii dhan hoosay jiraan.</u>   | M:  | <u>All pupils are downstairs.</u>  |
| 0120 | As: | xx  | As: | xx   |
| 0121 | M:  | <u>Xiisadii! Xaggee aadey?</u>  | M:  | <u>Class! Where are you going?</u>   |
| 0122 | As: | xx  | As: | xx   |
| 0123 | M:  | <u>Have socda hee horay u dheereeva waa daahdeene.</u>  | M:  | <u>Ok, hurry up. You have to walk faster. You're late.</u>   |
| 0124 |     |   |     |  |
| 0125 | M:  | <u>Nasoo caraji. Waxaa nala tusaavey bahalkii. Waan ka daahney.</u>   | M:  | <u>Let's run a bit. We were going to watch some sort of experiment. We'll be late.</u>   |
| 0126 |     |   |     |  |
| 0127 | Z:  | <u>Selelusahaa waan arkey.</u>  | Z:  | <u>I've seen it.</u>   |
| 0128 | M:  | <u>Haa.</u>   | M:  | <u>Ok.</u>   |
| 0129 | Z:  | <u>Waxaas waarkey, selelusaha, Odayga maa noo haayo mise macallimadda?</u>  | Z:  | <u>I've seen the cellulose. Is it the old teacher who's teaching or is it the female teacher?</u>  |
| 0130 |     |   |     |  |
| 0131 | M:  | <u>Macallimadiina way jiran tahay.</u>  | M:  | <u>The female teacher is sick today.</u>   |

This conversational event can be divided into four topical episodes, about place/presence (politopical) (#7-2, 0101-0124), content (#7-2, 0125-0126), routines (#7-2, 0127-0128) and organisation (#7-2, 0129-0131). Whereas the topics of place, presence, content and organisation were also discussed by Mohammed and Sverre, talk about routines was only recurrent in Mohammed's talk with the pupils. Routines such as keeping track of their books and understanding their timetable seemed to represent a big challenge for these youngsters with little schooling. At Ullstad, each pupil has a shelf for personal subject books in their classroom. This was convenient as most of the teaching took place in the

pupils' own classrooms. When going to the laboratory, however, they had to remember to bring their books and notes. This was a routine which apparently was not established amongst the Somali language pupils I observed, and which Mohammed spent time reminding them about. Similar findings have been reported by Miller et al. (2005) in their study of African refugees with interrupted schooling in the high school mainstream in schools in the state of Victoria in Australia. They call it the lack of "knowledge of how to 'be a student'" (p. 23), and include skills such as time management, the ability to organise a folder or find yesterday's worksheet, and organisational skills.

Drawing on Somali, Mohammed told the pupils to hurry up (#7-2, 0110, 0123) because they were late for the lesson (#7-2, 0124, 0126), and that they had to go to the laboratory (#7-2, 0112, 0114-0115) where they were going to watch an experiment (#7-2, 0125-0126). In this way, Mohammed helped the pupils behave as Sverre expected from them to go to the laboratory when the lesson starts and watch a scientific experiment with their peers. Apart from this, Zakaria asked him many questions for clarification, saying that he had seen the experiment before, and asking if Sverre or Mette was teaching today, possibly in reference to the previous experiment, conducted by one of these two teachers.

When Mohammed returned to the laboratory, Zakaria was the only pupil who had come with him. Sverre had started an experiment to produce starch, but turned to Mohammed who stood in the doorway, asking him if he had not found all the pupils. In turn, Mohammed explained that he thought Deeq and Ahmed had already come to the laboratory. When Sverre said this was not the case, Mohammed went out, not leaving only me behind again, but also Sumeya and Zakaria who had in fact turned up. For the time being, they were thus denied the possibility for bilingual assistance. Mohammed returned a couple of minutes later without the missing pupils.

After the experiment, Sverre started handing out the test, as agreed. He moved around talking to groups of pupils, and when he came to the back of the room where Mohammed and Zakaria sat, Mohammed asked him what they should do now:

#### TRANSCRIPT #7-3 LABORATORY

0146 M: *Skulle vi gjøre noe nå?*

M: *Should we do anything now?*

0147 S: *Dekk kan enten gjøre det som prøve*

S: *You can either do it as a test*

0148 *først xx og gjøre det som*

*first xx and do it as an*

0149 *arbeidsoppgave etterpå.*

*exercise afterwards.*

0150 M: *Ok.*

M: *Ok.*

0151	S:	<i>Men hvor er de andre?</i>	S:	<i>But what about the others?</i>
0152	M:	<i>Dem løper rundt i skolen.</i>	M:	<i>They're running around the school.</i>
0153		<i>Dem lø-</i>		<i>They're ru-</i>
0154	S:	<i>Se om du finner dem. Kan'ke du se om</i>	S:	<i>See if you find them. Can't you see if</i>
0155		<i>du finner dem så-</i>		<i>you find them so-</i>
0156	M:	<i>x</i>	M:	<i>x</i>
0157	Z:	<i>Dem sitter på biblioteket</i>	Z:	<i>They're at the library.</i>
0158	M:	<i>Ja, je- jeg fant xx</i>	M:	<i>Yeah, I- I found xx</i>
0159	S:	<i>Ja.</i>	S:	<i>Yeah.</i>
0160	M:	<i>Så løpte dem ned. Så fant jeg</i>	M:	<i>But then they ran down. So I found</i>
0161		<i>dem på trappa, så løpte dem</i>		<i>them at the stairs, then they ran</i>
0162		<i>ned igjen så så dem løper rundt i</i>		<i>down again so so they run around in the</i>
0163		<i>skolen. Jeg kan godt se etter dem.</i>		<i>school. I can go look for them if you like.</i>
0164	S:	<i>Ja.</i>	S:	<i>Yeah.</i>
0165	M:	<i>Mm.</i>	M:	<i>Mm.</i>

The conversation presented above includes two topical episodes, dealing with content (#7-3, 0146-0150) and presence/place (#7-3, 0151-0165) respectively. Both are topics which are recurrent in Sverre and Mohammed's interaction. However, the first topical episode on content breaks with the common pattern of Sverre initiating and Mohammed following up, since Mohammed is the one who initiates it. Nevertheless, Sverre's communicative project is again to inform, and Mohammed follows up by confirming. What is more interesting, however, is that Sverre redirects the focus to being about the pupils who were missing (#7-3, 0151), hence introducing a new topical episode on presence/place. Mohammed replies that they are running around in the school building (#7-3, 0152-0153), Sverre answers that Mohammed should try to find them, whereupon Mohammed describes his journey when trying to find them earlier (#7-3, 0160-0163), thus accepting and progressing Sverre's new communicative project.

Here, Mohammed shows his willingness, but he also expresses some resentment towards going to find them again by using *godt (if you like)* (#7-3, 0163), leaving the final decision to Sverre. Again, Sverre seems to be more preoccupied with the actual presence of the pupils than with possible reasons for their skipping class. Mohammed, however, does not follow up his original communicative project, which is what he should do now with the pupils who have turned up. So, whereas Mohammed always follows up Sverre's communicative project, Sverre does not follow up Mohammed's communicative project. This shows an asymmetry in their professional relationship with Sverre being the one in charge, resembling Mohammed's relationships with Mette and Linn described in the

previous story. This sort of pattern is also recurrently commented on in other studies involving bilingual teachers. I will come back to this below, in the discussion section.

After having organised Zakaria and Sumeya in the library, Mohammed went once more to the reception class to search for Ahmed and Deeq and returned with them a few minutes later. The pupils tried to do the test, but continuously asked Mohammed questions, clearly having difficulties.

In sum, whereas topics related to routines were recurrent in Mohammed's conversations with the pupils, these were absent in his conversations with Sverre, who was mainly preoccupied with their presence. In the next section, I will show how the topic of the pupils' understanding of science was recurrent in Mohammed's conversations with his pupils, while teaching, and particularly with me, while on the move, whereas this was never topicalised in the observed conversations with Sverre.

#### JOINT REFLECTION ON THE PUPILS' UNDERSTANDING OF SCIENCE

When the bell rang, the pupils left, and Mohammed and I walked slowly to the staffroom. Bearing in mind the fact that the pupils had continuously asked Mohammed questions while doing the science test as exercises, I asked if it was difficult for them, hence proposing a projected direction for our talk.

#### TRANSCRIPT #7-4 HALLWAY

- |      |    |  |    |   |
|------|----|--|----|---|
| 0230 | J: | <i>Er det vanskelig for dem?</i>                   | J: | <i>Is it hard for them?</i>                           |
| 0231 | M: | <i>Ja, men men det som er litt euh- eller</i>      | M: | <i>Yeah, but but what's a bit eh- or</i>              |
| 0232 |    | <i>dem jobber en del men dem vil prøve</i>         |    | <i>they work a bit but they like want to try</i>      |
| 0233 |    | <i>og fiske svar ut av meg liksom.</i>             |    | <i>and fish answers from me.</i>                      |
| 0234 | J: | <i>Å ja, ja, ja.</i>                               | J: | <i>Oh yeah, yeah, yeah.</i>                           |
| 0235 | M: | <i>Hehehehehehe liksom.</i>                        | M: | <i>Heheheheheheh like that.</i>                       |
| 0236 | J: | <i>xx gjenta ti ganger.</i>                        | J: | <i>xx repeat ten times.</i>                           |
| 0237 | M: | <i>Ikke sant. Ti ganger. Han går gjennom</i>       | M: | <i>Right. Ten times. He goes through the</i>          |
| 0238 |    | <i>lista. Er det den er det den er det den</i>     |    | <i>list. Is it this one is it this one is it this</i> |
| 0239 |    | <i>er det den? Hehe.</i>                           |    | <i>one is it this one? Heheh.</i>                     |
| 0240 | J: | <i>Hehe.</i>                                       | J: | <i>Heheh.</i>   |
| 0241 | M: | <i>Ikke sant. Jeg vil ikke servere svaret. Jeg</i> | M: | <i>Right. I don't want to give the answer. I</i>      |
| 0242 |    | <i>vil at de skal liksom lese [de-</i>             |    | <i>want them to like read [the-</i>                   |
| 0243 | J: | <i>Ja.</i>   | J: | <i>[Yeah.</i>   |
| 0244 | M: | <i>og spørre meg hvis de ikke skjønner</i>         | M: | <i>and ask me if they don't understand but</i>        |
| 0245 |    | <i>men ikke svare he hva er svaret</i>             |    | <i>not answer heh what the answer like is.</i>        |
| 0246 |    | <i>liksom. Hvis de ikke skjønner det så</i>        |    | <i>If they don't understand it so what it</i>         |
| 0247 |    | <i>det som står euh i teksten der</i>              |    | <i>says eh in the text there</i>                      |
| 0248 | J: | <i>Ja.</i>   | J: | <i>Yeah.</i>  |
| 0249 | M: | <i>vil jeg forklare dem liksom</i>                 | M: | <i>I will explain it for them right</i>               |

- |      |    |   |    |   |
|------|----|---|----|---|
| 0250 | J: | <i>Ja, ikke sant.</i>                       | J: | <i>Yeah, right.</i>                               |
| 0251 | M: | <i>på en måte som de kunne skjønne,</i>     | M: | <i>in a way that they could understand,</i>       |
| 0252 |    | <i>men jeg vil ikke gi dem svarene</i>      |    | <i>but I don't want to give them the</i>          |
| 0253 |    | <i>liksom. Så sier dem .h er det den er</i> |    | <i>answers right. Then they say .h is it this</i> |
| 0254 |    | <i>det den.</i>                             |    | <i>one is it this one.</i>                        |
| 0255 | J: | <i>Hehe.</i>                                | J: | <i>Hehe.</i>                                      |
| 0256 | M: | <i>Hehe. (2.0) Ikke sant?</i>               | M: | <i>Hehe. (2.0) Right?</i>                         |

In this transcript we see how Mohammed accepts my topical bid, confirming the reportability of the topic of understanding. He describes his way of working: before explaining the material to the pupils, he wants them to read first and arrive at their own answers. This is a typical pedagogy for encouraging learner autonomy used in many classes. Topical episodes like this one, that is, dealing with the content of understanding, are recurrent in our conversations while on the move. To a lesser extent we discussed the organisation, content and place of the lessons, and the pupils' presence.

Represented in this shadowing conversation in #7–4 is a pedagogic reflection on the pupils' lack of understanding of the science content. It is initiated by me but progressed by Mohammed, and supported by my involvement markers (see for example #7–4, 0250). The example illustrates how not only our common focus on the education of emergent bilingual pupils, but certainly also our physical closeness due to the shadowing, created discursive opportunities between us for joint reflection, discussion and relationship building over the school day. My communicative project is hence asking and wondering. Judging from Mohammed's detailed response, this open question led to more opportunities for participating in the conversations, compared to Sverre's communicative projects of informing or asking closed questions, such as questions that simply invite consent.

After this conversation, Mohammed and Sverre had lunch in the staffroom. During lunch the teachers briefly discussed how they were going to organise the science lesson after lunch, which was with the pupils from 10B.<sup>43</sup> After lunch, Mohammed reported to me:

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<sup>43</sup> Because Mohammed and I had agreed to treat lunch breaks as breaks from shadowing, there was no recording of Mohammed and Sverre's conversation.

**TRANSCRIPT #7-5 HALLWAY**

0289	M:	<i>Den gjengen som vi skal ha nå, den er euh unntatt Abdullahi den er dårligere.</i>	M:	<i>The group we're having now, it's eh except Abdullahi, it's worse. So- so-</i>
0290				<i>so- I don't know if they'll bother at</i>
0291		<i>Så- så- så- jeg veit ikke om dem gidder i</i>		<i>all if we'll go through eh-</i>
0292		<i>det hele tatt om vi skal gå gjennom euh-</i>		
0293	J:	<i>Ja, gjennom-</i>	J:	<i>Yeah, through-</i>
0294	M:	<i>Ja.</i>	M:	<i>Yeah.</i>
0295	J:	<i>stoffet?</i>	J:	<i>the material?</i>
0296	M:	<i>Det- to av dem i hvert fall</i>	M:	<i>It- two of them anyway</i>
0297	J:	<i>Ja.</i>	J:	<i>Yeah.</i>
0298	M:	<i>Sihaam og Asad dem mangler den</i>	M:	<i>Sihaam and Asad they like lack the</i>
0299		<i>GRUNNleggende GRUNNleggende euh</i>		<i>BAsic BASic eh</i>
0300		<i>liksom (1.0)</i>		<i>(1.0)</i>
0301		<i>Ja.</i>		<i>Yeah.</i>
0302	J:	<i>Mm.</i>	J:	<i>Mm.</i>
0303	M:	<i>i forhold til naturfag eller</i>	M:	<i>when it comes to natural science or</i>
0304		<i>matematikk.</i>		<i>mathematics.</i>

This time, Mohammed is the one topicalising the issue of his pupils' lack of understanding due to their weak basic skills, in a conversation with me. In the above transcript, Mohammed describes most of pupils as even weaker than those he taught before the break (#7-5, 0289-0292). He doubts if they were going to go through the teaching material, and progresses the topic by adding that Sihaam and Asad lack basic skills in natural science and mathematics (#7-5, 0298-0304). Here, Mohammed clearly shows an insight into the individual challenges of his pupils.

When we were walking through the hallway, one of Mohammed's pupils came up to him and reported that Abdullahi had left the school and would consequently miss the science class. We had this confirmed when entering the laboratory; only Sihaam and Asad had turned up. Sverre started the lesson by giving the 10B pupils information about the upcoming final exams. After half an hour, Mohammed got up and informed me that he was taking the two pupils to the library. He left without me, since I was taken a bit by surprise and needed some extra time to gather my belongings. When I was finally ready to leave, Sverre accompanied me to the door and started discussing Mohammed's situation. My fieldnotes record:

*Sverre blir med meg til døra og sier at det må være vanskelig å være hjelpelærer når han (Mohammed) hele tiden skal fly etter elevene, og de så ofte skulker. Han sier til meg at jeg sikkert ser mer enn han og lurer på om det bare er naturfagstimene*

*Sverre comes with me to the door and tells me that it must be difficult to be a teacher aid when he (Mohammed) has to chase pupils who skip classes all the time. He tells me that I probably see more than he does, and he wonders if the students skip other classes than*

*elevene skulker eller andre fag også. Jeg svarer at det ikke ser ut til at de skulker når de er i mottaksklassen, men at det sikkert er en del ellers også. Jeg følte meg ikke komfortabel da jeg svarte på dette spørsmålet fordi det er informasjon jeg har ved å skygge Mohammed. På en måte følte jeg at jeg sviktet Mohammed.*

*his science classes. I answer that it does not look like they skip class when they are in the reception class, but that they do so in other classes too. I felt uncomfortable answering this question because I have this information from shadowing Mohammed. In a way, I felt as if I was betraying Mohammed.*

These fieldnotes record a different set of affordances gained from not shadowing Mohammed at this point. Staying behind allowed Sverre's voice to be heard and the topic of presence is once again recontextualised. On this occasion, Sverre positions me as somebody who has information he was curious about, but does not have access to. However, the fieldnotes also reveal ethical concerns. I did not feel comfortable having this conversation about Mohammed and his pupils with another teacher, nor did I feel at ease when being asked to share information or insights gained through shadowing. During my fieldwork I had both observed and talked with Mohammed about the pupils' lack of understanding of the subject content. As Mohammed did not talk about this with any other teachers, I did not feel in a position to topicalise it either. Thus, the constant companionship that Mohammed and I had established created feelings of loyalty and alignment which shaped the way I considered ethical issues in the field.

When I finally joined Mohammed and the pupils in the library, Mohammed, Asad and Sumeya had taken a seat at one of the tables. The transcriptions and translations of this sequence show that Mohammed admitted to the pupils that the subject content was difficult for them, but that they would try to read the questions in the textbook Sverre had asked them to answer. It took quite some time before the pupils were ready to do the assignment. Asad did not have any paper to write on, and both Asad and Sumeya had forgotten their science book. Again, this illustrates the prevalence of the topics of understanding and routines in their conversations.

Following from this, Mohammed asked Sumeya to start reading Sverre's test sheet from the top; she read "*naturfagprøve*" (*science test*). Mohammed confirmed this and asked her to continue; "*organiske støve*" (*organical substan*), she read.<sup>44</sup> When Mohammed asked what organic substances were, none of the pupils knew. At first Mohammed replied that they would read the chapter together to find the answer, but

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<sup>44</sup> The title of the test sheet was "*organiske stoffer*" (*organic substances*).

when Asad expressed the opinion that it was very difficult, Mohammed turned to me, asking if there was any point in doing this, repeating his concerns expressed before the lesson:

**TRANSCRIPT #7-6 LIBRARY**

0395	M:	<i>Jeg lurer på om det egentlig er noe vits</i>	M:	<i>I wonder if there's any point in</i>
0396		<i>å gå videre med det. Det er liksom .h-</i>		<i>continuing this. It's like .h-</i>
0397	J:	<i>Ja, ikke sant. Det er sikkert ikke noe vits</i>	J:	<i>Yeah, true. There's probably no</i>
0398		<i>i.</i>		<i>point.</i>
0399	M:	<i>Ja.</i>	M:	<i>Yeah.</i>
0400	J:	<i>Heller [gjøre noe annet.</i>	J:	<i>Rather [doing something different.</i>
0401	M:	<i>[M.</i>	M:	<i>[M.</i>
0402		<i>Ja. Det- Det- De mangler det som</i>		<i>Yeah. It- It- They like lack</i>
0403		<i>liksom-</i>		<i>what-</i>
0404	J:	<i>Ja, ikke sant.</i>	J:	<i>Yeah, true.</i>

In transcript #7-6, I actively take part in confirming that there is probably no point in continuing with the science test/exercises (#7-6, 0397). There is agreement between Mohammed and myself, and when listening to the recordings, my voice sounds empathetic, responsive and decisive. Through shadowing Mohammed I had observed many occurrences of materials being difficult. In the transcript above I respond to a difficult but common tension in qualitative research: how to balance empathy with ethical responsibility, researcher positionality, beliefs and values. Mohammed was aware that I had experience as a teacher, having worked in a reception class myself, and as well as a research interest in bilingual education. At this point in the fieldwork, I shifted my position slightly and took up a stance as a fellow professional making a shared decision about task appropriateness. The close company we had kept as we moved through the school day required us to manage our relationship as we negotiated professional and researcher positions and maintain an empathetic stance to each other as the research continued.

Having decided that there was no point in continuing with science, Mohammed gave Asad the easy to read newspaper *Klar Tale* and started helping Sihaam with adapted mathematics, learning how to use a calculator, which resembled the way he taught when 'mother tongue teaching' was on his timetable. Not having specialised in science myself, I was not able to challenge Mohammed's choice of leaving the subject entirely and working with basic Norwegian and adapted mathematics instead. To develop a basic bilingual science pedagogy especially adapted to the needs of his pupils, he would need help from



Sverre. This, however, would require that the topics of the pupils' understanding, and even the basic routines, were discussed openly.

After the lesson, Mohammed and I started walking towards the team rooms. Again he initiated a conversation with me on the challenges he faced when it came to teaching these pupils due to their lack of understanding and weak basic skills:

#### TRANSCRIPT #7-7 HALLWAY

0405	M:	<i>Så skal vi undervise om natorfag liksom</i>	M:	<i>So we like have to teach natural science</i>
0406		<i>når du ser at hehe [xx ((skoleklokka</i>		<i>you see that hehe [xx ((school bell</i>
0407		<i>ringer))</i>		<i>rings))</i>
0408	J:	[xx	J:	[xx
0409	M:	<i>Det ikke det. Det er ikke det. Når du</i>	M:	<i>It's not. It is not. When you</i>
0410		<i>har problemer med try- liksom trykke</i>		<i>have problems pre- like press</i>
0411		<i>hundretrettisj- pers- liksom.</i>		<i>one hundred and thirty se- perc- like.</i>
0412	J:	<i>Ja, ja, ja. Jeg noterte det.</i>	J:	<i>Yeah, yeah, yeah. I jotted that down.</i>
0413	M:	<i>Ikke sant. Men dem KLArer ikke.</i>	M:	<i>Right. But they CAN't do it.</i>
0414	J:	<i>Men det var litt morsomt å se, Sihaam</i>	J:	<i>But it was a bit fun to see, Sihaam</i>
0415		<i>jobba jo bra.</i>		<i>worked well.</i>
0416	M:	<i>Ja.</i>	M:	<i>Yeah.</i>
0417	J:	<i>Var veldig ivrig og fikk jo</i>	J:	<i>Was very eager and was able to</i>
0418	M:	<i>.hm, .hm.</i>	M:	<i>.hm, .hm.</i>
0419	J:	<i>konsentrert seg.</i>	J:	<i>concentrate.</i>
0420	M:	<i>Ja, ikke sant. Ikke sant.</i>	M:	<i>Yeah, true. True.</i>
		<i>((side-sequence left out))</i>		<i>((side-sequence left out))</i>
0433	M:	<i>Når du underviser på høyskole,</i>	M:	<i>So when you teach at the university</i>
0434		<i>så veit du hva vi driver med.</i>		<i>college, you know what we're doing.</i>
0435	J:	<i>He. Ja, ikke sant.</i>	J:	<i>He. Yeah, true.</i>
0436	M:	<i>Hehe.</i>	M:	<i>Hehe.</i>
0437	J:	<i>Det veldig viktig. Det er viktig.</i>	J:	<i>It's very important. It's very important.</i>
0438	M:	<i>Mm. Så ser du hva vi driver med</i>	M:	<i>Mm. So you see what we're actually</i>
0439		<i>egentlig. Det liksom at vi blir kastet inn</i>		<i>doing. It's like we're thrown in.</i>
0440		<i>liksom. Natorfagtime. Og så elevene er</i>		<i>The science class. And the pupils like are</i>
0441		<i>liksom der de ER.</i>		<i>where they ARE.</i>
0442	J:	<i>Ja, ikke sant.</i>	J:	<i>Yeah, true.</i>
0443	M:	<i>.hja. Så skal det- ja.</i>	M:	<i>.yeah. So it'll- Yeah.</i>
0444	J:	<i>xx Sihaam xx jeg kan xx</i>	J:	<i>xx Sihaam xx I can xx</i>
0445	M:	<i>He. Ikke sant. Hon har problemer med</i>	M:	<i>He. Right. She's got trouble with</i>
0446		<i>å LESE. Hon har lesevansker.</i>		<i>READING. She's got reading difficulties.</i>
0447		<i>Hon kan ikke lese to setninger.</i>		<i>She can't read two sentences.</i>
0448	J:	<i>Nei.</i>	J:	<i>No.</i>
0449	M:	<i>Sihaam er enda verre enn Sumeya.</i>	M:	<i>Sihaam is even worse than Sumeya.</i>
0450	J:	<i>Er hun det?</i>	J:	<i>Is she?</i>
0451	M:	<i>Ja. Hon er sterkere muntlig, men hon</i>	M:	<i>Yeah. She's stronger orally, but she's</i>
0452		<i>har problemer med å skrive.</i>		<i>got trouble with writing.</i>
0453	J:	<i>Ja.</i>	J:	<i>Yeah.</i>
0454	M:	<i>Hon ka- kan kan ikke lese.</i>	M:	<i>She ca- can can't read.</i>

In the above transcript, Mohammed gives the example of Sihaam who is not able to press 137% on a calculator (#7-7, 0409-0411). I progress this episode by saying that in spite of this, it is interesting to see how she worked in an eager and concentrated manner (7-#91a, 0414-0419). Mohammed confirms this. After a side-sequence, he further develops the episode by saying that since I teach at the subject teacher training programme for bilinguals at the University College, I know what “vi” (we) are doing, referring to bilingual teachers more in general (7-#91a, 0433-0434). When I confirm the importance of this, Mohammed further elaborates, saying that “vi blir kastet inn liksom natorfagtime” (we’re like thrown into the science lesson) (7-#91a, 0439-0440), and he repeats his worries about Sumeya and Sihaam (7-#91a, 0439-0454), underlining the fact that Sumeya can in fact hardly read.

A bit later in the conversation, Mohammed emphasises the importance of the work as a bilingual teacher. In addition to doing so once in a conversation with Linn, this is the only time he did it so explicitly during the fieldwork. In the excerpt below, he draws attention to the fact that the pupils only have two hours a week with a bilingual teacher (7-#91b, 0493-0497).

#### TRANSCRIPT #7-8 HALLWAY

- |      |    |  |    |  |
|------|----|--|----|--|
| 0493 | M: | <i>Ikke sant. Ikke sant. Og så får dem ti-</i> | M: | <i>True. True. And they get hou-</i>           |
| 0494 |    | <i>hvor mange timer får dem</i>                |    | <i>how many hours mother tongue do</i>         |
| 0495 |    | <i>morsmål? Støtte? Tospråklig lærer i</i>     |    | <i>they get? Support? Bilingual teacher in</i> |
| 0496 |    | <i>i i- Hver av dem har cirka to</i>           |    | <i>in in- Each one of them has around two</i>  |
| 0497 |    | <i>timer hver i uke. TO timer.</i>             |    | <i>hours a week. TWO hours.</i>                |
| 0498 | J: | <i>De’r ingenting. Det er nok til å finne</i>  | J: | <i>That’s nothing. That’s enough to</i>        |
| 0499 |    | <i>fram ukeplanen og-</i>                      |    | <i>find the period plan and-</i>               |
| 0500 | M: | <i>Ja, og forklare hva som- Enkle- gi</i>      | M: | <i>Yeah, and explain what- Simple- give</i>    |
| 0501 |    | <i>enkle beskjeder så er det ferdig. Hm.</i>   |    | <i>simple messages and it’s over. Hm.</i>      |

Even though I confirmed that two hours is far too little time, looking back, I regret not having praised Mohammed for his efforts, day after day, in a demanding situation at the time of my fieldwork. In the ingress at the beginning of the story Mohammed provides a rationale for the pupils skipping lessons, arguing that they skip class when the lessons are too difficult for them (see p. 161). However, there are few opportunities for Mohammed to discuss this with other teachers, and during the course of my fieldwork, this was in fact never spoken about.

When we neared team room 10, which was where Sverre had his desk, I asked Mohammed what he would do with the test:

#### TRANSCRIPT #7-9 HALLWAY

0516	J:	<i>Men hva gjør du nå med den</i>	J:	<i>But what are you now going to do with</i>
0517		<i>prøva, du?</i>		<i>that test?</i>
0518	M:	<i>Jeg skal- ((host)) Med den prøve som vi</i>	M:	<i>I'll- ((cough)) With that test we</i>
0519		<i>har fått</i>		<i>got</i>
0520	J:	<i>Ja.</i>	J:	<i>Yeah.</i>
0521	M:	<i>fra he- fra Sverre?</i>	M:	<i>from heh- from Sverre?</i>
0522	J:	<i>Ja. He.</i>	J:	<i>Yeah. Heh.</i>
0523	M:	<i>Hehe levere den til-</i>	M:	<i>Hehe return it to-</i>
0524	J:	<i>Ja.</i>	J:	<i>Yeah.</i>
0525	M:	<i>Ja, men jeg sier til han så mange</i>	M:	<i>Yeah, but I tell him so many</i>
0526		<i>ganger liksom at dem får ikke med seg</i>		<i>times that like they don't learn</i>
0527		<i>noe.</i>		<i>anything.</i>
0528	J:	<i>Nei.</i>	J:	<i>No.</i>
0529		<i>(1.0)</i>		<i>(1.0)</i>
0530	M:	<i>Liksom.</i>	M:	<i>Kind of.</i>

In this transcript, we see how Mohammed is hesitant in answering my question about what he planned to do with the test, repeating and clarifying my question (#7-9, 0518-0519), coughing (#7-9, 0518) and laughing (#7-9, 0521). He shows his unease in a similar way in line 523 when he starts saying that he will return it but never finishes his turn. Instead, he provides a reason for not returning the test (#7-9, 0525-0527), arguing that he has told Sverre many times that the pupils do not learn anything, perhaps accounting for his hesitation. I appear to have felt that this discussion was potentially face threatening for Mohammed, and did not ask any follow up questions. Consequently, the topic was closed. However, in the course of the entire fieldwork, I never witnessed a conversation in which Mohammed had the opportunity to discuss with another teacher the appropriateness of the teaching tasks for the bilingual pupils and their understanding. It is only in conversations with me that his insights and, not the least, his worries come to the fore.

#### DISCUSSION

The story told in this chapter highlights three themes. These are firstly, the pupils' lack of schooling and consequent lack of basic skills, especially in literacy and numeracy; secondly, the bilingual teacher's lack of subject specific knowledge and the science teacher's lack of specific knowledge on emergent bilingual pupils; and thirdly, the need for running

conversations and discussions that can build a common ground for more profound insight into the challenges that bilingual teachers and emergent bilingual pupils have to deal with. I will discuss these themes within the Norwegian education policy context, in addition to viewing my findings in the light of other studies.

Pursuant to Section 1–3 of the Education Act (2009), schools are obliged to adapt the teaching so that each pupil can achieve satisfactory outcomes. More specifically, Section 2–8 states that newly arrived pupils and other minority language pupils are entitled to teaching in adapted education in Norwegian, and when necessary in mother tongue instruction, bilingual teaching or both. Adapted education in Norwegian implies adaptive teaching either in the mainstream subject Norwegian or in groups in the subject basic Norwegian. Bilingual teaching is the teaching of one or more subjects in two languages. Mother tongue teaching involves teaching in the pupils' mother tongue in accordance with the curriculum of the subject Mother tongue for language minorities, and aims at enhancing the pupils' basic literacy skills, vocabulary and understanding of concepts in the mother tongue. These lessons come in addition to the normal teaching hours (Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training [NDET], 2012b). In sum, the pupils have the right to different forms of special language teaching until they have the necessary skills to follow mainstream teaching.

The seven emergent bilingual pupils from a Somali language background that we have met in this story, had no schooling or severely interrupted schooling, and consequently little literacy training prior to their arrival in Norway. On the basis of a professional evaluation, Ullstad had found that they did not have the language skills needed to follow mainstream teaching, and thus fulfilled the conditions for training in adapted education in Norwegian. Hence they received teaching in basic Norwegian in the school's reception class two to three lessons a week. The school had also found bilingual subject teaching to be necessary for these seven pupils. In practice, this meant that Mohammed taught them two or three lessons a week, either on his own helping them with their homework, or by assisting another subject teacher. The school did not offer them mother tongue teaching after school hours. This meant that they did not receive any special training in basic reading and writing in Somali or in vocabulary and the understanding of concepts in their mother tongue.

In addition to the basic Norwegian lessons with Linn (see Chapter 6) and the bilingual subject support by Mohammed as described in this story, the pupils were once a week scheduled for adaptive teaching in science or mathematics with Gunhild, and with another teacher in English. This separate teaching according to pupils' abilities was recommended by the Østberg Committee (NMER, 2010) in 2010, and was amended to the Education Act (KD, 1998) in August 2012, but was officially not allowed yet. However it was not uncommon at the time of my fieldwork. The rest of the week, however, the pupils were expected to join their peers in the learning of subject content, without the assistance of Mohammed.

In sum, Ullstad followed all the statutory requirements and recommendations, except for the possible extra lessons in mother tongue. Moreover, it was a NAFO school which meant that the school's management and staff were particularly concerned with adaptive education for emergent bilingual pupils. The question is nevertheless whether Ullstad's provisions for these pupils were satisfactory, that is, if the education was well enough adapted to the needs of emergent bilingual pupils with such a weak educational background as the seven pupils we have met in this story. At a national level, this also raises a question of the adequacy of Norway's inclusive and adaptive education policy for newly arrived youngsters with little or no previous schooling.

We have heard that the seven emergent bilingual pupils in this story, four from 10A and three from 10B, were to follow mainstream teaching in science together with their peers. The day before this teaching, they had had an adapted, preparatory lesson with the science teacher Gunhild. In addition, Mohammed was scheduled to assist them in the science lesson with their peers. In spite of these organisational measures, the fact that the mainstream lessons were still too difficult for them comes to the fore in several ways. First, only three of the pupils turned up for their science lesson. Whereas Mohammed was able to find three more pupils (in two searches) who were skipping class, the last pupil who was also skipping the lesson had left the school building. Second, when juxtaposing the content that was scheduled for the mainstream lesson, with that of the pupils' lesson with Mohammed after he had taken them out, the difference is huge. That is, the four pupils from 10A tried to do the test as an exercise, but asked Mohammed continuously for clarification, whereas the two pupils from 10B were not able to do the test as an exercise at all, and worked with basic Norwegian and adapted mathematics instead, which still

demanded a lot of assistance from Mohammed. In other words, the preparatory lesson with Gunhild in adapted science and Mohammed's bilingual assistance were not sufficient to adapt the mainstream lesson in science to their needs.

As already discussed in connection with the previous story (see Chapter 6), the requirements for employment as a mother tongue teacher for pupils from language minorities are not linked to relevant specialisation in a specific subject. The opposite is also true, that is, in the Regulation to the Education Act (2009) there are no requirements that staff who teach minority language pupils must have formal qualifications in multicultural and multilingual work. This teachers' lack of specific competence for working in multicultural schools is also pointed to in an OECD review on migrant education in Norway (Taguma, Shewbridge, Huttova, & Hoffman, 2009, p. 7), and was repeated by the Østberg committee (NMER, 2010).

When planning the lesson with Mohammed, Sverre, who did not have any formal qualifications in teaching emergent bilingual pupils, had focused on organisational issues and ways of working, suggesting that Mohammed, who did not have the discipline specific training need to adapt Sverre's teaching to the needs of the emergent bilingual pupils entirely on his own, took the pupils to a group room and did the test as an exercise. However, these organisational suggestions proved to be inadequate to adapt the science lesson to the pupils' needs. During the last lesson in this story, Mohammed decided that there was no point in continuing. However, due to the lack of specialisation in science, he saw that he was not able to teach adapted science on his own (as Gunhild presumably had done in the preparation lesson). Instead, he decided to leave the subject aside and read an easy to read newspaper with Asad, which can be defined as teaching in basic Norwegian, and to assist Sumeya with her homework in adapted mathematics. Mohammed did not seem to have any problems helping Sumeya, even though he did not specialise in mathematics either. However, it is important to note that she had got the leaflet in adapted mathematics from her mathematics teacher, who had hence tried to adapt the homework to her needs.

The fact that the subject matter and scientific concepts of these lessons were too difficult for the pupils was never a topic of conversation between the two teachers. It was, however, a recurrent topic in the running conversations between Mohammed and myself, often initiated by Mohammed. In a similar vein, Vibe, Evensen, and Hovdhaugen's (2009, p.

97–103) report on teacher collaboration in Norwegian schools showed that in general teachers more frequently collaborate about coordinating and planning the lessons, than about the teaching itself.

When Mohammed gave up teaching science in the last science lesson, he discussed this redirection of Sverre's plan with me, not with Sverre, and reflected on common alternative ways of teaching and learning, and on the fact that the pupils lacked basic skills in reading and writing. Having said this, neither Mohammed nor I had specialised in science, and Mohammed's total move away from science was therefore left unchallenged. Only with Sverre's joint efforts, could the science lessons possibly have been further adapted to the needs of the three pupils, with regard to the content as well as the ways of working. This points to the need for both planned and more informal and running conversations that could form the basis for a common understanding of and insight into the challenges that Mohammed saw and his pupils had to deal with. Ultimately, this could potentially also lead to Mohammed's and Sverre's professional development with regard to the teaching of newly arrived pupils.

Planned meetings on the pupils' subject specific challenges would require the school's management to arrange for this. However, Sjur, the assistant principle who was responsible for the education of emergent bilingual pupils at Ullstad, was new to the field at the time of my fieldwork. This by no means implies, however, that he was not willing to look into or try out possible ways of meeting the pupils' challenges. It is a challenge which is also noted in the OECD country report for Norway, and thus by no means unique, that many school leaders lack training in organising effective schooling for immigrant pupils to their schools (Taguma et al., 2009, p. 7).

Bringing the three overarching themes of the story together, that is, the pupils' lack of basic skills, the bilingual teachers' lack of subject specific knowledge as well as the subject teachers' lack of specific knowledge to teach emergent bilingual pupils, and the absence of the topics of understanding and routines in the collaborative mode described, it is legitimate to ask what this entails for the possibilities for inclusive and adaptive education for the pupils in the story. Most of their school day, they were physically included in the mainstream. Academically, however, they were excluded from participating on an equal basis with their peers as the subject content was too advanced. The story illustrates how they frequently skipped classes as a result of this. The challenges these emergent bilingual

pupils faced requires, on the one hand, specific types of teacher competence, which Mohammed and Sverre did not have, and on the other, frequent – planned and running – conversations between the teachers, which Ullstad did not seem to arrange for during my fieldwork. And yet, taking these pupils' lack of previous schooling into consideration, it is relevant to question whether the needed qualifications combined with planned and running conversations supported by the school's management, would have been enough to adapt the mainstream teaching in a subject such as science in grade 10 for these youngsters.

In the Norwegian Official Report *Diversity and mastery* (NMER, 2010, p. 26), the committee reports that they observed that newly arrived pupils were put in the mainstream without receiving satisfactory language training and without being able to make use of the training in various subjects, and that pupils were thus put in a very difficult situation. As noted in Chapter 1, the committee proposed that all newly arrived pupils get the opportunity to attend a reception classes, reception school or the like. Following from this national report, in a White Paper to the Storting (NMER, 2010–2011), the Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research recognised that newly arrived pupils with little previous schooling face additional challenges, and that it therefore was particularly important that the training is adapted to the background and competencies of the individual pupils.

Most of the pupils in the story never attended a reception class full time for up to two years. Instead, they attended a reception class part time for at most five years. It is not possible to know how much of the knowledge gap compared to their peers they would have been able to bridge if they had attended a reception class full time. It is, however, reasonable to believe that they would still be struggling. Lødding (2009, p. 8), for example, reports that those pupils who drop out in upper secondary school, are characterised by weak grades and high absence in grade 10. She argues that drop-out prevention must start in lower secondary schools by giving the youngsters the basic skills needed for higher secondary school. This requires early identification, early intervention and close monitoring.

In like vein, Workgroup Second Language Newcomers (2006, p. 29) reports that after their year in a reception class, newly arrived pupils were overrepresented in part time education and special needs education in lower secondary schools in Flanders (Belgium).



They also found that there was a significant correlation between the numbers of years of prior schooling and the test scores, and suspected that when newcomers with little or no previous schooling fail the least theoretical education form (vocational education) this is because the maximum length of one year in the reception class in Flanders is too little. Another explanation mentioned is that teachers in vocational training have lower expectations to their pupils and consequently act differently towards them, which in turn may lead to a lower success score by the former reception class pupils.

The problems Mohammed, Sverre and their colleagues faced when trying to adapt teaching situations to the needs of their pupils with little or no previous schooling, are very complex. Adapting the schooling to their needs therefore also demands extensive collaboration between the teachers, and between the teachers and the school's management. From my observations, this collaboration needs to be based on thorough insight into the individual pupils' backgrounds and needs. This, however, requires a lot more dialogue about what exactly the content should be, and what they are able to understand.



## 8 MEDIATING BETWEEN PARENTS AND TEACHERS

*Avstanden [mellom hjemmene og skolen] er så langt også, ser du. Hvis hvis jeg ikke blander meg inn, så ser jeg hvor fort det kan bli misforståelser.*

*The distance [between the homes and school] is so great as well, you see. If if I don't get involved, then I see how quickly there can be misunderstandings.*

Mohammed, interview 16.06.2009

### INTRODUCTION

A large part of Mohammed's work involved being in contact with his pupils' parents, not only during working hours, but also in his spare time. Many of the parents had difficulties communicating with the Norwegian staff because of their emergent Norwegian repertoire. Mohammed was often asked by Linn or other teachers to contact the parents in connection with the education of their children. The parents also contacted Mohammed themselves when the school had sent them written information which they had problems understanding. During my semi-structured interview with him, Mohammed pointed out that he often initiated conversations on the parents' involvement when meeting them on the street or in other social settings. He also emphasised that mutual understanding between the parents and the school was what he aimed at, not necessarily agreement between them.

Collaborating with the parents was a recurrent topic in Mohammed's more spontaneous conversations during the workdays I shadowed him (see Appendix 6, story 3). However, instead of basing my analyses of his collaborative role as mediator on a number of such relatively short conversations, I will focus on the story of a single parent-teacher meeting for parents with a Somali background held at 18 March 2009. This meeting, and Mohammed's role in preparing for it, illustrates several important aspects of the role he played while mediating between the parents and the school.

The story is dominated by interactional material as it is about a single meeting. The entire meeting was therefore transcribed, and all verbal interaction in Somali was translated into Norwegian, resulting in 66 pages of transcription (see Appendix 12 for an extract). Observational material from this meeting as well as from other parts of the fieldwork is used to open up and further contextualise the conversations. The main analytical tools used in the story are Linell's (1998) *communicative activity types*, including

*pre-interactional* and *online interactional framing*, and *social roles* and *activity roles* (Marková et al., 2007), and *communicative projects* as well as Wadensjö's (1998) concepts of *renditions* and *coordinating moves*.

Originally, this kind of parent-teacher meetings was held on the initiative of the school because there had been a lot of unrest amongst the Somali language pupils in previous years.<sup>45</sup> At the time of my fieldwork, however, teachers reported that the situation was much better. However, they had continued to hold the meetings in order to strengthen the dialogue with the homes. During my interview with Linn at the end of the fieldwork, she reported that only fathers came to the first meetings, but after she had got to know the families better, many of the mothers had also attended.

In addition to this quite recently established type of meeting, the parents from a Somali background and the school collaborated through ordinary parent-teacher meetings (*foreldremøter*) and conference hours (*konferansetimer, utviklingssamtaler*), like all other parents in the school. These ordinary parent-teacher meetings and conference hours are well established meeting concepts in Norwegian schools, each being subject to certain customs, physical and social constraints, impositions and intentions, hence defining the situation for the actors.

According to meeting conventions in Norwegian schools, the contact teachers of a particular grade meet all parents/guardians during parent-teacher meetings and discuss issues related to the whole grade, such as what the school expects from the parents/guardians, what the parents can expect from the school, and the grade's social and learning environment. These meetings are usually planned together with the grade's parent representatives (*klassekontakter*), who serve as a link between the parents and the contact teachers, and have a clear agenda. Conference hours, on the other hand, are meetings between a contact teacher and the individual parent(s)/guardian(s), preferably together with the pupil, occurring at least twice a year. During these meeting, the pupils' academic performance is discussed, in addition to social issues specifically related to the

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<sup>45</sup> Parent-teacher meetings with parents from the same language background have been referred to as 'språkhomogene møter' (language homogeneous meetings). This term is used to distinguish meetings where parents have a similar language background from meetings where parents from various language backgrounds participate (see for example National Centre for Multicultural Education, 2011; NDET, 2012a). However, the languaging during the parent meeting of this chapter's story illustrates that such meetings are by no means language homogeneous in terms of language use. As languaging is what I focus upon, I therefore chose not to use the term 'language homogeneous meeting'.

pupil (National Parents' Committee for Primary and Lower Secondary Education [FUG], 2012).

There are several factors that make the parent-teacher meeting with parents from a Somali background discussed here different from ordinary parent-teacher meetings. First, whereas parent-teacher meetings are normally for all parents with children belonging to a particular grade, the common characteristic for the parents invited to the parent-teacher meetings with a Somali background, was their cultural and linguistic background, irrespective of the grade their children were in. As a consequence, these meetings had fewer participants. Second, it was not the contact teachers and the parent representatives who had planned the meeting together, but rather the principal, the teacher responsible for the reception class and the bilingual teacher. In this way they were more similar to conference hours. Third, the observed parent-teacher meeting with parents of a Somali background was crucially different from other parent-teacher meetings in that it was an interpreter-mediated encounter. It was Mohammed as the bilingual teacher who continuously enhanced communication between the participants. On this basis, I perceive this recently established parent meeting as a subtype of the parent-teacher meeting activity type. As I will show in the analysis, however, the actors sometimes held competing situation definitions of the interaction and activity type in which they were involved.

## PLANNING THE MEETING

When parents are invited to ordinary parent-teacher meetings, it is common to send a written invitation home with the pupil. Linn also did this for the parent-teacher meetings with a Somali background, and Mohammed would always add a translation in Somali. In addition, Mohammed would call up all parents the day before to remind them about the meeting, hoping that many of them would turn up. When someone had trouble getting there due to lack of transportation, he would fetch them by car.

According to the invitation to the meeting I attended, it was to be held on 18 March 2009 and last from 6 to 8 p.m. The theme for the meeting was differences between the school systems in Norway and Somalia.<sup>46</sup> Before the parents arrived, Linn informed Mohammed about it, admitting that she found it quite scary to talk about differences

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<sup>46</sup> I never saw this letter, so all information is based on what Linn and Mohammed have told me.

between Norway and Somalia. When she gave examples of possible differences and similarities, Linn progressed the topic at high speed, leaving Mohammed with few opportunities to contribute except for a few continuation markers to confirm what she was saying. When Linn repeated that she was unsure of how to go about this topic at the meeting, Mohammed assured her that “vi” (we) are interested in the topic, referring both to himself and the Somali parents. The conversation and participant structure is quite similar to when Linn and Mohammed’s interaction before their joint lesson in the reception class on the text “Saynab, my story” (see p. 133ff.). On both occasions, Linn had decided on the content in advance, leaving Mohammed with few opportunities to collaborate, except for confirming minimal responses. There may be many reasons why Mohammed chose to act this way. On the one hand, they may be partly trivial. On the other hand, it is reasonable to think that he perhaps realised that the topic of cultural differences suggested by Linn was not really the parents’ main concern, based on his experience from the previous meetings or from his daily conversations with the parents. As we will see, the parents’ main concern was the development of their children’s basic skills and the difficulties some of them were having at home.

The rest of the time before the meeting was spent on going through the list of parents who had been invited, discussing whether they would turn up. Mohammed who knew most of the families well was active in progressing this topic. When the assistant principal Sjur also arrived, Linn asked him whether personal passwords had been ordered so that the parents could participate in the Parent Survey (*Foreldreundersøkelsen*), which is a web based questionnaire designed by the Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training for parents/guardians with children in compulsory and higher secondary school. She argued that it was important for the school that the Somali parents also participated so the school was able to get a nuanced picture. When Sjur discovered that the passwords had not been ordered yet, and that the Parent Survey had been translated into many different languages but not Somali, Linn decided to postpone this topic till the individual conference hours. She realised that they had very little on the agenda now, and said that “*da blir det sånn hyggesammenkomst*” (then it’ll just be a friendly get-together), giving an early indication of the informal atmosphere of the meeting.

## PARTICIPANTS AND MEETING STRUCTURE

Present at the meeting were Sjur, Linn and Mohammed and six parents from a Somali background. Table 10 gives an overview of the names I chose to give the parents, initials used in the transcripts below and the names of their children, if specifically mentioned during the meeting.

**TABLE 10: OVERVIEW PARENTS IN PARENT-TEACHER MEETING, 18.03.2009**

Parent's name	Initial in transcripts	Children mentioned during meeting
Faaisa ♀	MF (Mother Faaisa)	–
Hibaaq ♀	MH (Mother Hibaaq)	–
Najma ♀	MN (Mother Najma)	Omar (grade 9), Khalid (grade 10)
Saafi ♀	MS (Mother Saafi)	–
Abdirazik ♂	FA (Father Abdirazik)	Hamsa (grade 8)
Khalid ♂	FK (Father Khalid)	–

As Table 10 shows, the parents were four mothers, Najma, Faaisa, Saafi and Hibaaq, and two fathers, Abdirazik and Khalid, the latter not arriving until 7 p.m. None of the parents were couples.

