Multilingualism as a Resource in English Writing Instruction

Opportunities and Obstacles in Five Linguistically Diverse Classrooms in Norway

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Acknowledgements

Summary

This thesis investigates multilingual practices in English writing instruction at the secondary level in Norway. The study responds to a need to critically examine language use in linguistically diverse English classrooms, a topic that has received minimal attention in Norway and similar sociolinguistic settings until recently. The research aim is to investigate how teachers and students use and position students' multilingual resources in secondary-level English writing instruction, across four different instructional settings in Norway.

Two study sites, one lower and one upper secondary school, were selected as 'telling cases' (Mitchell, 1984) for exploring multilingual practices in English writing instruction. These encompass four different instructional settings: introductory classes for recent immigrants and accelerated, mainstream, and sheltered streams of English instruction in general academic studies. In total, three teachers and 76 students participated in the study. Linguistic ethnography (Copland & Creese, 2015) serves as the overarching methodological and interpretive approach. Data include: field notes from seven months of participant observation; video, audio, and screen recordings; instructional documents, student texts, and language portraits; and recordings of stimulated recall interviews with teachers and students.

The thesis includes three empirical articles. Article 1 reports on teachers' and students' negotiations of multilingual practices in two introductory classes, analyzed as instances of the continua of biliteracy (Hornberger, 2003) and translanguaging (García & Li Wei, 2014). The participants jointly created spaces for translanguaging that supported students' writing development. Still, linguistic hierarchies were evident in the allocation of language resources: Norwegian had a prominent role in classroom instruction, while students infrequently used languages that had not previously served as a prestigious language of schooling.

Article 2 investigates students' translation practices in these introductory classes. The students employed complex translation strategies, including linguistic and mediational strategies. However, they displayed mixed orientations to their own practices, alternately affirming or seeking to avoid translation. The article theorizes translation by students as a form of translingual practice, involving linguistic, semiotic, and ecological resources (Canagarajah, 2013), and suggests that translation be more explicitly valued in English teaching.

Article 3 compares the markedness of translanguaging (García & Li Wei, 2014) across three instructional settings—accelerated, mainstream, and sheltered English classrooms—involving linguistically majoritized and minoritized students. Bilingual Norwegian-English practices were more often marked in the accelerated and mainstream class, as a departure from a desired monolingual English performance. In contrast, translanguaging that drew on minoritized language resources was more consistently marked across the settings as contrary to social cohesion, and such minoritized translanguaging was accordingly rare.

In sum, the thesis demonstrates possibilities for translingual approaches to English teaching in linguistically diverse classrooms, but it also draws attention to limitations in classroom translanguaging, based on ecological constraints and students' past biliteracy trajectories.

Sammendrag

Denne avhandlingen undersøker flerspråklige praksiser i engelsk skriveundervisning på ungdomstrinnet og videregående nivå i Norge. Studien svarer på et behov for kritisk å utforske språkbruk i flerspråklige engelskklasserom, noe som inntil nylig har fått lite oppmerksomhet i Norge og lignende kontekster. Formålet ved studien er å undersøke hvordan lærere og elever bruker og posisjonerer flerspråklige ressurser i engelsk skriveundervisning på ungdomstrinnet og videregående nivå, på tvers av fire ulike undervisningskontekster i Norge.

To studiesettinger, en ungdomsskole og en videregående skole, ble valgt som case med særskilt potensial til å belyse flerspråklige praksiser i engelsk skriveundervisning. Disse omfatter fire forskjellig undervisningskontekster: innføringsklasser for nyankomne elever og forsert, ordinær og forsterket engelskundervisning i studieforberedende utdanningsprogram. Tre lærere og 76 elever deltok i studien. Lingvistisk etnografi (Copland & Creese, 2015) benyttes som metodisk og analytisk rammeverk. Dataene inkluderer: feltnotater fra sju måneder med deltakende observasjon; lyd-, video- og skjermopptak; dokumenter, elevtekster og språkportretter; og opptak av datastimulerte intervjuer med lærere og elever.

Tre empiriske artikler inngår i avhandlingen. Artikkel 1 rapporterer om læreres og elevers forhandlinger om flerspråklige praksiser i to innføringsklasser. Disse praksisene analyseres som tilfeller av *continua of biliteracy* (Hornberger, 2003) og transspråking (García & Li Wei, 2014, 2019). Sammen skapte deltakerne et felles rom for transspråking, til støtte for elevenes skriveutvikling. Likevel kom språkhierarkier til syne i form av ulik bruk av forskjellige språkressurser. Mens norsk hadde en fremtredende rolle i undervisningen, brukte elevene sjelden språk som ikke tidligere hadde vært brukt som undervisningsspråk med høy status.

Artikkel 2 undersøker elevenes oversettelsespraksiser i disse innføringsklassene. Elevene brukte komplekse oversettelsesstrategier som bygget på språkressurser og medier som de hadde til disposisjon. Derimot viste elevene blandede holdninger til sine egne praksiser, da de vekselvis bekreftet nytten av eller forsøkte å unngå oversettelse. Artikkelen teoretiserer elevenes oversetting som en form for *translingual practice* (Canagarajah, 2013) på tvers av språklige, semiotiske og økologiske ressurser. En implikasjon av studien er å verdsette oversettelse mer eksplisitt i engelskundervisningen.

Artikkel 3 sammenligner i hvilken grad transspråking fremsto som markert i tre undervisningskontekster—forsert, ordinær og forsterket engelskundervisning—i klasser med majoritets- og minoritetsspråklige elever. Tospråklige praksiser som trakk veksler på norsk og engelsk var i større grad markert i forsert og ordinær undervisning, som et avvik fra en ønsket enspråklig framførelse på engelsk. I motsetning, var transspråking som trakk veksler på minoritetsspråk ofte markert på tvers av undervisningskontekster. Slik transspråking ble tidvis oppfattet som en trussel mot sosialt samhold og forekom dermed sjelden.

Avhandlingen viser muligheter for en transspråklig tilnærming til engelskundervisning i flerspråklige klasser men synliggjør også begrensninger ved transspråking i klasserommet, fundert i språkøkologiske forhold og elevers tidligere erfaringer med språk og skriving.

تلخيص

تبحث هذه الرسالة في استخدام لغات متعددة عند تدريس الكتابة باللغة الإنجليزية في المرحلة الثانوية بالنرويج. تستجيب الدراسة لحوجة الفحص النقدي لاستعمالات اللغة في الفصول ذات التنوّع اللغوي عند دراسة اللغة الإنجليزية، فحتى وقت قريب لم يحظ هذا الموضوع باهتمام كبير لا في النرويج ولا في منظومات اللسانيات الاجتماعية المماثلة. سؤال البحث هو: كيف يستغل المعلمون والطلاب موارد التعدّد اللغوي لدى الطلاب لاستخدامها في تعليم الكتابة باللغة الإنجليزية في المستوى الثانوي بالنرويج؟

تم اختيار موقعين لإجراء الدراسة، أحدهما مدرسة ابتدائية والآخر مدرسة ثانوية، كمصادر "للحالات الشفهيّة" (Mitchell, 1984) ولاستكشاف ممارسات التعدّد اللغوي عند تدريس الكتابة باللغة الإنجليزية. وتحتوي هذه المدارس على أربع دورات تعليمية مختلفة: فصول تمهيدية للمهاجرين الجدد، وفصول متسارعة الجهد، وفصول التيارات الرئيسية والفصول المحمية لتعليم اللغة الإنجليزية في الدراسات الأكاديمية العامة. وشارك في هذه الدراسة 3 مدرسين و76 طالبًا. وتستخدم الأثنوغرافيا اللغوية (Copland & Creese, 2015) كنهج منهجي وتفسيري شامل. وتشمل البيانات المجموعة على: تدوينات ميدانية لملاحظات الباحث المشارك لمدة سبعة أشهر. وتسجيلات بالفيديو والصوت والشاشة؛ ووثائق تعليمية، ونصوص من الطلاب وتصاوير لغوية؛ وتسجيلات لمقابلات استدعاء محفزة مع المعلمين والطلاب.

تتضمن الأطروحة ثلاث مقالات تعتمد على القوانين التجريبية. تشير المادة 1 إلى مفاوضات بين المعلمين والطلاب حول الممارسات متعددة اللغات في فصلين تمهيديين وتم تحليلها على انها امثلة على استمرارية التحصيل الدراسي (Hornberger, 2003) والعبور اللغوي (translanguaging, García & Li Wei, 2014). أنشأ المشاركون مساحات مشتركة للعبور اللغوي التي دعمت تطوير كتابات الطلاب. ومع ذلك، كانت التسلسلات الهرمية اللغوية واضحة في تخصيص الموارد اللغوية: فكان للنرويجية دور بارزا في التدريس في الفصول الدراسية، بينما نادرًا ما استخدم الطلاب اللغات التي لم يسبق لها ان كانت مرموقة للتعليم.

تبحث المادة 2 ممارسات الترجمة لدى الطلاب في هذه الفصول التمهيدية. استخدم الطلاب استراتيجيات ترجمة معقدة، بما في ذلك الاستراتيجيات اللغوية واستراتيجية الاتصالات التوسطية. ومع ذلك، فقد أظهروا اتجاهات مختلطة لممارساتهم الخاصة، تارة بتأكيد الترجمة واخرى بالسعي لتجنبها. تنظر المقالة للترجمة من جهة الطلاب على انها شكلاً نظريا من أشكال الممارسة اللغوية لاحتوائها على الموارد اللغوية والسيميائية والبيئية (Canagarajah, 2013) وتقترح ان تكون الترجمة أكثر وضوحا في تدريس اللغة الانكليزية.

وتقارن المادة 3 وضوح العبور اللغوي عبر ثلاث إعدادات تدريسية ــ فصول متسارعة الجهد وفصول التيارات الرئيسية والفصول المحميّة لتدريس اللغة الانكليزية ــ وتشمل طلابًا من ذوي الاختصاص اللغوي العالي وذوي الاحتياجات الخاصة. وكانت ممارسات ثنائية اللغة النرويجية ــ الإنجليزية تحدث في كثير من الأحيان في الفصول متسارعة الجهد وفصول التيارات الرئيسية، كخروج عن الأداء الإنجليزي أحادي اللغة المرغوب فيه. وفي المقابل، تم تمييز العبور اللغوي الذي يعتمد على موارد اللغة المصغرة بشكل أكثر اتساقًا عبر الإعدادات التدريسية لكونه يتعارض مع التماسك الاجتماعي، وبالتالي كانت العبور اللغوي المصغّر نادر الظهور.

باختصار، توضح الأطروحة إمكانيات المناهج متعددة اللغات لتدريس اللغة الإنجليزية في الفصول الدراسية ذات التنوع اللغوي، ولكنها تلفت الانتباه أيضًا إلى القيود في العبور اللغوية في الفصل الدراسي، استنادًا إلى القيود البيئية ومسارات الطلاب السابقة.

Kurte

Ev tez pratîkên pirzimanî yên fêrkirina nivîsandina Ingilîzî ya asta duyemîn ya li Norwêcê vedikole. Vekolîn hatiye kirin da ku bersivê bide pêwîstiya lêhûrbûneke rexnegir bo wan klasên Ingilizî yên ku ji aliyê zimanî ve têvel in; ku ev mijar jî mijareke wiha ye, li Nerwocê û li avahiyên derdorê yên civak-zimannasî di kêmtirîn astê de giringî û baldarî wergirtine. Bi tevahî pirsa lêkolîne ev e: Mamoste û xwendekar çawa çavkaniyên pirzimanî yên xwendekaran di perwerdehiya nivîsandina Ingilîzî ya asta duyemîn de li Norwêcê bi kar tînin û bi cî dikin?

Du cih, yek asta duyemin a jêrîn û ya din a jorîn e, wek 'rewşên vegotinê' (Mitchell, 1984), ji bo lêkolînkirina pratîkên pirzimanî yên di fêrkirina nivîsandina Ingilîzî de, hatine hilbijartin. Ev jî çar mîhengên dersên cuda dihewîne; dersên seretayî ji bo koçberên nû û dersên bilez, serdest û parastî yên perwerdehiya Ingilîzî yên xebatên akademîk ên giştî. Bi tevahî, 3 mamoste û 76 xwendekar beşdarî lêkolînê bûn. Etnografiya zimanî (Copland & Creese, 2015) wekî nêrînek berbiçav a metodolojîk û şîroveker kar dike. Dane ji notên ji qadên xebatên ku bi çavdêriya beşdaran ya heft mehan; tomarkirinên vîdyo, deng û dîmender; belgeyên fêrkirinê, nivîsên xwendekar, û portreyên zimên; û tomarên hevpeyivînên bîranînên teşwîqkirî yên bi mamoste û xwendekaran re, pêk tê.

Di tezê de sê gotarên ezmûnmendî hene. Gotara 1, danûstandinên mamoste û xwendekarên di du dersên destpêkê de pratîkên pirzimanî yên ku weke nimûneyên domdariya duzimanzanî (Hornberger, 2003) û transzimanî (translanguaging, García & Li Wei, 2014) hatine analîzkirin, rapor dike. Beşdaran bi hev re navbend ji bo transzimanî ya ku piştgiriya pêşketina nivîsandina xwendekaran dide, afirandin. Hiyerarşiyên zimanî di dabeşkirina çavkaniyên zimên de hîn jî diyar bûn: Norwêcî di hînkirina klasê de xwediyê roleke berbiçav bû, di heman demê de xwendekar kêm caran zimanê, ku berê ne wekî zimanê bi prestîj yê perwerdekirinê bû, bikar anîn.

Gotara 2 di van polên destpêkê de li ser pratîkên wergerandina xwendekaran lêkolîn dike. Xwendekar stratejiyên wergerandinên aloz, bi stratejiyên zimanî û navbeynvanî, bikar anîn. Lêbelê, xwendekar rêgezên têkel yên pratîkên xwe, bi norekî eskerekirin û bêdiliya wergerkirinê, nîşan dan. Gotar wergerandinê ji hêla xwendekaran ve weke teşeyek pratîka translingualî (tranzimanî), ku tê de çavkaniyên zimanî, semiotîkî û ekolojîk hene (Canagarajah, 2013), teorîze dike û pêşniyaz dike ku werger di hînkirina Ingilîzî de bi zelalî were nirxandin.

Gotara 3 diyarkirina transzimaniya (García & Li Wei, 2014) di nav sê dersên fêrkirinê- dersên Ingilîzî yên bilez, serdest û parastî-ku tê de xwendekarên bi aliye zimanzanî de zêdetir û kêmtir in, dide ber hev. Pratîkên du zimanî yên Norwêcî-Ingilîzî bêtir di klasên bilez û serdest de, weke derketina ji performansa lngilîzî ya yekzimanî ya xwastî, diyar bûn. Berevajî vê yekê, transzimanî ya ku bingeha xwe ji çavkaniyên zimanên ku herî kêm hatine bikaranîn digre, li seranserê şert û mercan de, berevajê bi hevgirtina civakî, bi domdarî hate nîşandin, û transzimaniya bi vî rengî hatiye kêmkirin li gorî wê kêm bû.

Bi tevahî, tez gengaziyên nêrînên translingual yên fêrbûna Ingilîzî yên di klasên ji aliyê zimên ve cûrbecûr in nîşan dide, lê ew di heman demê de balê dikişîne li ser radekirinên di transzimani di klasên bingeha xwe ji astengiyên ekolojîk û rêgezên duzimanzan yên berê yên xwendekaran distîne.

Part I: Extended Abstract

Figures

Table

Article 1

Beiler, I. R. (2020). Negotiating multilingual resources in English writing instruction for recent immigrants to Norway. *TESOL Quarterly*, *54*(1), 5–29. https://doi.org/10.1002/tesq.535

Article 2

Beiler, I. R., & Dewilde, J. (2020). Translation as translingual writing practice in English as an additional language. *Modern Language Journal, 104*(3), 533–549. https://doi.org/10.1111/modl.12660

Article 3

Beiler, I. R. (2021). Marked and unmarked translanguaging in accelerated, mainstream, and sheltered English classrooms. *Multilingua, 40*(1), 107–138. https://doi.org/10.1515/multi-2020-0022

Part I

Extended Abstract

1   Introduction

Discussions of classroom language use in English teaching often relate to effectiveness or social justice, but the balance of these concerns may vary by context. In Norwegian scholarship on English teaching, such debates have until recently mostly concerned the effectiveness of an English-only approach versus supportive use of the majority language Norwegian (see Rindal & Brevik, 2019). These discussions have implicitly assumed a degree of linguistic homogeneity in the classroom, where English is learned by students with a Norwegian language background, such that linguistic inequality has not been topicalized to a great extent. While much international scholarship also has focused on effectiveness, an equally important issue has been the social justice implications of bilingual or multilingual classroom practices, notably in reference to postcolonial or linguistic minority experiences (e.g., Canagarajah, 1999; García & Li Wei, 2014; Heller & Martin-Jones, 2001). In some cases, international studies have also addressed the dynamics of language use in linguistically diverse classrooms, where heterogeneity among students may impact both pedagogical strategies and power dynamics (e.g., Costley & Leung, 2020; Lucas & Katz, 1994). Such linguistic diversity is in fact a feature of many English classrooms in Norway, and I therefore seek to bring greater attention to linguistic heterogeneity and issues of social justice into Norwegian debates on English teaching. Drawing on a context where both linguistically majoritized and minoritized students study English as an additional language, I also hope to contribute perspective to international discussions on the potential for multilingual practices in English teaching to challenge or align with linguistic hierarchies to varying degrees.

1.1   My Doctoral Project

My doctoral project is a study of writing instruction in five secondary-level English classrooms in Norway, where students had varied linguistic repertoires. I have aimed to understand, on the one hand, how English teachers make use of multilingualism among students as a resource for teaching writing and, on the other hand, how students use their multilingual resources to develop as writers of English. However, there are good reasons to believe that multilingualism often is *not* seen or used as a resource in English teaching (see Chapter 2). Therefore, I have also been interested to know how students' multilingualism is viewed, talked about, or perhaps even ignored. To name a project, as I have, "Multilingualism as a Resource in English Writing Instruction," implies that I view multilingualism as a potentially positive element in English teaching. This stance builds on previous research about language learning (e.g., García & Li Wei, 2014; Hall & Cook, 2012), but it also reflects a more basic recognition that multilingualism is an aspect of many students' identities (Canagarajah, 2015; Kramsch, 2009). To recognize multilingualism as a resource is to recognize multilingual students as resourceful. It is in the service of such students, as well as the English teachers who seek to support them, that I have undertaken this project.

In order to gain close knowledge of students' and teachers' language practices and perspectives on these issues, I have carried out the study as a linguistic ethnography (Copland & Creese, 2015b), whereby I have combined classroom observation with recording, interviewing, and document collection. Across four instructional settings, I have found evidence of translanguaging (García & Li Wei, 2014), or boundary-surpassing language use,

among students with both linguistic majority and minority backgrounds. However, these students' language resources appear to be received and used differently from one another.

1.2 Research Aim

In this thesis, I examine multilingual language orientations and practices in English writing instruction, with an emphasis on classroom-level use and interactions. There have been few such studies in Norway or similar sociolinguistic contexts, as I will demonstrate in Chapter 2. The overarching research aim of the project is to investigate how teachers and students use and position students' multilingual resources in secondary-level English writing instruction, across four different instructional settings in Norway. Here, positioning refers to a process of locating oneself or others within a discourse (Davies & Harré, 1990, p. 48), which I apply to the positioning of students' multilingual resources. I have studied this phenomenon in five classrooms, involving three different teachers.

1.3 Multilingual Resources and Multilingualism as a Resource

In my project, I use the word 'resource' in relation to multilingualism in two ways. The first can be found above in my research aim, in reference to 'multilingual resources.' This usage derives from a perspective on people as possessing a semiotic repertoire that consists of many different resources for communication and meaning-making, such as words, registers, and modalities (Blommaert, 2010; Busch, 2012). Some people have linguistic resources that they or others think of as comprising multiple different languages (Busch, 2012; Canagarajah, 2018; Li Wei, 2018), or as multilingual resources. I have investigated how such multilingual resources come into play in the teaching of one language, English, which constitutes only one part of the participating students' and teachers' linguistic repertoires.

A second usage can be found in the title of my project, namely 'multilingualism as a resource,' which comes from Ruíz's (1984) seminal paper on language orientations in language planning. Ruíz (1984) defined an orientation as "a complex of dispositions toward language and its role, and toward languages and their role in society" (p. 16), noting the similarity of the concept to that of language ideology. He identified three broad orientations to language: language-as-problem, language-as-right, and language-as-resource. These orientations might for example frame minority languages as a threat to national unity, legal grounds for bilingual education, or enrichment of society, respectively. I situate my project within a broader scholarly movement to both recognize students' multilingualism as a resource and to investigate what it might mean for teachers and students to use multilingualism as a resource in the teaching and learning of additional languages (e.g., Hornberger, 2003; Illman & Pietilä, 2018; Menken & García, 2010; Young, 2014).

Such investigation is important because stated orientations may relate to practice in diverse and unpredictable ways. On the one hand, teachers may adhere to competing and overlapping language orientations and even adjust their intentions when faced with practical classrooms realities (Canagarajah, 2005; Hornberger & Johnson, 2007; Menken & García, 2010). On the other hand, overt endorsement of multilingualism as a resource can serve the interests of different students unequally. For instance, students who already enjoy a privileged societal position may be rewarded for developing multilingualism in ways that are not equally

available to linguistically minoritized or racialized students[1] (Flores, 2017b; Ricento, 2005; Valdés, 1997). Thus, Hult and Hornberger (2016) suggest distinguishing *for what* and *for whom* which languages are framed as resources. These are among the reasons that I have focused on the implementation and impact of language orientations in classroom practice.

1.4   English Teaching in a Multilingual Perspective

Investigating the use and positioning of multilingualism in English teaching is particularly timely at this juncture in Norwegian educational policy. Notably, the 2019 revision of the national common core English curriculum has for the first time taken up the language of multilingualism as a resource, adopting as a core value that "all pupils shall experience that being proficient in a number of languages is a resource, both in school and society at large" (Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training [NDET], 2019a, p. 5). This general statement of values is further concretized in contrastive competence aims at each grade level, such as the following for the lower secondary grades: "explore and describe some linguistic similarities and differences between English and other languages he or she is familiar with and use this in his or her language learning" (NDET, 2019d, p. 9). This formulation expands similar contrastive aims in the 2013 English curriculum, in force at the time of my data collection, in which students' salient repertoires are conceived of more narrowly as English and a "native language" (e.g., NDET, 2013, p. 9). This latter terminology nevertheless implicitly acknowledges that students may have other first languages (L1s) than Norwegian. This acknowledgement is important because students in Norwegian schools are estimated to have more than 150 different L1s (Ipsos, 2015). In this policy perspective, students' existing multilingualism, including that developed in the home and outside of school, can be seen as a resource for developing students' English proficiency.

Another, longer-standing policy connection frames English as a first step toward multilingualism. In the 2013 English curriculum, the sole explicit reference to multilingualism is that "learning English will contribute to multilingualism" (NDET, 2013, p. 2). As in broader European language policy (Council of Europe, 2001, 2018), students in Norway are encouraged to study another language beyond the required subject of English (most often, Spanish, German, or French) (Doetjes, 2018). In this perspective, studying English can contribute to multilingualism by representing an entry point rather than an end point to students' additional language studies. While such multilingualism can encompass languages that students bring from home, this policy perspective might first and foremost be seen as addressing elite multilingualism, developed successively and additively through schooling in societally prestigious languages (see Barakos & Selleck, 2019; Costley & Leung, 2020; Ortega, 2019). These two discourses of multilingualism are important to consider in a setting like Norway, where monolingualism may actually be unmarked only in early childhood.

Nonetheless, it is worth remembering that a joint focus on English and multilingualism is by no means automatic, and this relationship still receives fairly marginal attention in Norwegian educational policy. English teaching as a field has tended toward a monolingual self-

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[1] I follow Flores and Rosa (2015, p. 169) in using *linguistically minoritized* and *racialized* as descriptors that point to processes of valuation and devaluation of language users, rather than seemingly inherent characteristics.

sufficiency in its epistemologies and methods for the better part of the past century (Canagarajah, 2013b; G. Cook, 2010; Pennycook, 2008). Moreover, the status of English as a global language was initially achieved through colonization, in which English was decidedly framed in hierarchical rather than equitable relationship to local languages and ways of communicating (Pennycook, 2007; Phillipson, 1992). This legacy lives on in many post-colonial societies, though not uncontested (e.g., Canagarajah, 1999; McKinney, 2017). In Europe, some have expressed concern that English is displacing national languages in domains such as higher education and technology (Phillipson, 2007; Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 2017), as expressed in the recently proposed language act of Norway (Ministry of Culture, 2020). Thus, teaching English through a multilingual lens should also be considered in light of its potential to challenge linguistic hierarchies and monolingual ideologies.

I have further chosen to incorporate a focus on writing instruction because school-based writing brings such linguistic hierarchies and monolingual ideologies into relief in at least two ways. First, literacy is particularly closely tied to formal schooling, and school systems often dedicate resources to develop literacy only in a limited number of societally prominent languages (Bigelow & Watson, 2013; Martin-Jones & Jones, 2000). In Norway, these include Norwegian and English for all students; 'foreign languages' such as Spanish, German, or French for most students; and, for defined groups, a Sami language, Kven/Finnish, or Norwegian Sign Language (NDET, 2019b). Students' opportunities to develop literacy in other languages they use are not similarly formalized. As a result, distinctions between official and non-official, majoritized and minoritized, or prestigious and less prestigious languages may be reflected in students' writing skills and writing practices (Hornberger, 2003, 2014; Hymes, 1992). Second, monolingual norms tend to apply especially strongly to written text compared to speech, notably in school (Canagarajah, 2013b; Kiramba, 2017). At the same time, writing is a deliberative process that often involves students' broader linguistic repertoires, even when the final written product is expected to appear monolingual (Canagarajah, 2013b; Gunnarsson et al., 2015; Lu & Horner, 2013). Writing instruction may therefore highlight both discrepancies and interactions between monolingual English norms and students' multilingual repertoires.

1.5   Researcher Positionality

My path to this research topic also entails a professional and personal journey. I identify as an English teacher and English teacher educator, trained in the United States in the field of teaching English to speakers of other languages (TESOL) in 2007–2010. Like many others, I was initially trained to believe that teaching effectively using only English was a measure of professional success. Thankfully, this belief was challenged early on in my teaching career by the bilingual and multilingual adults and international students whom I taught in the Washington D.C. area. I also experienced an 'aha' moment early in my master's program at American University when a fellow student presented research arguments in favor of using students' L1s to teach English more effectively. Subsequently, teaching English in Palestine from 2010 to 2014, with two short assignments in Iraqi Kurdistan, pushed me to reflect more deeply on the political dimensions of teaching English internationally. I arrived in these settings with a desire to support students in critically appropriating English for their own

purposes, but I did not fully appreciate at the outset how my communicative and task-based language teaching relied on imported Western materials and expertise, as well as monolingual epistemologies (see Canagarajah, 1999, 2013b; López-Gopar, 2016; Pennycook, 2008). Reading Canagarajah's (2013b) articulation of translingual practice helped to put words to the type of English teaching to which I aspired in this inequitable multilingual world. When I returned to Norway, my childhood home, in 2014 to take a position as an English teacher educator, my new colleagues helped me to see the relevance of such a professional vision to Norway's increasingly linguistically diverse classrooms (e.g., Šurkalović, 2014).

In addition, this topic is rooted in my experiences of navigating a bilingual and binational Norwegian-American identity, notably after moving from Norway to the United States as an adolescent. Despite several advantages, I found the transition between countries and school systems challenging. This experience influenced my earlier decision to teach ESOL in the United States and my recent choice to focus this project in part on students in Norway with a transnational biography, a fact I explained to the students. In Norway, I have also had to maneuver an ambiguous insider-outsider position. Much of my education and career have taken place outside of Norway, such that I lack some contextual resources I am sometimes assumed to have, based on how I speak Norwegian (Hult, 2014). Conversely, I find that I am sometimes assumed less locally competent and invested than I myself feel, based on a perceived foreign appearance. In contrast, in the United States, I am usually perceived as a white native English speaker, such that my national and linguistic legitimacy are seldom questioned, in the manner often faced by racialized speakers (Flores & Rosa, 2015). Such experiences probably led me to play up my 'Norwegianness' and local knowledge with the participating teachers and administrators, so as to seem like a competent insider, whereas I used my outsider experiences as a resource for relationship-building with several students. In practice, I found that I was readily accepted by the teachers and administrators, even accorded the status of expert at times, as a teacher educator (Copland, 2015b) and bilingual 'native speaker' (V. Cook, 2016). Thus, I feel that I research and write from a place of privilege, also in Norway, but needing to navigate some of these tensions of transnational identity has, in my view, sensitized me to and made me want to know more about the issues that I write about.

1.6   Structure of the Extended Abstract

The remaining chapters of the extended abstract are structured as follows: In Chapter 2, I review previous research on multilingualism in English teaching and in-school writing. In Chapter 3, I describe my theoretical and philosophical approach. In Chapter 4, I present my methodology and some ethical considerations. In Chapter 5, I synthesize the findings in my articles. In Chapter 6, I discuss the contributions of my project, before highlighting some implications in Chapter 7. I will reference my articles in the order in which they were written:

Article 1: Negotiating multilingual resources in English writing instruction for recent immigrants to Norway; published in *TESOL Quarterly* (Beiler, 2020)

Article 2: Translation as translingual writing practice in English as an additional language; published in *The Modern Language Journal* (Beiler & Dewilde, 2020)

Article 3: Marked and unmarked translanguaging in accelerated, mainstream, and sheltered English classrooms; published in *Multilingua* (Beiler, 2021)

2 Literature Review

Multilingual students and multilingual approaches have received increasing attention within English teaching in recent years (e.g., Auerbach, 1993, 2016; Canagarajah, 2007, 2013b; Cenoz & Jessner, 2000; Cummins, 2007; Taylor & Snoddon, 2013). The broader literature on flexible language use in education is even more extensive, coalescing around newer terms like translanguaging (Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Cenoz & Gorter, 2017; García & Li Wei, 2014; Makalela, 2015) and translingual practice (Canagarajah, 2013a; Dewilde, 2017), as well as longer-standing concepts such as translation (G. Cook, 2010; González Davies, 2014; Vold, 2018), code-switching (Lin, 2013; Macaro, 2001; Martin-Jones, 1995, 2000), multilingual literacies (Cummins & Early, 2011; Hornberger, 1989, 2003; Martin-Jones & Jones, 2000), multilingual language awareness (Hélot & Young, 2002, 2005; Jessner, 1999), plurilingualism (Council of Europe, 2001; Prasad, 2015; Taylor & Snoddon, 2013), first or 'own' language use in second (L2) and foreign language teaching (V. Cook, 2001; Hall & Cook, 2012; Swain & Lapkin, 2005; Turnbull & Dailey-O'Cain, 2009), and third language (L3) acquisition (Cenoz, 2003; Klein, 1995). Nonetheless, there have been relatively few studies of multilingual practices in English teaching outside of countries where English is a majority (e.g., Australia or the United States) or official language (e.g., Canada or South Africa), and fewer still that also topicalize linguistically diverse classrooms, as in my project.

The traditional division between English as a second versus foreign language is increasingly difficult to apply to many settings globally (Hult, 2012; Leung & Valdés, 2019), including Norway (Rindal, 2014; Rindal & Brevik, 2019). Nonetheless, there are significant programmatic and contextual differences that influence English teaching, which need to be considered in studying classroom language use (Leung & Valdés, 2019). In this chapter, I will review research from contexts where English teaching occurs in the presence of at least one societally dominant language other than English and several minoritized languages. To operationalize these factors, I have included studies from linguistically diverse classrooms and excluded settings where English is an official or majority[2] language. For the sake of comparability, I have further limited myself to studies of primary and secondary grades and privileged Norwegian and Nordic studies, the latter two being only briefly reviewed in my articles. In my articles, I also review topically relevant research from other instructional contexts. The chapter is organized into four themes: (2.1.) English Teacher Preparedness and Beliefs; (2.2.) Multilingual Classroom Language Practices; (2.3) Multilingual Students' English Writing Process; and (2.4) Multilingual Interventions in English Teaching.

2.1 English Teacher Preparedness and Beliefs

In Norway, the first published study to discuss multilingualism in relation to English teaching was a survey of 94 pre-service English teachers' knowledge about multilingualism and L3 acquisition (Šurkalović, 2014). Šurkalović (2014) found low general language awareness and knowledge about Norwegian language policy among the pre-service teachers and concluded that general language awareness and L3 acquisition needed more attention in English teacher education. This line of inquiry was subsequently extended through a survey of 176 in-service

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[2] 'Majority' is understood here as a societally dominant language, spoken by a majority of the population, which is also a primary medium of instruction (Choi et al., 2020; Crystal, 2003).

English teachers (Dahl & Krulatz, 2016; Krulatz & Dahl, 2016) and interviews with four teachers (Dahl & Krulatz, 2016). The survey showed that only 19.9% of the teachers had formal qualifications related to teaching in multilingual classrooms (Dahl & Krulatz, 2016). In comparison, a somewhat higher rate of formal qualifications for teaching in multilingual classrooms (35%) was found in a survey of 38 English teachers in Finland (Illman & Pietilä, 2018), who were selected based on their having immigrant students, unlike the teachers in Dahl and Krulatz's (2016) study. Much higher levels of formal qualifications (66%) were then found in a study of a transitional introductory school for recent immigrants in Norway (Burner & Carlsen, 2019), thus in a specialized setting.

Regardless, interviews with English teachers conducted in several Nordic countries have evidenced relatively consistent beliefs across both mainstream and sheltered settings. In Norway, English teachers have expressed concern that linguistically minoritized students need to learn Norwegian as quickly as possible (Burner & Carlsen, 2017, 2019; Dahl & Krulatz, 2016; Flognfeldt, 2018; Krulatz & Torgersen, 2016). English teachers in Flognfeldt's (2018) study justified this concern with reference to Norwegian proficiency as crucial for students' inclusion in school and society. Another perception that recurs across studies from Norway, Finland, and Sweden is that learning English is seen as more challenging for students who have an L1 other than the national majority language (Burner & Carlsen, 2017, 2019; Illman & Pietilä, 2018; Jonsson, 2019). Sometimes, linguistically minoritized students are framed in stronger deficit terms. In Krulatz and Torgersen's (2016) study, teachers described the extent of parents' cultural distance from Norwegian 'mainstream' beliefs about school as a disadvantage. In addition, teachers in Flognfeldt's (2018) study described their students as "poor when it comes to language" and "half-competent" (p. 240) in all of their languages, echoing the pernicious and discredited theory of semilingualism, whereby some bilingual or multilingual students are viewed as inadequate users of any language (Flores & Rosa, 2015; Martin-Jones & Romaine, 1986). However, such attitudes may coexist with more positive attitudes toward minoritized multilingualism, which some teachers—even the same ones— described as providing a good foundation for further language learning (Burner & Carlsen, 2017, 2019; Dahl & Krulatz, 2016; Krulatz & Torgersen, 2016). Notably, at the introductory school studied in Burner and Carlsen (2019), positive descriptors of students' multilingualism received high levels of assent in a teacher questionnaire.

2.2 Multilingual Classroom Language Practices

Consistent with these findings on teacher preparedness and beliefs, most studies have found limited, if any, evidence of multilingual approaches to English teaching outside of researcher interventions (see 2.4 for intervention studies). In Finland, a minority of English teachers reported using multilingual teaching strategies, such as comparing English vocabulary, grammar, or phonology to students' L1s (Illman & Pietilä, 2018). Such multilingual instructional strategies were not reported at all by the four teachers interviewed by Dahl and Krulatz (2016). In contrast, 81% of teachers at the aforementioned introductory school reported adjusting their instruction to allow students to draw on their L1s, although there was minimal evidence of multilingual strategies during an observed English lesson (Burner & Carlsen, 2019). Other observational studies in Norway similarly suggest that multilingual

strategies in English teaching are rare in practice. These include a relatively large-scale video study involving 60 hours of recording at seven different schools over two years (Brevik & Rindal, 2020) and studies involving in-person observation at one to two schools for three to 15 hours total (Burner & Carlsen, 2017; Flognfeldt, 2018; Krulatz & Torgersen, 2016). These studies all report that Norwegian serves as the main point of contrastive reference to English, used for purposes such as translation or explanation. Furthermore, in two studies conducted at linguistically diverse primary schools, students were actively discouraged from speaking minoritized languages, as these were seen as excluding others not proficient in the languages, or as undermining the teachers' ability to control classroom interactions (Flognfeldt, 2018; Krulatz & Torgersen, 2016). Nonetheless, there is some evidence, either reported or briefly observed, that linguistically minoritized students use their broader linguistic repertoires in peer conversations or in their individual work, for instance when translating (Burner & Carlsen, 2017; Flognfeldt, 2018; Iversen, 2017).

More in-depth ethnographic or interactional analyses of multilingual classroom practices in English lessons can be found in a few studies from Sweden and Spain. These lend insight into potential uses of students' multilingual resources, but also point to the operation of multilingual language hierarchies. In Jonsson's (2019) study of an English class at a Swedish-Spanish bilingual school in Sweden, the teacher at times extended comparisons between English and Swedish to also include Spanish. This entailed devolving control and expertise to students who were more proficient in Spanish than she. However, other languages that were represented among students were not incorporated into the English lessons, such that classroom translanguaging involved only those languages that had curricular status at the school. Similarly, Unamuno (2008) and Llompart et al. (2020) found that students in linguistically diverse English classrooms in Catalonia drew on both the national language (Spanish) and the regional language (Catalan) in collaborative peer conversations, but there was no evidence of students using non-curricular languages. In a language introductory program for immigrants in Sweden, Gynne (2019) observed broader reference to students' multilingual repertoires, especially for comparison of vocabulary, and increasingly so during a subsequent intervention phase. However, teachers initially restricted group work in languages other than Swedish and English, in order to maintain control of classroom interactions, as in Flognfeldt's (2018) study. Although this point is not explicitly made by the authors, all of these studies demonstrate the unequal positioning of curricular versus non-curricular forms of bilingualism and multilingualism as reference points for learning English.

2.3 Multilingual Students' English Writing Process

A few studies have more specifically investigated multilingual students' English writing process in the contexts defined above. These can be divided into two streams by scope and methodology. One direction is represented by Gunnarsson and colleagues (Gunnarsson, 2019; Gunnarsson et al., 2015; Gunnarsson & Källkvist, 2016), who have examined ninth grade students' languages of thought while writing in English at a school in Sweden. In a survey of 131 students with a variety of L1s, Gunnarsson et al. (2015) found that 92% of students reported activating Swedish at some point in the English writing process. English was the second most frequently reported language of thought, notably at the stage of text generation.

In addition, another L1 was activated by 41% and 28%, respectively, of students who had Swedish and another L1 or only another L1. Gunnarsson and Källkvist (2016) looked more closely at the self-reports of 31 of the students included in these final two groups. They concluded that students who activated their minoritized L1 at some point in the English writing process tended to report regular, extensive use of the minoritized language outside of school. Gunnarsson (2019) further found Swedish and English to be the main languages activated in think-aloud protocols completed by two students each with Swedish as L1, Swedish and Macedonian as L1, or Swedish and Bosnian as L1. Gunnarsson et al. (2015) and Gunnarsson and Källkvist (2016) pointed to the low societal status of languages other than Swedish and English, as well as the fact that the students had received most of their writing instruction in Swedish, as potential reasons for the low activation of other L1s. These findings are especially interesting since most of the students with an L1 other than or in addition to Swedish attended long-term mother tongue instruction in that L1, an opportunity unavailable to linguistically minoritized students in many other countries, including Norway.

Another approach is represented by Dewilde's (2017) in-depth study of one multilingual student's writing process in Norwegian and English. This study features a young woman called Bahar, who moved to Norway from Afghanistan as an adolescent. By comparing an English mock exam response with an earlier interaction on the same topic with a friend on Facebook, Dewilde (2017) traced the multilingual, multimodal, and transnational roots of the seemingly monolingual English essay that Bahar wrote, in line with the expectations of her exam. Furthermore, this juxtaposition of Bahar's writing in and out of school demonstrated the student's ability to strategically follow or flout monolingual conventions and critically reframe homogenous perceptions of language and culture.

2.4 Multilingual Interventions in English Teaching

In light of the trends delineated above, the most extensive evidence of multilingual practices in English teaching comes from researcher interventions, several of which have focused on writing. In Norway, the only study to document extensive use of students' multilingual resources in English teaching is an action research study by Krulatz and Iversen (2020), in which students in a lower secondary introductory class wrote trilingual 'identity texts' (Cummins & Early, 2011) in Norwegian, English, and an L1. As part of the intervention, the teacher (Iversen) encouraged his students to use translation tools and to translanguage in the texts. The resulting texts displayed creative use of the students' multilingual repertoires, and the authors reported that the project helped to build students' multilingual awareness, foster multilingual identities, and support an inclusive classroom atmosphere. This study provides an interesting contrast to another action research study in Norway, where Krulatz et al. (2018) similarly planned a multilingual identity text project with teachers, but students' final texts were only written in English and Norwegian, despite the linguistic diversity present in the classrooms. One difference between these two implementations was the teacher's greater degree of investment in multilingual pedagogies in the former study.

Identity texts and other creative multimodal, multilingual projects also feature centrally in critical action research conducted as part of English teaching in linguistically diverse primary schools in Oaxaca, Mexico (López-Gopar, 2014; López-Gopar et al., 2013), and Valencia,

Spain (Villacañas De Castro et al., 2018). These contexts both featured linguistically diverse classrooms in schools whose students came mostly from socio-economically disadvantaged communities that have been racialized as inferior or premodern, including indigenous Mexicans (López-Gopar, 2014, 2016; López-Gopar et al., 2013) and Roma and non-Western immigrant students in Spain (Villacañas De Castro et al., 2018). Key features of the interventions in both locations were critical questioning of English as a more economically desirable resource than students' other languages, creative self-expression, and connections to students' lived realities, including their bilingual and multilingual lives. These projects created greater investmest in English learning and surfaced students' multilingual repertoires in ways that were not common in the students' previous experiences of English instruction. In addition, López-Gopar (2014, 2016) and López-Gopar et al. (2013) reported that the teachers' persistence in validating students' indigenous languages helped to create curiosity and more positive language ideologies among children who had initially conveyed negative views of indigenous languages.

A more recent line of inquiry concerns the effects of multilingual versus English-only approaches on motivation and learning English, as explored through experimental designs. In Germany, Busse et al. (2020), carried out an intervention focused on students' plurilingual identities and aspirations and vocabulary learning in two third-grade classrooms, where only one class participated in multilingual affective-experiential activies and vocabulary learning. Based on a pre-test, post-test, and delayed post-test design, as well as affective questionnaires, the study found that the intervention group displayed higher plurilingual self-aspirations after the intervention and higher positive affect throughout the intervention. The intervention group also made larger English vocabulary gains. Preliminary results from an ongoing quasi-experimental study with fourth-grade students in Germany similarly seems to indicate that multilingual approaches better support English vocabulary learning than does English-only teaching (Hopp et al., 2020).

In sum, previous studies have generally found little explicit use of languages other than the target language English, or languages with national or regional majority status, in linguistically diverse primary and secondary English classrooms. At the same time, there is evidence that some students use their minoritized multilingual resources in discrete ways, such as translation, even when they are not explicitly encouraged to do so. Furthermore, multilingual projects have demonstrated potential to create greater subject investment, more positive identification with a multilingual identity, and gains in English vocabulary learning. The potential for identity investment seems particularly great when the teachers are fully invested in the process and when the projects consider other dimensions of societal inequality as well, including economic and racial disparities. Nonetheless, there remain gaps with respect to longer-term ethnographic insights into the dynamics and significance of students' multilingual resources in ordinary English instruction in linguistically diverse classrooms, outside of countries with English as a majority or official language. In addition, there have been few studies of students' writing process or classroom writing instruction in such settings, apart from researcher interventions. I will describe how my study addresses some of these gaps in Chapter 4, but first I will situate my study theoretically, in Chapter 3.

3 Theoretical Framework

In this chapter, I will discuss the theoretical and philosophical underpinnings of my project, focusing on the nature of language. I will aim to highlight continuities and differences between the specific theoretical frameworks used in my three articles, which I will present under the complementary perspectives of an ecological and a translingual view of language. Finally, I will address some broader philosophical issues in my approach to linguistic ethnography, notably related to structure, agency, and theories of change.

3.1 An Ecological View of Language

Studying language in education usually entails a developmental perspective. In the field of second language acquisition, this perspective has often focused more narrowly on the acquisition of a single target language such as English by an individual learner (e.g., Ellis, 1997; Ellis & Shintani, 2014; Krashen, 1982). In contrast, an ecological view of language learning suggests that language development in the individual cannot be separated from social and ideological context (Hornberger, 2003; van Lier, 2004). Thus, accounting for how students use their multilingual repertoires for writing requires attention not only to learner-internal factors but also to other actors, such as teachers and classmates, and surrounding discourses, policies, and institutional arrangements for language learning and multilingualism (Creese & Martin, 2003; Hult, 2013). Furthermore, an ecological view of English implies not only identifying and characterizing the portions of students' linguistic resources that would typically be considered 'English,' but rather considering English, on an individual level, as an aspect of a broader linguistic repertoire and, on a societal level, as a politically powerful object among others (Canagarajah, 2013b; Hult, 2012; Pennycook, 2008; Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 2017). In this project, an ecological view of language is significant for my units and scales of analysis and attempts to consider both structural and agentive processes.

Haugen (1972) defines language ecology as "the study of interactions between any given language and its environment" (p. 325). His ecological metaphor suggests that language is dynamic rather than static, existing both in the minds of its users (its psycholinguistic dimension) and in interaction with the society where it is used (its sociolinguistic dimension), including interaction with other languages that are used in the same space. More recent work on classroom language ecology has emphasized sociopolitical dimensions that become salient in local language use, including power hierarchies and language ideologies (Blackledge, 2008; Creese & Martin, 2003; Fill & Mühlhäusler, 2001). Language ideologies include "beliefs, feelings, and conceptions about language that are socially shared and relate language and society in a dialectical fashion" (Piller, 2015, p. 4). Language ideologies form an important link between local language practices and social structures because the conceptions about language that people express or enact usually draw on more widely circulating discourses present at institutional or political levels (Blackledge, 2008; Creese & Martin, 2003; Woolard, 1992). Thus, Creese and Martin (2003) emphasize as relevant dimensions of classroom language ecologies the inter-relationships among languages and their users, interactions in which these relationships are negotiated, and socio-historical ideological context. These encompass individual, interpersonal, and societal—as well as historical— scales of time and space (Canagarajah & De Costa, 2016; Hult, 2010). An ecological

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perspective also draws attention to seemingly mundane features of context, such as the quality of classroom relationships or scheduling of instruction, which may have bearing on how language teaching is accomplished (Allard, 2017). Unlike models that portray context as something that surrounds language, "in ecology, context is the heart of the matter" (van Lier, 2004, p. 5), treated as an inseparable part of language and communicative practices.

Furthermore, ecological models are critical and transformative (Creese & Martin, 2003; van Lier, 2004). Adopting an ecological metaphor of language implies not only a view of context as part of the fabric of language and communication, but also an understanding of healthy linguistic ecologies as supporting linguistic diversity, just as healthy biological ecologies flourish with a diversity of species (Barton, 2007; Creese & Martin, 2003; Fill & Mühlhäusler, 2001; van Lier, 2004). There is nonetheless a danger of extending the biological analogy too far in this direction, to the point of implying that languages, like species, have a natural existence independent of their users (Pennycook, 2004), a point to which I will return below. The crucial insight of my use of the ecological metaphor is to highlight that languages develop in relation to each other, in users and societies, and to argue for the desirability of supporting linguistic diversity rather than simply allowing shift toward societally dominant languages (Hornberger, 2002; van Lier, 2004). As this project concerns the teaching of English, a language that enjoys symbolic and financial capital unlike any other globally, the ecological metaphor provides an important reminder to consider the social, political, and personal value of teaching English such that it complements rather than displaces less prestigious resources (Pennycook, 2004; Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 2017).

This ecological view of language forms the basis for what I have identified as relevant scales and data for the phenomenon of English writing instruction (see Canagarajah & De Costa, 2016). Notably, I have considered as potentially significant spatio-temporal scales students' and teachers' practices and beliefs, their language histories, their interactions with each other, and their recontextualization of circulating discourses and policies (Busch, 2012; Creese & Martin, 2003; Hult, 2010). This is the overarching reason that I have designed my project as a linguistic ethnography, which seeks to situate local practices in broader social context (Copland & Creese, 2015; Rampton et al., 2015; see Chapter 4). I also adopt a critical stance toward classroom practices, paying attention to power imbalances in the use and positioning of semiotic resources and looking for potential for movement toward more equitable classroom relations (Creese & Martin, 2003; Hornberger, 2003; van Lier, 2004).

I have most explicitly applied ecologically informed analysis in Article 1, where I have drawn on the continua of biliteracy (Hornberger, 2003; Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester, 2000), an ecological model of multilingual literacy. Hornberger (1990) defines biliteracy as "any and all instances in which communication occurs in two (or more) languages in or around writing" (p. 213), a definition that identifies literacy as socially situated. The model connects the individual development of biliteracy to contexts, contents, and media, as well as further sub-dimensions of these (Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester, 2000, p. 99). These continua are to be considered nested and intersecting, thus highlighting the interconnectedness of various dimensions that impact multilingual language use (Hornberger, 2003). I present the specific

dimensions of the model in Article 1 (pp. 8–9). Here, I will focus on issues of power, agency, and structure in the model and in ecological perspectives more generally.

As is central to ecological perspectives (e.g., Barton, 2007; Creese & Martin, 2003; Haugen, 1972; van Lier, 2004), the continua model incorporates attention to the unequal power relations that characterize language ecologies. In the model, one end of each continuum is seen as traditionally enjoying less power and prestige, for instance vernacular contents, as contrasted with more powerful literary contents (Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester, 2000). The model thus suggests likely configurations of biliteracy contexts, development, contents, and media that tend to prevail in the absence of deliberate counterbalancing toward the less powerful ends of the continua (Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester, 2000). The model suggests that counterbalancing can come from a variety of sources, such that a change in biliteracy contexts can allow for biliteracy development in new directions or that changes in individuals' practices can reconfigure contents or contexts. Street (2003) raises the question of whether locating power as an endpoint of each continuum may obscure the ways in which power relations infuse all points along the continua. However, Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester (2000) clarify that this arrangement should be seen as descriptive rather than deterministic: "indeed, we are suggesting that the very nature and definition of what is powerful biliteracy is open to transformation through what actors – educators, researchers, community members and policymakers – do in their everyday practices" (p. 99). Thus, although the model locates power at one end of the continua, the relationships should not be seen as immutable.

Hornberger (2005) has formalized the interplay between institutional, or top-down, and locally initiated, or bottom-up, changes in the notion of "ideological and implementational spaces" (p. 606). In this pair, ideological spaces represent opportunities provided by official policies and mandates, in either promoting or allowing for multilingual language development from the top down. These spaces are ideological in the sense of reflecting dominant understandings of language in local settings (Flores & Schissel, 2014, p. 455). In contrast, implementational spaces represent opportunities that educators themselves carve out for multilingual language use from the bottom up through their practices. Thus, the pair of ideological and implementational spaces signal the relevance of both structure and agency, respectively, in shaping classroom language policy and use. Miller (2012) further theorizes the interplay of structure and agency in creating multilingual spaces through the term "agency of spaces" (p. 441), which constrain which kinds of agency are available to individuals as they inhabit and move across spaces. However, individuals may also reshape agentive spaces through their actions (E. R. Miller, 2012), as captured in Hornberger's (2005) notion of practitioner-created implementational spaces (see also Canagarajah, 2005; Hélot & Ó Laoire, 2011; Menken & García, 2010). This interplay among agents and structural factors at various scales informs my focus on negotiation in Article 1.

Furthermore, all three articles consider the connections between language practices and circulating discourses and ideologies (Blackledge, 2008; Hult, 2010), while emphasizing slightly different analytical scales. Whereas Article 1 emphasizes ideological negotiations among teachers and students in relation to students' current and previous school contexts, Article 2 takes a closer look at how individual students take up a variety of positions in their

current translation practices. Both of these articles analyze specific language practices in some detail in relation to instructional context. In contrast, Article 3 takes a somewhat broader view of classroom practice by focusing on the discourses that shape and give local meaning to certain language practices, notably translanguaging (García & Li Wei, 2014). In this article especially, I argue that the immediate instructional context offers an incomplete explanation of students' linguistic practices, such that I point to spatio-temporal scales beyond the classroom to a greater extent (see Canagarajah & De Costa, 2016; Flores & Chaparro, 2018). These are differences of degree and not kind, as all three articles touch on the ideological dimensions of language ecology (Blackledge, 2008; Creese & Martin, 2003).

A second way in which I employ an ecological metaphor for language is by referring to ecological resources as part of students' communicative repertoires (Canagarajah, 2013b, 2018). This perspective is most prominent in Articles 2 and 3. In Article 2, these ecological resources include students' digital ecologies (Tusting, 2017), notably involving various translation tools, as well as analog resources and people who are present in the classroom. In Article 3, analysis of ecological resources particularly refers to the teacher's use of physical features of the classroom space to accomplish teaching (see Canagarajah, 2018). As I will elaborate on in the next section, a translingual perspective on communication emphasizes that ecological resources are not neatly separable from language, but rather are mobilized in concert with linguistic resources (Canagarajah, 2013b, 2018; Li Wei, 2018). This second way of employing the ecological metaphor draws attention to semiotic ecology as material and spatial, as well as symbolic (Canagarajah, 2018; van Lier, 2004).

Indeed, considering linguistic ecology not only as a set of intersecting scales, but as a source of communicative affordances, is important for refocusing analysis on speakers and language practices rather than languages per se. As alluded to above, a critique of the metaphor of language ecology is that it can seemingly endow languages with a species-like existence, which is both difficult to justify empirically and may be misleading to the extent that it portrays languages as natural rather than cultural products (J. Edwards, 2008; Pennycook, 2004). The ecological metaphor can thus reify languages as entities with an objective existence, rather portraying them as a set of fluid and changing resources (Pennycook, 2004). Indeed, such biologization of languages may have the adverse effect of suggesting that natural rather than sociopolitical processes are to blame for the dominance of certain languages over others (Pennycook, 2004). Therefore, it is important to bring explicit attention to the limits of the ecological metaphor. As a complementary perspective to language ecology, I ground my project in a translingual view of language, which both centers analysis on language users rather than codes (Creese & Blackledge, 2010; García, 2009; Otheguy et al., 2015) and considers ecological resources as part of users' semiotic repertoires (Canagarajah, 2013b, 2018; Kusters et al., 2017; Li Wei, 2018), as I discuss next.

3.2 A Translingual View of Language

A translingual view of language helps to address the potential for reification of languages in an ecological perspective. I draw on both translanguaging (Creese & Blackledge, 2010; García & Li Wei, 2014; Hornberger & Link, 2012) and translingual practice (Canagarajah, 2013b, 2018) to explicate classroom language practices. My primary choice of terminology in

each article relates to which dimension of language use is more directly in focus, and I refer to both concepts in all three articles. I generally prefer translanguaging to refer to instructional practices, as pedagogical language use and whole-class interaction have been more strongly in focus in translanguaging research (e.g., Cenoz & Gorter, 2017; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; García & Li Wei, 2014). Accordingly, I use translanguaging as the overarching theoretical frame in Articles 1 and 3, where I focus on practices at the whole-class level. At the same time, translingual practice (e.g., Canagarajah, 2013a, 2013b; Horner & Tetreault, 2016), with its focus on the resources and affordances involved in writing, serves as a more productive framework for close-up examination of students' translation practices in Article 2. I present translanguaging briefly in Article 1 (pp. 9–10) and more extensively in Article 3 (pp. 108–110). Article 2 includes an overview of certain dimensions of translingual practice (pp. 535–536), notably alignment and performative competence (Canagarajah, 2013b). Here, I will elaborate on the theorization and development of the two concepts, focusing on variations and differences between the two, as a basis for clarifying my own theoretical orientation.

Both translanguaging and translingual practice as concepts have grown out of recent questioning of discrete languages, or codes, as the unit of analysis in studying multilingual practices, based on a post-structuralist view of language (Blackledge & Creese, 2010, 2014; Canagarajah, 2013b, 2018; Li Wei, 2011a, 2018; Makoni & Pennycook, 2007). In a post-structuralist view, language is seen as "a series of social practices and actions by speakers that are embedded in a web of social and cognitive relations" (García & Li Wei, 2014, p. 9) or as an assemblage of resources that can be deployed in diverse ways in relation to context (Canagarajah, 2013b, 2018). This perspective contrasts with an earlier structuralist approach, epitomized by a focus on idealized and decontextualized linguistic structures located in the mind, which furthermore assumes whole and bounded languages (e.g., Chomsky, 1965; Saussure, 1916). Two post-structuralist critiques are particularly relevant for my purposes. First, a structuralist view masks the mobility of linguistic resources and internal heterogeneity of languages, in both form and meaning (Blackledge & Creese, 2014; Blommaert, 2010). Second, a bounded view of language obscures the sociopolitical processes that have grouped particular sets of resources into languages as named entities (Makoni & Pennycook, 2007). Analyzing these processes, including who has the power to define language boundaries, is particularly important in light of the epistemological legacy of colonialism, part of which was to constitute and legitimize white European speakers in opposition to racialized Others (Connell, 2007; Makalela, 2015; Makoni & Pennycook, 2007; Rosa & Flores, 2017).

By extension, bilingualism and multilingualism, like languages, should also be seen as socially constituted, distinguished politically and ideologically rather than empirically from categories such as bidialectalism or even monolingualism (Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Flores & Rosa, 2015; García, 2009; Heller, 2008; Makoni & Pennycook, 2007; Otheguy et al., 2015). Nonetheless, through processes of sedimentation, many people come to associate particular resources with specific named languages or identify as monolingual, bilingual, or multilingual (Canagarajah, 2018; Li Wei, 2018). In addition, named languages, as well as bilingualism and multilingualism, continue to have discursive and material implications as social categories, notably in situations of linguistic inequality (Blackledge & Creese, 2010;

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Hymes, 1992; Makoni & Pennycook, 2007). The existence of the school subject English, in which my study was conducted, is a tangible reminder of the institutional salience of named languages (see Turner & Lin, 2020). I therefore maintain the term 'multilingual' as an emic descriptor, referring to semiotic resources that participants or institutions identify as drawing on multiple languages, while recognizing the socially constructed nature of language categories (Canagarajah, 2013b). Thus, I adopt a heteroglossic view of language, which considers language practices as drawn from a whole linguistic repertoire that may transgress language categories (Busch, 2012). Indeed, a post-structuralist view of language further brings attention to the diversity of semiotic resources involved in communication, beyond language, such that this might more accurately be called a semiotic (Blackledge & Creese, 2017; Kusters et al., 2017) or communicative repertoire (Hymes, 1992; Rymes, 2010).

While drawing on and extending research on longer-standing concepts such as code-switching or mode-switching (e.g., Auer, 1998; Gumperz & Hymes, 1972; Heller & Martin-Jones, 2001; Li Wei, 2011b; Lin, 2013), a number of sociolinguists and applied linguists have called for new terminology informed by post-structuralist insights to describe boundary-transcending language practices. A variety of terms have been proposed to capture a more fluid and contingent view of language, including codemeshing (Canagarajah, 2006, 2011a), flexible bilingualism (Blackledge & Creese, 2010), metrolingualism (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010, 2015), polylingual languaging (Jørgensen, 2008), translanguaging (García, 2009; García & Li Wei, 2014; Li Wei, 2011a, 2018), and translingual practice (Canagarajah, 2013b, 2018; Horner et al., 2011). There is significant overlap among these terms. Indeed, Canagarajah (2011a, 2011b) uses the term translanguaging in early articles where he develops the concept of translingual practice, and he later specifies that translingual practice encompasses translanguaging as well as other related terms (Canagarajah, 2013b, 2018). García and Li Wei (2014) counter that translanguaging is the broader term, since it accommodates both cognitive and practice-based perspectives. Translanguaging is perhaps also distinguished by its rapid and broad uptake in educational research in a variety of contexts, reflected also in a wider range of critiques (Bagga-Gupta & Messina Dahlberg, 2018; Block, 2018; Byrnes, 2020; Jaspers, 2018; MacSwan, 2017). There also remain some differences in how the concepts have been developed and used, as I will discuss below.

Translanguaging, as it is currently used, can be traced to two different origins. The first is Welsh-English bilingual education, where Williams (1994) coined the term *trawsieithu* to refer to strategic alternation of languages as input or output for tasks, translated by Baker (2001) into English as translanguaging. García (2009) then extended translanguaging from denoting a pedagogical strategy to also describing everyday fluid use of language resources: "translanguagings are the *multiple discursive practices* in which bilinguals engage in order to *make sense of their bilingual worlds*" (p. 45). García (2009) also argued for an ontological shift, questioning the reality of discrete languages, as implied in terms such as code-switching (e.g., Gumperz, 1982; Heller & Martin-Jones, 2001; Myers-Scotton, 1993) and additive bilingualism (e.g., Cummins, 2000; Lambert, 1973). Translanguaging as a term thus reflects a heteroglossic ideology of multilingualism, which considers language practices in interrelationship rather than as reflections of autonomous systems (García, 2009, p. 7). To

García (2009), translanguaging includes what has been described as code-switching, but also encompasses other fluid language practices, and it constitutes a user-internal alternative to a user-external focus on codes (see also Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Canagarajah, 2011a).

In parallel, Li Wei (2011a) proposed translanguaging as an extension of the psycholinguistic notion of *languaging*, "which refers to the process of using language to gain knowledge, to make sense, to articulate one's thought and to communicate about using language" (p. 1223). Li Wei (2011a) presented translanguaging as a corrective to an earlier tendency to over-determine bilingual and multilingual practices, highlighting his participants' agency to apply creativity and criticality in constructing an interactional space where they were not bound by monolingual ideologies. This view mirrors the ideological dimension of translanguaging identified by García (2009). Li Wei (2011a) acknowledged the differing affordances for translanguaging in various places and the socio-historical dimensions of the spaces created by speakers. However, he emphasized that language practices cannot be reduced to social structures, as language users can push back and transform their surroundings in unpredictable ways. Translanguaging also transcends *linguistic* structures, which users may move between but also beyond (Li Wei, 2011a). Thus, a corollary to this argument for preferring translanguaging over code-switching is that communication can create new meanings that do not depend on one language or another, as argued also by others outside of a psycholinguistic tradition (Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Canagarajah, 2011a).

Translingual practice (Canagarajah, 2013b, 2013a) overlaps theoretically with these conceptions of translanguaging to a great extent, and this overlap has perhaps grown as both concepts have developed. Canagarajah (2013b) defines translingual practice based on two premises, that communication transcends individual languages and words themselves (p. 6). The first premise is similar to how multilingualism has been problematized in translanguaging research, as an additive notion that does not recognize the interconnectedness of users' linguistic repertoires (García, 2009; Li Wei, 2011a). However, in line with the second premise, translingual practice has included a stronger focus on non-linguistic semiotic resources and ecological affordances, by defining this as one of two primary reasons for developing a new term (Canagarajah, 2013b), even if translanguaging research has more recently emphasized non-linguistic resources as well (Baynham & Lee, 2019; Blackledge & Creese, 2017; Kusters et al., 2017; Li Wei, 2018). Translingual practice also has slightly different disciplinary roots. Research on translingual practice has developed to a great extent with reference to writing (Canagarajah, 2011a, 2013a; Dewilde, 2017, 2019; Horner et al., 2011; Lu & Horner, 2013), whereas less early translanguaging research focused explicitly on writing (cf. García & Kano, 2014; Hélot, 2014; Velasco & García, 2014). One key assertion in relation to writing is that translingual practice relates to process rather than product, such that a written product that appears monolingual on the surface can also be considered translingual (Canagarajah, 2013b; Dewilde, 2019; Lee, 2018; Lu & Horner, 2013). In addition, English has itself been conceptualized as a form of translingual practice, as opposed to the clearly delimited linguistic object of structuralist definitions (Canagarajah, 2013b; Lee, 2018; Pennycook, 2008). This perspective provides an important warrant for questioning a monolingual conception of English as a school subject.

The ontological underpinnings of translanguaging and translingual practice are thus similar, although translingual practice may be seen as more fully practice-based than translanguaging, the latter being rooted in both psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics (Canagarajah, 2013b; García & Li Wei, 2014). The most theoretically controversial contention of both of these translingual perspectives has been the deconstruction of named languages. Otheguy et al. (2015, 2019) have suggested that multilinguals, like monolinguals, have a unitary linguistic system and that translanguaging represents unrestricted use of the linguistic repertoire (see also Makalela, 2015). This entails that multilinguals select features from an integrated linguistic repertoire to respond to social expectations and interlocutors, rather than expressing multiple compartmentalized grammars in turn (Otheguy et al., 2015). This suggestion has been contested from a generative linguistic standpoint (MacSwan, 2017), and some scholars who use the term translanguaging eschew claims about the nature of internal linguistic systems to a greater extent, while affirming its pedagogical value (Cenoz & Gorter, 2015b; Hornberger & Link, 2012). Li Wei (2018) does acknowledge structure as a feature that comes to be associated with languages in this definition of a multilingual: "someone who is aware of the existence of the political entities of named languages and has an ability to make use of the structural features of some of them that they have acquired" (p. 27). Li Wei (2011a) similarly implies the antecedence of linguistic structures as resources to be exploited. Meanwhile, Canagarajah (2013b, 2018) points to sedimentation, indexicality, and language ideologies as the processes that constitute named languages with recognizable grammars and norms. Thus, he writes that languages and varieties "have a reality for social groups […but] I don't treat these labeled languages and varieties as having ontological status" (Canagarajah, 2013b, p. 16). The import of this ontological distinction is to look past shared norms or grammars to understand how meaning is achieved situationally (Canagarajah, 2013b), as I attempt to do.

Like the ecological approach described above, translingual approaches are critical, in terms of examining and challenging how power is aligned with certain language practices and ideologies, notably monolingual and monoglossic ideologies (Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Canagarajah, 2015; García & Li Wei, 2014; Li Wei, 2011a; Seltzer, 2019). However, compared to the attention to various forms of structuring and agency in ecological and spatial models (e.g., Canagarajah, 2018; Hornberger, 2002; Lu & Horner, 2013; van Lier, 2004), translanguaging especially has been more closely tied to the transformative expression of agency (Creese & Blackledge, 2015; García & Li Wei, 2014; Li Wei, 2011a, 2018). For instance, Li Wei (2018) explains that the *trans-* prefix refers, among other things, to "the transformative capacity of the Translanguaging [sic] process not only for language systems but also for individuals' cognition and social structures" (p. 27). In reference to education, García and Li Wei (2014) write that "translanguaging is important for literacy development because students develop the agency to use their entire semiotic system" (p. 85). In contrast, Lu and Horner (2013) suggest that a translingual perspective sees agency in all writing, not only in "writing that appears to deviate from language norms, but also writing that appears simply to reproduce language norms" (p. 26). Lu and Horner (2013) frame this understanding in terms of Giddens's (1984) theory of structuration, "the mutually dependent and co-constitutive relationship between structure and agency" (Lu & Horner, 2013, p. 27), signaling a more dynamic view of the interplay of agency and structure in translingual practice.

These agentive and transformative claims in translanguaging research in particular have prompted critical questions, in two primary directions. One set of questions relate to whether linguistic fluidity is counter-hegemonic irrespective of context. While also contesting monolingual approaches to language teaching, Cenoz and Gorter (2017) have objected that regional minority languages that have a small geographical base, such as Basque or Welsh, may need "breathing spaces" (p. 909) because of the greater influence that majority languages tend to exert on minority languages than vice versa in spontaneous translanguaging. Accordingly, they distinguish spontaneous translanguaging, which they associate with García's (2009) definition of translanguaging as sense-making, cited above, from pedagogical translanguaging. Cenoz and Gorter (2017) see the latter as carefully planned to maximize opportunities for developing the minority language in situations of linguistic power imbalance, referring back to translanguaging in Welsh-English bilingual education (Lewis et al., 2012; Williams, 1994). Related to this, and perhaps more applicable to the context of my study, are questions about whether translanguaging achieves similar counter-hegemonic goals in the teaching of additional languages for linguistically majoritized students (Leung & Valdés, 2019; Turner & Lin, 2020). Turner and Lin (2020) argue that teaching named languages may be necessary for disrupting the monolingual habitus of majoritized speakers of dominant languages, suggesting that this might be possible if the linguistic repertoire is treated as primary and named languages simply as a pragmatic means of expansion. A second set of questions relate to the ability of classroom language practices to impact societal inequalities. Block (2018) and Jaspers (2018) suggest that a change in language practices in school may change no more than just that, in the absence of attention to economic and linguistic inequalities in other societal domains. Flores and Chaparro (2018) add societal racism as a further structural concern that must be addressed in order for racialized students' translanguaging to be valued more positively. I elaborate on some of these questions in Articles 1 and 3 and in the final section of this chapter (see 3.3).

A final distinction between translanguaging and translingual practice is that researchers who use the term translingual practice (Canagarajah, 2013b; Dovchin & Lee, 2019; Lee, 2018) have insisted more consistently on the ancient and ordinary nature of hybrid language practices around the globe, suggesting that such language use only appears novel from a Eurocentric perspective. In contrast, some translanguaging scholars have tied the concept to Vertovec's (2007) notion of super-diversity, or "diversification of diversity" (p. 1025) based on newly complex patterns of migration to the United Kingdom (e.g., Creese et al., 2018; De Fina et al., 2017). This has perhaps left the construct of translanguaging more open than translingual practice to critiques of ahistoricity and Western bias (Bagga-Gupta & Messina Dahlberg, 2018; Makoni, 2012; Pavlenko, 2019), even if translanguaging also has been developed based on insights in non-Western contexts (e.g., Guzula et al., 2016; Li Wei, 2018; Makalela, 2015, 2016). Indeed, this should be considered a distinction of degree, as both García (2009) and Creese and Blackledge (2015) emphasize that translanguaging should be considered unmarked in the sense of representing ordinary language use among bilinguals and multilinguals. The question of markedness is one that I address in Article 3.

A third *trans-* practice that I examine is translation. While translation is frequently described as an activity type in translanguaging pedagogy (e.g., Cenoz & Gorter, 2017; García & Kleyn, 2016; Gynne, 2019), the theoretical relationship between translation and translanguaging or translingual practice is more seldom addressed explicitly. Article 2 includes an overview of some such theorizations in writing and education (Dewilde, 2019; Horner & Tetreault, 2016; Pennycook, 2008; Vogel et al., 2018; see also García et al., 2020; Murray, 2018). In addition, Baynham and Lee (2019) and Creese et al. (2018) have theorized the relationship between translation and translanguaging outside of education. A central question in all of these publications is how to reconcile the seemingly code-dependent practice of translation with code-transcending translanguaging or translingual practice. Of these, García et al. (2020) draw the firmest boundary between translation and translanguaging, stating that translation relies on an epistemology of bridging or even erasing differences, while translanguaging maintains difference in order to make relations of power visible. They nonetheless suggest that translation can be redirected toward the aims of translanguaging. Murray (2018) presents the opposite scenario, that translanguaging may be employed to render a translation, while minimally destabilizing ideologies of language separation. Thus, like García et al. (2020), he associates translanguaging and translation with different language ideologies. Creese et al. (2018) similarly distinguish translation from translanguaging, defining translation as "as an act of communication in which an interaction in one code is re-produced in another code" (p. 842). However, to Creese et al. (2018) and Murray (2018), the relationship between translanguaging and translation seems less oppositional, as they frame these practices as commonly deployed alongside each other for communicative alignment.