Like previous meetings of this kind, this one was held in the school's staffroom and chaired by Linn. After having waited for more parents to turn up and having engaged in informal talk, Linn formally opened the meeting at 6.30 p.m. (She closed it at 8.21 p.m.). Besides the announced topic of resemblances and differences between Norwegian and Somali culture, several other topics were discussed (see Table 11 below). Sjur initiated talk on homework help and on their parent-meeting concept, and Abdirazik initiated talk on his son and on home school collaboration in general. Najma was particularly active with regard to the education of her sons and the difficult housing conditions she was living under, whereas Saafi was very quiet, and Khalid did not make any verbal contributions. Mohammed was active in terms of time allotted for speaking, but did not initiate any topics himself.

Table 11 gives an overview of the structure of the meeting, indicating time, duration, and content of the topics initiated, in addition to the initiator and other relevant remarks.

**TABLE 11: STRUCTURE PARENT-TEACHER MEETING, 18.03.2009**

Time	Ph.	Main part.	Main topics	Additional remarks	Mohammed's contributions
05:55 (35')	0	All	Greetings Presence (pre-meeting)	M sat down with parents while Linn and Sjur prepared beverages and biscuits.	Talked informally with parents drawing on Somali and waited for meeting to start
06:30 (21')	1	<b>L</b> FA	Welcome Hamsa's basic skills	Discussion of differences between parent conferences and teacher-parent meetings.	Zero and close renditions of L's welcome; Substituted and non-renditions of FA's talk, explicitly coordinating moves
06:51 (4')	2	<b>Sj</b> MN	Homework help Omar's basic skills	Sj introduced school's plans on homework help. Najma is preoccupied with Omar's basic skills.	Substituted and close renditions of Sj's talk; Close and zero renditions of MN's talk
06:55 (11')	3	<b>Sj</b> MN	Meeting concept, home-school collab. in Norway and Somalia	Discussion of differences with regard to parental involvement in Norway and Somalia.	Substituted renditions of Sj's talk; Close and zero renditions of MN's talk
07:06 (35')	4	<b>L</b> moth.	Juxtaposing Norwegian and Somali culture	L drew an illustration on a flip-over while talking about this topic.	Close renditions of Linn's talk; Reduced renditions of parents' talk
07:41 (28')	5	<b>FA</b> L/Sj moth.	Four important points (meetings, info, attention to all children, need for adaptive education)	FA rephrased points made in ph. 1; when topic was progressed, L and Sj focused on info, whereas MN returned to housing conditions and problems with children	Close and non-renditions of FA's talk; quite close renditions of L/Sj's talk; close and zero renditions of mothers' talk
08:09 (12')	6	<b>L</b>	Closing	Returned to cultural differences; Sj invited parents to his house for next meeting	Close renditions of L's talk; extended and non-renditions of Sj's invitation

L (Linn), Sj (Sjur), FA (father Abdirazik), MN (mother Najma), moth. (mothers). Initiator new topic in bold.

As Table 11 shows, the original topic on the agenda, which dealt with resemblances and differences between Norwegian and Somali culture, was the topic that took up the most time (phase 5). It was initiated by Linn who was chairing. In addition, Sjur, Abdirazik and Najma initiated topics which were not on the agenda (phases 2, 3 and 5). This made the meeting quite complex and somewhat unstructured. During the meeting, Mohammed gave renditions of the talk, including close, substituted, reduced, extended, zero and non-renditions, also explicitly coordinating the talk at times. It is precisely this unique position of combining the role of a professional bilingual teacher with the role of an *ad hoc* interpreter during this mediated parent-teacher meeting which is the focus of this chapter.

For this analysis, I have especially concentrated on phases 0, 1 (including aspects from phase 5), 2 and 4 (including aspects from phase 3).



## ROLES ASSIGNED TO MOHAMMED BY PARENTS AND SCHOOL

Linn and Sjur were in the small kitchen connected to the staffroom, preparing coffee, tea, fruit and biscuits for the meeting. The four mothers, who had arrived early, and Mohammed had taken a seat at the largest table in the staffroom. They talked and laughed together in what seemed to be a relaxed atmosphere. After having been introduced to the mothers, I took a seat in a corner in the back of the staffroom, signalling that I would not be participating actively in the meeting.

Suddenly, one of the mothers turned to Mohammed and said: "Yaa hadlayaa? Adaa na alamisay e." (Who's going to talk first? We were called in by you.), thus indicating that she expected the meeting to start on time, and perhaps also that Mohammed would take the first initiative. Mohammed did not follow up on this expectation, but replied: "Wax badan in aad fahamtaan waaye taas." (There's a lot you have to learn.). So, instead of answering the question, he redirected the mother's focus on his own role to the parents' purpose in attending the meeting. Their conversation proceeded by discussing who Mohammed had called, and which parents they were still waiting for to turn up.

After a while, Mohammed got up and left the staffroom to see if any other parents were waiting to get into the school. He returned together with Abdirazik, the father of one of the newest Somali language pupils. After the father had greeted the mothers and Linn, Sjur introduced himself, as they had not met before. Subsequently, they all sat down. Linn and Sjur talked about who they were still waiting for, and this was also the topic of conversation in Somali between the parents. Mohammed contributed to both of these conversations.

Ten minutes later, Abdirazik turned to Mohammed and said: "Maxamed, maxaa laga hadlayaa? Qalinkaas qaado." (Mohammed, what are we talking about? Take this pen.), thus perhaps prompting Mohammed to start the meeting. In reply, Mohammed laughed and told the father that they were still waiting for more parents to come, again evading the focus on himself.

The meeting invitation had been signed by Linn, Sjur and Mohammed, but Mohammed had been the one to call all the parents, reminding them about the meeting but also persuading them to come. One of his social roles was hence that of a bilingual teacher. This seems to have pre-formed the parents expectations and hence somewhat

confused them. Both the mother and the father in the quotations above expressed themselves in ways indicating that they expected Mohammed to have a leading role, which was not unnatural since Mohammed was the person at the school they had the closest contact with. However, with regard to activity roles during the meeting he did not have a leading role as chair, in terms of opening and closing the meeting and introducing the topics on the agenda. This was not the role he was assigned by the school, nor the role he took in the meeting. In other words, the parents had a different understanding (framing) than the school of who was going to organise the interaction and the topics in the meeting.

What was Mohammed's activity role in the meeting, then? As I will discuss in greater detail below, he acted first and foremost as an interpreter, carrying out bi-directional face to face interpreting. In addition, he occasionally shifted to being an active discussant, often in side conversations with either the school representatives or the parents.

#### BALANCING ABDIRAZIK'S COMPLAINTS

At half past six, Linn turned to the parents as a group for the first time, shifting from pre-meeting talk to a common focus of attention in order to start the meeting (phase 1). When she asked them if they all knew each other, this was confirmed by the parents, and Linn proceeded by comparing the parents from a Somali background to Norwegians who live in Spain and who all get to know each other because they speak the same language. After a short pause she launched a new topic by asking them how long they had been in Norway. Abdirazik, the father present, answered in Norwegian that he had arrived in 2001. He proceeded by changing the topic to being about an ear operation he had had, perhaps to let Linn know that he did not hear very well (#8-1, 1090).

#### TRANSCRIPT #8-1 STAFFROOM

- |      |   |  |
|------|---|--|
| 1090 | FA: <i>Jeg fått problem øre operere to gange.</i> | FA: <i>I got problem ear operate two time.</i> |
| 1091 | L: <i>Du har operert,</i>                         | L: <i>You've operated,</i>                     |
| 1092 | FA: <i>Jeg har operere og dette er probleme.</i>  | FA: <i>I've operate and this is problem</i>    |
| 1093 | <i>Hehe.</i>                                      | <i>Heheh.</i>                                  |
| 1094 | L: <i>Ok. Men er det-</i>                         | L: <i>Ok. But it's-</i>                        |
| 1095 | FA: <i>Men dette er normale.</i>                  | FA: <i>But this is normale.</i>                |
| 1096 | L: <i>Ja. Er det bra nå?</i>                      | L: <i>Yeah. Is it good now?</i>                |
| 1097 | FA: <i>Ja. xx si kanskje Hamsa probleme</i>       | FA: <i>Yeah. xx perhaps say Hamsa problem</i>  |
| 1098 | <i>det snakke norske matematikk.</i>              | <i>it talk Norwegian mathematic.</i>           |

Here, Linn follows up the father's information about his ear problems by asking him if it was ok now, and he answers that it was normal again. But when she repeats her question, cf. "*Er det bra nå?*" (*Is it ok now?*) (#8-1, 1096), thus perhaps double checking the father's response, he redirects her question to being about his son Hamsa who was having problems with Norwegian and mathematics (#8-1, 1097-1098).

It is difficult to know how well Linn understood what Abdirazik meant as he was having difficulties making himself understood in Norwegian. Anyway, he turned to Mohammed and asked him to tell them that Hamsa was not able to develop, repeating his topic (#8-2, 1108-1109).

#### TRANSCRIPT #8-2 STAFFROOM

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>1108 FA: <u>Kaskey Hamsa. Laakiin</u><br/> 1109 <u>waxaa loo baahanyahay buu yidhi,</u><br/> 1110 <u>Hamsa wuxuu ka dhismi la'yahay.</u><br/> 1110 <u>Kubad buu uu hangaltaagaa ma</u><br/> 1111 <u>ogtahay. Waa dadka kubadda xirfadaha</u><br/> 1112 <u>kale u hangaltaaga. Laakiin waxaan</u><br/> 1113 <u>rabaa kobociisa hoose sida kale wuu</u><br/> 1114 <u>fiicanyahay oo wax fahmayaa e, inta</u><br/> 1115 <u>aanan dhex galin bulshada kale iyo</u><br/> 1116 <u>afaare kale galin waxaan rabaa in qofka</u><br/> 1117 <u>bayska laga caawiyo. Warqadii aad soo</u><br/> 1118 <u>dirteena waan arkay buu yiri dheh.</u><br/> 1119 <u>Marka qofka in bayska laga caawiyo.</u></p> <p>1120 M: <i>Skal vi- skal vi ta når vi har</i><br/> 1121 <i>samtale? Han vil snakke om</i><br/> 1122 <i>gutten sin.</i></p> <p>1123 L: <i>Ja.</i></p> | <p>FA: <u>But what is needed, tell them, that</u><br/> <u>Hamsa is not able to develop because</u><br/> <u>he likes soccer very much. He is very</u><br/> <u>interested in soccer and other hobbies.</u><br/> <u>I want his basic skills to be developed.</u><br/> <u>Otherwise he's good and understands</u><br/> <u>things. Before I get to what concerns</u><br/> <u>us all, I want to talk about how you can</u><br/> <u>be helped with your basic skills.</u><br/> <u>Tell them that I have received the</u><br/> <u>letter they have sent me.</u><br/> <u>So you need to be helped</u><br/> <u>with your basic skills.</u></p> <p>M: <i>Shall we- Shall we take when we have</i><br/> <i>conference? He wants to talk about</i><br/> <i>his boy.</i></p> <p>L: <i>Yeah.</i></p> |
|--|---|

The father's main topic during the entire meeting was that his son needed more help from the school in order to further develop his basic skills. During the exchange quoted above, his worries in this respect are clearly expressed in Somali (#8-2, 1109, 1111, 1115, and 1118-1119). As we can see, he also prompts Mohammed to translate them and tell the others at the meeting. Mohammed does not answer him immediately. Instead he turns to Linn, not translating what the father has asked him to tell the others, but explicitly coordinating the talk by stating that the father wants to talk about his son (#8-2, 1120-1122), and suggesting that maybe they should do this later on at a conference hour. Linn supports Mohammed's suggestion, and Mohammed asks the father if they could talk about this another time, at a conference hour. Again the father repeats that the basic skills

need to be developed, and again Mohammed asks if they could talk about this another time, at the conference hour. Here, we see Mohammed in an active discussant role, rather than an interpreter role, in which his social role as bilingual teacher also comes more clearly to the fore.

Whereas it is uncommon for Norwegian parents to discuss private issues at parent-teacher meetings, the parents from a Somali background frequently did so at this meeting. Sometimes the staff specifically stated that the issues raised by the parents were of a private nature and should therefore be discussed at conference hours instead, whereas at other times they engaged in them after having apologised for doing so. This shows that the actors had a different understanding (framing) of this communicative activity type, and hence understood the social situation and its central activities differently.

Also, in meetings, the decision for accepting, declining or diverting a topic is commonly made by the chair (Svennevig, 2012b). However, since Linn and Sjur did not understand the parents when they spoke Somali, Mohammed often got involved in this decision making. In the case of the father's topical bid in #8-2, for example, Mohammed chose not to translate the father's worries about his son, deciding that these did not belong at a parent-teacher meeting. In this way, Mohammed's turns influenced the progress of the discussion, and regulated the interaction between the participants. By virtue of his social role as bilingual teacher, he sustained a certain definition of the encounter, that is, the topic suggested by the father belongs to a conference hour and not to this kind of parent-teacher meeting. In this way, Mohammed's turns can be seen as realising two central interactive functions at the same time, that is, giving renditions and coordinating. The final decision, however, he left to Linn, who was chairing.

Following from this, Linn turned to Mohammed to find out who Hamsa's contact teacher was, since this would be the teacher who would be present at a conference hour. As the bilingual teacher for Hamsa, this was information Mohammed potentially possessed. When Mohammed did not know, he turned to the father and asked him who had written the letter. Apparently, Linn had sent the letter the father was referring to and not the pupil's contact teacher. Linn further progressed the topic by saying that "*Men han har sikkert fått måneds-*" (*But he must have got the monthly-*), referring to the period plan, but she was interrupted by the father who turned to Mohammed and said in Somali:

#### TRANSCRIPT #8-3 STAFFROOM

1251 FA: Waxaa weeye gofka- Skuulkana laba  
1252 jeer baan imid. Macalimiintana uma  
1253 sheegin. Bulshada meelbaa ilmaha laga  
1254 dhisaa e ma ogtahay. Waalidku guriga  
1255 marka uu ka soo dhiso. Macalinkuna  
1256 waxaa la rabaa skuulka in uu ka dhiso.  
1257 Macalinkii marka informashon in uu  
1258 soo soo diro baa laga rabaa qofku  
1259 maadada uu ku liito. Cashirka uusan  
1260 bixin karin, fahmi karin maadada in  
1261 laga dhiso markaa.

FA: It's like this- I came to school twice and  
didn't tell the teachers about it. Society  
raises the child, you know. When  
parents raise their child at home,  
teachers also have to raise him  
at school. Teachers have to send  
information about which subjects they  
are having difficulties in, which  
homework they don't manage to hand  
in or understand, so that they get help  
in that subject.

In this excerpt, the father elaborates his topic by adding new and more general pieces of information: that he had been to the school twice without the teachers knowing about it (#8-3, 1251-1252) (later we learn that he saw Somali language pupils skipping classes), that when parents raise their children at home, schools should also raise them (#8-3, 1254-1256), that teachers are expected to send information about the subjects the pupils are having problems with, and the homework they are not able to hand in or understand so that they get help in that subject (#8-3, 1257-1261). First now, Mohammed responds that “*Vi kan ta det.*” (*We can discuss it.*), thus explicitly coordinating the talk, and then he starts translating the father’s concerns to Norwegian (#8-4, 1262). By allowing this topic, Mohammed thus makes a decision which is normally made by the chair, both in terms of managing access to the floor and in terms of topic progression. It is his professional role of interpreting as a bilingual teacher which gives him a unique position from which to take on this kind of activity role and exercise this sort of control.

#### TRANSCRIPT #8-4 STAFFROOM

1262 M: *Ok. Vi kan ta det. Han han sier det*  
1263 *det liksom det liksom møte med med*  
1264 *lærerne er viktig, men det er*  
1265 *enda viktigere at vi vet*  
1266 *hvor barna våre*  
1267 *sliter. Slik som at de fagene*  
1268 *som han sliter mest. Det*  
1269 *hadde vært fint for meg å VITE*  
1270 *egentlig hva hva JEG.. hva det*  
1271 *skolen vil at jeg skal jobbe med. Og*  
1272 *og og hvor euh liksom at nå nå*  
1273 *er det liksom over alt, sier han. At euh*  
1274 *liksom at den ene minutt snakker vi euh*  
1275 *mål euh etter den andre euh mange*  
1276 *forskjellige ting. Så det hadde vært*

M: *Ok. We can discuss it. He he says that*  
*that like the like meeting with with*  
*the teacher is important, but that it's*  
*even more important that we know*  
*where our children are having*  
*difficulties. Like that in these subjects*  
*he's having the most difficulties. It*  
*would've been nice for me to kind of*  
*KNOW really where where I.. what it*  
*school wants me to work on. And*  
*and and where eh like that now now*  
*it's like everywhere, he says. That eh*  
*like the one minute we eh talk eh*  
*aims and after the other euh many*  
*different things. So it would've been*

1277	<i>bedre at jeg fokusere noe som er</i>	<i>better that I focus something that's</i>
1278	<i>viktig som som som jeg kan hjelpe</i>	<i>important like like like I can help</i>
1279	<i>for eksempel. Dette- det er noe som er</i>	<i>for example. This- it's something that</i>
1280	<i>privat som gjelder Hamsa. Så-</i>	<i>is private which is about Hamsa. So-</i>

The father's communicative project had been to complain about the school's lack of developing his son's basic skills and to express worry about this. Instead of giving a close rendition and hence keeping close to the father's communicative project, Mohammed here gives a substituted rendition, thus taking a different angle on the original communicative project, downplaying face threatening talk and hence protecting relations. He starts by saying that the meeting with the teachers is important but it is even more important that we know where our children are having difficulties, in this way adding a positive element which was not in the father's original turn (#8-4, 1263-1264). Subsequently, Mohammed says that it would be good for the father if he knew what the school wants him to focus on. Again, this is a different approach than the father's original words, which did not focus on what the father could do at home, but what the father expected the school to do (#8-4, 1267-1278). Mohammed ends by repeating his original concern, that this is a private matter, once more trying to defer the father's chosen topic by explicitly coordinating the conversation.

The positive elements added by Mohammed can be interpreted as a sign of his loyalty to the school. This also underlines the demanding and complex position he is in, trying to mediate between the school and the parents. Not only is he aware that the school expects parents to be involved in the education of their children, he also responds to the school's wish for a positive atmosphere during the meeting.

Linn responded to Mohammed's last turn, about this being a private matter, explaining the concept of conference hours, not commenting on the father's concerns. Mohammed gave a close and expanded rendition of Linn's response, making sure the father understood that private issues should not be discussed at parent-teacher meetings. Drawing on Somali, the father confirmed that he knew about the teacher-parent conferences, but that he was talking about education in general, in this way legitimising his contribution and further pursuing his complaint (#8-5).

#### TRANSCRIPT #8-5 STAFFROOM

1298	FA: <u>Waan ogahay. Sanadkiiba mar la</u>	FA: <u>I know there's a meeting once a year.</u>
1299	<u>kulanka yahay. Waxbarashada</u>	<u>I was talking about education more in</u>

1300	<u>khaasatan aniga waan ka hadlay. Aniga</u>	<u>general. I don't mean</u>
1301	<u>markaan macalimiinta kuma</u>	<u>to insult the teachers, you know.</u>
1302	<u>xadgudbayo e ma ogtahay. Sharcigii ay</u>	<u>I listened to the rules they presented</u>
1303	<u>habeenkii halkaa ka akhriyayeen baan</u>	<u>that evening.</u>
1304	<u>dhagaysanaya ee ma ogtahay. In la</u>	<u>They said that children should be</u>
1305	<u>vidhi ilmaha waa in wax la baro oo guri</u>	<u>taught at home, something the parents</u>
1306	<u>walba baro ayaa waalidku ka soo</u>	<u>complained about.</u>
1307	<u>cawday. Anigii waalidka ahaa marka</u>	<u>There are teachers at school.</u>
1308	<u>aan gurigii ka soo cawday. Hadee</u>	<u>I'm not born in Norway and don't know</u>
1309	<u>macalinkii iskuulka joogay waayo aniga</u>	<u>Norwegian very well.</u>
1310	<u>norskihii kuma dhalan, waa la iga</u>	<u>There is an expert.</u>
1311	<u>badiyaa, qof khibrad leh baa jira. in nin</u>	<u>There has to be someone who can help</u>
1312	<u>qofka caawiya oo qofka intay kontrol</u>	<u>and check the pupils' education.</u>
1313	<u>ku sameeyaan. Waxbarashadii ardaygii</u>	<u>The pupil should get help in the subject</u>
1314	<u>ku sameeyaan. In maadada dhibka ku</u>	<u>he or she is having difficulties with.</u>
1315	<u>ah laga caawiyo ayaa waajibku yahay</u>	<u>Right?</u>
1316	<u>soo ma aha? Waa runtay!</u>	<u>This is true.</u>

As we see in the extract above, Abdirazik continues to say that he did not mean to insult the teachers (#8-5, 1300-1301), perhaps sensing Mohammed's reluctance to translate and the risk of miscommunication as a result of this. From the last meeting the father remembered that he was expected to help his child at home, and that this was something the parents had complained about (#8-5, 1302-1306), arguing that the teachers were the experts, and that he was not born in Norway and did not know Norwegian very well (#8-5, 1308-1309). In this way, he assigned responsibility for the children's education to the teachers, which is a common strategy used by parents who feel their educational skills are inadequate (Lareau, 1987).

Again Mohammed translated the father's turn for Linn and Sjur; and again he did not keep close to Abdirazik's communicative project, providing a substituted rendition:

#### TRANSCRIPT #8-6 STAFFROOM

1321	M: <i>Han han han sier at euh sist gang vi</i>	M: <i>He he he says that eh last time we</i>
1322	<i>var her, så fikk- jeg</i>	<i>were here, so I understood- I</i>
1323	<i>fikk med meg, sier han at han hadde-</i>	<i>understood- he says that he had-</i>
1324	<i>det ble sagt at foreldrene</i>	<i>that there was said that the parents</i>
1325	<i>må hjelpe euh barna. Euh og ..</i>	<i>need to help euh the children. Eh and ..</i>
1326	<i>og være aktiv i i den opplæring</i>	<i>and be active in in in the education the</i>
1327	<i>barna får .. også. Men det det</i>	<i>children get .. too. But what what</i>
1328	<i>som skjer i hjemme liksom er at det er</i>	<i>happens in the homes like is that 's</i>
1329	<i>alt mye. Noen kan jeg ikke hjelpe i det</i>	<i>all a lot. Some I can't help</i>
1330	<i>hele tatt. Noe kan jeg hjelp litt.</i>	<i>at all. Some things I can help a bit.</i>
1331	<i>Noe kan jeg hjelp bedre. Men men ..</i>	<i>Some I can help better. But but ..</i>
1332	<i>jeg kan ikke hjelp alt, men det</i>	<i>I can't help with everything, but it</i>
1333	<i>hadde var fint om .. om om jeg skulle få</i>	<i>would've been nice if .. if if I could get</i>

1334	<i>vite hva jeg kan- hvor jeg kan hjelpe</i>	<i>to know what I can- where I can help</i>
1335	<i>mest, liksom og det det lille jeg kan for</i>	<i>most, like and that that little I can for</i>
1336	<i>eksempel.</i>	<i>example.</i>

Like the father, Mohammed starts by mentioning the previous meeting where the parents had been told to help their children at home (#8-6, 1321-1327). Whereas the father explicitly states that the parents had disagreed with this, Mohammed again redirects the focus to what was expected from the parents with regard to the education of their children, and the fact that they are sometimes not able to help at all, and at other times only a bit (#8-6, 1329-1332). In this way, Mohammed turns the father's complaint into a wish to collaborate in the education of his son, which in fact is the opposite of what the father had wanted to communicate. Instead of giving a close rendition and consequently letting the primary parties be confronted with and try to resolve possible conflicts, Mohammed avoids confrontation.

Wadensjö's (1998) points out that even though this strategy is not unusual among interpreters, "in 'protecting' interaction from potential 'disturbance', you also prevent people from expressing their frustration, irritation and anger, and you 'protect' their counterparts from learning about what others expect and take for granted" (p. 133). Later in the meeting it becomes clear that Linn and Sjur know there are differences with regard to parent involvement in the two countries. However, they may not know that the parents did not agree with them about this, and take it more or less for granted that they now wish to be involved in the education of their children. In other words, the involvement of Mohammed substantiates the school's impression of sharedness in understanding at a point where there is little reason for this.

Being unaware of the father's complaint, Linn contributed in her next turn to Mohammed's translated topic of his wish for collaboration. She said that she could hear that the father was very interested, and that perhaps the main thing he could do to help his son was to ask him if he had done his homework. After Mohammed had given a close rendition of Linn's words, the father replied that he knew all that, and that that was not the problem. The problem was rather that the school system was ruthless, and that lower secondary school was to prepare them for higher education, thus refuting Linn's contribution to his communicative project of complaint.



Following on from this, Abdirazik developed his topic further, stressing that he had once come to the school and had seen pupils skipping classes. He therefore concluded that no one in the town's schools really cared about teaching the children, adding that there needed to be discipline. Now, for the first time, Mohammed engaged in the father's communicative project, echoing Linn's words on collaboration and thus declaring loyalty to the school. He stressed that "Halkaas weeye meesha in la iska kaashado la rabo." (That's what we need to help each other with.). In this non-rendition, Mohammed's usage of the personal pronoun 'we' reflects his social role as bilingual teacher and consequently as mediator, referring both to the schools and the parents, perhaps aiming at building trust.

In response, the father repeated four times that he was worried, and that it was ok to tell them the truth, apparently having understood the gist of Mohammed's translation, again not accepting this more balanced view and sustaining his complaint. This topic was closed when Sjur introduced a new one dealing with the school's plans for offering homework help in the coming year. As a result, Linn and Sjur had not been given the opportunity to engage in the father's communicative project of complaint.

Towards the end of the meeting, the father took the floor once more and started summarising what for him were the four most important points (phase 5). Firstly, he wanted to thank the teachers for having the meeting, and secondly to underline the importance of the information they always gave about their children. Thirdly, the father wanted Mohammed to say that a child irrespective of her or his age or ability should be given attention and helped at school. Fourthly, the teachers needed to help the children in the class and the parents at home. When the teachers discovered a child's weak points, the teacher should appoint someone who can help her or him.

Interestingly, the father at this stage adjusted his communicative project to become more similar to the translation Mohammed had presented earlier on in the meeting, thanking the teachers in his first point and opening up for parents helping their children at home in his last point. Also, in contrast to previously, his second and third points were not of an accusatory nature, but more straightforward. On this occasion, Mohammed chose to give a close rendition of the father's message, which instead of being a complaint now to a larger extent took the view that education should be a joint venture with the school.

Linn did not develop the father's topic any further, except to say that he should make these points in the conference hours where they could come to an agreement about how

they could be dealt with. In turn, Mohammed gave a close rendition of Linn's words, but also added a non-rendition, which contained the gist of his translated communicative project of balancing and face work presented in #8-4:

#### TRANSCRIPT #8-7 STAFFROOM

3257	M:	<u>Khaaska u ah macalinka, arrintaas kala</u>	M:	<u>Talk about it with his contact teacher,</u>
3258		<u>hadla sida aad u hadlaysay hadda</u>		<u>in the same nice way like you</u>
3259		<u>oo qurxan ula hadal markaa iyada ah</u>		<u>talk now. Then the pupil will</u>
3260		<u>xal baa loo nheleyaa.</u>		<u>get help.</u>

For the second time, Mohammed engaged in the father's communicative project, as a bilingual teacher, this time by praising the father's tone in interaction. This extract sums up Mohammed's main communicative project when giving renditions of Abdirazik's speech, that is, balancing the talk in order to build a good relationship with the school and consequently get help for his son.

To sum up this section, after Linn's welcome, Abdirazik wished to make a complaint about the school not doing a good job at developing his son's basic skills. Because he was not able to do this in Norwegian, he had to ask Mohammed to translate it for him. As we saw, Mohammed had three overarching contributions in this phase of the meeting: first, he explicitly coordinated the father's talk, first by trying to defer the topic, and later by allowing it. Second, he gave substituted and more positive renditions of Abdirazik's talk. Third, he had several non-renditions: to the father making clear that the education of his son was a joint product, and later praising his more positive tone. These contributions show that even though Mohammed was acting as an interpreter, he did so as a bilingual teacher, which proved to be a complicated combination. Whereas he contributed to the positive atmosphere around the table, his diplomacy work and his loyalty to the school also resulted in the loss of opportunities for shared understanding and joint meaning making between the father and the Norwegian staff, as Linn and Sjur never got to know the father's complaint about the school not helping his son with improving his basic skills.

#### TONING DOWN NAJMA'S WORRIES

When Sjur initiated a new topic concerning the school's plans for offering homework help the following school year, he started by informing the participants about the arrangement: one of the school's teachers would have this homework help as part of her/his job, it

would be after school hours, and it would last somewhere between one and one and a half hours (phase 2). Sjur ended his turn by asking if the parents thought their children would attend, or if they would run off home (#8–8, 1446–1448).

#### TRANSCRIPT #8–8 STAFFROOM

- 1438 Sj: *Når vi vi planlegger jo nå neste skoleår.* Sj: *When we we're planning next school*  
 1439 *Og da lurer vi litte granne på om vi* *year. And then we wonder a bit if*  
 1440 *skal prøve å få til at en lærer* *we're going to try to have a teacher*  
 1441 *kanskje har euh litt av jobben sin, med* *perhaps have eh part of her work, be*  
 1442 *å være etter skoletid. Kanskje kanskje* *after school hours. Maybe maybe*  
 1443 *to ganger i uken at det er mulig å* *twice a week that it's possible to*  
 1444 *være på biblioteket og gjøre lekser,* *be in the library and do homework,*  
 1445 *en time, en og en halvtime, sånn* *one hour, one and a half hours, like*  
 1446 *etter klokken to. Er det noe som dere* *after two o'clock. Is this something you*  
 1447 *tror barna deres hadde gjort?* *think your children would have done?*  
 1448 *Eller vil de løpe hjem og?* *Or would they run off home?*  
 1449 MF: Waxuu yiri macalin ekstra MF: He says that there's a plan for an extra  
 1450 ah oo klokka to ka ka gadaal loo teacher who would teach after two  
 1451 sameeyo wax oo hadda en cashir o'clock, so that someone would have  
 1452 meelaha laga caawiyo ma jira uu yiri. homework help, he says.  
 1453 Rødekurska oo kale waa jiraan. It's like in the Red Cross.  
 1454 M: Maya, maya, saas muu dhihin. Wax u M: No, no, he's not saying that. He said  
 1455 dhow uu yiri. Waxuu yiri, skuulka something similar.  
 1456 sannad dugsiyeedka soo socda. He said that next school year,  
 1457 Waxaan qorshaynaynaa in aan macalin we plan to get a teacher  
 1458 u qabano markuu skuulka who can help the pupils after school  
 1459 dhammaando, sideed saac ka bacdi. hours, after two o'clock,  
 1460 Wiigii laba jeer caruurta ka caawiya Twice a week  
 1461 leksaha, halkaan bibiloteega. at the library, inside the school.  
 1462 Skuulka dhexdiisa. Arrintaa arrin aad Is this something  
 1463 taageeray saan ma tahay ayuu idiin you support,  
 1464 waydiiyay? he asked.

Before Mohammed had the chance to translate Sjur's turn, Faaisa, one of the mothers, translated, comparing the school's homework help with the Red Cross's homework help (#8–8, 1449–1453).<sup>47</sup> In response, Mohammed emphasised that it would happen inside the school. He proceeded by asking if the parents supported this, a rendition which in fact deviated from Sjur's original question (#8–8, 1462–1464), and hence a substituted and not close rendition. There is no reason to believe that Mohammed intentionally gave a substituted rendition of this straightforward question, but it is rather an example of the challenge it sometimes was for Mohammed, as a non-professional interpreter, to give

<sup>47</sup> At the Red Cross homework help sessions, children receive help from experienced volunteers after school hours (Red Cross, n.d.).

close renditions, especially of fairly long stretches of talk, which in this case were interrupted several times.

As a way of showing interest, Najma answered that if necessary she would give all the money she got from the social security office to pay for the homework help (#8–9, 1472–1475, 1478–1479), hence indirectly saying that she supports the school’s offer.

#### TRANSCRIPT #8–9 STAFFROOM

1472	MN: <u>Aniga ma ma u jeedaa? Afarta kun</u>	MN: <u>You know what? For me,</u>
1473	<u>cayrta la la isiiyo, hadii bisha dhiib la i</u>	<u>if I get told to pay these four thousand</u>
1474	<u>dhaho diyaar aan u ahay.</u>	<u>kroner that I get every month from</u>
1475	<u>Omar ilaa leksihiisa uu ka soo shaqeeyo</u>	<u>insurancy service I pay. Omar can’t be</u>
1476	<u>in aan skuulka laga soo daynin.</u>	<u>allowed to go home before he’s done</u>
1477	<u>Macalimad ha loo sameeyo, bishii xitaa</u>	<u>with his homework. He should have a</u>
1478	<u>waxaan ogoahay in lacagta aan soo</u>	<u>teacher for extra help. But I like to give</u>
1479	<u>shaqeeyo ani Norge inaan siiyo.</u>	<u>the money I earn back to Norway.</u>

In the extract we also see that Najma emphasises that her son, Omar, should not be allowed to go home before he has finished his homework (#8–9, 1475–1477). Interestingly, this is a response to Sjur’s original question, which had not been translated by Mohammed. It is possible that Najma had understood the question, or that she realised that the homework help was going to be voluntary since it was an after school activity. Just like here in #8–9, 1477–1478, several times during the meeting she suggests that an extra teacher who would give individual tutoring to her son would help him improve his skills. At this point, she was arrested by Hibaaq, one of the other mothers, who stated that the homework help was part of a national plan and consequently an offer for all children.

When translating Najma’s response, Mohammed gave an extended rendition of the first part of it, that is, her willingness to pay for it if she had to (#8–10, 1489–1494), adding that she was very interested. He did not, however, mention that the mother wanted the school to make sure that Omar did not leave before he had finished his homework, nor that Najma wished to have an extra teacher for her son alone, hence giving a zero rendition of the latter part of Najma’s response.

#### TRANSCRIPT #8–10 STAFFROOM

1489	M	<i>Hun sier- Hun sier- Hun sier- Hvis jeg-</i>	M:	<i>She says- She says- She says- If I-</i>
1490		<i>Hun hun støtter dette veldig mye. Hvis</i>		<i>She she supports this very much. If</i>
1491		<i>hvis- Hun sier- Hun sier hvis Omar får</i>		<i>if- She says- She says if Omar gets</i>
1492		<i>og Khalid får hjelp etter skolen her</i>		<i>and Khalid gets help after school here</i>
1493		<i>på skolen hvis jeg må betale for det, så</i>		<i>at school if I have to pay for it, then</i>
1494		<i>betaler jeg sier hun.</i>		<i>I’ll pay for it she says.</i>

1495 Sj: *Det er ikke- Du må ikke betale-*  
 1496 M: *Hehehehe nei, nei, hun viser hvor*  
 1497 *mye hun er interessert liksom. Ja.*

Sj: *It's not- You don't have to pay-*  
 M: *Heheheheh no, no, she shows how*  
*much she's like interested. Yeah.*

Due to Mohammed's zero rendition of the latter part of Najma's original, Sjur was only able to respond to the fact that Najma wanted to pay for it, emphasising that it would be for free (#8-10, 1495), whereupon Mohammed assured him that Najma's comment was meant to show interest, counteracting a possible misinterpretation.

Sjur continued to explain that it was not certain yet, but that the school was looking into the possibility of offering homework help, and it would be for all children, not just for their children alone. In response and perhaps as an explanation of why her son needed an extra teacher alone, after Mohammed's rendition of Sjur's turn, Najma started describing her son's pages at the end of the school year, being as white as the tea thermos on the table in front of them, and making clear that she was not able to help him herself.<sup>48</sup> After Mohammed's close rendition of Najma's turn, she added that she spent all her money on buying nice clothes for her two sons, but that they did not deserve it, referring back to their white school books. She closed her turn by adding that she was tired, and prompted Mohammed to tell the staff (#8-10, 1531-1541).

#### TRANSCRIPT #8-11 STAFFROOM

1531 MN: Maalin walba ilaahay keeno tjuufem  
 1532 kroner aan jeebka usoo galiyaa, lacagtii  
 1533 way iga dhameeyeen, labbis way iga  
 1534 dhameeyeen, waxii aan shaqeyo iyo  
 1535 waxii aan cayr ka qaato waa u waa  
 1536 ayagaan ku dhisaa, ma aragtay?  
 1537 Aigana niyada iima dhisaan,  
 1538 buugaagtoda waa cadcadyihiin, marka  
 1539 maxaan sameeyaa- Axsan- Anigana  
 1540 sannad walba waan u sawiraa sidan.  
 1541 U sheeg waan daalay.  
 1542 Sj: *Nå er jeg spent.*  
 1543 Alle: *Hehehehehehehehehehehehe.*  
 1544 M: *Hun sier jeg betaler han- jeg jeg jeg gir*  
 1545 *dem femti kroner hver eneste dag, de*  
 1546 *de to to barna der. Femti*  
 1547 *kroner hver dag. Jeg kjøper klær.*  
 1548 *De dyreste klærne som hehehe euh*  
 1549 *som som liksom at euh at euh jeg j-*  
 1550 *hun- veldig mye klær også mat i*

MN: Every day I put twenty five  
kroner in their pockets. I've used all  
my money to dress them well.  
They have taken all I've earned from  
working, and all I got as help from the  
insurance service.  
But they don't make me happy.  
Their books are white.  
What shall I do? It's best- I plan-  
Every year. Tell them.  
I'm tired.  
 Sj: *Now I'm excited.*  
 All: *Heheheheheheheheheheheheh.*  
 M: *She says I pay him- I I I give*  
*them fifty kroner ever single day, these*  
*they two two children there. Fifty*  
*kroner every single day. I buy clothes.*  
*The expensive clothes that heheheh eh*  
*which which like at eh at eh I I-*  
*She- very many clothes and food in the*

<sup>48</sup> Najma had reported to Linn that she was not able to read and write in Somali. However, Linn pointed out to me that Najma was probably the mother who understood the most Norwegian.

1551 *hele tida. Og de kommer hjem*  
1552 *med et hvitt ark. Hehehehe.*

*whole time too. And they come home*  
*with a white page. Heheheheh.*

Mohammed, however, gave a somewhat reduced rendition of the first part of Najma's turn (#8–10, 1544–1552), but omitted the last part where she said that she was tired and did not know what to do. There may be several reasons for this zero rendition. When Najma talked, she seemed quite excited and the other parents laughed. Sjur threw in that he was excited, that is, to hear the translation, and the mothers laughed even more. During his translation, Mohammed also laughed several times, and so did Linn and Sjur. It may therefore be that Mohammed chose to maintain the positive atmosphere by not adding that the mother was tired and did not know what to do. It may also be that Mohammed was uncomfortable with the mother's indirect criticism of the school, and therefore did not want to translate this. This was also the strategy Mohammed employed in the previous topic initiated by the father. He may also simply have forgotten.

Even though neither Najma nor Mohammed said anything about her helping with her sons' homework, Linn started her turn by saying that Najma was interested in her sons doing their homework, perhaps linking her turn to one of their previous conversations. Najma, who may have understood Linn as she was speaking slowly and may therefore have identified a miscommunication, interrupted her and added in Somali that Omar was the leader in the house, that she could not talk to him, and that she was even afraid of him. She ended her turn by saying that Omar had told her that she did not know anything because, in contrast to him, she had never been to school.

Again, Mohammed translated only the last part of Najma's turn, giving a non-rendition of the part where she said that she was afraid of her son and did not communicate well with him (non-rendition). Yet, this information is relevant to Sjur's original question (see 8–8) which was never translated, as it may help explain why Najma wanted the homework help to be compulsory. If it was voluntary, this would involve a shared decision with her son about whether or not he would be attending. Yet, the making of such a shared decision with her son seems to present a big challenge for the mother.

Due to Mohammed's zero rendition, Linn was only able to respond to the assertion that Omar knew more because he had been to school in contrast to Najma. She emphasised that Najma had been to a number of parent-teacher meetings at the school now, and that she therefore knew many things. However, if Linn had been aware of what

was perhaps the gist of Najma’s challenges with her son, that she is afraid of him and not able to communicate with him, she might have responded differently, but she might also have pointed to the private nature of the mother’s concerns and postponed them to a conference hour.

Now Sjur turned to Najma and said a bit hesitantly that it looked like she was interested in her son’s homework, for the first time explicitly asking if there was anything the school could do to make it easier for her. This time Mohammed toned up Sjur’s turn and said that Sjur saw that she worked very hard for Omar to learn. Najma replied that they could help her son Omar on his own (#8–12, 1624), by this referring back to her initial request for an extra teacher, which Mohammed had not translated. As can be seen in the extract below, she elaborates by referring to one of her younger sons who has got help from an extra teacher at his primary school, and who now has become good at mathematics (#8–12, 1626–1639). Najma ends her turn by saying that she feels that Omar was not learning anything at school (#8–11, 1652–1654), and that if he does not improve before the summer, she will send him to his grandmother in Ethiopia for one year (#8–11, 1655–1660).

**TRANSCRIPT #8–12 STAFFROOM**

- |      |   |   |
|------|---|---|
| 1622 | MN: <u>Aniga sida la ii caawinaayo,</u>           | MN: <u>Do you know how you can help me?</u>     |
| 1623 | <u>Omar bas hadii wax la ii baro waa</u>          | <u>If you give Omar knowledge,</u>              |
| 1624 | <u>la i caawiyay ani, bas Omar.</u>               | <u>you have helped me. Only Omar.</u>           |
| 1625 | M: <u>Midka hadda uu ka hadlay oo kale?</u>       | M: <u>What he is talking about for example?</u> |
| 1626 | MN: <u>Haa. Waayo hadda Abdirashid kan yar</u>    | MN: <u>Yes. When I wasn’t able to help</u>      |
| 1627 | <u>iskuulka buugaagta waxba ma ka</u>             | <u>Abdirashid, his little brother.</u>          |
| 1628 | <u>caawinkari. Seventi klass uu dhigtaa,</u>      | <u>He’s in grade seven,</u>                     |
| 1629 | <u>macalinka aan u tagay waa baryay,</u>          | <u>I went to his teacher and asked for</u>      |
| 1630 | <u>bas iskuulkiisa ma ka soo baxo, til half</u>   | <u>help. He never left school until half</u>    |
| 1631 | <u>tre uu joogaa, usbuucii laba mar</u>           | <u>past three. Now he’s good in</u>             |
| 1632 | <u>buugaag ma qaato, macalinka</u>                | <u>mathematics and all the rest.</u>            |
| 1633 | <u>iskoolka uu kaga soo reebaa. Hadda</u>         | <u>Do you hear me? But I’ve asked Omar</u>      |
| 1634 | <u>fliink waaye, matematikk, wax walbo,</u>       | <u>if he could have a mathematics</u>           |
| 1635 | <u>haye, laakiin Omar waxaan dhahay</u>           | <u>competition with me, for example,</u>        |
| 1636 | <u>kaaley, ani iyo adi waxaan isu baxeeaa</u>     | <u>what’s the date today. Is it the</u>         |
| 1637 | <u>xisaabta sida loo qoro. Yacnii datada</u>      | <u>sixteenth of March? When you write</u>       |
| 1638 | <u>maanta setten marsh miyaa? Setten</u>          | <u>the sixteenth of March, is it like the</u>   |
| 1639 | <u>marsh marka aa qoraysid, waa setten.</u>       | <u>sixteenth?</u>                               |
| 1640 | MF: <u>Sideed iyo toban waaye maanta</u>          | MF: <u>It is the eighteenth</u>                 |
| 1641 | <u>abaayo.</u>                                    | <u>today.</u>                                   |
| 1642 | MN: <u>Atten mars, det er atten mars null tre</u> | MN: <u>Eighteen March, it’s eighteen March</u>  |
| 1646 | <u>null ni qortid, Omar qor hadaa</u>             | <u>zero three zero nine. Write,</u>             |
| 1647 | <u>dahdid, atten toban iyo sideed uu</u>          | <u>If you say write to Omar write</u>           |

1648	<u>qoraa. Marsh caadi qoraal uu u qoraa,</u>	<u>eighteenth then he writes eighteen.</u>
1649	<u>mars ma aha waa inaad sida xisaabtii</u>	<u>He writes March correctly.</u>
1650	<u>u qortaa, saasaa la isoo baruu ku</u>	<u>If we say you have to write March with</u>
1651	<u>dhahaa, muran, ma ma la murmi</u>	<u>numbers, he says that's how I learnt it.</u>
1652	<u>kartid, ma waxeyn kartid, so ani. Ani</u>	<u>He's not easy to convince. I feel</u>
1653	<u>waan dareensaahay inuu cunugayga</u>	<u>that my child isn't learning in this</u>
1654	<u>waxba iskuulka ka baranin, laakiin</u>	<u>school, but this</u>
1655	<u>sammarkan, illaa sammarka, warkayga</u>	<u>summer next summer and I say this</u>
1656	<u>waadix waaye, ilaa sammarka Omar,</u>	<u>very clearly next summer Omar</u>
1657	<u>haduu bedre noqonwaayo waa wadaa,</u>	<u>if he isn't getting any better, I'll take</u>
1658	<u>Ethiopia aan geynaa, hooyaday aan</u>	<u>him to Ethiopia. My mum will be there</u>
1659	<u>meeshaa geynaa, iskoolaan meeshaa</u>	<u>with him and I will come back.</u>
1660	<u>ka gaynaa, ani waa ka soo tagaa, ett ar.</u>	<u>He'll be there for one year.</u>

Again, Mohammed did not translate that Najma wished for her son to be helped individually, most likely knowing that this would not be possible because of the costs involved and because of the way the teaching for emergent bilinguals was organised, that is, in a reception class which involves teaching pupils in a group and not individually. Not translating the mother's wish, it never became a topic of conversation between Najma and the Norwegian speaking staff, and consequently common ground was never explored.

Moreover, instead of saying that Najma did not feel that her son learnt anything at school, and that if this did not improve, she would send him to Ethiopia, Mohammed shifted the focus from the school to the mother by rephrasing her contention that "*Hvis euh jeg klarer ikke å finne noe hjelp til han*" (*If eh I can't find any help for him*), she would send him to Ethiopia for a year. Again, Mohammed avoided giving any hint that the school was being accused, thus maintaining the positive atmosphere in the meeting.

Sjur responded to the first part of Mohammed's translation of Najma's turn by informing her that the homework help would be voluntary (#8-12, 1697-1703). He thus indirectly returned to his original question, as to whether the parents thought their children would turn up, which was never translated by Mohammed. What followed, however, was not a conversation between Sjur and Najma with Mohammed acting as interpreter, which could have contributed to expanding their common ground, but rather a conversation between Najma and Mohammed in Somali, expanding Najma and Mohammed's common ground.

#### TRANSCRIPT #8-13 STAFFROOM

1697	Sj: <i>[Hvis vi skal ha- hvis vi skal ha</i>	Sj: <i>[If we were to have- if we were to have</i>
1698	<i>et sånt tilbud etter skoletid</i>	<i>that kind of offer after school hours</i>
1699	<i>så blir det frivillig for de barna</i>	<i>then it'd be voluntarily for the children</i>



1700	<i>som har lyst til å være her. Så hvis hvis</i>	<i>who want to be here. So if if</i>
1701	<i>vi starter det så må Omar ha lyst til å</i>	<i>we start it then Omar has to want to</i>
1702	<i>gå der. Det vil ikke være så at</i>	<i>go there. It wouldn't be like that</i>
1703	<i>noen må være der.</i>	<i>someone would have to be there.</i>
1704	L: <i>[men euh-</i>	L: <i>[But eh-</i>
1705	M: <u>Ee, waxuu vidhi, dhibku waxuu ka jiraa,</u>	M: <u>Eh he says that the problem lies with</u>
1706	<u>Omar, hadaan hadda u samayno</u>	<u>Omar, and if we give him the</u>
1707	<u>saasoo kale markuu iskuulka</u>	<u>opportunity after school hours,</u>
1708	<u>dhammaado in aan dhanoo kale waan</u>	<u>it would be volutarily,</u>
1709	<u>caawinaynaa waxay dhahday waa</u>	<u>because this is extra</u>
1710	<u>ikhtiyaar, sababtoo ah dadka lama</u>	<u>from the school. If he says</u>
1711	<u>khasbi karo sideed saac kabacdi, haduu</u>	<u>that he wants to go out,</u>
1712	<u>dhaho waan baxaa ma celin karno</u>	<u>then we can't say no.</u>
1713	<u>annaga, maxay kula tahay markaa?</u>	<u>What do you think?</u>
1714	FA: <u>Haa waa run hadda.</u>	FA: <u>Yeah it is like that.</u>
1715	L: <i>Men-</i>	L: <i>But-</i>
1716	M: <u>Hm?</u>	M: <u>Hm?</u>
1717	MN: <u>Ma baxaysid</u>	MN: <u>What if the children are being told that</u>
1718	<u>hadii la</u>	<u>they can't leave without having done</u>
1719	<u>dhahana?</u>	<u>their homework?</u>
1720	M: <u>Maya, ma baxaysid ma dhihi karaan</u>	M: <u>No, the teachers can't say no.</u>
1721	<u>ayaga. Way dhihi karaan waxay dhihi</u>	<u>They can say that you</u>
1722	<u>karaa sideed saac ilaa sagaal saac inta u</u>	<u>can be in school</u>
1723	<u>dhaxaysa waxaad leedahay casharh</u>	<u>between two o'clock and nine o'clock.</u>
1724	<u>haduu. Ma fahantay adi?</u>	<u>Do you understand?</u>
1725	MN: <u>Norskuhu wuu xunyahay ileen</u>	MN: <u>Norwegians are really bad</u>
1726	<u>meeshaan!</u>	<u>here!</u>
1727	Sj: <i>Har du et ønske om at det skulle være</i>	Sj: <i>Do you have a wish for it to be</i>
1728	<i>må?</i>	<i>have to?</i>
1729	M: <i>Mm ma- ja.</i>	M: <i>Mm ma- yeah.</i>
1730	Sj: <i>Ja.</i>	Sj: <i>Yeah.</i>

As we see in this extract, Najma stresses that she wants the homework help to be obligatory, and when Mohammed explains that this is not possible, Najma raises her voice and concludes that “Norskuhu wuu xunyahay ileen meeshaan!” (Norwegians are really bad here!) (#8–13, 1725–1726). Just like Sjur, Mohammed informs Najma of the impossibility of making homework help compulsory, checking if she has understood (#8–13, 1720–1724), not inviting any discussion or negotiation, which Najma has attempted (#8–13, 1717–1719).

Sjur seems to sense what Najma and Mohammed are discussing and asks if she wants it to be obligatory (#8–13, 1727–1728). Mohammed confirms this by a brief “*Ja.*” (*Yeah.*), which is repeated by Sjur, not progressing the topic any further. Consequently, the common ground between Sjur and Najma on Sjur’s original question if there was anything the school could do is not further expanded upon.

In #8–13, Sjur’s communicative project had been informing, but this was challenged by Najma, who wanted to discuss the possibility of making the homework help obligatory. However, since she was not able to express this in Norwegian, and Mohammed did not translate it, this opportunity was lost.

At this point, Linn, who had been trying to make herself heard, returned to the second part of Mohammed’s translation of Najma’s turn, that is, the fact that she wanted to send her son to Ethiopia (i.e. #8–12, 1655–1660). Linn stressed that instead of sending her son to Ethiopia, Najma and Omar’s contact teacher should try to find a solution for the boy in Norway, concluding that Omar had to contribute to a solution himself by for example turning up for class. After having translated Linn’s words, Najma asked Mohammed to tell her that the school in Ethiopia was a boarding school and that she would only have to pay 700 kroner, not responding to Linn’s suggestions in any way.<sup>49</sup>

Instead of translating Najma’s turn, Mohammed engaged with her in Somali asking if it was a boarding school and if food was included in the price. Najma progressed the topic by adding new elements about how the schooling would be organised, but also about there being strict men at the boarding school who would punish Omar, explicitly asking Mohammed not to tell this to the staff, to which Mohammed replied that he knew this. Najma ended her contribution by stating that she needed help with regard to Omar. This last point was the only point translated by Mohammed.

The talk about the boarding school is an example of a non-rendition or a side conversation between a parent and Mohammed which is never translated, thus displaying loyalty on Mohammed’s part to the mother (and not the school). This sequence also reminds us of the complexity of a bilingual teacher’s loyalty to the different parties. If Mohammed had given a rendition, however, this could have contributed to the different parties’ shared understanding. Instead, the topic was closed by Sjur launching a new topic, that of their type of parent-teacher meetings with parents from a Somali background.

Towards the end of the meeting, however, Sjur returned to his topic of homework help when Najma and the other parents started talking about their housing conditions (phase 5). Najma, for example, did not have a quiet space for the children to do homework as she lived in a two-room flat with three teenage sons. This is an example of valuable

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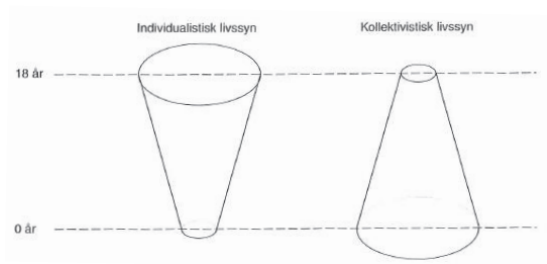
<sup>49</sup> The *kroner* (crown) is the currency of Norway. The plural form is *kroner*. 1 kroner, or 1 NOK, is worth approximately €0.13 (pr. 20.03.2013).

information from the parents to the school which has direct relevance for how the school approaches the education of their children.

Summing up, Sjur's topic initiative not only contained information about the school's plans of voluntary homework help for all pupils at the school the following year, but also the question of whether the parents thought their children would turn up. Most likely unintentionally, Mohammed slightly changed the question, giving a substituted rendition, asking if the parents supported the school's initiative. This led to miscommunication between the parents and the staff. When Najma supported the school's initiative, but wanted it to be obligatory for her son, Mohammed did not translate this request, nor did he translate her later request to tell the staff that she was tired and afraid of her son, giving zero renditions. Again, one of Mohammed's main communicative projects in this meeting was to maintain the positive atmosphere between the school and the homes, which was emphasised through the zero renditions. However, this diplomacy work led to potentially interesting issues not being discussed. Some of these issues were discussed in side-sequences between Mohammed and Najma in a non-rendition, this time showing loyalty to the mother.

#### INTERPRETING LINN'S ITEM ON THE AGENDA

As noted in the introduction, the only planned item on the agenda dealt with resemblances and differences between Norwegian and Somali culture. Linn launched and chaired it at 7:05 p.m. (phase 4). It was the longest phase of the meeting, lasting for 35 minutes, and it was also the phase where nearly all parents were active, though to varying degrees. Linn drew two cones on a flip-over which illustrated two different ways of raising children, copying an illustration from a book by Marianne Skytte (2001, p. 50) (see Figure 5 below). The cone on the left illustrates an individualistic life stance which places many limits on the infant. When children grow older, they are allowed more freedom. The aim is that children manage themselves, and achieves a degree of internal control that the parents can rely on when they have to act more independently. In contrast, the cone on the right represents a collectivistic life stance, and does not put many limits on the infant. When children grow older, however, parents take many decisions on the youngsters' behalf, thus narrowing the limits, as they are seen to be responsible. Their honour is violated when the youngsters violates their norms of behaviour.



**FIGURE 5: SKYTTE'S MODEL OF DIMENSIONS OF FREEDOM IN CHILD UPBRINGING**

The content during this phase of the meeting was progressed by Linn in the following way: child upbringing in Somalia, child upbringing in Norway, and challenges when belonging to both cultures.

When comparing the school systems and parental involvement in Norway and Somalia at the end of the previous phase, Najma had explained that Omar liked living in Norway because he did not get beaten, and because he could do as he liked. Hibaaq had added that it was important that the school and the homes collaborated about finding a solution to the pupils' problems, and that beating them did not help. Linn took this as her starting point for discussing differences between Norwegian and Somali culture. As a way of introducing the topic, she referred to the mothers having talked about “*utfordring*” (*challenge*) due to these cultural differences, a word the mothers in fact never used themselves (#8–14, 2214).

**TRANSCRIPT #8–14 STAFFROOM**

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>2197 L: <i>Men det som er litt interessant nå når</i><br/> 2198 <i>vi skulle ha dette møte så ville vi</i><br/> 2199 <i>gjørne at vi skulle snakke litt om</i><br/> 2200 <i>hva som er likhetene hva som</i><br/> 2201 <i>er ulikhetene mellom den</i><br/> 2202 <i>norske og den somaliske kulturen og</i><br/> 2203 <i>nå er vi faktisk inne på det. Jeg har</i><br/> 2204 <i>egentlig ja lyst til å ta litt tak i det med</i><br/> 2205 <i>Omar som er glad for at han er i</i><br/> 2206 <i>Norge for da .. blir han ikke slått hvis</i><br/> 2207 <i>han ikke gjør noe. Han</i><br/> 2208 <i>kan velge å gjøre det han vil. Euh</i><br/> 2209 <i>og det er jo noe som er veldig</i><br/> 2210 <i>forskjellig og som er euh som har</i><br/> 2211 <i>Najma ja</i></p> | <p>L: <i>But what is a bit interesting now when</i><br/> <i>we were having this meeting we</i><br/> <i>very much wanted that we'd talk a bit</i><br/> <i>about what are the similarities what</i><br/> <i>are the differences between the</i><br/> <i>Norwegian and the Somali culture and</i><br/> <i>now we're actually on to it. I actually</i><br/> <i>yeah want to grab hold of that</i><br/> <i>Omar is happy to be in</i><br/> <i>Norway cause then .. he doesn't get hit</i><br/> <i>if there's something he doesn't do. He</i><br/> <i>can choose to do what he wants. Eh</i><br/> <i>and that is something that is very</i><br/> <i>different and which eh like</i><br/> <i>Najma yeah</i></p> |
| <p>2212 M: <i>Ja.</i></p>  | <p>M: <i>Yeah.</i></p>   |
| <p>2213 L: <i>Snakket litt at der har vi</i><br/> 2214 <i>utfordring og dette prøver vi å sitte</i></p>  | <p>L: <i>talked a bit about that there we've got</i><br/> <i>challenge and this we try to sit here</i></p>   |

2215	<i>her n� og hva hvordan gj�r vi det</i>	<i>now and what- how do we do this</i>
2216	<i>fordi dere har jo ei erfaring euh</i>	<i>because you have an experience eh</i>
2217	<i>mens- og barna deres har</i>	<i>while- and your children also</i>
2218	<i>ogs� euh erfaring og vet</i>	<i>have eh experience and know</i>
2219	<i>noe om Somalia, Etiopia ..</i>	<i>something about Somalia, Ethiopia ..</i>
2220	<i>euh mens norske elever de har</i>	<i>eh while Norwegian pupils they have</i>
2221	<i>jo bodd i Norge hele livet. De</i>	<i>lived in Norway all their lives. They</i>
2222	<i>vet at det er s�nn. ... euhm.</i>	<i>know it's like this. ... eh.</i>
2223	<i>Forst�r dere hva jeg sier?</i>	<i>Do you understand what I'm saying?</i>

When translating, however, Mohammed rephrased Linn's 'challenge' as "maxaan labada dhinac isaga jidi karnaa." (what we can learn from both sides.) (#8-15, 2246-2247) and "Meel walba waxii ka anfacaaya ay ka isticmaalaayaan." (They can use the best from both sides.)" (#8-15, 2265-2267) (substituted renditions), clearly giving her turn a more positive twist.

#### TRANSCRIPT #8-15 STAFFROOM

2225	M: <i>Jeg kan godt forklare. Mmm. Ma</i>	M: <i>I can explain. Mmm. She</i>
2226	<i>turjumaa? Waxay dhahday horta</i>	<i>says that we've started talking</i>
2227	<i>godob waxaan dhexgalnay qodob aan</i>	<i>about an issue that we wanted</i>
2228	<i>rabnay in aan ka hadalno. Maxaan</i>	<i>to discuss. Which similarities</i>
2229	<i>iskaga mid nahay? Markii oo</i>	<i>and differences have we got?</i>
2230	<i>waddankii, markii, markii .. euh ..</i>	<i>When you were in your</i>
2231	<i>markaan joognay halkaan. Halkaan</i>	<i>home country and here in Norway.</i>
2232	<i>markii la joogo hadda adinkaaba ka</i>	<i>Concerning Norway, we've already</i>
2233	<i>hadashay ay dhahday hadda. Oo ka</i>	<i>talked about, she says,</i>
2234	<i>hadashay adigaa soo qaadatay oo kale.</i>	<i>Hibaaq's already mentioned</i>
2235	<i>Hibaaq xitaa way magacawday ma</i>	<i>what we've got</i>
2236	<i>aragtay waxii loo baahanyahay halkaan</i>	<i>in this country,</i>
2237	<i>markaan joognay waxaan samayn</i>	<i>and what we could do.</i>
2238	<i>karno. Maxaa la samayn jiray markii</i>	<i>What was done in</i>
2239	<i>aan joognay.. Xagga markaan joognay</i>	<i>your home country</i>
2240	<i>waxii la samayn jirayna waxaaba soo</i>	<i>when you were there?</i>
2241	<i>qaadatay ay tiri Najma iyo siday wax</i>	<i>Najma has also talked about what you</i>
2242	<i>ahaan jireen xagga markii la joogay.</i>	<i>did in your home country.</i>
2243	MX: <i>Haa.</i>	MX: <i>Yeah.</i>
2244	M: <i>Ee halkaan marka ee waaban ku</i>	M: <i>Eh here we've come to</i>
2245	<i>dhaxjirnaa bay tiri qodobkaas in aan</i>	<i>the issue, she says.</i>
2246	<i>soo qaadanaan rabnay ah bal maxaan</i>	<i>I wanted to talk about what</i>
2247	<i>labada dhinac isaga jidi karnaa? Waxay</i>	<i>we can take from both sides.</i>
2248	<i>tiri caruurta halkaan ku dhalatay oo</i>	<i>She said that Norwegian children</i>
2249	<i>Norwijka ah hal wax ay yaqaanaan wax</i>	<i>who are born here in Norway</i>
2250	<i>kale ma yaqaanaan. Wax ay wax</i>	<i>only know one thing and</i>
2251	<i>isbarbar dhigaayaan ma jirto. Waxay</i>	<i>have nothing they can</i>
2252	<i>waxay ogyihiin waxii .. waxii bay</i>	<i>compare to and have no</i>
2253	<i>yaqaanaan, ekispiiransi kale ma</i>	<i>other experiences. But your</i>
2254	<i>qabaan, kuwiina laakiin waxay dhahday</i>	<i>children, she says,</i>
2255	<i>waxay qabaan arfaarin kale.</i>	<i>have experience.</i>

2256	<u>Ekispiiriansi ay leeyihiin. Oo waddamo</u>	<u>They have lived in different countries</u>
2257	<u>kaley soo mareen-</u>	<u>with different cultures.</u>
2258	MS: <u>Sax.</u>	MS: <u>Correct.</u>
2259	M: <u>Waddan kaley ka imaadeen.</u>	M: <u>They come from a different country.</u>
2260	MF: <u>Ethiopia soo marnay.</u>	MF: <u>We've been in Ethiopia.</u>
2261	M: <u>Waxay wataan akhbaarro kala duwan ay</u>	M: <u>They came here</u>
2262	<u>wataan tuna halkaan ay ugu imaadeen.</u>	<u>with different experiences,</u>
2263	<u>Xagga waxii inta ka fiican ay ka</u>	<u>and they got different experience</u>
2264	<u>isticmaalaayaan haday rabaan tuna</u>	<u>from this country.</u>
2265	<u>halkaan ay ka isticmaalaayaan. Meel</u>	<u>They can use</u>
2266	<u>walba waxii ka anfacaaya ay ka</u>	<u>what is best from both</u>
2267	<u>isticmaalaayaan. Ma fahmaysaa adi?</u>	<u>sides. Do you understand?</u>

When they planned this theme before the meeting, Mohammed had assured Linn that this would not be a difficult topic to talk about. Mohammed's efforts to create harmony here as well, however, may indicate that he did not want to take any risks, or perhaps, given Abdirazik's and Najma's disagreements earlier in the meeting illustrated above, he aimed at creating the best possible starting point for this topic.

In connection with this item on the agenda, both Linn and Mohammed seemed more concerned with the parents' understanding than in other parts of the meeting, which were more informal. As we see in #8-14, Linn ends her topical initiative by asking "*Forst r dere hva jeg sier?*" (*Do you understand what I'm saying?*) (2223), which is the only time she does in this meeting. Also, during this phase, Mohammed ended his turns nine times with "Ma fahmaysaa adi?" (Do you understand?) or "Ma fahmaysaa waxa ay ka hadlayso adi?" (Do you understand what she's talking about?), and on two occasions he said unsolicited that the parents had understood. Possible reasons for this are the fact that it is the only planned item in the meeting, indicating its importance, but also that it was the most abstract item, using an illustration, and hence perhaps the one most likely to cause misunderstandings. An additional factor may be that Mohammed knew how important this topic was to Linn, and by checking if the parents had understood he showed his loyalty to her. In contrast, Mohammed never asked the staff if they understood what the parents were saying, nor did the staff tell Mohammed that they did not understand. This may be yet another indication of the dominant position of the school.

When Linn had everybody's attention again, she explained that she would use the illustration she had drawn on the flip-over to show their children's challenges as they were moving between Norwegian and Somali culture, and encouraged the parents to stop her if she said something which was wrong. After Mohammed had given a close rendition of her

turn, Linn continued by saying that when children in Somalia were small, they had a lot of freedom, including staying up late at night, playing outside with other children, being together with adults, not wearing a hijab, and being together with boys. Mohammed interrupted her and said "Ja. La meg oversette dette." (Yeah. Let me interpret this.), explicitly coordinating the talk. In what followed, Mohammed gave a close rendition of Linn's turn, and in the following turns focusing on child upbringing in Somalia, both with regard to content and style, from time to time assuring her that the parents understood. However, when he started translating Linn's explanation of child upbringing in Norway, Mohammed gave an expanded rendition including a comparison with child upbringing in Somalia, though also leaving out some of Linn's examples.

#### TRANSCRIPT #8-16 STAFFROOM

- |      |     |  |     |  |
|------|-----|--|-----|--|
| 2487 | L:  | <i>Ja og de må legge seg tidlig.</i>         | L:  | <i>Yeah and they have to go early to bed.</i>    |
| 2488 |     | <i>De får ikke lov å sitte opp og</i>        |     | <i>They're not allowed to stay up and</i>        |
| 2489 |     | <i>se på TV,</i>                             |     | <i>watch TV,</i>                                 |
| 2490 | MF: | <i>Ja.</i>                                   | MF: | <i>Yeah.</i>                                     |
| 2491 | L:  | <i>de får ikke lov å gå ut sammen med</i>    | L:  | <i>they're not allowed to go out with</i>        |
| 2492 |     | <i>storsøsken,</i>                           |     | <i>older sisters and brothers,</i>               |
| 2493 | MF: | <i>Riktig.</i>                               | MF: | <i>Correct.</i>                                  |
| 2494 | L:  | <i>vi holder dem i hånda og vi er veldig</i> | L:  | <i>and we hold them by their hand and</i>        |
| 2495 |     | <i>sånn passe på.</i>                        |     | <i>we're very much looking out for them.</i>     |
| 2496 | Sj: | <i>Passe på.</i>                             | Sj: | <i>Look out for them.</i>                        |
| 2497 | M:  | <u>Aad ayay u xanibanyihiin ay tiri.</u>     | M:  | <u>She said that they're not free. They're</u>   |
| 2498 |     | <u>Gacantaa la hayaa haday bannaanka u</u>   |     | <u>held by their hand. An older person is</u>    |
| 2499 |     | <u>baxaan, qof wayn aa gacangta hayo,</u>    |     | <u>to hold them by their hand. They're</u>       |
| 2500 |     | <u>walaalhood in ay labaxaan loomaba</u>     |     | <u>not allowed to go out with older</u>          |
| 2501 |     | <u>ogola, qof wayn unuuba raaco mooyiye</u>  |     | <u>brothers, except if they're an adult. No</u>  |
| 2502 |     | <u>canug walaalkii la baxaayo ma jiro</u>    |     | <u>children can to out with their brother.</u>   |
| 2503 |     | <u>halkaan. Caruurta la iskuma daro</u>      |     | <u>You know that it's not allowed to go</u>      |
| 2504 |     | <u>halkaan ma ogtahay? Waa ww waa la</u>     |     | <u>alone here in Norway? It It It's illegal.</u> |
| 2505 |     | <u>isku qabsadaa. Marka qof wayn inuu</u>    |     | <u>So, children can't go out without an</u>      |
| 2506 |     | <u>raaco mooyiye canuga walaalkiis lama</u>  |     | <u>older person. In our time it was the</u>      |
| 2507 |     | <u>bixi karo. Annaga saas waa ka</u>         |     | <u>opposite. There our children</u>              |
| 2508 |     | <u>duwanayn caruurteena waa israaci</u>      |     | <u>could go out without</u>                      |
| 2509 |     | <u>jiireen.</u>                              |     | <u>parents.</u>                                  |

Whereas Linn's communicative project had been informative (#8-16, 2487-2495), Mohammed added a comparative element, that in their time, referring to the time they were still living in Somalia, children could go out without adults (#8-16, 2506-2509). This was confirmed by Hibaq who, following this, added that older brothers and sisters had to look after them, which was briefly confirmed by Mohammed with a 'yeah', before rather abruptly referring back to the Norwegian situation and Linn's drawing, perhaps aiming at

closing this sequence in Somali and returning the floor to Linn. However, having added a comparative element opened up for more comparison. This time, Faaisa gave a possible explanation for why Norwegian child upbringing would not work in Somalia: the problem is that an eight year old girl may be forced marry an eighty year old man (#8–17, 2516–2518). Hibaaq added that she then has to go for water (#8–17, 2519).

#### TRANSCRIPT #8–17 STAFFROOM

- |      |  |   |
|------|--|---|
| 2516 | MF: <u>Rafaadka jira waxaa loo qal-qaaliyaa</u>      | MF: <u>The problem is that an eight year old</u>  |
| 2517 | <u>gabar sideed jir ah asaga sideetan uu</u>         | <u>girl may be forced to marry an eighty</u>      |
| 2518 | <u>jiraa.</u>  | <u>year old man.</u>                              |
| 2519 | MH: <u>Markaas biyo ay u soo dhaaminee.</u>          | MH: <u>So she has to fetch water for him.</u>     |
| 2520 | Mød: <u>Hehehehehehehe.</u>                          | Moth: <u>Heheheheheheheh.</u>                     |
| 2521 | L: <i>barna våre er mye hjemme.</i>                  | L: <i>Our children are often at home.</i>         |
| 2522 | M: <u>Wax badanay guriga joogaan.</u>                | M: <u>They are often at home.</u>                 |
| 2523 | MF: <u>Mohammed saas ugu sheeg noo.</u>              | MF: <u>Mohammed tell them.</u>                    |
| 2524 | FA: <u>Nimanka oo guriga jooga.</u>                  | FA: <u>Men should be at home.</u>                 |
| 2525 | MN: <u>Ilmo sideed sano jira aa inta loogu xiraa</u> | MN: <u>Eight year old children carry one year</u> |
| 2526 | <u>ilmo hal sano jira biyo soo aroor aa</u>          | <u>old children on their their belly and</u>      |
| 2527 | <u>dhahaa.</u>                                       | <u>water on their back and walk very far.</u>     |
| 2528 | M: <i>Hehehe. Når de begynner åtte år</i>            | M: <i>Hehehe. When they start eight years</i>     |
| 2529 | <i>og og eldre så skal de ha han som eller</i>       | <i>and and older then they'll have him or</i>     |
| 2530 | <i>hun som er ett år på magen, også skal</i>         | <i>her who's one year on their belly and</i>      |
| 2531 | <i>hun hente vann på ryggen.</i>                     | <i>then she'll fetch water on her back.</i>       |
| 2532 | Mød: <u>Hehehehehehehe.</u>                          | Moth: <u>Hehehehehehehe.</u>                      |
| 2533 | MS: <u>Cunuga dusha uu ku hurdaa waa ka soo</u>      | MS: <u>The children will sleep on their back</u>  |
| 2534 | <u>hilgaadaa, waa ku hurdaa</u>                      | <u>and the mother works for him. The</u>          |
| 2535 | <u>waa ka soo hilgaadaa. Gurigaa</u>                 | <u>children sleep and wake up, sleep,</u>         |
| 2536 | <u>lagu xaaqaa, ulaa</u>                             | <u>wake up, she cleans the floor with the</u>     |
| 2537 | <u>lagu tumaa, dhar aa lagu dhaqaa.</u>              | <u>child on her back.</u>                         |
| 2538 | Sj: <i>Og så og så her på hodet.</i>                 | Sj: <i>And then and then here on the head.</i>    |
| 2539 | FA: <u>Haa, waa run. Waa run.</u>                    | FA: <u>Yeah, it's like that. It's like that.</u>  |
| 2540 | MH: <u>Somalia malah saas.</u>                       | MH: <u>Somalia isn't like you say.</u>            |
| 2541 | L: <i>men så- Og sånn er det, ja.</i>                | L: <i>but so- And it's like that, yeah.</i>       |

Extract #8–17 is an example of the complexity of this meeting and the challenge for Mohammed having to translate and mediate (activity roles) between the parties, as a bilingual teacher (social role). In this sequence, the four mothers, one of the fathers, Linn and Sjur have contributions, drawing on Norwegian and Somali. When Faaisa mentioned that the problem was that eight year old girls had to marry old men, and Hibaaq added that the girl would have to fetch water, before Mohammed was able to interpret, Linn added that Norwegian children were a lot at home (#8–17, 2521). So, whereas the mothers were replying to Mohammed's rendition including a comparative element, Linn repeated her own communicative project of informing. When Mohammed translated Linn's turn,



Faaisa asked Mohammed to tell the Norwegian staff what they were talking about (#8-17, 2523). However, again, before Mohammed had the chance to interpret, Abdirazik added that men should be at home (#8-17, 2524), and Najma added that eight year old children carry a child on their stomach and water on their back and walk very far (#8-17, 2525-2527). Judging from Mohammed's translation, the large amount of information the parents wanted him to interpret proved to be too demanding. He only interprets parts of Najma's turn, focusing on eight year olds carrying water on their back, not the two other mothers' turns which, in fact, were the starting point for Najma's turn. In turn, Saafi added more information in Somali (#8-17, 2533-2537). This time, Sjur added that they also carried water on their heads, responding to Mohammed's reduced rendition, and Linn tried to close this sequence by saying that this was in fact the situation (#8-17, 2541).

Whereas the sequence described above could have been an interesting starting point for discussing child upbringing in Norway and Somalia, serving as a spring board to discussing the upbringing of youngsters with a Somali language background growing up in Norway, this opportunity was lost. As we have seen, this was both due to Mohammed's partly zero and reduced renditions, but also because neither Sjur nor Linn asked for a more extensive explanation, which might have contributed to joint meaning making. Mohammed ended this sequence by saying that "*De skjønner veldig godt*" (*They understand very well*), which again shows his loyalty to Linn's project of informing, as opposed to joint meaning making and expanding the Norwegian staff's understanding of child upbringing in Somalia.

Summing up, Linn's communicative project was to inform the parents about cultural differences. Mohammed's close renditions of her turns confirm his loyalty to her project, as did his checks that the parents had understood. Even though Linn encouraged the parents to correct her if what she was saying about child upbringing in Somali was incorrect, the parents had few opportunities to elaborate their views, partly due to zero and reduced renditions. However, this was also due to Linn's long introduction, and the fact that Linn and Sjur dominated the topic progression.

## DISCUSSION

In Norway, parent-teacher meetings and conference hours are two common forums where parents and school collaborate. In addition to these two different meeting types, Ullstad

held 'language homogeneous' meetings for parents from a Somali language background. This latter type is also mentioned in the guide for newly arrived minority language pupils designed by the Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training as a proposed measure to strengthen home-school collaboration. It is reasoned that it can lower the threshold for parents to participate if they can give their opinions in a language they master, in addition to providing assurance by participating together with other parents who have the same background as themselves. Yet another proposed measure is the concept of parent meetings for parents from minority backgrounds in general, not necessarily for parents with similar backgrounds, where possible topics could be school camps, teaching methods and materials in the Norwegian school, child upbringing and appropriate language use. It is specified that it is important that the bilingual teacher has a central role in these meetings, but it is not further defined what it entails and why this is important (NDET, 2012a, p. 18).

This chapter has focused on one such meeting with six parents representing six different families, and three members of staff, the teacher responsible for the transition class, the assistant principal and the bilingual teacher. The latter also functioned as interpreter. As noted in the introduction, these meetings were originally set up due to conflicts between the Somali language children and the school. Even after the situation had improved, the school continued with the meetings to further improve the children's schooling.

In this particular meeting, the school had sent an invitation letter with one point on the agenda: similarities and differences between Norway and Somalia. In addition, the school initiated talk on general topics such as homework help, parental involvement, and period plans. This, however, was in stark contrast to the topics the parents initiated, which were based on their concerns and worries related to the basic skills of their children, but also with regard to the home situation in terms of difficult communication with their youngsters and the cramped housing conditions they were living in. The parents' insistence on discussing these more private issues related to specific pupils challenged the parent-teacher meeting concept.

One of the main challenges is rooted in different conceptions of the nature of the meeting. Whereas the staff take for granted that topics discussed at parent meetings are of a general nature (external framing), the parents link their responses to or initiate topics centred round their own child. In other words, the external framing of the meeting was

challenged by the parents' internal framing, particularly through the topics chosen. In other words, the communicative activity type of parent-teacher meetings is challenged by the parents who do not share the school's expectations and purposes for the meeting.

The direct communicative contact between the parents and the school was limited due to the parties not speaking each other's language. This was remedied in part by Mohammed who served as an interpreting bilingual teacher, not only during this particular meeting, but also at other times when the school or the parents wanted to communicate with one another. Even though Mohammed undoubtedly and considerably strengthened their direct relationship, the analysis shows the complexity of this task.

This complexity is also noted in two teacher training textbooks, by Becher (2006, p. 71f.) and by Hauge (2007, p. 247), respectively. Both authors draw attention to the important function of bilingual assistants in parent-teacher meetings, in line with reasoning in a guide for newly arrived pupils designed by the Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training. Hauge criticises schools that use professional interpreters in parent-teacher meetings instead of letting the bilingual teacher participate as an important person amongst the school's staff. She argues that this replacement signals that multiculturalism is viewed as a problem and something that will disappear, since professional interpreters are engaged for time limited assignments, whereas bilingual teachers are a natural part of the school's staff. Hauge is mainly concerned with the status it gives bilingual teachers to be present at parent-teacher meetings. She does not, however, problematise possible challenges for bilingual teachers who are expected to both interpret and act as member of staff, hence having to combine the activity roles of interpreter and active discussant. Nor does she consider the possibility of engaging a professional interpreter and a bilingual teacher in the same meeting. In fact, this latter arrangement would permit the bilingual teacher to act as a pedagogue and contribute with experiences with the pupils from teaching as an active discussant, instead of concentrating on the demanding task of interpreting.

Becher (2006) admits that it may be challenging to find the balance of responsibility and delegation of tasks between monolingual and bilingual members of staff during parent-teacher meetings. Sometimes the rest of the staff relies too much on the bilingual assistant, particularly in everyday conversations, whereas at other times the bilingual assistant is 'reduced' to only being an interpreter in the communication with the parents.

She goes on to state that when it has been decided that the bilingual teacher's main role in a parent-teacher meeting is that of being an interpreter, the rest of the teaching staff should be responsible for progressing the content in the meeting. It is important, however, that the interpreting is carefully thought through, so that the meeting becomes coherent. For this reason, Becher argues, the bilingual teacher should participate during the planning of the meeting. Indirectly, she argues that it is not possible for the bilingual teacher to fill both roles at the same time. However, the analysis of the parent-teacher meeting in my study shows that even though Mohammed acted as an interpreter, his role as bilingual teacher also came to the fore in different ways. Nor does Becher consider the possibility of engaging both a bilingual teacher and a professional interpreter during the same meeting. I will come back to his possibility towards the end of this discussion.

In his social role of bilingual teacher, Mohammed was loyal towards the school's meeting concept in terms of format and aims, and to the staff's wish for a positive atmosphere. This was particularly noticeable when Abdirazik and Najma complained about the school's work. When Abdirazik started talking about his son, Mohammed explicitly stressed the general nature of parent-teacher meetings, postponing the topic. When the father insisted on this topic, expressing his discontent with the job the school was doing, Mohammed gave zero renditions of this possibly face threatening talk. Another frequent communicative strategy used by Mohammed was to tone down Najma's worries. In other words, in the activity role of both interpreter and active discussant, Mohammed's strategies led to lost opportunities for the parents to express their views, miscommunications, and ultimately to lost opportunities for shared meaning making.

On a few occasions, Mohammed also showed loyalty to the parents. This could for example be seen when he had a side conversation (non-rendition) with Najma who wished to send one of her sons to Ethiopia where the son would receive a more disciplined schooling. She explicitly asked him not to translate the last part, which he obeyed. Again, this shows the complexity of Mohammed's social role as a bilingual teacher which comes to the fore in the discursive choices he made. The potential loyalty conflict between siding with the school on the one side and with the parents on the other was also reported by Vedøy (2008, p. 254). One of the principles in her study was aware of possible loyalty conflicts, but had emphasised that bilingual teacher represent the school in parent-teacher meetings, and that this was made clear to the bilingual teachers.

Being a bilingual teacher (social role) and acting as interpreter (activity role) at the same time was a demanding task for Mohammed. The question therefore remains which opportunities were lost and which were gained by combining these two roles in terms of joint meaning making between the two primary parties. Would an external interpreter without knowledge of the school, the parents or the pupils be able to enhance the shared understanding in this meeting more by not having to deal with issues of loyalty in the same way as Mohammed had to? Would Mohammed be able to focus more on trying to give voice to the parents' challenges at home, as an active discussant (activity role) not having to interpret, perhaps having to take the activity role of broker?

Before discussing these questions linked to Mohammed's role during this type of meeting, I wish to stress that I see a potential in further developing the school's parent-teacher meeting type exclusively for this group of parents. As noted in the introduction, teachers commonly plan the content of ordinary parent-teacher meetings together with parent representatives. This is not the case in the parent-teacher meeting concept discussed here. One could imagine a rotation system where one or two parents are trained to carry out this task, perhaps by Mohammed. In this way, they would be given the opportunity to share what they wish to discuss at the meetings. Abdirazik and Najma were right about their children's lack of basic skills. If they wished to discuss this, the school could help them formulate it in more general terms. With regard to the cramped housing conditions, perhaps the parents could borrow a classroom once a week and organise their own homework help. It is uncertain, however, if their children would turn up, considering for example Najma's challenges with Omar.

Mohammed's activity role as active discussant could also be further explored. Instead of having to interpret, his social role as bilingual teacher in general, and as mediator more specifically, would potentially come more to the fore in the role of active discussant. Whereas this social role appeared in his renditions in an indirect way, it could possibly appear in a more direct way as active discussant, hence contributing to a shared understanding between the school and the parents. This is not to say, however, that engaging a professional interpreter is without challenges. In fact, the teachers in Booijink's (2007, p. 66) interview study from the Netherlands mention several disadvantages connected to the engagement of a more or less professional interpreter during conference hours. The main objection that is mentioned is that the interpreters do not always do their

work well or that it is hard to form an opinion of the quality of the translation. Furthermore, several interviewees also reported that the presence of an interpreter would make the meeting more businesslike and that it is difficult to exchange confidential information. Other disadvantages mentioned are the fact that it is time consuming, and that sometimes a discussion arises between interpreter and parent which is not translated. There is also an economic aspect to hiring professional interpreters. Whereas it seems common in Booijink's study for parents to engage their own interpreters, in Norwegian schools this is something the school tends to take care of. A professional interpreter in addition to the bilingual teacher would thus entail extra costs for the school. Bearing this in mind, however, it would be interesting to see if some of these challenges could be solved by engaging an interpreter and a bilingual teacher at the same time.

## PART III

### MARYAM'S CASE

This is the case of Maryam as a bilingual teacher at Bergåsen. In presenting my analyses, I will tell two stories, each shedding light on different aspects of Maryam's collaboration with other teachers with regard to the education of emergent bilingual pupils. The stories are framed and informed by a contextual stage-setting account in Chapter 9. Chapter 10 focuses on how Maryam relates her teaching to the mainstream teaching in a withdrawal mode of collaboration, whereas Chapter 11 shows how different opinions on bilingual teaching are negotiated in a teacher meeting. Both stories are discussed individually, and where relevant the findings are seen in the light of the case study of Mohammed, in Part II.





## 9 MARYAM AT BERGÅSEN

### MARYAM AS BILINGUAL TEACHER

At the time of my fieldwork, Maryam was employed in a 60 per cent temporary position at Bergåsen. She also had smaller temporary positions at another primary school, a lower secondary and an upper secondary school in the same municipality. Maryam told me that Bergåsen was where she felt most at home, emphasising that among the schools where she had worked at it was the most experienced in the field of bilingual teaching. Here, she collaborated with other teachers and got the help she needed. At the other schools, however, she spent almost all her time, even the breaks, teaching her own pupils, not collaborating or socialising with other teachers, who had far less experience in this field.

Maryam was in her late thirties. She had moved to Norway from a country in Western Asia six years previously and had Arabic as her home language.<sup>50</sup> Prior to her arrival, she had an MA in English and French, a teaching certificate, and more than ten years of teaching experience at the upper secondary school level in her home country. In Norway, she had finished a subject teacher training programme for bilinguals, specialising in the subject REE. As part of this teacher training programme, her qualifications in Arabic were also formally approved, and while studying, she had worked on the side as a bilingual teacher in primary school, lower secondary and upper secondary school.

During the school year 2009–2010, Maryam worked three days a week at Bergåsen: Mondays, Tuesdays and Wednesdays. On Mondays and Wednesdays, she often stayed behind after the last teaching period, preparing for the next day(s). On Tuesdays, she left straight after the last period to teach at one of her other schools. Even though she did not have any teaching at Bergåsen on Fridays, Maryam would often come to the school to collaborate with one of the REE teachers in grade 6, with regard to following Monday's REE lesson with two of her emergent bilingual pupils.

Maryam is a dedicated teacher with high aspirations for her pupils – who she always talked highly about – and for her own work. Her greatest wish was to teach mainstream classes in the subjects she had specialised in. In her position as a bilingual teacher she

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<sup>50</sup> In accordance with Maryam's wishes, I only include her language background, not her home country.

loved teaching new topics, not only because of the content, but also because of the new vocabulary connected with them. Maryam had good skills in Norwegian.

## THE SCHOOL

Maryam's school, Bergåsen barneskole, is a large primary school situated in a small town in a rural area in East Norway, dominated by agricultural terrain and pine forests. There are 15 primary schools in the municipality, but Bergåsen has traditionally been the school that has accepted all emergent bilingual pupils, and over the years it has earned a good reputation in the field of bilingual teaching. Consequently, some parents applied for a place at Bergåsen even though the municipality had recently decided that emergent bilingual pupils should also be taught at the closest school in their neighbourhood. At the time of my field work the school had 500 pupils and the equivalent of 47 full time teachers. It also had a reception class for emergent bilingual pupils, which they attended one or two hours a day, depending on their Norwegian language skills. 15 per cent of the school's pupils spoke another language than Norwegian at home. Bergåsen was and still is a focus school connected to NAFO (see fn. 26, p. 106).

A few years before my study, a number of teachers in the lower grades had been involved in an action research project which focused on the inclusion of bilingual pupils' home languages in learning activities. The involvement of parents was crucial. Maryam's colleagues Brit and Elin were two of the teachers involved (see also Figure 6 below). This is just one example of how the school's management increased the staff's competence in this field. Sending a large number of teachers to relevant conferences and courses was frequently prioritised. Four of the teachers had formal qualification in multicultural pedagogy or Norwegian as a second language. This is in contrast with Rambøll Management's (2006, p. 45) finding that it is rare that schools have more than one teacher with specific qualifications in this field.

At the time of my fieldwork, the school had recently been renovated. It had extensive outdoor areas, with large grass patches and playground equipment such as climbing frames, sandpits and swings. The maps in the Appendix 13 give an overview of the school's building, which has slightly been changed for reasons of anonymity. The school consisted of one large building, made up of two floors. On the ground floor, in the middle of the building, the school's management and teachers had their working area and staffroom. In

the western part, we find the learning area for grade 7, in addition to the areas for special needs and music education, whereas the eastern part of the ground floor contained special rooms for aesthetic subjects, the library, and the kitchen and canteen. On the first floor, the rest of the pupils had their learning areas.

## MANAGEMENT, TEACHERS AND PUPILS

The school's management consisted of a principal and an assistant principal. It was the assistant principal, Lene, who was responsible for the bilingual pupils and their families (see Figure 6 below). She had many years of experience in the field, and it was something she was enthusiastic about. Bergåsen received extra funding from the municipality for guiding other schools with regard to emergent bilingual pupils and their parents. Other principals often contacted Lene for advice, and she also organised two network meetings a year for principals and teachers in the municipality, at which issues such as mapping tools, teaching materials and resources were discussed.

As is quite common in Norwegian primary schools, Bergåsen had divided its staff into 7 teacher teams according to the grade in which teachers had most responsibilities (teams 1–7), and not according to the teachers' core subject(s). In Norwegian primary schools, teachers often follow the same pupils for a number of grades, for example from grade 1 to 3 or from 5 to 7. Each team had a team leader, responsible for weekly meetings with the team, and monthly meetings with the school's management. The teams had their own working area, and each teacher had a personal desk, portable computer and personal bookcase. In the middle of all team rooms, there was a large table, which was used for meetings.

Four of the school's teachers were bilingual teachers, and of those two were formally qualified. None of them had as yet permanent or full time positions at the school. These teachers had a desk and bookcase in one of the team rooms, often not because they had their main responsibilities there, but because there was desk available.

The school had seven grades, 1 to 7. Each grade had its own spacious area in the school, with its own entrance. Each area had a large *allrom* (common room; my translation), where the grades pupils could be taught together as one group (ranging from 60 to 85 pupils). This often happened in the morning when the teachers and pupils greeted each other, or when a new theme was introduced. There were also three *baserom* (base

rooms; my translation), for when the grade was divided into 3 classes of approximately 25 pupils (1A–C, 2A–C, etc.). The classes were not grouped according to ability, and teachers had to adapt their teaching according to the abilities and aptitudes of the individual pupils within these classes.

All grades had access to one or two group rooms and partitions on wheels, often used for the teaching of basic Norwegian, bilingual support, teaching in special needs, or in connection with learning centres. The school adopted the Early Years Literacy Programme (EYLP) which regulates reading suited to each pupil's level of ability. According to the underlying principles of EYLP, Bergåsen divided the pupils into homogeneous ability groups, and organised the classroom into a number of learning centres, or 'stations' (*stasjoner*). Pupils rotated from learning centre to learning centre, spending approximately 15 minutes at each. One learning center would be led by a teacher, whereas in the others pupils would work autonomously on pre-prepared tasks in their groups. The groups read books suited to their reading level. Parental involvement is a crucial component of the programme in addition to these learning centres. Parents receive training in how to guide their children in the daily reading training at home. All pupils have their own reading folder, including the book of the week and the reading card which needs to be signed by the parent after each home reading sessions (Wagner, 2006).

## MARYAM'S COLLEAGUES AND PUPILS

Maryam's work as a bilingual teacher involved the teaching of pupils from different grades. She also collaborated with many teachers belonging to different teams, both the contact teachers of the individual pupils, the team leaders and subject teachers. Figure 6 only gives an overview of the staff Maryam collaborated closely with, their backgrounds and positions. These are mentioned in the analyses in Chapters 10 and 11:

<b>Name/ROOM</b>	<b>Background</b>	<b>Position</b>
<b>Maryam ♀ TEAM ROOM 2</b>	From an Arabic background. Middle aged. Had lived in Norway for more than 5 years. Had a teaching certificate and an MA in English and French from her home country, and a subject teacher training programme for bilinguals from Norway. Good language skills in Norwegian. More than 10 years teaching experience from home country, and 5 years from Norway.	Bilingual teacher for emergent pupils from an Arabic language background. Subject teacher in social science for grade 6.
<b>Brit ♀ TEAM ROOM 2</b>	Norwegian background. Middle aged. Qualified teacher. Specialised in multicultural education. More than 25 years of experience from kindergarten and school.	Contact teacher for pupils in grade 2. Taught basic Norwegian, amongst other subjects. Coordinator for the school's multicultural profile.
<b>Kine ♀ TEAM ROOM 4</b>	Norwegian background. Middle aged. Qualified teacher. MA in multicultural education. 25 years of teaching experience.	Principle teacher for reception class for emergent bilingual pupils (11 hours a week). Taught basic Norwegian.
<b>Elin ♀ TEAM ROOM 1</b>	Norwegian background. Around 60 years old. Qualified teacher. 25 years of teaching experience.	Taught basic Norwegian and special needs, amongst other subjects.
<b>Lene ♀ OFFICE</b>	Norwegian background. Around 60 years old. Qualified teacher. More than 20 years of experience as teacher and 10 years of experience as assistant principal.	Assistant principal. Responsible for the education of emergent bilingual pupils.

**FIGURE 6: SELECTED STAFF AT BERGÅSEN**

In sum, all teachers in Figure 6 were fully qualified. Even though Maryam had not been teaching as long as the teachers mentioned in the figure, she did not stand out from the other teachers at Bergåsen when it comes to either educational background or teaching experience. Other teachers who are briefly mentioned in the analysis chapters are Maren (team 2), Stine (team 3) and Tora (team 6). I do not have any specific information on them, except for the fact that they were formally qualified with a Norwegian background and were permanently employed.

Maryam had her working area in the team room for grade 2, together with one of the other bilingual teachers. Brit who was responsible for the school's collaboration with the minority homes, sat next to Maryam. Kine sat together with grade 4, since she also had other teaching in this grade. Elin had her desk in team 1.

The school had 32 emergent bilingual pupils. Those who had arrived most recently received training in basic Norwegian in the school's reception class by Kine, whereas those with greater proficiency received training in basic Norwegian with Brit, Elin or Tora. Of

these 32 pupils, eight were from an Arabic language background. This was the second largest group at the school, after Somali. The others spoke Albanian, Amhari, Russian, Slovakian, Tigrinya, Thai and Vietnamese. All emergent bilingual pupils from an Arabic speaking background, apart from Ahlam, had full schooling from their home countries and had teaching together with their age group. Here is an overview of the emergent bilingual pupils from an Arabic language background:

Name	Grade	Age	Time in Norway	Reception class	Teacher basic Norwegian
Nadia ♀	1	6	6 months	no	Eva
Ahlam ♀	2	7	born in Norway	no	Brit
Taher ♂	2	7	6 months	2 hours a week	Brit
Rania ♀	3	8	2 months	3 hours a week	Kine
Sahra ♀	4	9	3 years	no	Kine
May ♀	4	9	3 years	no	Kine
Raheela ♀	6	11	5 years	no	Tora
Mirna ♀	6	11	3 years	no	Tora

FIGURE 7: SELECTED PUPILS AT BERGÅSEN

In sum, the pupils range from grades 1 to 6, and those who had not been born in Norway, had been in the country from between two months up to five years. Two of them received basic Norwegian in the school’s reception class across grades. The rest received two hours a week in a small group with pupils from their grade. All the pupils had bilingual support by Maryam a few hours a week, dependent on their Norwegian skills.

Nationally, Arabic speaking pupils receiving special language teaching are the fourth largest group, 8.81 per cent (1,739 pupils). Of them, 563 receive mother tongue and bilingual teaching (32 per cent), 461 only mother tongue teaching (27 per cent), and 715 (41 per cent) only bilingual teaching. As noted in Chapter 1, mother tongue instruction is to be given after school hours, whereas bilingual subject teaching is part of the pupils’ school day. However, the line between mother tongue and bilingual teaching may not always be clear. As we will see in Chapter 10, Maryam taught the three youngest pupils (Nadia, Ahlem and Taher) basic literacy in Arabic as part of their school day. This teaching, however, could also be viewed as mother tongue teaching. Similar arrangements for mother tongue-like instruction during school hours have also been reported by Danbolt et al. (2010).

## 10 CONNECTING BILINGUAL TEACHING TO MAINSTREAM TEACHING

- M: Jeg skal følge de to planene, Kine sin og trinnet sin.*      *M: I'll follow the two plans, the one from Kine and the one from the grade.*
- J: Ja, riktig.*      *J: Yeah, right.*
- M: En på mandag og en på tirsdag.*      *M: One on Monday and one on Tuesday.*
- J: Ja, du fordeler øktene?*      *J: Yeah, you split the periods?*
- M: Ja, fordi hun har to timer med meg.*      *M: Yeah, cause she has two lessons with me.*

Conversation on the move, 11 January 2010

### INTRODUCTION

Above her desk in team room 2, Maryam had a large bookcase with three shelves. On the top shelf, she kept all the books her pupils were working with in their respective grades in different subjects. On the middle shelf, she kept supplementary books ranging from Norwegian for beginners, literacy books in Arabic and Norwegian, children's books in Arabic, bilingual books in Arabic-Norwegian and Arabic-English, dictionaries, children's encyclopaedias and an atlas. These books were collected over years, reflecting Maryam's learning of Norwegian as a second language, and also her professional and private roles as a teacher of Arabic speaking children and as a mother. The bottom shelf was designated for folders with copies and booklets she had made for her pupils, a folder with a mapping tool for Arabic language skills, and one folder per grade, each with the names of the pupils carefully noted on the spine. In addition, Maryam stored large posters with pictures of for example different kinds of fruit labelled in Arabic and English.

This bookcase was strikingly different from the bookcases of her colleagues in team room 2. Brit, for example, used her bookcase for folders with copies gathered over the years on themes related to her teaching in the lowest grades in primary school and basic Norwegian. In other subjects, she used the team's collection of books for grade 1–3 in English, mathematics, REE and Norwegian. This collection was placed on the opposite side of the team room and easily available for all teachers. Some of them also kept additional copies on their own shelves. In general these were books for a few subjects and grades taught by the respective teachers, and apart from school books for the teaching of English, their bookcases as well as the team's book collection were highly monolingual.

Maryam's bookcase contained a much wider range of school books and materials than the bookcases of other teachers; it had books in many school subjects, books in three

languages, books and teaching material that could not be found in the team collection and books that were privately owned. In a general sense it thus reflected ways in which the professional responsibilities and activities of a bilingual teacher differ from those of other teachers. In a more specific and personal sense it also reflected important aspects of Maryam’s professional orientation and commitment.

At Bergåsen, Maryam’s work largely consisted of organising and carrying out the teaching of emergent bilingual pupils. As a rule, she taught individual pupils or small groups of pupils from the same grade, for one or two lessons a week. Occasionally, she taught the pupils from grades 1 and 2 together. Table 12 shows Maryam’s teaching schedule for the school year 2009–2010, specifying which pupils she taught on which days.

**TABLE 12: MARYAM’S TEACHING SCHEDULE SCHOOL YEAR 2009–2010**

Period	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday
1 <sup>st</sup>	Rania (grade 3)	Rania (grade 3)	Nadia (grade 1)
2 <sup>nd</sup>	Sahra and May (grade 4)	Taher and Ahlam (grade 2)	Social sciences (grade 6)
3 <sup>rd</sup>	Raheela and Mirna (grade 6)	Nadia (grade 1)	Nadia (grade 1)

The table shows that Maryam taught eight pupils, belonging to five different grades (1, 2, 3, 4 and 6). Not all of her pupils are part of this story. Those who are in it are Nadia, Ahlam, Taher and Rania. These are also the pupils who had most teaching with Maryam.