Meanwhile, Baynham and Lee (2019) specify that translation and translanguaging preclude each other or overlap depending on how narrowly or broadly translation is defined. In a narrower view of translation as *substantive* translation, where elements of a text are reproduced in another language based on correspondence, translanguaging might be seen as incongruous with translation, as translanguaging tends to disrupt rather than observe linguistic borders. However, a broader, or *nonsubstantive*, view of translation can encompass mediation of diverse symbols and cultural expressions, without necessarily crossing a language border. Such nonsubstantive translation can be understood in similar terms as translanguaging (Baynham & Lee, 2019, pp. 43–45). Pennycook (2008) argues for such a broad definition that decouples translation from code: "it is possible to view all language use as a process of translation, thus questioning the assumption that translation is a mapping of items from one code to another" (p. 40). At a minimum, a translingual view of translation seems to require a non-essentialist understanding of codes and, by extension, a recognition of the continuity between translational practices that purportedly remain within the boundary of a code and those that seemingly cross such a boundary (Baynham & Lee, 2019; Creese et al., 2018; Horner & Tetreault, 2016; Pennycook, 2008). This latter understanding is prefigured in the work of Jakobson (1959), who describes a continuum of practices involving "interlingual" and "intralingual" translation (p. 233). However, a translingual understanding of communication takes Jakobson's (1959) taxonomy further by highlighting the unstable nature of the distinction between these categories (Horner & Tetreault, 2016). This is a perspective that I adopt and further develop in Article 2.

In the final section of this chapter, I will connect some of the issues raised by an ecological and a translingual view of language to broader philosophical debates within linguistic ethnography (e.g., Pérez-Milans, 2016; Rampton et al., 2015; Sealey, 2007; Tusting & Maybin, 2007), in order to clarify my own philosophical stance.

3.3 A Cautious and Critical Realism

Thus far, I have presented two broad theoretical commitments in my project: an ecological approach and a translingual approach to language. I have also touched on at least two central philosophical questions raised by these approaches: the balance of structure and agency in shaping language use and the ontological nature of named languages. With respect to the latter issue, I have described the post-structuralist inspiration inherent in a translingual view of language (Canagarajah, 2018; García & Li Wei, 2014). Post-structuralism, as well as a focus on agency in language use, align well with social constructionism (Rampton et al., 2015), and indeed I consider participants' construction of meanings, identities, and indexicalities central to this project. These positions and priorities are commonly articulated as theoretical foundations of linguistic ethnography, the broad interpretive approach within which I situate this project (Copland & Creese, 2015; Rampton et al., 2015; see Chapter 4). However, I also draw to an extent on recent materialist critiques that foreground structural influences on participants' linguistic practices (Block, 2015, 2018; Flores, 2017a; Flores & Chaparro, 2018). I will elaborate below on my philosophical stance, a cautious and critical realism that considers discursive construction to be one important—but not the only—process of fixing and changing meanings for researchers and participants alike.

Although it is beyond the scope of this extended abstract to delve into a full discussion of the epistemological and ontological foundations of linguistic ethnography, I find it necessary to briefly explore common philosophical commitments of the approach in order to explain my own position. Overarching philosophical statements in linguistic ethnography often include a rejection of positivism and an embrace of post-structuralist conceptions of language, identity, or culture (e.g., Copland & Creese, 2015b; Pérez-Milans, 2016; Rampton et al., 2015), both of which I endorse. In addition, a few linguistic ethnographers implicitly or explicitly address the underlying issue of realism or anti-realism, that is, whether one believes that researchers study an independently existing reality (ontological realism) and can develop knowledge of that reality (epistemological realism) or, conversely, that the object of research and the knowledge developed through research are social constructions (respectively, ontological and epistemological anti-realism) (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2017; Ladyman, 2012; von Glasersfeld, 1984). Copland and Creese (2015) situate linguistic ethnography as an outgrowth of post-modernism, specifically in its turn away from structural linguistics. According to Alvesson and Sköldberg (2017), post-modernism and post-structuralism are terms that are used in diverse ways that overlap with social constructionism. As in social constructionism, "the very idea of truthful representation and interpretation is problematized and human experience is itself discursively constituted, that is it 'exists' in, rather than outside, language" (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2017, p. 228). However, social constructionism can be either structuralist or post-structuralist (Hammersley, 2007). Here, the key difference is that language is seen as

referential in a structuralist view, while post-structuralism also focuses on variable and performative functions of language (Hammersley, 2007).

Drawing on post-modernist deconstructionist approaches, Copland and Creese (2015) state, "linguistic ethnography investigates the construction and robustness of social categories and categorisation processes; taken-for-granted assumptions about groups, categories and peoples are the object of their research…debunking reifications and essentialisations about language, dialects, ethnicities and cultures" (p. 26). Pérez-Milans (2016) extends the scope of social construction further, asserting that the theoretical underpinnings of linguistic ethnography include "a key axiomatic proposition about social reality as being discursively constructed, reproduced, naturalised, and sometimes revised in social interaction, in the course of large-scale historical, political and socio-economic configurations" (p. 84). Thus, social construction comprises a philosophical basis of linguistic ethnography. However, Tustin and Maybin (2007) suggest that "there is an implicit realism in linguistic ethnography in the notion of drawing on linguistics to 'tie ethnography down' (Rampton this issue [2007]), which metaphorically suggests a linguistic 'reality' to which ideas about culture could be pinned and clarified" (p. 581). Indeed, Pérez-Milans (2016) signals the relevance of the larger social structures that are emphasized in newer sociological realism (e.g., Harré & Bhaskar, 2001; Sealey, 2007) in the latter part of the above quote. Others point to the diversity of dominant ontological and epistemological positions among the academic traditions and theorists that linguistic ethnography draws upon (Hammersley, 2007; Sealey, 2007).

A key question in teasing apart possible ontological and epistemological stances within linguistic ethnography seems to rest on how one understands the scope of social constructionism, which as a philosophy of science is generally considered to be anti-realist (Ladyman, 2012; von Glasersfeld, 1984). Wenneberg (2000) provides clarifying perspective on this diversely used term, delineating four increasingly radical applications of social constructionism: as a critical perspective, a social theory, an epistemology, or an ontology. The most limited version involves directing critical scrutiny toward naturalized assumptions, especially those that vary historically, culturally, or geographically, such that "if we go beneath the surface, we will find out that they are not naturally determined, but that they are 'socially constructed'" (Wenneberg, 2000, p. 14, my translation). Social constructionism as a social theory makes somewhat more expansive claims, by critiquing not only certain constructions but also social institutions. However, only the latter two gradations constitute an inherently anti-realist philosophy of science, claiming respectively that knowledge and reality are socially constructed. Tusting and Maybin (2007) suggest that social constructionism and post-structuralism have been prominent influences in linguistic ethnography, but that there are few examples of linguistic ethnographers who extend these influences to the point of infinite regress, or seeking to deconstruct the very possibility of knowledge.

As a philosophy of science, social constructionism has provided important critiques of empiricist and positivist conceptions of science as disinterested accumulation of knowledge by foregrounding the discursive processes entailed in producing knowledge (e.g., Gergen, 1985, 2015; Latour & Woolgar, 1979; Woolgar, 1988). Like social constructionism, newer

formulations of realism, such as critical realism, also take issue with empiricism and positivism on such grounds but, unlike an anti-realist social constructionism, reject social determinants as the only source of knowledge (López & Potter, 2001). Critical realism also takes on board most constructionist premises on the differences between the natural and social sciences, related to the significance of language and discourse in mediating social action (López & Potter, 2001; Sealey, 2007). However, realists contend that social constructionism overestimates the power of discourse, thus neglecting social structures and material realities that are outside of the immediate control of individuals and their power to impact their situation discursively, such as poverty or environmental collapse (Harré & Bhaskar, 2001). Of course, both poverty and environmental collapse are conditions created in no small part by human agency, and Corson (1997) clarifies that critical realists see such social structures as socially constructed—and therefore amenable to transformation. They are only real insofar as they possess different properties than those of any given individual once they are socially constructed, although there is disagreement as to whether structures are seen as having causal powers or simply functioning taxonomically (Harré & Bhaskar, 2001; Sealey, 2007).

Within applied linguistics, Block (2015) has drawn on such critical realist critiques to call for greater attention to the material circumstances that surround language use, notably economic inequalities. In contrast to Li Wei (2011a) four years earlier, Block (2015) writes that "language and identity research has, if anything, become over-agentive" (p. 23), neglecting consideration of the structures that individuals do not themselves create, but only negotiate. Flores and Chaparro (2018) add that a well-established object of constructionist critique, the concept of race, should also be seen as tied up in the unequal distribution of material resources and not only in identity, terming their approach an anti-racist materialism. In education, the potential danger of privileging agency and discourse over such structural constraints lies in ineffectual recommendations that emphasize symbolic recognition, to the exclusion of reordering oppressive economic and racial inequities, as the primary means of achieving justice in education (Block, 2015; Flores, 2017a; Flores & Chaparro, 2018). As noted above, Block (2018) and Jaspers (2018) have singled out translanguaging research for critique on precisely such grounds. Similarly, Flores and Chaparro (2018) have argued that educational transformation cannot stop at addressing individual educators' classroom language practices, so long as society and education are shaped by broader economic and racial inequalities, as well as other structural inequalities.

Combining a post-structuralist understanding of language and communication with a realist or materialist ontology introduces some philosophical tensions, perhaps most difficult to resolve at the level of epistemology. There is no compelling philosophical reason that researchers' process of meaning construction would be substantively different from that of the people we research, perhaps apart from the systematic nature of our inquiry (Copland & Creese, 2015b; Heller, 2008). However, this need not mean that we as researchers have no access to a reality beyond that of our own creation, even if such access is limited (Bhaskar, 2002; Sealey, 2007). Heller (2008) combines these philosophical streams by describing her work as "poststructural realism: a stance which assumes that reality may be socially constructed, but it is constructed on the basis of symbolic and material structural constraints that are empirically observable"

(p. 250). This stance is post-structuralist in the sense of approaching research as constructivist, subjective, interpretive, and socially located, at the same time that it is realist and materialist in the sense of seeking to apprehend a social reality located within material and discursive structures (Heller, 2008). Similarly, Sealey (2007) suggests that "realist approaches recognize both that reality has an existence which is independent of how we choose to describe it, and that our descriptions are inevitably mediated through discourse" (p. 641). Rosa and Flores (2017) demonstrate how a materialist approach can draw upon post-structuralism, for instance by framing "the co-naturalization of language and race" (p. 631) in raciolinguistic ideologies as a process of social construction, while they also shift attention from individual interactions to institutions as the primary sites of negotiating these categories. While not explicitly espousing a materialist ontology, Canagarajah (2018) similarly argues for paying greater attention to scales beyond those of immediate interaction, based on a spatial orientation to communication that situates language and human agency within a material ecology. Canagarajah (2018) argues that a post-structuralist view of communication in fact pushes in this direction by setting aside the primacy of language and human agency, in favor of recognizing the agency of things in shaping human cognition and communication. I find such positions most capable of accommodating both agentive and structuring processes in language and communication at a variety of scales, and thus I adopt a similar epistemological and ontological position, what I might call a cautious and critical ontological realism.

The implications of this philosophical stance within this thesis first and foremost come to expression in my aiming to reflect the agentive processes of discursive construction to which I have access in my data, while also looking for indications of structural processes that might not be directly observable at my own scales of inquiry (Block, 2015; Canagarajah & De Costa, 2016; Carter & Sealey, 2000; Heller, 2011; Sealey, 2007). In both Articles 1 and 3, I find that explanations of classroom language use can only partly be found in the immediate context of the classrooms, as they seem to relate to linguistic hierarchies in the multiple spaces across which students have moved. These structuring processes, located in part elsewhere and at other times, seem to introduce constraints on the negotiations that occur in the classrooms (see Carter & Sealey, 2000). In addition, notably in Articles 2 and 3, my approach is materialist insofar as the material environment of language learning is considered to provide resources for communication (Canagarajah, 2018; van Lier, 2004), with attendant affordances and limitations. However, I find it important to point out that this philosophical stance has been clarified over the course of my project, such that I see a certain progression of ideas in the three articles, which I have written sequentially rather than concurrently. My awareness of critical realist and materialist perspectives has grown over time and is therefore, in my view, best reflected in Article 3. What has remained more constant throughout my project is a commitment to a situated understanding of classroom language use, highlighting agentive processes and local negotiation of meanings, in line with a post-structuralist understanding of language (Canagarajah, 2018; Copland & Creese, 2015b; Heller, 2008; Rampton et al., 2015). Indeed, the latter constitutes the empirical focus of this project. I will return to the contributions I have made to these theoretical and philosophical discussions in Chapter 6. In the next chapter, I will describe the methodology and some ethical considerations in my project.

4 Methodology and Ethics

This doctoral project can be described as a multi-sited linguistic ethnography (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017; Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Copland & Creese, 2015b). Below, I present linguistic ethnography as my overarching methodological and interpretive approach. I then describe the process of selecting a case conducive to exploring multilingual practices in English writing instruction. Next, I present my data collection methods and analytical procedures. Following, I discuss issues related to research credibility, transferability, and limitations. I end by reflecting on some important ethical considerations. My aim for the chapter is to explain and discuss my overarching methodological decisions, including how these evolved during the project, repeating information in my articles only as needed.

4.1 Linguistic Ethnography

In line with my research aim, I chose linguistic ethnography as a methodological and interpretive approach because of its sensitivity to connections between social context and local practices (Copland & Creese, 2015b). As the name suggests, this approach combines ethnography with linguistic analysis, particularly as drawn from interactional sociolinguistics and discourse analysis (Copland & Creese, 2015b; Rampton et al., 2015). As in my case, ethnographic data collection entails fieldwork over an extended period of time, where multiple methods are combined to gain insight into participant perspectives and practices (Blommaert & Dong, 2020; Lofland et al., 2006). These perspectives are commonly referred to as *emic*, in contrast to the *etic* perspectives of observers (Hornberger, 2013). Linguistic ethnography privileges uncovering emic perspectives, although etic perspectives will necessarily be part of structured research accounts (Copland & Creese, 2015b; Emerson et al., 2011; Heller, 2008).

In my overarching research aim, I focus on two key actions: *use* and *positioning* of multilingual resources, by teachers and students, across instructional settings (see 1.2). These actions entail a focus on use in terms of practices, as well as representation of oneself and others in the case of positioning (E. R. Miller, 2010). Observational data are generally considered to have high ecological validity for making claims about practices (Cicourel, 2007; Knoblauch, 2009), which is why I have chosen to anchor my study in observation. In contrast, positioning can partly be found in observational data but is difficult to ascertain without consulting participants through interviews or other forms of reporting (Lofland et al., 2006), as I also have done. In addition, positioning refers to discourses, which go beyond the immediate perspectives of participants to consider the broader significance of participants' views and practices in light of social and political contexts (Davies & Harré, 1990). In brief, questions about use and positioning are best answered through a combination of methods that attend to observed practices, expressed and implied emic perspectives, and contextual factors, as found in linguistic ethnography (Copland & Creese, 2015b; Rampton et al., 2015).

My decision to align with linguistic ethnography also reflects an epistemological emphasis on ideological processes in classroom activities (Rampton et al., 2015). Rampton (2007) identifies two assumptions as central to linguistic ethnography:

1. that the contexts for communication should be investigated rather than assumed. Meaning takes shape within specific social relations, interactional histories and institutional regimes, produced and construed by agents with expectations and repertoires that have to be grasped ethnographically; and
2. that analysis of the internal organisation of verbal (and other kinds of semiotic) data is essential to understanding its significance and position in the world. Meaning is far more than just the 'expression of ideas', and biography, identifications, stance and nuance are extensively signalled in the linguistic and textual fine-grain. (p. 858)

In these statements, Rampton (2007) grounds the methodological components of linguistic ethnography—first, ethnographic fieldwork; second, linguistic analysis—in a situated understanding of language and literacy. These tenets recall and build on related work in the ethnography of communication (Gumperz & Hymes, 1972), micro ethnography (Erickson, 1986), linguistic anthropology (Blommaert, 2007; Wortham, 2008), critical sociolinguistics (Canagarajah, 1993; Heller & Martin-Jones, 2001; Heller et al., 2018), and educational linguistics (Hornberger, 2004; Spolsky & Hult, 2008). My choice to align with linguistic ethnography rather than one of these related approaches reflects in large part what methodological label I feel comfortable claiming, based on my background in applied linguistics and the nature of my fieldwork, conducted in a relatively familiar setting in two focused periods (cf. Copland, 2015a). In sum, I chose linguistic ethnography because I am persuaded that the meaning that participants ascribe to classroom practices needs to be investigated beyond their surface features, notably in the relative absence of previous research on discourses and language ideologies that inform the setting of my study (see Chapter 2). In the next section, I address how I selected a case to elucidate these dynamics.

4.2 Case Selection

In ethnographic studies, careful selection and description of the case support subsequent claims about the transferability or theoretical generalizability of findings (Blommaert & Dong, 2020; Shulman, 1986; Silverman, 2017). Mitchell (1984) argues that "telling" cases, "in which the particular circumstances surrounding a case, serve to make previously obscure theoretical relationships suddenly apparent" (p. 239), are most fruitful for the analytic induction that undergirds ethnographic theory development. Mitchell (1984) contrasts these with typical cases of a phenomenon. In line with my research aim, I therefore sought to identify a telling case about the use and positioning of multilingual resources in English writing instruction. As indicated in Chapter 2, existing research at the outset of my project pointed to two broad trends: (1) limited awareness or use of multilingual approaches in English teaching in Norway (Dahl & Krulatz, 2016; Krulatz & Torgersen, 2016; Šurkalović, 2014); and (2) growing evidence internationally that students and teachers may draw on multilingual resources in writing or writing instruction (e.g., Canagarajah, 2011a; García & Kano, 2014; García & Kleyn, 2016). Therefore, I sought to identify as a telling case English classrooms in Norway in which there might be evidence of the latter trend, despite its reported rarity. My intention was then to collect data on factors enabling or constraining multilingual approaches to English writing instruction in Norway.

In order to identify such a telling case, I set as a baseline criterion some evidence of teachers' positive attitudes toward multilingualism as a learning resource, also with reference to minoritized multilingualism, as attitudes toward minoritized and majoritized multilingualism may differ (De Angelis, 2011; Ortega, 2019; Young, 2014). Teachers' willingness to participate in a project that would last for several months was another significant criterion for selection. The only other selection criteria I defined at the outset were that the teachers must currently teach English at a Norwegian secondary school and have some students who speak other languages than Norwegian and English, in line with my empirical focus.

I conducted a two-step procedure to identify study sites. First, I contacted 70 teachers and school administrators throughout Norway to ask if they or any colleagues taught English in a linguistically diverse class and would be willing to be interviewed. These included my advisors' and my own extended professional network, as well as schools affiliated with the National Centre of Multicultural Education (NAFO). Second, based on positive replies, I interviewed 23 English teachers and observed one lesson taught by 13 of these (see Appendix E.1). Several teachers were of interest, based on their attitudes and reported or observed practices. The three teachers who participated in the study were among those who met all of the selection criteria, including willingness to participate. In addition, administrators at their schools were willing to give me access to the classrooms. Students' consent to participate was of course also essential, and I discuss this dimension in the section on ethical considerations (see 4.7). This site selection procedure is also briefly described in Article 1 (p. 8).

My reason for including two sites was to gain a broader perspective on the phenomenon, across lower and upper secondary grades, involving students with various migration histories and forms of minoritized and elite multilingualism (Ortega, 2019). Among the three teachers, there were four types of instructional settings represented: at School 1, (1) introductory classes, which are transitional, sheltered classes for students who have typically immigrated within the past year; at School 2, (2) a mainstream class, the standard educational setting in Norway; (3) an accelerated class (in Norwegian, *forsert*), where students took an English course one year ahead of schedule; and (4) an ad-hoc supplementary sheltered class (in Norwegian, *forsterket språkopplæring*), where students who had immigrated within the past six years received more time to complete a mandatory English course. These included 22 participating students at School 1 and 54 participating students at School 2 in total. Articles 1 and 2 both draw on data from School 1 because this setting provided the richest data on multilingual practices. Article 3 then recontextualizes the research aim in a new setting to enable comparison across the two sites and among the final three instructional settings, which were all present at School 2. Together, these four instructional settings comprise a multi-sited ethnography, focusing in particular on a horizontal dimension of comparison, "which compares how similar policies or phenomena unfold in locations that are connected and socially produced" (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017, p. 15). In sum, the study consists of a telling case (Mitchell, 1984) that encompasses various instructional settings, in order to support theoretical inferences about multilingual approaches in a variety of English teaching settings in Norway, as well as similar language teaching contexts (see 4.6). In the next section, I describe the data collection methods that I employed.

4.3 Data Collection

I collected data at School 1 from March to June 2017 and at School 2 from August to December 2017. These two periods of fieldwork followed relatively similar trajectories, with some differences related to the number of participants, students' participation choices, and the time available at each school. As a study of situated instructional practices, my project was anchored in observation (Jordan & Henderson, 1995), captured in field notes and video, audio, and screen recordings. Lofland et al. (2006) further describe participant observation and interviewing in mutual relationship as "the central techniques of naturalistic investigation" (p. 18), which can complement and provide verification for each other. The observational data were therefore supplemented by document collection and followed by interviews (Copland & Creese, 2015b; Lofland et al., 2006), which along with my field notes provided an interpretive basis for contextualizing the classroom recordings (Bhatt et al., 2015; Knoblauch & Schnettler, 2012). The recordings in turn mitigated some challenges associated with ethnographic observation by increasing opportunities for revisiting the observational record and verifying data analysis (C. Heath et al., 2010; Knoblauch & Schnettler, 2012). Overviews of the data collection procedures and resulting data sources at School 1 and School 2 are described, respectively, in Article 1 (pp. 13–14) and Article 3 (pp. 115–117). The data in Article 2 represent a subset of the data collected at School 1. I will now present and discuss each data collection method I employed.

4.3.1 Participant Observation and Field Notes

As a linguistic ethnography, my study is grounded in participant observation, based on a focus on understanding and highlighting my research participants' practices and perspectives (Copland & Creese, 2015b; Emerson et al., 2011). Due to the teachers' and my own time constraints, I mainly observed English lessons that concerned writing, in line with my research aim. Thus, the study might also be considered a "focused ethnography" (Knoblauch, 2009, p. 72), in which certain actions or situations were defined as being of interest from the outset. Nonetheless, I was initially present in all English lessons at both schools in order to develop an overall sense of dynamics, relationships, and routines in the classrooms, before I eventually observed only lessons that involved writing (Copland & Creese, 2015b). This meant being at the schools two to four days a week for English classes and time between classes, which gave me opportunities for informal field conversations (Heller et al., 2018).

Field notes constituted the primary record of my participant observation (Copland & Creese, 2015b; Emerson et al., 2011). In these, I wrote as much as possible about what I was observing, also jotting key words to jog my memory for later elaboration (Emerson et al., 2011). I then returned to my field notes during breaks between classes, after the school day, or at the latest on the following day to fill in missing details and add reflections on what I had observed (Emerson et al., 2011; Lofland et al., 2006). Particularly at the early stages, I sought to maintain as much complexity as possible in my field notes (Blommaert & Dong, 2020; Copland & Creese, 2015b), describing both my general impressions of the setting and the activities I was particularly interested in, that is, writing and multilingual practices. This represented a balancing act between maintaining openness to how the field would influence my inquiry and capturing evidence of the topics I was interested in from the outset (Copland

& Creese, 2015b). My field notes focused over time on particular issues as "participants' beliefs, values and actions bec[a]me more apparent" (Copland & Creese, 2015b, p. 40). A routine that I instituted to monitor what I was recording in my field notes and to reflect on how to focus my observations going forward was to review my field notes on a weekly to biweekly basis and summarize emerging themes in concept notes (S. B. Heath & Street, 2008; e.g., Appendix A). I also made process notes (S. B. Heath & Street, 2008) to record practical deliberations and decisions that were influencing my data collection (e.g., Appendix B).

My perspective and interpretation as an observer were unavoidably embedded in these field notes. Emerson et al. (2011) refer to writing field notes as acts of "inscription" and not only description (p. 12), emphasizing how the observer selects and transforms written events into analyzable data. Accordingly, I did not make a strict distinction between 'objective' observation and 'subjective' interpretation in my field notes (Copland & Creese, 2015b; Emerson et al., 2011). I instead emphasized reflexivity and precision, paying attention to participants' actions and reactions, as well as my own feelings and tentative interpretations, trying to remain attentive to differences between the former and the latter (Emerson et al., 2011; Lofland et al., 2006). I found that these served as an important tool for reflecting on and accounting for my observer's perspective and impact on the field (Copland & Creese, 2015b). One example of using my field notes in this way was to describe and reflect on my ongoing decisions about how to participate in the classroom. Like many educational ethnographers (e.g., Connor, 2019; DuFon, 2002), I found myself sometimes becoming involved in classroom activities. The following field note illustrates my deliberations on what was perhaps my day of greatest involvement, late in my fieldwork at School 2, when the students were working independently in the classroom because the teacher had become ill on short notice, and there was no substitute teacher available.

> As predicted, today turned out to be a class where I participated a lot in students' writing processes and therefore had less time where I had an overview of what was happening in the classroom. This was perhaps inevitable to an extent, as long as I was not prepared to tell the students that I wouldn't help them, but also an ethical and methodological decision. With all the time and access that the students are giving me, I feel that helping them with their writing when I am able means that my presence can be more directly beneficial to them. Methodologically, I also think that helping students gives me certain unique opportunities for data collection, at the same time that it limits others. For example, it seems that the rapport that I have developed recently with George has come almost entirely through responding to his requests for help with writing, and this has led to some important insights into his experiences that I would not otherwise have had access to, especially since he has not consented to be interviewed. (Mainstream class, School 2, December 5, 2017)

In this field note, I highlighted ethical and methodological aspects of balancing my roles as participant and observer. Especially on this occasion, I felt an ethical imperative to have a positive impact on students' learning (Bigelow & Pettitt, 2015), given their teacher's absence. Methodologically, I acknowledged that engaging in students' writing processes in this way

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limited certain opportunities for observation, while enabling other insights (Bigelow & Pettitt, 2015; Tusting & Maybin, 2007). Notably, this was the most significant way in which I gained insight into the writing processes of some more reserved students, such as George. I juggled these decisions throughout my fieldwork based on considerations such as how far I had come in observations, what processes I needed to understand better, and what stance I felt had integrity toward my participants and research aim. Recording these decisions in my field notes then became a resource for reflexive analysis and reporting (Copland & Creese, 2015b; Tusting & Maybin, 2007; see 4.5).

4.3.2 Video- and Audio-Recorded Observation

In addition to participant observation, I made video and audio recordings of classroom instruction in order to capture data to which I could return to gain additional perspective on my field notes and conduct interactional analysis (Creese, 2015; Erickson, 2006; Jordan & Henderson, 1995). In line with my participant approach to observation, I conducted participatory video recording (DuFon, 2002), in the sense that the video included my movements and conversations in the classroom. Furthermore, my approach to video recording—and by extension to audio recording—aligned with video ethnography (Jordan & Henderson, 1995; Knoblauch, 2009; Schubert, 2012). This entailed contextualizing and interpreting the video data in light of complementary ethnographic data (Knoblauch, 2009) and implementing recording gradually, both to lay a relational foundation with the study participants and to inform my decisions about where, what, and how to record (C. Heath et al., 2010; Schubert, 2012). Taking time to develop trust with students seemed especially important, as I was the first researcher that most of them had met. I therefore conducted two to three weeks of participant observation in the classrooms before starting to record.

I aimed for a camera set-up that would capture as full a range of classroom activities as possible, in order to maintain openness about what activities would be relevant for analysis (DuFon, 2002; Erickson, 2006; Klette et al., 2017). I therefore filmed for the duration of lessons and positioned a camera at the back of the classroom, to capture both the teacher and students, when student consent allowed for this. I also placed a camera at the front of the classroom to have a higher resolution image of the board. This setup was possible in the accelerated and mainstream classes at School 2 (see Article 3), where students who did not wish to be filmed could be seated in a blind zone (Klette et al., 2017). However, in the sheltered class at School 2 (see Article 3) and the classes at School 1 (see Article 1), it was not possible to exclude students from view selectively. Therefore, a camera was pointed only at the teacher and the board. In all of the classes, the teachers wore the microphone connected to the main video camera. They were instructed to turn it off when talking to students who did not want to be audio recorded. In addition, I occasionally used an audio recorder or video camera to capture individual or group work among students who consented to this, so that I could supplement the teacher-focused recordings with a closer view of student interactions (Bhatt & De Roock, 2013; C. Heath et al., 2010). I also used screen recording software to capture individual students' writing practices, as I describe next.

4.3.3 Screen Recording

Similarly to how I used video and audio recording at the level of classroom interaction, I used screen recording to create a record of individual writing practices to which I could return after observation (Bhatt & De Roock, 2013). Screen recording refers to a method of recording what appears on the screen of a computer or mobile device by means of software, which renders a video of on-screen activity (Geisler & Slattery, 2007). A sample screenshot can be found in Appendix C, and two video clips from screen recordings were published online along with Article 2. I considered it particularly important to collect data on writing practices at the individual student level because of previous studies that suggested that students might make greater use of multilingual resources in their private practices than in whole-class interaction (e.g., Dewilde, 2017; Lucas & Katz, 1994).

The initial reason for using screen recording software instead of an external camera was that certain students did not want to be captured on video (see Article 1, p. 14). At School 1, I first piloted GoPro forehead cameras (Blikstad-Balas & Sørvik, 2015), which were placed next to three students' laptops so as to minimize movement toward unwanted targets. However, even with such stationary placement, it was not possible to reliably exclude classmates from view because of the cameras' wide angle. Furthermore, the GoPro cameras would have continuously recorded environmental sound, which was not desired by all students. I therefore chose instead to install screen recording software, specifically TechSmith's Snagit, on participating students' laptops. I also tested the widely used Camtasia Studio (e.g., Ho, 2019; Xu & Ding, 2014) and opted instead for Snagit because of its simpler user interface, which I expected would be important for minimizing data loss. Indeed, students at both participating schools learned to use the software successfully with minimal instruction. Students also seemed to prefer the lesser physical imposition of screen recording software, compared to GoPro cameras (see also Glendinning & Howard, 2003).

Although the overriding reason for choosing screen recording was ethical, piloting also showed that the GoPro camera rendered images whose resolution was too low for reliably reading text on students' screens. Thus, screen recordings also provided finer-grained data on students' writing practices (see Article 2, p. 538). Even so, the screen recordings did exclude significant aspects of the writing process. Notably, without an additional camera on the writer or other observational data, screen recordings arguably provide a disembodied record of interaction with a computer (Bhatt et al., 2015; Geisler & Slattery, 2007). I therefore also encouraged students to turn on the computer's microphone, for instance when they discussed their writing with classmates who had also consented to audio recording (Glendinning & Howard, 2003). However, I instructed students not to use the webcam so as not to capture classmates who did not want to be videotaped. My field notes served as another means of contextualizing on-screen activity (Bhatt et al., 2015; Van Hout, 2015).

4.3.4 Document Collection and Photography

As a supplement to the aforementioned observational data, I also collected a variety of documents and photographs at both sites (Blommaert & Dong, 2020; Copland & Creese, 2015b). Much of this documentary and photographic evidence was used to confirm and contextualize observational details (Lofland et al., 2006). I consistently collected lesson plans,

instructional materials (e.g., readings and assignments), and seating charts, as well as student texts and teacher feedback on texts from the lessons I observed, in order to confirm, for instance, which students were sitting next to each other during a focal event or how an activity in the recordings or field notes fit into a longer instructional sequence. Other documents and photographs were used to better understand the school environment as a whole. For instance, at School 1, such data enabled a limited form of schoolscape analysis (Gorter, 2018) of the ideological context informing teachers' and students' practices (see Article 1, p. 13). These included contrasting language policy emphases in hallway signs and the school's welcome brochure for new immigrant students. At School 2, there were no comparable documents or signs that promoted an explicit language policy, but photographs that I took during early visits to the school documented part of my reason for choosing the site, including signs for a multilingual peer tutoring "language café" at the school library.

In addition, I regularly photographed students' notes when I observed practices of interest to the research aim (e.g., translations or multilingual notes). I similarly photographed student screens, in cases where a student was not running a screen recording, due to technical problems or student preference. In one case, a student at School 2 also drew my attention to her reading in Arabic on her phone, which I then photographed. These notes and photographs then constituted important data for establishing patterns of language use, including what I analyzed as the disproportionate allocation of multilingual resources to individual use (Article 1), in limited view of other classroom participants (Article 3). In addition, certain student texts were used quite centrally in the analysis (Tusting, 2015), notably in Article 1, in the examples involving the students Jennifer and Vladimir (pp. 17–19). More broadly, photographs of students' handwritten notes and annotations included some of the most extensive evidence of regular use of multilingual resources at both schools (see Articles 1 and 3).

4.3.5 Language Portraits and Narratives

In a study of how students' multilingual resources are used in the classroom, it is necessary to know something about what those resources are. I chose to use language portraits as an open-ended way of having students describe their communicative repertoires (Busch, 2012; Melo-Pfeifer, 2017). One language portrait is included in each of Articles 1 (Figure 3) and 3 (Figure 2), and I have provided an additional example in Appendix D. I used the template published online at heteroglossia.net (Busch, 2012, 2018), after receiving training by Purkarthofer (2019) on how to guide students in creating language portraits. In each of the classrooms, the teachers gave me one lesson to collect language portraits. I guided students in English or Norwegian, according to preferences in each class. Based on Purkarthofer's suggestion, I also explained to the students that they could turn the paper to the blank side and draw something freehand if they preferred, which a few chose to do. A challenge I experienced in giving instructions was in using language that was sufficiently concrete to make the task understandable to students, yet sufficiently open so as not to reduce the linguistic repertoire to enumerable languages that could just as easily be captured by a survey (Busch, 2018). I therefore made mention not only of languages but also language varieties and modalities, as well as places, people, and feelings students might associate with language. The task seemed quite abstract to many students, such that they only began to draw after I had given a variety

of examples of the types of elements they could represent, such as colors, emotions, people, or places they associated with languages, dialects, or ways of communicating.

Language portraits must be interpreted in conjunction with participants' narratives (Busch, 2012, 2018), and I therefore took care to elicit students' descriptions of what they drew. At School 1, the students described their language portraits in individual interviews (see Articles 1 and 2; Appendix E.2). At School 2, the greater number of student participants meant that it was not feasible to interview everyone. In the mainstream and accelerated classes, students therefore wrote a narrative description of their language portrait immediately, and I posed follow-up questions to focal students whom I subsequently interviewed. There were three students who instead chose to audio record a description, which was then transcribed. In the sheltered class at School 2 there were only six students, and so I interviewed all six of these students (see Article 3; Appendix E.3).

4.3.6 Interviews with Stimulated Recall

I interviewed all of the teachers and many students to supplement my observational perspective on classroom practices (Copland & Creese, 2015b; Lofland et al., 2006). In all but a few cases, I anchored the interviews in recordings and artifacts from fieldwork, in a procedure commonly referred to as stimulated recall (Dempsey, 2010; Gass & Mackey, 2017; Lyle, 2003) or video elicitation (Jordan & Henderson, 1995; Knoblauch, 2009). I made data selections to present to participants for their comments based on my preliminary review of observational and documentary data (Dempsey, 2010; Lyle, 2003), drawing especially on video, audio, and screen recordings as prompts. Such recorded data are considered relatively strong stimuli for prompting recall (Gass & Mackey, 2017). I also used documents when my questions related directly to a text or artifact, for instance asking a student called Vladimir about his choice to include an untranslated Serbian quote in an essay (see Article 1, p. 19). I found that the participants were generally able to comment meaningfully on such documents. In addition, I posed some general questions about participants' views on and experiences of writing or writing instruction (see Appendix E).