In addition, the table shows that Maryam taught a mainstream class in social science in grade 6. Even though this presumably has consequences for her roles in the school and vis-à-vis her colleagues, it is beyond the scope of my study which is limited to collaboration with regard to the education of emergent bilingual pupils. As mentioned in the introduction, there is, however, a small body of research which investigates foreign born teachers who are employed to teach mainstream classes in Sweden (for example Boyd, 2003; Fridlund, 2008; Jönsson & Rubinstein Reich, 2004; Swedish national agency for higher education, 2006).

Unlike Mohammed’s timetable that changed from week to week, Maryam’s timetable was set by the school’s management at the beginning of the school year. As we will see in the stories, however, she sometimes made changes herself, for example by taking along Taher and Ahlam when Nadia was scheduled with basic literacy in Arabic.

In contrast to Mohammed (see PART II), Maryam taught her pupils outside of the mainstream classroom, never when they were together with the rest of their peers, but if



possible in close proximity to their base room, preferably in a group room which gave her access to multilingual materials, and occasionally in the hallway. She decided herself on the content of the lessons (often based on the pupils' weekly plans), and on the most suitable ways of working, thus approximating to the patterns of what Creese (2005, p. 126) has called *permanent withdrawal: disapplication from national curriculum subject, with EAL instruction*. This is not to say, however, that Maryam's teaching was disapplicated from the national curriculum subjects. On the contrary, even though she was not teamed up with any subject teacher, she very much aimed at connecting her bilingual support to the curriculum subjects outside the mainstream classroom, thus keeping pupils up to speed with the content knowledge of their peers, which was also reported by the bilingual EAL teachers' in Creese's study (2005, p. 173). Creese (p. 112) points out that withdrawal is often not recognised as a form of collaboration, and hence absent from collaboration typologies. However, she strongly argues that when done successfully it in fact is a collaborative mode since teachers need to keep one another well informed.

In this chapter, I will tell the story of how Maryam connected bilingual teaching to the mainstream and the complex web of places, pupils, grades, subjects and languages this involved, when working in a withdrawal mode. The fieldnote material used is presented in Appendix 7, story 1. The work day I will zoom in on is Tuesday 5 January 2010, sometimes zooming out to comment on patterns across the material. With regard to the audio recordings, all Maryam's conversations with other teachers in the course of the fieldwork were transcribed, and all conversations between Maryam and myself from 5, 9, 12 and 13 January 2010. In addition, Maryam's three lessons of 5 January, with Rania in grade 3, Taher and Ahlam in grade 2, and Nadia in grade 1, were also transcribed and translated. The analytical concepts used in the story are Linell's (1998) *topical episodes*, including both *topics* and middle-sized *communicative projects* (see p. 90ff.), and *translanguagings* (Bailey, 2007; Creese & Blackledge, 2010, García, 2009) (see p. 52ff.). I approach translanguagings here primarily as drawing on different languages as a form of bilingual pedagogy, not as the use of hybrid language forms, as seen in Mohammed's case (see Chapter 6).

## PERIOD 1 – WITH RANIA IN A CORNER IN COMMON ROOM 3

For the first period on Mondays and Tuesdays, Maryam taught Rania behind colourful partitions on wheels in common room 3 while the rest of the grade 3 pupils were together with their contact teachers in their base rooms (see Appendix 13). So, the lesson on 5 January was Maryam's second lesson with Rania that week. Rania came to Norway from the Palestine areas two months before the start of my fieldwork, where she had received full schooling, including some training in English. Three hours a week she was taught basic Norwegian by Kine in the school's reception class, she had two hours a week bilingual support with Maryam, and the rest of the week she followed lessons with her peers.

At the end of each week, the grade teachers' at Bergåsen planned what they would be teaching the following week and made a weekly plan which was distributed to the pupils. Table 13 shows Rania's weekly plan for week 1.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Whereas many lower secondary schools use the term *period plans*, primary schools often call these *weekly plans*, as they at that school level mostly include the homework for one week at a time, and sometimes also the lessons. I have translated the three weekly plans included in this chapter from Norwegian into English. The lay out is the same as the original, except for removing a few drawing which had been chosen to illustrate the subjects and theme. The words of the week in the plan illustrated in Table 13 (middle right) are originally in Norwegian. The English translations in brackets are mine.

TABLE 13: WEEKLY PLAN FOR GRADE 3, WEEK 1, 2010

WEEKLY PLAN 3 <sup>RD</sup> GRADE					week 1, 2009
Day and date:	TUESDAY 5/1	WEDNESDAY 6/1	THURSDAY 8/1	FRIDAY 9/1	
NORWEGIAN	<b>Homework for Tuesday:</b> Tuba Luba reading book p. 93 + ex.	<b>Homework for Wednesday:</b> Tuba Luba reading book p. 94 and 95 + ex.	<b>Homework for Thursday:</b> Tuba Luba reading book p. 96 and 97 + ex. Write words of the week at the back of your notebook	<b>Homework for Friday:</b> Tuba Luba reading book p. 99 + ex.	<b>THEME week 1 - 6:</b> "Slå på ring", a song game and dance, which includes story telling
PE	Swimming group 2: remember swimming gear!		Remember gym gear!  Swimming group 2: remember swimming gear!		<b>WORDS OF THE WEEK: dictation Thursday in the writing lesson.</b> nyttår (new year) kalender (calendar) måned (month) sekund (second) minutt (minute)
MATHS	<b>Homework for Tuesday:</b> Multi page 93	<b>Homework for Wednesday:</b> Multi page 94	<b>Homework for Thursday:</b> Multi page 95	<b>Homework for Friday:</b>	
LEARNING CENTRES	The pupils get a new book in the reading folder Wednesday 6/1. The book is homework for the entire week till Wednesday 13/1. It's good if you guardians sign the reading card when the pupils have read aloud for you.				<b>ENGLISH:</b> prepositions <b>Homework:</b> test week 2 in – i under – under between – mellom in front of – foran above – over behind – bak on – på
<b>Messages:</b> Last week with swimming for group 2. Group 3 starts Tuesday week 2.					
Best wishes [names of all 4 contact teachers]					

As Table 13 shows, Rania's weekly plan gives information about the homework and books used in the subjects Norwegian (*Tuba Luba* reading book), PE, mathematics (*Multi* mathematics book) and English for grade 3 during week 1. The boxes on the right indicate the theme the grade will be working on from week 1 till 6, the words of the week in the subject Norwegian, and the English prepositions the pupils will be tested in during week 2. In addition, there is information for the parents about the reading homework connected to the learning centres, and at the very bottom of the sheet, the pupils are reminded about the groups scheduled for swimming in this and the following week.

Because Maryam only taught Rania twice a week, she tried to cover as much as possible of the weekly plan. Table 14 below shows the sequential organisation of the

lesson of 5 January, the topic of each time slot, the source Maryam consulted in this connection with the name of the teacher responsible in brackets, Maryam’s supplements to this content and ways in which she collaborated, verbally or in more indirect ways, with other teachers before and after the lesson.

**TABLE 14: ORGANISATION AND TEACHING OF THE FIRST PERIOD, TUESDAY 05.01.10**

Time	Content	Source	Maryam’s supplement	Collaboration
08:34 08:37	Homework reception class	–	–	Maryam asked Rania
08:38 08:46	Prepositions	Weekly plan (Stine)	Encyclopedia Arabic–English	Maryam asked Stine for the weekly plan (Monday, 04.01.10 at 8:30)
08:47 08:52	Words of the week	Weekly plan (Stine)	Encyclopedia Arabic–English	
08:53 09:16	Family, meals	Weekly plan, <i>Bli med</i> (Kine)	Copy with wordless pictures from ‘family’ (also used 07.12)	Information written in plan by hand, by Kine (04.01, after period 1); Discussed at formal meeting (11.01; at 14:45)
09:17 09:25	Prepositions	Weekly plan (Stine)	Copies from <i>Finn et ord og bruk det nå</i> (Find a word and use it now)	
09:26 09:28	Meals	Weekly plan, <i>Bli med</i> (Kine)	-	Information written in weekly plan by Kine (04.01, after period 1)

As the table shows, Maryam did not teach all subjects in the plan, but prioritised bilingual support in the mainstream subjects Norwegian and English, and basic Norwegian, but not mathematics. According to Maryam, Rania had a good basis in mathematics from her home country and had few problems following mainstream classes in mathematics with her peers. Consequently, Maryam only prioritised mathematics when Rania specifically asked her to do so.

Maryam collaborated with Rania’s teachers in several ways. In a verbal and hence direct way, she collaborated with the team leader of grade 3, Stine, who was responsible for making the weekly plan. Stine would usually upload the weekly plan for the coming week onto the school’s virtual learning platform. The preceding week this had not been done. Upon arrival at work on Monday, Maryam therefore went to Stine’s team room and

asked for a paper copy.<sup>52</sup> This conversation is the only verbal interaction between Maryam and one of Rania's teachers before Maryam's lesson with Rania.

In order to connect her bilingual teaching to Rania's lessons in the mainstream and reception class, Maryam also collaborated in more indirect ways. She used the weekly plan to prepare her bilingual approach to the pupils' lessons and homework.

During their first lesson of the week (03.01.10), Maryam had made sure Rania understood the general information included in the plan. She did this by reading aloud what was written in the plan in Norwegian, and translating it into Arabic for Rania, also answering any questions Rania had.

Another way of indirectly collaborating with Rania's teachers, and connecting her own teaching to the mainstream subjects Norwegian and English, was by finding extra sheets on prepositions and on the words of the week in her Arabic-English lexicon. In addition, Maryam carefully wrote the translation in Arabic next to the Norwegian/English words, and while teaching, she always made sure Rania knew the equivalent in all three languages. In a later lesson (18.01.10), she gave Rania a sheet which illustrated the calendar and seasons in Norwegian, which she had come across at one of her other schools. She also used this with her two pupils in grade 4.

Rania did not have the same homework in Norwegian as her peers. Instead, she was to do Kine's homework in basic Norwegian from the reception class. To connect her teaching with Kine's teaching, Maryam collaborated indirectly by asking Rania at the beginning of the lesson if Kine had written the homework in basic Norwegian by hand in Rania's sheet. Rania answered that this time Kine had not written it down, but had informed her orally instead.

So, in terms of teacher collaboration, Maryam mainly collected the necessary information (such as the grade's weekly plan) before her lessons and supplemented this with her own materials in Arabic, English and/or Norwegian. However, in the course of my fieldwork, Maryam did not talk to any other teachers about the content of her lessons with Rania. Her colleagues did not initiate that sort of conversations with her either, neither about their own, nor about Maryam's teaching of Rania or other pupils. I will come back to this below.

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<sup>52</sup> Maryam left me behind in team room 2 and did not wear a microphone. I have consequently no recording of this conversation.

## PERIOD 2 – WITH AHLAM AND TAHER IN A CORNER IN GRADE 2

In the second period on Tuesdays, Maryam was scheduled to teach Ahlam and Taher in common room 2, in a corner behind a high bookshelf, while the rest of their peers were being taught by their contact teachers in the same room (see Appendix 13). The lesson on 5 January was Maryam's only lesson with the pupils that week. But as I will come back to below, she would sometimes negotiate with Ahlam and Taher's teachers to take them out for teaching in basic literacy in Arabic together with Nadia.

At the time of my fieldwork, Taher had come to Norway six months earlier from the Palestine areas, where he had received full schooling, including basic literacy in Arabic. The Latin alphabet, however, was new to him. Ahlam was born in Norway. Even though they had an Arabic language background, Ahlam's parents had chosen to speak Norwegian to her from when she was born. When the girl started at Bergåsen, Maryam discovered that she hardly spoke Arabic. Maryam had talked to the school and the parents about this, and it was decided that Ahlam could join Taher for support in Arabic. Both pupils had basic Norwegian with Brit, but only Taher had two hours of teaching with Kine in the school's reception class.

Table 15 below is an illustration of the weekly plan for grade 2 which was used during the first week after the Christmas break. The plan includes the lessons and homework.

TABLE 15: WEEKLY PLAN FOR GRADE 2, WEEK 1, 2010

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>WEEKLY PLAN FOR GRADE 2</b>  <b>WEEK 1</b>  <b>THEME: The body</b>  <b>“A living line. .”</b></p>					
	<b>Monday</b> <b>08.30-13.05</b>	<b>Tuesday</b> <b>08.30-12.50</b>	<b>Wednesday</b> <b>08.30-14.05</b>	<b>Thursday</b> <b>08.30-14.05</b>	<b>Friday</b> <b>08.30-12.50</b>
1 <sup>st</sup> period	Norwegian learning centres	PE. Learning centres in the hall	Maths study hour	Norwegian learning centres	PE: we go for a walk
2 <sup>nd</sup> period	Norwegian learning centres	Arts and crafts – we paint	Maths study hour	Norwegian learning centres	Theme – The body
3 <sup>rd</sup> period	Maths – we work with number charts	We go to the library  We go through reading homework.	3 groups: English/REE/ social sc.  We go through reading homework.	3 groups: English/REE/ social sc.  We go through reading homework.	Study period + massage
4 <sup>th</sup> period				3 groups: English/REE/ social sc.	
<b>Home-work</b>		<b>Homework for Tuesday:</b> Read the book in reading folder	<b>Homework for Wednesday:</b> The reading book in reading folder <b>Tuba Luba:</b> ALL: p. 41	<b>Homework for Thursday:</b> The reading book in reading folder <b>Tuba Luba:</b> ALL: p. 42	<b>Homework for Friday:</b> Reading folder
<b>Aim of the week:</b> <b>I can count up to and down from 100.</b>			<b>English box: rehearse pronunciation</b> Monday – mandag Tuesday – tirsdag Wednesday – onsdag Thursday – torsdag Friday – fredag Saturday – lørdag Sunday – søndag		

As for the lessons illustrated in the plan above, every day the pupils had reading homework. Practically, this meant that they were required to read a book suitable for their reading level, and that their parents had to assist them, and sign the reading card which they found in their child’s personal reading folder (see also p. 228 on EYLP). With regard to this story, the table shows that grade 2 was going to paint during the second period on Tuesday when Ahlam and Taher were scheduled for bilingual support with Maryam. The table does not, however, show that the pupils in grade 2 could participate in a lesson of *leksehjelp* (homework help), on a voluntary basis, after school hours on Wednesdays. The preparations for this homework help are also central to this story. At the time of my

fieldwork, the arrangement of free homework help after school hours for pupils in grades 1 to 4 was new. It is part of the government's strategy of early intervention for improved learning (Education Act, 2009, Section 13–7a). Today, municipalities are required to offer free homework help for this age group. It is voluntary for pupils to participate, and hence is not officially part of their schooling, but needs to be seen in connection with it (NDET, 2010b). In January 2009, Bergåsen tried out the provision of one hour of voluntary homework help a week for all grade 2 pupils, encouraging children from minority homes to attend. In this lesson, the grade would be divided into smaller groups, and there would be one teacher who would be responsible and a number of assistants helping out.

For her lesson with Ahlam and Taher, Maryam had found the weekly plan for grade 2 in her pigeon hole upon arrival on Monday, and the grade's homework booklet in a designated drawer in common room 2. This was thus an established collaborative routine. Again, Maryam also collaborated in other ways, both verbally and in more indirect ways.

As can be seen at the top of the weekly plan in Table 15, the theme of the week was '*kroppen*' (*the body*). In connection with this theme, Brit had planned to read a book for early readers called *Her er jeg!* (*Here I am!*; my translation) (Damm, 2006) in her basic Norwegian lessons with Ahlam and Taher. Before I started my fieldwork, Brit and Maryam had collaborated to turn this monolingual book into a bilingual one in Norwegian and Arabic for their common pupils from an Arabic language background. As the teacher responsible for basic Norwegian in grade 2, Brit also collaborated with the other emergent bilingual pupils' bilingual teachers, making sure that the book was translated into their languages too, hence establishing a collaborative routine.

As is common for bilingual books, the two languages were presented on the same page or facing each other on alternate pages, depending on where there was most space. In between the teaching of Rania, and Ahlam and Taher, Maryam proudly showed me the result. We may, however, note that Maryam collaborated with Brit on developing the bilingual book, but not about its potential for teaching. They may have done so during the action research project.

Maryam had looked forward to using the bilingual book with her pupils in the second period of this day, but as we will see, she had to spend most of her time going through the homework booklet the teachers had made for the homework lesson, and this Tuesday lesson was the pupils' only one with her this week.



Table 16 gives an overview of Maryam’s lesson with Ahlam and Taher, noting the content of the lesson, the source that was used and the teacher responsible for it, Maryam’s supplements and what kind of collaboration was involved.

**TABLE 16: ORGANISATION AND TEACHING OF AHLAM AND TAHER, TUESDAY 05.01.10**

Time	Phase	Content	Source (resp. teacher)	Maryam’s supplement	Collaboration
09:56 10:11	1 (14’)	Words of the week	Weekly plan (Maren)	-	M. found weekly plan in pigeon hole (04.01)
10:12 10:39	2 (27’)	Homework (several subjects)	Homework booklet (Maren)	-	M. found booklet in designated drawer in Base 2, and talked to Brit about Taher’s attendance (04.01)
10:40 10:46	3 (6’)	Arabic letter ج (z)	Copies from Arabic literacy book (Maryam)	(not applicable)	-

As we can see in Table 16, the lesson had three time slots: the words of the week, the homework booklet and the Arabic letter ‘zay’.

We sat behind partitions on wheels in a corner in common room 2, and in the background we could hear the pupils going through the words of the week in Norwegian and English with one of their teachers. Maryam whisperingly repeated the words for her pupils in both languages at their own pace, and supplemented them with the Arabic equivalent. She carefully wrote the translation in the margin of both pupils’ plans, so that the parents would be able to practice them with their children, she explained to me later. The two pupils brought with them different communicative resources to the classroom: Taher was an emergent learner of Norwegian, and needed only a little help from Maryam with the days in Arabic, whereas Ahlam was more confident in Norwegian, but needed help in Arabic. Together the pupils were able to come up with the days in the three languages used, and exploiting the pupils’ different communicative repertoires and different language practices in terms of learning opportunities, Maryam praised them for their work.

The next transcript illustrates how Maryam indirectly collaborated about the teaching of the days of the week by providing the new words in Norwegian and English from the weekly plan, and the Arabic equivalents, thus translanguaging in order to make sure the children learnt the new vocabulary in three languages.

TRANSCRIPT #10-1 TEAM ROOM 2, 04.01.10

0001	<i>Hvor mange dager?</i> يوم؟ كم M:	M: <u>How many days? How many days?</u>
0002	<i>Sju.</i> :A	A: <u>Seven.</u>
0003	<i>.seven days</i> ب الاذ جلد يزري M:	M: <u>In English seven days.</u>
0004	<i>Sju dager.</i> ب الا عربي ايام سد بعة M:	<u>In Arabic seven days. Seven days.</u>
0005	ال <i>uke</i> اسم ب الاذ جلد يزري ب الا نرويدي،	<u>Week in Norwegian. It's called</u>
0006	<i>week</i> ال اسم شو معنا؟ اذت طاهو	<u>week in English. Taher, are you paying</u>
0007	? <i>uke</i>	<u>attention? What is week?</u>
0008	<b>Week.</b> :T	T: <b>Week.</b>
0009	<b>Week.</b> :M ا سد بوع اسمه ب الا عربي و ا ب راف و	M: <b>Week, excellent! And in Arabic it's</b>
0010	<i>Tre week uke</i> ا سد بوع	<u>called week. Week week week. Three</u>
0011	<i>språk.</i> ب اياه ب عطط يك اذنا	<u>languages. You'll get it in three</u>
0012	ذ حد فظ يه ب ديك اذ لغات ث لاث	<u>languages. I want you to learn it by</u>
0013	ا ايام سد بعة الا سد بوع، ب الا عربي	<u>heart in Arabic, week, seven days.</u>

Maryam's translanguaging in transcript #10-1 is not only a teaching strategy (Arthur & Martin, 2006; Creese & Blackledge, 2010); it is also an indirect way of collaborating with the grade teachers about the words of the week. In line 1, she asks how many days there are in a week, drawing on Arabic, and immediately translating her question into Norwegian. This leads to Ahlam answering "sju" (seven) in Norwegian, which was her strongest language. Maryam follows up by saying what the equivalent is in English and Arabic, before repeating the answer in Norwegian (#10-1, 0003-0004). Towards the end of the transcript, we see how she explicitly tells the pupils that they will get the words in three languages, before turning to Ahlam and saying that she wants her to learn 'week' and 'seven days' in Arabic. In sum, we see how Maryam's translanguaging is a collaborative strategy, making sure that the pupils learn the Norwegian and English equivalents from the weekly plan, by drawing on Arabic as an instrument. Moreover, Maryam's own agenda also comes to the fore, that is, that the pupils expand their vocabulary in Arabic, valuing it in its own right.

At the beginning of the second time slot, Maryam asked her pupils to take out the booklet that the grade's teachers had composed for the homework help. Ahlam was surprised that they were going to work with the leaflet now, saying that they should be doing this during homework help. Before I go on with this lesson, it is necessary to contextualise Ahlam's bewilderment by telling a story about what happened the day before. Maryam and Brit were sitting next to each other in their team room, when Brit turned to Maryam and initiated a conversation on Taher's attendance at the after school homework help session.

TRANSCRIPT #10–2 TEAM ROOM 2, 04.01.10

0014	B:	<i>Nå har jeg sagt til Taher i dag at han skal få være med å leksetime i morgen.</i>	B:	<i>I said to Taher today that he can be in homework lesson tomorrow.</i>
0015			M:	<i>Yeah.</i>
0016	M:	<i>Ja.</i>	B:	<i>I went through his homework today.</i>
0017	B:	<i>Jeg har nå gått gjennom lekse i dag.</i>	M:	<i>Mm.</i>
0018	M:	<i>Mm.</i>	B:	<i>And we'll also work together tomorrow and then he can be in homework help and it's Maren who does the homework lesson now eh a couple of weeks [onwards with the small ones.</i>
0019	B:	<i>Og så jobber vi sammen i morgen og så får han være med på leksetimen og da er det Maren som har leksetimen nå euh noen uker [framover med de små.</i>	M:	<i>[Will he be there?</i>
0020			B:	<i>Yeah, so I said- I talked to the mother earlier and he'd get a new chance now</i>
0021			M:	<i>Mm.</i>
0022	M:	<i>[Skal ha være med?</i>	B:	<i>and try again.</i>
0023	B:	<i>Ja, så jeg sa- Jeg snakket med mor før at han skulle få en ny sjanse nå</i>	M:	<i>Mm.</i>
0024			B:	<i>He was terribly tired today too.</i>
0025	M:	<i>Mm.</i>	M:	<i>Very. Was just lying over his desk.</i>
0026	B:	<i>og få prøve igjen.</i>	B:	<i>He's tired a lot. Yeah he's- He's tired a lot. Yeah.</i>
0027			(3.0)	
0028	M:	<i>Mm.</i>	M:	<i>Maybe he goes to bed too late.</i>
0029	B:	<i>Han var fryktelig trøtt i dag altså. VEldig. Bare ligget over pulten.</i>	B:	<i>Could be. But eh anyway will get a chance and be in the homework lesson tomorrow.</i>
0030				
0031	M:	<i>Han er mye trøtt. Ja han er- Han er mye trøtt altså. Ja.</i>		
0032				
0033	(3.0)			
0034	M:	<i>Kanskje han legger seg for sent og.</i>		
0035	B:	<i>Kan vel hende. Men euh i hvert fall skal ha få en sjanse og være med på leksetime i morgen.</i>		
0036				
0037				
0038				
0039				

This conversational event between Brit and Maryam in #10–2 contains a topical episode on Taher's behavioural problems during homework help. Brit's communicative project is to inform Maryam about the decision that has been made about Taher being allowed again to attend the homework help. Maryam's part in the project is mainly following up Brit's initiatives and asking a question for clarification (#10–2, 0014–0015).

After this conversation, Maryam went to the copy room, leaving me behind in team room 2. In the meantime, I used the opportunity to ask Brit if Taher used to attend homework help. She confirmed this, but explained that this had been with a teacher who had not known him very well, and that he had not been able to concentrate. Brit also said that she found it challenging that the school really wanted emergent bilingual pupils to attend the homework help, in spite of the fact that they did not have the means to put in an extra teacher to assist them.

Back in the lesson, when Maryam now told Ahlam and Taher that they were going to work with the homework leaflet, she explained that Taher would again be allowed to go to

the homework lesson. So, Maryam's way of collaborating with Brit was to pass on Brit's decision to Taher.

**TRANSCRIPT #10-3 COMMON ROOM 2, 04.01.10**

- 0040 M: *lekseplan* تطلعولي و ال ب M: Also take out your plan for homework help.
- 0041
- 0042 T: *Lekseplan?* T: Plan for homework help?
- 0043 A: *leksetime* إنده جديده نذا هذه A: We'll work on it during the homework session.
- 0044
- 0045 M: *leksetime* ال على يروح بدو كمان هو آه M: Yeah he's also going to the homework session.
- 0046
- 0047 A: هو؟ A: Is he?
- 0048 M: *ny sjanse* ال ب عطوه راح آه، M: Yeah, they're giving him a new chance.
- 0049 ال سنية بداية على هلا M: Now around New Year they'll give him
- 0050 *leksetime* إنه جديده فرصة ي عطوه راح الجديده M: a new chance to attend the homework session, and sit quietly
- 0051 على يروح M: so they can
- 0052 عاقل ي قعدو صوت أي لاو حركة أي ي عمل ماو M: help him with his homework.
- 0053 عشان
- 0054 ال ي عمل ي ساعدوه *lekse* M: Isn't he going to want to go home?
- 0055 A: عالا بيت؟ أروح بدني أناي قول راح ما M: No he's not going to say that because
- 0056 M: ما لاحكت الاماما و أمه، مع حكوا M: they've talked to his mum, and his
- 0057 ي عمل راح *leksetime*. تروح راح طاهو؟ سمع تني M: mum said that he's not going to do
- 0058 عشان ي قول راح ما لا M: anything wrong during the homework session. Did you hear me Taher?
- 0059 ال في إشي M: You're going to the homework session after school hours. After school hours
- 0060 إزنت *leksetime* ال دوام ي خلص ما بدعد. ال دوام بدعد M: you're going to the homework lesson and sit quiet and let the teacher help
- 0061 ال على *leksetime* M: you understand how you do your homework. Do you understand? Ok,
- 0062 بد تروح وحركة أي ب تعمل ماو عاقل بد تقعدو M: take your plan for homework which
- 0063 ال على M: they gave you on Monday. Yesterday.
- 0064 وي ساعدك المعلم بد تخلي *lekse*، عرفت؟ M: Come on, where's the plan for homework?
- 0065
- 0066 ال بد تحل كيفي فيمك
- 0067 ام بارح الإثنين، يوم إياه بد يعطوكم إلي
- 0068 ال طولوا ي لا *lekseplan*
- 0069 ال وين ي لا *lekseplan*؟
- 0070

The extract above shows how Brit's words from #10-2 are recontextualised by Maryam in this topical episode on behavioural problems. Maryam's communicative project goes through different stages, developing from informing Ahlam that Taher will also go to the homework lesson (#10-3, 0045-0046), to explaining to Ahlam that he has been given a new chance (#10-3, 0048-0054), to finally turning to Taher and informing him that he would be going to the homework lesson again, and that he has to behave well (#10-3, 0060-0066). We see how Maryam reinforces what Brit and Taher's mother want, that is, that Taher attends homework help because he needs it to catch up with his peers. However, after the lesson, Maryam explains to me that one of the reasons for Taher not

being able to concentrate during homework help, was that he did not understand the exercises. This, however, was never discussed with Taher or any of his teachers during my fieldwork.

**TRANSCRIPT #10-4 TEAM ROOM 2, 04.01.10**

0071	J:	<i>Men hvis det er mange elever og</i>	J:	<i>But when there're many pupils and</i>
0072		<i>bare én lærer og han ikke kan svare på</i>		<i>just one teacher and he can't answer</i>
0073		<i>oppgavene, så blir man jo litt bråkete</i>		<i>the exercises, that makes you a bit</i>
0074		<i>av det.</i>		<i>noisy.</i>
0075	M:	<i>Mm.</i>	M:	<i>Mm.</i>
0076	(3.0)		(3.0)	
0077	J:	<i>Men da kommer han til å jobbe med</i>	J:	<i>But then he'll work with the</i>
0078		<i>lekseheftet?</i>		<i>homework booklet?</i>
0079	M:	<i>Ja. Han fikk forklaring av Brit. Men</i>	M:	<i>Yeah. He got explanation from Brit. But</i>
0080		<i>no- euh-</i>		<i>no- eh-</i>
0081	J:	<i>På lekseheftet?</i>	J:	<i>On the homework booklet?</i>
0082	M:	<i>På lekseheftet.</i>	M:	<i>On the homework booklet.</i>
0083	J:	<i>Ja.</i>	J:	<i>Yeah.</i>
0084	M:	<i>Jeg sa til han, først fikk du hjelp av</i>	M:	<i>I said to him, first you got help from</i>
0085		<i>Brit, nå får du hjelp av meg. Du skal</i>		<i>Brit, now you get help from me. You'll</i>
0086		<i>få hjelp i leksetimen.</i>		<i>get help during the homework lesson.</i>
0087		<i>Det blir tre ganger. Så det blir lettere</i>		<i>That'll be three times. It'll be easier</i>
0088		<i>for deg å gjøre lekser.</i>		<i>for you to do your homework.</i>
0089	J:	<i>Ja.</i>	J:	<i>Yeah.</i>
0090	M:	<i>Men han skjønte ikke alle</i>	M:	<i>But he didn't understand all the</i>
0091		<i>oppgavene selv om han fikk hjelp</i>		<i>exercises even though he got help</i>
0092		<i>av Brit.</i>		<i>from Brit.</i>
0093	J:	<i>Nei.</i>	J:	<i>No.</i>
0094	M:	<i>Han måtte få hjelp- forklaring på</i>	M:	<i>He needed to get help- explanation in</i>
0095		<i>arabisk.</i>		<i>Arabic.</i>
0096	J:	<i>Mm.</i>	J:	<i>Mm.</i>
0097	M:	<i>Derfor tok det lang tid av meg.</i>	M:	<i>That's why it took me such a long time.</i>
0098	J:	<i>Ja, ikke sant. Ja.</i>	J:	<i>Yeah, right. Yeah.</i>

The transcript shows how I initiate a topical episode on behaviour and understanding (#10-4, 0071-0074), and how Maryam follows up by explaining that even after Taher had got help from Brit, he needed an explanation of the exercises in Arabic (#10-4, 0079-0080). Interestingly, this topic of understanding or the need for an explanation in Arabic was never discussed by Maryam and Brit during my fieldwork (see also Chapter 11).

Maryam spent the last six minutes of the lesson teaching the pupils the Arabic letter *ز* (zay). Her aim was to teach them a new letter each week. She had copied colourful pages from a literacy book for beginners in Arabic, and made a leaflet for Nadia (grade 1), Ahlam and Taher. The rest of her pupils had developed good reading and writing skills in Arabic before their arrival to Norway. Because they did not have very much time to work with the

leaflet this lesson, Maryam told Ahlam and Taher that they would also be working with it together with Nadia the next day. The first page was covered with a drawing with items starting in ج: button, fly, olive, flower, and the like. The pupils eagerly shouted out words, and Maryam praised them for their good work. Ahlam shouted “زرافة” (*giraffe*), and was able to give the translation into Norwegian, when asked by Maryam. After this, the pupils drew a ring round this letter, distinguishing it from others.

After the lesson, on our way back to team room 2, I asked Maryam how she decided on the order of introducing the different letters in Arabic; was there a specific ‘Arabic’ order, or did she link it to the order the letters were introduced to the pupils in Norwegian. She answered that she followed the Arabic alphabet, which is different from the Norwegian order. ‘Z’, for example, is number eleven in the Arabic alphabet. This meant that Nadia learnt to spell this sound in Arabic before she learnt it in Norwegian. Taher had finished grade 1 in his home country before coming to Norway and knew most letters in Arabic. Ahlam, on the other hand, was born in Norway, and according to Maryam she was better at Norwegian than Arabic. I pointed out that Ahlam seemed very motivated for the new letter, and Maryam started explaining how Ahlam had shown her how to put together two letters to make a word (#10–5, 0092–0094).

#### TRANSCRIPT #10–5 HALLWAY

- |      |       |   |    |  |
|------|-------|---|----|--|
| 0087 | J:    | <i>Men euh Ahlam virka veldig motivert for den nye bokstaven.</i>   | J: | <i>But euh Ahlam seemed very motivated for that new letter.</i>  |
| 0088 |       |   |    |  |
| 0089 | M:    | <i>Ja. xx</i>   | M: | <i>Yeah. xx</i>  |
| 0090 | J:    | <i>Satt ring rundt og.</i>  | J: | <i>Put a ring round.</i>   |
| 0091 | (4.0) |   | J: | <i>(4.0)</i>   |
| 0092 | M:    | <i>Euh, hun viste meg at hun kunne lese. Hun kan sette sammen to bokstaver for å lage et ord. Som hun euh- hun tok r uten punktum</i> | M: | <i>Eh, she showed me that she could read. She can put together two letters to make a word. Like she eh- she took r without a dot</i> |
| 0093 |       |   |    |  |
| 0094 |       |   |    |  |
| 0095 |       |   |    |  |
| 0096 | J:    | <i>Ja.</i>  | J: | <i>Yeah.</i>   |
| 0097 | M:    | <i>for å vise at r er uten.</i>   | M: | <i>to show that r is without.</i>  |
| 0098 | J:    | <i>Å ja, riktig, den punktum eller?</i>   | J: | <i>Oh yeah, right, the dot or?</i>   |
| 0099 | M:    | <i>Ja, sånn ((tegner i lufta)) og zay er med.</i>   | M: | <i>Yeah, like ((draws in the air)) and zay is with.</i>  |
| 0100 |       |   |    |  |
| 0101 | J:    | <i>Ja.</i>  | J: | <i>Yeah.</i>   |
| 0102 | M:    | <i>Hvis vi- hvis vi setter sammen r og z, det blir rz, ris.</i>   | M: | <i>If we- if we put together r and z, it becomes rz, rice.</i>   |
| 0103 |       |   |    |  |
| 0104 | J:    | <i>Lis?</i>   | J: | <i>Lice?</i>   |
| 0105 | M:    | <i>rz, ris.</i>   | M: | <i>rz, rice.</i>   |
| 0106 | J:    | <i>ris, riktig, ja.</i>   | J: | <i>Rice, right, yeah.</i>  |
| 0107 | M:    | <i>Ja, ris. Så og hvis vi setter z med r,</i>   | M: | <i>Yeah, rice. So and if we put z with r,</i>  |
| 0108 | J:    | <i>Ja.</i>  | J: | <i>Yeah.</i>   |

- |      |    |  |    |   |
|------|----|--|----|---|
| 0109 | M: | <i>Det blir r til slutt.</i>               | M: | <i>There's r in the end.</i>                |
| 0110 | J: | <i>Ja.</i>                                 | J: | <i>Yeah.</i>                                |
| 0111 | M: | <i>zr. Det blir knapp.</i>                 | M: | <i>zr. It's button.</i>                     |
| 0112 | J: | <i>Ja.</i>                                 | J: | <i>Yeah.</i>                                |
| 0113 | M: | <i>Knapp.</i>                              | M: | <i>Button.</i>                              |
| 0114 | J: | <i>Så flink hun var.</i>                   | J: | <i>She's so good.</i>                       |
| 0115 | M: | <i>Ja, ikke sant.</i>                      | M: | <i>Yeah, isn't' she.</i>                    |
| 0116 | J: | <i>Det er morsomt.</i>                     | J: | <i>That's nice.</i>                         |
| 0117 | M: | <i>Hun har begynt å knekke lesekoden.</i>  | M: | <i>She's started to learn how to read.</i>  |
| 0118 | J: | <i>Ja, ja, ja, ja. Å da har hun kommet</i> | J: | <i>Yeah, yeah, yeah. Oh then she's come</i> |
| 0119 |    | <i>et langt stykke på vei da.</i>          |    | <i>a long way then.</i>                     |
| 0120 | M: | <i>Euh jeg tror det, ja.</i>               | M: | <i>Eh I think so, yeah.</i>                 |

The transcript above illustrates a topical development in this conversation event, that is, from being about Ahlam's motivation, to Maryam explaining what exactly the girl had managed in Arabic, to finally concluding that she had learnt a lot. In other words, my initiative led to Maryam explaining a part of the lesson I had observed, but not understood as I do not understand Arabic. What is particularly interesting here is the fact that during my fieldwork, neither Maryam nor her colleagues ever initiated talk about Maryam's teaching in Arabic or about her pupils' progress in basic Arabic literacy skills. So, Maryam never shared her joy with other teachers when the pupils' made good progress in Arabic, nor did she make pedagogical reflections (#10–5), or discuss her frustrations with them as she did with me in #10–6.

#### TRANSCRIPT #10–6 HALLWAY

- |      |    |  |    |   |
|------|----|--|----|---|
| 0121 | M: | <i>Men men hun jobber ikke hjemme.</i>           | M: | <i>But but she doesn't work at home.</i>              |
| 0122 |    | <i>Hun sa nei vi var i Danmark euh jeg</i>       |    | <i>She said no we were in Denmark eh I</i>            |
| 0123 |    | <i>kunne ikke jobbe med arabisk alfabet</i>      |    | <i>couldn't work on the Arabic alphabet</i>           |
| 0124 |    | <i>og sånn nei.</i>                              |    | <i>and like no.</i>                                   |
| 0125 | J: | <i>Ja.</i>                                       | J: | <i>Yeah.</i>  |
| 0126 | M: | <i>Jeg sa det er greit, men jeg skal ta</i>      | M: | <i>I said that's ok, but I'll</i>                     |
| 0127 |    | <i>kontakt med mor</i>                           |    | <i>contact your mum.</i>                              |
| 0128 | J: | <i>Ja.</i>                                       | J: | <i>Yeah.</i>  |
| 0129 | M: | <i>for å si at euh at det er viktig at mor</i>   | M: | <i>to say that eh it's important that mum</i>         |
| 0130 |    | <i>eller far hjelper henne.</i>                  |    | <i>or dad helps her.</i>                              |
| 0131 | J: | <i>Ja, ikke sant.</i>                            | J: | <i>Yeah, right.</i>                                   |
| 0132 | M: | <i>Ukesdager hun kunne ikke</i>                  | M: | <i>Days of the week, she didn't know</i>              |
| 0133 |    | <i>på arabisk, ikke på engelsk heller, bare</i>  |    | <i>in Arabic, not in English either, only</i>         |
| 0134 |    | <i>på norsk.</i>                                 |    | <i>in Norwegian.</i>                                  |
| 0135 | J: | <i>Ja.</i>                                       | J: | <i>Yeah.</i>  |
| 0136 | M: | <i>Taher kan kan dem på</i>                      | M: | <i>Taher knows knows them in</i>                      |
| 0137 |    | <i>norsk, på engelsk og på arabisk.</i>          |    | <i>Norwegian, in English and in Arabic.</i>           |
| 0138 | J: | <i>Ja. Han kunne alt på tre</i>                  | J: | <i>Yeah. He knew them all in three</i>                |
| 0139 |    | <i>språk, sånn <b>seven days</b>, sju dager,</i> |    | <i>languages, like <b>seven days</b>, seven days,</i> |
| 0140 |    | <i><u>sabat illiom.</u></i>                      |    | <i><u>seve deiys.</u></i>                             |

0141 M: Saba'ayiam.

M: Seven days.

0142 J: [*Hehe.*]

J: [*Hehe.*]

0143 M: [*Hehe. Ja, de blir flerspråklige.*]

M: [*Hehe. Yeah, they become multilingual.*]

For Maryam, it was clearly not enough that Ahlam knew the days of the week in Norwegian as this would reduce her communicative possibilities when moving through a terrain which required Arabic language practices with her family or as a member of a global world with regard to English. This, however, was not something Maryam collaborated about with any other teachers. Instead, she would contact the parents and tell them to help Ahlam with this. She closed the topic by praising Taher who had known the words in all three languages (#10–6, 0136–0137), and concluded that they become multilingual (#10–6, 0143).

The fact that Maryam did not directly collaborate with any of her colleagues on the teaching of beginning literacy in Arabic itself does not mean that she did not topicalise the organisation of it. On the contrary, Maryam frequently negotiated for a better teaching room and more time. As we saw in this second period, Maryam did not have much time to teach Ahlam and Taher the new letter 'zay'. The following week, she told me that she would not have time at all to teach them yet another new letter, trying to keep up with Nadia's progression. She was frustrated about this, saying that she was going to ask Brit if she could take them out of tomorrow's basic Norwegian lesson and teach them the new letter together with Nadia. Because Brit did not work on Tuesdays, she had to wait until the next day.

On Wednesday, Maryam addressed Brit during the lunch break and asked whether she would be teaching Ahlam and Taher in the next lesson. Brit confirmed this and asked whether Maryam also would be teaching them. Maryam replied that she thought of teaching them the first half hour (#10–7, 0147–0148). In the conversational event below, we see how both teachers actively develop the topic, making contributions that expand their common ground. The transcript illustrates a topical episode on the organisation of basic literacy in Arabic in terms of teaching time.

**TRANSCRIPT #10–7 TEAM ROOM 2, 13.01.10**

0147 M: *Brit? Skal du ha Ahlam og*

M: *Brit? Are you teaching Ahlam and*

0148 *Taher nå?*

*Taher now?*

0149 B: *Ja. Skal DU ha?*

B: *Yeah, Are YOU?*

0150 (1.0)

(1.0)

0151 M: *Hehe.*

M: *Hehe.*



0152 (1.0)  
 0153 M: *Jeg tenkte å ta dem i første*  
 0154 *halvdelen av timen. Er det greit eller?*  
 0155 B: *Ja, asså, egentlig synes jeg det er litt*  
 0156 *dumt at euh at vi må ta*  
 0157 *norsk-to-timene*  
 0158 *mine fordi jeg bare har de tre*  
 0159 *timene i uka med de og nå var*  
 0160 *Taher borte på mandag men euh jeg*  
 0161 *trodde vi hadde lagt opp en plan sånn*  
 0162 *at ikke de kræsja men euh- Er det noe*  
 0163 *som har kommet nå?*  
 0164 M: *Nei. Nei jeg skal ikke ha dem.*  
 0165 B: *Hva- hva tenkte du på?*  
 0166 M: *Jeg har én- bare EN time med dem så*  
 0167 *jeg rekker ikke å jobbe med tema*  
 0168 *kroppen og lekse-*  
 0169 *[hefte.*  
 0170 B: *[Har du bare EN time med*  
 0171 *Taher?*  
 0172 M: *Bare EN time.*  
 0173 B: *På tirsdag?*  
 0174 M: *Euh ja. Bare EN time*  
 0175 B: *Å?*  
 0176 M: *på tirsdag.*  
 0177 B: *Jeg trodde du hadde litt mer tid med de*  
 0178 *jeg.*  
 0179 M: *Så [så-*  
 0180 B: *[Da må vi se på planen*  
 0181 *en gang til. Er det din?*  
 0182 M: *Nei.*  
 0183 B: *Nei, det er Sahra og Mirna sin. Euhm.*  
 0184 M: *Jeg tenker jeg å ta dem- Når jeg*  
 0185 *tar dem- Nadia- jeg rekker ikke*  
 0186 *å gi dem denne arabiske opplæ- lese-*  
 0187 *og skriveopplæringen.*  
 0188 B: *Nei, det skjønner jeg.*  
 0189 M: *Og jeg har ikke time etter skoletid.*  
 0190 B: *Nei.*  
 0191 M: *Så jeg tenker å ta d- å gi*  
 0192 *dem én bokstav HVER uke, men*  
 0193 *jeg rekker ikke å å gi dem lese- og*  
 0194 *skriveopplæring på arabisk*  
 0195 *i tillegg til å gå gjennom*  
 0196 *leksehefte og å forklare*  
 0197 *tema som kroppen*  
 0198 B: *Nei.*  
 0199 M: *som dere jobber med.*  
 0200 B: *Ja.*  
 0201 M: *Så- Det er ikke nok.*  
 ((sekvens utelatt))  
 0215 B: *Nei men gjør det da Maryam. Da tar du*

(1.0)  
 M: *I was thinking of teaching them*  
*during the first half hour. Is that ok?*  
 B: *Well, eh, actually I think that it's a bit*  
*a shame that eh that we have to take*  
*from my lessons in Norwegian as a*  
*second language cause I only have*  
*three hours a week with them and now*  
*Taher was absent on Monday but eh I*  
*thought we had planned like*  
*that it didn't clash but eh- Is this*  
*a recent change?*  
 M: *No. No I'm not teaching them now.*  
 B: *What- What were you thinking of?*  
 M: *I have one- just ONE lesson with them*  
*so I don't mangage to work with the*  
*theme the body and the homework*  
*[leaflet*  
 B: *[Do you just have ONE lesson with*  
*Taher?*  
 M: *Just ONE lesson.*  
 B: *On Tuesday?*  
 M: *Eh yeah. Just ONE lesson*  
 B: *Oh?*  
 M: *on Tuesday.*  
 B: *I though you had a bit more time with*  
*them.*  
 M: *So [so-*  
 B: *[Then we have to have another look*  
*at the plan. Is this yours?*  
 M: *No.*  
 B: *No, it's Sahra and Mirna's. Eh.*  
 M: *I'm thinking of teaching them- When I*  
*teach them- Nadia- I don't have time*  
*to give them the Arabic train- reading*  
*and writing training.*  
 B: *No, I see.*  
 M: *And I don't have lessons after school.*  
 B: *No.*  
 M: *So I'm thinking of teaching th- to teach*  
*them one new letter EVERY week, but*  
*I don't have time to to give them the*  
*reading and writing training in Arabic*  
*in addition to going through the*  
*homework leaflet and to explain the*  
*theme like the body*  
 B: *No.*  
 M: *what you are working on.*  
 B: *Yeah.*  
 M: *So- It's not enough.*  
 ((sequence left out))  
 B: *No but do that Maryam. You teach*

0214	<i>den første halvtimen og så kommer de</i>	<i>them the first half hour and then they</i>
0215	<i>inn til meg. Euh så tar de den siste</i>	<i>come to me. Eh and they take the last</i>
0216	<i>delen hos meg. Det går bra.</i>	<i>part with me. That's ok.</i>
0217	M: <i>Ja.</i>	M: <i>Yeah.</i>
0218	B: <i>Da gjør vi det sånn.</i>	B: <i>Then we do it like that.</i>
0219	M: <i>Tusen takk.</i>	M: <i>Thank you very much.</i>

Maryam's communicative project in this conversational event is to ask for and inform Brit about the extra time she needs. First, Brit thinks there is a mix-up in their teaching schedule (#10-7, 0160-0163), making her communicative project one of asking for clarification. In response, Maryam develops her project and goes on to explain that she is pressed for time, only having Ahlam and Taher one period a week (#10-7, 0166-0176). This is new information to Brit, who is also feeling the time pressure, having the pupils three periods a week in basic Norwegian. Three times, Maryam further develops the topic, each time by adding new information about why she needed more time. In other words, she takes many strong initiatives, in addition to her straightforward language, such as the expression "Jeg tenker å" (*I'm thinking of*) (#10-7, 0153, 0184, 191). Concluding that she understands Maryam's situation (#10-7, 0215-219), Brit agrees to share the next period.