The interviews took place toward the end of each fieldwork period, such that the delay between each focal event and the interviews ranged from one day to three months. Thus, the interviews can be considered "delayed" in some cases and "nonrecent" in others (Gass & Mackey, 2017, p. 46), ranging from what might respectively be framed as recall of thoughts during a preceding event to reflection on one's practices in the case of more distant events (Lyle, 2003). I attempted to mitigate the likelihood that the teachers or students would forget important events by sometimes asking on the spot about their rationales for actions and noting these in my field notes, when this did not seem overly intrusive. I also took the time delay into account in how I interpreted the interviews, not treating participants' comments as true or false reflections of their state of mind at the time of the event, but rather as their interpretation and representation of the focal event or practice (Block, 2000; Copland & Creese, 2015b; De Fina & Perrino, 2011). In this, I also considered the degree of certainty participants expressed about their interpretations, a qualification they often offered spontaneously.

Conducting the interviews toward the end of fieldwork was necessary for a number of reasons. First, students had to be taken out of class for interviews, and doing so repeatedly would have been unacceptably disruptive to their class participation. I had one, or at most two, opportunities to interview any given student, and I therefore chose to conduct interviews late enough in the fieldwork period that I could ask about a range of events. The teachers were similarly limited in their availability, such that I only had one opportunity for an extended interview. Second, the interviews also served as a form of member checking of my hypotheses about practices of interest (Erickson, 1986; Lofland et al., 2006; see 4.5), which required that I first develop a sense of themes in the data to inform my data selections. Third, at School 2 an additional consideration was that I did not have the capacity to interview all students who consented to being interviewed (see Article 3), and so I needed time in the field to determine which ones would be of greatest interest with respect to my research aim. Despite a delay of up to three months in some cases, I found that using selections from observational data in my interviews added concreteness to participants' reflections and layers to my analysis of the observational data (Jordan & Henderson, 1995; Knoblauch, 2009), as I elaborate on in the next section.

4.4   Data Analysis

As for data collection, linguistic ethnography has also served as my overarching interpretive approach, including analytical principles of recursive alternation among various scales, different data sources, and data and theory (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2017; Copland & Creese, 2015b; Rampton et al., 2015). I have made this final interpretive connection, between data and theory, through sensitizing concepts (Blumer, 1969; Rampton et al., 2015) such as the continua of biliteracy (Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester, 2000), translanguaging (García & Li Wei, 2014), translingual practice (Canagarajah, 2013b), and markedness (Meeuwis & Blommaert, 1994; Myers-Scotton, 1993). I considered and eventually adopted these concepts during data analysis based on what I found productive for elucidating the data (see Chapter 3). I will return to these broader principles in describing my analytical process, which can be summarized as six connected stages, as shown in Figure 1. The stages appear as interconnected circles because the process should be understood as recursive and interpenetrating rather than linear, even if earlier stages laid the foundation for later stages.
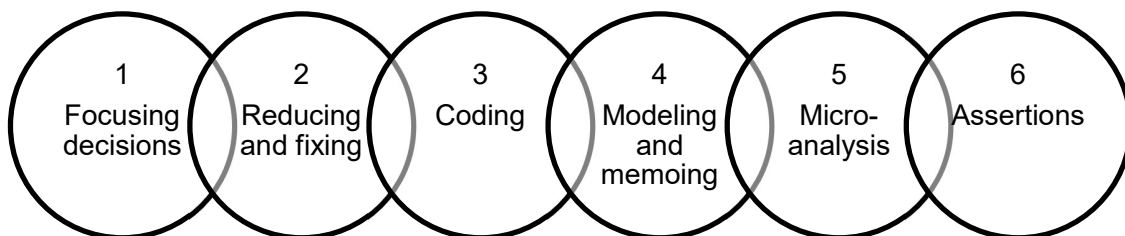
Figure 1. Analytical Stages

Stage 1. The first stage in Figure 1, *focusing decisions*, refers to the preliminary analytical work that occurred during my fieldwork in choosing topics to pay attention to and deciding when I had reached the saturation point for data collection (Gall, Gall, & Borg, 2007). Lofland et al. (2006) describe focusing decisions as a separate task that takes place in parallel

to data gathering and subsequently informs analysis, but I include focusing decisions under analysis because they involve making judgments based on reviewing and identifying themes in data that have already been gathered. As noted above, I structured my focusing decisions through concept notes that summarized themes in my field notes (S. B. Heath & Street, 2008). I also reviewed my recordings, documents, and photographs and wrote content logs of these on an ongoing basis to contribute to my focusing decisions (C. Heath et al., 2010; Jordan & Henderson, 1995; Knoblauch, 2009). A second stage of focusing decisions occurred when I reviewed the observational and documentary data once again in preparation for interviews. At this point, I referred back to the concept notes and content logs, which oriented me to segments of the recordings and notable texts and photographs that I reviewed to choose focal episodes and artifacts to present in interviews (Dempsey, 2010; Lyle, 2003).

Stage 2. The second stage, *reducing and fixing* data, refers to my transformation of complex multimodal recorded data into the simplified written format of content logs or transcripts, for subsequent analysis (Bezemer & Mavers, 2011; Bucholtz, 2007; C. Heath et al., 2010). By including this as a stage of analysis, I want to signal an awareness of the interpretive work involved in representing video- and audio-recorded data in writing (Bezemer & Mavers, 2011; Bucholtz, 2000; Duranti, 2006). Due to the exploratory nature of my study, I opted for an iterative process of representing recorded data, first writing content logs of the recordings and then transcribing focal segments (Jewitt, 2012; Jordan & Henderson, 1995; Knoblauch, 2009). In addition, I prioritized transcribing the interviews in order to have robust data sources from both observation and interviews for purposes of triangulation (Flick, 2007, 2018; Lofland et al., 2006). Of the data from School 1, I transcribed the teacher interviews word-for-word, as the two teacher voices represented one important dimension of the study, while I created detailed content logs of the student interviews that included all of the students' and my utterances (see Articles 1 and 2). I was then able to have all of the interviews, as well as classroom recordings of students, from School 2 transcribed by a research assistant, which I reviewed in order to gain closeness to the data and corrected or added detail to as needed (see Article 3). From both schools, I also had segments of classroom and interview recordings in languages I did not understand transcribed and translated by multilingual consultants, as this was necessary for understanding the use of multilingual resources. I made content logs of the remaining video, audio, and screen recordings in the data sets from both schools, returning to these to transcribe focal episodes for micro-analysis (see Stage 5).

Stage 3. Third, I turned to *coding* to identify themes and patterns in the data, notably to support triangulation and constant comparison (Erickson, 1986; Flick, 2007, 2018; S. B. Heath & Street, 2008). My coding of the data sets from the two schools and for the three articles differed in two important respects. One difference was that I coded the data from School 1 by hand (e.g., Appendix F), whereas I used the computer assisted qualitative data analysis software NVivo 12 to code the data from School 2 (e.g., Appendix G). In both cases, I chose the modality of coding that I felt gave me the best overview of the data (Saldaña, 2015). In fact, I started to code the data from School 1 using NVivo, but I found it easier to retrieve and compare various data sources from the same event when coding on physical documents. In contrast, I returned to NVivo to gain an overview of the data from School 2,

because this data set was larger and included more video recordings (Saldaña, 2015; Seale, 2017). I found the technology useful for first coding the data comprehensively (Silverman, 2017) and then retrieving data related to specific themes that I would pursue in Article 3.

Another important difference relates to the types of codes and the balance between data- and theory-driven codes used in analysis for each article (DeCuir-Gunby et al., 2011). In early coding of data from both schools, I applied a variety of data-driven codes, in what Saldaña (2015) calls eclectic coding. However, in coding for Article 1, I more quickly started to apply theoretically informed codes drawn from the dimensions of the continua of biliteracy (Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester, 2000), as I had begun to see resonance with this model in my observations and early reviews of data for writing conceptual memos. I then identified patterns in how translanguaging aligned with the continua of biliteracy (Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester, 2000), based on the combination of data- and theory-driven codes (see Article 1, p. 15). In contrast, coding for Articles 2 and 3 remained inductive and data-driven longer, such that I formalized categories with reference to theory only after considering various ways to organize the data-driven codes. Despite these differences, my coding process was iterative and abductive in all three cases (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2017; Copland & Creese, 2015b), tending more toward data- or theory-driven terms (DeCuir-Gunby et al., 2011) at various points.

Stage 4. Fourth, I employed *modeling and memoing* to identify relationships among codes and reflect on emergent meanings (Emerson et al., 2011; Saldaña, 2015). Modeling was particularly useful for exploring relationships among the codes for Article 2. Notably, I created spray diagrams (e.g., Appendix H) to think about how to cluster the codes, landing on a final division once I was able to incorporate all codes into a larger category. For Article 3, I made particularly extensive use of coding memos (Emerson et al., 2011; Saldaña, 2015; Seale, 2017), taking advantage of the feature in NVivo for writing memos connected to particular codes and data segments. These memos served as a way to document my consolidation of codes and to formulate working hypotheses of patterns in the data. Appendix I includes an example of a coding memo on the theme of "inclusion vs. exclusion," which was later incorporated in the assertions about minoritized translanguaging in Article 3.

Stage 5. At the fifth stage, I reintroduced complexity through interactional *micro-analysis* (Creese, 2015; Snell, 2011), once I had developed working hypotheses about patterns in the data and their dimensions of variation (S. B. Heath & Street, 2008). I also considered this a form of triangulation, whereby returning to the recordings could confirm, nuance, or disprove my working assertions (Erickson, 1986; Flick, 2018). At this stage, I identified episodes in the recorded data for transcription and micro-analysis based on field notes and content logs (Creese, 2015; Jordan & Henderson, 1995; Knoblauch, 2009). I selected and transcribed several sections that I had flagged as illustrative of themes, patterns, or dimensions identified so far. I also drafted a tentative analysis of each transcribed selection. Based on what I found through transcription and micro-analysis, I then added detail to my working assertions (Erickson, 1986), which included revising or even rejecting preliminary assertions.

When transcribing at this stage, I aimed to include enough detail to access not only *what* was said but *how* something was said, in order to gain insight into participants' positioning and identifications (Jordan & Henderson, 1995; Ochs, 1979; Rampton, 2007). For my purposes, this involved minimal or simplified conventions (Heller et al., 2018; Swann, 2010), including features such as false starts, hesitations, overlaps, and laughter, but not segmental features unless these were made salient, for instance by a misunderstanding (e.g., Article 3, Excerpt 4). In video transcripts, I also included details of gestures and movements to facilitate multimodal analysis (Bezemer & Mavers, 2011). Notably, in Article 3, such transcripts allowed for describing trans-semiotic aspects of translanguaging (Canagarajah, 2018; Li Wei, 2018). Some transcripts also included speech that had to be translated by multilingual consultants to be accessible for analysis. In line with a translingual understanding, I sought to treat these utterances as part of an integrated message rather than as significant primarily for their language switches, such that I marked differences between languages minimally (Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Haberland & Mortensen, 2016).

Stage 6. The sixth and final step of analysis was to formulate analytical *assertions* that could account for patterns and variations in my data, including "rare events" (Erickson, 1986, p. 149; see Article 3, p. 117). Erickson (1986) cautions that robust analytical assertions should not rely excessively on rare events but rather accommodate both patterns and seeming deviations from patterns. This also relates to the ethnographic principle of constant comparison (S. B. Heath & Street, 2008), whereby co-occurrences and variations in a theme across persons, events, settings, or circumstances provide clues to the factors that shape a phenomenon. I found such principles essential for drawing clear conclusions while retaining complexity in representing the diversity of opinions and practices found among any sizable groups of individuals (Blommaert & Dong, 2020), including, in my case, three teachers and 76 students across two rather different school settings. I found that identifying underlying discourses to which participants were orienting, despite their different takes on the matter at hand, was often the most tenable way to find an emic logic to seemingly disparate stances. This was especially important for being able to fairly represent a variety of expressed opinions in the second part of Article 2, on students' orientations toward translation, and in Article 3, on the implicit difference between majoritized and minoritized translanguaging.

Finally, it is important to emphasize that my analytical assertions do not simply reflect which themes were present in the data, waiting to emerge, but also my judgment as to which current issues the data could be used to fruitfully address. Alvesson and Sköldberg (2017) note that in reflexive research "one interpretation can be emphasized, for example because it is perceived as matching the empirical material better than others, or because it seems more fertile or more likely to break new ground in terms of insights or theoretical ideas" (p. 372). Similarly, Lofland et al. (2006) emphasize that "newness" and "importance" (p. 169) are essential to scientific contributions. Such considerations particularly guided my analytical focus in Article 3, for which I had more data than I could analyze exhaustively. I decided to pursue markedness and translanguaging in part because this topic appeared to have been explored to a lesser degree than others I was considering. Next, I discuss the credibility of my methodological and analytical decisions.

4.5 Research Credibility

In discussions of criteria for qualitative research, a certain distinction can be drawn between those who maintain but adapt terms rooted in quantitative inquiry, including validity and reliability (e.g., Cicourel, 2007; Hammersley, 1992; Seale, 1999), and those who instead choose more flexible terms like credibility, rigor, or quality (e.g., Blommaert & Dong, 2020; Copland & Creese, 2015b; Lincoln & Guba, 1985, 2013). In this section, I will use credibility as a broad descriptor to denote procedural rigor as well as analytical trustworthiness and plausibility (Copland & Creese, 2015b; Silverman, 2017), while also drawing on principles and strategies discussed under the label of validity (e.g., Erickson, 1986; S. B. Heath & Street, 2008; Lofland et al., 2006). I have chosen to divide my overarching strategies for establishing research credibility into methodological, analytical, and reporting strategies (see Table 1).

Table 1. Credibility Strategies in My Project

Strategy	Explanation	References
Methodological Strategies		
Apprenticeship	Training through courses; consultation with advisors	Gall et al. (2007)
Multiple data sources	Collecting complementary data on the same phenomenon	Copland & Creese (2015); Flick, 2007, 2018; Lofland et al. (2006)
Prolonged engagement	Developing trust and close knowledge of the setting over time	Cicourel (2007); Erickson (1986) Lincoln & Guba (1985, 2013)
Analytical Strategies		
Critical and Comprehensive Analysis		
Comprehensive data treatment	Reviewing and accounting for all data sources in analysis	Erickson (1986); Silverman (2017)
Constant comparative method	Testing assertions across cases to identify variations	S. B. Heath & Street (2008); Silverman (2017)
Deviant case analysis	Accounting analytically for rare or unusual cases in the data	Erickson (1986); Silverman (2017)
Multiple Perspectives		
Member checking	Checking analysis with participants during interviews	Erickson (1986); Lincoln & Guba (1985, 2013); Lofland et al. (2006)
Multiple theoretical perspectives	Considering data in light of different theoretical frameworks	Gall et al. (2007); Flick (2018); Patton (2002)
Peer checking	Having colleagues read early drafts of analysis; verification of analysis by co-author (Article 2)	Creese (2011); C. Heath et al. (2010); Lincoln & Guba (1985, 2013); Seale (1999)
Triangulation	Comparing findings across multiple linked data sources and levels of analysis	Erickson (1986); Denzin (2012); Flick (2007, 2018); Lofland et al. (2006)
Reflexivity		
Reflexivity	Taking my impact on data collection into consideration in analysis	Alvesson & Sköldberg (2017); Copland & Creese (2015); Lincoln & Guba (1985)
Reporting Strategies		
Showing data	Including sufficiently extended data extracts to allow readers to check analysis	Bryman (1988); Lofland et al. (2006); Seale (1999); Silverman (2017)
Rich description	Providing sufficiently detailed description of context to permit transferability judgments	Alvesson & Sköldberg (2017); S. B. Heath & Street (2008); Lincoln & Guba (1985); Seale (1999)
Theoretical and methodological transparency	Reflexively describing methodological and theoretical choices and procedures	Copland & Creese (2015); S. B. Heath & Street (2008); Lofland et al. (2006); Silverman (2017)

In Table 1, I identify three overarching methodological strategies that I have used to establish research credibility: apprenticeship, collecting multiple data sources, and prolonged engagement in the field. First, I have participated in methodological training and consulted closely with my advisors as I have made methodological decisions, in line with an apprenticeship model to learning qualitative fieldwork (Gall et al., 2007). Doctoral courses that I took in observation methodology, video ethnography, and linguistic ethnography were important in these respects. Second, in ethnography, long-term field engagement supports the credibility of subsequent claims because these reflect close knowledge of participants and the setting (Cicourel, 2007). In my case, I was able to spend between three and four months at each site. Erickson (1986) explains that in interpretive research, uncovering the meanings that participants attribute to actions is "a basic validity criterion" (p. 115), and that "a noncoercive, mutually rewarding relationship with key informants is essential if the researcher is to gain valid insights into the informant's point of view" (p. 142). By taking the time to develop trusting relationships with participants, I increased the likelihood that they would share their experiences frankly. I especially found this to be the case at School 2, where some key students shared experiences of cultural and linguistic discrimination only after three months of fieldwork. Third, I have sought to build the credibility of subsequent analysis by collecting multiple linked data sources, laying the groundwork for triangulation as an analytical strategy for enhancing research credibility (Denzin, 2012; Flick, 2007, 2018; King & Mackey, 2016).

My analytical credibility strategies can be divided into three categories (see Table 1): critical and comprehensive analysis, layering my analysis through multiple perspectives, and reflexivity (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2017; Copland & Creese, 2015b; King & Mackey, 2016; Seale, 2017). Comprehensive and critical treatment of data helped me prevent anecdotal or misleading representation of phenomena in the data (Silverman, 2017). Some specific strategies I employed in this regard were constant comparison of hypotheses across cases, complete review of data, and accounting for deviant as well as typical cases (Erickson, 1986; S. B. Heath & Street, 2008; Silverman, 2017). Erickson (1986) argues that "the best case for validity, it would seem, rests with assertions that account for patterns found across both frequent and rare events" (p. 149). For this reason, I have made efforts to include individual differences among students and differences across events in all three articles. I explicitly refer to Erickson's (1986) principle of formulating, testing, and refining assertions to account for both patterns and deviant cases in Article 3. I also conducted a full review of observational and interview data before selecting analytical lines to pursue (Silverman, 2017).

I have further built analytical credibility by layering multiple perspectives, through member checking (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Lofland et al., 2006; Seale, 1999), multiple theoretical perspectives (Flick, 2018; Gall et al., 2007), peer and advisor consultation (Creese, 2011; Seale, 1999), and triangulation (Denzin, 2012; Erickson, 1986; Flick, 2007, 2018), including the combination of ethnographic analysis with linguistic micro-analysis (Copland & Creese, 2015b; Rampton, 2007). I have incorporated the final strategy, triangulation across multiple data sources and scales, throughout the analysis (see 4.4). Relatedly, considering multiple theoretical perspectives (Flick, 2018; Gall et al., 2007; Patton, 2002) was a strategy that I employed particularly in writing Article 3, where I applied and then discarded two theoretical

perspectives before finally centering the analysis on markedness (Flores & Rosa, 2015; Meeuwis & Blommaert, 1994; Myers-Scotton, 1993). In addition, I selected related but slightly different theoretical frameworks for the three articles, according to which theories provided the greatest explanatory potential for the particular aspect of multilingual resources in English writing instruction that I examined in each article.

Analytical rigor is further enhanced by shared analysis or peer checking (Creese, 2011; Seale, 1999). This is a strategy that I have only been able to deploy to a lesser extent, as I have been the sole researcher on my project. I have submitted my analysis to preliminary review by my doctoral advisors and research group, as well as anonymous peer review, which led to significant restructuring of early analyses in Articles 1 and 3. In writing Article 2, I also had the benefit of a co-author who reviewed selected portions of data and confirmed the analysis. Additionally, I have incorporated member checking (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, 2013; Lofland et al., 2006) through stimulated reflection in interviews (Lyle, 2003), which provided additional grounds for confirming or revising my preliminary analysis of the significance of these data.

Furthermore, reflexivity increases analytical credibility by accounting for my contribution as the researcher to shaping the research process (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2017; Copland & Creese, 2015b). This has included addressing the observer effect by looking for evidence of my own impact on the research setting and including my motives and personal stance in the analysis (Blommaert & Dong, 2020; Gall et al., 2007). As reflexive research practices, I have written such accounts and reflections into my field notes (Copland & Creese, 2015b; Emerson et al., 2011) and included my questions and interactions with participants in coding, analyzing, and quoting the data (Blommaert & Dong, 2020; De Fina & Perrino, 2011). One particularly clear example is provided in the field note excerpt in Article 3 (p. 124) where the student Rachelle appealed to me to come to her defense against a classmate, and I interpreted this as her orienting to me as a sympathetic yet authoritative listener.

Importantly, the aforementioned methodological and analytical credibility strategies have the potential to inspire trust in the reader only to the extent that they are reported (Copland & Creese, 2015b; S. B. Heath & Street, 2008; Lofland et al., 2006). I have therefore aimed, both in this chapter and in my articles, to provide enough detail about data collection and analysis for readers to audit my procedures and findings (Creese, 2011; Gall et al., 2007; Lofland et al., 2006), including my "decision rules" (S. B. Heath & Street, 2008, p. 45) for choosing particular topics, settings, participants, methods, analytical foci, and theoretical framings. Readers' ability to audit the plausibility of analysis is further enhanced by extended data extracts, including field notes and low-inference transcriptions (Copland & Creese, 2015b; Lofland et al., 2006; Seale, 1999). For this reason, I have included in all three articles relatively extended and detailed transcripts, including the languages in which utterances were made (Haberland & Mortensen, 2016; Heller et al., 2018), and excerpts from field notes and other data sources. Article 2 was also published with two video clips from students' screen recordings, as I felt that these data were particularly difficult to represent adequately in written form in the article. In parallel, I have aimed to provide rich descriptions of the study setting, in order to support transferability judgments to readers' own contexts of research and

practice (S. B. Heath & Street, 2008; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Seale, 1999). Nonetheless, I have faced the common challenge of balancing these imperatives with word limits (Silverman, 2017), both in my articles and in this extended abstract. I reflect more explicitly on my study's transferability—and limitations thereto—in the next section.

4.6 Transferability and Limitations

Ethnographic findings are inherently particularistic, but this should not mean that they lack significance beyond the immediate setting of the study (Blommaert & Dong, 2020; Erickson, 1986; King & Mackey, 2016). The broader applicability of qualitative findings is established through judgments of transferability and theoretical generalization, including on the part of the reader (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Transferability judgments are facilitated through thick description of the setting, which allows readers to "conduct their own 'thought experiment' in seeking to transfer the lessons learned from this setting encountered through a research text" (Seale, 1999, p. 41). The description contained above (4.2) and in Chapter 1 is therefore important for establishing the immediate field of application as linguistically diverse English classrooms in Norway. I have also aimed to support transferability judgments through detailed descriptions of context in all three articles, including information about the status of English and other languages in Norway, to support comparison with other sociolinguistic ecologies. The concept of theoretical generalization adds further structure to such transferability judgments by using the empirical case to build theory. Theoretical generalization involves defining one's data as a case that can be used to make a larger argument about theory through analytic induction (Blommaert & Dong, 2020; Mitchell, 1984). For this reason, I have taken great care to select sites and collect data that I can claim constitute "a 'case of something', […] an instance of a larger class" (Shulman, 1986, p. 11), namely instantiations of the continua of biliteracy (Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester, 2000; see Article 1), translanguaging (García & Li Wei, 2014; see Articles 1 and 3), and translingual practice (Canagarajah, 2013; see Article 2). I discuss my specific contributions to these theoretical constructs in Chapter 6.

Ethnographic studies do not commonly report limitations to generalizability in a technical sense, since claims of transferability are not statistical, but I will briefly address some factors that I consider potential constraints on transferability. Specifically, I will account for some contextual and participant characteristics identified as salient by Leung and Valdés (2019) and Ortega (2019), who note that findings from studies in majority English-speaking countries with affluent, well-educated older students are perhaps too often taken to apply to language learning in general. In my study, the participants were generally educated at a similar level to peers in their age group, with some variation in educational and socio-economic backgrounds. Furthermore, they were studying in a setting (Norwegian public schools) that might be considered relatively well-resourced globally, but typical locally. For instance, I have noted in Article 2 that students' level of digital literacy was inherent in their translation practices, as I do not believe these same practices could have been observed given significantly less access to or familiarity with digital technology. These characteristics do not make the students exceptional in Norway or other countries with well-funded universal secondary education, but perhaps do so on a global scale.

What I consider more unusual in my settings were somewhat more positive attitudes toward minoritized multilingualism among school staff than what is commonly described in Norwegian and other Western educational contexts (cf. Dahl & Krulatz, 2016; De Angelis, 2011; García & Otheguy, 2020; Piller & Takahashi, 2011), although some more recent Nordic studies also report positive attitudes (e.g., Burner & Carlsen, 2019; Illman & Pietilä, 2018). This was indeed the main criterion for selecting the participating teachers, from among those initially interviewed or observed (see 4.2). Thus, I suggest that the findings of multilingual practices, notably in Articles 1 and 2, illustrate potential for what could be realized in other schools, were a similarly supportive atmosphere to be created. However, since the findings in Article 3 were more similar to previous research (e.g., Flognfeldt, 2018; Krulatz & Torgersen, 2016; Piller & Takahashi, 2011), I posit that the dynamics illustrated in this article may resemble the current, rather than potential, situation in schools within similar sociolinguistic ecologies to a greater extent. I discuss such contributions at greater length in Chapter 6. In the final section of this chapter, I highlight some important ethical considerations in my project.

4.7 Ethical Considerations

Social science research in Norway is governed by the Personal Data Act (2000), and research that involves personal data is subject to review and approval by the Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD). Before I began data collection, I therefore submitted my initial research design and interview guides to NSD and received approval to proceed (registration number 51051). Since I conducted my institutional ethics review and data collection, the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) (European Union, 2016) has added a layer to the legal regulation of Norwegian research, and I have renewed the registration of my project in a manner that conforms to GDPR (registration number 436061). However, the trajectory of qualitative research can seldom be entirely defined at the outset (Copland & Creese, 2015a; R. Edwards & Mauthner, 2012; Ryen, 2016; Tangen, 2014). I have therefore aimed to meet institutional ethics requirements while also practicing reflexivity about ethical decisions that have arisen in the field and in writing up findings. In this, I align with R. Edwards and Mauthner's (2012) ethics of care, which emphasizes complexity and contextualization of ethical norms in "concrete practices and dilemmas" (p. 14). My most important tool for ethical reflexivity has been my field notes and process notes, where I have noted and reflected on "ethically important moments" (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004, p. 265), to which I then have returned during analysis and writing. In addition, consultation with my advisors, as well as colleagues and data protection officers at NSD, was crucial for making ethical decisions as concrete dilemmas arose throughout project planning, implementation, and follow-up. Due to space constraints, I will limit myself here to describing my basic research ethics procedures, focusing especially on protection of participants, including issues of consent and confidentiality (Ryen, 2016; Tangen, 2014).

In securing initial consent from participants, I was mindful of my particular responsibility to provide understandable project information and request participation without coercion based on the following participant characteristics: active participation in providing data; presence in an obligatory institutional setting, namely school; reduced capacity to protect one's own needs and interests, in the case of children; and, in some cases, limited literacy in the local majority

language, Norwegian (Alderson & Morrow, 2011; Boddy, 2014; National Committee for Research Ethics in the Social Sciences and Humanities [NESH], 2016). After securing the participating teachers' and school administrators' written consent to participate (see Appendix J), I presented the project orally to the students in English or Norwegian or both, according to their wishes, in order to communicate in a modality that might be more accessible to children (Alderson & Morrow, 2011). I also gave students a choice of languages for the written project information and consent form, including Norwegian and English, as well as any language the teachers had indicated as a student's L1 (see Article 1, pp. 13-14; e.g., Appendix J.1). Students could choose more than one language, for instance if their own and their parents' or guardians' best language of literacy differed, in order to reduce reliance on students' language brokering (Boddy, 2014). Students could further choose to participate in all, none, or only some forms of data collection (see Appendix J.1). In line with Norwegian legal guidelines, students younger than 16 also had to secure consent from a parent or guardian (NESH, 2016).

Protection of participants was also a central concern in collecting and storing data (Derry et al., 2010; C. Heath et al., 2010). Video data may contribute to the ethical quality of research by enhancing opportunities for verifying analysis, which may be considered an issue of ethics within the research community (Tangen, 2014). However, video also introduces additional risk to the protection of participants' privacy due to its permanent and invasive nature (Derry et al., 2010; C. Heath et al., 2010). In addition, data collection in classrooms must be done in such a way that students can meaningfully opt out without losing access to their education (Staksrud, 2013). Based on students' participation choices, I therefore restricted my initial plans for video recording (see De Costa, 2014; Duff & Abdi, 2015; 4.3.2; 4.3.3). The data were then stored on a secure server at the University of Oslo. When possible, data were stored in anonymized form (e.g., field notes, language portraits), separately from a password-protected file that contained the key to pseudonyms and codes used to represent participants and classes (NESH, 2016). I also protected the screen recordings during transfer, by using an encrypted USB key or encrypting the file and transferring it through a secure file transfer service. Finally, despite my efforts to avoid capturing students who did not consent to audio or video recording, there were some instances where such students walked in front of the camera or came too close to a microphone or the teacher forgot to turn off his microphone when speaking to such students. In these cases, I deleted these students' images or voices and kept a log of redactions (C. Heath et al., 2010). Similarly, I blurred personal information about third parties that appeared in screen recordings and logged these edits (Ho, 2019). These procedures capture one important slice of ethical considerations in my project. I will discuss participants' responses to my efforts to negotiate consent, as well as some broader ethical implications in Chapter 6. Before this, I will synthesize the findings in my articles, in Chapter 5.

5   Synthesis of Findings

In this chapter, I will synthesize the findings of the three articles that comprise the empirical studies of this thesis. I will first describe the relationship among my articles and then provide an overview of the aims and findings in each article. As shown in Figure 2, the three articles reflect a chronological and thematic progression of inquiry:

Site 1 — Lower secondary introductory classes

Article 1

Key question: How do teachers and students use and position multilingual resources in English writing instruction?

Key finding: Supportive multilingual practices, shaped by linguistic hierarchies

In-depth look

Article 2

Key question: What are students' translation strategies and orientations to translation?

Key finding: Strategic translation as a translingual writing practice

Recontextualization

Site 2 — Upper second. program

Article 3

Key question: How is translanguaging marked for linguistically majoritized vs. minoritized students across instructional settings?

Key finding: Translanguaging constrained differently for linguistically majoritized vs. minoritized or racialized students

Figure 2. Chronological and Thematic Progression of the Articles

The first relationship among the articles entails a chronological progression, as signaled by the sequential numbering of the articles and the large grey boxes in Figure 2. Articles 1 and 2 derive from the first study setting, the introductory program for recent immigrants at School 1, a lower secondary school. Then, Article 3 features the second site (School 2), an upper secondary school with three different cohorts taking the compulsory year 1 English course.

The second relationship among the articles is thematic, reflecting the evolution of my inquiry based on emerging themes and findings. In this view, Article 1 may be considered the point of departure for both Articles 2 and 3, as represented by the arrows in Figure 2. Article 1 addresses my overarching research aim in a broad manner, based on a setting that was rich in multilingual practices (School 1). Given the richness of these data, in Article 2, I chose to investigate in depth one element of multilingual practices, translation, which was prominent in the data and seemed timely to examine in light of existing research. In Article 3, I then returned to a broad level of analysis, as in Article 1, recontextualizing the overarching research aim in a different setting, where it was possible to compare the use and positioning of multilingual resources among linguistically majoritized and minoritized students. I will discuss the questions and findings presented in Figure 2 in greater detail below.

Next, I will synthesize the findings contained in the articles. Due to space constraints, I refer the reader to the article abstracts for general summaries of the articles (see Part II, Articles).

5.1 Article 1

Beiler, I. R. (2020). Negotiating multilingual resources in English writing instruction for recent immigrants to Norway. *TESOL Quarterly*, *54*(1), 5–29.

The aim of Article 1 was to examine teachers' and students' use and positioning of multilingual resources in English writing instruction in linguistically diverse classrooms at the lower secondary level, within the context of an introductory program for recent immigrants to Norway. The analysis focused on teachers' and students' negotiations around multilingual resources. I referred to the continua of biliteracy (Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester, 2000) and translanguaging (García & Li Wei, 2014; Hornberger & Link, 2012) to describe the ongoing movement between more or less integrated multilingual literacy practices. I further drew on the twin notions of individual agency and "agency of spaces" (E. R. Miller, 2012, p. 442) to elucidate how the participants challenged certain linguistic hierarchies through their translanguaging, while continuing to orient toward such hierarchies in subtle ways.

I found three salient patterns. First, multilingual practices arose both at the teachers' and the students' initiative, and the overall stance toward multilingual practices was positive. However, multilingual resources were most often used in ways identified by Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester (2000) as less prestigious or powerful, for instance in oral or receptive use and in peer interactions and individual work. Second, I found that Norwegian stood out as a privileged resource among others in the English classroom. The reasons for this were partly practical: Norwegian was increasingly a shared resource among the teachers and students, as the students developed Norwegian proficiency through the introductory program, and the teachers found that they could create useful connections across the students' two language subjects, Norwegian and English. In addition, the difference in how Norwegian was positioned related more fundamentally to Norwegian proficiency as the core goal of the introductory program and the gatekeeper to mainstream education. These differences were reflected in a wider range of biliteracy practices involving Norwegian. The third finding related to multilingual resources that remained largely hidden in the classroom: languages in which the students had received limited, if any, formal schooling in their previous countries of residence or which were positioned as less prestigious media of education than English in post-colonial societies such as Kenya and the Philippines. Even when encouraged by the teachers to draw on their 'mother tongue,' few students visibly used resources other than those that might have occupied a majoritized position in their past school settings.

In sum, Article 1 demonstrated the agency of both teachers and students to create a space for multilingualism unlike what has been previously attested in most research on English teaching in Norway (see Chapter 2). At the same time, I found that students oriented toward layers of linguistic hierarchies that they had experienced in the past and present. This study therefore confirmed many of the benefits of pedagogical translanguaging (García & Li Wei, 2014), while also suggesting that students' agency to engage in a broad range of translanguaging practices may be constrained by a merely supportive or transitional, rather than developmental, orientation toward students' multilingualism (cf. Allard, 2017).

5.2   Article 2

Beiler, I. R., & Dewilde, J. (2020). Translation as translingual writing practice in English as an additional language. *Modern Language Journal, 104*(3), 533–549.

Article 2 builds on Article 1 by providing closer examination of one especially common multilingual practice at School 1, namely translation. Translation stood out because the teachers at times appeared ambivalent toward translation, while more fully affirming other multilingual practices described in Article 1. These reservations recalled ongoing scholarly debates about translation (e.g., Burner & Carlsen, 2017; Fredholm, 2015, 2019; Källkvist, 2013). My co-author and I therefore aimed to understand students' translation strategies and orientations to translation. We analyzed these in light of a translingual understanding of communication (Canagarajah, 2013b; Horner & Tetreault, 2016).

Our overall finding was that the students employed a variety of strategies to improve the quality of their translations, as defined from an emic perspective, although they displayed mixed orientations toward the process. We developed two partly overlapping terms to categorize their strategies, linguistic and mediational translation strategies. These terms correspond to the two definitional premises of translingual practice, respectively: that communication transcends languages and language itself (Canagarajah, 2013b, p. 6). We found that, through such strategies, the students aligned their linguistic and semiotic repertoires with ecological affordances, including the expertise of other people in the room, to make meaning in the monolingual written format expected of their in-school English writing. Some students characterized such translation as inherent in a translingual writing process, but many also described avoiding translation because of finding it too difficult or labor-intensive to do well. We therefore argued for recognizing the inherent continuity in translation practices that involve monolingual, multilingual, or non-linguistic resources and for valuing this authorial labor more explicitly in the English classroom (cf. Horner & Tetreault, 2016).

Based on our findings, we suggested that reframing translation as translingual writing practice might help students to develop more positive orientations towards their use of translation. Article 2 thus extends the claims in Article 1 about the value of translingual pedagogies to the sometimes contentious area of translation (see G. Cook, 2010; Pennycook, 2008). By examining students' practices at a more individual level, Article 2 also provides more detailed insight than either Article 1 or 3 into the mundane multilingual practices that may occur out of teachers' sight to an extent. These findings are therefore important for understanding multilingual students' everyday ways of working translingually.

5.3   Article 3

Beiler, I. R. (2021). Marked and unmarked translanguaging in accelerated, mainstream, and sheltered English classrooms. *Multilingua, 40*(1), 107–138.

Article 3 builds on the previous two articles, and particularly Article 1, by examining the use and positioning of multilingual resources in a setting where participants included both linguistically majoritized and minoritized students, organized in three different streams for the obligatory first year upper secondary English course, which were taught by the same teacher.

This article expands the scope of instructional settings investigated in the thesis substantially, from lower secondary introductory classes, encompassing grade 8–10 students (Articles 1 and 2), to accelerated, mainstream, and sheltered classes at the upper secondary level, which included students enrolled in grades 10 to 13 (Article 3). Article 3 thus introduces a comparative dimension to the thesis, both within this particular article (comparing the three streams at School 2) and in relation to Articles 1 and 2 (comparison with School 1). Given the breadth of instructional settings and participants, as well as the relative rarity of visible multilingual practices at School 2, I focused more narrowly in Article 3 on one aspect of positioning—markedness (e.g., Meeuwis & Blommaert, 1994; Myers-Scotton, 1993)—as it applied to translanguaging (García & Li Wei, 2014; Li Wei, 2018). This focus on markedness led me to consider raciolinguistic ideologies (Flores & Rosa, 2015, 2019; Rosa & Flores, 2017) as one possible constraint on translanguaging. Whereas Flores and Rosa (2015) identified the "white listening subject" (p. 151) as a constituting element of raciolinguistic ideologies, I found it necessary to further specify a white 'ethnic Norwegian' (e.g., Connor, 2019; Lindquist & Osler, 2016) listening subject in order to account for the national language ideologies shaping the racialized linguistic hierarchies that I identified.

Based on its comparative design, Article 3 engaged most directly with one of the framing questions that I present in the introduction to this extended abstract (see 1.3) and at the end of Article 1 (p. 25): "For whom are what languages resources?" (Hult & Hornberger, 2016, p. 41). For recent immigrant students, translanguaging with Norwegian was positioned as an important resource for further developing English as well as Norwegian proficiency, as evidenced also in Article 1. In contrast, for students who had grown up in Norway, drawing on Norwegian was more often negatively marked, in line with monoglossic ideologies of language learning. This discourse applied most strongly in the accelerated class, where all of the students had advanced English proficiency. However, a different discourse of markedness applied to translanguaging that drew on minoritized languages, or what I refer to as minoritized translanguaging. To the extent that it occurred, minoritized translanguaging was most often marked as socially undesirable, in line with a discourse of conformity to majority linguistic practices. In Ruíz's (1984) terms, minoritized languages were more often positioned as a problem than a resource. This discourse followed racialized students across all instructional settings. Nonetheless, some students did negotiate spaces for minoritized multilingualism and translingual identities, most explicitly so in the case of one student who chose to speak Kurdish in the face of raciolinguistic policing by peers. Importantly, this way of hearing and marking minoritized translanguaging did not appear to derive primarily from the teacher's classroom language policy, but rather from students' broader and longer-term experiences of Norwegian "regimes of hearing" (Connor, 2019, p. 56).

Finally, an overarching finding from the three articles was that linguistic hierarchies may persist within translingual practices. While the environment was more favorable toward multilingual practices at School 1 than School 2, classroom language practices at both schools could best be understood in view of wider and longer spatio-temporal scales (see Canagarajah & De Costa, 2016). In the next chapter, I will discuss broader empirical and theoretical implications of these findings, as well as some methodological and ethical contributions.

6 Discussion of Contributions

In this chapter, I will discuss my articles in light of the overarching research aim and preceding chapters of the extended abstract. Specifically, I will highlight the empirical, theoretical, methodological, and ethical contributions made by this project. In so doing, I will aim to supplement and bridge the contributions made by each of my articles, based on the additional aspects of the project that I have elucidated in the extended abstract.

6.1 Empirical Contributions

In Chapter 1, I defined as following the overarching research aim: to investigate how teachers and students use and position students' multilingual resources in secondary-level English writing instruction, across four different instructional settings in Norway. Taken as a whole, my articles shed light on this topic in three ways: first, by confirming and extending claims about translanguaging as a strategy for English writing and writing instruction; second, by identifying varying degrees of constraint on translanguaging and the scales at which these operate; third, by pointing to the salience of learners' raciolinguistic position for how their translanguaging is perceived. I will address the empirical contributions that these findings make to understanding both the immediate context of English teaching in Norway and that of language teaching in linguistically diverse settings more broadly.

The first empirical contribution of this thesis is to confirm and extend claims about translanguaging as a strategy for English writing and writing instruction (Canagarajah, 2011a; Cummins & Early, 2011; Ebe, 2016; García & Kano, 2014; Seltzer, 2019). Notably, in the introductory program at School 1, I found that the teachers and most of the students positioned students' multilingual resources as an asset that could be used to improve students' English writing, by giving them greater ability to understand source texts, reflect on formal language features, plan and formulate their ideas, and invest in the learning process (Articles 1 and 2). As indicated above, these benefits of multilingual approaches to writing instruction have been observed in a variety of international settings, but such approaches have been uncommon in Norway (cf. Krulatz & Iversen, 2020). Comparing this finding with previous Norwegian studies where students' multilingual resources have not been used extensively (Brevik & Rindal, 2020; Burner & Carlsen, 2017; Dahl & Krulatz, 2016; Flognfeldt, 2018; Krulatz et al., 2018; Krulatz & Torgersen, 2016) seems to point to the affordances lent by an instructional context that provides official endorsement of multilingualism as a learning resource and teachers who have some training in multilingual approaches, as at School 1 (see García & Kleyn, 2016; Hélot & Ó Laoire, 2011; Hélot & Young, 2006; Menken & García, 2010). Further evidence for this assertion can be found through comparison with the accelerated, mainstream, and sheltered classes at School 2 (Article 3), where the teacher displayed a positive attitude toward students' multilingualism, but neither he nor the school leadership deliberately implemented multilingual approaches (see Costley & Leung, 2020).

Extending the comparison to studies in which teachers have made attempts to draw on translanguaging, but this has not resulted in uptake by students, may further refine our understanding of institutional factors that support translanguaging. Allard (2017) provides an instructive counterpoint to both School 1 and School 2, in that she points to reasons such as

negative relationships between teachers and students in a sheltered program and an experience on the part of students of being segregated from the rest of the school to explain the failure of teachers' efforts to build on translanguaging. In contrast, all of the classrooms in my study enjoyed overall positive relationships among the teachers and students, and the classes where immigrant students were temporarily separated from other students—the introductory classes at School 1 and the sheltered class at School 2—were generally perceived by students as welcome opportunities to learn at a pace and in a manner that suited their needs for the time being (Articles 1 and 3). Indeed, by functioning at least to an extent as a 'safe space' (Conteh & Brock, 2011), the sheltered class at School 2 might have allowed for a greater degree of translanguaging than that observed in the mainstream and accelerated classes, albeit in mostly implicit or hidden ways (Article 3). Thus, a generally positive classroom atmosphere seems important, but not sufficient on its own, for implementing translanguaging pedagogy.

This thesis also extends insights into translanguaging for writing by highlighting practices that students engage in at their own initiative or direction (Articles 1–3). Notably, Article 2 contributes insight into the translation strategies that multilingual students may employ, including what my co-author and I call linguistic and mediational strategies. While a larger number of studies have examined students' translation practices in experimental or intervention studies (e.g., Fredholm, 2015, 2019; Garcia & Pena, 2011; O'Neill, 2012, 2019; Wilson & González Davies, 2017), this article makes a relatively unique contribution by analyzing students' use of translation as part of their normal classroom writing and learning (see also Vogel et al., 2018). Demonstrating the complexity and thoughtfulness involved in many students' translation practices provides an important extension of broader arguments for reassessing the value of translation in teaching and learning additional languages (e.g., G. Cook, 2010; Cummins, 2008; Källkvist, 2013; Vold, 2018), as well as a counterpoint to the sometimes negative portrayal of unregulated translation by language learners (e.g., Burner & Carlsen, 2017; Musk, 2014; Steding, 2009).

A second empirical contribution of the thesis is to identify different degrees of constraint on translanguaging and the scales at which these operate. Notably, I bring attention to the possibility of restricting translanguaging without opting for monolingual ways of working. This insight is facilitated by the language ecology of the study setting, involving a high-prestige target language (English) that was different from the national majority language that many students were also learning (Norwegian), whereas these targets coincide to a greater extent in many other studies (e.g., Choi et al., 2020; Costley & Leung, 2020; García & Kleyn, 2016; Poza, 2017). In addition, all of the students were already at least emergent bilinguals, and often multilinguals, thus creating the potential for multiple interactions and hierarchies among their linguistic resources (Paulsrud et al., 2017; Rosiers, 2017). In Article 1, I identified the subtle operation of linguistic hierarchies from students' current and previous school contexts, whereby Norwegian came to have a privileged status among multilingual resources, while many students set aside language resources that were already minoritized in their previous countries of residence. In Article 3, most students drew on Norwegian to support their English learning, but few made visible use of minoritized languages. These constraining processes were not automatic, as certain student in both settings drew more

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broadly on their linguistic repertoires (see Canagarajah, 2013b), but most seemed to restrict their repertoires to what Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester (2000) term "literary," as opposed to "vernacular," resources (p. 99). These findings help to break down a binary opposition between monolingual and translingual ways of working, as students seldom worked entirely monolingually nor drew on their full linguistic repertoires (see also Gynne, 2019; Krulatz et al., 2018). Instead, students' choices often reflected various overlapping dimension of linguistic prestige and power (see Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester, 2000), at operation in their past or present contexts. Students seemed to carry these histories into their present practices (see Blommaert & Backus, 2011; Busch, 2012, 2017).

These findings point to ideological processes that occur on longer and broader spatio-temporal scales than those that can be directly observed in the classroom (Canagarajah & De Costa, 2016; Charalambous et al., 2016; Hult, 2010). Most students at both schools seemed to respond to linguistic hierarchies that could only be understood with reference to their previous countries of residence, in the case of recent immigrants (Articles 1–3), or earlier experiences of Norwegian school and society, in the case of linguistically minoritized students who had grown up in Norway (Article 3). Thus, restricting their linguistic repertoires in English teaching required no immanent prescription or enforcement (Articles 1 and 3). Drawing on certain minoritized resources was, rather, "outside of the domain of 'common sense'" (E. R. Miller, 2012, p. 447) for many students. I do not therefore mean to suggest that students were mechanically reproducing linguistic inequalities, but rather that their choices and attitudes could best be understood in relation to the existence of such hierarchies (Canagarajah & De Costa, 2016; Heller, 2008). Others have similarly highlighted broader sociopolitical structuring processes that either students or teachers may take up to constrain classroom translanguaging (e.g., Charalambous et al., 2016; Flores et al., 2018). These are histories and experiences of inequality that educators may need to engage with more directly in order to create fertile ground for translanguaging.

A third empirical contribution is to demonstrate that discourses of translanguaging may operate differently according to students' raciolinguistic position (Flores et al., 2018; Flores & Rosa, 2015)—in ways that may both facilitate and constrain translanguaging. I most fully explored this dimension in Article 3, where I found that translanguaging that involved minoritized language resources was marked in relation to speakers' positioning as raciolinguistic Others (Flores & Rosa, 2015, 2019). I identified the white 'ethnic Norwegian' (Connor, 2019; Fylkesnes, 2019; McIntosh, 2014) as a dominant listening subject (Inoue, 2003) to which participants oriented in marking such translanguaging. In contrast, translanguaging that restricted itself to Norwegian and English resources was marked on the less expansive grounds of a monoglossic ideology of language learning, in relation to students' perceived readiness to perform monolingually in English (Article 3).

Comparing these findings from School 2 (Article 3) to those at School 1 (Articles 1 and 2), where translanguaging was more common, shows the broader salience of these discourses, even in a setting where multilingual approaches had official support. At School 1, the 'ethnic Norwegian' listening subject can be seen as institutionally present in two ways: in positioning Norwegian as an important resource to develop rather than a source of interference in English

class (see also Burner & Carlsen, 2017, 2019), and in the encouragement to speak Norwegian rather than other languages, including English, during recess (Article 1). At the same time, the students' position as recent immigrants provided justification for both the teachers and students to draw more expansively on multilingual resources than what seems common in mainstream English teaching in Norway (e.g., Brevik & Rindal, 2020; Dahl & Krulatz, 2016). Thus, translanguaging was made salient for students positioned as raciolinguistically Other, especially recent immigrants, in multiple competing ways: as license for pedagogical translanguaging (Article 1), especially when involving Norwegian (Articles 1 and 3), but also as grounds for language policing (Article 3). In all of these tendencies, a common thread was the imperative for racialized students to integrate into language practices patterned on the elite bilingualism or multilingualism of well-educated white Norwegians. In sum, this thesis demonstrates that students' raciolinguistic position matters for how their translanguaging is perceived and supported (see also Flores et al., 2018; García & Otheguy, 2020).

6.2 Theoretical Contributions

Building on the empirical contributions presented above, I will highlight two ways in which this thesis contributes to theories of translation, translingual practice, and translanguaging in the classroom. The first contribution is to elaborate a view of translation as a form of translingual practice. The second is to draw attention to the salience of local language ecology for informing the meanings and power dynamics involved in translanguaging. I will discuss each of these in turn, also noting some terminological contributions to each area.

A first theoretical contribution of this thesis is to develop a more expansive view of translation as a form of translingual practice, which transcends both language boundaries and language itself (see Canagarajah, 2013b, p. 6). This connection is presented and discussed in Article 2. Here, I will focus on what this thesis adds to other treatments of translation in relation to translanguaging or translingual practice. As noted in Chapter 3, authors who rely on a relatively narrow or conventional definition of translation, as finding equivalencies in a different code, tend to identify less overlap between translation and translanguaging (Baynham & Lee, 2019; Creese et al., 2018; García et al., 2020; Murray, 2018). My own empirical focus is in fact a quite conventional type of translation: students' activity of looking up or reformulating words and phrases for writing. Nonetheless, I identify translation as a *form* of translingual practice, rather than as a related practice, based on students' use of translingual resources to render meanings in translation (see also Dewilde, 2019; Vogel et al., 2018). This theoretical relationship is made evident by focusing on the process of translation, rather than its product. Baynham and Lee (2019) suggest that the activity of translation may be understood as a form of translanguaging, but they do not directly analyze this possibility, as my-coauthor and I have done in Article 2. Like us, Murray (2018) does analyze and identify translanguaging in the translation process. However, he suggests that translation ultimately reinforces languages as discrete. Thus, he portrays translation as returning to an equilibrium of language separation, rather than as inherently translingual, as we do.

The translation process has also been framed elsewhere as translingual practice (Dewilde, 2019; Horner & Tetreault, 2016) or translanguaging (Vogel et al., 2018). What this thesis adds to these previous discussions is a treatment of a broader range of both linguistic and non-

linguistic resources, including analog and digital channels and human interactions. In Article 2, my co-author and I draw on Canagarajah's (2013) concept of alignment, which allows us to develop an understanding of translation as occurring in a spatial and material ecology. We thus demonstrate that translation, like translingual practice, involves a variety of resources within and across perceived linguistic and semiotic boundaries (see Canagarajah, 2013b). We develop the overlapping categories of *linguistic translation strategies* (Article 2, p. 539) and *mediational translation strategies* (p. 541) to capture both of these dimensions of translingual practice. We thus extend Horner and Tetreault's (2016) discussion of the inherent continuity of translation practices perceived as interlingual or intralingual (Jakobson, 1959, p. 233) by also considering intersemiotic translation (Jakobson, 1959, p. 233) as part of this continuum. Our spatial and material view of translation is similar to Vogel et al.'s (2018) framing of a student's use of Google Translate as a "bilingual learner-machine translation assemblage" (p. 94). However, we do not focus only on learners' interaction with digital translation technology (cf. Vogel et al., 2018), as we find that students' use of translation technology can more productively be considered in light of a broader range of semiotic and ecological resources. In sum, a tentative definition of translation that emerges from this thesis is that translation is a form of translingual practice concerned with re-expressing an idea by means of different terms or signs, which involves aligning various linguistic and non-linguistic, analog and digital, and human and material resources. This thesis helps to demonstrate the applicability of such a theoretical understanding to students' classroom translation practices.

A second theoretical contribution is to propose an ecological perspective on translanguaging whereby translanguaging may relate to linguistic inequalities in various ways, based on local circumstances and power relations. As noted in Chapter 3, one of the key questions raised by the conceptual diffusion of translanguaging is its transferability from language teaching aimed at linguistically minoritized students into other teaching contexts (e.g., Byrnes, 2020; Cenoz & Gorter, 2017; Leung & Valdés, 2019; Lyster, 2019; Turner & Lin, 2020). In a Norwegian context, where both linguistically majoritized and minoritized students were studying English as an additional language, I found that translanguaging took on different significance when involving majoritized or minoritized language resources and variously racialized students (Article 3). Accordingly, I defined *majoritized* and *minoritized translanguaging* as locally salient categories (Article 3, pp. 107, 124). García and Otheguy (2020) argue for making a similar distinction between white European students' officially promoted plurilingualism versus brown and black immigrant students' stigmatized translanguaging. They distinguish plurilingualism from translanguaging on ontological and epistemological rather than descriptive grounds, based on a framing of languages as real or not and the top-down versus bottom-up epistemological origins of the respective terms. However, making such a distinction is not without difficulties, as both terms are often used, even alongside one another, toward similar analytical and pedagogical ends (e.g., Makoe, 2018; Mary & Young, 2017; Van Viegen & Zappa-Hollman, 2020). Moreover, it seems theoretically important to formulate terms for language practices that can apply to students with different social positions, as Otheguy et al. (2015) have themselves suggested to be the case for translanguaging. Nonetheless, the fact remains that not all translanguaging is treated equally.

Therefore, I suggest that the relationship between translanguaging and power must be analyzed rather than assumed. Indeed, translanguaging may only be counter-hegemonic to the extent that it indexes and effectively challenges local language hierarchies. In my study, majoritized translanguaging seemed to provide opportunities for many students to engage with language learning by drawing on previous understandings and resources, in ways that challenged monolingual ideologies of language learning (e.g., García & Li Wei, 2014; Toth & Paulsrud, 2017). However, it is less evident that such translanguaging broadly challenged linguistic hierarchies (Article 3). An important factor may be that English is not a post-colonial language in Norway, global English hegemony notwithstanding (cf. Phillipson, 2007). In contrast, in post-colonial contexts, drawing on local languages in English teaching often seems to counter linguistic hierarchies more directly (e.g., Arthur & Martin, 2006; Canagarajah, 1999; Makalela, 2016; Makoe, 2018), though here also translanguaging may serve more remedial or transformative purposes (Zavala, 2019). Even in countries where English was not the historical language of colonization, translingual use of English might be seen as an act of resisting racialized linguistic hierarchies (e.g., Fallas Escobar, 2019; López-Gopar, 2016). This is not to argue against the pedagogical value of translanguaging for emerging elite bilinguals or multilinguals, as translanguaging seemed to play important learning functions for all students in my study. While this is not an analytical direction that I explored extensively, there was also evidence that linguistically majoritized students drew on English for translingual identity performances (see Canagarajah & Dovchin, 2019; Creese & Blackledge, 2015). The point is merely that translanguaging can occur in ways that do not significantly destabilize societal language hierarchies. Thus, translanguaging, like other language practices, is infused with local power relations (see also Baynham & Hanušová, 2017), in ways that do not clearly position every instance of translanguaging in opposition to power. This specific insight supports a broader theoretical assertion that translanguaging and translingual practice should be interpreted in light of local language ecologies and ideologies, a position also advanced in several recent studies from less internationally prominent research settings (Canagarajah & Dovchin, 2019; Charalambous et al., 2016; Mori & Sanuth, 2018; Seals & Olsen-Reeder, 2020; Zavala, 2019).

6.3 Methodological Contributions

In this section, I will discuss some methodological contributions, notably related to the use of language portraits (Busch, 2012, 2018) and screen recordings (Bhatt & De Roock, 2013; Geisler & Slattery, 2007) as elements of classroom linguistic ethnography (Copland & Creese, 2015b). Both of these methods were important for making visible a broader range of multilingual resources than what I could access solely through other methods. I will also touch on how these methods supported and were clarified through student interviews.

A first methodological contribution lies in my analysis of classroom practices in light of students' language portraits. Language portraits have been used extensively to make visible and promote reflection on students' multilingual repertoires in school contexts (e.g., Busch, 2010; Melo-Pfeifer, 2015, 2017; Prasad, 2014). Building on such work, I will focus more specifically on the value of language portraits as a lens through which to examine observational classroom data. The three articles of this thesis include only two language

portraits in total (Article 1, Figure 3; Article 3, Figure 2). However, the language portraits and students' accompanying descriptions provided crucial background information for the analysis in all three articles. In Article 1, I would not have been able to determine that many students were leaving out significant aspects of their linguistic repertoires, even when working multilingually, without a method like language portraits that encourages participants to represent the full range of their language resources, beyond categories such as L1 or language of instruction (see Busch, 2012, 2018). The discrepancy between many students' linguistic repertoires, as represented through their language portraits, and their in-class practices led to the assertion in Article 1 that even a multilingually oriented classroom may reproduce linguistic hierarchies from students' current and previous school contexts. In Article 2, students' language portraits similarly provided the context for understanding which language resources students were or were not choosing to mobilize in translating. In Article 3, the language portraits constituted one of the primary sources of information for selecting focal students who represented a variety of linguistic profiles in each of the classes. Moreover, students' portraits and narrative descriptions provided the most direct evidence of linguistic diversity in the classes at School 2, as minoritized language resources seldom became visible in the classrooms. This evidence gave impetus to analytically posing the question of what might push students to draw so narrowly on their linguistic repertoires.

However, it is important to clarify that I do not view language portraits as providing an objective description of linguistic competence against which to measure classroom language practices, but rather as a subjective self-representation rooted in students' biographies and identifications. The principal advantage of language portraits is that they may give students a better opportunity to display a heteroglossic repertoire than that afforded by traditional language classrooms (Busch, 2012, 2018). Making language portraits is a reflexive exercise, which can draw students' attention to the complexity of their linguistic repertoires in new ways (Galante, 2020; Prasad, 2014). Furthermore, language portraits are constructed in dialogical relationship with circulating ideologies, researcher instructions, and the template itself (Busch, 2012, 2018). I became particularly aware of my own contribution to students' language portraits through, on the one hand, trying to give students concrete enough instructions that they would begin to draw and, on the other hand, attempting not to reduce the linguistic repertoire to enumerable languages in my instructions (see Busch, 2018). It seemed that speaking of language *only* in the singular left many students confused about what they were meant to do, perhaps because students are used to naming languages that they use (Turner & Lin, 2020). I partly resolved this tension by using languages as examples of communicative resources, along with dialects, ways of communicating with different people in different places, and graphic and embodied elements.

Despite my attempts to provide multiple suggestions for how to complete the task, the resulting portraits lean heavily toward languages rather than other semiotic resources, and a considerable number of students could be said to have displayed monolingual national language ideologies by using flags to represent these languages (Melo-Pfeifer, 2015, 2017; Prasad, 2014). Neither of the published language portraits illustrate this latter phenomenon. I have therefore included an example in Appendix D, the language portrait of Jennifer, who is

featured in Articles 1 and 2. In fact, Busch's (2018) admonition seems to be not so much to avoid naming languages in giving instructions, but rather not to reduce the task to identifying languages, by also analyzing the portraits in relation to language ideologies that participants take up or destabilize. While many students in my study seemed to draw on national language ideologies relatively uncritically, it is also possible to see students' appropriation of multiple flags as partly destabilizing the Herderian triad of language, community, and place as supposedly existing in a one-to-one relationship (see Bauman & Briggs, 2003; Canagarajah, 2013b; Prasad, 2014). Other students used text to label languages (e.g., Article 1, Figure 3) and still others made more abstract or iconic depictions of language and communication (e.g., Article 3, Figure 2). An advantage of language portraits is precisely that they allow for all of these possibilities, even if some conventional forms of representation dominated. Indeed, I observed that many students consulted each other while making their language portraits, which also seemed to encourage recurrent representational elements, like flags, across several students' language portraits. These tendencies underline the importance of treating language portraits as dialogic and discursive objects and interpreting them in light of students' accompanying descriptions, as well as field notes or other records of instructions and interactions during the creation of the portraits (Busch, 2018).

A second methodological contribution is my use of screen recording to surface a broader range of linguistic and semiotic resources in the classroom and to facilitate detailed analyses of how these play into classroom writing, compared to what might be possible through other methods of classroom observation. The attendant possibilities for fine-grained analysis of digitally mediated activities have made screen recording an increasingly common tool in the partly overlapping fields of translation (e.g., Fredholm, 2015, 2019; Garcia & Pena, 2011), writing (e.g., Knospe, 2017; Park & Kinginger, 2010; Van Hout, 2015; Xu & Ding, 2014), digital literacies (e.g., Bhatt et al., 2015; Bhatt & MacKenzie, 2019; Lam, 2009), and computer-assisted language learning (e.g., Ho, 2019; Roussel, 2011). These studies vary greatly in how screen recordings are analyzed and the extent to which they are contextualized by other types of data. Screen recordings are sometimes combined with interviews or think-aloud protocols to gain participant perspectives on learning processes or interactions (e.g., Fredholm, 2015; Ho, 2019; Lam, 2009). A number of classroom studies have further added ethnographic data on the physical context in which digital learning takes places, notably including video recordings, texts, and field notes (e.g., Bhatt, 2017; Bhatt & De Roock, 2013; Bhatt et al., 2015), as I have done. However, in their overview of digital approaches in linguistic ethnography, Varis and Hou (2019) suggest that digital ethnographies such as the aforementioned studies of digital literacies seldom include attention to details of communication, while numerous other studies that examine the fine-grained details of digitally mediated communication do so without ethnographic contextualization. Varis and Hou (2019) mention only one example of using screen recordings within an explicitly linguistic ethnographic approach, a study of newsroom writing (Van Hout, 2015). Tusting et al. (2019) also seem to have used similar methods to study academics' writing. Thus, screen recordings might be considered an emerging method within classroom linguistic ethnography, which my study contributes to further developing by combining ethnographically contextualized screen recording (e.g., Bhatt & De Roock, 2013; Bhatt et al., 2015; Van Hout,

2015) with close analysis of students' use of linguistic and semiotic resources (e.g., Ho, 2019; Lam, 2009).

Screen recordings contributed significantly to my analyses by providing detailed evidence of mediated translingual practices, notably those drawing on less visible resources. As noted in Article 2, the high resolution of the screen recordings allowed for more fine-grained analyses of textual moves than would have been possible with lower-resolution images of students' screens, as obtained from piloting GoPro cameras (Blikstad-Balas & Sørvik, 2015). Screen recording allowed me to observe details such as how translations were incorporated or rejected in texts, which language settings students used for translation, what notes they took, or what they read in which languages (Articles 1-3). These data were crucial for seeing the complexity of students' translation strategies (Article 2). Moreover, in a number of cases, screen recordings provided the only evidence that certain students were drawing on languages other than English or Norwegian. For example, at School 1, Dylan translated between Swahili and English on three occasions in one screen recording (Article 2), which was the only time that he visibly drew on Swahili during the three-month fieldwork period. Although brief and rare, such evidence had a significant impact on my analysis because it illustrated both the possibility for students who preferred to work in English most of the time to draw more broadly on their linguistic resources and some of the problems that they might encounter in doing so (Article 2). At School 2, the screen recordings were even more significant for nuancing my overall analysis of the range of resources that students used. The screen recordings provided the strongest evidence that some students were drawing on minoritized languages, despite a generally unfavorable environment for minoritized translanguaging (Article 3). Some of this evidence was also present in students' handwritten notes and annotations, but the screen recordings provided the most extensive record of such practices.

In addition, screen recording allowed me to develop an understanding of the range and variation in practices within and across the different classrooms. Due to a relatively low cost per student, I could run many screen recordings simultaneously in each class (Bhatt & De Roock, 2013). Such broad-based screen recording seems relatively more common in studies where the data are analyzed quantitatively (e.g., Fredholm, 2019; Garcia & Pena, 2011; Xu & Ding, 2014), whereas collecting and analyzing a small number of students' screen recordings appears common in qualitative studies (e.g., Bhatt & MacKenzie, 2019; Knospe, 2018; Lam, 2009). Based in part on this breadth of screen recordings, I was able to assert in the articles that students' use of multilingual resources varied within and across the classes. This range and variation is analyzed particularly systematically with respect to translation in Article 2. In addition, at School 2, I used the screen recordings as one selection criterion for ensuring that I interviewed students who represented a variety of types of language practices (Article 3). Screen recordings thus made for a broader, if still necessarily incomplete, record of which kinds of linguistic resources students used in their writing processes.

As part of a broader ethnographic approach, the screen recordings also contributed to a multi-layered understanding of students' language and writing practices. Many screen recording programs, including the software that I used, Snagit, include options of simultaneously

recording system or environmental audio, as well as synchronizing on-screen video with a webcam recording of the user (e.g., Bhatt & De Roock, 2013; Ho, 2019). These features can provide additional evidence of how the writer interacts with the text or others, such as peers and teachers, who may have a significant influence on students' writing process (Glendinning & Howard, 2003). In my study, including audio in certain screen recordings, particularly in combination with textual and field note data, allowed for analyzing the significance of on-screen moves to a much greater extent than the screen recordings by themselves would have afforded, for instance in the interaction between the students Dylan and Jennifer (see Article 2, Figure 1). In addition, comparing the developing text in screen recordings with students' finally submitted text allowed for verifying students' descriptions of their writing processes in some cases (see Vladimir's case in Article 1, pp. 18–19). Finally, I was able to use the recordings in subsequent stimulated recall interviews (Dempsey, 2010; Lyle, 2003) to anchor students' reflections and add their interpretive commentary on the significance of the on-screen events (Geisler & Slattery, 2007; Van Hout, 2015).

6.4   Ethical Contributions

In this final section, I will highlight two ethical contributions, related to monitoring consent to participate in research: the first concerns language choices for initial project information; the second, students' use of screen recording to provide or restrict access. Expressed voluntary and informed consent from research participants is a pre-requisite for data collection, both legally and ethically (T. Miller & Bell, 2012; NESH, 2016; Thomas & Pettitt, 2017). The minimum standard procedure for fulfilling this requirement is often considered to be providing a letter that includes information about the project, any risks to participants, and the participants' rights, where participants then sign to indicate that they freely consent to participate (NESH, 2016; Sieber & Tolich, 2013). However, a number of issues belie the seeming simplicity of this procedure. For instance, it can be difficult to provide project information in language that is comprehensible to children and simultaneously meets the technical requirements of ethics review boards (Alderson & Morrow, 2011). Such difficulties are further amplified when participants and researchers are most proficient in different languages (Boddy, 2014; Teman & Richard, 2017; Thomas & Pettitt, 2017). Moreover, while power asymmetry between researchers and participants is a feature of all research (R. Edwards & Mauthner, 2012), this asymmetry is particularly pronounced between adult researchers and child participants (Tangen, 2014). The fact that children are typically taught to obey adults may make it difficult for children to decline to participate, even with assurances of having a free choice (Alderson & Morrow, 2011). Furthermore, initial voluntary informed consent is only a starting point for protecting participants' privacy. Especially in qualitative research, where the design often evolves, respecting participants' agency and autonomy argues for renewing consent during the course of the project (Ryen, 2016; Sieber & Tolich, 2013; Tangen, 2014). In my project, there were two aspects of the research process that may contribute insights into possibilities for negotiating and monitoring informed and voluntary consent to participate by students.

The first aspect was my process of providing the initial project information and consent forms, where I offered students multiple choices of languages (see 4.7), whereas a single

translation per participant or even no translation seems common (e.g., Breese et al., 2007; Sterling, 2015). In response, some students chose a different language than what their teacher had indicated as their L1 or chose different languages for themselves and their parents or guardians. Thus, providing multiple language options seemed to better accommodate students' actual best language of literacy, as well as differences between students and their parents or guardians (cf. Sterling, 2015). In addition, an ethically important moment (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004) occurred when a student joined the project in the middle of data collection, and I did not have a translation in her preferred language, Cantonese, until a few days after she joined the class. The student initially accepted a letter and consent form in English, where she consented to all forms of data collection. However, when given information in Cantonese a few days later, she only consented to being observed and described in field notes. She confirmed, when shown the two forms side by side, that the Cantonese form indicated her wishes. This incident suggests that students may accept a less than adequate offer of information, perhaps due to politeness or power asymmetries (R. Edwards & Mauthner, 2012). Making the effort to provide information in a more appropriate language thus seems important even if students do not insist. Moreover, these experiences argue for monitoring the uptake of this seemingly procedural aspect of research ethics.

A second process that provided opportunities for monitoring consent was my use of screen recordings. In addition to providing initial written consent to screen record, students had to provide ongoing active consent (T. Miller & Bell, 2012) by starting the screen recording software each time. I also instructed students on how to pause and restart the recording (Bhatt & MacKenzie, 2019), for instance if they would be using social media. I recorded several instances in my field notes of students taking advantage of this feature to screen out personal content. Finally, students had to save the recording and transfer it to me, at which point they could review and decide whether to hand over the file (Ho, 2019). In some cases, students did not initially record activities that I saw as relevant, and I would ask if they could turn on the recording. Most of the time, students would indicate that they had simply forgotten. At other times, they did not restart the recording, with or without explanation, and in these cases I interpreted their response as passively or tacitly restricting access (see Bigelow & Pettitt, 2015). Being present in the classroom while students were using the recordings allowed me to participate in such negotiations and to write in my field notes what might be omitted in the recordings, thus supporting both the monitoring of ethical decision-making (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004; T. Miller & Bell, 2012) and the credibility of subsequent claims about the recordings (Creese, 2015). While students' involvement in regulating the screen recordings could be seen as a potential source of data loss, I viewed their ongoing involvement in providing access as an advantage from an ethical standpoint. This gave me additional assurance that they were providing the data willingly, even when personal information appeared on screen. In this way, I would suggest that screen recording can contribute to the ethical fabric of a research project, when the technology is used to give students opportunities to renew consent (Ryen, 2016; Sieber & Tolich, 2013). In the final chapter, I will summarize and remark on some implications of my findings and contributions.

7 Concluding Remarks

In this thesis, I have explored the use and positioning of multilingual resources in English writing instruction in five linguistically diverse classrooms in Norway. Though limited to two schools, the study covers both lower and upper secondary grades and four different instructional settings, including an introductory program and accelerated, mainstream, and sheltered classes within general academic studies. Furthermore, the student participants represent a variety of experiences with both minoritized and elite multilingualism. This breadth of settings and participants has allowed me to highlight some of the ways in which societal inequalities may make their mark on classroom language use, but also the agency of teachers and students to use multilingualism as a resource in spite of such inequalities. Importantly, the thesis demonstrates that translanguaging may occur both where it is explicitly encouraged and where it is less so, though likely to different extents. Thus, the decision facing educators is not whether to introduce translanguaging into the classroom, but rather how to receive and build on the translanguaging that already occurs in marked and unmarked ways.