Not all teachers asked Maryam to give a reason when she wanted more time with her pupils. In fact, the conversational episode in the next transcript between Maryam and Maren, the team leader of grade 2, is more typical. Here, Maryam also initiates a topical episode on the organisation of her lessons with Taher in terms of more time, and negotiates with Maren by asking when the best timing was to take out the boy: the PE lesson or the Norwegian learning centres:

**TRANSCRIPT #10-8 TEAM ROOM 2, 18.01.10**

0244	M: <i>Har du noen minutter?</i>	M: <i>Do you have a couple of minutes?</i>
0245	Ma: <i>Ja.</i>	Ma: <i>Yes.</i>
0246	M: <i>Jeg snakket med Brit om å ha Taher i</i>	M: <i>I talked to Brit about teaching Taher in</i>
0247	<i>en av disse timene ((peker på</i>	<i>one of these lessons ((points to</i>
0248	<i>ukeplanen))</i>	<i>weekly plan))</i>
0249	Ma: <i>Mm.</i>	Ma: <i>Mm.</i>
0250	M: <i>Hvis det passer.</i>	M: <i>If it's suitable.</i>
0251	Ma: <i>Det går bra.</i>	Ma: <i>That's ok.</i>
0252	M: <i>Er det greit? Hvilken? Her eller her?</i>	M: <i>Is it ok? Which one? Here or here?</i>
0253	<i>Første økt på på mandag eller første</i>	<i>The first period on Monday or the first</i>
0254	<i>økt på tirsdag?</i>	<i>period on Tuesday?</i>
0255	Ma: <i>Mmm.</i>	Ma: <i>Mmm.</i>
0256	(2.0)	(2.0)
0257	Ma: <i>Åssen er det med Taher i gymmen,</i>	Ma: <i>How's Taher doing in PE,</i>
0258	<i>Hedvig?</i>	<i>Hedvig?</i>

0259	H:	<i>Jo, sist vi hadde gym, da kom han ikke før det var over da.</i>	H:	<i>Well, last time we had PE, he didn't come until it was over.</i>
0261	Ma:	<i>Nei. Det er jo litt fint for han å være med i gym for da lærer han litt leker og-</i>	Ma:	<i>No. It's a bit nice for him to participate in PE cause then he learns some games and-</i>
0265	M:	<i>Ja.</i>	M:	<i>Yeah.</i>
0266	Ma:	<i>litt sånn. Jeg vet ikke.</i>	Ma:	<i>like that. I don't know.</i>
0267	H:	<i>Han er nå med og gjør- ja.</i>	H:	<i>He's here no and does- yeah.</i>
0268	Ma:	<i>Ja.</i>	Ma:	<i>Yeah.</i>
0269	H:	<i>Åssen andre timer er det du velger da?</i>	H:	<i>What other lessons do you choose then?</i>
0271	Ma:	<i>Første time stasjoner på mandag.</i>	Ma:	<i>First period learning centres on Monday.</i>
0272				
0273	(2.0)		(2.0)	
0274	Ma:	<i>Det er jo mer slitsomt for han på en måte, så-</i>	Ma:	<i>That's more demanding for him in a way, so-</i>
0275				
0276	M:	<i>Ja. Det er to timer, arbeidstimer, stasjon.</i>	M:	<i>Yeah. It's two lessons, study periods, learning centre</i>
0277				
0278	Ma:	<i>Egentlig er det stasjoner begge timer, men her er han med Brit, vet du.</i>	Ma:	<i>Actually both lessons are learning centres, but he's here with Brit, you know.</i>
0279				
0280				
0281	M:	<i>Ja. Så han blir tatt i to timer etter hverandre.</i>	M:	<i>Yeah, So he's taken out two lessons in a row.</i>
0282				
0283	Ma:	<i>Mm.</i>	Ma:	<i>Mm.</i>
0284	M:	<i>[Det blir dumt.</i>	M:	<i>[That's a shame.</i>
0285	Ma:	<i>[Da er det kanskje bedre med gym.</i>	Ma:	<i>[Then it's maybe better in PE</i>
0286	M:	<i>Ja.</i>	M:	<i>Yeah.</i>
0287	Ma:	<i>Gjør det du, Maryam.</i>	Ma:	<i>You do that, Maryam</i>
0288	M:	<i>Mm. Takk skal du ha.</i>	M:	<i>Mm. Thank you very much.</i>

As the extract shows, Maren immediately agrees (#10–8, 0251), without questioning why Maryam wants more time with her pupils. When Maryam specifically asks which lesson is best, gym or Norwegian learning centres, the team leader becomes unsure and consults the PE teacher who is sitting next to her. When Maryam and Maren discover that Brit already takes out Taher in the second of two learning centre lessons, they decide that it is best to take him out of PE (#10–8, 0285–0286). During my fieldwork, Maren always responded positively when Maryam asked for extra lessons with Taher (and sometimes Ahlam), but never asked for Maryam's reasons for doing so. A probable reason for this may be that she trusts Maryam in her decision, which is also natural as Maryam had more experience and specific formal qualifications in the field of teaching emergent bilingual pupils. At the same time, you could also say that Maren does not really take ownership of these pupils, but defers the responsibility to Maryam. In this way, Maryam's decisions and choices are not challenged.

Summing up, with regard to Maryam's collaboration with grade 2, there seemed to be established collaborative routines in terms of the distribution of the weekly plan and homework booklet. Maryam had also collaborated with Brit about the development of a bilingual book for their common pupils. These routines and direct collaboration, however, did not seem to contribute to the development of the teachers' common ground. In fact, Brit and Maryam's conversational event on Taher's behaviour problems during homework help, was of an informative nature, rather than being open and reflective. In a similar vein, Maryam frequently negotiated better rooms and more time for teaching in early literacy in Arabic, but there were no conversations between Maryam and her colleagues on the teaching itself. Here, Brit was the only teacher who really engaged in Maryam's projects, building common ground.

### PERIOD 3 – WITH NADIA IN A GROUP ROOM CONNECTED TO GRADE 1

Nadia was the youngest of Maryam's pupils. She arrived in Norway from the Palestine areas six months prior to the start of my fieldwork and had started with the rest of her peers in grade 1 in August. The girl did not follow lessons in the school's reception class for emergent bilingual pupils, but received teaching from Elin in basic Norwegian with a few other children from her grade. As a bilingual teacher, Maryam provided bilingual support for Nadia three lessons a week, two in basic Norwegian literacy and one in basic Arabic literacy. The rest of the week she followed lessons with her peers.

Table 17 illustrates the weekly plan for grade 1 for the first week of 2010, which Maryam had found it in her pigeon hole.

TABLE 17: WEEKLY PLAN 1 FOR GRADE 1, WEEK 1, 2010

<b>WEEKLY PLAN FOR GRADE 1 WEEK 1</b> <b>THEME: "My family"</b>					
<b>Social aim of the week: "I can sit still during circle time"</b>					
<b>Sound of the week: F f, D d, N n and V v</b>					
<b>Language games: Put a new sound at the beginning of a word</b>					
<b>Words of the week: It is ....., I see ....., it is ....., Here is .... and .....</b>					
	Monday 08.30-13.05	Tuesday 08.30-12.50	Wednesday 08.30-13.05	Thursday 08.30-14.05	Friday 08.30-12.50
<b>1<sup>st</sup> period</b>	<b>Circle time</b> <b>Norwegian:</b> Learning centres	<b>Circle time:</b> Language games <b>Maths:</b> Quantities and the number 5	<b>Circle time:</b> Language games <b>Norwegian:</b> Learning centres	<b>Circle time</b> Language games <b>Maths learning centres</b>	<b>Circle time</b> Language games <b>Maths:</b> The number and the quantity 5  The numbers 1-5
<b>2<sup>nd</sup> period</b>	<b>Norwegian:</b> Learning centres	<b>Study hour</b> <b>Running record</b> (See explanation in weekly update)	<b>Norwegian:</b> Learning centres	<b>Maths learning centres</b>	<b>BLUE GROUP:</b> English <b>RED GROUP:</b> Letter book <b>YELLOW GROUP:</b> Mathematics
<b>3<sup>rd</sup> period</b>	<b>Norwegian:</b> Learning centres	<b>BLUE GROUP:</b> Letter book <b>RED GROUP:</b> Mathematics <b>YELLOW GROUP:</b> English	<b>Norwegian:</b> Learning centres	<b>BLUE GROUP:</b> Mathematics <b>RED GROUP:</b> English <b>YELLOW GROUP:</b> Letter book	<b>BLUE GROUP:</b> Singing and moving <b>RED GROUP:</b> Helle Coupe <b>YELLOW GROUP:</b> Rhythm and instruments
<b>4<sup>th</sup> period</b>				<b>PE:</b> Sledging outside	
<b>Home-work:</b>	Tuba Luba p. 36 Reading folder	Reading folder	Tuba Luba p. 36 Reading folder		<b>Have a great weekend!</b>

The weekly plan in Table 17 above indicates the content of the lessons, the organisation (for example when the grade is divided into smaller colour groups according to the pupils' abilities in the different subjects) and the homework. During the second period on Tuesday, there is reference to "weekly update", which is a weekly information letter to the parents, often printed on the back of the weekly plan. With regard to this lesson, the parents are informed about the upcoming "Running record", where the children's reading level is evaluated in accordance with EYLP. During the third period on Friday, red group is scheduled for "Helle Coupe", which is a method for learning letters through the use of music and movement.

The third period on 5 January was Maryam’s first lesson with Nadia that week. We sat in one of the group rooms connected to grade 1 (see Appendix 13). Table 18 shows how Maryam divided her Norwegian lesson into six slots, trying to cover as much as possible: general information (4’), reading homework (18’), letter f (9’), letter d (3’), addition (5’) and family (12’).

**TABLE 18: ORGANISATION AND TEACHING OF NADIA, TUESDAY 05.01.10**

Time	Content	Teacher resp.	Source	Maryam’s supplement	Collaboration
11:56 12:00	Weekly plan	Bjørrg	Weekly plan	-	Maryam found weekly plan in pigeon hole 04.01.10
12:01 12:19	Reading homework	Bjørrg	Homework booklet	-	Maryam found booklet in pigeon hole 04.01.10
12:20 12:29	Letter f	Elin	<i>Ordboka mi (My dictionary)</i>	-	Maryam asked Elin during lunch 05.01.10
12:30 12:33	Letter d	Bjørrg	<i>Tuba Luba</i>	-	-
12:24 12:29	Addition	Bjørrg	-	Copies from a maths book	-
12:30 12:42	Family	Bjørrg	-	<i>Min ABC (My ABC)</i>	Maryam asked Elin during lunch 05.01.10

As Table 18 shows, Maryam’s Norwegian lesson with Nadia covers most items from the grade’s weekly plan. As for teaching materials, she worked with books or sheets used or developed by the grade’s teachers and by Elin, Nadia’s basic Norwegian teacher, in addition to taking her own supplements for mathematics and the theme of family.

As every first lesson, Maryam started by going through Nadia’s weekly plan. Following from this, she opened Nadia’s folder with her reading homework to check if her parents had signed it. When they had not done so, Maryam did the homework together with the girl, and signed the sheet. In line with the principles of EYLP, the child has to read through the book three times, while their parents guide them during these reading activities, and sign the sheet on completion. Maryam explained to me later that when she discovered that the reading homework had not been done, she would read with the pupil herself and sign the completion sheet. While reading with Nadia, she reminded the girl that it was important that her parents read with her. This reminder can be seen as an indirect way of collaborating with the grade’s teachers. During my fieldwork, once Maryam had asked Elin whether Nadia’s parents had signed the completion sheet. Elin had answered that she did not know because that was Bjørrg’s job, as contact teacher (20.01.10), not expanding on

the possible reasons for why Nadia's parents were not always involved in their child's reading homework.






UKAS ORD	UKE 2
 FISK	fisk
Morsmål.	
 FLY	fly
 FUGL	fugl
 FLUE	flue
 FLAGG	flagg

FIGURE 8: WORDS OF THE WEEK

After reading, Maryam asked Nadia to take the jotter *Ordboka mi* (*My dictionary; my translation*) and turn to the page with the letter f, which she had already worked on with Elin in the basic Norwegian lesson. As Figure 8 on the left shows, the sheet was divided into three columns: on the left were pictures of a fish, a plane, a bird, a fly and a flag, in Norwegian all starting with the sound f. Next to the pictures, each word was written in capital letters and in small letters. There was also a line under each word pair for *morsmål* (*mother tongue*). Maryam went through the words in Norwegian, and jotted down the equivalent in Arabic below. In this way, Elin

and Maryam collaborated with regard to Nadia's reading and writing skills, and it had become part of their collaborative routine.

Maryam also collaborated in a more indirect way with the teachers in grade 1 by using the same early literacy vocabulary with Nadia in Norwegian as the girl's teachers did, also giving the equivalent in Arabic. Transcript #10-9 is an example of this.

TRANSCRIPT #10-9 GROUP ROOM 1, 04.01.10

- |      |  |  |
|------|--|--|
| 0289 | M: على ت نط لعي ما عال صورة اط لعي               | M: <u>Look at the picture not at the word.</u>     |
| 0290 | إيش؟ صورة هاي شوال كلمة                          | <u>What is this picture?</u>                       |
| 0291 | [...]  | [...]  |
| 0292 | N: علم ..ايه                                     | N: <u>Eeh.. flag.</u>                              |
| 0293 | M: صوت، أول هذا يد ال نرويد جي هلا .علم framlyd. | M: <u>Flag. Now in Norwegian. The first</u>        |
| 0294 | ال هذا .fff fisk, fff fly.                       | <u>sound, initial sound. fff fish, fff plane.*</u> |
| 0295 | Fug :N   | N: <u>Fug</u>                                      |
| 0296 | fff fugl, fugl. :M                               | M: <u>fff bird, bird.*</u>                         |
| 0297 | Flue. :N   | N: <u>Fly.</u>                                     |
| 0298 | .fff flue, flagg.fff :M                          | M: <u>fff flag, fff fly.</u>                       |
| 0299 | ف بيها كلمة أو اسم أعط يني ط ييف                 | <u>Ok, give me a name or</u>                       |
| 0300 | ، ال صوت ف بيها أو bokstav                       | <u>a word with f, with the letter letter f,</u>    |
| 0301 | ال الحرف ف بيها                                  | <u>or with the sound.</u>                          |

\* Words starting with the sound /f/ in Norwegian.

Transcript #10–9 is similar to #10–1 in that Maryam uses translanguaging as a collaborative strategy. This time, however, Maryam not only draws on both languages to teach new words, but here she also uses the terms ‘initial sound’ (#10–9, 0294) and ‘letter’ (#10–9, 0300), central in the school’s method for teaching early literacy, each time providing the Arabic equivalent too.

In the group room, and in fact in all group room in grade 1 and 2, a multilingual chart similar to Elin’s sheets was hanging on the wall with the same pictures and words in Norwegian, but with space for the Vietnamese, Kurdish, Arabic, Amharic, Somali and Thai equivalents. Maryam jotted the words down in Arabic, and Nadia read them in Norwegian and Arabic. On the same chart, there were five words starting with the letter d, the letter the pupils had worked with before Christmas. Every other week Brit hung up a new chart with new words. This was a way of working the school had adopted the year before during the action research project, and which they carried out in grades 1 and 2. Again, in this way Brit and Maryam had established a collaborative routine. Brit told me that she had tried putting up the charts in the common room from time to time, but that it had not been easy to motivate teachers to use them there.

As mentioned in the introduction of this story, the reasons for Maryam’s preference for the group rooms for her teaching was the possibility to access the multilingual charts on the walls and other multilingual materials such as magnet letters in Arabic. This was not always possible, however, since the special needs teacher also used these rooms. At one point, Maryam was scheduled to teach Nadia in common room 1 and had taken Ahlam and Taher along. She knew that the group rooms in grade 1 were being used for special needs, so she took her pupils to one of the group rooms in grade 2. Upon arrival, however, she discovered that, as usual, Brit was there, and about to start her special needs lesson. Maryam explained the situation, and Brit replied that she could move her pupils to the common room because it was more important for Maryam and her pupils to be there. When I later interviewed Brit about this issue, she told me that it was more demanding to teach in the common room behind partitions on wheels because there were more potential distractions, and that especially Taher needed to maintain full concentration. I have no knowledge of how Brit and Elin taught special needs, but from having observed



Maryam, I knew that the group rooms were much richer when it came to linguistic resources than were common rooms or base rooms. This instance is again an example of Maryam topicalising the organisation of basic teaching in Arabic, this time, in terms of rooms.

Maryam and Nadia briefly turned to the exercise book from *Tuba Luba* and clapped the syllables in a number of Norwegian words starting with the letter d, each time checking if Nadia knew the equivalent in Arabic. Then, Maryam handed Nadia a new leaflet to practice the numbers from one to six, and made the additions in the next page, translanguaging in Norwegian and Arabic. The rest of the lesson they practiced words connected to the theme 'family', both in Norwegian and in Arabic, which was the grade's theme. When we left the lesson, Maryam proudly stated to me that Nadia had learnt a lot. Maryam also reminded me that she had to leave the school almost immediately to teach a pupil at the neighbouring lower secondary school.

Summing up, the fact that Nadia's parents had not assisted the girl in the reading homework, led to Maryam indirectly collaborating with the girl's contact teacher by prompting the girl to remind her parents to get involved. More direct collaboration in the sense of topicalising the lack of parental involvement could possibly have created opportunities for joint meaning making of the situation. The multilingual sheets and chart illustrate an established collaborative routine at the school. Interestingly, however, these routines did not seem to lead to verbal interaction on the teachers' experiences, possible usages for teaching, or further improvement of the teaching materials. Having said this, it has to be taken into consideration that these issues may have been topics in the past.

## DISCUSSION

Studying Maryam's bookcase led to an early insight into the great variety of her work, in terms of pupils, grades and subjects. As shown in the story, it also signals the loneliness of the job, that is, the fact that she was the only teacher in team room 2 who had multilingual material on her shelves, the only teacher who did not have most of her responsibilities in this grade, and the only teacher in the school who taught Arabic.

In this story, I have aimed at showing that the kind of withdrawal mode Maryam worked in required a lot of collaboration. In this discussion section I will particularly concentrate on two themes; firstly, collaborative routines, including indirect and direct

collaboration in a withdrawal mode, and secondly, (lack of) possibilities for the construction of common ground through verbal interaction. I will consider these two themes in the light of earlier research, Norway's overarching educational policy for emergent bilingual pupils (see Chapter 1), and some of the findings reported from Mohammed's case.

Because Maryam's pupils belonged to five different grades, it was impossible for her to attend all team meetings where the next week would be planned. Therefore, she heavily relied on the weekly plans made by the teams during these meetings for the necessary information, carefully linking her own teaching closely to that of the other teachers. If she did not find the plans in her pigeon hole or in the school's virtual learning platform, she would always ask for them, often physically calling on the teachers in their team rooms. This shows the importance of well-established collaborative routines in order for Maryam to be able to provide bilingual support for her pupils, closely linked to the mainstream.

Maryam also frequently collaborated with Brit and Elin to develop bilingual materials for their common emergent bilingual pupils, and multilingual charts on the walls in the group rooms, bilingual sheets in the pupils' jotters, and bilingual books appeared to be well-established collaborative routines. What did these routines contribute to? First of all, working with the multilingual materials enabled Maryam to contribute with her multilingual competence. Secondly, the routines led to a clear link between the content of the lessons in basic Norwegian and the content of Maryam's lessons. Once established, the routines did not seem to require verbal interaction between the teachers. Brit would put up the charts on the wall in the group rooms, and Maryam would jot down the equivalent in Arabic when she used the chart with her pupils for the first time. Similarly, Elin would glue the bilingual sheets in her pupils' jotter, and Maryam would write down the Arabic words when she used the sheets for the first time with her pupils. However, during the time of my fieldwork, I did not observe joint reflection between Maryam and the basic Norwegian teachers in connection with the usage of these materials with their pupils.

There is no doubt that the multilingual materials developed by the teachers at Bergåsen put the pupils' home languages in the centre of their learning activities. However, in this connection it is also important to remind ourselves about Norway's transition policy, which is in line with monoglossic language ideologies (García, 2009). That

is, the emergent bilingual pupils' home language is an instrument to learn Norwegian. Accordingly, it is the basic Norwegian teacher's letters, words, themes and books which are at the basis of all materials, not Maryam's, thus creating an imbalance between languages. In a similar vein, the way the languages are visualised in the materials may give the impression that there is a clear boundary between bilingual pupils' languages, reflecting dominant representations of multilingualism, plurilingual practices and language learning (Hélot, 2011). This is in contrast to how I observed Maryam and her pupils in fact using the multilingual sheets and charts, flexibly drawing on their entire repertoire, and thus perhaps revealing a different ideology of language.

Hélot (2011) challenges the concept of bilingual books, where the same text is present in both languages through translation, like those made by Brit and Maryam. She prefers dual language books, which use two languages to tell one story, arguing that they reflect bilingual language practices more exactly. In practice, this means that in dual language books not everything is translated into two languages, but rather reflects how multilinguals draw on their entire repertoire. Hélot argues that translation cannot be disassociated from multilingualism, "since it is the very process by which we can have access to a multiplicity of languages and cultures in the world" (p. 61).

Naturally, it is easier for teachers in Norway to find relevant books in Norwegian and have them translated into other languages. However, translating a book originally in Arabic into different languages has the potential of offering an experience of different literacy practices. Hélot (2011) points for example to the directionality of the Arabic language, and hence also the binding of the book from left to right, and argues that "[t]hrough comparison, beginner readers can be brought to understand the importance of directionality in their own language and in others, and that all languages are not read the same way" (p 56). This also points to the potential of using bilingual and dual language books for all children in the mainstream, and not only for emergent bilingual readers. Accordingly, the bilingual books made by Brit and Maryam are in themselves a resource, but what I am pointing to is their potential to be used in different ways when building on a different platform.

The multilingual resources drawn upon in the group rooms by Maryam and her pupils are in contrast to the occasional multilingual charts displayed on the walls in the common rooms and the monolingual books read, reinforcing Norway's transitional policy. There are,

consequently, lost opportunities in terms of exposing mainstream pupils to other linguistic systems, and offering monolingual pupils the opportunity to explore cross-linguistic and cultural barriers, and bilingual pupils to make use of and show their plurilingual repertoire in the mainstream (Hélot, 2011). Maryam was used to continuously comparing, contrasting and combining the two languages with her pupils, but had limited contact with the grade's pupils since she taught her emergent bilingual pupils outside the classroom and was mainly employed to provide bilingual support during a transition phase.

The analyses of the three lessons also show that Maryam collaborated with her pupils' teachers in many different indirect ways, which do not involve verbal interaction, but which nevertheless are a way of linking her own teaching to the mainstream. As noted in the story, Maryam would start the first lesson of the week with each pupil by going through the weekly plan, making sure they understood the homework and more general messages. She would also find extra material, often in Arabic or Arabic and English, but sometimes also in Norwegian, indirectly assisting her colleagues in helping their joint pupils to manage the same subject curriculum as their peers, or at least to catch up with them during this transition phase. Irrespective of the language used in the teaching materials, Maryam indirectly collaborated by flexibly drawing on the three languages. This approach is in line with what García (2009) has called *translanguaging* as a flexible multiple bilingual arrangement in line with heteroglossic ideologies of bilingual education.

In contrast to Mohammed who collaborated with Linn by *translanguaging* across turns and with Mette by giving renditions of her talk (see Chapter 6), Maryam collaborated indirectly with the grade's teachers through the written information on the weekly plan, drawing on all three languages concurrently. These different ways of *translanguaging* as a collaborative strategy may be viewed in the light of Bakhtin's (1934/1981, p. 430) notion of *heteroglossia* as struggles between different social languages. Whereas the data illustrated the dominant position of the Norwegian language in Mohammed's verbal classroom collaboration with Linn and Mette, Maryam was able to create a better balance between the different languages. In this connection, it is, however, important to remind ourselves about the different contexts and hence different conditions for teacher collaboration in the two cases. That is, Mohammed had not finished his teaching degree yet, and taught pupils with little or no schooling and varying skills in Somali at lower secondary school level in subjects he did not specialise in (see p. 109). Maryam, on the other hand, was a well-

qualified language teacher with a strong language teacher identity before she came to Norway. She had finished three degrees and taught primary school pupils who were all fluent in Arabic, and who all had full schooling prior to arrival (see p. 228). Also, the first years of primary school level centre on early literacy and language learning, whereas lower secondary school level is subject specific. In spite of the fact that Maryam taught in a withdrawal mode, the teaching was closer to that of her colleagues than Mohammed's.

Even though Mohammed and Maryam worked in different collaborative modes, since Mohammed was mainly teamed up with another teacher in the mainstream, and Maryam took out her pupils out of the mainstream, there are similarities with regard to the bilingual teachers' direct collaboration with others. In terms of topics, Maryam and Mohammed often collaborated about organisational issues. In terms of communicative projects, questions for clarification and commitment give the opportunity for the negotiation and construction of a common understanding. In Maryam's case, Brit negotiated about an understanding of Maryam's time pressure and their common pupils' needs, whereas in Mohammed's case these kinds of open conversations mainly took place between Mohammed and myself while we were on the move (see Chapter 7). On the whole, Maryam's multiple indirect ways of collaborating were not something that either she or her colleagues topicalised in their everyday conversations (for an exception see Chapter 11). The two issues which Maryam verbally collaborated with other teachers about were on topics of behaviour and organisation, such as Taher's challenges doing homework help and needing more time for early literacy training in Arabic, respectively. Possible ways of and challenges to teaching emergent bilingual pupils in order to adapt the teaching to their needs remain untopicalised in informal conversations, however.

An important question with regard to teacher collaboration is what these collaborative routines, indirect and direct collaboration in a withdrawal mode imply for the possibilities for joint meaning making and the building of common ground. Firstly, collaborative routines such as the sharing of weekly plans and making of teaching materials (when established as a routine such as the multilingual charts) did not seem to create many possibilities for creating common ground. In fact, it was only when the routine was violated that verbal interaction occurred.

Secondly, with regard to Maryam's indirect collaboration with her colleagues, issues such as Nadia's parents not having been involved in the reading homework, and Taher not

having been able to concentrate since he did not understand the homework leaflet, were issues Maryam had valuable insights into and which she indirectly collaborated about by prompting Nadia to tell her parents that they had to help, and by spending a lot of time preparing Taher for the homework lesson by explaining the leaflet in Arabic. None of these topics were reflected upon in verbal conversations during my fieldwork. Taking into consideration that Maryam only had between one and three lessons a week with each pupil, these are important issues for the teachers in the mainstream when they are to adapt their teaching to the needs of these emergent bilingual pupils. Similarly, in Mohammed's case, we saw that possible reasons for pupils skipping classes were not discussed (see Chapter 7).

From this, we may conclude that established collaborative routines, indirect and direct collaboration, as in more or less spontaneous and informal conversations, between teachers do not necessarily lead to the construction of mutual understanding with regard to how to meet the needs of emergent bilingual pupils. With regard to direct collaboration, an open and reflective, rather than informative nature of the participants' communicative projects seems to be important for joint meaning making and for creating possibilities for constructing common ground.

On the basis of the findings reported above, it is important to reflect upon possible reasons for this lack of collaborative opportunities, even at a school with a multilingual and multicultural profile such as Bergåsen's. Do teachers in general discuss issues related to their teaching? Is there time to do so? As we will see in the next story, the only time different opinions on bilingual pedagogies were in fact negotiated during my fieldwork was during a monthly teacher meeting for all teachers involved in the education of emergent bilingual pupils initiated by the school's management. This lack of opportunities to talk about common problems, the content of lessons and fruitful ways of teaching highlights the importance of leaders creating possibilities for teachers to construct common ground.

Every teacher team met once a week. What could Maryam's participation in these team meetings potentially have contributed to? Having a special focus on the emergent bilingual pupils, Maryam could, on the one hand, contribute with her expertise on the specific challenges this group of pupils face. On the other hand, these meetings could be an opportunity for Maryam to specifically share some of the issues she collaborated indirectly about, such as the reading homework and homework booklet, which would

enable the teachers to negotiate common ground with regard to the education of the grade's emergent bilingual pupils, who, after all, are more with their peers in the mainstream, than with their teachers in basic Norwegian and bilingual support. Also, as the best qualified language teacher in the group, possibly in the whole school, she would have had a valuable impact into the teaching of English to all pupils.

Due to her part time position, Maryam would only be able to attend a single grade's team meeting once every two months, that is, five times a year.<sup>53</sup> Considering the lack of continuity this would imply, I find it reasonable to doubt that Maryam would be able to make a mark on the team meetings, and that this would create many opportunities for the construction of common ground. This may also be a reason why the management at Bergåsen had decided that Maryam should prioritise the monthly meetings with all teachers involved in the teaching of emergent bilingual pupils (see Chapter 10). Whereas these meetings have the potential to create opportunities for constructing common ground amongst teachers who have a special interest and (often) formal qualifications in the teaching of this group of pupils, a large part of Maryam's work is linking her teaching to the mainstream. Therefore, it seems fair to conclude that there is a need for different meeting places, for bilingual teachers (and teachers in basic Norwegian) and mainstream teachers. In addition, there needs to be an increased awareness, on the one hand, that discussing behaviour and organisation is not enough for creating possibilities for the construction of common ground, and on the other hand, of the importance of conversations on the pupils' understanding and different ways of teaching emergent bilingual pupils.

Drawing on research on ESL and subject teacher collaboration in the mainstream, Arkoudis (2006) warns against the assumption that it is unproblematic for teachers with different epistemological authority to negotiate pedagogic understandings when planning curricula together. On the contrary, she refers to it as

a complex and complicated process, where the two teachers try to negotiate the mainstream curriculum through their epistemological understandings and through the power relationships that exist within the microsocial world of their school context. (p. 416)

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<sup>53</sup> At the time of my study, Bergåsen had divided its teachers into seven teams, meeting once a week. Maryam worked sixty per cent at the school, being responsible for the teaching of pupils from five grades. Accordingly, she would have to attend five out of eight meetings.

Furthermore, Arkoudis points out that ESL teachers often have a low position in the school and lack the experience of presenting their pedagogy to other teachers. When creating meeting places for bilingual teachers and subject teachers, these would be important issues to take into consideration.

In Maryam's case I would say that she had the formal background as well as the experience needed. In fact, she was precisely the example of a well-qualified and hard working language teacher, especially with regard to the education of emergent bilingual pupils, with strong opinions on her teaching, as we will see in the next story. The question is more one of whether she was in a position to negotiate pedagogical understandings, and whether she had the opportunities to do so.



## 11 NEGOTIATING DIFFERENT OPINIONS ON BILINGUAL TEACHING

*Så vi trenger å sitte sammen og jobbe og diskutere flere ting som er felles.*

*So we need to sit together and work and discuss several things which are shared.*

Maryam, 7 December 2009

### INTRODUCTION

Even though Maryam made bilingual books and multilingual charts with Brit and multilingual sheets with Elin, all her colleagues at Bergåsen did not approve of her multilingual approach. In fact, precisely the issue of using several languages for teaching was at the heart of an on-going disagreement between Maryam and Kine (see p. 231). Their potential conflict was not much of a topic for discussion, but during my weeks of shadowing it gradually came to the surface across twenty-one conversational events (see Appendix 7, story 2), fourteen of which occurred across two specific non-consecutive days during the first and last week of my fieldwork: 7 December 2009 and 11 January 2010.

Different opinions about bilingualism in general and bilingual education in particular not only lead to different teaching practices; they also have to be studied and understood as an important factor for different forms of teacher collaboration. The story told in this chapter therefore deals with different – and at times conflicting – opinions on bilingual education, and how these were negotiated at Bergåsen primary school.

In Table 19 below the fourteen central events of the story are structured chronologically, in addition to an event from 18 January 2010. The table gives information about when (date, teaching period of the day, and approximate time) and where (location) each conversational event took place; and specifies the number of each transcript, the interactants and additional participants present, and the topic talked about. For reasons of analysis, two events have been divided into several transcripts following topical boundaries. These are #11–7 and #11–8, and #11–12 to #11–17. For purposes of clarity, these transcripts have been shaded grey, thus emphasising that they belong to the same event.

**TABLE 19: CONVERSATIONAL EVENTS CONCERNING DIFFERENT OPINIONS ON BILINGUAL TEACHING**

Period	Place	Tran-script	Interac-tants	Additional participants	Topic
07.12.09					
1 <sup>st</sup>	Base 3	#1	M, J	R	Content of lesson R: superstition, family
		#2	M, J	R	Content of lesson R: Christmas
After 1 <sup>st</sup>	Team room 2	#3	M, J	Other teachers	Content of lesson R: Christmas
Before 2 <sup>nd</sup>	Hallway	#4	M, J	-	Covering a lot
	Hallway	#5	M, K	J	R's homework
	Hallway	#6	M, J	Base-4 pupils	Norwegian teachers
After 3 <sup>rd</sup>	Staff room	#7	M, J	-	Discussion on bilingual pedagogy
		#8			
11.01.10					
Before 1 <sup>st</sup>	Hallway	#9	M, J	-	1 <sup>st</sup> lesson the same as K, 2 <sup>nd</sup> lesson the same as grade 2
Lunch	Team room 2	#10	M, J	Other teachers	Disagreement on bilingual teaching
After 3 <sup>rd</sup>	Meeting room	#11	M, K, L, B, T, E	J	Bilingual teachers' tasks
		#12	M, K, L, B, T	J	Bilingual teachers' tasks
		#13			
		#14			
		#15			
		#16			
		#17			
	Meeting room	#18	K, M		
	Team room 2	#19	M, B	J	Bilingual teachers' tasks
18.01.10					
Lunch	Staffroom	#20	M, S	Other members of staff	1 <sup>st</sup> lesson the same as K, 2 <sup>nd</sup> lesson the same as grade 2

Teachers: B (Brit), E (Elin), K (Kine), M (Maryam), T (Tora), S (Stine); Assistant principal: L (Lene); Pupil: R (Rania); Researcher: J (Joke)

As Table 19 shows, the conversational events in #11-1 to 11-10, and #11-18 to #11-20 are ordinary, spontaneous conversations located across the school, whereas the conversational episodes represented in #11-11 to #11-17 are part of a planned monthly teacher meeting located in one of the school's meeting rooms. Eight of the nine informal conversations that took place before the teacher meeting were between Maryam and me, one was between Maryam and Kine. The three informal conversations after the meeting were between Kine and Maryam (#18), Maryam and Brit (#19), and Maryam and Stine

(#20), respectively. The teacher meeting naturally involved more participants: Maryam and Kine, the assistant principle Lene, the teachers in basic Norwegian for more advanced learners – Brit, Elin and Tora – and me.

All these events are drawn upon to tell the story below, but my analysis will first zoom in on three informal conversations (#11–5, 11–7, 11–8), thereafter on a discussion of mother tongue teacher’s tasks at a teacher meeting (#11–11 to 11–17), and finally on two informal conversations after the meeting (#11–18, #11–20). The central analytical concepts used are Linell’s (1998) *communicative activity types* (see p. 89), *communicative projects* (see p. 90) and *topical episodes* (see p. 91).

## OPINIONS ON BILINGUAL TEACHING EXPRESSED IN INFORMAL CONVERSATIONS

Monday 7 December 2009 was my first day of shadowing at Bergåsen. Maryam’s first lesson that day was with Rania, and the three of us sat down at a round table behind colourful partitions on wheels in a corner of the common room for grade 3, while the rest of the grade 3 pupils sat in their respective base rooms connected to the common room (see Appendix 13). Maryam started teaching immediately. From time to time, she looked up and commented on what she was doing, a way of including me as a non-Arabic speaker (see Table 19, #11–1 and 11–2).

This first lesson not only gave me an early insight into the many decisions Maryam made when adapting her teaching to the needs of single pupils, the two conversational events listed above also represent what turned out to be one of her recurrent topics in our conversations, that is, her ways of working. On this occasion Maryam mentioned two different period plans: the plan for grade 3 and Kine’s plan in basic Norwegian for the reception class. This time she decided not to follow the plan for grade 3 as they were working with the theme superstition, a theme, she argued, which would be too difficult for Rania. Instead, she followed Kine’s plan, supplementing it with her own sheets in Arabic and Norwegian, translanguaging in Arabic and Norwegian (and as became clear later, English too). Little was I to know that precisely these two plans and the usage of more than one language were at the root of Maryam and Kine’s disagreement.

After the bell had rung, and Rania had joined the rest of the grade 3 pupils again, Maryam and I walked back to team room 2. We talked about the fact that Rania had

worked well this lesson, and about differences between Norwegian and Arabic with regard to names for family members (Table 19, #11–3).

Walking through the hallway on our way to the next lesson, Maryam told me that Kine was impressed by how much she was able to cover during her lessons (Table 19, #11–4). Having reached the staircase, we met Kine who was on her way down to the first floor. She stopped to explain to Maryam why she had not included any homework in basic Norwegian in Rania’s period plan:

**TRANSCRIPT #11–5 HALLWAY**

0072	K:	<i>Jeg skrev på ukeplanen til Rania at jeg gir henne arbeidsoppgaver når jeg møter henne.</i>	K:	<i>I wrote in Rania’s weekly plan that I will give her exercises when I meet her.</i>
0073				
0074				
0075	M:	<i>Jeg så det.</i>	M:	<i>I saw that.</i>
0076	K:	<i>Ja, du skjønnte hva jeg mente?</i>	K:	<i>Yeah, you understood what I meant?</i>
0077	M:	<i>Mm.</i>	M:	<i>Mm.</i>
0078	K:	<i>For det er litt vanskelig å- Jeg vil gjerne snakke med henne når jeg gir og se i boka hennes hvor langt hun har kommet og hva slags oppgaver hun kan klare.</i>	K:	<i>Cause it’s a bit difficult to- I’d like to talk to her when I give and see in her book how far she’s come and what kind of exercises she can manage.</i>
0079				
0080				
0081				
0082				
0083	M:	<i>Ja.</i>	M:	<i>Yeah.</i>

This transcript (#11–5) illustrates an informative communicative project where Kine updates Maryam on how she adapts the homework to the needs of Rania: she wants to talk to the pupil and check how far she has come in her book, before making a decision on what kind of exercises she will be able to manage. Maryam contributes to the project with minimal responses. She confirms that she has noticed that Kine has not written Rania’s homework into her period plan, but she does not contribute to any elaboration of the topic and therefore not to progressing the conversational event in any way either.

When Kine was out of sight, however, and we had reached the top of the staircase, Maryam compared her own way of working with bilingual pupils to that of her Norwegian colleagues. Her experience was that Norwegian teachers work more slowly than, and not so much as, teachers in her home country. She exemplified this by referring to one colleague who did not work during weekends, indirectly saying she herself worked a lot (Table 19, #11–6). Having Maryam and Kine’s recent conversation in mind (#11–5), this was the first time I sensed that a potential disagreement came to the surface, here in terms of Maryam’s perceived dedication as a teacher.

After the second teaching period, Maryam and I had lunch in the staff room together with Brit and Kine. As mentioned earlier, conversations during lunch breaks were not recorded. Consequently they are not included in Table 19 either. In my journal I have, however, noted that Kine talked eagerly about her work in the school's reception class, how she preferred language heterogeneous groups instead of groups dominated by, for example, Arabic language pupils, and how she always tried to find a common theme for the group, made up of pupils from different grades.

Kine was the contact teacher for all emergent bilingual pupils in the school, and worked closely together with the team leaders. One consequence of this, she said, was that she would often feed the school's mother tongue teachers with the necessary information coming from the teams and instruct them on how to do their teaching. Talking about mother tongue teachers, she also stated that they should only be teaching in their mother tongue, and not in Norwegian, hence strictly separating the two languages for teaching purposes (Jacobson & Faltis, 1990). No one at the table responded to Kine's arguments, but straight after Maryam and I had left the staff room, my fieldnotes record that Maryam explained to me that neither Brit nor Lene agreed with her opinions, thus suggesting that they, like herself, were in favour of a more flexible approach to bilingual pedagogy (Creese & Blackledge, 2010; García, 2009).

After the third teaching period, Maryam would normally leave to fetch her son from school, but this day he was sick and at home with his father. She assured me that there was no need to rush and invited me to the staff room to talk more in private about her work at Bergåsen. Like other running conversations between Maryam and myself, this event represents a specific *communicative activity type* (Marková et al., 2007, p. 71–74), that is, researcher-participant conversations.

Before I started shadowing Maryam at Bergåsen, I had informed her that the purpose of my study was not to evaluate what she did, but rather to gain an understanding of her work as bilingual teacher and of the collaboration with her colleagues. This activity framing defined many aspects of our communicative activities our expectations, purposes and activity roles, amongst other. In this vein, Maryam often initiated talk where she explained her work, or answered my open questions about her work. Moreover, this communicative activity type invited us to exploit our social roles as bilingual teacher and researcher,

respectively, also when adopting different activity roles in our running conversations, such as instigator of a topic, main speaker, active addressee, overhearer, and so forth.

In our final researcher-participant conversation this day the teachers' disagreement on bilingual education was explicitly discussed and thus confirmed for the first time. As shown in the transcript below, Maryam was the instigator of the topic of our conversation (cf. #11-7, 0095-0096). She refers to and elaborates on a discussion during the previous monthly teacher meeting at Bergåsen, whereas I act as the active addressee (see for example #11-7, 0097, 0102 and 0104), mainly contributing with minimal responses.

#### TRANSCRIPT #11-7 STAFF ROOM

0095	M:	<i>Som Brit sa at vi har møte hver fjerde mandag.</i>	M:	<i>Like Brit said that we have a meeting every fourth Monday</i>
0096			J:	<i>Right.</i>
0097	J:	<i>Riktig.</i>	M:	<i>And we had last meeting in the last meeting we had a discussion on eh</i>
0098	M:	<i>Og vi hadde sist møte i siste møtet hadde vi diskusjon om euh hva euh hva euh hva må den tospråklige læreren jobbe med?</i>		<i>what eh what eh what the bilingual teacher should work on.</i>
0099			J:	<i>Mm.</i>
0100	J:	<i>Mm.</i>	M:	<i>with the bi- bilingual pupils.</i>
0101			J:	<i>Mm.</i>
0102	M:	<i>Med to- tospråklige elevene.</i>	M:	<i>Eh Kine like she said- like she said today- she thinks that a mother tongue teacher has to work with the theme in just the mother tongue,</i>
0103	J:	<i>Mm.</i>	J:	<i>Mm.</i>
0104	M:	<i>Euh Kine som hun sa- som hun sa i dag- hun synes at en morsmålslærer må jobbe med tema bare på morsmålet,</i>	M:	<i>not in Norwegian.</i>
0105	J:	<i>Mm.</i>	J:	<i>Mm.</i>
0106	M:	<i>ikke på norsk.</i>	M:	<i>Yeah.</i>
0107	J:	<i>Mm.</i>	J:	<i>Hehe. You don't agree?</i>
0108	M:	<i>Ja.</i>	M:	<i>No.</i>
0109	J:	<i>Hehe. Du er ikke enig?</i>	J:	<i>No.</i>
0110	M:	<i>Nei.</i>	M:	<i>Eh Lene didn't qu- quite agree either. And nor did Brit.</i>
0111	J:	<i>Nei.</i>	J:	<i>No.</i>
0112	M:	<i>Euh Lene var ikke he- helt enig heller. Og ikke Brit heller.</i>	M:	<i>I talked to her. The day after she came to me and said Maryam I think you're right.</i>
0113	J:	<i>Nei.</i>		
0114	M:	<i>Jeg snakket med henne. Dagen etter kom hun til meg og sa du Maryam jeg tror at du har rett.</i>		
0115				
0116				
0117				
0118				
0119				
0120				
0121				
0122				

Maryam's communicative project in this transcript is to inform me about the previous monthly meeting where Kine had said that mother tongue teachers should be working with the grade's theme, and only in their mother tongue, leaving the teaching of the Norwegian language to the basic Norwegian teacher. As mentioned above, I had heard Kine express the same opinion earlier that day, during the lunch break. Maryam repeats

that Lene “*var ikke helt enig*” (*had not quite agreed*) with Kine (#11–7, 0117), and that Brit had come to her after the meeting saying that “*du Maryam, jeg tror at du har rett*” (*Maryam, I think you are right*) (#11–7, 0121–0122). I do not know whether Lene and Brit actually used words like ‘quite’ and ‘think’ when expressing their disagreement and agreement, respectively. However, if Maryam had toned down their statement when reporting what they had said, this may nevertheless be taken to indicate the complexity and sensitivity of the issue.

Maryam went on to say that she wanted to teach her pupils as much as she could during that one lesson they had with her, and that she would continue to use two languages. Perhaps it was wrong, she said, but it gave her a good feeling. Until that point, I had played a relatively withdrawn role in the conversation, mainly giving minimal responses, signalling acknowledgement, and that I wished to hear more. Suddenly Maryam challenged my activity role of active addressee, asking “*Hva synes du?*” (*What do you think?*) (#11–8, 0187).

#### TRANSCRIPT #11–8 STAFF ROOM

- |      |    |   |    |  |
|------|----|---|----|--|
| 0178 | M: | <i>Og jeg- Jeg vil gjerne lærere elevene mine så mye som jeg kan i den timen i den eneste timen som de har med meg.</i> | M: | <i>And I- I would like to teach my pupils as much as I can during that lesson during that single lesson they have with me.</i> |
| 0179 |    |   | J: | <i>Mm.</i>   |
| 0180 |    |   | M: | <i>So I think of doing that. Maybe it's wrong. I don't know, but it gives me a good feeling.</i>                               |
| 0181 | J: | <i>Mm.</i>  | J: | <i>Mm.</i>   |
| 0182 | M: | <i>Så jeg tenker å gjøre sånn. Kanskje det er feil. Jeg vet ikke, men det gir meg en god følelse.</i>                   | M: | <i>What do you think?</i>  |
| 0183 | J: | <i>Mm.</i>  | J: | <i>Me? Heheh.</i>  |
| 0184 | M: | <i>Du skal ikke vurdere [sa du</i>  | M: | <i>You're not going to evaluate, [you said</i>   |
| 0185 | J: | <i>[hehe</i>  | J: | <i>[Heheh.</i>   |
| 0186 | M: | <i>men du kan-kan euh utenfor prosjektet. Euh vi har fått den kompetansen fra høyskolen</i>                             | M: | <i>but you can- can eh outside the project. Eh we got these qualifications from the University college</i>                     |
| 0187 | J: | <i>Mm.</i>  | J: | <i>Mm.</i>   |
| 0188 | M: | <i>å være tospråklig FAGlærer.</i>  | M: | <i>to be bilingual SUBJECT teachers.</i>   |
| 0189 | J: | <i>Mm.</i>  | J: | <i>Mm.</i>   |
| 0190 | M: | <i>Er det bare for å undervise I morsmålet, og PÅ morsmålet eller på begge språk?</i>                                   | M: | <i>Is that just to teach IN the mother tongue, and THROUGH the mother tongue or through both languages?</i>                    |
| 0191 | J: | <i>Nei. Jeg tenker hele tiden også at jeg ikke skal vurdere og samtidig</i>   | J: | <i>No. I'm also thinking the whole time that I won't evaluate and at the same</i>  |
| 0192 |    |   |    |  |
| 0193 |    |   |    |  |
| 0194 |    |   |    |  |
| 0195 |    |   |    |  |
| 0196 |    |   |    |  |
| 0197 |    |   |    |  |
| 0198 |    |   |    |  |
| 0199 |    |   |    |  |
| 0200 |    |   |    |  |
| 0201 |    |   |    |  |
| 0202 |    |   |    |  |
| 0203 |    |   |    |  |

0204	<i>greier jeg ikke å la være å bli imponert.</i>	time I can't help but be impressed.
0205	<i>Hehe. Jeg synes du gjør en KJEMpe</i>	Hehe. I think you're doing a GREAT
0206	<i>jobb. Ehm og jeg gleder meg sånn</i>	job. Ehm and I'm so much looking
0207	<i>som den timen her. Jeg- Jeg gleder</i>	forward to lessons like this. I- I'm so
0208	<i>meg til å få oversatt sånne timer</i>	much looking forward to having
0209	<i>akkurat for å se</i>	lessons like this translated in order to
0219	<i>hvordan en tospråklig lærer kan bruke</i>	see how a bilingual teacher can use
0220	<i>norsk og arabisk og engelsk og til å</i>	Norwegian and Arabic and English to
0221	<i>lære elevene. Jeg syn- jeg får også en</i>	teach the pupils. I think- I also get a
0222	<i>god følelse.</i>	good feeling.

Taken by surprise, I laughed a bit nervously, not being too keen on getting involved in the teachers' conflict on my first day in the field. On the other hand, I was very much trying to build a good relationship with my key informant, and this seemed to be an important issue to her. Also, I felt pushed to have an opinion when she mentioned the University College which had certified her as a bilingual teacher (#11–8, 0189–0190), implicitly referring to my social role as a teacher trainer.

This is an example of an ethically important moment (see p. 72) where my social role as researcher is challenged and consequently also my activity role as active addressee. The transcript shows how I draw on my social role as a teacher trainer and change my activity role to becoming an active discussant. I go far in supporting Maryam (#11–8, 0202–0222), saying that I am impressed by her teaching, that I think she is doing an amazing job, and that I'm looking forward to getting the lessons I witnessed earlier that day translated to see how a bilingual teacher can use both Norwegian, Arabic and English. I conclude by repeating Maryam's own words, saying that I also get a good feeling, very much siding with her in her disagreement with Kine. It has to be emphasised that although my siding with Maryam on this occasion may be understood as an act of building trust, it was also based on academic agreement. In this sense, it is possible to question my silence during the lunch break when Kine expressed the opposite opinion on bilingual pedagogy. However, since Kine's communicative project had been to inform me, I remained in my role of active addressee.

After the Christmas break, the day before I was to meet Maryam for a new day in the field, I got an e-mail where she informed me that she had been to Bergåsen on Friday to prepare her lessons for Monday.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Maryam gave me permission to print our personal correspondence.



**EXCERPT E-MAIL FROM MARYAM TO JOKE (10.01.10)**

Hei Joke,  
Jeg vil informere deg at jeg var på skolen på fredag. Jeg fikk ukeplanen for uke 2 til Rania (3.trinn). Jeg snakket med Kine om hvilket tema som hun jobber med Rania. Og fikk låne av henne boka «Ta ordet 1» som hun vil bruke med Rania fra neste uke og framover. Kine spurte meg om jeg var enig med henne at morsmåslærers oppgave er å formidle innholdet av temaet som undervises i klasserommet på arabisk slik at eleven følger den ordinære opplæringen i klassen på morsmålet og la norsken til NO2 læreren. Hun vil diskutere saken under møtet på mandag.  
[...]  
Til slutt pratet jeg med Lene om hva som skal tas i det møtet på mandag.  
[...]  
Hilsen Maryam

Hi Joke,  
I wish to inform you that I was at school on Friday. I got the period plan for week 2 for Rania (grade 3). I talked to Kine about which theme she was working on with Rania. And got to borrow from her the book "Ta ordet 1" that she will use with Rania from next week onwards. Kine asked me if I agreed with her that a mother tongue teacher's job is to convey the content of the theme that is being taught in the classroom in Arabic so that the pupil follows the ordinary education in the class in the mother tongue and leave Norwegian to the NSL teacher. She wishes to discuss the matter at the meeting on Monday.  
[...]  
In the end I talked to Lene about what will be discussed at the meeting on Monday.  
[...]  
Best wishes, Maryam

In this e-mail, Maryam recounts a conversation she had with Kine in connection with Rania's period plan. Apparently, Kine had asked Maryam if she agreed that mother tongue teachers should only teach the grade's theme in their mother tongue, and leave Norwegian to the Norwegian language teacher, strictly assigning a specific language to a specific teacher. Kine had also made it clear that she wished to discuss this at the monthly meeting on Monday. This was the second time that Maryam recounted a direct confrontation between Kine and herself, and this time it had occurred during the period of my study.