I have focused to a significant extent on interactions among teachers and students, as well as the interplay between classroom language practices and broader societal context. I have argued that an important aspect of English teaching must be to interrogate linguistic inequalities, including the logic of what makes certain language resources and forms of translanguaging marked, while others are normalized. While such critical inquiry certainly is needed in every subject, this seems especially incumbent upon teachers of English because of the power and prestige with which this particular language is vested. Furthermore, at a curricular level, challenging linguistic inequalities within English teaching might involve an inversion of means and ends, as Turner and Lin (2020) have argued for language subjects more generally: framing English as a means to a multilingual repertoire, rather than multilingual resources as means to English proficiency. In this view, sustaining and developing students' existing multilingualism would be as important to the overall goal of language education as effective English teaching.

Since I began my doctoral project in 2016, there are indications that some new 'ideological spaces' (Hornberger, 2005) may be opening up for reframing English teaching in relation to multilingualism in Norway. As described in Chapter 1, the newly revised national English curriculum refers to multilingualism as a resource (Ruíz, 1984) in its overarching statement of values (NDET, 2019d). Though sparing in concrete expectations, this document provides important license for teachers who wish to build on students' multilingual resources (Iversen, 2020). Another ideological space may be emerging at the time of writing, as demonstrations against racism that began in the United States in May 2020 after the police murder of George Floyd, an African American man, have spread around the world and also to Norway. As in many other countries, these events have led to greater attention in both traditional and social media to racism locally, a subject that has been considered relatively taboo in Norwegian educational research (Fylkesnes, 2019; Lindquist & Osler, 2016). Although racism only constitutes one potential dimension of linguistic discrimination, there is evidence both in this thesis (Article 3) and elsewhere (Connor, 2019) that the stigma of 'foreignness' may represent a barrier to including minoritized linguistic resources in Norwegian classrooms. The longer-

term effects of this current attention to racism remain to be seen, notably whether these discussions are sustained past the present moment and also connected to classroom multilingualism (e.g., Alim et al., 2016; Flores & Chaparro, 2018; Motha, 2014; Rosa & Flores, 2017). The uptake of these developments in English classrooms will be important to study in the coming years.

In addition, given the now substantial body of scholarship in favor of multilingual pedagogical approaches (e.g., Blackledge & Creese, 2014; Canagarajah, 1999, 2005, 2013a; Cenoz & Gorter, 2015a; Douglas Fir Group, 2016; García & Kleyn, 2016; Hélot & Ó Laoire, 2011; Hornberger, 2003, 2014; Kirsch & Duarte, 2020; May, 2014; Poza, 2017), I would suggest that future research address more specific questions than whether or not to encourage classroom translanguaging. Rather, research might address which linguistic practices are important to which students under what circumstances, acknowledging the limits of universal answers to such questions (Connell, 2007; Prinsloo & Krause, 2019). Then, in classrooms where teachers are attempting to implement translingual approaches, what difficulties do teachers and students encounter, and how do they potentially overcome such difficulties? Furthermore, how does multilingualism as a resource in the classroom connect with other values, such as democratic engagement and antiracism? In this vein, more intersectional approaches to the study of classroom translanguaging represent an important direction for future research, as others have also suggested (Block, 2018; Flores, 2017a; Flores & Chaparro, 2018). Finally, I would renew calls to keep expanding the contexts of studying translanguaging and translingual approaches (Byrnes, 2020; Canagarajah & Dovchin, 2019; Leung & Valdés, 2019; Mori & Sanuth, 2018; Ortega, 2019), an agenda to which I have contributed in this study.

In closing, I hope that this thesis may itself pry open a little more ideological space for incorporating students' multilingual resources in English teaching. While I have consistently sought to be rigorous and critical in examining my own assumptions, I have fundamentally aimed to develop knowledge that can support educators who want to create more inclusive and equitable English classrooms in multilingual settings. To me, making such a contribution to classroom practice will be the ultimate measure of the success of this project.

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Appendixes

Appendix A Concept Note (School 2)

September 28, 2017[3]

Notes reviewed:

- 170912_fieldnotes.docx
- 170918_fieldnotes.docx
- 170919_fieldnotes.docx
- 170920_fieldnotes.docx
- 170922_fieldnotes.docx
- 170926_fieldnotes.docx

Emerging themes:

- Oral language use in class
    - Communication in English for whole-class instruction (field notes, 170918)
    - Prohibition by teacher on use of Norwegian (field notes, 170918)
    - Teacher use of Norwegian: to explain and reinforce concepts (field notes, 170918, 170919, 170920, 170922, 170926)
    - Teacher elicits a word in student's dominant language (Dutch) (field notes, 170919)
    - Student use of Norwegian, recast by teacher in English (field notes, 170919, 170920, 170922, 170926)
    - English discussion of tasks among students (field notes, 170919, 170920)
    - Student translation from English to Norwegian to answer teacher question (field notes, 170919)
    - Student providing key word for another student in Norwegian (field notes, 170919)
    - Student feedback on other student's Norwegian word choice (field notes, 170919)
    - Student translanguaging/language mixing and consciousness of this (field noes, 170919)
    - Teacher offers students choice of Norwegian or English for individual assessment conversations (field notes, 170920)
    - Task-related student talk in Norwegian (field notes, 170920, 170922)
    - Student asks teacher for permission to speak Norwegian in class (field notes, 170922)
    - Appropriation of Norwegian terms into English for joking by student (field notes, 170919)
    - Informal talk among students in Norwegian (field notes, 170920)

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[3] This concept note and the process note in Appendix B were written about one month into fieldwork at School 2.

- o Students speaking a common background language (Arabic) to facilitate learning (field notes, 170919, 170926)
- o Student mistrust of other students speaking a language they don't understand (Arabic) (field notes, 170919)
- Written language use in class
  - o Research in English (field notes, 170912, 170919)
  - o Note-taking in English (field notes, 170919, 170920)
  - o Note-taking with English-Norwegian translation (field notes, 170919)
  - o Annotation of notes in L1 (field notes, 170922)
  - o Composing in English (field notes, 170926)
- Reference and translation tools
  - o Student use of Google Translate, English-Norwegian, when Norwegian is not an L1 (field notes, 170912, 170919, 170922, 170926), for help with English pronunciation (field notes, 170926)
  - o Print dictionary: English-Dutch (field notes, 170919)
  - o Student use of dictionary app, English-Norwegian (field notes, 170919)
  - o Student use of monolingual English dictionary (field notes, 170919, 170922)
  - o Student use of Google Translate, English-L1 or L1-English (field notes, 170919, 170922)
  - o Teacher encouragement to use dictionary (field notes, 170919, 170922, 170926)
  - o Student looking up concept in Norwegian (field notes, 170919)
  - o Teacher makes instructional use of monolingual dictionary (field notes, 170922)
  - o Use of map on mobile phone, retrieved in L1 (field notes, 170926)
  - o Writing in English without reference tools (field notes, 170926)
  - o Student use of spell-check and autocorrect while writing (field notes, 170926)
- Translation practices
  - o Student interpreting course content and instructions through translation (field notes, 170919, 170922)
  - o Students discussing translation in a common language (field notes, 170919, 170926)
  - o Student using translation to facilitate participation in class discussion (field notes, 170919, 170922)
  - o Student using translation to facilitate peer discussion (field notes, 170922)
  - o Student translation of terms from classroom discourse in notes (field notes, 170920)
  - o Teacher eliciting translation from English to Norwegian (field notes, 170922)
  - o Teacher eliciting translation from Norwegian to English (field notes, 170922, 170926)
  - o Students translating from a local, informal variety of English to Standard English (field notes, 170926)
- Students' feelings about languages
  - o Lack of confidence in English (field notes, 170912)

- - Feeling of incompetence in Norwegian (field notes, 170922)
- Funds of knowledge
  - Teacher's cultural references in instruction
    - Norwegian (field notes, 170918, 170919)
    - British literature (field notes, 170922)
    - American film/French literature (field notes, 170922)
  - Students drawing on personal experience and personal connections from abroad in classroom discussion (field notes, 170919, 170920)
  - Teacher resistance to student's experience-based contribution (field notes, 170919)
  - Teacher drawing on personal experience in discussion of United States (field notes, 170919)
  - Missed opportunity to draw on international family communication (field notes, 170920)—conflict of older lingua franca notion with current transnational networks?
  - Representation of world Englishes in textbook (170926)
- Cultural and identity definitions
  - Conception of United States and Americans (field notes, 170919)
  - Conception of Norway and Norwegians (field notes, 170919)
  - Native speaker vs. proficient speaker standard for English in student discussion (field notes, 170920)
  - Teacher awareness of English as a world language, rejecting native speaker standard for pronunciation (field notes, 170922), but defining textbook as written to a British standard (field notes, 170926)
  - Definition of minority language speakers (field notes, 170919)
  - Students reacting to British English pronunciation as strange (field notes, 170926)
  - National stereotypes and appearance as guides to completing a task (field notes, 170926); student unfamiliarity with World Englishes and register differences (field notes, 170926)
- Research process
  - Accommodations for visually impaired student in data collection (field notes, 170912, 170922)
  - Language of communication with students (field notes, 170912, 170918, 170919)
  - Accommodating student teachers (field notes, 170922)
  - Challenge of restrictive and dense seating in classrooms (field notes, 170926)
- Technology in data collection
  - Helping students download software in class (field notes, 170912)
  - Computer compatibility (field notes, 170912)
  - Issues with video cameras: time of rigging, battery life (field notes, 170918, 170919, 170920, 170922, 170926)
  - Advantage of recording: less need to take notes on classroom discourse (field notes, 170918)

- - Help from student to keep recording going (field notes, 170919)
- Negotiating access
  - Informed consent and translation (field notes, 170912)
  - Students feeling a need to abide by initial consent form (field notes, 170912, 170919)
  - Imposition on students' time (field notes, 170918)
  - Students expanding original consent options (field notes, 170918, 170919, 170926)
  - Participation rates of 'minority language speakers' (field notes, 170918, 170919)
  - Student discomfort with recording, despite having given consent (field notes, 170919)
  - Student restricting original consent options (field notes, 170912)
  - Student awareness of observation (field notes, 170919)
  - Asking students to prepare for and do screen recording (field notes, 170919, 170920, 170922, 170926)
  - Limitations of a consent form (field notes, 170919)
  - My declining possible observation because of tests (field notes, 170919)
  - Assuring students that I am aware of their access decisions (field notes, 170919)
  - Teacher facilitating access (field notes, 170920, 170922, 170926)
  - Communicating about consent with orally dominant student (field notes, 170922)
- Researcher role
  - Relationship building with students (field notes, 170912, 170920, 170922, 170926)
  - Identifying student incorrectly (field notes, 170918)
  - Student asking me for advice (field notes, 170912)
  - Gauging participation level in class discussion (field notes, 170918, 170919)
  - Providing translation or explanations at students' request (field notes, 170919, 170920)
  - Relationship building with teacher (field notes, 170922)

Reflections:

- The teacher seems to permit more use of Norwegian in the sheltered class than in other classes. I wonder if he sees this as a necessity for 'minority language speakers', assuming that they speak more Norwegian than English. Or perhaps he sees it as a necessity for students who are at a lower level in English, which is typical of students who are repeating English the second time around. I should pay attention to whether he uses communication in Norwegian as a tool of differentiation in the mainstream class, which includes a wide range of levels in English proficiency.
- I feel like I am getting richer data in the sheltered class than in the other classes for a variety of reasons: higher levels of student participation/trust, fewer students to follow,

a less dense classroom setup. I wonder what I can do to get richer multilingual data in the other classes, too. Or perhaps the data in the other classes points to the fact that multilingualism is not permitted or encouraged in the same way in these settings.

- Translation and translanguaging are practiced across the different classrooms, but with differing frequency and visibility. This seems like an important point to make.
- From field notes, 170922: The teacher systematically connects English to Norwegian terms, as at School 1. However, unlike at School 1, he does not elicit terms in other languages.
    - Note, however, an exception to the latter on 170919, when he asked Bob[4] if he knew a term in Dutch, when he couldn't think of it in Norwegian or English.

To do:

- Find out what gives students a designation of minoritetsspråklig ('minority language speaker').
- Pay attention to whether the teacher uses communication in Norwegian as a tool to differentiate instruction in the mainstream class.

Added, 171006, while reviewing all field notes for focus student selection:

- Find out if anyone is taking a mother tongue exam[5] instead of a foreign language subject (see field note, 170905).

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[4] All participant names provided in the thesis are pseudonyms.

[5] In Norway, students may take what is commonly referred to as the 'mother tongue exam' in any one of 44 languages to fulfill the requirement for a foreign language subject in upper secondary general studies (NDET, 2019c).

Appendix B   Process Note (School 2)

September 28, 2017

Activities:

- Observation and writing of language narratives, accelerated class (AC), 170918
- Observation and writing of language narratives, mainstream class (MC), 170919
- Observation, sheltered class (SC), 170919
- Observation, AC, 170920
- Observation, SC, 170922
- Observation, SC, 170926

Data collected:

- Field notes, 170912, 170918, 170919, 170920, 170922, 170926
- Classroom video
    - AC: 170918, 170920
    - SC: 170919, 170922, 170926
    - MC: 170919
- Audio-recording of student conversation, S20[6] & S23 (170922)
- Audio-recording of teacher feedback to students: S03, S05, S11 (170920)
- Screen recordings, SC
    - 170919: S20, S24
    - 170922: S23
    - 170926: S20, S21, S23
- Photos:
    - Of the board, AC (170920)
    - Of a student's computer screen, S21 (170922)
- Language portraits, SC (170912) and S29 (170919)
- Language narratives, AC (170918), MC (170919)
- Student text, S24 (170926)
- Seating chart, AC (170918)
- Lesson plans and handouts:
    - AC: 170918, 170920
    - SC: 170912, 170922, 170926
    - MC: 170919

Issues/developments:

Technology

- Battery life of cameras: I have to dedicate time to cameras during class because the batteries do not last for the whole class. This may be resolved if the lower resolution

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[6] Codes of the form S(number) are my keys for student participants in naming documents.

video is adequate on the main camera. Otherwise, I may have to change batteries during each class break.

- Light setting on videos from main classroom camera: The main camera's light meter has made some incorrect adjustments that lead to very dark video at times, especially in the class videos from MC on 170919.
- Time to set up cameras: This has prevented using LISA[7] equipment, especially because I do not always have access to the classrooms more than 10 minutes in advance, and I also need to be able to break down the equipment quickly most days.
- It seems important to have a camera close-up on the teacher, both for back-up if the other camera dies and in order to get what is written on the board. This also provides me with a second source of audio, which is both an advantage and a disadvantage, in that it provides for capturing more audio in the classroom, which is sometimes not desired by students.
- Good audio quality on all cameras (see field notes, 170918).

Other

- Need to identify focus students: I am finding it difficult to manage the amount of data I am gathering, and at the same time, there is little explicit use of multilingualism. I need to go through my data more exhaustively to identify focus students for the writing phase, although I may discover new focus students once the class starts writing more. I should try to do a data review during the school's fall break next week.
- Seating arrangements: The teacher has worked with me to identify seating arrangements that allow for excluding certain students from view, so that I can film the classes.
- Translation of data: Two students wrote language narratives in languages that I need translated. Joke [Dewilde] translated one from Dutch to English. I need to find a Polish translator for another, but I will save this in case I have other Polish translation work that I need along the way. There is also Russian text on one of the language portraits that I need to have translated. I can ask [name] to do that.

Data review:

Some of the videos seem not to have sound, but it may be a playback problem. This applies particularly to these files: 170919_SC_videoC(1-3), 170919_MC_videoC(1-6). In fact, when I tried exporting the audio track only from these videos, the audio track was there and was of good quality, so the problem may simply be the computer's processing speed. Nonetheless, it might be worth raising with the IT staff.

Note, 171003: The audio track is fine as long as .mov files are played in QuickTime rather than VLC or Windows Media Player.

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[7] Video-based research project at the Department of Teacher Education and School Research, University of Oslo, led by Kirsti Klette (see Klette et al., 2017).

Appendix C   Screen Shot: Screen Recording (School 1)

The following is a screen shot from a screen recording made by Lea, a student at School 1, whose translation practices are featured in Article 2.
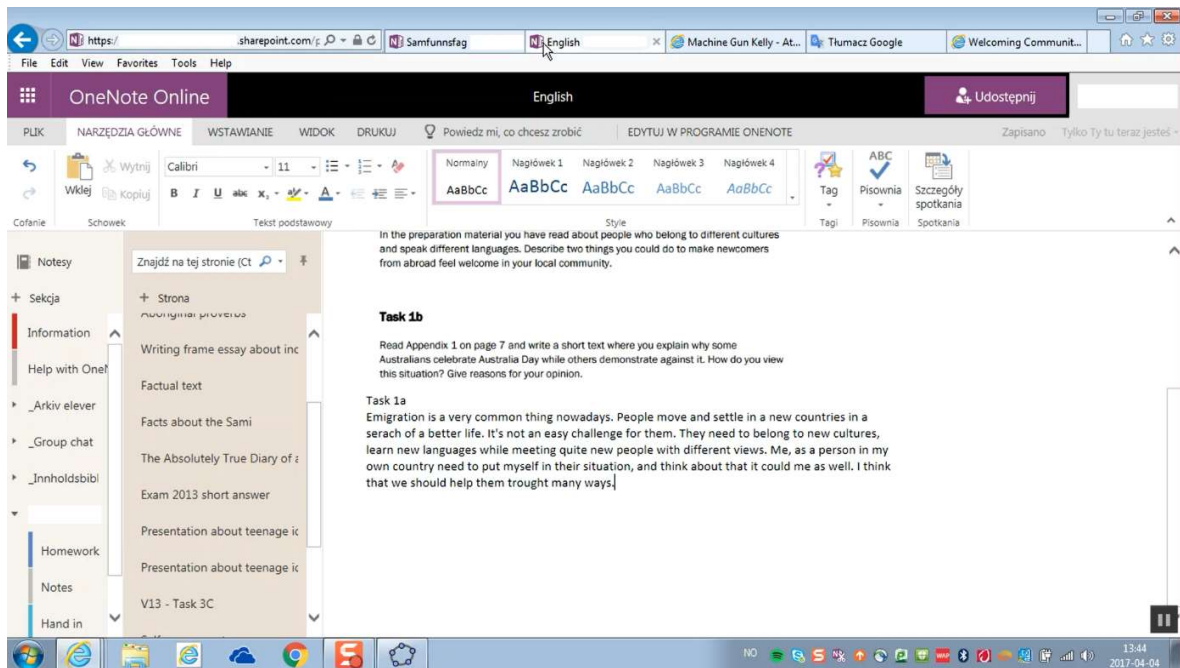
Appendix D   Language Portrait (School 1)

The following is the language portrait made by Jennifer, a student at School 1, who is featured in the analysis in Articles 1 and 2.

Template source: http://heteroglossia.net/.

Appendix E   General Interview Guides

These interview guides represent general questions that were prepared for interviews, in addition to participant-specific questions based on data selections.

Appendix E.1   Interview Guide: Initial Teacher Interviews

Note: This interview guide was prepared in both English and Norwegian. The Norwegian version follows the English version.

Procedures

- Ask which language teachers prefer for the meeting, Norwegian or English.
- Inform teachers about the goals for the project and the interview.
  - Project goal: To study how English teachers who have multilingual students work to support these students in English instruction.
  - Interview goal: To collect background information that can help me identify areas of focus for the study and investigate opportunities for collaboration.

Interview Questions

1. Which subjects do you teach? What subjects have you studied?
2. How long have you worked as a teacher? How much experience do you have teaching multilingual students?
3. How would you describe your student groups with respect to their English competence and language backgrounds?
4. As far as you know, which languages do your students speak in addition to Norwegian and English? Do you know how they have learned these languages? Do you know what kind of competence your multilingual students have in the languages that they know?
   a. Potential follow-up: Do you or your school use any tools to map students' language competence?
5. Do you experience any special challenges tied to students' language backgrounds in your English teaching? In writing instruction specifically?
6. What do you do to support multilingual students (potentially, 'minority language speakers,' if teachers use this terminology) in the English subject? In writing instruction specifically?
   a. Potential follow-up: Do you use students' multilingual competence as a resource in teaching English in any way? In writing instruction?
   b. Potential follow-up: What languages do you yourself speak or have familiarity with?

Follow-up

1. May I note your name and contact information (e-mail or phone number) to contact you with further questions?
2. Would you be willing to let me observe an English class, ideally tied to writing instruction?

Norwegian version:

Innledning

- Spør om hvilket språk lærere foretrekker for møtet, norsk eller engelsk.
- Informer om møtets og prosjektets hensikt.
    - Prosjektet: Å undersøke hvordan engelsklærere som har flerspråklige elever jobber for å støtte disse elevene i engelskundervisningen.
    - Møtet: Å samle inn bakgrunnsinformasjon som kan hjelpe til å avgrense fokusområder i prosjektet og undersøke muligheter for samarbeid.

Intervjuspørsmål

1. Hvilke fag underviser du i? Hvilke fag har du i fagkretsen?
2. Hvor lenge har du jobbet som lærer? Hvor mye erfaring har du med undervisning av flerspråklige elever?
3. Hvordan ville du beskrive elevgruppene dine når det gjelder språkbakgrunn og engelsknivå?
4. Så vidt du vet, hvilke språk kan elevene dine i tillegg til norsk og engelsk? Vet du hvordan de har lært disse språkene? Vet du hvilken kompetanse dine flerspråklige elever har i de forskjellige språkene?
    a. Mulig oppfølgingsspørsmål: Benytter du eller skolen din kartleggingsverktøy for å fastsette elevers språkkompetanse?
5. Opplever du noen spesielle muligheter eller utfordringer i engelskundervisningen knyttet til elevers språkbakgrunn? I skriveundervisning spesielt?
6. Benytter du elevenes flerspråklige kompetanse som ressurs i engelskundervisningen på noe vis? I skriveundervisning?
7. Hvordan jobber du for å støtte flerspråklige (ev. minoritetsspråklige, hvis læreren bruker dette begrepet) elever i engelskundervisningen? I skriveundervisning spesielt?
    a. Mulig oppfølgingsspørsmål: Hvilke språk har du selv kompetanse i eller erfaring med?
8. Er det noe du vil legge til?

Oppfølging

1. Kan jeg notere navnet ditt og kontaktinformasjonen din (e-post eller telefonnummer) for å ta kontakt med deg med videre spørsmål?
2. Ville du vært villig til å la meg observere en engelsktime, gjerne knyttet til skriveundervisning?

Appendix E.2   Interview Guide: Students (School 1)

Note: This interview guide was prepared only in English, as this was anticipated to be the students' preference. In cases where students preferred Norwegian, either at the outset or during parts of the interview, I translated the questions into Norwegian on the spot.

Procedures

- Ask if the student would prefer to speak English or Norwegian. Clarify that mixing languages is fine and that they can even write down or record responses in a different language that I can have translated if they prefer.
- Give an overview of the parts of the interview: (1) describing language portraits; (2) discussing specific examples from my observations; (3) answering some general questions about their writing practices in English.
- Confirm whether I can video- or audio-record interviews, where students have indicated consent to this. Otherwise, take notes.
- Remind students that anything they say will be confidential, e.g. that I will not share it with their teacher.

Part 1: Language portraits

May be conducted separately from—but ideally ahead of—the other two parts.

Ask the student to describe his or her language portrait. Follow-up questions may seek to clarify the following:

- Migration history
- Schooling background, including languages of schooling
- Current domains of language use, including home and school
- Feelings and identity associations, e.g. sense of belonging, aspirations, and whether they identify any language with the terms 'mother tongue' or 'first language'
- How they use their linguistic repertoire in English writing

Part 2: Stimulated recall

Display 2-4 examples of student writing practices, such as recorded conversations with the teacher or peers, screen recordings, or student texts. Questions will be specific to the examples but could include the following:

Can you tell me…
- about why you [did X, e.g. back-translate]? How did this help you in your writing process?
- why you chose this translation tool?
- how you decided if this was a good or useful translation?
- whether you found it helpful to [do X, e.g. pre-write in another language]?
- how you went from a text written in [language] to a text written in English?

- what you were discussing at this point? How did communicating in [language] help you work on English text?

Part 3: General questions

1. How do you use the languages you know when you write in English? In what ways? E.g. understanding the task, planning your work, thinking through topics, writing down ideas, finding information, outlining, drafting/pre-writing, finding or checking the meaning of words (translation).
   a. Follow-up: How do you plan to continue using any of these writing strategies in your new school?
2. How, if at all, do you use translation when writing in English?
   a. Potential follow-up: Which translation tools do you use? For what purposes? What limitations do you experience with different translation tools (esp. Google Translate)? How do you evaluate if you have found a useful translation? Which languages to translate to and from? How do you use other reference tools, e.g. thesaurus or monolingual dictionary?
   b. Follow-up: How do you feel about translating as part of the writing process? (Pay attention to expressions of e.g. pride, confidence, or shame.) How are you used to using translation from your previous schooling?
3. How do you find that the school context (e.g. school rules) influences which languages you use in school, especially in class?
4. Do you think it would be useful to use other languages than you currently do in English writing? (Potential follow-up: In school in general?)
5. Is there anything you would like to add?

Appendix E.3   Interview Guide: Students (School 2)

Note: Most of this interview guide is substantially a Norwegian translation of the student interview guide used at School 1 (Appendix E.2). Where items are added or worded differently in Norwegian, these are translated into English, and the translations are marked in italics. Part 3 includes guiding questions in both Norwegian and English, in preparation for student preferences for either language.

Innledning

- Avklare om eleven foretrekker å begynne på norsk eller engelsk
- Gi oversikt over delene av intervjuet: (1) språkportrett; (2) eksempler fra klasseromsobservasjon; (3) generelle spørsmål om engelsk skriving
- Spør om jeg kan ta opp intervjuet.
- Minne om at intervjuet er konfidensielt, også ovenfor læreren

Del 1: Språkportretter

NB. I forsert og ordinær engelsk, bare avklaring etter behov av skriftlig beskrivelse.
NB. In the accelerated and mainstream classes, only clarification of the written narrative as needed.

Be eleven om å beskrive språkportrettet sitt. Oppfølgingsspørsmål kan ta opp:

- Migrasjonsbakgrunn
- Skolebakgrunn, inkl. skolespråk
- Områder der de bruker ulike språk, inkl. hjem og skole
- Følelser og identitet, f.eks. tilhørighet, ønsker, 'morsmål', 'førstespråk'
- Hvordan de bruker språkrepertoaret sitt i engelsk skriving.

Del 2: Stimulated recall

Vis fram 2-4 eksempler på skrivepraksiser, f.eks. opptak av samtaler med lærer eller medelever, skjermopptak eller elevtekster. Spørsmål vil variere ut ifra eksemplene men kan ta opp følgende, f.eks.

Kan du fortelle meg…

- hvorfor du [gjorde X, f.eks. reverserte en oversettelse]? Hvordan synes du at dette hjalp deg i skriveprosessen?
- hvorfor du valgte dette oversettelsesverktøyet?
- hvordan du vurderte oversettelsen? (*How did you evaluate the translation*?)
- hvorvidt du opplevde det som nyttig å [X, f.eks. førskrive på et annet språk]?
- om overgangen fra å skrive på [språk] til å skrive en tekst på engelsk?
- hva du diskuterte i dette tilfellet? På hvilken måte opplevde du det som nyttig å kommunisere på [språk] i arbeidet med engelsk skriving?

Del 3: Generelt om engelsk skriving

Norsk (*Norwegian*)

1. Hvordan bruker du de ulike språkene du kan når du skal skrive på engelsk? F.eks. til å forstå og tenke gjennom oppgaven, planlegge, skissere, notere, finne informasjon, oppsøke hjelp, lage disposisjon, skrive utkast, oversette, vurdere og forbedre det du har skrevet
2. Hvordan benytter du deg eventuelt av oversettelse når du skriver på engelsk?
   a. Eventuelt: Hvilke oppslagsverk eller oversettelsesverktøy bruker du (inkl. synonymordbøker, ordbøker)? Hvilke fordeler og ulemper opplever du ved disse (f.eks. Google oversetter)? Hvilke språk oversetter du til og fra?
   b. Eventuelt: Hva syns du om oversettelse som en del av skriveprosessen? (Pay attention to expressions of e.g. pride, confidence, or shame.)
3. Hvordan ønsker du selv å kunne integrere språkene du kan og bakgrunnen din i arbeid med engelsk skriving? Eller engelskfaget mer generelt?
   a. Ev. Skulle du ønske du kunne bruke noen andre språk i arbeid med engelsk skriving enn det du gjør til vanlig?
4. Hva ser du som fordelene og ulempene ved å bruke andre språk enn engelsk som en del av skriveprosessen?
5. Forsterket engelsk: Hvordan brukte du de ulike språkene du kan i engelsktimene på tidligere trinn (innføringsklasse, vg1, osv.)?
6. Er det noe du vil legge til?

English

1. How do you use the languages you know when you write in English? In what ways? E.g. understanding the task, planning your work, thinking through topics, writing down ideas, finding information, outlining, drafting/pre-writing, finding or checking the meaning of words (translation).
2. How, if at all, do you use translation when writing in English?
   a. Potential follow-up: Which translation tools do you use? For what purposes? What limitations do you experience with different translation tools (esp. Google Translate)? How do you evaluate if you have found a useful translation? Which languages do you translate to and from? How do you use other reference tools, e.g. thesaurus or monolingual dictionary?
   b. Follow-up: How do you feel about translating as part of the writing process? (Pay attention to expressions of e.g. pride, confidence, or shame.) How are you used to using translation from your previous schooling?
3. Do you think it would be useful to use other languages than you currently do in English writing? (Potential follow-up: In school in general?)
4. Sheltered class: How did you use the languages you know in your previous English classes (introductory class, first year of upper secondary, other)?
5. Is there anything you would like to add?

assigned translation

Strategy:
Media: ask peer
(in Italian)

Field Notes, 21 March 2017

Riccardo asks Jennifer a question in Italian. I can't hear what he says, so I ask. He asked her what "labour" means because he didn't understand the dictionary explanation—an example of student communication in a common language to negotiate meaning.

Task talk in Italian

Riccardo googles "dictionary Engelsk-Norsk," then navigates to ordbok.com, then Babla. Babla is what he uses. I wonder if the teacher has recommended a particular translation tool for Norwegian.

Translation tools

13.46 The teacher talks to Jane—is the mic off?

> *Note:* Jane initially did not consent to recording, but later did consent to this. Here I flagged the recording for review.

The teacher's video track is probably most interesting today for student audio and pictures of the board at start of class.

Note that the students are working on very different assignments.

Differentiation

Jennifer and Lea are both working on their texts about change in Word. Neither is recording their screen. I ask Lea if she can record after I see her go to Google Translate. She starts recording at 13.51.

Negotiating access: screen recording

Riccardo: Erik, hva er (ord fra ordliste) på norsk?

S addresses T in Norwegian

Jane is making a word map in her notebook. She uses key words in English.

mind-mapping in English

Teacher: Did you understand, Riccardo?
Riccardo: Ja, men jeg vet ikke hva jeg kan skrive.

T: Eng.; S: Norw. bilingual conversation

The teacher talks to Jane again at 13.54. He gives her feedback on how to make a character (Asher) more prominent in her writing.

The teacher comments to Riccardo that he can make a mind map in his notebook.

T suggests mind-mapping

Mia is working on the assigned word list. She has a print English-Serbian dictionary next to her but uses Google Translate. I also notice that she is writing Serbian words in Latin script, even though Google Translate gives her translations in Cyrillic script. I ask her why. She shows me that she uses Latin characters to bring up Google Translate but that the output is Cyrillic. She tells me there is a choice of what to use and notes that young people often prefer Latin script, that you will see both in Serbia. I wonder if she also uses Latin script for ease of typing.
She looks up a word ("pinwheel") in the print dictionary.

Preference for GT over print dict.

dissimilar - similar scripts

biscriptual writing/ literacy

identity choices

5

Appendix G   Digital Coding, Interview Transcript (School 2)

The following transcript was coded in NVivo 12. The codes applied are the following (left-to-right order in the image): learning English vs. Norwegian; maximal target language use; encouraging English vs. prohibiting Norwegian; expected progression toward English; negotiating language use; Norwegian for ease of communication; recasting in English; intelligence vs. majority language proficiency. An English translation of the transcript follows below the image.

[00:50:03.06] Ingrid : så da er- altså du sa at der er du bevisst på språk og, ja, vil det stemme å si at der er målet liksom bare å få kommunisert med henne på=

[00:50:13.15] Lars : ja

[00:50:14.07] Ingrid : =et eller annet vis, så om det er norsk eller engelsk så, er det liksom viktigere å få gjennom ideen enn å modellere engelsken, //kanskje

[00:50:22.24] Lars : //ja, egentlig, egentlig, hun trenger jo norsk også, kanskje hun trenger det mer egentlig, enn engelsk, sånn sett, men jeg ser jo i det som hun skriver også, det som er hennes eget da, og det hun tenker og når hun prater til meg, innholdet, det- det sitter en del der inne, en modenhet, hun er jo litt eldre enn de andre også, som blir blokkert av språket, rett og slett, og det er jo selvfølgelig synd å- synd å se, sånn sett da, det synes jeg, men jeg- det hører jeg fra de andre lærerne også, veldig imponert over innholdet, men det er et strev å komme seg gjennom språket for å forstå hva det er hun sier, sånn sett, ja, så derfor ble det veldig veksling da i språket, når jeg prater med henne, og hun prater jo bare på norsk også

[00:51:12.04] Ingrid : med deg?

[00:51:12.16] Lars : med meg

[00:51:15.19] Ingrid : ja, ja, så det- det er jo liksom en annen side av det da, hva eleven gjør, og da lurte jeg på om du har noen kommentarer til, hva- hva du synes om at elevene selv bruker norsk som en del av arbeidet med engelsk og engelsk skriving?

[00:51:35.03] Lars : det kommer an på hvordan de bruker det, begynnelsen, det kommer an på når i året vi er også, og elevgruppa, noen er veldig ukomfortable med å prate engelsk, så da kanskje jeg tillater det mer i oppstarten av et år, for eksempel, men jeg begynner- jeg krever det mer når vi jobber i grupper, sånn etter hvert særlig, og si at dette er den eneste sjansen dere har til å prate engelsk, nå må dere bruke den, minne dem på det da, for dette er jo den øvingen de får, det hjelper jo ikke å- altså det hjelper jo selvfølgelig å dra til utlandet på ferie, men det må mer kontinuerlig øving til, så jeg bruker bare å gjenta for dem at dette er, nå- nå må dere selv ta ansvar her og bruke engelsken, men jeg vil heller ikke være han surpompen som sitter og sier, ja nå hører jeg norsk i klasserommet og skjerp dere {(ler)}, sånn at jeg vil heller oppmuntre enn å korrigere da, kan du si, men enkelte som rekker opp hånda i [forsterket engelsk], så sier de mye på norsk, sant, blant annet Rachelle spør jo alltid om tillatelse, kan jeg si det på norsk, jeg klarer ikke på engelsk, sånne ting, av og til utfordrer jeg dem og sier, jo jeg tror du- jeg tror du klarer det, noen ganger så sier- så sier jeg ingenting på det, men jeg gjentar jo da, eller sier det de sier på norsk, det sier jeg da på engelsk, og Rachelle begynte å stille spørsmål i det siste, sånn, kan du skrive det på tavla det du sa der, hva var det du sa, sånne ting da

Coding Density

Norwegian for ease of communication

learning English vs. Norwegian

intelligence vs. majority language proficiency

expected progression toward English

maximal target language use

negotiating language use

encouraging English vs. prohibiting Norwegian

recasting in English
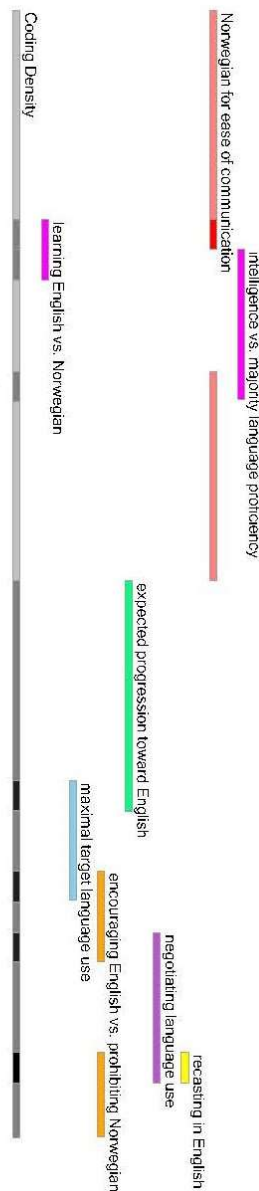
My translation from Norwegian:

[00:50:03.06] Ingrid: so then- that is you said that there you are conscious of language and, yeah, would it be correct to say that there the goal is like just to be able to communicate with her in=

[00:50:13.15] Lars: yeah

[00:50:14.07] Ingrid: =one way or another, so if it's Norwegian or English then, it's like more important to get the idea across than to model English, //maybe

[00:50:22.24] Lars : //yeah, actually, actually, she needs Norwegian too, maybe she needs it more actually, than English, for that matter, but I do see in what she writes too, the part that is her own, and what she thinks and when she talks to me, the content, there- there's quite a bit on the inside, a maturity, she's of course a little older than the others too, which is blocked by the language, simply, and it's of course a pity to- pity to see, for that matter, I think so, but I- I hear the same from the other teachers too, very impressed by the content, but it takes quite the effort to get through the language to understand what she's saying, for that matter, yeah, so that's why there was a lot of language alternation, when I talk with her, and she only speaks in Norwegian too

[00.51.12.04] Ingrid: with you?