When I met Maryam that Monday, I observed her doing what she always did in Rania's lessons: she followed the plans from grade 3 and from Kine, using multilingual teaching strategies. During the lunch break, Maryam mentioned the upcoming meeting and her disagreement with Kine. I asked her if she was dreading the meeting, but she said she was not. She did wonder why Kine wanted to discuss her job (Table 19, #11–10), if it was to give her advice or to say she was wrong about the way she taught. Maryam pointed out that this was the reason why she had asked me whether there was perhaps a better way of teaching than how she was doing it now, perhaps being willing to take my advice in this matter. That Maryam repeated her concern about her multilingual approach as a bilingual

teacher casts light on the on-going struggle to build confidence as a bilingual teacher and to find her place amongst her 'monolingual' colleagues.

To sum up, on the first day of my fieldwork the question of different opinions on bilingual pedagogy surfaced and became little by little clearer, first and foremost in the conversational events between Maryam and myself. Only once (#11–5) did the topic come to the surface in a conversation between Maryam and Kine, in addition to once in my fieldnotes when recording a conversation between Kine and myself, but where Maryam and Brit were also present. However, in both events, Maryam remained silent, not contributing to the topic progression. During my fieldwork, the only time the issue was openly discussed was at the monthly meeting for staff working with emergent bilingual pupils (Brit, Kine, Lene, Maryam and Tora). This was also the first time I heard Lene and Brit's own opinion in this matter, at first hand, and not second hand through Maryam.

#### OPINIONS ON BILINGUAL TEACHING IN FORMAL MEETING

Once a month, the teachers of Bergåsen attended meetings linked to their specific areas of responsibility, such as emergent bilingual pupils, special needs, mathematics, and so on. The meetings concerning emergent bilingual pupils would always be chaired by the assistant principle Lene, who was responsible for their education at Bergåsen, and the bilingual teachers Maryam and Ali (who was not as yet formally qualified), as well as the teachers in basic Norwegian Brit, Elin, Kine and Tora. There would always be a clear meeting agenda related to the education of emergent bilingual pupils, which would be announced at the beginning of the meeting by Lene. Lene would take notes on issues that she needed to be followed up, but these would not be distributed in the form of minutes afterwards. The meetings were always held after teaching hours in one of the school's meeting rooms, and would usually last between an hour and an hour and a half.

When everybody had arrived at the meeting room and had found a seat at the long table, Lene suggested that I could sit at a small table in the corner to observe. After having welcomed the teachers and having commented on the attendance (Ali had apologised for not being able to attend, and Eli had to leave early), she started by announcing the items on the agenda.

#### TRANSCRIPT #11–11 MEETING ROOM

- 0500 L: *Velkommen til møtet da. Vi skal-* L: *Welcome to the meeting then. We'll-*  
0501 *Vi har snakket litt med Maryam om* *We've talked a bit with Maryam about*  
0502 *et siste punkt på møtet her som* *a last point in the meeting here which*  
0503 *også Kine og Maryam, tror jeg, at dere* *also Kine and Maryam, I think, that you*  
0504 *har snakket litt om det, og vi har vært* *have talked a bit about, and we've*  
0505 *litt innom det på tidligere* *touched on it during previous*  
0506 *møter. En liten drøfting som- Da* *meetings. A brief discussion which- At*  
0507 *var det på litt tidligere* *the time it was a bit on a weakly*  
0508 *syningsnivå, og hva tenker vi kanskje* *founded level, and what we perhaps*  
0509 *prinsipielt om og hva er* *think about in principal and what is*  
0510 *praktisk mulig i forhold til hva* *practically possible with regard to what*  
0511 *en morsmåslærer skal gjøre. Så* *a mother tongue teacher must do. So*  
0512 *det skal vi ta til slutt, men jeg har noen* *we'll deal with that at the end, but first*  
0513 *inforunder her først, som* *I have a few things for your information,*  
0514 *vi må gjøre litt med.* *that we need to treat a bit.*

In the introduction above, Lene starts by mentioning the disagreement between Maryam and Kine, which is, in fact, the last item on the agenda (#11–11, 0501–0511). In this way she also emphasises that this is the main item, and by referring to the other items as “*noen inforunder*” (*a few things for your information*) (#11–11, 0513), she indirectly indicates that they are less important. These items were concerned: the exemption from the subject of English, parental involvement, and appropriate clothing during wintertime. They would last 15, 12 and 16 minutes respectively, whereas the last and most important issue lasted for 35 minutes. Hence, the issue of the mother tongue teachers’ work and responsibilities took as much time as all the other issues together.

Topic introductions that address an agenda item are often short and straightforward (Svennevig, 2012a). This is true for all of Lene’s topic introductions at this meeting, except for the issue of the mother tongue teachers which is announced with a longer meta-commentary, both at the beginning of the meeting (#11–11, 0501–0511), and when it is introduced as the item of discussion during the meeting (#11–12, 0523–0559). In contrast, the topic of the exemption from English and the needed documentation is for example introduced in the following way: “*Men da starter jeg opp med punkt én her, med dokumentasjon av fritak.*” (*But then I’ll start with the first point here, with the documentation of exemption*). This introduction is short, straightforward and without any form of hedging.

In #11–11 above, at the beginning of the meeting, Lene refers vaguely to the issue of mother tongue teachers’ tasks. When introducing this as the topic of discussion later in the

meeting, she slightly, but still vaguely, identifies the area of disagreement by stating that “*det er litt forskjellig oppfatning*” (*there are somewhat different opinions*) (#11–12, 0528). In the transcript below (#11–12, 0523), we can also see that instead of starting her introductory turn with a grammatical subject referring to those involved in the disagreement, that is, Kine and Maryam, Lene uses the word ‘*det*’ (*there*) (#11–12, 0523), which functions as an empty theme. The issue of disagreement on mother tongue teachers’ tasks is thus introduced as a general topic, and this contributes to the vagueness of the introduction.

**TRANSCRIPT #11–12 MEETING ROOM**

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>0523 L: <i>Det vi skal ha som siste</i><br/> 0524 <i>innslag her det er en nok en gang</i><br/> 0525 <i>eller ikke nok en gang men euh nå skal</i><br/> 0526 <i>vi ta en diskusjon rundt dette her med</i><br/> 0527 <i>med euh morsmåslærere</i><br/> 0528 <i>oppgave. For det er litt forskjellig</i><br/> 0529 <i>oppfatning av hva deres oppgave</i><br/> 0530 <i>ER. Vi har hatt euh</i><br/> 0531 <i>runden en gang før, og vi synes det var</i><br/> 0532 <i>egentlig spennende og vi kjente vi</i><br/> 0533 <i>ble jo så- eh vi var ivrige og Erød i</i><br/> 0534 <i>fjeset alle sammen etter den runden.</i><br/> 0535 <i>Det husker jeg for det-£ og det ga</i><br/> 0536 <i>meg noen tanker om hva er det-</i><br/> 0537 <i>&lt;hva er hva her&gt; og hva er gitt</i><br/> 0538 <i>fra Stortingets side og hva</i><br/> 0539 <i>er det vi tenker at vi må tilpasse i</i><br/> 0540 <i>forhold til- best mulig for elevene for</i><br/> 0541 <i>det er jo ikke sikkert bestandig</i><br/> 0542 <i>er lett.</i></p> | <p>L: <i>What we’re going to have as last</i><br/> <i>item here that’s a once more</i><br/> <i>or not once more but eh now we’re</i><br/> <i>going to discuss this here with</i><br/> <i>with regard to eh to the mother tongue</i><br/> <i>teacher’s job. Cause there are</i><br/> <i>somewhat different opinions about</i><br/> <i>what their job IS. We’ve been eh down</i><br/> <i>that road before, and we all thought it</i><br/> <i>was exciting and we felt we</i><br/> <i>got so- eh we were eager and Ered in</i><br/> <i>our face all of us after this exchange</i><br/> <i>of opinions. I remember this because-£</i><br/> <i>and it gave me some thoughts about</i><br/> <i>what is it- &lt;what is what here&gt; and</i><br/> <i>what is given from the government’s</i><br/> <i>side and what is it we think we have to</i><br/> <i>adapt with regard to- best for the</i><br/> <i>pupils because it’s not for sure that this</i><br/> <i>is always easy. xxx</i></p> |
| <p>0543 K: <i>.hhh nei.</i></p>   | <p>K: <i>.hhh no.</i></p>  |
| <p>0544 L: <i>Og da euh er det- Har dere to ((Kine og</i><br/> 0545 <i>Maryam)) snakka litt om det på</i><br/> 0546 <i>forhånd sikkert [for dere har &amp;</i></p>  | <p>L: <i>And then eh it’s- You two ((Kine and</i><br/> <i>Maryam)) have talked a bit about it in</i><br/> <i>advance probably [cause you have &amp;</i></p>  |
| <p>0547 K: <i>[Mm.</i></p>  | <p>K: <i>[Mm.</i></p>  |
| <p>0548 M: <i>[Mm.</i></p>  | <p>M: <i>[Mm.</i></p>  |
| <p>0549 L: <i>&amp; drøfta en gang før óg og</i><br/> 0550 <i>[det var stort sett dialogen gikk &amp;</i></p>   | <p>L: <i>&amp; discussed it once before too and</i><br/> <i>[then the dialogen was mainly &amp;</i></p>  |
| <p>0551 K: <i>[heh</i></p>  | <p>K: <i>[heh</i></p>  |
| <p>0552 L: <i>&amp; dere imellom og så lytta vi litt</i><br/> 0553 <i>og blanda vi oss inni.</i></p>  | <p>L: <i>&amp; between you and then we listened</i><br/> <i>a bit and interfered a bit.</i></p>  |
| <p>0554 K: <i>Mm.</i></p>   | <p>K: <i>Mm.</i></p>   |
| <p>0555 L: <i>Men dere skal få lov til- For nå har Joke</i><br/> 0556 <i>på opptak her og det er spennende for</i><br/> 0557 <i>henne å få høre hva vi TENKER rundt</i><br/> 0558 <i>akkurat de eller den problematikken</i></p>  | <p>L: <i>But you’ll be allowed to- Cause Joke’s</i><br/> <i>recording here and it’s exciting for</i><br/> <i>her to hear how we THINK about</i><br/> <i>just these or this issue.</i></p>  |

0559	<i>der. Så Kine har- Kan du tenke deg</i>	<i>So Kine has- Would you mind starting</i>
0560	<i>og komme med noen innspill og så tar</i>	<i>and make some contributions and then</i>
0561	<i>vi ordet etter hvert her.</i>	<i>we chime in little by little.</i>
0562	<i>Jeg kan være ordstyrer. Ja.</i>	<i>I can be chair. Yeah.</i>

In both of these conversational episodes (#11-11 and 11-12), Lene indirectly apologises for the issue of mother tongue teachers having resurfaced, thus indicating that the matter has remained unsolved (#11-11, 0504-0506; #11-12, 0530-0531). In the transcript above this is emphasised by her use of euphemisms (“*road*” in #11-12, 0531; “*red in our face*” in #11-12, 0533-0534), hedging (for example “*somewhat*” in #11-12, 529, and “*a bit*” in #11-12, 545), and a smiling voice (see £ in #11-12, 0533 and 0535). Lene says that the previous meeting has given her some thoughts about legal principles and what is practically possible. This may on the one hand give the impression that she has come to new insights, thus indicating that the issue will be handled differently this time, and that an agreement will be reached (#11-12, 0536-0542, see also #11-11, 0507-0510). On the other hand, by saying that they will discuss what they think is best for the pupils (#11-12, 0542), Lene opens up for many possibilities and many different opinions. This diminishes the chance of face loss, but also possibilities for decision making or coming to an agreement.

In spite of the fact that Lene always chaired these meetings, had announced the items on the agenda and assured their topical progression, she ends her meta-commentary in the transcript above by announcing that she could be chair (#11-12, 0562). The role of being chair gives a participant special rights and obligations in controlling the contributions of the participants, and contributes to their dominating and privileged position (Svennevig, 2012b, p. 5). In other words, there is no need for Lene to state her function explicitly. By doing so, she emphasises precisely the obligation of managing access to the floor and assuring the topical progression. However, at the same time, it allows her to take a step back when it comes to the responsibilities connected to her social role as a leader with regard to formulating decisions and conclusions, which would have required a more active activity role.

Lene gave the floor to Kine first, inviting her to share her perspective on the topic. In the transcript below we can see that Kine starts her turn by doing facework when she claims that she and Maryam perhaps agree in principle, but that they sometimes think differently when it comes to practice (#11-13, 0563-0565).

TRANSCRIPT #11–13 MEETING ROOM

- 0563 K: *Jeg tror jo vi kanskje i prinsippet er*  
 0564 *enige men at det i praksis blir av og til*  
 0565 *noe forskjellige måter vi tenker på da.*  
 0566 L: *Mm.*  
 0567 K: *for em (2.0) i og med at vi vet at*  
 0568 *at det er beGREpene som er viktige for*  
 0569 *ungene. Å få inn begreper (1.0)*  
 0570 *og vi vet at når du har*  
 0571 *begreper på morsmålet så vil du*  
 0572 *automatisk euh tilegne deg det på*  
 0573 *andrespråket og- eller ikke*  
 0574 *automatisk men- da vil du ha et*  
 0575 *grunnlag for å forstå etter hvert. M-*  
 0576 *og det jeg av og til har lurt*  
 0577 *litt på er de nyankomne altså*  
 0578 *innføringselevene mine. Så tenker jeg*  
 0579 *at euh den norsken de lærer av*  
 0580 *meg er jo veldig sånn basic hehe og*  
 0581 *veldig euh grunnleggende norsk og det*  
 0582 *synes jeg det skal være. Synes at*  
 0583 *norsken skal være euh- Den skal ha*  
 0584 *en progresjon som er veldig oversiktlig*  
 0585 *og enkel euh men så har jeg- tror jeg*  
 0586 *det som har vært litt uenighet*  
 0587 *mellom Maryam og meg kanskje har*  
 0588 *vært at Maryam ofte euh lærer*  
 0589 *ungene- du du gjennomgår ting som*  
 0590 *ungene har på- i andre fag*  
 0591 M: *M.*  
 0592 K: *og så oversetter du det til arabisk, og*  
 0593 *det synes jeg er helt riktig, men så*  
 0594 *bruker du og tid til å lære dem en del*  
 0595 *begreper på norsk innenfor det*  
 0596 *samme ((temaet)), tror jeg. Må bare-*  
 0597 M: *Når det er nødvendig*  
 0598 K: *Når det er nødvendig, tenker du ja*  
 0599 *ja.*  
 0600 M: *Ja.*  
 0601 K: *Men vi bare hadde en liten diskusjon*  
 0602 *her for da var det vel euh i forhold til*  
 0603 *euh det med temaundervisninga på de*  
 0604 *forskjellige trinnene når elevene har*  
 0605 *et- Sånn som nå har de et tema*  
 0606 *om overtro.*  
 0607 M: *Ja.*  
 0608 L: *Mm.*  
 0609 K: *Og da tenker jeg sånn at de behøver*  
 0610 *ikke å lære om overtro på*  
 0611 *norsk disse ungene her. De*  
 0612 *skal lære om euh overtro på*
- K: *I actually think that in principle we*  
*maybe agree but that in practice we*  
*sometimes think in different ways.*  
 L: *Mm.*  
 K: *cause ehm (2.0) since we know that*  
*that it's CONcepts that are important*  
*for the children. To learn concepts (1.0)*  
*and we know that when you know*  
*concepts in your mother tongue you'll*  
*automatically eh acquire them in the*  
*second language and- or not*  
*automatically but- then you'll have a*  
*basis to understand later. B-*  
*and what I've sometimes wondered a*  
*bit about is the newly arrived that is*  
*my reception pupils. Then I think*  
*that eh the Norwegian they learn from*  
*me is very basic hehe and*  
*very eh foundational Norwegian and I*  
*believe it should be. I believe that the*  
*Norwegian must be eh- It should have*  
*a progression that is very clear*  
*and simple eh but then I have- I think*  
*what has been a bit of a disagreement*  
*between Maryam and I maybe has*  
*been that Maryam often eh teaches*  
*the kids- You you go through thing that*  
*the pupils have on- in other subjects*  
 M: *M.*  
 K: *and then you translate to Arabic, and*  
*I think that's very right, but then*  
*you use time to teach them some*  
*concepts in Norwegian within the*  
*same ((theme)), I think. Just-*  
 M: *When it's necessary.*  
 K: *When it's necessary, you think yeah*  
*yeah.*  
 M: *Yeah.*  
 K: *But we just had a little discussion*  
*here cause with eh regard to*  
*eh the teaching of themes in the*  
*different grades when the pupils have*  
*a- like now when they have a theme*  
*like superstition.*  
 M: *Yeah.*  
 L: *Mm.*  
 K: *And then I think like that they don't*  
*need to learn about superstition in*  
*Norwegian these pupils here. They*  
*have to learn about eh superstition in*

0613	<i>eh arabisk for å få begrepene inne og</i>	<i>eh Arabic to learn the concepts and</i>
0614	<i>for å ha det samme begrepsgrunnlaget</i>	<i>to have the same basis of concepts</i>
0615	<i>som de andre får, men det er alt for</i>	<i>as the others, but it's far too</i>
0616	<i>tidlig å tenke at de skal kunne</i>	<i>early to think that they will be able to</i>
0617	<i>forstå det som jobbes med på trinnet</i>	<i>understand what the grade is working</i>
0618	<i>i det fag- el- i det- de</i>	<i>with in that subject- or- in that- these</i>
0619	<i>tematimene og da er de ofte</i>	<i>theme lessons and then they're often</i>
0620	<i>inne hos meg og har norsk og da</i>	<i>with me and have Norwegian and then</i>
0621	<i>holder jo jeg på kanskje med farger</i>	<i>I'm maybe working with colours and</i>
0622	<i>eller med kroppsdeler eller noe sånn i</i>	<i>parts of the body or something in</i>
0623	<i>norsken og da tenker jeg at euh euh</i>	<i>Norwegian and then I think that eh eh</i>
0624	<i>det som er veldig viktig er at de får</i>	<i>it's more important to teach</i>
0625	<i>temaet på morsmålet sitt men</i>	<i>the theme in their mother tongue but</i>
0626	<i>at de ikke behøver å få</i>	<i>that they don't need to learn the</i>
0627	<i>tema på de norske ordene inn når det</i>	<i>theme in the Norwegian words when it</i>
0628	<i>gjelder det tema for det tror jeg</i>	<i>comes to the theme cause I think</i>
0629	<i>de er- det er de ikke modne for egentlig</i>	<i>they're- they're actually not ready for</i>
0630	<i>tenker jeg.</i>	<i>that I believe.</i>

In this transcript, Kine addresses two main issues, both closely linked to the linearity of language learning, characteristic for monoglossic models of bilingual education (García, 2009). Firstly, she states the importance of learning concepts in the mother tongue first and later in Norwegian, and secondly, the significance of a clear and easy progression in basic Norwegian. This is followed by what Kine calls “*litt uenighet*” (a bit of a disagreement) (#11–13, 0586–0587) with Maryam, that is, the fact that Maryam also teaches the emergent bilingual pupils concepts linked to the grade’s theme, such as superstition, which are more advanced than the concepts in Kine’s basic Norwegian lesson. Hence, for the first time, we get a sense of Kine demarking and protecting her professional field. Speaking as a basic Norwegian teacher, she indirectly criticises Maryam for disturbing the linearity of the pupils’ language learning, as well as the clear and easy progression in their developing Norwegian skills. Kine’s considerable face work, in form of for example hedging, such as ‘a bit of a disagreement’ (#11–13, 0586–0587), ‘maybe’ (#11–13, 0564), and ‘little discussion’ (#11–13, 0601), again underscores the sensitivity of the issue.

Next, Maryam was given the floor and asked to share her perspective on the topic: “*Kan du få si litt hvordan du jobber Maryam*” (You can say a bit how you work Maryam) (#11–14, 0644–0645). In the transcript below we can see that instead of explaining how she works, Maryam asks Kine how we can expand the system of concepts if we do not teach them in both languages (#11–14, 0646–0649).

TRANSCRIPT #11–14 MEETING ROOM

- 0644 L: *Kan du få si litt hvordan du jobber*  
 0645 *Maryam.*
- 0646 M: *Ja, jeg vil spørre- xx Jeg vil spørre Kine*  
 0647 *hvordan kan vi utvide*  
 0648 *begrepsapparatet hvis vi ikke tar*  
 0649 *tema på begge språk? Rania er*  
 0650 *kjempeflink og kan mye på arabisk*  
 0651 *og vet mye om tema*  
 0652 *overtro.*
- 0653 K: *Ja.*
- 0654 M: *Jeg syntes det var ikke det var ikke*  
 0655 *nødvendig for henne å lære om*  
 0656 *noe som hun kan fra før om*  
 0657 *overtro om spøkelses og hekser og troll*  
 0658 *og hulder og sånne ting, mens det*  
 0659 *var ve-nødvendig å lære henne om*  
 0660 *jul, om Lucia*
- 0661 K: *Mm.*
- 0662 M: *om nyttårsaften om*  
 0663 *feiring fordi hun har aldri sett*  
 0664 *juletre eller noen som*  
 0665 *feirer jul*
- 0666 K: *Mm.*
- 0667 M: *og tema var aktuelt på den tida.*  
 0668 *Da trinnet jobbet med*  
 0669 *overtro jobbet jeg med*  
 0670 *juleord*
- 0671 K: *Ja, ja.*
- 0672 M: *altså som euh ja som er rundt jul.*  
 0673 *Og det var viktig å ta*  
 0674 *tema på begge språk, på arabisk og*  
 0675 *på norsk.*
- 0676 K: *Mm.*
- 0677 M: *Så jeg følger ukeplanen når-*  
 0678 *Og jeg ser når tema passer henne*  
 0679 *og og er enkel så tar jeg det på på*  
 0680 *arabisk og på norsk.*
- 0681 K: *Mm.*
- 0682 M: *Men hvis euh blir temaet blir for*  
 0683 *vanskelig for henne så hopper jeg over*  
 0684 *dette tema og så euh tilpasser et et*  
 0685 *tema som som er enkelt å forstå*  
 0686 *som hun ikke har tatt før*
- 0687 K: *Mm.*
- 0688 M: *som passer hennes evner og.*
- 0689 K: *Ja, ja.*
- 0690 M: *Ja.*
- L: *You can say a bit how you work*  
*Maryam.*
- M: *Yes, I want to ask- xx I want to ask Kine*  
*how can we expand the system of*  
*concepts if we don't teach the*  
*theme in both languages? Rania is*  
*very clever and knows a lot in Arabic*  
*and knows a lot about the theme*  
*superstition.*
- K: *Yeah.*
- M: *I believed it wasn't*  
*necessary for her to learn about*  
*something she knew from before about*  
*superstition and witches and trolls*  
*and huldra and things like that, while it*  
*was ve- necessary to teach her about*  
*Christmas, about Lucia*
- K: *Mm.*
- M: *about New Year's Eve about*  
*celebration because she'd never seen*  
*Christmas tree or someone who*  
*celebrates Christmas*
- K: *Mm.*
- M: *and the theme was relevant at the*  
*time. When the grade worked with*  
*superstition, I worked with*  
*Christmas words*
- K: *Yeah, yeah.*
- M: *eh which are connected to Christmas.*  
*And it was important to teach the*  
*theme in both languages, in Arabic and*  
*in Norwegian.*
- K: *Mm.*
- M: *Then I follow the weekly plan when-*  
*And I look when the theme suits her*  
*and and is easy I teach it in in*  
*Arabic and in Norwegian.*
- K: *Mm.*
- M: *But when eh the theme becomes too*  
*difficult for her I skip*  
*that theme and then eh adapt a a*  
*theme which is easy to understand*  
*which she hasn't had before*
- K: *Mm.*
- M: *which suits her abilities.*
- K: *Yeah, yeah.*
- M: *Yeah.*

When Kine does not answer Maryam's question, that is, how it is possible to expand the system of concepts when not teaching in two languages – Maryam goes on to state that



Rania is a clever pupil who knows a lot in Arabic and about superstition (#11–14, 0649–0652). Following from this, Maryam exemplifies the many decisions she makes in order to adapt her teaching to the needs of the pupil. When Rania, for example, knew a lot about superstition in Arabic, Maryam had chosen to teach concepts connected to the theme of Christmas, in both Arabic and Norwegian. Again, we see Maryam’s constant argument for the flexible use of several languages for teaching purposes. In addition, the decision that words connected to the theme of Christmas were relevant for the time of year may also be an indirect criticism of Kine’s lesson in basic Norwegian, which may not have been as relevant. For the first time during this meeting, Maryam positions herself as a bilingual teacher, which for her also includes the teaching of basic Norwegian.

In response to Maryam’s turn, Kine replies that it was perhaps not herself and Maryam who disagreed the most, but she had a feeling that some mother tongue teachers helped with the homework she gave, and used the same book as she did, again protecting her field of basic Norwegian (#11–15, 0691–0700):

#### TRANSCRIPT #11–15 MEETING ROOM

- |      |    |  |    |  |
|------|----|--|----|--|
| 0691 | K: | <i>Og og så derfor tror jeg ikke det er du og jeg som er mest uenige. Jeg tror egentlig det er- I praksis så ser jeg at at euh for eksempel euh- Men jeg vet jo ikke for jeg er jo ikke tilstede i de morsmålstimene, men jeg har en følelse av at en del morsmåslærerne hjelper til med leksene som jeg gir for eksempel og bruker samme boka som jeg bruker.</i> | K: | <i>And and that’s why I think it’s not you and I who disagree the most. I actually think that it’s- In practice I see that that eh for example eh- But I don’t actually know cause I’m not present in these mother tongue lessons, but I have a feeling that some mother tongue teachers help with the homework I give for example and use the same book that I use.</i> |
| 0692 |    |  |    |  |
| 0693 |    |  |    |  |
| 0694 |    |  |    |  |
| 0695 |    |  |    |  |
| 0696 |    |  |    |  |
| 0697 |    |  |    |  |
| 0698 |    |  |    |  |
| 0699 |    |  |    |  |
| 0700 |    |  |    |  |
| 0701 | M: | <i>Jeg føler meg ikke som morsmåslærer.</i>  | M: | <i>I don’t feel like a mother tongue teacher. I feel like a [bilingual-</i>  |
| 0702 |    | <i>Jeg føler meg som [tospråklig-</i>  |    | <i>]Bilingual</i>  |
| 0703 | L: | <i>[tospråklig</i>   | L: | <i>subject teacher</i>   |
| 0704 |    | <i>flaglærer</i>   |    |  |
| 0705 | K: | <i>Mm.</i>   | K: | <i>Mm.</i>   |
| 0706 | M: | <i>Jeg fikk kompetansen så jeg kan- Jeg kan virke som tospråklig lærer.</i>  | M: | <i>I got the qualifications so I can- I can work as a bilingual teacher.</i>   |
| 0707 |    |  |    |  |
| 0708 | K: | <i>Ja.</i>   | K: | <i>Yes.</i>  |
| 0709 | M: | <i>Derfor jobber jeg slik euh på norsk og på arabisk og på engelsk når det er NØDvendig.</i>   | M: | <i>That’s why I work like this eh in Norwegian and in Arabic and in English when it’s NEcessary.</i>   |
| 0710 |    |  |    |  |
| 0711 |    |  |    |  |
| 0712 | K: | <i>Mm.</i>   | K: | <i>Mm.</i>   |
| 0713 | M: | <i>For å hjelpe mine elever. For å tilpasse ting for mine elever.</i>  | M: | <i>To help my pupils. To adapt things for my pupils.</i>   |
| 0714 |    |  |    |  |
| 0715 | K: | <i>Mm.</i>   | K: | <i>Mm.</i>   |
| 0716 | M: | <i>Og vi bruker en skrivebok. Vi tar det-</i>  | M: | <i>And we use a jotter. We do it-</i>  |

0717	<i>For eksempel jobbet jeg med Rania</i>	<i>For example I worked with Rania</i>
0718	<i>i dag med med to sider i Ta Ordet.</i>	<i>today with with two pages in Ta ordet.</i>
0719	<i>Og det var side hundre og side</i>	<i>And it was page one hundred and page</i>
0720	<i>hundreogen og euh det var</i>	<i>one hundred and one and eh it was</i>
0721	<i>om vinteren og gå på ski. Vi tok de</i>	<i>about winter and skiing. We did those</i>
0722	<i>to sidene. Vi leste sammen. Jeg leste</i>	<i>two pages. We read together. I read</i>
0723	<i>og hun leste for meg. Hun hun prøver å</i>	<i>and she read for me. She she tries to</i>
0724	<i>lese. Så tok vi de vanskelige ORD euh</i>	<i>read. Then we did difficult WORDS eh</i>
0725	<i>på norsk og på arabisk. Vi skriver</i>	<i>in Norwegian and in Arabic. We write</i>
0726	<i>de vanskelige ord på en sk- euh</i>	<i>the difficult words in a ro- eh</i>
0727	<i>skrivebok. Så tar vi euh hvert euh</i>	<i>rough book. Then we do eh every</i>
0728	<i>hvert ord på to språk.</i>	<i>eh every word in two languages.</i>
0729	<i>SLIK utvider jeg euh begrepsapparatet</i>	<i>THAT'S HOW I eh expand eh her</i>
0730	<i>hennes.</i>	<i>concepts.</i>

In the first turn of the transcript above, Kine echoes Lene's usage of the term mother tongue teacher when she introduced this item on the agenda, Maryam promptly replies that she is not a mother tongue teacher, but a qualified bilingual subject teacher, stressing that this is precisely the reason why she works in two languages (#11–15, 0701–0711). As I will discuss in greater detail below (see p. 289ff.), for Maryam, the term bilingual teacher necessarily implies the use of two languages, in contrast to mother tongue teacher which implies the use of only one language – the mother tongue – for teaching and learning purposes.

Maryam closes this episode by answering her own question addressed to Kine, how can we expand the system of concepts (cf. #11–14, 0646–0649), stating that “*SLIK utvider jeg euh begrepsapparatet hennes*” (*THAT'S HOW I eh expand her system of concepts*) (#11–15, 0729–0730). Svennevig (1999) notes that in argumentative discourse “the typical point [that satisfies the expectation set up in the introduction] will take the form of some sort of statement of the *outcome* of the disagreement (be this consensus or continuing disagreement)” (p. 191; italics in original). Clearly, Maryam continues to disagree with Kine, after having demonstrated how she extends Rania's system of concepts, flexibly using two or three languages (#11–15, 0709–0711). At the same time, she also avoids commenting on Kine's issue of some mother tongue teachers helping with the homework in basic Norwegian. This, and the fact that she also stresses her own subject teacher training programme for bilinguals, may be seen as ways of distancing herself from mother tongue teachers, a function which includes formally qualified as well as formally unqualified teachers (KS, 2010, p. 102–103). Similar findings have been reported by Valenta and Berg (2008, p. 56) and Palm and Lindquist (2009, p. 43).

Continuing in her withdrawn role, Lene opened up for other perspectives after Maryam's last turn in the transcript above. Tora took a longer turn first. Aligning herself with Maryam, she called being taught in two languages at the same time by a bilingual subject teacher who also masters Norwegian, "the dream" for a newly arrived child. Kine responded by emphasising that she believed it was too much for Rania, and that one may easily think that her Norwegian was better than it really was. Again Kine took the pupil's Norwegian skills as a basis for deciding her teaching strategy, and not Rania's entire communicative repertoire which included Norwegian language practices. Kine admitted, however, that Maryam was the one with a teaching degree for bilingual teachers, turning the discussion into being about other mother tongue teachers who teach children without full schooling prior to their arrival. Maryam, however, ignored Kine's topical shift, repeating that Rania was a clever pupil, and that the book *Ta ordet* was not too difficult, giving yet another example of how she taught by drawing on two languages.

When Brit was given the floor, she also supported Maryam's contribution with respect to the way she worked with two languages. By giving several examples of how working with two languages is able to involve the parents, Brit added new information to Maryam's reasoning. Whereupon Kine emphasised that she was very impressed and happy about the work both Maryam and Ali did at the school, but explicitly asked to return to the original discussion: the fact that Maryam had asked which theme she was working with in the reception class, repeating that there is no need for mother tongue teachers to help her, since the books she uses are easy and adapted to the needs of the pupils. Maryam interrupted her to give an example illustrating the opposite view, thus for the first time explicitly challenging Kine:

#### TRANSCRIPT #11–16 MEETING ROOM

- |      |    |   |    |  |
|------|----|---|----|--|
| 1005 | M: | <i>Rania har tatt timen med DEG og</i>            | M: | <i>Rania had had the lesson with YOU and</i>   |
| 1006 |    | <i>så kom til meg dagen etter og</i>              |    | <i>then came to me the day after and</i>       |
| 1007 |    | <i>så spurte jeg henne vet du hva</i>             |    | <i>then I asked her do you know what</i>       |
| 1008 |    | <i>middag betyr. Hun sa i dag. Nei sa jeg</i>     |    | <i>dinner means. She said today. No I said</i> |
| 1009 |    | <i>midDAG,</i>                                    |    | <i>dinNER, ((similar words in Norwegian))</i>  |
| 1010 | K: | <i>Mm.</i>  | K: | <i>Mm.</i>                                     |
| 1011 | M: | <i>Og jeg har ikke hørt på dette ordet sa</i>     | M: | <i>And I haven't listened to this word she</i> |
| 1012 |    | <i>hun. Jeg vet ikke-</i>                         |    | <i>said. I don't know-</i>                     |
| 1013 | K: | <i>Nei f- Vi [hadde ikke jobbet med det &amp;</i> | K: | <i>No c- We [hadn't worked with it &amp;</i>   |
| 1014 | M: | <i>[Men dere har-</i>                             | M: | <i>[But you have-</i>                          |
| 1015 | K: | <i>&amp; egent[lig.</i>                           | K: | <i>&amp; actual[ly.</i>                        |
| 1016 | M: | <i>[Men tema- Men ja- Men</i>                     | M: | <i>[But the theme- But yeah- But</i>           |

1017	<i>middag- Så den er enkel, euh ordet er</i>	<i>dinner- So it's easy, eh the word is</i>
1018	<i>enkelt euh i forbindelse med mat og fo-</i>	<i>easy eh in connection with food and fo-</i>
1019	<i>måltider men hun skjønnte ikke så hun</i>	<i>meals but she didn't understand so she</i>
1020	<i>trengte til å forklare det på arabisk</i>	<i>needed an explanation in Arabic of</i>
1021	<i>hva middag [betyr.</i>	<i>what dinner [means.</i>
1022	K: <i>[Og DET er jo kjempe fint</i>	K: <i>[And THAT's very good</i>
1023	<i>at du gjør.</i>	<i>that you do.</i>
1024	M: <i>og de fire måltidene frokost, middag,</i>	M: <i>And the four meals breakfast, dinner,</i>
1025	<i>euh euh lunsj, middag og kveldsmat-</i>	<i>eh eh lunch and dinner and supper-</i>
1026	<i>DERfor jobber jeg-følger jeg DIN euh</i>	<i>THAT'S why I work- follow YOUR eh</i>
1027	<i>din plan og trinnet sin plan,</i>	<i>plan and the grade's plan,</i>
1028	K: <i>Mm,</i>	K: <i>Mm,</i>

The transcript above shows that when Maryam gives the example of the word 'middag', Kine replies that they have not worked with that particular word in the reception class, perhaps trying to defend her own teaching (#11–16, 1013–1015). As a way of dealing with this response, Maryam points out that it was an easy and relevant word in connection with the theme 'food and meals', thus challenging Kine's teaching of the theme in the basic Norwegian lesson.

After a two seconds pause and minimal responses from Maryam and Kine, who closed the topic, Lene for the first time took a more active role as chair, explicitly stating that "*nå griper jeg inn litt her*" (*now I'll intervene a bit here*). She continued by summing up that Maryam was doing a fantastic job, that she was impressed by how much she got done in such a short time, and by how she included parents in her work. Lene also told Kine that her work as a teacher in basic Norwegian in a reception class was different from that of teachers in basic Norwegian for pupils who have moved on to ordinary classes (referring to Tora and Brit), hence expressing understanding for Kine's need to control the pupils' progression in her basic Norwegian lessons. Returning to Maryam, Lene stated that she was a bilingual subject teacher, and that a mother tongue teacher was something very different. By expressing support for both teachers and both ways of thinking individually, Lene treated the participants as individuals and not as a group. As a result, she also avoided formulating some sort of agreement on what Kine referred to as 'what we had really begun to discuss': the fact that Maryam also wanted to teach according to Kine's plan, not just the plan from grade 3.

Once, however, Lene sided more clearly with Maryam:

#### TRANSCRIPT #11–17 MEETING ROOM

1165	L: <i>MEN euh SAMtidig så er det</i>	L: <i>BUT eh at the SAME time there's</i>
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1166		<i>noe med at DU gir da</i>		<i>something about that YOU then give</i>
1167		<i>Ali for eksempel hva du driver med.</i>		<i>Ali for example what you work with.</i>
1168	K:	<i>Mm,</i>	K:	<i>Mm,</i>
1169	L:	<i>Ikke sant? For du driver mere den derre</i>	L:	<i>Right? Cause you do more that kind of</i>
1170		<i>allmennl�ring av begreper som for �</i>		<i>basic teaching of concepts to get</i>
1171		<i>klare seg som jeg sier i hverdagen og</i>		<i>around in every day life like I say and</i>
1172		<i>.hh. s� ser han det. Hun ((ser p�</i>		<i>.hh then she sees that. She ((looks at</i>
1173		<i>Maryam)) g�r jo begge deler. Hun</i>		<i>Maryam)) does both. She</i>
1174		<i>hjelper Rania ogs� i forhold til</i>		<i>helps Rania also with regard to that</i>
1175		<i>det hun ikke har forst�tt som DU</i>		<i>what she hasn't understood what YOU</i>
1176		<i>driver med, [og det er s�nn jeg &amp;</i>		<i>do, [and that's how I &amp;</i>
1177	K:	<i>[Mm, mm,</i>	K:	<i>[Mm, mm,</i>
1178	L:	<i>&amp; tenker han skal g�re begge deler i</i>	L:	<i>&amp; think he must do both with</i>
1179		<i>forhold til b�de det du driver med i</i>		<i>regard to what you do in</i>
1180		<i>klassen s� det ikke blir</i>		<i>class so it doesn't become</i>
1181		<i>Ubegripelig for dem for da</i>		<i>INcomprehensible for them cause then</i>
1182		<i>blir de sittende ENda flere timer</i>		<i>they end up sitting EVEN more hours</i>
1183		<i>og ikke skj�ne noen ting.</i>		<i>not understanding anything.</i>
1184	K:	<i>Ja,</i>	K:	<i>Yeah,</i>
1185	(1.0)		(1.0)	
1186	K:	<i>Ja,</i>	K:	<i>Yeah.</i>
1187	L:	<i>S� derfor er det s� viktig at DET</i>	L:	<i>So that's why it's so important that</i>
1188		<i>tema ogs�- s� dissa</i>		<i>THAT theme also- So our</i>
1189		<i>FLERkulturelle, tospr�kkelige l�rerne</i>		<i>MULTicultural, bilingual teacher</i>
1190		<i>v�re de vil jo hatt ti timer betaling</i>		<i>they would've had ten hours extra</i>
1191		<i>ekstra for de jobber DOBBelt s�</i>		<i>payment cuase they work TWICE as</i>
1192		<i>effektivt som oss andre.</i>		<i>effectively as the rest of us.</i>

Here, Lene refers to the fact that Kine sometimes shares material from the reception class with Ali or tells him how he should teach, whereas Maryam works with both plans herself, and hence also helps Rania with words she has not understood from the reception class. This contribution is a direct response to Maryam's example of the word 'dinner' (#11–16, 1007–1012). As is shown in transcript #11–17 above, Lene concludes that these bilingual teachers work twice as effectively as other teachers. All along, as we can see that Kine contributes by back channelling (#11–17, 1168, 1177, 1184, 1186), not protesting, but not agreeing either.

However, Lene quickly toned down her direct praise and support by returning to her argumentation that how much children are able to learn, will vary from individual to individual, according to which families they come from, and how much their families can help them, thus responding to Kine's contribution on the difficulty of language learning for emergent bilingual pupils. Lene then repeated that bilingual teachers should teach a theme in both languages, and that she recognised that Kine's lessons were to be different until the pupils were transferred to their ordinary classes, and were to receive basic Norwegian

from Brit and Tora. Even though she closed the event by summarising, she did not, however, return to the core of the disagreement, that is, the fact that Maryam also taught items from Kine's weekly plan in basic Norwegian.

The meeting continued with the teachers talking about different items loosely related to the teaching of emergent bilingual pupils, drifting into adjacent matters which were not on the agenda. These items ranged from buying books in different languages for the school's library, to the bilingual books Brit and Maryam made for their pupils, and a teacher conference some of the teachers wished to attend. Suddenly, Lene realised that it was getting late, and some of the teachers said that they had to finish as they soon had to go to a meeting of the Teachers' Union. Consequently, the topic on the agenda was not closed, for example by asking if everybody agreed, and neither Maryam nor Kine expressed consensus, or came closer to any agreement. In other words, the disagreement was acknowledged by putting it on the agenda, but it was not managed by seeking to establish agreement.

Summing up, whereas the topic of different opinions on bilingual teaching was mainly discussed between Maryam and myself in the informal conversations (see p. 267ff.), it came more to the front in the formal meeting when the issue of the mother tongue teachers' tasks was put on the agenda. Maryam and Kine's disagreement seemed to be caused by their difference in language ideologies and consequently their different opinions on bilingual education. As a bilingual teacher, Maryam strongly argued for flexible language use in teaching and learning (for example Creese & Blackledge, 2010; García, 2009; Hélot & Ó Laoire, 2011). Accordingly, her opinions, as well as her practice thus represent a holistic and inclusive approach to language teaching and learning. Kine, on the other hand, advocated language separation. This view is mainly associated with an additional framework (García, 2009), which favours a sequentially organised form of learning, that is, first in the home language and later in the dominant language (for example Jacobson & Faltis, 1990).

In their study on leadership and managing conflicts in meetings, Holmes and Marra (2004) point out that this approach generally involves negotiation between participants in order to reach consensus. They add that negotiating consensus is a skill which is not mastered by all leaders in their material, but that effective leaders tended to adopt it when a serious decision had to be made. Putting the disagreement between Kine and Maryam

on the meeting agenda meant that it was acknowledged, rather than avoided or diverted. But in spite of the fact that the differences in language ideologies were topicalised at the meeting, no agreement was reached. As I will discuss in greater detail below (see p. 289ff.), Maryam not only challenged the Norwegian transitional educational policy and traditional language arrangements that are entrenched in a monoglossic ideology, she also explored her own professional field as a bilingual teacher, and she was supported by many of her colleagues when doing so.

## AFTER THE MEETING

That Kine did not accept Maryam's argumentation for bilingual teaching became even clearer when she turned to Maryam after the meeting and wished to talk about Rania's homework, once again recycling the issue. In other words, the two teachers had not left the meeting room before the issue re-surfaced. Maryam replied that she had to fetch her child from school, but Kine assured her that it would only take a minute. Kine had given Rania homework from the book *Bli med* (the basic Norwegian book). During class, however, they had read the first chapter of *Ta ordet* (Norwegian book for grade 3). At first, Kine thought *Bli med* would be boring for Rania, but now she had discovered that Rania mixed Norwegian and English, not knowing the difference between the languages:

### TRANSCRIPT #11–18 MEETING ROOM

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>1745 K: <i>For jeg tenker at euh hun har stor</i><br/> 1746 <i>kapasitet intellektuelt men hu er ikke</i><br/> 1748 <i>så SPEsielt sterk i språk, trur jeg.</i><br/> 1749 <i>Så hu blander og hu blander litt-</i><br/> 1750 <i>Når jeg sier noe på engelsk</i><br/> 1751 <i>for eksempel nå til de andre eleva for</i><br/> 1752 <i>de- for dom kan engelsk. Da</i><br/> 1753 <i>er hu litt i tvil om jeg sier det</i><br/> 1754 <i>på norsk eller engelsk. Så hu er ikke</i><br/> 1755 <i>sånn veldig- og hu er- hu sliter med</i><br/> 1756 <i>sånne- hu sier DU for</i><br/> 1757 <i>eksempel når hu mener hun og han</i><br/> 1758 <i>fortsatt. Hu sier til meg kan du</i><br/> 1759 <i>forstår norsk sier a og da &amp;</i><br/> 1760 <i>mener [a forstår</i><br/> 1761 M: <i>[Mm.</i><br/> 1762 K: <i>&amp; hun norsk.</i><br/> 1763 <i>Eller hu- det er mange sånne</i><br/> 1764 <i>grunnleggende ting som- jeg trur det er</i><br/> 1765 <i>bra hu får inn en gang til med den</i></p> | <p>K: <i>Cause I believe that eh she's got a big</i><br/> <i>intellectual capacity but she's not</i><br/> <i>ESPECially strong in languages, I think.</i><br/> <i>So she mixes and she mixes a bit-</i><br/> <i>When I now say something in English</i><br/> <i>for example to the other pupils cause</i><br/> <i>they- cause they know English. Then</i><br/> <i>she's a bit in doubt if I say it in</i><br/> <i>Norwegian or English. So she's not</i><br/> <i>very- And she's- She's having trouble</i><br/> <i>with that kind of. She says YOU for</i><br/> <i>example when she means her or him</i><br/> <i>still. She says to me do you</i><br/> <i>understand Norwegian she says and</i><br/> <i>then [she means does she &amp;</i><br/> M: <i>[Mm.</i><br/> K: <i>&amp; understand Norwegian.</i><br/> <i>Or she- There are many</i><br/> <i>basic things that- I think it's good</i><br/> <i>that she gets once more in with this</i></p> |
|---|--|

1766	<i>gruppa som (1.0) er nybegynnere. Men</i>	<i>group which (1.0) is beginners. But</i>
1767	<i>nå snakker vi. Du får lov til å gå</i>	<i>now we're talking. You must be let go</i>
1768	<i>og hente ungen din.</i>	<i>and fetch you child.</i>

Instead of talking about Rania's homework as she had initiated, Kine once again underlines that things may be too difficult for her, this time giving several examples: Rania mixes English and Norwegian (#11–18, 1749–1754), and she sometimes mixes personal pronouns in Norwegian (#11–18, 1755–1758). Indirectly, Kine argues that keeping the languages separate would help Rania (cf. Jacobson & Faltis, 1990, p. 4). But suddenly, Kine realises that she is straying off-topic, and that Maryam, who has only contributed with minimal responses, has to leave.

The day after the meeting, I met Kine in the hallway before Maryam had arrived at the school. She told me she had sent a few text messages back and forth with Maryam, to check how she was doing. Kine had realised that she did not agree with the policy guidelines. According to her, bilingual teachers should function as mother tongue teachers in the sense of drawing on the pupil's mother tongue only as long as the pupil is in the reception class. Once the pupils have moved on to their ordinary classes, bilingual teachers can draw on both their mother tongue and Norwegian. When Maryam arrived she showed me a text message from Kine saying that she perceived of Maryam as a *"likeverdige fagperson"* (professional equal).

In a conversation that Maryam initiated with Stine later in the fieldwork (18.01), it becomes clear that Maryam had not accepted Kine's arguments either: neither the one concerning bilingual teachers only being mother tongue teachers in the sense of only drawing on their mother tongue, nor that of Rania not being as good in languages as Maryam thought she was.

**TRANSCRIPT #11–20 STAFF ROOM, 18.01.10**

1823	M: <i>Stine, kan jeg få snakke med deg?</i>	M: <i>Stine, can I talk to you?</i>
1824	S: <i>Ja. Jeg har med en bok til deg også</i>	S: <i>Yeah. I have a book for you as well by</i>
1825	<i>forresten.</i>	<i>the way.</i>
1826	M: <i>Ja. Euhm. Rania ønsker å delta</i>	M: <i>Yeah. Ehm. Rania wishes to participate</i>
1827	<i>i norsken,</i>	<i>in the Norwegian lesson ((with the</i>
1828	<i>ja, og lese teksten som de</i>	<i>grade)), yeah, and read the texts that</i>
1829	<i>andre leser.</i>	<i>the others read.</i>
1830	S: <i>Ja, så bra.</i>	S: <i>Yeah, that's good.</i>
1831	M: <i>Og gjøre de oppgavene og spørsmålene</i>	M: <i>And do the exercises and questions</i>
1832	<i>som står nederst på siden.</i>	<i>at the bottom of the page.</i>
1833	S: <i>Ja. Har hun kommet så langt at det</i>	S: <i>Yeah. She's come a long way that the</i>



1834	[x	[x
1835	M: <i>[Ja. Ja.</i>	M: <i>[Yeah. Yeah.</i>
1836	S: <i>Bra.</i>	S: <i>Good.</i>
1837	M: <i>Vi leser sammen. Hun leser for meg.</i>	M: <i>We read together. She reads for me.</i>
1838	<i>Så vi- vi svarer på de spørsmålene</i>	<i>Then we we answer the questions at</i>
1839	<i>som er nederst i sida.</i>	<i>the bottom of the page.</i>
1840	S: <i>Ja.</i>	S: <i>Yeah.</i>
1841	M: <i>Så er det greit at hun- at hun leser og</i>	M: <i>So is it ok that she- that she reads and</i>
1842	<i>skriver i arbeidsboka som-</i>	<i>writes in her jotter like-</i>
1843	S: <i>Sånn som de andre. Ja, helt supert. Det</i>	S: <i>Like the other. Yeah, great. That's</i>
1844	<i>er jo flott.</i>	<i>terrific.</i>
1845	M: <i>Kjempe fint.</i>	M: <i>Good.</i>
1846	S: <i>Men- men står det på hennes ukeplan.</i>	S: <i>But but does it say in her weekly plan.</i>
1847	<i>For det er Kine som lager hennes</i>	<i>Cause it's Kine who makes her</i>
1848	<i>ukeplan.</i>	<i>weekly plan.</i>
1849	M: <i>Det står- det står på ukeplanen.</i>	M: <i>It says- it says in the weekly plan.</i>
1850	S: <i>Da går det kjempe bra. Så skal vi sjekke</i>	S: <i>Then that's great. We'll check</i>
1851	<i>det. Så flott da.</i>	<i>it. That's terrific.</i>
1852	M: <i>Ja.</i>	M: <i>Yeah.</i>
1853	S: <i>Det var fort.</i>	S: <i>That was quick.</i>
1854	M: <i>Ja.</i>	M: <i>Yeah.</i>
1855	S: <i>Men hun har vært veldig tydelig på å</i>	S: <i>But she was very clear about</i>
1856	<i>lese helt fra starten av.</i>	<i>reading from the start.</i>
1857	M: <i>Mm.</i>	M: <i>Mm.</i>
1858	S: <i>Veldig vilje.</i>	S: <i>A lot of guts.</i>
1859	M: <i>Ja.</i>	M: <i>Yeah.</i>
1860	S: <i>Herlig.</i>	S: <i>Great.</i>

In response to Maryam, Stine asks whether Rania has come this far in the process of learning Norwegian, progressing the topic. Maryam replies by illustrating how they work with *Tuba Luba* (#11–20, 1837–1839). Stine concludes that this has been a quick process, and that Rania has been determined from the start.

This transcript is particularly interesting with regard to Maryam's perceived professional field as a bilingual teacher. By deciding that Rania has the Norwegian language skills needed to follow (adapted) mainstream Norwegian, she confirms her position as a bilingual teacher who not only uses both languages for teaching and learning purposes, but who also takes responsibility for the pupil's development in both languages. In the Norwegian school system, this entitles her to make a professional decision with regard to the mainstream subject Norwegian. One would, however, expect this decision to be made by a basic Norwegian teacher, who traditionally, has had the most professional competence and responsibility for emergent bilingual pupils' Norwegian language skills.

Different ideological approaches to bilingualism and bilingual education appear to be at the root of different forms of teacher collaboration. Maryam more or less shared the

same flexible ideology with Brit and Elin, which was expressed through their collaborative routine of making multilingual materials together (see Chapter 10). As shown in this story, Maryam and Kine had different ideologies, which seemed to lead to a disagreement in terms of division of labour between the teachers, and with respect to Rania's progression and abilities.

## DISCUSSION

This chapter has told the story of a disagreement between a bilingual teacher and a teacher in basic Norwegian for emergent bilingual pupils. The discussion will focus on three main themes of importance to bilingual teachers and the question of collaboration, that is, first, the terms 'mother tongue teacher' and 'bilingual teacher' and the tasks connected to these job descriptions; second, the language arrangements as suggested in the national curricula; and third, the bilingual teacher's professional struggle as a qualified bilingual teacher versus the teacher in basic Norwegian's protection of her professional field. The themes will be viewed in the light of policy documents and earlier studies.

In the conversational material, the terms 'mother tongue teacher' and 'bilingual teacher' are used in an inconsistent manner by management and staff (see particularly #11–7 and 11–8). This is not surprising considering the multiple terms that have been used since the introduction of the term 'morsmålsinstruktører' (mother tongue instructors; my translation) in a Circular in 1978 (Department of Church and Education [DCE], 1978, April). In a Circular in 1987 (DCE, 1987, May) the term was changed to 'morsmåls lærer' (mother tongue teacher), for the first time reflecting the pedagogical tasks that this job involves, that is, mother tongue teaching, subject teaching, and facilitating contact between school and home. And in the Norwegian Official Report *Education in a multicultural Norway* (NMCER, 1995) the terms 'tospråklig lærer' (bilingual teacher) and 'tospråklig minoritetslærer' (bilingual minority teacher) appear for the first time in an official document:

In this report, the committee wishes to use the term bilingual *teachers* as a common term for teachers with full teacher training, either as general teacher or as kindergarten teacher, but with a different background than Norwegian. (p. 120; italics in the original, my translation)

As can be seen in the quote above, the committee uses the term 'bilingual teachers' (tospråklige lærere) for teachers from a migrant background with approved teacher

qualifications. Here, the adjective 'bilingual' seems to refer to the teachers' skills in the mother tongue and Norwegian, irrespective of the teacher's tasks in the school. In contrast, later in the document, under the heading 'Bilingual teachers', the term 'mother tongue teacher' is used to describe the tasks of mother tongue teaching, subject teaching, and contact and collaboration between home and school (p. 123), thus indicating that 'mother tongue teacher' is a subcategory of 'bilingual teacher'.

The Strategic Plan, *Equal Education in Practice!* (NMER, 2004–2009), which is of more recent origin, includes five major goals, one of which is to improve the educational achievements of minority language pupils. This goal specifies three “[m]easures to increase the recruitment of bilingual teachers” (NMER, 2004–2009, p. 40). In the specific measures, terms such as “minority language employees”, “minority language teachers” and “immigrants” are used (p. 40), again implying that the adjective 'bilingual' refers to the ability to use two languages, and not to using two languages for teaching purposes.

It is further stated that

[t]he Ministry will support a cooperation project between seven colleges on *teacher training for bilingual teachers*. [...] [NAFO] will be assigned the tasks involved in coordinating and publicising the various continuing education programmes that are relevant for giving *mother tongue teachers* full qualifications and for expanding their competence with the aim of increasing the number of *teaching tasks* they perform in schools. (p. 40; my italics)

In this quotation, the term 'bilingual teachers' is linked to teacher training for teachers with an immigrant background, whereas the term 'mother tongue teachers' is connected to the specific function of teaching according to the plan for mother tongue teaching for pupils from linguistic minorities. The same usage can be seen in Section 14–4 of the Regulations to the Education Act from 2008 where the overarching term 'mother tongue teacher' is used, of which one of the possible qualifications is the “3-årig faglærerutdanning for tospråklige” (three year subject teacher training programme for bilinguals). This confirms the usage in the Strategic Plan that the teacher programme is designed for bilingual students, that is, students with an immigrant background, as in the Norwegian Official Report *Education in a multicultural Norway* (NMCER, 1995). Also, in the Basic agreement (KS, 2010, p. 102–103) which determines the remuneration of teaching personnel and their assignment to a job category, the term 'mother tongue teachers', and not 'bilingual teachers', is used, independent of their qualifications.

What may be confusing, however, is that in contrast to the above mentioned documents, *Bilingual education for linguistic minorities in compulsory school* (NMER, 2003, p. 29), which is a guide to the national curriculum of 1997, *Language competence in basic Norwegian* (NDET, 2009b) and *Mother tongue for linguistic minorities* (NDET, 2009a, p. 14), which are guides developed in connection with the national curriculum of 2006, use the terms ‘bilingual subject teacher’, ‘mother tongue teacher’ and ‘bilingual teacher’ alongside each-other, in connection with functions and tasks specifically and only related to the education of pupils from linguistic minorities, such as bilingual subject teaching and basic literacy in the mother tongue. Here, it is not possible to know whether the term ‘bilingual’ refers to the teacher’s ability to use two languages, or to the task of ‘bilingual subject teaching’. Unclear use of this terminology may thus explain some confusion and different perceptions of the management and staff.

However, there is reason to believe that it is not the difference in usage with respect to the above discussed terminology which is at the heart of Kine and Maryam’s disagreement. In fact, the discussion is often linked to, on the one hand, the question of whether the languages are to be strictly separated or flexibly used in bilingual education, and on the other, whether bilingual teachers can draw on Norwegian for teaching purposes. In order to understand these issues in a Norwegian context, it is necessary to explore the relationship between Norwegian and mother tongue teaching for language minority pupils as described in the relevant national curricula over time (see also Chapter 1).

In the national curriculum of 1974 (NMCE, 1974b), the subject ‘Norwegian as a foreign language’ was established, for “[p]upils in language mixing areas” (p. 71; my translation), that is, predominantly for pupils from Sámi homes, but pupils with Finnish as their home language might also be affected. The last paragraph of the plan notes that the subject plan could also be used for children of immigrant workers. It is interesting to observe how the pupils’ two languages are to be related in the teaching:

Training in Sámi is first and foremost aimed at giving Sámi speaking pupils the same rights as other pupils to basic literacy in the mother tongue. [...] *It is reasonable to assume that the main emphasis will be on the Sámi language and of the Sámi culture in the lowest grades, and that this will gradually switch to the Norwegian language and Norwegian culture in the highest grades in the compulsory school, but both have to be present from the beginning.* This means that even though the basic literacy training takes place in the mother tongue – in this case Sámi – Norwegian has to be given in the first grade as a foreign language. *The foreign*

*language has to be introduced so gently that it does not interfere with the reading training in Sámi. It is the simple, oral conversation form in the foreign language that is emphasised in this first period. As the training proceeds, the foreign language training will take a larger place in the total language education. (p. 72; my italics and translation)*

It is possible to comment on several issues here, but I choose to concentrate on the suggested linear exposure of languages in line with monoglossic models of bilingual education (García, 2009). That is, pupils are first to receive their first literacy training in Sami, and the Norwegian language is to be introduced as gently as possible so as not to disturb the beginning literacy training in Sami, and therefore first orally.

In the national curriculum of 1987 (NMCE, 1987a), the subjects 'Norwegian as a second language' and 'Mother tongue for linguistic minorities' were established. Like the national curriculum of 1974, this plan also states that pupils who did not have Norwegian as their home language were to receive their basic literacy training in this language. This linearity is mentioned in both plans, that is, in the plan Mother tongue for linguistic minorities (see first quote below), as well as in the plan Norwegian as a second language (see second quotation below).

The basic reading and writing training is a process which goes on throughout the whole school period and longer than that. In order for this process to have best possible conditions for pupils with a different mother tongue than Norwegian, it is important that the basic reading and writing training happens first in the pupils' mother tongue and is grounded in the language and the previous experiences the pupils take to school. In this way the pupils get a good basis, both for developing their mother tongue and to getting the equivalent proficiency in Norwegian. (NMCE, 1987a, p. 183; my translation)

Within the first three school years the pupils must receive reading and writing training both in their mother tongue and in Norwegian. Normally the reading and writing training must be in the mother tongue first, and the reading and writing training in Norwegian is to start when the pupils can read and write coherent texts in the mother tongue. (NMCE, 1987a, p. 190; my translation)

In the plan *Norwegian as a second language* it is also stated that it might be wise to postpone the initial introduction of a first foreign language for pupils who come to Norway when of school age (NMCE, 1987a, p. 193). This also underlines the linearity of the curriculum. Moreover, in line with additive bilingual programmes (García, 2009), the goal is to develop the first and second languages next to each other with the aim of fostering bilingualism.

With the introduction of the national curriculum of 1997 (Department of Church, Education and Research [DCER], 1996), the aim of functional bilingualism was discarded.

The linearity with regard to basic literacy, however, was repeated in the plan *Norwegian as a second language* (DCER, 1998b, p. 9–10), as also in a guide for bilingual education for linguistic minorities in compulsory school (NMER, 2003, p. 34), which was developed in connection with this curriculum. In contrast to this, however, it is interesting to note that there is no explicit linearity in the plan *Mother tongue for linguistic minorities* (DCER, 1998a):

Pupils from linguistic minorities represent a diverse group in terms of residency in the country, background knowledge and skills in their mother tongue and in Norwegian. It is therefore particularly important that the basic reading and writing training in the mother tongue and Norwegian is adapted *flexibly* with regard to the single pupils' needs. (p. 6–7; my italics and translation)

In the quote above, the word 'flexible' is used for the first time. This flexibility is repeated in the guides to current curricula, that is, *Basic Norwegian for linguistic minorities* (NDET, 2009b) and *Mother tongue for linguistic minorities* (NDET, 2009a).

The curriculum in the mother tongue and the curriculum in basic Norwegian for linguistic minorities should be seen in connection to each other. Research shows that it is appropriate that the pupils learn to read in the language they speak best. Through the development of basic reading and writing skills, vocabulary and understanding of concepts in the mother tongue, the pupils' abilities for mastering the Norwegian language will be strengthened. *The plans open up for the parallel treatment of skills and themes*. Where applicable, the reading and writing training can happen parallel, subject specific terminology can be processed parallel, and one can apply a comparative perspective from the common section [in the curriculum]. (NDET, 2009a, p. 12; my italics and translation)

However, when the pupil has acquired some Norwegian, the reading and writing training can be streamlined when the pupil receives parallel training in the mother tongue and Norwegian. *This requires that the bilingual teacher, teacher with responsibility for basic Norwegian and the pupils contact teacher collaborate with regard to a contrastive approach to this reading training*. A contrastive approach involves comparing the language systems in the pupils' mother tongue and Norwegian. (NDET, 2009a, p. 37; my italics and translation)

In sum, the suggestion of parallel training in Norwegian and the pupil's mother tongue has changed by 2009 from a position of first one language and then the other, but it is still a linear approach which keeps the learner's languages separate in the learning situation (García, 2009, p. 116).

The highly politicised and much debated nature of mother tongue and bilingual subject teaching seems to serve as a determining factor in the formation of the professional roles of mother tongue and bilingual teachers in Norway. As we have seen, this debate has from the outset been closely linked to the teaching of Norwegian for language minorities, and thus to the Norwegian language teachers responsible for such

teaching. In the United States, Varghese (2004) has pointed out that “it is revealing that even as discourses have focused on the pro and con arguments for bilingual education, there have always been internal differences within the pro-bilingual movement” (p. 131). The participants in the meeting in this story all express positive attitudes towards bilingual teaching, and can hence be said to represent a pro-bilingual movement. However, as shown in the analysis, this does not mean that they agreed on language use and responsibilities. Similarly, in Palm and Lindquist’s (2009) study, the school’s management was clear that the bilingual teachers’ real job was to have good skills in the mother tongue and use that language with their pupils. However, in their observations and interviews, the researchers still found differences with regard to practices and opinions amongst the school’s teachers.

Kine received her general teacher education in the 1980s. This may explain her conviction about a strict separation of languages (also in time), in line with the national curriculum of 1987. In this connection, the second sentence (in italics in the last quotation above) is also of interest as I believe is it quite central to Kine and Maryam’s disagreement. The question here is whether parallel training in basic literacy in Norwegian and the home language requires two teachers, or whether a well-qualified bilingual teacher, such as Maryam, can take care of both. Returning to the story, we have to bear in mind that Maryam was the first formally qualified bilingual teacher at Bergåsen. Kine stated that she had the impression that some mother tongue teachers helped with the homework she gave, as a teacher in basic Norwegian. It is possible to see this response as part of Kine’s positioning as a teacher in Norwegian. In turn, Kine may be said to perceive mother tongue and bilingual teachers as crossing a professional line and entering her field and thus interfering with her responsibilities as a basic Norwegian teacher.

Transferring Hagen’s (2004) traditional metaphor of host and guest to the Norwegian language subject (see Chapter 1), Kine may in this connection be said to act as host for the Norwegian language and subject, perceiving bilingual teachers, at best, as guests when using the Norwegian language for teaching purposes. In this sense, guests have no privileges and are not entitled to influence either the language, or the subject. This way of clearly distinguishing between linguistic and professional hosts and guests is in line with a monoglossic ideology in that it favours autonomous systems with clear boundaries. Not only are their (and their pupils’) Norwegian language resources silenced, but also their

cross-linguistic and cross-disciplinary competence (Hélot & Ó Laoire, 2011). However, Conteh (2007) argues that if we really want to improve the achievements of ethnic minority bilingual language pupils, we need to recognise the distinctive skills and knowledge of bilingual teachers.

When Maryam clarified that she did not feel like a *morsmåslærer* (mother tongue teacher), she emphasised her formal qualifications and competences as a bilingual teacher, in the sense of the ability to draw on two languages for teaching, in contrast to a mother tongue teacher, in the sense of sticking to one language only. This act can be understood in terms of Maryam's struggle to proceed from the role of guest to that of host, thus owning the language, and deciding where, when and in which way it can be used. In this way, Maryam would be on an equal footing with Kine and their relationship would resemble Hagen's (2004) metaphor of a housing cooperative, where no single group is privileged. This is more in line with a heteroglossic way of thinking as it considers multiple language practices in interrelationship and not privileging one over the other. When Maryam, for example, suggested that the word *middag* (dinner) fitted the theme 'meal' that Kine was teaching in the reception class, she made a contribution to the Norwegian lesson, thus putting herself on an equal footing with Kine (see transcript # 11–13).

From a monoglossic perspective, it is possible to argue that Kine is a better teacher in basic Norwegian because her language is native-like. In line with such an attitude Boyd (2003) found that accentedness and language proficiency were generalised to professional competence, and hence became a gatekeeper to employment for foreign born teachers in multilingual classrooms. From a heteroglossic perspective, however, accent and deviation from the standard do not disqualify Maryam from doing the same work. A well-qualified teacher with good Norwegian skills such as Maryam is able to challenge our traditional monolingual system. What Hélot and Ó Laoire (2011) argue with regard to pupils from diverse language backgrounds is also true for teachers: "they are forcing educationalists to question entrenched ideologies of language and confronting teachers to rethink their relationships to language learning and the issue of diversity" (xii) (cf. quotation above (NDET, 2009a, p. 37).

Maryam has three degrees, which is very unusual for a teacher in compulsory school. The question therefore remains how realistic it is for bilingual teachers in general to challenge the understanding of bilingual pedagogy and their roles as bilingual and mother



tongue teachers. We also know that many mother tongue teachers lack formal teaching qualifications (Rambøll Management, 2008), and that the three year undergraduate subject teacher training programme for bilinguals was established without qualifying them for the teaching in the mainstream subject of Norwegian because this had proved a hindrance for minority students (Ringen & Kjørven, 2009). It is therefore reasonable to assume that not many bilingual teachers have the qualifications or are in a position to do what Maryam does.

Makoni and Pennycook (2007, p. 36) have raised the question of what language education would look like if we no longer assumed the existence of separate languages (see Chapter 2). Transferring this question to teacher education, we may ask what teacher training would look like if there were no separate languages. First of all, there would be no teaching programme specifically for bilingual minority students. Secondly, the programme would train all students to teach all pupils. Thirdly, it would emphasise the entire communicative repertoire and translanguaging practices. Fourthly, by not denying the material effects languages have on language policies, education, language testing, the programme would strengthen the Norwegian skills of minority students in particular, and the language skills of all students in general. Only then, I would argue, would bilingual minority teachers have the opportunity to become hosts of the Norwegian language on an equal footing with their colleagues.

In conclusion, different ideologies on bilingualism and bilingual education have been understood as an important basis for different forms of teacher collaboration. It appears to be more challenging for teachers with different ideologies to collaborate than for teachers with similar ideologies. Teachers with different opinions may disagree on what is best for the pupil in terms of language choice, progression and content. In turn, this may lead to a lack of joint construction of common ground, and ultimately to the absence of a common goal for teaching. These differences in ideologies also play a role in how different teachers perceive and expect each other's elbowroom. Teachers who approve of flexible forms of language use for educational purposes may be less protective of what they see as their territory, than teachers who advocate strictly separate forms of bilingual pedagogy, and hence also a strict separation in terms of subjects and teacher responsibilities.



## 12 CONCLUSIONS

The overall aim of this case study is to gain a deeper insight into bilingual teachers' collaboration with other teachers with regard to the education of emergent bilingual pupils in Norwegian compulsory schools. Theoretically, methodologically, and empirically the study is also relevant beyond this Norwegian context. I have answered the overarching question formulated in the introductory chapter by means of five analysis chapters, three from Mohammed's case and two from Maryam's, and discussed and summed up the findings at the end of each chapter. In this concluding chapter I will concentrate on points of general value. First, I will highlight insights from the theoretical and methodological approaches which this thesis is based on (PART I). Thereafter, I concentrate on general insights from the analyses of the two cases (PARTS II AND III).

### APPLYING A DIALOGICAL APPROACH

As noted in Chapter 1, many studies in the fields of bilingualism and bilingual education have traditionally been influenced by the fields of (monological) linguistics and psychology, with language understood as a bounded system with a fixed set of rules which can be studied in its own right, independent of the context it is used in or the varied ways speakers apply it. In a similar vein, many bilingual teaching programmes have been dominated by what Cummins (2008, p. 65) has described as "the two solitudes assumption" in bilingual education, assuming that instruction should be carried out in the target language only, or at least by not mixing two or more languages. At the same time, however, more socially and culturally oriented research is concerned with a complex diversity and a communicative dynamic which theories of language as a system are not able to capture (for example Arthur & Martin, 2006; Busch & Schick, 2007; Creese & Blackledge, 2010). Dialogical approaches are not able to deal with all aspects of human sense making either, but they are characterised by the fact that they are action based, and to a large extent interaction and context oriented. Accordingly, a dialogical lens applied to bilingual teachers' collaboration with other teachers has broadened my theoretical understanding of teacher collaboration.

Teacher collaboration understood as the interaction between teachers is not based on the idea of a 'true' or 'ideal' dialogue in a normative sense, involving communication

among equals, striving for clarity, symmetry, harmony and agreement. On the contrary, in line with dialogical theories, I am concerned with a broader and more abstract notion of dialogue, including any kind of human sense making, semiotic practice, action, interaction, thinking or communication, understood in a 'dialogical' manner (Linell, 2009, p. 6). Collaboration is thus understood as practices which have to be studied in specific encounters, in terms of time, place and participants. The communicative resources bilingual teachers (and their pupils and parents) draw on are consequently not viewed against some sort of standard, but rather studied in connection to their social roles.

A definitional point in dialogism is its insistence on intersubjectivity, or other-orientation, denying the existence of individuals as autonomous subjects. Accordingly, dialogism has provided me with the analytical tools *communicative activity type*, *communicative project*, *topical episode*, *rendition* and *coordinating move*, as well as *translanguaging* to study how bilingual teachers and others at all times actively relate their utterances in response to others' speech, at the same time as they anticipate an answer from the other (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 280). In addition, an utterance is interdependent with its contexts, both in the immediate sense in terms of the concrete situations and the surrounding co-texts, and in the more indirect sense in terms of background knowledge. The underlying assumption is that unique or dynamic contexts are essential for the understanding of situated thoughts, actions and interactions. Indeed, discourse and contexts are seen as mutually shaping each other. In other words, Mohammed's and Maryam's collaboration with other teachers has to be understood in the climate they work in determined by the Norwegian transitional (monoglossic) policy.

A dialogical theory of language is action oriented. This is based on the assumption that it is not the language system that is primary to language use, but rather that the system is emergent from the practices of languaging (Linell, 2009, p. 56). This has had consequences for my perception of bilingualism and bilingual education. The notions of *translanguaging* and *heteroglossic bilingual education* have provided me with a lens to identify, more fully understand and value possible ways of drawing on pupils' and teachers' entire communicative repertoire, and take this as a starting point for opening up new spaces for teacher collaboration in multilingual settings. I have done this in at least two ways. First, I have perceived the bilingual teachers' translanguagings as a collaborative strategy when teaching with another teacher, as well as alone, which provided me with insights into some

of their struggles where Norwegian is found to dominate in Mohammed's case, and where Maryam strongly negotiates with Kine in order to be allowed to draw on Norwegian for teaching as bilingual teacher and not only on her home language. Second, I have pointed to the (missed) collaborative opportunities in Maryam's case with regard to the established routines and indirect collaboration in terms of jointly making multilingual materials. Since it was the basic Norwegian teachers' letter, words, themes and books which were at the basis of all materials, and not Maryam's, an imbalance between languages was created, and accordingly in the teacher collaboration.

In conclusion, I argue that in my project dialogical theories have provided a theoretical lens that brings human sense making in bilingual education in Norwegian mainstream schools into focus. As dialogism holds that language and social life are mutually interdependent and mutually constructed, close analysis of situated (verbal) interaction has provided distinctive insights into the meaning that is constructed in collaborative relationships, in this way broadening the understanding of teacher collaboration.

## METHODOLOGICAL CONTRIBUTIONS

Since dialogical theories assign great importance to both situated interaction and sociocultural, situation transcending practices, I needed a methodological approach which would enable me to construct such rich material. In addition, it was important for me to move with the bilingual teachers, since being on the move is such a vital characteristic of these ambulating teachers' working situation. In this respect, a discursive shadowing technique fitted hand in glove to study their work and collaboration with others. The combination of a close analysis of situated language and the physical proximity of the key participant and myself in time and space has provided me with a broadened understanding of teacher collaboration in several ways. A more detailed overview of the main aspects of bilingual teachers' collaboration this shadowing technique has given me access to will be provided in the next section. Here, I will focus on what a discursive shadowing technique has had to offer in this study on ambulating bilingual teachers.

As illustrated in the analysis chapters, a shadowing technique is well equipped to deal with movement, multiplicity and change. Using this technique to study ambulating bilingual teachers provided me with material from a wide range of places, subjects, communicative repertoires and interlocutors which were central in their working day.

Moreover, the material produced allowed me to link situated events and topical episodes. By also including my own contributions with the bilingual teachers while on the move, I was able to shed light on topics that the teachers did not collaborate about, but which the bilingual teachers and I reflected upon due to our common experiences during my fieldwork. I would therefore argue that a discursive shadowing technique (combined with dialogical theory) provided a methodical lens to shed light on the working life of bilingual teachers and their collaboration with other teachers because it allowed for the construction of such rich material, allowing for the combination of several sets of data and consequently for crystallisation (Richardson, 2000).

Discursive shadowing has given me insights into some, but not all, of the aspects that are important with respect to bilingual teachers' collaboration with other teachers, mainly from the viewpoint of the bilingual teacher. If I had shadowed some of their colleagues, or opened up my fieldwork in terms of observing several other teachers as well, I would have been able to include their voices and their stories to a larger extent than I have been able to do in this dissertation. Discursive shadowing also involves audio recording, something Maryam never really seemed to get used to. If I had chosen not to record her, I would have obtained a different set of materials, perhaps more true to her comfort zone and consequently richer in ways that I was not been able to access now due to the recording.

Finally, writing up my analyses as stories enabled me to chain events and episodes, and shed light on ambulating bilingual teachers and their collaboration with others. A more conventional method, perhaps in combination with some narrative element, would have given me other opportunities. A possibility would have been to structure my analysis chapters more closely to my analytical tools. A chapter on for example *communicative activity types* would to a larger extent have allowed for the detailed study of the bilingual teachers' situation definitions, framing, and social and activity roles.

## EMPIRICAL CONTRIBUTIONS

Bilingual teachers in Norwegian schools collaborate in multiple ways which this dissertation is not able to give insight into. My analyses show how two bilingual teachers interact with a few other teachers and how they relate their teaching to the mainstream in one school during a specific period of time. However, it is not only the theoretical and methodological frameworks that contribute to the better understanding of bilingual

teachers' collaboration in general. Every story constructed on the basis of the empirical material does this too: the bilingual teachers faced challenges which are common for other bilingual teachers too. I recognise these from conversations with other bilingual teachers and my students at the subject teacher training programme for bilinguals at Hedmark University College, in addition to discussions with other both national and international researchers. The stories should therefore be easily recognisable for others too. Some bilingual teachers are responsible for the education of pupils with severely interrupted schooling and may recognise themselves in many of Mohammed's challenges, whereas others teach pupils with a full schooling background from their home countries and will perhaps recognise more aspects of Maryam's work. Bilingual teachers at lower secondary school may recognise the challenge of giving bilingual support in subjects which they do not specialise in, whereas others again may primarily work with emergent bilingual pupils' beginning literacy and recognise some of Maryam's work. New understandings of bilingual teachers' collaboration with other teachers with regard to the education of emergent bilingual pupils will therefore provide readers with opportunities for comparison and reflection. This not applies to bilingual teachers but hopefully also to other school staff, policy makers and researchers.

In this final section, I will highlight the aspects that are important with respect to bilingual teachers' collaboration with other teachers that have been identified and discussed in the analysis chapters in PARTS II and III. Here, I have italicised the main points that I have highlighted and commented on.

Briefly summed up, these are as following:

- the (lack of) continuity and fragmentation in bilingual teachers' work
- difference in teachers' academic backgrounds and qualifications
- the (lack of) continuous conversations and discussions
- the bilingual teacher's loyalty to the school
- collaborative routines – indirect and direct collaboration
- different opinions on bilingualism and bilingual education
- pupils' complex communicative repertoires

Due to Norway's transitional policy where bilingual teachers are employed to ease the transition to monolingual mainstream teaching, both Mohammed and Maryam had part

time positions in several schools, and covered the teaching needs of all emergent bilingual pupils in these schools from a Somali and an Arabic language background respectively. In practice, this meant that their work was spread across several grades and curriculum subjects. Whereas Mohammed taught youngsters with varying skills in Somali and no schooling or severely interrupted schooling prior to their arrival in Norway, Maryam's pupils were younger and had full schooling in Arabic from their respective home countries. To link their teaching to the mainstream, Mohammed and Maryam formed a variety of professional relationships with their colleagues.

Mohammed mostly worked in a support mode which implied that he was teamed up with different teachers, whereas Maryam always worked in a withdrawal mode and took her pupils out of their classes. *Irrespective of the collaborative mode the bilingual teachers in my study worked in, the lack of continuity and fragmentation in their work was prominent, and consequently an important aspect of their collaboration with others.* For Mohammed, this is particularly illustrated through a focus on his collaboration with the science teacher Mette, and with Linn, a teacher in basic Norwegian (Chapters 6 and 7). As subject teachers, both Mette and Linn were in charge of the content of the lessons. They were also the ones orchestrating the action in the classroom teaching and assuming the principal speaking rights in the classroom. Yet Mohammed formed different professional relationships with them. Mette left the responsibility for the teaching of science to the emergent bilingual pupils entirely up to Mohammed. She expected him to catch up while she was teaching, and never checked the pupils' understanding. Linn involved Mohammed more, both in the planning and while teaching, and her lessons in basic Norwegian were not as subject specific as Mette's science lessons, which made it easier for Mohammed to contribute as a bilingual teacher. Ultimately, however, *Mohammed's lack of continuity led to the lack of control of place in the classroom and beyond.*

Working in a withdrawal mode, Maryam was more in charge of the content of her lessons, and also of how she orchestrated her own teaching. In this way, she was able to create greater continuity, at least in her own teaching. She connected her teaching to the mainstream through collaborative routines, including indirect and direct collaboration in a withdrawal mode. The analyses in Chapter 10 show how Maryam relied heavily on the weekly plans to do so, and how she collaborated with Brit and Elin, the teachers in basic Norwegian, to develop bilingual materials, hence creating continuity for the pupils. Yet,



*Maryam remained alone in her teaching as these routines did not seem to lead to the construction of a mutual understanding with regard to meeting the needs of emergent bilingual pupils.* In fact, her colleagues did not really know what she had covered or if there had been any difficulties. Also, due to her part time position and the ambulating nature of her work, Maryam often negotiated for more time with her pupils and more appropriate rooms.

*The bilingual teachers' and their colleagues' academic profiles played a crucial role in terms of collaboration too.* This aspect came to the fore in different ways in the two cases. Teaching in lower secondary school is very subject specific. When Mohammed lacked subject specific knowledge, and his science colleagues lacked specific knowledge on emergent bilingual pupils, this had consequences for their collaboration and their opportunities for adapting their teaching to the needs of their common pupils. In Chapter 6, we saw how *Mette did not seem to know how to adapt her teaching to the needs of these pupils, and may not have realised the challenges Mohammed faced, irrespective of his common language with the pupils. Mohammed tried to give renditions of Mette's teaching, but this proved impossible partly due to his lack of specialisation in science.* This was further challenged by the fact that science in grade 10 was too advanced for these pupils. However, these challenges were never discussed between the teachers.

Maryam had two degrees from her home country, and one from Norway. The teaching in primary school is less subject specific, which made it easier for Maryam to work independently and read up on new themes. *Her solid qualifications as a language teacher also allowed her to challenge ideologies of bilingualism and bilingual education,* which had consequences for her collaboration with Kine, in particular (Chapter 11). I will return to this below.

The two cases illuminate *the need for continuous conversations and discussions that can build a common ground for more profound insights into the challenges that bilingual teachers and emergent bilingual pupils face.* In Mohammed's case the lack of possibilities for the construction of common ground was particularly highlighted in Chapter 7 which focused on his collaboration with Sverre on their common pupils who skipped science classes. *Sverre initiated conversations on the pupils' presence and on the organisation of the teaching, but not on the understanding or the routines needed for these pupils to benefit from the teaching.* The topic of understanding was, however, central in

Mohammed's conversations with myself and with his pupils, as was the topic of routines such as keeping track of their books and understanding their time table, which shows the complexity of the teachers' task to adapt their teaching to the needs of these pupils.

Chapter 10 illustrated how *Maryam and her colleagues had established several collaborative routines, which connected Maryam's teaching to the mainstream in indirect and direct ways. However, this did not seem to necessarily lead to the construction of mutual understanding with regard to how to meet the needs of emergent bilingual pupils.* Possible reasons for this seemed to be the lack of collaborative opportunities to talk about common problems, the content of lessons and fruitful ways of teaching. The teacher meeting for all teachers involved in the teaching of emergent bilingual pupils presented in Chapter 11 presents an exception. However, whereas meetings of this kind have the potential to create opportunities for constructing common ground amongst teachers with special responsibilities for emergent bilingual pupils, a large part of Maryam's work is linking her teaching to the mainstream. This emphasises the need for meeting places for all teachers for discussions related to the education of emergent bilingual pupils.

Yet another aspect of the bilingual teachers' collaboration with other teachers which particularly came to the fore in Mohammed's case is *the aspect of loyalty to the teacher in charge of the lesson, and to the school.* Chapter 6 gives an example of how Linn chose to read a text which included the theme of circumcision. The analyses show how Mohammed tried to redirect Linn's focus on this theme to more general themes of bullying and being new in a school, without succeeding. During the lesson, however, Mohammed related more directly to the issue of circumcision by giving renditions of Linn's speech.

Loyalty was also clearly an issue in Chapter 8 where Mohammed functions as a discussant and an interpreter during a parent-teacher meeting for Somali parents. *In his social role as bilingual teacher, Mohammed was loyal towards the school's meeting concept in terms of format and aims, which was challenged by the parents, and to the staff's wish for a positive atmosphere.* The latter became particularly noticeable when parents complained about the school's work, and Mohammed refrained from interpreting this. On a few occasions, however, Mohammed showed loyalty to the parents by obeying a request not to translate one of their side conversations. Being a bilingual teacher and acting as an interpreter at the same time proved to be a difficult combination for Mohammed. I have argued that *an external interpreter without knowledge of the school,*

*the parents or the pupils to translate during this type of meeting, would not have to deal with issues of loyalty in the same way as a bilingual teacher who both knows the school and the parents, and that this could have enhanced communication between the two parties.*

The highly politicised and much debated roles of mother tongue and bilingual teachers seem to serve as a determining factor in the formation of their professional life. Meeting places alone are therefore not enough for the construction of common ground with other teachers. *In fact, different ideologies on bilingualism and bilingual education have been understood as an important basis for different forms of teacher collaboration.* Maryam advocated a flexible bilingual pedagogy, and engages for example in the making of multilingual materials with Brit and Elin (Chapter 10). Kine, on the other hand, strongly argued for a strict division of languages for teaching and learning, and for a strict separation of labour between teachers in basic Norwegian and bilingual teachers (Chapter 11).

The analyses showed how Maryam flexibly drew on Arabic, Norwegian and sometimes English for teaching and learning purposes. I have called this translanguaging both a teaching strategy and an indirect collaborative strategy, since it was a means for Maryam to link her teaching to the mainstream by ensuring that the pupils, for example, knew the words of the week from their grade's weekly plan. The learning of Arabic was clearly valuable in its own right for Maryam.

The analyses from Mohammed's case showed similar translanguaging patterns as a teaching strategy, but since Mohammed worked in a support mode, these were often across turns, that is, the subject teacher drew on Norwegian and Mohammed mainly on Somali. Since it was the subject teacher who dominated the teaching, so did the Norwegian language, which was clearly the language which was most valued for teaching and learning. Mohammed seemed to be more concerned with the pupils' understanding of the content and learning of Norwegian, than with developing the pupils' Somali language skills. On several occasions, for example, he explicitly refrained from drawing on their entire repertoire, including Somali, but for some pupils also Arabic or Swahili. As I have argued in Chapter 6, *an increase of multilingual strategies would require different collaborative strategies between the teachers.*

The emergent pupils' language use, particularly documented in Chapter 6 in Mohammed's case and Chapter 10 in Maryam's case, is a reminder of the complexity of language backgrounds and communicative repertoires. *The fact that this complexity and the pupils' heteroglossic language situation are not reflected in the Norwegian Education Act, leads to a lack of space for multilingualism in general, and a lack of opportunities for teacher collaboration more specifically.*

In conclusion, a dialogical approach to teacher collaboration has broadened my understanding of teacher collaboration. Moreover, a discursive shadowing technique has provided me with a lens to study collaboration in this broadened perspective. In turn, the empirically based aspects outlined above have also provided a deepened, however partial, understanding of bilingual teachers' collaboration with other teachers in a Norwegian setting. My observations provide insights into the opportunities and the challenges these teachers face when trying to connect their teaching to the mainstream in a transitional policy. We have seen that continuity, teacher competence, conversations and discussions, loyalty, collaborative routines, opinions on bilingualism and bilingual education and the pupils' complex communicative repertoires, play a role in and form this collaboration.

## QUESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

As mentioned in Chapter 1, there is little research on bilingual teachers and their collaboration with other teachers from Norway. There are therefore many opportunities for future research. Among these, I would just mention here:

- A study of bilingual teachers as mainstream subject teachers would give more insight into the possible discursive challenges and opportunities this role involves.
- A study of bilingual teachers travelling between their different schools would provide a deepened understanding of their complex webs of teachers, pupils, parents, and ultimately their working conditions.
- A study of bilingual teachers and their collaboration with parents, for example during first conversations, conference hours, telephone conversations, social gatherings during their spare time, would allow for the construction of a deepened understanding of the bilingual teachers' role as mediator between the school and the homes.

García (2009) has argued that one of the most important challenges for bilingual education today is to ensure that languages do not compete with each other, but that they are developed and used in functional interrelationships. Transferring this line of thought to the collaboration of bilingual teachers with other teachers, an important challenge is to ensure that their agendas do not compete with, but rather complement, each other, and in this way are able to develop in a functional interrelationship. Only then, I would argue, will this teacher collaboration reflect the complex multilingual communicative repertoires of the twenty-first century, and ultimately create opportunities for a more holistic approach to language teaching and learning across the curriculum.



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## BOOKLET WITH APPENDICES





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## APPENDIX 1: SECTION 2–8, NORWEGIAN EDUCATION ACT

Pupils attending the primary and lower secondary school who have a mother tongue other than Norwegian or Sami have the right to adapted education in Norwegian until they are sufficiently proficient in Norwegian to follow the normal instruction of the school. If necessary, such pupils are also entitled to mother tongue instruction, bilingual subject teaching, or both.

The mother tongue instruction may be provided at a school other than that normally attended by the pupil.

When mother tongue instruction and bilingual subject teaching cannot be provided suitable teaching staff, the municipality shall as far as possible provide for other instruction adapted to the pupils' abilities. (official translation from the Education Act, 2009)

The municipality shall survey the pupils' proficiency in Norwegian before any decisions are made about Basic Norwegian for language minorities. This survey shall also be conducted during the instruction for pupils who are given Basic Norwegian for language minorities in accordance with the regulations as a basis for assessing whether the pupils have sufficient proficiency in Norwegian to follow the normal instruction in school. (translation from The education mirror 2012, NDET, 2012)

The municipality can organise special training for newly arrived pupils in special groups, classes or schools. If all or part of the training is in such a group, class or school, this must be set out in the formal decision for special language instruction. Decisions on such training in special groups may only be made if this is considered to be the best interests of the pupil. Training in special groups can last up to two years. The decision can only be made for one year at a time. During this period, there may be made deviations from the curriculum for the pupil to the extent necessary to protect the pupil's needs. A decision under this clause requires consent of the pupil or parents. (my translation)

*Opplæringslova [Education Act], LOV-1998-07-17-61.* (2009). Retrieved from <http://www.ub.uio.no/ujur/ulovdata/lov-19980717-061-eng.pdf>.

NDET. (2012). *The education mirror: Analysis of primary and secondary education and training in Norway*, from [http://www.udir.no/Upload/Rapporter/2012/US2012\\_ENG\\_nettersjon.pdf?epslanguage=no](http://www.udir.no/Upload/Rapporter/2012/US2012_ENG_nettersjon.pdf?epslanguage=no)

## APPENDIX 2: TRANSCRIPTION SYMBOLS

The transcription symbols used in this thesis are a simplified version of Jefferson's (2004) system.

[	<i>A left bracket indicates the point of overlap onset.</i>
(0)	<i>Numbers in parenthesis indicate elapsed time by seconds.</i>
↑↓	<i>Arrows indicate shifts into especially high or low pitch.</i>
.,?	<i>Punctuation markers are used to indicate 'the usual' intonation. These symbols usually occur at appropriate syntactical points.</i>
WORD	<i>Upper case indicates especially loud sounds relative to the surrounding talk.</i>
-	<i>A dash indicates a cut-off.</i>
><	<i>Right/left carats bracketing an utterance or utterance-part indicate that the bracketed material is speeded up, compared to the surrounding talk.</i>
<>	<i>Left/right carats bracketing an utterance or utterance-part indicate that the bracketed material is slowed down, compared to the surrounding talk.</i>
.hhh	<i>A dot-prefixed row of 'h's indicates an in breath. Without the dot, the 'h's indicate an outbreath.</i>
£	<i>The pound-sterling sign indicates a certain quality of voice which conveys 'suppressed laughter'.</i>
( )	<i>Empty parentheses indicate that the transcriber was unable to get what was said. The length of the parenthesised space reflects the length of the ungotten talk.</i>
(word)	<i>Parenthesised words and speaker designations are especially dubious.</i>
(( ))	<i>Doubled parentheses contain transcriber's descriptions.</i>
<b>English</b>	<i>Talk in English in bold.</i>
<i>Norw.</i>	<i>Talk in Norwegian in italics.</i>
<u>Somali</u>	<i>Talk in Somali/Arabic underlined.</i>

Jefferson, G. (2004). Glossary of transcript symbols with an introduction. In G. H. Lerner (Ed.), *Conversation analysis: studies from the first generation* (pp. 13–31). Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamins Publishing.

### APPENDIX 3: LETTER OF INFORMED CONSENT FOR SCHOOL MANAGEMENT

Joke Dewilde  
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Tlf.: [redacted] (arb.), [redacted] (mob.)

Høgskolen i Hedmark, 09.11.2009

Til ledelsen ved [redacted] skole:

#### Forskningsprosjekt om lærersamarbeid i flerspråklige klasserom

Jeg er stipendiat ved Høgskolen i Hedmark, avdeling for lærerutdanning og naturvitenskap, der jeg arbeider med et doktorgradsprosjekt om tospråklige lærere og lærersamarbeid i flerspråklige klasserom. Prosjektet heter *Samtaler omkring opplæringen av nyankomne minoritetsspråklige elever: en kasusstudie av lærersamarbeid*. Den overordnede målsetningen med prosjektet er å skape ny kunnskap om hvordan forskjellige lærere (dvs. tospråklig lærere, lærere i grunnleggende norsk og andre faglærere) samarbeider i klasserom som omfatter minoritetsspråklige elever. Jeg spør derfor om skolen er interessert i å delta i dette forskningsprosjektet.

Deltakelse i prosjektet innebærer følgende: Prosjektet gjennomføres på skolen i løpet av våren 2010. Innledningsvis ønsker jeg å observere den tospråklige læreren i undervisningssituasjoner, gjøre feltnotater, samt ta opp samtaler mellom den tospråklige læreren og andre lærere hun samarbeider med, og mellom den tospråklige læreren og de elevene hun underviser. I tillegg ønsker jeg å observere formelle og uformelle lærermøter mellom den tospråklige læreren og noen utvalgte lærere. Til slutt ønsker jeg å intervjuer hver lærer som har deltatt i ca. en time om hennes/hans rolle i opplæringen og lærersamarbeidet, samt assisterende skoleleder om den generelle organiseringen av opplæringen til de nyankomne minoritetsspråklige elever.

Når det gjelder personopplysninger og personvern, vil jeg gjøre oppmerksom på følgende: Jeg har taushetsplikt, og alle opplysninger jeg samler inn, vil bli behandlet konfidensielt. Det er ikke elevene som står i fokus for observasjoner, og jeg vil dermed ikke registrere opplysninger om enkeltelever gjennom observasjoner. Prosjektets sluttdato er 01.09.2012. Ved prosjektslutt vil alle opplysninger bli anonymiserte, men dersom jeg får tillatelse fra alle involverte parter, så ønsker jeg å oppbevare noen lydopptak til bruk i undervisningsøyemed ved Høgskolen i Hedmark. Navnet på skolen vil ikke bli nevnt av meg, verken i skriftlige eller muntlige sammenhenger. Jeg vil skrive en doktorgradsavhandling om prosjektet, og da vil det være aktuelt for meg å skriftlig sitere utsagn fra lydopptak gjort i de ulike situasjonene. All slik sitering vil være anonymisert. Som forsker plikter jeg å behandle informanter og materiale med respekt og i samsvar med faglige og forskningsetiske standarder. Prosjektet er meldt til Personvernombudet for forskning, Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste A/S.

Som forsker forplikter jeg meg til å:

- følge normale retningslinjer for etikk i forskningsarbeid, jfr. Den nasjonale forskningsetiske komité for samfunnsvitenskap og humaniora (1999): *Forskningsetiske retningslinjer for samfunnsvitenskap, jus og humaniora*,
- sørge for at utskrifter fra intervjuer og feltnotater oppbevares på en forsvarlig måte slik at uvedkommende ikke kan få tilgang,
- gi både skolen, kommunen, lærerne fiktive navn. Dermed vil ingen tekster som lagres kunne identifisere skolen,
- diskutere i forkant med lærerne hvordan og hva av de presenterte resultatene som kan publiseres i det offentlige rom slik at anonymitet kan sikres.

Deltakelse i dette prosjektet er frivillig, og skolene kan trekke seg når som helst, uten å måtte begrunne dette. Prosjektet er meldt til personvernombudet for forskning, Norsk Samfunnsvitenskapelig Datatjeneste A/S.

**Faglige veiledere for doktorgradsarbeidet er:**

Førsteamanuensis Rita Hvistendahl, Universitetet i Oslo  
Førsteamanuensis Mari-Ann Igländ, Høgskolen i Hedmark  
Professor II, Stephen Dobson, Høgskolen i Hedmark

**Avslutning av prosjektet:**

Jeg regner med å avslutte prosjektet i september 2012. Alle data vil bli anonymisert ved prosjektslutt. Prosjektet vil ende opp i en doktorgradsavhandling.

Hvis dere har noen spørsmål, kan dere kontakte meg på telefon eller e-post.

Med vennlig hilsen,  
Joke Dewilde

#### APPENDIX 4: LETTER OF INFORMED CONSENT FOR BILINGUAL TEACHERS

Joke Dewilde

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Tlf.: [redacted] (arb.), [redacted] (mob.)

Høgskolen i Hedmark, 09.11.2009

Til lærere ved [redacted] skole:

##### **Forskningsprosjekt om lærersamarbeid i flerspråklige klasserom**

Jeg er stipendiat ved Høgskolen i Hedmark, avdeling for lærerutdanning og naturvitenskap, der jeg arbeider med et doktorgradsprosjekt om lærersamarbeid i flerspråklige klasserom. Prosjektet heter *Samtaler omkring opplæringen av nyankomne minoritetsspråklige elever: en kasusstudie av lærersamarbeid*. Den overordnede målsetningen med prosjektet er å skape ny kunnskap om hvordan tospråklige lærere samarbeider med lærere i grunnleggende norsk og andre faglærere omkring opplæringen til minoritetsspråklige elever. Jeg spør derfor om dere er interessert i å delta i dette forskningsprosjektet.

Deltakelse i prosjektet innebærer følgende: Prosjektet gjennomføres på skolen i løpet av våren 2010. Jeg ønsker å observere den tospråklige læreren i ulike undervisningssituasjoner, gjøre feltnotater, samt ta opp samtaler mellom lærerne og mellom den tospråklige læreren og elever på digital opptaker. I tillegg vil jeg også observere formelle og uformelle lærermøter. Til slutt vil jeg intervju deg som lærer i ca. en time om din rolle i opplæringen og samarbeidet med andre lærere som er involvert i prosjektet.

Når det gjelder personopplysninger og personvern, vil jeg gjøre oppmerksom på følgende: Jeg har taushetsplikt, og alle opplysninger jeg samler inn, vil bli behandlet konfidensielt. Det er ikke elevene som står i fokus for observasjoner, og jeg vil dermed ikke registrere opplysninger om enkeltelever gjennom observasjoner. Prosjektets sluttdato er 01.09.2012. Ved prosjektslutt vil alle opplysninger bli anonymiserte, men dersom jeg får tillatelse fra alle involverte parter, ønsker jeg å oppbevare noen lydopptak til bruk i konferanseøyemed. Navnet på skolen vil ikke bli nevnt av meg, verken i skriftlige eller muntlige sammenhenger. Jeg vil skrive en doktorgradsavhandling om prosjektet, og da vil det være aktuelt for meg å skriftlig sitere utsagn fra lydopptak gjort i de ulike situasjonene. All slik sitering vil være anonymisert. Som forsker plikter jeg å behandle informanter og materiale med respekt og i samsvar med faglige og forskningsetiske standarder. Prosjektet er meldt til Personvernombudet for forskning, Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste A/S.