[00:51:12.16] Lars: with me

[00:51:35.03] Ingrid: right, right, so that- that's like another side of it, what the student does, and then I was wondering if you have any comments on, what- what you think about the students themselves using Norwegian as part of working on English and English writing?

[00:51:35.03] Lars: it depends on how they use it, the beginning, it depends on when in the year we are too, and the group of students, some are very uncomfortable speaking English, so then maybe I allow it more in the beginning of the year, for example, but I start- I require it more when we work in groups, especially over time, and say that this is the only opportunity you have to speak English, now you need to use it, remind them of that, because this is the practice they get, it doesn't help to- I mean it helps of course to go abroad for vacation, but more continuous practice is necessary, so I usually just repeat for them that this is, now- now you need to take responsibility yourself here and use English, but I don't want to be that grumpy guy either who sits and says, alright now I hear Norwegian in the classroom and get your act together ((laughs)), so that I would rather encourage than correct, you could say, but some who raise their hand in [the sheltered class], then they say a lot in Norwegian, right, for example Rachelle always asks for permission, can I say it in Norwegian, I can't do it in English, things like that, sometimes I challenge them and say, yes I think you- I think you can do it, sometimes I say- I say nothing about it, but then I repeat, or I say what they say in Norwegian, I say that in English then, and Rachelle started to ask questions lately, like, can you write on the board what you said there, what was it that you said, things like that

codes?

mentioned in article?

hovering to see options for translation

work w/ a friend

Translate synonyms & compare (Lea, Vladd.)

intermediate language

Change lang. of input

Modify input (same lang.)

maybe not strategy?

Case ?

Superseding w/ instinct

Back-translation

image search

Translation strategies

Ask T about alternatives

Check in 2nd tool

Find def. in L1/NT if translation not comprehensible

Find information about object

Ask friend

use phone (Tiffany) - to write Chinese characters

Check use in context (Lea)

to save time

mentioned?

Affordance of GT (collocation tools also)

Take Google Sugg. (Theo)

Appendix I   Coding Memo (School 2)
Theme: Inclusion vs. exclusion and minority language use

As I review interview data, the theme of students finding the use of minority languages that they do not understand to be exclusionary or unpleasant keeps coming up. Several students specifically mention suspecting or discovering that minority languages were being used to talk badly about them behind their backs. However, several also feel the need to specify that they do not mind minority languages being spoken *per se*. The poles of suspicion and tolerance therefore seem to be holding up well, so far, as attitudinal descriptors associated with the exclusionary potential of minority languages. An interesting feature of how students discursively construct these explanations is that they usually seem to describe other unnamed students as negative examples, whereas they more often cite their current classmates as examples of the necessity of using minority languages at times for learning purposes (e.g. [classmate] describing Rachelle and Lamis's use of Arabic—even if this conflicts with their actual negative reaction in class). They also seem to construct themselves in several cases (e.g. Sara, Ecem, Rachelle) as minimizing the use of their own minority languages in order to include their friends and classmates in conversation and to minimize their peers' suspicions.

A direction for implications that I have also discussed with my advisor is how we can help students and teachers become comfortable with not always understanding. How can we help majoritized speakers decenter? How can we help everyone tolerate ambiguity? The alternative sadly seems to be that there will be no or little public space for using minority languages, which by definition are languages that not everyone will understand. Sara presents an example of this when she describes how she and a Polish friend have mostly stopped using Polish so as not to exclude others who can't understand Polish. However, it should be noted that Sara presents this as a positive example of accommodating friends rather than as a negative example of personal language loss.

Shirin provides a useful counterpoint to many other students' descriptions of accommodating other students' suspicion of languages they don't understand. Shirin both describes experiencing more extreme hostility—being accused of not being Norwegian because she is speaking Kurdish—and prioritizing her own right to speak Kurdish over others' discomfort. She describes speaking Kurdish as an important part of who she is, and this is something that she will not let go of because of others' negative reactions. She defends herself against the implicit claim of talking behind others' backs, even as she admits that she did not like when her parents spoke a language in her presence that she did not understand. The discomfort of not understanding is thus also present for her, but she does not consider others' discomfort reason enough to set aside an important part of her identity. The importance of using Kurdish regularly is even a reason that she says she is upset with the school's prohibition on mobile phones. Shirin also spontaneously mentions the inclusionary potential of speaking English to students who understand that better than Norwegian. She describes English as a "sweet" language. She seems to position English as a more neutral means of inclusion than Norwegian, the latter having been used by others to try to discipline her into a national language ideology.

Appendix J   Information Letters and Consent Forms
Appendix J.1   Information Letter and Consent Form: Students

I first prepared the project information letter and consent forms for students and their parents or guardians in English and Norwegian. Then, based on needs expressed beforehand by the participating teachers or in person by students, translations were prepared in the following languages: Albanian, Arabic, Cantonese, Greek, Italian, Polish, Romanian, Serbian, Somali, Thai, Turkish, and Vietnamese. In this appendix, I present the English version of the student information letter and consent form and, as an illustrative example, the Polish translation.

UiO ⁞ University of Oslo
Department of Teacher Education and School Research
Faculty of Educational Sciences

To students and parents/guardians at [school]

Date: [updated as needed]

Research project about multilingualism as a resource in English writing instruction

I am a doctoral student in teaching English at the Faculty of Educational Sciences at the University of Oslo. I am conducting a doctoral research project about English writing instruction in linguistically diverse classes. The goal of the project is to examine how students' competence in various languages is highlighted and used as a resource in English writing instruction.

In connection with this, I will be observing English lessons at the school during [fall/spring] 2017. After some initial observation, I would like to audio- and video-record English writing instruction and individual students or groups of students as they work on written tasks, as well as interview students and teachers about how they experience English writing instruction. I also plan to collect and examine students' written work and written feedback from teachers. When there is video recording in the classroom, there will be 1 or 2 cameras that record the whole class, with computer software used to record students' computer screens as they work on writing or smaller cameras directed at other written work. I also plan to audio-record conversations between the teacher and students as they work on writing.

Participation in the project can therefore entail the following for students: observation in the classroom, audio- and video-recording during writing instruction, audio-recorded interviews, and collection of written work.

The project will be carried out in accordance with applicable laws on protection of personal data and research ethics guidelines. The project is registered with the Norwegian Data Protection Official for Research (NSD) (project number 51051), and all personal data will be treated confidentially. Data will be stored on a secure research server at the University of Oslo, and only my advisors and I will have access to the data. All data will be anonymized at the end of the project in 2021. It will not be possible to recognize individual participants in publications from the project.

Participation in the project is voluntary, and individual students' decision to participate or not participate in the project will not affect classroom instruction.

If you have any questions about the study, you may contact me by e-mail at i.r.beiler@ils.uio.no or by telephone at xxx xx xxx. You may also contact my advisors at the University of Oslo with any questions: Lisbeth Brevik, Associate Professor (l.m.brevik@ils.uio.no) and Joke Dewilde, Postdoctoral Fellow (j.i.dewilde@ils.uio.no). Thank you in advance for your consideration.

Sincerely,
Ingrid Rodrick Beiler

Postal address: Postboks 1099 Blindern, 0317 Oslo
E-mail: i.r.beiler@ils.uio.no
www.uio.no

Consent to Participate in 'Multilingualism as a Resource in English Writing Instruction'

Student name: _____

Student age: _____ (under 16, please include parent/guardian's signature below)

    ☐   Yes, I agree to participate in the study. I consent to the following:
          ☐ Classroom observation
          ☐ Video-recording
          ☐ Audio-recording
          ☐ Computer screen recording
          ☐ Interview
          ☐ Collection of written work

    ☐   No, I do not wish to participate in the study.

_____

Date   Place

_____

Student's signature

_____

Parent/guardian's signature (if student is under age 16)

All participation in the project is voluntary, and you can withdraw your consent at any time without giving a reason. If you withdraw, any information collected about you will be deleted.

Questions about the study can be directed to:
Researcher: Ingrid Rodrick Beiler, Doctoral Student, University of Oslo, i.r.beiler@ils.uio.no, telephone xxx xx xxx
Advisors:
    Lisbeth Brevik, Associate Professor, University of Oslo, l.m.brevik@ils.uio.no
    Joke Dewilde, Postdoctoral Fellow, University of Oslo, j.i.dewilde@ils.uio.no

UiO ⁝ University of Oslo

Department of Teacher Education and School Research
Faculty of Educational Sciences

Do opiekunów i uczniów [szkoły]
Data:

Projekt naukowy na temat wielojęzyczności jako środka w nauczaniu języka angielskiego w formie pisemnej

Jestem doktorantem dydaktyki angielskiej na Wydziale Edukacji Uniwersytetu w Oslo. Zamierzam przeprowadzić projekt doktorancki na temat nauczania języka angielskiego w formie pisemnej w klasach o różnorodności językowej. Celem projektu jest zbadanie, w jaki sposób wiedza uczniów posługujących się różnymi językami staje się widoczna i wykorzystywana jako środek w nauce języka angielskiego w formie pisemnej.

W związku z tym, chciałabym obserwować lekcje języka angielskiego w szkole na przełomie wiosny i jesieni 2017 roku. Następnie chciałabym wykonać nagrania audiowizualne lekcji języka angielskiego uczniów, podczas ich pracy z zadaniami pisemnymi, indywidualnie lub grupowo, oraz wywiady z uczniami i nauczycielami na temat ich doświadczeń w nauce pisemnego języka angielskiego. Chcę również zebrać i zbadać prace pisemne uczniów oraz komentarze nauczycieli na ten temat. Kiedy nagranie audiowizualne będzie miało miejsce w klasie, będzie od jednej do dwóch kamer filmujących klasę jako całość, z możliwością nagrywania ekranów komputerowych uczniów podczas ich pracy z zadaniami pisemnymi. Chciałabym również nagrać rozmowy nauczycieli z uczniami w czasie pracy nad zadaniami pisemnymi.

Udział w projekcie będzie zatem obejmować następujące działania: obserwację w klasie, nagrania audiowizualne w czasie lekcji, rejestrację wywiadu i zbiór prac pisemnych.

Projekt zostanie przeprowadzony zgodnie z obowiązującym prawem do prywatności i etyki badań naukowych. Badanie zostało zgłoszone do Rzecznika praw do spraw prywatności w zakresie badań, Norweskiego Centrum Badania Danych (numer projektu 51051), a wszystkie dane osobowe będą traktowane jako poufne. Dane na komputerze będą przechowywane w bezpiecznym serwerze badawczym Uniwersytetu w Oslo i tylko ja oraz promotorzy mojej pracy doktoranckiej będą mieli dostęp do tych danych. Po zakończeniu projektu w 2021 roku wszystkie dane staną się anonimowe. Uczestnicy nie będą mogli zostać uwzględnieni w publikacjach dotyczących projektu.

Udział w programie jest dobrowolny i nie będzie miał wpływu na naukę, jeśli uczeń nie będzie w nim uczestniczył.

Jeżeli mają Państwo pytania dotyczące projektu, mogą się Państwo skontaktować ze mną drogą mailową i.r.beiler@ils.uio.no lub pod numerem telefonu xxx xx xxx. W przypadku pytań mogą się Państwo również skontaktować z moimi promotorami na Uniwersytecie w Oslo: Lisbeth Brevik, profesorem nadzwyczajnym języka angielskiego (l.m.brevik@ils.uio.no), i Joke Dewilde, doktorem habilitowanym (j.i.dewilde@ils.uio.no).

Z poważaniem

Ingrid Rodrick Beiler

Zgoda na udział w projekcie: "Wielojęzyczność jako środek w nauczaniu języka angielskiego w formie pisemnej."

Imię i nazwisko ucznia: _____

Wiek ucznia: _____ (poniżej 16 roku życia, prosimy o podpis rodzica poniżej)

☐ Tak, wyrażam zgodę na udział w projekcie. Zgadzam się na:
    ☐ Obserwację w klasie
    ☐ Nagrania audiowizualne
    ☐ Nagrania dźwiękowe
    ☐ Nagrania ekranów komputerowych
    ☐ Wywiady
    ☐ Zbiór tekstów uczniów

☐ Nie, nie będę brać udziału w projekcie.

_____

Data   Miejsce

_____

Podpis ucznia

_____

Podpis opiekuna (przy udziale ucznia poniżej 16-ego roku życia)

Udział w projekcie jest dobrowolny i można w każdej chwili wycofać się z projektu bez podania powodu. Jeśli uczeń wycofa się z projektu, wszystkie dane zostaną usunięte.

Pytania na temat projektu można kierować do:

Koordynatora projektu: Ingrid Rodrick Beiler, doktorant, ILS, UV, University of Oslo, i.r.beiler@ils.uio.no, telefon xxx xx xxx

Promotorów:

Lisbeth Brevik, profesor nadzwyczajny, ILS, UV, University of Oslo, l.m.brevik@ils.uio.no

Joke Dewilde, doktor habilitowany, ILS, UV, University of Oslo, j.i.dewilde@ils.uio.no

Appendix J.2   Information Letter and Consent Form: Teachers

The information letter and consent form for teachers were prepared only in Norwegian, as this was the self-identified first language of all participating teachers. The project information in the letter matches that provided in English in Appendix J.1. The text diverges only in the following two ways:

1. The paragraph that summarizes what participation will entail for teachers reads:

   Participation in the project will therefore entail the following for teachers: observation in class, video recording of writing instruction, audio-recorded interview, and collection of written feedback to students

2. The consent form provides for general opt-in, rather than differentiated options for participation, with the following statement of consent:

   I have received information about the project 'Multilingualism as a Resource in English Writing Instruction' and confirm that I am willing to participate.

UiO ⋮ Universitetet i Oslo
Utdanningsvitenskapelig fakultet/Institutt for lærerutdanning og skoleforskning

Til lærere ved [skole]

Dato: [oppdateres ved utsending]

Forskningsprosjekt om flerspråklighet som ressurs i engelsk skriveundervisning

Jeg er stipendiat i engelsk fagdidaktikk ved Det utdanningsvitenskapelige fakultet ved Universitetet i Oslo. Jeg skal utføre et doktorgradsprosjekt om engelsk skriveundervisning i klasser med språklig mangfold. Målet med prosjektet er å undersøke hvordan elevers kunnskaper i ulike språk synliggjøres og benyttes som ressurs i engelsk skriveundervisning.

I forbindelse med dette, vil jeg observere engelsktimer ved skolen i løpet av våren 2017. Etter hvert ønsker jeg å ta lyd- og videoopptak av engelsk skriveundervisning og av enkelte elever eller grupper av elever mens de jobber med skriftlige oppgaver, samt intervjue elever og lærere om deres opplevelser av engelsk skriveundervisning. Jeg vil også samle inn og undersøke elevers skriftlige tekster og tilbakemeldinger fra lærere. Når videoopptak skjer i klasserommet, vil det være 1-2 kameraer som filmer klassen som helhet, eventuelt med mindre kameraer rettet mot enkelte elevers dataskjerm eller annet skriftlig arbeid. Jeg vil også foreta lydopptak av lærerens samtaler med elever mens de jobber med skriftlige oppgaver. Det kan videre bli aktuelt å intervjue skoleledere om rammer for engelskundervisningen ved skolen.

Deltakelse i prosjektet vil derfor innebære følgende for lærere: observasjon i klassen, opptak på video av skriveundervisning, intervju med lydopptak og innsamling av skriftlige tilbakemeldinger til elever.

Prosjektet vil bli gjennomført i henhold til gjeldende lovverk for personvern og forskningsetiske retningslinjer. Studien er meldt til Personvernombudet for forskning, Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelige datatjeneste (NSD) (prosjektnummer 51051), og alle personopplysninger vil bli behandlet konfidensielt. Datamaterialet vil bli lagret i sikker forskningsserver ved Universitetet i Oslo, og bare jeg og veilederne på doktorgraden min vil ha tilgang til datamaterialet. Ved prosjektets slutt i 2021 vil datamaterialet anonymiseres. Deltakerne vil ikke kunne bli gjenkjent i publikasjoner fra prosjektet.

Deltakelse i prosjektet er frivillig, og deltakere kan når som helst trekke sitt samtykke uten å gi begrunnelse.

Dersom du har noen spørsmål til studien, kan du ta kontakt med meg på e-post i.r.beiler@ils.uio.no eller telefon xxx xx xxx. Veilederne mine ved Universitetet i Oslo kan også kontaktes med spørsmål: Lisbeth Brevik, førsteamanuensis i engelsk (l.m.brevik@ils.uio.no), og Joke Dewilde, postdoktor (j.i.dewilde@ils.uio.no).

Med vennlig hilsen
Ingrid Rodrick Beiler

Postadresse: Postboks 1099 Blindern, 0317 Oslo
E-post: i.r.beiler@ils.uio.no
www.uio.no

Samtykke til deltakelse i 'Flerspråklighet som ressurs i engelsk skriveundervisning'

Jeg har mottatt informasjon om prosjektet 'Flerspråklighet som ressurs i engelsk skriveundervisning', og bekrefter at jeg er villig til å delta.

Navn: _____

_____

Dato   Sted

_____

Underskrift

All deltakelse i prosjektet er frivillig, og du kan når som helst trekke ditt samtykke uten noen grunn. Dersom du trekker deg, vil alle opplysninger bli slettet.

Spørsmål om studien kan rettes til:
Prosjektansvarlig: Ingrid Rodrick Beiler, stipendiat, ILS, UV, Universitetet i Oslo, i.r.beiler@ils.uio.no, telefon xxx xx xxx
Veiledere:
Lisbeth Brevik, førsteamanuensis, ILS, UV, Universitetet i Oslo, l.m.brevik@ils.uio.no
Joke Dewilde, postdoktor, ILS, UV, Universitetet i Oslo, j.i.dewilde@ils.uio.no

Appendix J.3   Information Letter and Consent Form: Administrators

The information letter and consent form for school administrators were prepared only in Norwegian, as this was the self-identified first language of all participating administrators. The project information in this letter matches that provided in English in Appendix J.1. The text diverges only in the following two ways:

1. The paragraph that summarizes what participation will entail for administrators reads:

    Participation in the project will therefore entail the following for school administrators: audio-recorded interview

2. The consent form provides for general opt-in, rather than differentiated options for participation, with the following statement of consent:

    I have received information about the project 'Multilingualism as a Resource in English Writing Instruction' and confirm that I am willing to participate.

UiO ⁞ Universitetet i Oslo
Utdanningsvitenskapelig fakultet/Institutt for lærerutdanning og skoleforskning

Til ledere ved [skole]

Dato: [oppdateres ved utsending]

Forskningsprosjekt om flerspråklighet som ressurs i engelsk skriveundervisning

Jeg er stipendiat i engelsk fagdidaktikk ved Det utdanningsvitenskapelige fakultet ved Universitetet i Oslo. Jeg skal utføre et doktorgradsprosjekt om engelsk skriveundervisning i klasser med språklig mangfold. Målet med prosjektet er å undersøke hvordan elevers kunnskaper i ulike språk synliggjøres og benyttes som ressurs i engelsk skriveundervisning.

I forbindelse med dette, vil jeg observere engelsktimer ved skolen i løpet av våren 2017. Etter hvert ønsker jeg å ta lyd- og videoopptak av engelsk skriveundervisning og av enkelte elever eller grupper av elever mens de jobber med skriftlige oppgaver, samt intervjue elever og lærere om deres opplevelser av engelsk skriveundervisning. Jeg vil også samle inn og undersøke elevers skriftlige tekster og tilbakemeldinger fra lærere. Når videoopptak skjer i klasserommet, vil det være 1-2 kameraer som filmer klassen som helhet, eventuelt med mindre kameraer rettet mot enkelte elevers dataskjerm eller annet skriftlig arbeid. Jeg vil også foreta lydopptak av lærerens samtaler med elever mens de jobber med skriftlige oppgaver. Det kan videre bli aktuelt å intervjue skoleledere om rammer for engelskundervisningen ved skolen.

Deltakelse i prosjektet vil derfor innebære følgende for skoleledere: intervju med lydopptak

Prosjektet vil bli gjennomført i henhold til gjeldende lovverk for personvern og forskningsetiske retningslinjer. Studien er meldt til Personvernombudet for forskning, Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelige datatjeneste (NSD) (prosjektnummer 51051), og alle personopplysninger vil bli behandlet konfidensielt. Datamaterialet vil bli lagret i sikker forskningsserver ved Universitetet i Oslo, og bare jeg og veilederne på doktorgraden min vil ha tilgang til datamaterialet. Ved prosjektets slutt i 2021 vil datamaterialet anonymiseres. Deltakerne vil ikke kunne bli gjenkjent i publikasjoner fra prosjektet.

Deltakelse i prosjektet er frivillig, og deltakere kan når som helst trekke sitt samtykke uten å gi begrunnelse.

Dersom du har noen spørsmål til studien, kan du ta kontakt med meg på e-post i.r.beiler@ils.uio.no eller telefon xxx xx xxx. Veilederne mine ved Universitetet i Oslo kan også kontaktes med spørsmål: Lisbeth Brevik, førsteamanuensis i engelsk (l.m.brevik@ils.uio.no), og Joke Dewilde, postdoktor (j.i.dewilde@ils.uio.no).

Med vennlig hilsen
Ingrid Rodrick Beiler

Postadresse: Postboks 1099 Blindern, 0317 Oslo
E-post: i.r.beiler@ils.uio.no
www.uio.no

Samtykke til deltakelse i 'Flerspråklighet som ressurs i engelsk skriveundervisning'

Jeg har mottatt informasjon om og bekrefter at jeg er villig til å delta.

Navn: _____

_____

Dato   Sted

_____

Underskrift

All deltakelse i prosjektet er frivillig, og du kan når som helst trekke ditt samtykke uten noen grunn. Dersom du trekker deg, vil alle opplysninger bli slettet.

Spørsmål om studien kan rettes til:
Prosjektansvarlig: Ingrid Rodrick Beiler, stipendiat, ILS, UV, Universitetet i Oslo,
    i.r.beiler@ils.uio.no, telefon xxx xx xxx
Veiledere:
    Lisbeth Brevik, førsteamanuensis, ILS, UV, Universitetet i Oslo, l.m.brevik@ils.uio.no
    Joke Dewilde, postdoktor, ILS, UV, Universitetet i Oslo, j.i.dewilde@ils.uio.no

Part II

Articles

Negotiating Multilingual Resources in English Writing Instruction for Recent Immigrants to Norway

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Department of Teacher Education and School Research, University of Oslo, Oslo, Norway

Recent studies have demonstrated how teachers can draw on students' multilingual resources in teaching English writing, even in monolingually oriented policy settings. However, limited research has been conducted outside of countries where English is the majority language or in classes where few students share a language background. This article reports on a linguistic ethnography of English writing instruction in two introductory classes for newly arrived students in Norway (Grades 8–10, *N* = 22), where students and teachers negotiated the role of students' diverse language backgrounds and emerging Norwegian. Data reflect 3 months of participant observation, including classroom video recording, recording of students' computer screens, text collection, and creation of language portraits, followed by stimulated recall interviews. The teachers and students drew on multilingual resources in various ways during writing instruction, most extensively in receptive and oral uses. However, Norwegian assumed a privileged position among the language resources of the class while students sidelined their less formal or prestigious literacy resources. The study demonstrates teachers' and students' ability to reshape English writing instruction as a multilingual space but also concludes that multilingual literacy must be promoted as more than an instrumental resource in the service of English writing development.
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L iteracy develops in an uneven world, where different language resources carry unequal prestige (Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester, 2000). Recent research on writing instruction in English as an additional language has accordingly expanded from more text-focused studies to investigate the writing of multilingual students as socially situated practice (Canagarajah, 2013; Leung & Street, 2012). These studies have revealed the complex ways that multilingual students invest

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their identities in writing (Cummins & Early, 2011) and make flexible use of their full linguistic repertoires (Canagarajah, 2013; García & Kano, 2014). Sociolinguistic research has illustrated how teachers can draw on multilingual resources in teaching English writing, even in monolingually oriented policy settings (Ebe, 2016). Nonetheless, monolingual approaches still dominate much English teaching (Illman & Pietilä, 2018; Young, 2014), and examples of multilingual pedagogical practices most often draw on researcher implementation, researcher–teacher collaboration (Canagarajah, 2013; Cummins & Early, 2011; Ebe, 2016; García & Kano, 2014; Stille & Cummins, 2013), or insights from complementary education or out-of-school writing (Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Dewilde, 2017). Fewer studies (e.g., Lucas & Katz, 1994) have found evidence of multilingual practices in compulsory English writing instruction in the absence of researcher collaboration. Even less research has been conducted outside of countries where English is the majority language or in classes where few students share a language background. In much of Western Europe, both of the latter classroom contexts are common (Gogolin, 2011). The prominent status of English as a school subject in these places has given rise to calls for a better understanding of how English teachers can build on students' diverse linguistic backgrounds in situations traditionally framed as teaching English as a foreign language (Dahl & Krulatz, 2016; Illman & Pietilä, 2018).

This article adds to existing literature by investigating the local implementation and ideological limitations of multilingual practices in two linguistically diverse lower secondary classes for newly arrived immigrants to Norway, where the teachers have articulated an orientation toward multilingualism as a resource (see Ruíz, 1984). Specifically, the study aims to examine teachers' and students' use and positioning of multilingual resources in English writing instruction in this context. I review selected studies of teachers' or students' use of multilingual resources in English writing instruction before presenting the study's analytical lenses. I argue that the teachers' and students' practices provide models for drawing on multilingual resources in English writing instruction in linguistically diverse classes. Nonetheless, language ideologies and hierarchies in the students' current and previous educational contexts limit how different language resources are used.

CREATING SPACE FOR MULTILINGUAL RESOURCES IN ENGLISH WRITING INSTRUCTION

Both educators and students can create space for holistic multilingual literacy development, whether their official policy contexts and

dominant ideologies constrain or encourage this goal (Hornberger, 2005). Lucas and Katz (1994) presented findings from nine programs for linguistically diverse English language learners in the United States, where language policies ranged from English-only to laissez-faire to overt acknowledgment of students' first languages (L1s[1]) as instructional resources. Teachers at schools that explicitly promoted students' L1s displayed more systematic multilingual classroom practices. However, teachers across all the schools drew on students' L1s in various ways, grouping students by language background to scaffold each other's writing, encouraging the use of bilingual dictionaries, or allowing them to write in their L1 at initial or even final stages, depending on their developing English proficiency. More recently, researchers and teachers have used multilingual *identity texts* to incorporate students' linguistic repertoires and life experiences in English writing instruction in a variety of international contexts (Cummins & Early, 2011; Stille & Cummins, 2013). Moreover, Ebe (2016) reported how a teacher in New York City systematically reshaped a monolingual English literacy curriculum to facilitate translanguaging, or integrated use of resources identified with different languages, in her multilingual class. The class first studied literary translanguaging before students practiced this in their own writing, which Ebe (2016) framed as both a scaffold for learning and a way to challenge monolingual norms. Rather than waiting for top-down policy changes, these teachers opened up "ideological and implementational spaces" (Hornberger, 2005, p. 606) from the bottom up to foster biliteracy development.

Furthermore, students can bring their multilingual resources into their writing practices, at their own initiative or in cooperation with their teachers. Canagarajah (2013) described multilingual writers' choices to sometimes deviate from and sometimes imitate monolingual English norms, in line with their development of voice and communicative aims. In García and Kano's (2014) study, emerging bilingual students used their bilingual repertoires supportively, for instance, constructing and organizing ideas in Japanese before writing in English, seeking information in Japanese and models of usage in English, or annotating their English notes in Japanese. More experienced bilingual students used their full linguistic repertoires simply to enhance their writing and language learning, for example, finding information in both English and Japanese or translating English input into Japanese for personal bilingual development (García & Kano, 2014).

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[1] Alternatives include *mother tongue* and *native language*. I refer to L1 to describe research and policy documents. However, I sometimes use *mother tongue* in the results in line with participants' usages, to highlight emic perspectives (see Copland & Creese, 2015).

Similarly, Stille and Cummins (2013) reported that emerging bilingual and multilingual elementary school students in Canada used their diverse linguistic repertoires to write notes, drafts, and final texts as part of English writing instruction. Students also used shared languages to support each other during writing, and one student orally presented a text partly in a home language he could not write. In Dewilde's (2017) study, a newly arrived teenager in Norway drew on transnational literacy experiences and literary forms from various oral and written traditions in her Norwegian and English writing. These studies have highlighted the complex ways that multilingual students can draw on their full linguistic repertoires in English writing.

ANALYZING MULTILINGUAL WRITING PRACTICES IN LIGHT OF LINGUISTIC HIERARCHIES

Hornberger's (2003) continua of biliteracy locate individual development of multilingual literacy in the interrelated dimensions of contexts, content, and media. Hornberger (2003) defined biliteracy as "the use of two or more languages in or around writing" (p. xii) and identified 12 continua along which biliteracy can occur. Figure 1 presents these continua, with elements that traditionally entail less power in society placed at the left side of each continuum.

As illustrated in Figure 1, *contexts of biliteracy* can occur along continua of micro to macro scales, characterized by more oral or written language use and by multiple languages or only monolingual resources—or anywhere in between. The *development of biliteracy* is similar: It can be well developed for oral or written, receptive or productive use—or all of the above—and it can draw on L1 and L2 (second language) proficiency. *Content of biliteracy* refers to meanings communicated through biliteracy, whether vernacular or literary topics, associated with minority or majority populations, in language that is meaningfully contextualized to varying degrees. Finally, *media of biliteracy* refer to the languages involved in biliteracy, which can be taught and learned simultaneously or successively, be structurally dissimilar or similar, and be written in divergent or convergent scripts (Hornberger, 2003; Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester, 2000). The model does not treat the distinction between bilingualism and multilingualism as analytically salient. Instead, it emphasizes the unequal power relations in each continuum. If students are to draw upon the full range of the continua, local actors "need to contest the traditional power weighting of the continua by paying attention to and granting agency and voice to actors and practices at what have traditionally been the less powerful

Contexts of biliteracy

micro <————————> macro
oral <————————> literate
bi(multi)lingual <————————> monolingual

Development of biliteracy

reception <————————> production
oral <————————> written
L1 <————————> L2

Content of biliteracy

minority <————————> majority
vernacular <————————> literary
contextualized <————————> decontextualized

Media of biliteracy

simultaneous exposure <————> successive exposure
dissimilar structures <————> similar structures
divergent scripts <————> convergent scripts

FIGURE 1. Power relations in the continua of biliteracy (Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester, 2000). Reprinted by permission of Taylor & Francis, www.tandfonline.com.

ends of the continua" (Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester, 2000, p. 99). The model adopts Ruíz's (1984) view of multilingualism as a resource (Hornberger, 2003) and suggests that "the more students' contexts of language and literacy use allow them to draw from across the whole of each and every continuum, the greater are the chances for their full language and literacy development and expression" (Hornberger & Link, 2012, p. 243). By investigating the space available for all dimensions of biliteracy in the English writing classroom, one can thus identify potential directions for expanding students' writing practices.

Since the continua of biliteracy were formulated, *translanguaging* has gained currency as a term to describe language practices that transgress perceived language boundaries (Blackledge & Creese, 2010; García, 2009; García & Li Wei, 2014; Hornberger & Link, 2012). Hornberger and Link (2012) defined translanguaging as "how bilingual students communicate and make meaning by drawing on and intermingling linguistic features from different languages" (p. 240), and they argued that translanguaging can make space for all points along the continua of biliteracy. The notion of translanguaging usefully expands the continua of biliteracy because it more fully accommodates the multiple features of a multilingual repertoire, whose integrated use surpasses L1–L2 transfer (see Hornberger & Skilton-

Sylvester, 2000). Translanguaging has also been defined as a pedagogical approach:

> a process by which students and teachers engage in complex discursive practices that include ALL the language practices of ALL students in a class in order to develop new language practices and sustain old ones, communicate and appropriate knowledge, and give voice to new sociopolitical realities by interrogating linguistic inequality. (García & Li Wei, 2014, p. 66)

This definition of translanguaging recalls the emphasis in the continua model on mobilizing the totality of students' literacy resources. It also suggests that translanguaging challenges linguistic inequality, notably by countering the monolingual and monoglossic ideologies that dominate much language teaching (García, 2009). Whereas monolingual ideologies privilege a single language, monoglossic ideologies insist on clear separation between languages for teaching and learning (García, 2009). Both ideologies privilege students who can perform as monolingual in majoritized languages. However, Jaspers (2018) cautioned against automatically linking translanguaging to personal and social transformation, because this is not borne out in every context and risks underestimating economic factors that contribute to students' marginalization. An insistence on conspicuously hybrid language practices may also disadvantage students perceived as monolingual and, ironically, reinforce a focus on the formal characteristics of students' written products rather than the underlying values of affirming student voice and promoting social justice (Canagarajah, 2013; Jaspers, 2018).

Jaspers's (2018) concerns also raise the analytical challenge of interpreting classroom language practices as expressions of personal agency or as reproduction of linguistic hierarchies. Miller (2012) proposed that individual agency is a "relational and mediated capacity to act in conjunction with the agency of spaces," which in turn "refers to the constitutive effects of space in legitimizing some linguistic acts but delegitimizing others" (pp. 441–442) as individuals move across and reconfigure spaces. Miller further suggested that one can analyze how ideological spaces are constituted and themselves contribute to constituting meaning through the linguistic acts that the individuals in these spaces treat as "legitimate, desirable, and possible" or, conversely, "outside the domain of 'common sense'" (p. 447). In this article, I analyze how students and teachers constitute or limit "ideological and implementational spaces" (Hornberger, 2005, p. 606) in English writing instruction along the dimensions of the continua of biliteracy (Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester, 2000) by legitimizing or setting aside various language practices and resources.