Jeg trenger din skriftlige tillatelse for at du kan delta i prosjektet (se samtykkeerklæring på neste ark). Jeg vil understreke at deltakelse i prosjektet er frivillig, og at den som deltar, kan trekke seg ut på et hvilket som helst tidspunkt uten begrunnelse.

Hvis du har noen spørsmål, kan du kontakte meg på telefon eller e-post.

Med vennlig hilsen

Joke Dewilde

## Samtykkeerklæring

### Del 1:

Jeg har mottatt skriftlig informasjon om prosjektet *Samtaler omkring opplæringen av nyankomne minoritetsspråklige elever: en kassstudie av lærersamarbeid* og bekrefter at jeg er villig til å delta i prosjektet.

..... (sted, dato og underskrift)

### Del 2:

Ved prosjektslutt slettes normalt alle lydopptak. Det kan imidlertid bli aktuelt å bruke noen av disse opptakene om igjen i forbindelse med deltakelse på konferanser. Jeg ber derfor om tillatelse til å lagre opptakene for slik å kunne bruke dem i konferanseøyemed. Opptakene vil ikke distribueres eller kopieres på noe vis.

Ja, jeg gir tillatelse til at jeg kan være med på lydopptak i forbindelse med konferanser.

..... (sted, dato og underskrift)



## APPENDIX 5: LETTER OF INFORMED CONSENT FOR PARENTS/GUARDIANS

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Tlf.: [REDACTED] (arb.), [REDACTED] (mob.)

Høgskolen i Hedmark, 09.11.2009

Til foreldre/foresatte og elever ved [REDACTED] skole:

### Forskningsprosjekt om tospråklige lærere og lærersamarbeid i flerspråklige klasserom

Jeg er stipendiat ved Høgskolen i Hedmark, avdeling for lærerutdanning og naturvitenskap, der jeg arbeider med et doktorgradsprosjekt om lærersamarbeid i flerspråklige klasserom. Prosjektet heter *Samtaler omkring opplæringen av nyankomne minoritetsspråklige elever: en kassusstudie av lærersamarbeid..* Den overordnede målsetningen med prosjektet er å skape ny kunnskap om hvordan en tospråklig lærer samarbeider med andre lærere for å tilpasse undervisningen til minoritetsspråklige elever.

[REDACTED] skole er invitert til å delta i dette forskningsprosjektet. Jeg vil samle inn informasjon ved hjelp av å observere lærermøter, samt undervisning. I tillegg vil jeg intervjuere lærere og assisterende skoleleder.

Deltakelse for elever i prosjektet innebærer følgende: Jeg kommer til å være på skolen våren 2010 i dette skoleåret. I løpet av denne perioden vil jeg følge undervisningen til [REDACTED]. Samtalene mellom lærere [REDACTED] samarbeider med og mellom henne og de arabiskspråklige elever vil bli tatt opp på digital lydopptaker. For at jeg skal kunne gjøre opptak av disse samtalene, trenger jeg deres tillatelse.

Når det gjelder personopplysninger og personvern, vil jeg gjøre oppmerksom på følgende: Jeg har taushetsplikt, og alle personopplysninger jeg samler inn, vil bli behandlet konfidensielt. Det er ikke elevene som står i fokus for observasjoner, og jeg vil dermed ikke registrere opplysninger om enkeltelever gjennom observasjoner. Prosjektets sluttdato er 01.09.2012, og ved prosjektslutt vil alle personopplysninger bli slettet. Navnet på skolen vil ikke bli nevnt av meg, verken i skriftlige eller muntlige sammenhenger. Jeg vil skrive en doktorgradsavhandling om prosjektet, og da vil det være aktuelt for meg å skriftlig sitere utsagn fra lydbåndopptak. All slik sitering vil være anonymisert. Som forsker plikter jeg å behandle informanter og materiale med respekt og i samsvar med faglige og forskningsetiske standarder. Prosjektet er meldt til Personvernombudet for forskning, Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste A/S.

Jeg trenger din/deres skriftlige tillatelse for at eleven kan delta i prosjektet (se neste ark, sendes med eleven tilbake til skolen). Jeg vil understreke at deltakelse i prosjektet er frivillig, og at den som deltar, kan trekke seg ut på et hvilket som helst tidspunkt uten begrunnelse.

Hvis du/dere har spørsmål, så ikke nøl med å ta kontakt med meg per telefon eller e-post.

Med vennlig hilsen  
Joke Dewilde

**Samtykkeerklæring:**

Denne fylles ut og sendes med eleven tilbake til skolen (leveres til kontaktlærer eller tospråklig lærer), så snart som mulig:

Foresatte/foreldre for ..... (elevens navn)

Jeg/Vi har mottatt skriftlig informasjon om prosjektet *Samtaler omkring opplæringen av nyankomne minoritetsspråklige elever: en kasusstudie av lærersamarbeid* og gir med dette tillatelse til at mitt/vårt barn deltar i dette prosjektet.

---

underskrift foresatte

**APPENDIX 6: OVERVIEW CHRONOLOGICAL RAW MATERIAL FOR MY STORIES ON MOHAMMED**

*Story 1: Support teaching*

Event	04.02.09	05.02.09*	11.02.09	03.03.09	18.03.09*	14.04.09	15.04.09	28.04.09	29.04.09	05.05.09	19.05.09
Preparing	1	-	-	2	-	1	-	1	1	3	2
Teaching	2	-	2	2	-	2	1	1	1	2	-
Post-teaching	1	-	1	2	-	-	1	-	-	2	1

\* only present during afternoon/evening because of extra meeting

*Story 2: Looking after emergent bilingual pupils*

Event	04.02.09	05.02.09*	11.02.09	03.03.09	18.03.09*	14.04.09	15.04.09	28.04.09	29.04.09	05.05.09	19.05.09
Finding skipping pupils	-	-	3	2	-	1	-	-	1	3	-
Talking to pupils about skipping	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	3	-
Talking about pupils skipping	-	2	1	11	-	-	1	1	-	1	-

\* only present during afternoon/evening because of extra meeting

*Story 3: Mediating between parents and teachers*

Event	04.02.09	05.02.09*	11.02.09	03.03.09	18.03.09*	14.04.09	15.04.09	28.04.09	29.04.09	05.05.09	19.05.09
Talking with parents	-	-	-	2	1	2	-	-	-	-	-
Talking about parent	1	-	-	6	2	3	1	1	-	-	-

\* only present during afternoon/evening because of extra meeting

**APPENDIX 7: OVERVIEW CHRONOLOGICAL RAW MATERIAL FOR MY STORIES ON MARYAM**

*Story 1: Connecting bilingual teaching to mainstream teaching*

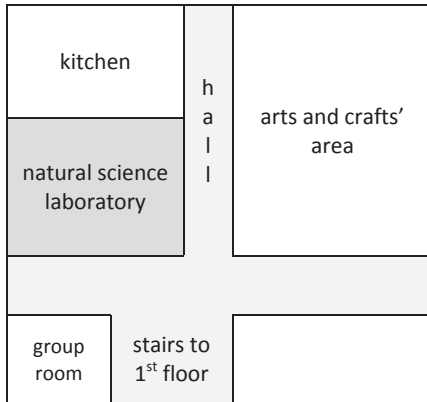
Topic	10.11.09	07.12.09	08.12.09	09.12.09	04.01.10	05.01.10	06.01.10	11.01.10	12.01.10	13.01.10	18.01.10	19.01.10	20.01.10	25.01.10
M collects information	1	3	-	1	3	1	-	3	1	1	7	1	-	2
M shares information	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	1
Other teacher collects info	1	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	2	1	-	1	-
Other teachers share information	-	2	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	1
Finding teachers (not succeeding)	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-
Explaining organisation to J	5	4	1	1	1	3	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-
M asks teacher on behalf of pupil	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-

*Story 2: Negotiating different opinions bilingual pedagogy*

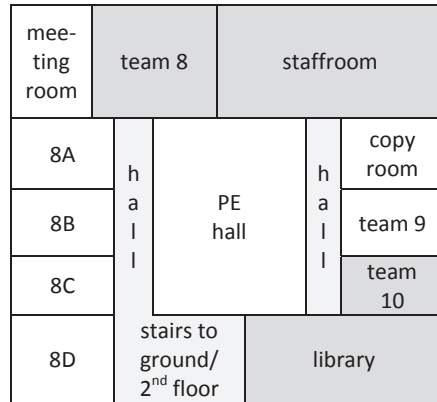
Topic	10.11.09	07.12.09	08.12.09	09.12.09	04.01.10	05.01.10	06.01.10	11.01.10	12.01.10	13.01.10	18.01.10	19.01.10	20.01.10	25.01.10
Using 1 vs. 2 languages	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	-
1 or 2 weekly plans	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Different views of pupils' learning	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	-
Different views of teaching	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bilingual teachers' tasks	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	3	1	-	-	-	-	-

**APPENDIX 8: MAPS ULLSTAD**

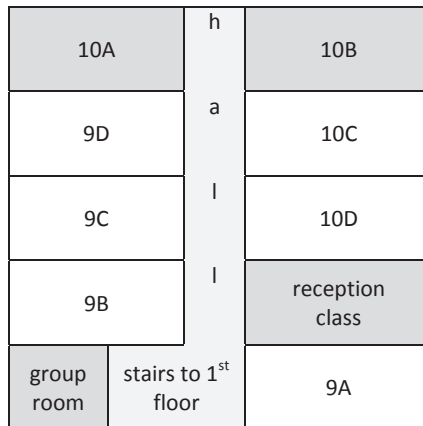
**Ground floor**



**First floor**



**Second floor**



**APPENDIX 9: EXERCISES TO TEXT "SAYNAB, MY STORY"**

1. Write five sentences about what you have read.<sup>1</sup>

- a. ....
- b. ....
- c. ....
- d. ....
- e. ....

2. What had Saynab done with her hair before the first day of school? Why do you think she did?

3. How was Saynab received by her new class? Explain in your own words.

4. Why do you think Saynab and "Spaghetti" became such good friends?

5. Which chores did Fatima do where she lived?

6. What did Saynab react towards concerning Fatima?

7. Many currently live in undignified family relationships. What is a safe home as you see it?

---

<sup>1</sup> I have translated the question sheet from Norwegian. The lay out is the same as the original.

APPENDIX 10: EXTRACT CHAPTER 6 – RENDITIONS AND TRANSLANGUAGINGS

	Time	Originals Mette	Originals Mohammed	My translations to English	orig.
0269	00:17:40	Me: <i>Og så har vi vanlig sukker som blir kalt for sukrose. Og hva er forskjellen på det her- Dette har vi gjennomgått før.</i>	M: <u>Maxaa u dhexeeya? Ma fahmaysaan waxa u dhexeeya? labaad</u> Z: <u>Maxaa waaye waxaas?</u> M: <u>labadaas waxa u dhexeeya.. taas</u> Z: <u>Maxaa?</u> M: <u>Differensaha u dhexeeya ma fahmaysaan? Druesukker iyo sonkorta caadiga ah waxa waxa u dhexeeya?</u> M: <u>Druesukker iyo sukrose.</u> Z: <u>Sukrose maxaa waaye?</u> M: <u>Waa sokorta caadiga ah .. taas .. sokorta caadiga ah.</u> Z: <u>Sokorta caadiga ah xxx waaye e.</u> M: <u>Waxa u dhexeeya fiiri</u>	Me: <u>And then we have ordinary sugar that's called sucrose. And what's the difference here- We've been through this before.</u> M: <u>What's the difference? Do you understand the difference?</u> Z: <u>What is it?</u> M: <u>The difference between these two's ..</u> Z: <u>What?</u> M: <u>Do you understand the <b>difference</b> between <u>grape sugar</u> and ordinary sugar?</u> M: <u>Grape sugar or sucrose?</u> Z: <u>What's sucrose?</u> M: <u>It's the ordinary sugar .. this .. ordinary sugar.</u> Z: <u>It's the ordinary sugaxxx</u> M: <u>Look at the difference.</u>	orig.
0270	00:17:50				
0271	00:18:23				
0272					
0273	00:17:50	Me: <i>Dette har xx finere navn. xx</i> EB: <i>xx sukrose.</i> Me: <i>Ja, druesukker er sukrose, men det er et slags sakkarin. Husker dekk?</i> EB: <i>xx et helt liksom-</i> Me: <i>Og så er dette her et bisakkarin. Og bisakkarin, hva betyr det? Hva betyr forstavelen. Vet du? Nå er vi på naturfagrommet. Viktig at dekk er med her nå, så vi kan drive litt undervisning. Nils, kan du følge med?</i> N: <i>Ja, jeg følger med jeg.</i>	Me: <i>That has xx nicer name. xx</i> EB: <i>xx sucrose.</i> Me: <i>Yeah, grape sugar is sucrose, but it's a kind of saccharin. Do you remember?</i> EB: <i>xx a total like-</i> Me: <i>And this here is a bisaccharin. And bisaccharin, what does it mean? What does the prefix mean? Do you know? Now we're in the science room. Important that you're here now, so we can do a bit of teaching? Nils, can you follow?</i> N: <i>Yeah, I'm following.</i>		
0274	00:18:23				
0275					
0276					
0277					
0278					
0279					
0280					
0281					
0282					
0283					
0284					
0285					
0286	00:17:55				
0287	00:19:28				
0288					
0289					
0290					
0291					
0292					
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0324				
0325				
0326	00:19:27			
0327	00:19:47			
0328				
0329	00:19:29			
0330	00:20:34			
0331				
0332				
0333				
0334				
0335				
		<p>Me: Terje. T: <i>Bi er dobbelt.</i> Me: <i>Ja, det er to eller dobbelt. Det er riktig, Terje. Felix væske kan påvise monosakkariner, og det dekk opplevde da, med at Sverre hadde Felix væske i en løsning som bestod av vanlig sukker eller sukrose, så skjedde det ingen ting. Men vi kan gjøre noe rart med å ha litt fxsyre opp i her. Dette har jeg ikke gjort på 100 år, så jeg vet ikke om jeg får det tel. Dette har jeg ikke gjort sia mine egne studiedager.</i></p> <p>EB: <i>Ska det sprengre?</i> Me: <i>Nei, det skal ikke sprengre, men jeg skal vanlig dekk no. Jeg skal ta litt vanlig sukker, for da husker dekk dessa her eh ja.</i></p> <p>EB <i>Du skakke gjør no sånn ((dump lyd etterfulgt av latter))</i></p> <p>Me: <i>Nei, jeg trukke jeg skal gjøre så fryktelig mye som sprenger. Det er lite hensiktsmessig.</i></p> <p>Me: <i>Dette her er vanlig sukker som dekk har på kjøkkenet hjemmet.</i></p>	<p>Me: Terje. T: <i>Bi is double.</i> Me: <i>Yeah, it's two or double. It's right, Terje. Fehling's solution can prove monoscharin, and what you experienced then, that Sverre had Fehling's solution in a solution that then nothing happened. But we can do something strage by having in some fxx acid here. I haven't done this in a hundred years, so I don't know if I'll be able to do it. I haven't done this since my own study days.</i></p> <p>EB: <i>Is it going to explode?</i> Me: <i>No, it's not gonna explode, but 'll show you something. I'll take some ordinary sugar, cause then you remember these here eh yeah.</i></p> <p>EB: <i>You won't be doing like this ((thud sound followed by laughter))</i></p> <p>Me: <i>No, I don't think I'm going to do an awful lot that's going to explode. That's not very expedient.</i></p> <p>Me: <i>This here is ordinary sugar that you have at home in the kitchen.</i></p>	orig.
		<p>M: <i>Mono sakkarid .. sa kka rid. Sakka rid. Sa kka rid. Mono sa kka rid. Rid. Så er det di sa kka rid.</i></p>	<p>M: <i>Mono sakkarid .. sa kka rid. Sakka rid. Sa kka rid. Mono sa kka rid. Rid. Then there's di sa kka rid.</i></p>	rend.
		<p>Me: <i>Farin, ja, eller sukker fortsatt. Og så blander jeg det med litt varmt vann. Hvorfor gjør jeg det? Også husker dekk det fra i fjor. Hvorfor bruker jeg varmt vann og ikke kaldt vann?</i></p> <p>EG: <i>Da smelter det og blander seg.</i></p> <p>Me: <i>Blander seg fortere.</i></p>	<p>Me: <i>Sugar, yeah, or still sugar. And then I mixed it with a little warm water. Why do I do that? And you remember that from last year. Why do I use warm water and not cold water?</i></p> <p>EG: <i>Then it melts and blends.</i></p> <p>Me: <i>Blends quicker.</i></p>	orig.



0336					orig.
0337					
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0357					
0358					
0359	00:20:35				
0360	00:20:40				
0361					
0362					
		Elevsnakk	<p>Me: Sånn, der ligg det sjtt ligg det ganske finne nedi bånn der, så skal jeg sette ned i et sånt varmebad, og så skal det få lov å godgjøra seg der sånn at</p> <p>EB: xx</p> <p>Me: Rørsukkeret blander seg med vatnet ordentlig, sånn at det er skikkelig innblanda, da.</p> <p>EB: Det vil bare bli grønt da.</p> <p>EB: Det begynner å koke.</p> <p>Me: Det begynner å koke. Vi børkke akkurat koke det, men i hvert fall så-</p> <p>EB: xx</p> <p>Me: xx så sukkeret er borte. Eh. Det skal løse seg opp. Eh. Flere ting som på en måte kan si noe om. Hvordan ser en sånn monosakkarin ut da?</p> <p>0354 Hvordan er oppbygning på en monosakkarin. Husker</p> <p>0357 dekk? Vi tegna detta når vi gjennomgjikk det sist.</p>		
			<p>M: Suu u egyahay mataqanaan? <u>Monosakkarider siduu u egyahay marka la sawiraayo Ma taqanaan?</u> Foomkeeda siduu u egyahay?</p>		
			<p>M: Do you know how monosaccharides look like? How do monosaccharides when they're illustrated? How are they formed?</p>		
					rend.

APPENDIX 11: EXTRACT CHAPTER 7 – TOPICAL EPISODES, BOUNDARIES AND TOPICS

Transcript #1 (00:04:07 - 00:07:02) TEAM 8

0001 0002 0003 0004	S: Hei. Er du med meg nå eller etterpå? M: J::- (3.0) Er det A? S: Ja. M: Mm.	S: Hi. Are you with me now or afterwards? M: I::- (3.0) Is it A? S: Yeah. M: Mm.	a. Organisation
0005 0006 0007	S: Før e: vi skar e: skar e: gjørra litteranna forsøk først i e: A-klassa og så skar dom ha ei prøve.	S: Cause e: we're going e: we're going to do a bit of an experiment first in e: the A class and then they'll have a test.	b. Content
0008 0009 0010	M: Ok. Ok. Vi skal være med deg i:- S: med på naturfagsrommet. M: naturfagrommet. Ok.	M: Ok. Ok. We'll be with you i:n- S: in the science room. M: the science room. Ok.	c. Place
0011 0012 0013 0014 0015 0016 0017 0018 0019 0020 0021 0022 0023 0024 0025 0026 0027 0028	S: Og da skar de- da har dom ei prøve. M: Ok. S: Der e: først forsøk, M: Mm. S: det forsøket har jeg- har dem ikke fått gjort i A-klassa så skar je gjøre det med dem i dag. M: Mm. S: Je er egentlig vikar for a Mette jeg nå. L: Å ja. For e:m- S: Ja. Og så skal dom ha ei prøve. M: Mm. S: Det får dom om en cirka halv times tid så får dom den prøva. (1.0) Og da:- vet ikke om du skal ta med (2.0) Zakaria og Ahmed og M: Deeq.	S: And then they'll- then they'll have a test. M: Ok. S: There's first experiment, M: Mm. S: the experiment I haven't- they haven't done in the A class so I'll do it with them today. M: Mm. S: I'm actually substituting Mette here. L: Oh yeah. For e:m- S: Yeah. And they'll have a test. M: Mm. S: They'll get it in about a half hour they get the test. (1.0) And the:n- don't know if you'll take (2.0) Zakaria and Ahmed and M: Deeq.	d. Content
0029 0030 0031 0032 0033 0034	S: Og- (1.0) Vet ikke om han møter opp jeg. M: Deeq, han er her. S: Han er her. M: Han er på skolen. L: xx	S: And- (1.0) Don't know if he'll meet. M: Deeq, he's here. S: He's here. M: He's at school. L: xx	e. Presence
0035 0036 0037 0038 0039	S: xx så kan e: du- egentlig så er det beste om du går ut med dom så kan dom gjøre prøva som arbeidsoppgaver. At dom bruker boka si og gjør dom som arbeidsoppgaver.	S: xx so can e: you- actually it's best if you go out with them so they can do the test as work exercises. That they use their book and do them as work exercises.	f. Content
0040 0041 0042 0043	M: Mm. S: Får da kan du bare ta med dom på biblioteket eller [noe sånn. M: [Ja. .h. M.	M: Mm. S: So then you can just take them to the library or [something like that. M: [Yeah. .h. M.	g. Place

0044	S:	Og i: i: siste del så skal jeg snakke	S:	And i:n i:n the last part then I'll talk	h. Content/organisation
0045		litteran om først snakke om e: om e:		a bit about first talk about e: about e:	
0046		eksamen og-		the exams and-	
0047	M:	Ok.	M:	Ok.	
0048	S:	xx så skal dom ha den prøva.	S:	xx then they'll have the test.	
0049	M:	Ok.	M:	Ok.	
0050	S:	Og på den prøve så kunne det ha vært	S:	And at the test I could be alright	
0051		åltreit om e: Sihaam og Sumeya og		if e: Sihaam and Sumeya and	
0052		Abdullahi gjør den som xx at dem gjør		Abdullahi do it as xx that they do the	
0053		den oppgava som arbeidsoppgave.		assignment as an exercise.	
0054	L:	Mm.	L:	Mm.	
0055	M:	.hja. Mm. Er dem he- Har du	M:	.hyeah. Mm. Are they heh- Have you	i. Presence
0056		sett Sumeya og Sihaam i dag? Jeg		seen Sumeya and Sihaam today? I	
0057		har ikke sett dem.		haven't seen them.	
0058	S:	Je- je kom akkurat nå jeg.	S:	I- I got here just now.	
0059	M:	Ok. Har ikke sett dem. Har sett Asad	M:	Ok. Haven't seen them. Have seen Asad	
0060		men ikke Sumeya og Sihaam.		But not Sumeya and Sihaam.	
0061	L:	.hja.	L:	.hyeah.	
0062		(2.0)		(2.0)	
0063	M:	Mm.	M:	Mm.	
0064	S:	I går satt Sumeya mye ut i	S:	Yesterday Sumeya was sitting out in	
0065		gangen- ut i gangen så jeg.		the hall- out in the hall I saw her.	
0066	L:	I går?	L:	Yesterday?	
0067	S:	Ja.	S:	Yeah.	
0068	L:	Ja. Første?	L:	Yeah. The first period?	
0069	S:	Første.	S:	The first.	
0070	L:	Ja, ok, første økt, ja,	L:	Yeah, ok, during the first period, yeah,	
0071		fra		from	
0072	S:	Ja.	S:	Yeah.	
0073	L:	andre og tredje var ho hos oss.	L:	the second and third she was with me.	
0074	S:	xx	S:	xx	
0075	L:	Mm.	L:	Mm.	
0076		(1.0)		(1.0)	
0077	L:	Men ikkje første økt.	L:	But not during the first period.	
0078	S:	Ja.	S:	Yeah.	
0079	L:	.hja. Asad var ikke her i går.	L:	.hyeah. Asad wasn't here yesterday.	

### Topical episodes

- a Organisation
- b Content
- c Place
- d Content
- e Presence
- f Content
- g Place
- h Content/organisation
- i Presence

APPENDIX 12: EXTRACT CHAPTER 8 – PARENT-TEACHER MEETING

1096	L: <i>Ja. Er det bra nå?</i>	L: <i>Yeah. Is it ok now?</i>	orig.
1097	FA: <i>Ja. xx si kansjke Mohamed probleme det snakke norske matematikk.</i>	FA: <i>Yeah. xx perhaps say Mohamed problem it speaking Norwegian mathematics.</i>	orig.
1098			original
1099			
1100	M: <i>Mm.</i>	M: <i>Mm.</i>	
1101	FA: <i>Jeg vet ikke ... at euh jeg komme norske skiving. Jeg har ikke norske at høre han prate sitter børe.</i>	FA: <i>I don't know ... that eh I come Norwegian writing. I don't have Norwegian to hear him talk and sit only.</i>	orig.
1102			original
1103			
1104			
1105	M: <i>På bordet.</i>	M: <i>At the table.</i>	
1106	FA: <i>Å .. huset våra. Hørte vet ikke. Hamsa maga magey hjelpe. Jeg tenke .. bra .. somali kaskey Mohammed. Laakiin waxaa loo baahanyahay buu yidhi, maxamed wuxuu ka dhismi la'yahay. Kubad buu uu hangaltaagaa ma ogtahay. Waa dadka kubadda xirfadaha kale u hangaltaaga. Laakiin waxaan rabaa kobociisa hoose sida kale wuu fiicanyahay oo wax fahmayaa e, inta aanan dhex galin bulshada kale iyo afaare kale galin waxaan rabaa in qofka bayska laga caawiyo. Wargadii aad soo dirteena waan arkay buu yiri dheh. Marka qofka in bayska laga caawiyo.</i>	FA: <i>Oh .. ours house. Didn't hear know. Hamsa mag magey help. I think .. good .. But what is needed, tell them, that Mohammed can't develop because he likes soccer very much. He's a boy who's very interested in soccer and other hobbies. I want his basic skills to be developed. Elsewise he's good and understands things. Before I come to what concerns us all, I wish to talk about that you should get help with your basic skills. Tell them that I received the letter they sent me. So one has to get help with basic skills.</i>	original.
1107			
1108			
1109			
1110			
1111			
1112			
1113			
1114			
1115			
1116			
1117			
1118			
1119			
1120			
1121	M: <i>Skal vi- Skal vi ta når vi har samtale? Han vil snakke om gutten sin.</i>	M: <i>Shall we- Shall we talk about it when we have conference? He wants to talk about his son.</i>	co-ordin.
1122			
1123			
1124	L: <i>Yeah.</i>	L: <i>Yeah.</i>	
1125	M: <i>Mar kale ma ka hadalnaa oon kaligeen nahay?</i>	M: <i>Can we talk about it another time when we're alone?</i>	co-ordin.
1126			original.
1127	FA: <i>Haa wax barashada qofka in laga dhisaa la rabaa dheh.</i>	FA: <i>Yeah, one has to build up basic skills.</i>	original.
1128			
1129	M: <i>Haa laakiin markale ma ka hadalnaa oon kaligeen nahay?</i>	M: <i>Yeah. But can we talk about it another time when we're alone?</i>	co-ordin.
1130			
1131	L: <i>Er det Erland som er kontaktlærer?</i>	L: <i>Is it Erland who's contact teacher?</i>	
1132	M: <i>Euh vet jeg ikke.</i>	M: <i>Eh I don't know.</i>	
1133	L: <i>Eller er det-..</i>	L: <i>Or is it-</i>	
1134	M: <i>Det er euh .. tror euh tror-</i>	M: <i>It's eh .. think eh think-</i>	
1135	L: <i>Hilde ... Hilde?</i>	L: <i>Hilde ... Hilde?</i>	
1136	M: <i>Mmm.</i>	M: <i>Mmm.</i>	
1137	L: <i>Vet du det at er det Hilde?</i>	L: <i>Do you know if it's Hilde?</i>	
1138	M: <i>Hvem er den som har skrevet brevet til deg?</i>	M: <i>Who is it who's written the letter to you?</i>	
1139			
1140	FA: <i>Wargadaa?</i>	FA: <i>The letter?</i>	
1141	M: <i>Haa.</i>	M: <i>Yeah.</i>	
1142	FA: <i>Wargadda waxaa soo diray uun macalimiinta uun wargadana waatan.</i>	FA: <i>It's just from the teachers who sent it. And this is the letter.</i>	orig.
1143			original
1144	M: <i>Han fått brevet fra skole.</i>	M: <i>He got the letter from the school.</i>	rend.
1145	FA: <i>Waatanaa way qorantahay.</i>	FA: <i>This is it, and this is what is written.</i>	orig.
1146	M: <i>Nei ikke den .. Nei ikke den. Har-</i>	M: <i>No not this .. No not this. Do-</i>	coor.
1247	L: <i>Det- For det er jeg ..</i>	L: <i>It- Cause this is me ..</i>	orig.
1248	M: <i>Hehehehehehe. Det er Linn. Hehe.</i>	M: <i>Hehehehehehe. This is Linn. Hehe.</i>	rend.
1249	FA: <i>Hehehe.</i>	FA: <i>Hehehe.</i>	

1250	L: <i>Men han har sikkert fått måneds-</i>	L: <i>But he's probably got the monthly-</i>	orig.
1251	FA: <u>Waxaa weeye qofka ... skuulkana laba</u>	FA: <u>It's like this- ... I came to school twice</u>	
1252	<u>jeer baan imid. Macalimiintana uma</u>	<u>and didn't tell the teachers about it.</u>	
1253	<u>sheegin. Bulshada meelbaa ilmaha laga</u>	<u>Society raises our children, you know.</u>	
1254	<u>dhisaa e ma ogtahay. Waalidku guriga</u>	<u>When parents raise their children at</u>	
1255	<u>marka uu ka soo dhiso, macalinkuna</u>	<u>home, their teachers also have to</u>	orig-
1256	<u>waxaa la rabaa skuulka in uu ka dhiso.</u>	<u>raise them at school. Teachers have to</u>	ginal.
1257	<u>Macalinkii marka informashon in uu</u>	<u>send information about which</u>	
1258	<u>soo soo diro baa laga rabaa qofku</u>	<u>subjects they're having trouble with,</u>	
1259	<u>maadada uu ku liito, cashirka uusan</u>	<u>which homework they're not able to</u>	
1260	<u>bixin karin, fahmi karin maadada in</u>	<u>hand in or understand, so that they</u>	
1261	<u>laga dhiso markaa.</u>	<u>can get help in that subject.</u>	
1262	M: <i>Ok. Vi kan ta det. Han han sier</i>	M: <i>Ok. We can talk about it. He he says</i>	coor.
1263	<i>det det liksom det liksom møte med</i>	<i>that that like meeting with</i>	
1264	<i>med lærerne er viktig, men det er</i>	<i>with teachers is important, but it's</i>	
1265	<i>enda viktigere når vi vet</i>	<i>even more important that we know</i>	
1266	<i>hvor barna våre</i>	<i>where our children are having</i>	
1267	<i>sliter. Slik som at de fagene som</i>	<i>difficulties. So that the subjects</i>	
1268	<i>han sliter mest. Det</i>	<i>he's having the most difficulties. It</i>	
1269	<i>hadde vært fint for meg å</i>	<i>would've been nice for me to kind</i>	
1270	<i>VITE egentlig hva hva JEG .. hva det</i>	<i>of KNOW what what I .. what it</i>	
1271	<i>skolen vil at jeg skal jobbe mer. Og</i>	<i>school wants that I work more on. And</i>	rend.
1272	<i>og og hvor euh liksom at nå nå er</i>	<i>and and where eh like that now now</i>	
1273	<i>det liksom over alt, sier han. At euh</i>	<i>it is like everywhere, he says. That eh</i>	
1274	<i>liksom at den ene minutt snakker vi euh</i>	<i>like that the one minute we talk eh</i>	
1275	<i>mål euh etter den andre euh mange</i>	<i>aims eh after the other eh many</i>	
1276	<i>forskjellige ting. Så det hadde vært</i>	<i>different things. So it would have been</i>	
1277	<i>bedre at jeg fokusere noe som</i>	<i>better that I focus on something that</i>	
1278	<i>er viktig som som som jeg kan hjelpe</i>	<i>is important which which I can help</i>	
1279	<i>for eksempel. Dette- Det er noe som</i>	<i>for example. This- It is something that</i>	
1280	<i>er privat som gjelder Mohamed. Så-</i>	<i>is private which is about Mohamed. So-</i>	
1281	FA: <u>Haa, Mohamed markaa ee.</u>	FA: <u>Yeah, it's eh Mohamed.</u>	orig.
1282	L: <i>Men .. euh to ganger i året .. en gang</i>	L: <i>But .. eh twice a year .. once</i>	
1283	<i>før jul og en gang etter</i>	<i>before Christmas and once after</i>	
1284	<i>jul så .. euh har læreren til Mohamed</i>	<i>Christmas then .. eh Mohamed's</i>	
1285	<i>euh en samtale med deg</i>	<i>teacher has a conversation with you</i>	
1286	<i>om Mohamed. Euh sånn at etter</i>	<i>about Mohammed. Eh so that after</i>	orig-
1287	<i>påske så blir det en .. rett etter</i>	<i>Easter then there're be one .. straight</i>	ginal
1288	<i>påskan blir det en samtale</i>	<i>after Easter there'll be a conversation</i>	
1289	<i>med deg og læreren til Mohamed</i>	<i>with you and Mohammed's teacher</i>	
1290	<i>Heidi. Euh og da blir Mohammed også</i>	<i>Heidi. Eh and Mohammed can also</i>	
1291	<i>med hvis du- Hvis du vil det.</i>	<i>join if you wish- If you wish.</i>	
1292	M: <u>Mar- .. Ee sanadkii laba jeer baa</u>	M: <u>Once- ... Twice a year there's</u>	
1293	<u>waaliinti lala kulmaa canuga</u>	<u>conference hour and then there is a</u>	
1294	<u>waxbarashadiisa iyo waxaa laga hadlaa.</u>	<u>discussion about your pupils and</u>	
1295	<u>Marka waxay tidhi hadda mid waa la</u>	<u>anything else. So, one of them is gone,</u>	
1296	<u>soo dhaafay mid baa dhiman. Marka</u>	<u>and waits for the other.</u>	rend.
1297	<u>mida ayada ah ballanta ayada ah</u>	<u>That's why, where you're being</u>	
1298	<u>laguugu yeedho macalinka contact</u>	<u>convened to this meeting,</u>	
1299	<u>lærerka ah ayaad qodobadaas la soo</u>	<u>then you'll discuss this case</u>	
1300	<u>qaadaysaa oo u dhiga maadooyinka</u>	<u>with his contact teacher. He teaches</u>	
1301	<u>aad ka hadlayso.</u>	<u>in these subjects you're talking about.</u>	
1302	FA: <u>Waan ogahay. Sanadkiiba mar la</u>	FA: <u>I know that there's a meeting once</u>	
1303	<u>kulanka yahay. Waxbarashada</u>	<u>a year. I talked about education</u>	
1304	<u>khaasatan aniga waan ka hadlay. Aniga</u>	<u>in particular. I don't mean to insult the</u>	
1305	<u>markaan macalimiinta kuma</u>	<u>teachers, you know. I listened to the</u>	

1306	<u>xadgudbayo e ma ogtahay. Sharcigii ay</u>	<u>rules they told us that night.</u>	
1307	<u>habeenkii halkaa ka akhriyaveen baan</u>	<u>They said that the child has to get</u>	
1308	<u>dhagaysanaya ee ma ogtahay. In la</u>	<u>training at home,</u>	
1309	<u>yidhi ilmaha waa in wax la baro oo guri</u>	<u>something the parents complained</u>	
1310	<u>walba baro ayaa waalidku ka soo</u>	<u>about. There's a teacher</u>	
1311	<u>cawday. Anigii waalidka ahaa marka</u>	<u>in school. I'm not born in Norway and</u>	ori-
1312	<u>aan gurigii ka soo cawday. Hadee</u>	<u>don't speaking very well Norwegian.</u>	ginal
1313	<u>macalinkii iskuulka joogay waayo aniga</u>	<u>There's an expert there.</u>	
1314	<u>norskihii kuma dhalan, waa la iga</u>	<u>There has to be someone</u>	
1315	<u>badiyaa, qof khibrad leh baa jira. in nin</u>	<u>who can help with and control</u>	
1316	<u>gofka caawiya oo gofka intay kontrol</u>	<u>the pupils' education. The pupil</u>	
1317	<u>ku sameeyaan. Waxbarashadii ardaygii</u>	<u>has to get help in</u>	
1318	<u>ku sameeyaan. In maadada dhibka ku</u>	<u>the subject he or she's</u>	
1319	<u>ah laga caawiyo ayaa waajibku yahay</u>	<u>having difficulties with.</u>	
1320	<u>soo ma aha? Waa runtay!</u>	<u>Right? It's true!</u>	
1321	M: <i>Han han han sier at euh sist gang vi</i>	M: <i>He he he says that euh last time we</i>	
1322	<i>var her, så fikk- jeg</i>	<i>were here, so I understood- I</i>	
1323	<i>fikk med meg- sier han at han hadde-</i>	<i>understood- he says that he had-</i>	
1324	<i>Det ble sagt at foreldrene må</i>	<i>It was said that that parents have to</i>	
1325	<i>hjelpe euh barna. Euh og .. og være</i>	<i>help eh the children. Eh and .. and be</i>	
1326	<i>aktiv i i i den opplæring</i>	<i>active in in in the education the</i>	
1327	<i>barna får .. også. Men det det</i>	<i>children get .. too. But what what</i>	
1328	<i>som skjer i hjemme liksom er at det er</i>	<i>happens like at home is that it is too</i>	
1329	<i>alt mye. Noen kan jeg ikke hjelpe i det</i>	<i>much. Someone I can't help at</i>	
1330	<i>hele tatt. Noe kan jeg hjelp litt. Noe kan</i>	<i>all. Some I can help a bit. Some I can</i>	
1331	<i>jeg hjelp bedre. Men men .. jeg kan</i>	<i>help better. But but .. I can't</i>	
1332	<i>ikke hjelp alt, men det hadde var</i>	<i>help everything, but it would've been</i>	
1333	<i>fint om ..om om jeg skulle få vite hva</i>	<i>nice if .. if if I could get to know what</i>	
1334	<i>jeg kan- hvor jeg kan hjelpe mest,</i>	<i>I can- where I can help the most,</i>	
1335	<i>liksom og det det lille jeg kan for</i>	<i>like and the the tiniest I can for</i>	
1336	<i>eksempel.</i>	<i>example.</i>	rend.
1337	L: <i>Men jeg hører det at du er veldig</i>	L: <i>But I hear it that you are very</i>	
1338	<i>interessert og .. og det er kanskje det</i>	<i>interested and .. and it is maybe the</i>	
1339	<i>viktigste du kan hjelpe</i>	<i>most important that you can help</i>	
1340	<i>Hamsa med .. det er å være interessert</i>	<i>Hamsa with .. that is to be interested</i>	
1341	<i>og .. hjelpe han euh legge til rette for at</i>	<i>and .. help him eh to arrange so that</i>	
1342	<i>han skal gjøre lekser, spørre han,</i>	<i>he will do his homework, ask him,</i>	
1343	<i>har du gjort lekser dine. Gjerne-</i>	<i>have you done your homework. He</i>	
1344	<i>Han kan gjerne vise deg hva som</i>	<i>may- He may want to show you what</i>	
1345	<i>er vanskelig. Han kan fortelle deg hva</i>	<i>is difficult. He can tell you what was</i>	
1346	<i>som er vanskelig euh og det er ikke</i>	<i>difficult eh and it's not for</i>	
1347	<i>sikkert at du kan hjelpe ham med det.</i>	<i>sure that you can help him with it.</i>	
1348	<i>Og kanskje han kan høre med</i>	<i>And maybe you can ask the</i>	
1349	<i>mattelæreren eller naturfaglæreren</i>	<i>maths teacher or science teacher</i>	
1350	<i>om det. Men det at du er</i>	<i>about it. But the fact that you're</i>	
1351	<i>interessert og og vil han skal</i>	<i>interested and and want that he shall</i>	
1352	<i>euh jobbe. Det er kjempe viktig.</i>	<i>eh work. That's very important.</i>	
1353	M: <u>Waxay leedahay waa muhiim sida aad</u>	M: <u>She says that how you're interested</u>	
1354	<u>u xiisaynayso arrintaa iyada ah ka hor</u>	<u>is important, but before you</u>	
1355	<u>waxaan kugula talinlahaa ayay ku tiri in</u>	<u>meet the contact teacher,</u>	
1356	<u>aad ma aragtay ee een asaga in uu</u>	<u>I want to give you advice.</u>	
1357	<u>leksahiisa uu sameeyo, wakhti aad u</u>	<u>You have to arrange for him to</u>	
1358	<u>goysid oo kale aad, way muuqaataa in</u>	<u>do his homework himself,</u>	
1359	<u>aad xiiso u haysid ama aad ma aragtay</u>	<u>make a time table for him at home.</u>	
1360	<u>interessu u haysid in uu wax barto asaga</u>	<u>It sounds like you're interested that he</u>	
1361	<u>in aad arrintaas ku sii waddid, in aad</u>	<u>studies, so continue the work with</u>	
1362	<u>dhahdo itus maxaa kugu adag, waxaad</u>	<u>your child. Ask him to show you</u>	rend.

1363		<u>ka caawin karto aad ka caawisid.</u>	<u>what's difficult.</u>	
1364		<u>Waxaad ka caawin karina asaga aad</u>	What we can help him with is that you	
1365		<u>isku daydo in uu asaga ka shageeyo ee</u>	try to get him to do his homework and	
1366		<u>ee wakhti aad siiso. Oo micnaha ku</u>	that you spent time on it. That means	
1367		<u>kontoroosho in uu asagu wakhtigii aad</u>	<u>that you check that</u>	
1368		<u>ugu tala gashay fadhigiyo oo wax</u>	<u>he sits there for</u>	
1369		<u>akhrinaayo.</u>	<u>the time you have decided.</u>	
1370	FA:	<u>Waan ogahay taasi mushkilad malaha</u>	FA: <u>I know. That's not the problem. But</u>	
1371		<u>ee qofkii hadee Høgskool ayuu u</u>	<u>the child will go the University</u>	
1372		<u>gudbayaa e ma ogtahay, dugsigii dhexe</u>	<u>College. He goes from lower</u>	
1373		<u>ayuu ka baxayaa. Høyskuul uu sii</u>	<u>secondary to University College, and</u>	
1374		<u>aadaya Høyskuulna ciyaar ma aha anaa</u>	<u>it's not easy to manage University</u>	
1375		<u>soo oo maray ee ma ogtahay, indhaha</u>	<u>College. I've done it myself. The</u>	
1376		<u>faraha la iska galiyo weeye ma ogtahay.</u>	<u>system is ruthless. It's not easy to</u>	
1377		<u>Dugsiga dhexe ciyaar loogama baxo.</u>	<u>manage lower secondary school, let</u>	
1378		<u>Dugsiga hoosena ciyaar loogama baxo.</u>	<u>alone compulsory school. Norwegian</u>	
1379		<u>Marka norskaha waxuu ku egyahay</u>	<u>isn't from here. The pupils who go to</u>	
1380		<u>ilmaha halkaan dhigta, gobolkan</u>	<u>school here in &lt;name&gt; county after</u>	
1381		<u>&lt;navn&gt; ilmaha dhigta marka u dhaba</u>	<u>I've observed them, there's no one</u>	
1382		<u>galay wax daacad u dhiganaaya way</u>	<u>who's truly concerned with teaching</u>	
1383		<u>yaryihiin Marka been sheegi maayo.</u>	<u>the children. I'm not lying. One</u>	
1384		<u>Subax dhawayd waad maqnayd adigu</u>	<u>morning, when you weren't here,</u>	
1385		<u>e. Subax baan soo galay, furuu ka soo</u>	<u>I came to the school.</u>	
1386		<u>tagey anigii meel baan aaday dhakhtar</u>	<u>The child had forgot the keys.</u>	
1387		<u>baan lahaa, hooyadana skuul bay</u>	<u>I went to the doctor, and the mother</u>	
1388		<u>aadaa sideed saac bay ka timaadaa.</u>	<u>went to another school and she came</u>	
1389		<u>Markaa dhibaa imanaya ma ogtahay,</u>	<u>back from school after two o'clock.</u>	
1390		<u>qofkii fiiro gaar ah waxbarashada</u>	<u>So it could've been a problem. One</u>	
1391		<u>asluubta, ardo waxaad arkaysaa aan</u>	<u>has to emphasis learning, conduct and</u>	
1392		<u>waxba baranayn oo duurka iska</u>	<u>behaviour. You could see a child go</u>	
1393		<u>wareegaysa, marka qof klasska</u>	<u>out of class and be outside all alone,</u>	
1394		<u>dhexdiisa ka tagaya, duurka iska</u>	<u>while the others are inside the class.</u>	
1395		<u>wareegaya, macalinkiina klaaska ayuu</u>	<u>The teacher is inside,</u>	
1396		<u>dhextaaganyahay fuuf ayuu iska</u>	<u>and he just says</u>	
1397		<u>leeyahay.</u>	<u>fuuf.</u>	
1398	M:	<u>Hehehe.</u>	M: <u>Heheheh.</u>	
1399	FA:	<u>La foodhinayaa, waxbarasho ma aha</u>	FA: <u>They just whistle and that's not</u>	
1400		<u>marka. Waxaa weeye dhagan baa iira.</u>	<u>learning anything. There has to be</u>	
1401		<u>Qabta buu idin yiri dheh.</u>	<u>discipline. You have to do something</u>	
1402		<u>Managerkii skuulka baa tihiin.</u>	<u>about it. Tell them. You're school</u>	
1403		<u>Wax barashadii baad</u>	<u>leaders. You're the guides of</u>	
1404		<u>tihiin ilmaha dhisa.</u>	<u>knowledge. Raise and discipline them.</u>	
1405		<u>Line u sameeya.</u>	<u>You have to guide them.</u>	
1406	M:	<u>Halkaas weeye meesha in la iska</u>	M: <u>That's what we have to help</u>	
1407		<u>kaashado la rabo.</u>	<u>each-other with.</u>	
1408	FA:	<u>Waa sidee? Aniga meel baan ka arkay</u>	FA: <u>What's the case? I saw it the other</u>	
1409		<u>ee ma ogtahay. Maalin dhaweyd,</u>	<u>day. I promise.</u>	
1410		<u>wallaahay laba jeer xxx waan qaracmay</u>	<u>Twice.</u>	
1411		<u>ba. Gabadhna ma arag rag bassa.</u>	<u>I wasn't satisfied.</u>	
1412		<u>Waaban naxayba.</u>	<u>I'm worried.</u>	
1413	M:	<u>Hoos u hadal.</u>	M: <u>Don't raise your voice.</u>	coor.
1414	FA:	<u>Naxdin. Marka dhib</u>	FA: <u>I'm worried.</u>	ori-
1415		<u>maleh.</u>	<u>There's no problem.</u>	ginal
1416	Sj:	<u>&lt;X til å gjøre lekser X&gt;</u>	Sj: <u>&lt;X to do homework X&gt;</u>	orig.
1417	L:	<u>Hæ?</u>	L: <u>What?</u>	
1418	Sj:	<u>til å gjøre lekser</u>	Sj: <u>to do homework</u>	orig.

1419	FA: <u>Waaban naxayba nadin.</u>	FA: <u>I'm worried, worried.</u>	orig.
1420	M: Euh.	M: Eh.	
1421	L: <i>mm jeg ser at han har det ikke lett.</i>	L: <i>mm I see that he doesn't have it easy.</i>	orig.
1422	M: Euh.	M: Eh.	
1423	Sj: <i>&lt;X det som xx spørre om er det vi</i>	Sj: <i>&lt;X what xx ask about is that we</i>	origi-
1424	<i>lure litte granne på er det noe som x</i>	<i>wonder a bit if it's something x</i>	ginal
1425	<i>ville ha benyttet seg av eller-X&gt;</i>	<i>would have used or- X&gt;</i>	
1426	L: <i>Ja .. vil han bare spille</i>	L: <i>Yeah .. he just wants to play</i>	origi-
1427	<i>football, Mohamed.</i>	<i>soccer, Mohamed.</i>	ginal
1428	M: <u>Ba- .. banooni kaliyuu rabaa isaga in uu</u>	M: <u>Cau- .. he just wanted to play soccer,</u>	
1429	<u>ciyaaro soo ma aha?</u>	<u>right?</u>	rend.
1430	FA: <u>Haa. Haa.</u>	FA: <u>Yeah. Yeah.</u>	orig.
1431	M: <u>Helt riktig.</u>	M: <u>Correct.</u>	rend.
1432	MN: <u>Leksaha fiiri marka la</u>	MN: <u>When you tell him that you want to</u>	
1433	<u>yiraahdo lekse ma</u>	<u>see his homework, he says he didn't</u>	origi-
1434	<u>ii yaalo ay kuleeyihiin.</u>	<u>get any homework.</u>	ginal
1435	M: <u>Hehehehehehehe.</u>	M: <u>Hehehehehehehe.</u>	coor.
1436	Sj: <i>Vi vi lurer jo- på skolen så lurer vi jo-</i>	Sj: <i>We we wonder- At school we wonder-</i>	orig.
1437	FA: <u>Runta in loo sheego ayaa fiican dadka</u>	FA: <u>It's ok to tell them</u>	origi-
1438	<u>ma ogtahay.</u>	<u>the truth.</u>	ginal
1439	M: <u>Sug, sug. Hehehe</u>	M: <u>Wait, wait. Hehehe.</u>	coor.
1440	L: <i>xxx fint å være engasjert.</i>	L: <i>xxx good to be involved.</i>	orig.
1441	FA: <i>Ikke probleme. Læreren for eksempel</i>	FA: <i>No problem. The teacher for example</i>	
1442	<i>læreren og skole og rektor. Alle</i>	<i>the teacher and school and head. All</i>	origi-
1443	<i>mennesker, mange mange mange ser,</i>	<i>people, many many many see,</i>	ginal
1444	<i>høre det, hehe problem.</i>	<i>hear it, heheh problem</i>	
1445	M: <u>Maxaa idiin haray? Sjur</u>	M: <u>What were you going to say now? Sjur</u>	co-
1446	<u>skulle si noe. Sjur?</u>	<u>was going to say something. Sjur?</u>	ord.