STUDY CONTEXT: ENGLISH TEACHING IN NORWAY'S LINGUISTICALLY DIVERSE CLASSROOMS

As in many Western countries, linguistic diversity in Norwegian schools has increased through recent international migration. From 2008 to 2016, the percentage of compulsory school students (ages 6–15) considered immigrants or children of two immigrants nearly doubled from 9% to 16% (Steinkellner, 2017). However, at some schools in the capital city of Oslo, more than 90% of students have registered an L1 other than Norwegian, which may span dozens of different languages at any given school (Øzerk & Kerchner, 2014). Norwegian educational policy has incorporated this linguistic diversity to only a limited extent. Although indigenous Sámi students and the Kven National Minority have a right to developmental instruction in their respective languages, newer linguistic minorities can receive only transitional mother tongue and bilingual subject instruction "if necessary," in addition to monolingual supportive Norwegian instruction, to ensure a transition to Norwegian-medium education (Ministry of Education and Research, 1998, § 2–8, § 3–12). This conditional right applies to all grade levels, without restrictions in time or by specific language. However, it is up to each municipality to assess students' need for mother tongue or bilingual instruction, and municipalities are increasingly opting to offer monolingual supportive Norwegian instruction without mother tongue or bilingual instruction (Steinkellner, 2017).

The national English curriculum implicitly acknowledges linguistic diversity among students through competence aims to compare English to one's L1, rather than assuming this to be Norwegian (Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2013). Research on English teaching in Norway has generally concluded that, in practice, existing multilingualism among students is neither used nor referenced (e.g., Dahl & Krulatz, 2016; Krulatz & Torgersen, 2016), even in sheltered classes for newly arrived students (Burner & Carlsen, 2017). In one study, researchers collaborated with English and Norwegian teachers to implement an identity text project, encouraging teachers and students to draw broadly on students' diverse L1s, but only Norwegian and English featured in the final student texts (Krulatz, Steen-Olsen, & Torgersen, 2018). However, the processes of constructing or limiting multilingual practices in English writing instruction remain largely unexplored. Studies have also produced few findings on what multilingual approaches to teaching English writing might look like in this context. The present study therefore investigates how teachers and students draw on and position students' multilingual resources in English writing instruction in two linguistically diverse classes for newly arrived students.

METHODOLOGY

I use linguistic ethnography as an overarching methodological and interpretive approach, "which studies the local and immediate actions of actors from their point of view and considers how these interactions are embedded in wider social contexts and structures" (Copland & Creese, 2015, p. 13). Linguistic ethnography combines open participant observation with a variety of methods, such as video and audio recordings and interviews, that reveal contextual discourses and participant perspectives. It derives analytical rigor from systematically reviewing field notes and other data sources and connecting themes that emerge in the data to theory, building the validity of the analysis by considering various data sources in light of each other (Copland & Creese, 2015).

I chose an urban lower secondary school as a *telling case* (Mitchell, 1984) for multilingual classroom practices through a multistage selection process. Through an extended professional network, I contacted 70 teachers and school administrators throughout Norway. I then interviewed 23 and observed 13 English teachers who had multilingual students and were willing to discuss their teaching practices. The two teachers who participated in the current study were among those who described and displayed the most extensive efforts to draw on their students' multilingual repertoires. Erik[2] and Tobias both taught English in sheltered classes for newly arrived immigrants, referred to as introductory classes. They were both L1 speakers of Norwegian who also spoke English fluently and had studied German in secondary school. Tobias also had qualifications to teach Spanish and had begun personal study of Arabic. Erik had learned some Zulu as a volunteer in South Africa. Tobias's class consisted of 13 eighth- to tenth-grade students (ages 13–16), 10 of whom participated in the study. In Erik's tenth-grade class (ages 15–16), all 12 students consented to participate. The 22 participating students came from many countries and reported proficiency in at least three languages each, spanning 24 languages altogether: Albanian, Arabic, Cantonese, Cebuano, English, French, German, Greek, Hindi, Italian, Japanese, Mandarin, Norwegian, Romanian, Russian, Serbian, Somali, Spanish, Swahili, Tagalog, Thai, Turkish, Urdu, and Vietnamese. The students' relationship to these languages is problematized in the Results section.

Introductory classes are a transitional arrangement for newly arrived students to receive intensive Norwegian instruction so that they can be integrated into Norwegian-medium mainstream classes. Introductory programs may also offer English, which is a core school subject in

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[2] All participant names are pseudonyms. In Norway, teachers are addressed by first name.

Norway from first grade on. Introductory classes loosely follow the general national English curriculum, but students are exempted from national exams. At the study site, students had two hours of English per week, compared to nine hours of Norwegian, in addition to other subjects like math and social studies. Tobias's and Erik's classes were part of an accelerated track for learning Norwegian, in which students' schooling background was considered commensurate with that in Norway. Accordingly, most students had experience with formal writing instruction, although familiarity with specific genres varied. Several students also commented that they were not used to writing as long texts in English as in their current class. Furthermore, because students were in introductory classes based on Norwegian rather than English proficiency, their English proficiency varied substantially. At one extreme were students who had previously attended English-medium schools. More often, students had studied English for several years but found the Norwegian English curriculum to be more advanced than at their previous schools.

In a welcome brochure for newly arrived students, the school described "multilingualism as a resource," presenting the importance of recognizing, highlighting, and building on students' existing language competence. A school administrator explained that the leadership had taken inspiration from research on multilingual students (e.g., Dahl & Krulatz, 2016) and the Ontario (Canada) Ministry of Education in adopting this stance. She added that the introductory program deliberately offered English alongside Norwegian with the rationale that language learning can be mutually reinforcing across languages. Nonetheless, the physical space of the introductory program displayed potentially competing ideologies. Alongside posters on the walls that presented phrases in several languages, laminated signs reminded the students to speak Norwegian (e.g., "We speak Norwegian during recess") with relevant Norwegian vocabulary for doing so. One student-produced sign was more categorical: "You have to speak Norwegian. Only Norwegian." Another student sign added, "Don't speak English,"[3] a language that was often heard outside of class. These potential contextual oppositions informed the analytical focus on how teachers and students negotiated the role of multilingual resources in English class.

For three months in the spring of 2017, I conducted participant observation in the two English classes, focusing on lessons that included writing instruction. I wrote field notes and recorded classroom observations through video of teachers, audio of selected

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[3] The signs are translated from Norwegian. I performed all translations from Norwegian.

conversations between students, and screen recordings of students' laptops. I also took photographs at the school and collected student texts, teacher feedback, writing tasks, and school policy documents. I then conducted stimulated recall interviews (Gass & Mackey, 2017) with the students and teachers, based on the aforementioned data sources, and recorded the interviews. Students created language portraits (Busch, 2012), which they described in their interviews. Table 1 summarizes the forms of data collection, data sources, and participants.

The number of students varies for the categories in Table 1 because students chose their forms of participation, for example, whether to have their laptop screens recorded or to be videotaped for all or part of an interview. A few students wished not to be videotaped in class, which affected the research design in two ways: Only the teachers were videotaped and wore microphones during classroom instruction, and students' laptop screens were recorded using software to capture individual screens only.

The study received prior approval from the Norwegian Centre for Research Data. Nonetheless, I made particular attempts to ensure informed and voluntary consent from participants, who were both minors and recent immigrants (Boddy, 2014) being studied in a compulsory setting. An initial measure was to translate the project information letter and consent form into every language that the teachers

TABLE 1
Data Sources

Method	Data	Participants	Quantity
Observation	Field notes	Teachers ($n = 2$) Students ($n = 22$)	66,741 words
	Video of classroom instruction	Teachers ($n = 2$) Students[a] ($n = 20$)	11 hrs., 15 mins.
	Audio recordings (conversations)	Students ($n = 10$)	3 hrs., 53 mins.
	Screen recordings	Students ($n = 18$)	50 hrs., 49 mins.
	Photographs (school)	None	49
Document collection	Students texts (some with written feedback)	Students ($n = 21$) Teachers ($n = 2$)	163
	Feedback videos	Teacher ($n = 1$)	1 hr.
	Tasks	Teachers ($n = 2$)	4
	Language portraits	Students ($n = 21$)	21
	School policy documents	N/A	3
Interview	Video recordings	Students ($n = 8$)	2 hrs., 16 mins.
	Audio recordings	Students ($n = 18$) Teachers ($n = 2$)	10 hrs., 19 mins. 2 hrs., 28 mins.
	Interview notes	Students ($n = 2$) Teachers ($n = 2$)	1,509 words 1,761 words

[a]The camera faced the board. Students were captured only on the audio track.

specified as students' mother tongue. I also described the project to students in English and Norwegian and offered consent forms in multiple languages because students and parents might prefer different languages. I noted students' language choices, which did not always match the reported mother tongue, and reflected on such ethically important moments (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004) in my field notes as a way of monitoring ongoing ethical considerations.

Data analysis occurred in three stages, indicated by the numbers 1–3 in Figure 2. In the figure, data collection stages are indicated to the left. Data sources follow in boxes immediately to the right. Representations of data, including transcripts and content logs, are indicated in italics.

As illustrated in Figure 2, analysis began through weekly writing of conceptual memos consisting of thematic summaries of field notes (Heath & Street, 2008). I also wrote content logs of recorded and documentary data on a running basis. In preparation for stimulated recall interviews, I reviewed all field notes, conceptual memos, and content logs to identify examples where participants used or commented on multilingual resources. I transcribed the teacher interviews and created content logs of student interviews. Finally, I coded all field notes, content logs, and transcripts through repeated readings to identify patterns of use and positioning of multilingual resources and key incidents (Emerson, 2004) that broke with patterns. I identified both representative and unusual examples that I transcribed for closer analysis. Recorded segments that were not in English or Norwegian were transcribed and translated to English by contracted translators for this purpose. I then analyzed all data sources in light of each other and relevant theory (Copland & Creese, 2015), referring in particular to the dimensions of the continua of biliteracy (Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester, 2000). At this stage, I identified recurring multilingual practices connected to writing as well as two categories of language resources that stood out as exceptional: Norwegian, which was more prominent, and less formally developed literacy resources, which were relatively absent.

RESULTS

Multilingual Resources for Supportive Transfer and Translanguaging

Although English was the main language of communication and target of the classes, it quickly became clear that Erik, Tobias, and many

Observation / document collection

(1) Conceptual memos

- Field notes
- Classroom video / audio — *Content logs / selective transcripts*
- Screen recordings — *Content logs / selective transcripts*
- Photographs — *Content logs*
- Students texts — *Content logs*
- Teacher feedback — *Content logs*
- Tasks
- Language portraits
- Policy documents

(2) Selections for stimulated recall

Interviews

- Video (students) — *Content logs / selective transcripts*
- Audio (teachers) — *Transcripts*
- Audio (students) — *Content logs / selective transcripts*
- Interview notes

(3) Integrated analysis

Theory

FIGURE 2. **Processing of data and stages of data analysis.**

students leveraged multilingual resources for developing English writing proficiency. On my first day of observation, Erik asked his student Lea if she wanted to prewrite in Polish "like last time" when she had a hard time getting started on a short essay (field note). In a subsequent class, I captured a similar conversation between Erik and his student Jennifer, who was working on an essay about ways to welcome newcomers:

Extract 1. Erik encourages multilingual prewriting[4] (classroom audio).

1	Erik:	how about you, Jennifer, is it difficult?
2	Jennifer:	I don't know, I mean, I have ideas, but I don't know how to make the
3		text longer [. . .]
4	Erik:	what you could do is start writing, and don't think about how you
5		write it, just get it down there, and then you can go over
6		afterwards and checking the English [. . .] try to do that, use five
7		minutes and just get everything down there, write Italian words,
8		write Romanian words if you want to do that, and then you can go
9		over it afterwards and figure it out, ok? try that

In Extract 1, Erik suggested that Jennifer write a draft in any languages that would allow her to express her ideas best. This episode began to elucidate how Erik constructed a space for multilingualism. His encouragement to Jennifer occurred at an early stage of writing, in response to an emergent challenge. He legitimized written translanguaging (Hornberger & Link, 2012) as a drafting strategy, referring to both Italian, her primary previous language of schooling, and Romanian, which she spoke with family and some friends. However, implicit in the encouragement was the assumption that the process would end in a monolingual English product, which she could "figure out" later. Erik thus positioned Jennifer's multilingual repertoire as a strategic supportive resource, to be activated at the early stages of the writing process.

After this interaction, Jennifer expanded the "implementational space" for using Italian but left the "ideological space" (Hornberger, 2005, p. 606) unchallenged in other ways. Erik suggested that she use words in Italian or Romanian, and Jennifer shifted to composing entirely in Italian. She turned in an English version the next day, which she described as a reformulation rather than a direct translation of her Italian draft. For example, the submitted version added an evocative phrase ("innermost secrets") to a more plain descriptor ("problems") of what newcomers might want to share with longer established residents once they had developed a trusting relationship. Jennifer stated that this process allowed her to express herself with a more extensive vocabulary before reformulating her ideas in English, an experience echoed by two classmates who included Thai and Polish, respectively, in their early drafts. Like the students in García and Kano's (2014) study, Jennifer leveraged her expanded linguistic repertoire to produce a more complex text in English. Her practices positioned Italian as a valuable supportive resource but also reproduced the normative position of English as the sole language of the final

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[4] Transcription conventions are provided in the Appendix.

draft to a greater extent than in some previous studies (cf. Cummins & Early, 2011; Lucas & Katz, 1994; Stille & Cummins, 2013). In addition, she chose not to visibly activate Romanian, a point to which I return below.

A writing assignment in Tobias's class illustrated less spontaneous incorporation of multilingual resources as well as a more typical allocation toward receptive use. To write a literary analysis, students could analyze a story written in a language of their choice. Tobias explained in his interview that he hoped students would choose a story in their mother tongue so they would understand the story better and so he could show that he valued their linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Here Tobias highlighted the value of both building on students' previous understandings (García & Li Wei, 2014) and affirming student identities by making visible their multilingual resources (Cummins & Early, 2011), priorities that he also attributed to the school leadership. Still, like Erik, he positioned students' mother tongues as primarily supportive resources without fundamentally destabilizing the notion of a final written product in English. The assignment legitimized using minoritized language resources in less prestigious receptive uses, while more prestigious productive uses were reserved for English (see Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester, 2000).

This receptive biliteracy space was nonetheless one that students embraced not only as "possible" but as "desirable" (Miller, 2012, p. 447). All of the students who came prepared chose a story in a previous language of schooling. When asked about their language choices, some students stated that it was easier to find a familiar story, but many expressed that this gave them the opportunity to write about a story they liked and, in some cases, had already analyzed at their previous schools. The students thus pointed to affective investment in the task and the value of building on existing understandings. One student, Vladimir, also included an untranslated Serbian quote in his literary analysis, which was the only visible sign of multilingualism in a submitted text. Vladimir thus incrementally shifted minority language contents from purely receptive toward productive use (see Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester, 2000). Vladimir's reconfiguration of multilingual space also prompted a commensurate expansion on Tobias's part. Tobias's written feedback on the text only requested greater contextualization, not translation: "What does this show us?" This feedback implicitly recognized the legitimacy of visible translanguaging in an English text, albeit in a limited form. In his interview, Tobias said he had told the class that untranslated words and sentences could serve

as a literary device. However, Vladimir reported that he had simply forgotten to include a translation, reproducing a stricter expectation than Tobias that a text should be fully transparent to a monolingual reader (see Canagarajah, 2013). In this instance, Tobias affirmed visible translanguaging to a greater extent than his student.

Nevertheless, the most frequent and widespread biliteracy practices were in fact student initiated. These included translanguaging orally with peers, annotating English source texts with translations, translating to generate words and phrases for writing, and researching topics for writing online in multiple languages. Students explained that finding sources in English provided good models for vocabulary and usage, and finding information and discussing in their mother tongue helped them understand more fully what they were writing about (cf. García & Kano, 2014). The teachers generally allowed these uses of minoritized language resources, and Tobias sometimes even paired students by like language background so students could communicate easily with each other (cf. Lucas & Katz, 1994; Stille & Cummins, 2013). Translated recordings of students speaking Greek, Serbian, and Vietnamese during prewriting tasks showed that the students communicated mainly about class work. These normalized translanguaging practices were treated as unremarkable by both students and teachers and provided the most extensive evidence of how minoritized language resources were positioned in classroom use. Minoritized resources were mostly used orally or receptively, in personal or peer interactions—or in micro contexts of biliteracy (see Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester, 2000).

The Prominence of Norwegian: Typologically Similar, Shared, and Prioritized

Tobias and Erik regularly incorporated Norwegian in writing instruction, in particular to explain grammar and vocabulary. Students also drew on Norwegian in oral translanguaging and, to some extent, for research and translation. However, Norwegian was positioned differently from other language resources in at least three ways: (a) Norwegian was seen as more useful for structural transfer than many other languages, based on its typological similarity to English; (b) it was a shared language for the whole class; and (c) it was an educational target. Extract 2, where Tobias gave Vladimir feedback on a draft, illustrates the first two of these distinctions.

Extract 2. Using Norwegian to give feedback on text (classroom audio and screen recording).

1	Tobias:	is <u>a</u>, mm, ubestemt [*indefinite*], mm, a very old Serbian
2		fairytale, and we don't know who wrote <u>the</u> text ((Tobias reads
3		aloud from Vladimir's text; Vladimir inserts the articles)) [. . .]
4	Tobias:	mm, første gang du introduserer det, så bruker du ubestemt [*the*
5		*first time you introduce it, you use indefinite*], a very old
6		fairytale, og så neste gang så er det [*and then the next time it is*]
7		<u>the</u> text, bestemt form, sånn som vi snakket om i norsk [*definite*
8		*form, like we talked about in Norwegian*]
9	Vladimir:	hvorfor du snakker norsk på engelsktimen [*why are you*
10		*speaking Norwegian in English class*]?
11	Tobias:	fordi jeg forklarer norsk grammatikk i //engelskteksten din
12		[*because I am explaining Norwegian grammar in //your English*
13		*text*] ((laughter))
14	Vladimir:	//((laughter)) ok
15	Tobias:	som er det samme på engelsk og norsk [*which is the same in*
16		*English and Norwegian*], mm

In Extract 2, Tobias referenced the Norwegian article system to give Vladimir corrective feedback. Tobias spoke in Norwegian to mediate this transfer, repeating the grammatical terms *bestemt* ("definite") and *ubestemt* ("indefinite"), while reading aloud from the English text. Vladimir flagged this use of Norwegian as anomalous for English class (line 9), indexing a monoglossic ideology (García, 2009). In response, Tobias pointed to the transferability of grammatical knowledge from Norwegian to English, based on structural similarity (lines 11–16). This ideology of linguistic similarity positioned Norwegian as a more useful resource for developing accuracy in English writing, recalling the more powerful position of structurally similar languages (see Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester, 2000). In a similar interaction with his student Duc, Erik reproduced this stance, commenting that the Norwegian–English comparison was necessary because of the typological dissimilarity between English and Duc's mother tongue, Thai. Tobias provided a similar rationale with respect to Vladimir, based on his Slavic language background.

The second way in which Norwegian was positioned exceptionally was as a shared resource for the class. In Extract 2, Tobias referenced a previous Norwegian lesson in which he had explained the distinction between definite and indefinite articles (line 7). Tobias and Erik also routinely presented English terms they considered crucial to understanding writing tasks, such as the words in a prompt (e.g., "eyewitness account") or the elements of a literary analysis (e.g., setting, point of view). They then presented or assigned translation of the terms to Norwegian and assigned translation to "mother tongue" (Erik) or "your language" (Tobias). In practical terms, the teachers commented that references to Norwegian capitalized on the greater number of instructional hours in

Norwegian than English. Such references also indexed Norwegian as a resource used at the larger scales of the whole class and school, or further toward the more powerful macro end of biliteracy contexts (see Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester, 2000).

This multilingual vocabulary previewing routine also illustrated Norwegian's third distinction, its status as a developmental target. Both teachers explained that they assigned translations to facilitate comprehension of the writing tasks through conceptual transfer from previous instruction in Norwegian and schooling abroad. However, they also assigned translation of terms that students had not first learned about in Norwegian. Erik explained this with reference to students' overarching learning goal: Including Norwegian terms was "first and foremost to teach them Norwegian" (interview audio, translated). In contrast, Tobias noted that he had students present translations in minoritized languages to instill "pride in one's own mother tongue and the fact that the school also values the language" (interview audio, translated). Whereas minoritized languages were positioned primarily as supportive and affective resources, Norwegian was legitimized as a developmental target even during English lessons. In effect, the teachers' use of Norwegian did not primarily index the school's discourse of "multilingualism as a resource," but rather the visible reminders everywhere to speak Norwegian. The majoritized status of Norwegian and English was reflected in their place as school subjects, and the teachers understandably considered these institutional priorities in their instructional choices.

Latent Multilingualism: The Relative Absence of Less Formal Literacy Resources

Certain multilingual resources nevertheless remained largely invisible, relegated to "those acts that are not performed and remain outside the domain of 'common sense'" (Miller, 2012, p. 447). Despite both teachers' frequent references to mother tongue, which might suggest languages in use in the family, the students generally privileged prestigious literacy resources developed through formal schooling, even in their private and spontaneous multilingual practices. For instance, when Erik encouraged Jennifer to prewrite multilingually (see Extract 1), she wrote only in Italian, not Romanian. Asked about this choice, Jennifer laughed and replied, "Actually I just speak Romanian, but I don't write it. I don't write in Romanian because I am not good first, and it's difficult because there are also signs [diacritics]" (interview audio). In her mind, Romanian appeared firmly anchored in oral use because she lacked formally developed writing skills in the language, even before moving to Norway. She admitted to writing to friends in Romanian on

social media, noting, "Even if I just write a lot of things in a wrong way, they can understand me" (interview audio). However, using the minoritized language for personal written communication did not fundamentally destabilize her conception of Romanian as an oral language, perhaps because its use on social media aligned with lower prestige vernacular content (see Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester, 2000). Nonetheless, students like Jennifer occasionally showed their broader linguistic repertoires in class in the less normative domains of peer conversations and spontaneous rather than assigned translation.

Furthermore, a few students, who had attended English-medium schools before coming to Norway, made little visible use of anything other than English—or the occasional Norwegian—during the writing process. These students, such as Dylan, appeared to set aside even previously majoritized literacy resources like Swahili. This apparent near-
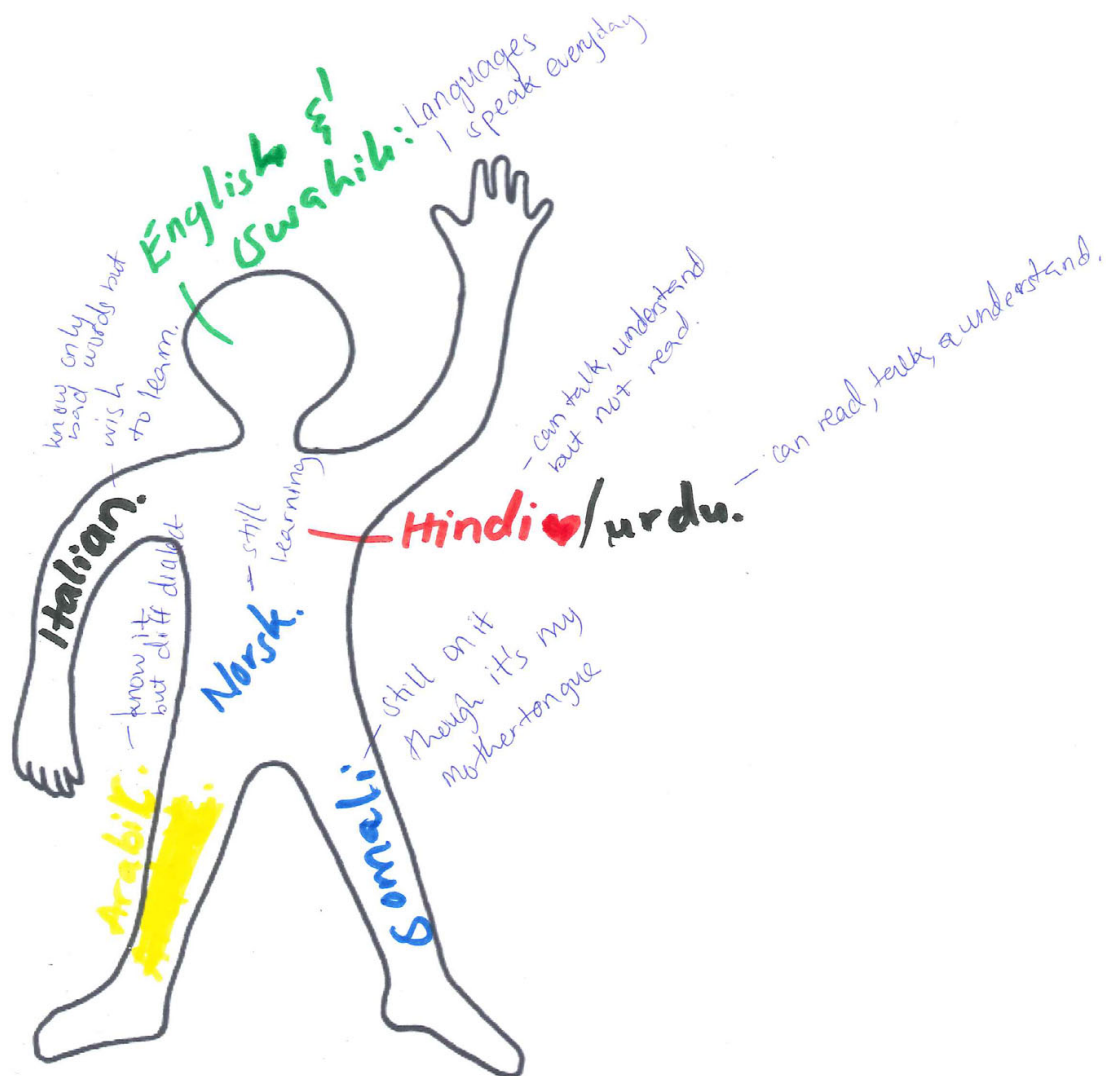
FIGURE 3. Dylan's language portrait. [Color figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibra ry.com]

monolingualism stood in sharp contrast to the multilingual repertoire evident in Dylan's language portrait (see Figure 3).

In Figure 3, Dylan named eight languages in his linguistic repertoire: English, Swahili, Italian, Hindi, Urdu, Norwegian ("norsk"), Arabic, and Somali. He problematized the term *mother tongue* by explaining that his was considered to be Somali, a language he barely understood. Instead, he regularly used Swahili and English with family. Dylan developed formal literacy in Swahili, English, and Arabic through school in Kenya, Norwegian literacy in Norway, and proficiency in Urdu and Hindi on his own. In Extract 3, he pointed to a functional division between English and Swahili to explain his primary reliance on English in his current writing practices.

Extract 3. Dylan describes uses of Swahili and English (interview audio).

1	Dylan:	those like social words, like let's say if you want to say
2		government and all that, it's kind of hard for me, like in
3		Swahili, because sometimes I know the words in English, all of
4		them in English, but I don't know any single of them in
5		Swahili, yeah but then when I read it, I'm just like, oh yeah it's
6		familiar, but then like I'll never use it, even though it's
7		familiar, I know- I know this word, but I'll never use it if,
8		when I'm speaking Swahili, I just use it in English, or I can
9		think of somehow to explain it, but then I can never say it in
10		Swahili
11	Interviewer:	uh-huh
12	Dylan:	yeah
13	Interviewer:	um, and do you think that's because you sort of use Swahili for
14		certain things in your life //but not for others?
15	Dylan:	//yeah, yeah
16		yeah, like Swahili most of the time, when I'm storytelling with
17		my brothers and sisters, yeah, yeah, and most of the time when
18		I'm talking at home I use Swahili all the time, yeah and also
19		when I'm talking to my brothers and sisters I use English and
20		Swahili, but with my mom and dad, I use Swahili all the time,
21		'cause like I find I don't want to use English in front of them

In this extract, Dylan described English as his best developed language for "social words" (line 1), exemplified by "government" (line 2). Thus, he appeared to already have developed an association between English and the vocabulary of societal issues. These were in fact the types of topics he was assigned to write about in his current English class, in the form of argumentative and persuasive essays. In contrast, Dylan exemplified a typical writing assignment in Swahili in Kenya as being to elaborate on a proverb, a form of imaginative response connected to personal experience and oral traditions that was mostly absent from his current English class. Instead, the

vocabulary and genre knowledge called for in the English class seemed to draw on textual experiences of English more so than his other languages. Indeed, Dylan made visible use of Swahili on only one occasion, to translate three English words he did not understand in postwriting grammar tasks. Currently, he associated Swahili with oral use in the family, in particular with storytelling to siblings (lines 16–21). Of the languages that Dylan had previously used at school, only English continued to be used for school-based writing after the move to Norway. While Swahili became a language for vernacular content in oral contexts, English literacy maintained its formal literary uses in the "literate" context of school (Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester, 2000, p. 99). In English writing instruction, the result was that most of his multilingual repertoire remained unused.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The participants in this study took advantage of "ideological and implementational spaces" (Hornberger, 2005, p. 606) provided by the school's choice to affirm multilingualism as a resource (see Ruíz, 1984). This stated orientation toward multilingualism likely accounts in part for the more overt incorporation of students' multilingual resources in English teaching in this study than what has previously been attested in the same national context (cf. Burner & Carlsen, 2017; Krulatz et al., 2018; Krulatz & Torgersen, 2016). In addition, it is important to acknowledge the contribution made by these teachers' willingness to give up a measure of control by "granting agency and voice" (Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester, 2000, p. 99) to students to develop multilingual writing practices that the students themselves found effective and meaningful. Earlier studies have demonstrated similar possibilities for multilingual approaches to English writing instruction (e.g., Ebe, 2016; García & Kano, 2014; Lucas & Katz, 1994; Stille & Cummins, 2013). However, this particular context was also shaped by the dominance of the national majority language Norwegian as an overarching educational target for the newly arrived students. In such a context, the question becomes not primarily how to contest an English-only ideology (e.g., Cummins, 2007), but how to address the place of minoritized language and literacy resources in English writing instruction.

Of course, the currently minoritized status of particular language resources provides limited information about the literacy experiences and development behind the label. Beyond English and Norwegian, students drew primarily on formerly majoritized resources, developed through schooling in national majority languages. Miller (2012)

suggested that the agency of spaces can be seen "as individuals move from one space to another" (p. 442). Students' choices about how to use various multilingual resources point to the cumulative effects of linguistic hierarchies in both previous and current school spaces that students have moved across. The incremental status differences that resulted among English, Norwegian, former languages of schooling, and other languages were reflected through alignment with several continua of biliteracy. Positioning further toward the minority end of biliteracy content also tended to correspond with greater allocation toward the less powerful ends of other continua: oral and receptive use, for vernacular communication, in oral contexts (see Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester, 2000). Status and power differences among languages are perhaps inevitable in situations involving migration, but it is important for educators to be aware that they and their students may reproduce these hierarchies in the classroom, even if students are working multilingually.

In response, teachers can see linguistic inequalities as opportunities to draw more fully on students' biliteracy repertoires (Hornberger, 2003). For example, by recognizing a tendency toward oral and receptive allocation of multilingual resources, teachers can encourage more extensive productive written uses (e.g., Cummins & Early, 2011; Ebe, 2016; Stille & Cummins, 2013). Tobias offered such an opening by acknowledging translanguaging as a literary device, which could be more fully developed by intentionally studying and practicing translanguaging for rhetorical effect in writing (see Canagarajah, 2013; Ebe, 2016). More broadly, if students themselves treat less prestigious or formally developed literacy resources as residing "outside the domain of 'common sense'" (Miller, 2012, p. 447) of English writing, teachers may need to explicitly highlight the relevance of out-of-school language practices to in-school writing development. Here it may be helpful to introduce ways that other students have meaningfully recontextualized out-of-school biliteracy resources in school (e.g., Cummins & Early, 2011; Dewilde, 2017) while recognizing that students may still show resistance based on "continuing inequalities, predominant discourses, local circumstances, and personal considerations" (Jaspers, 2018, p. 7).

In conclusion, the persistence of linguistic hierarchies in a multilingual space suggests the need to probe the complexities within a stated orientation toward multilingualism as a resource (see Ruíz, 1984). In this vein, Hult and Hornberger (2016) posed a series of questions to elaborate on Ruíz's (1984) concept of language as a resource, including two that are closely related: For what and for whom are which languages resources (p. 41)? In these two classes, minoritized languages

represented individual resources for identity investment, knowledge transfer, and written expression in English. They also served as collective resources for rapport and communication. Nonetheless, they remained supportive resources in the service of developing English—and Norwegian—proficiency. In educational systems that tend to privilege formal majority literacies, students' agency to draw broadly on their biliteracy repertoires would likely be strengthened by institutional goals that treat holistic multilingual development for all children not only as a means to an end, such as improved English writing, but as a matter of social justice (Jaspers, 2018). Indeed, if educators want students to be able to draw broadly on multilingual resources in the future as well, schools need to create more robust multilingual spaces that aim to develop English writing proficiency as one among many.

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APPENDIX

TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

Italics	translation into English
<u>Underline</u>	stressed word
-	false start
?	rising intonation
,	micropause
(( ))	explanation
[. . .]	ellipsis
[ ]	insertion
//	overlapping speech

II

Translation as Translingual Writing Practice in English as an Additional Language

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Translation has recently been revived as an approach to language learning that builds on students' linguistic repertoires, particularly in linguistically diverse classrooms. However, few studies have examined how students use translation as part of writing in an additional language. This article provides new insights based on the translation practices of 22 newly arrived students in Norway during English writing instruction. Using linguistic ethnographic methods, the study combines multiple data sources (screen recordings, classroom audio recordings, language portraits, student texts, interviews) that provide detailed insights into translation moves and participant perspectives. The findings highlight the linguistic and mediational translation strategies that structured students' translation practices during English writing, but also reveal tensions in students' orientations to translation. Despite these tensions, translation served as a key means of aligning students' communicative resources to write in English as an additional language. A translingual orientation toward writing and translation facilitates the recognition of students' translation practices as alignment of ecological affordances with an integrated repertoire of semiotic resources across languages, modalities, and media. We conclude that translation can develop students' performative competence in ways that support their in-school English writing but also prepare them to encounter text in new contexts.

Keywords: translation; writing; translingual practice; mediational strategy; English as an additional language; newly arrived students

IN TEACHING AND LEARNING ADDITIONAL languages, translation is both contested and unavoidable. Since being "relegated to the dungeons of language teaching history" (Pennycook, 2008, p. 35) for some decades, translation has recently been revived as a tool for teaching and learning additional languages (Cook, 2010; González Davies, 2014; Källkvist, 2013; Tsagari &

Floros, 2013; Wilson & González Davies, 2017). The reinstatement of translation can be seen as one expression of a broader trend of challenging monolingual approaches to English language teaching (Cook, 2010; Cummins, 2007; González Davies, 2014). In addition, the diffusion of digital technology has opened new opportunities for using translation to build on students' linguistic repertoires in linguistically diverse classrooms (e.g., Vogel, Ascenzi–Moreno, & García, 2018). However, researchers have also expressed concerns about the longer term benefits of using machine translation to support writing in an additional language (Fredholm, 2015, 2019; Garcia & Pena, 2011).

In the midst of these scholarly debates, few studies have examined how students actually use translation as part of writing in English as an additional language (cf. Vogel et al., 2018).

The quality of individual translation practices arguably becomes especially important in linguistically diverse classrooms, where students rely on different linguistic repertoires to support their language learning, and the teacher typically cannot fully evaluate the content of students' translations. This article provides new insights into the nature of students' translation practices in two such classrooms by combining multiple data sources that allow for both fine-grained analyses of textual and interactional moves (screen recordings, classroom audio recordings) and contextualization within longer term classroom practices and participant perspectives (field notes, interviews). We first review recent scholarly debates concerning translation in English teaching. Then, we develop our theoretical perspective on translation before presenting the design and findings of the current study. The study reveals the complex strategies and orientations that structured the translation practices of 22 newly arrived students in Norway, from a wide variety of language backgrounds, during in-school English writing. Despite tensions in students' orientations to the process, translation served as a key means of aligning ecological affordances with students' communicative resources from across modalities, media, and monolingual–multilingual features to write in English as an additional language.

TRANSLATION IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHING

Despite opposition, translation has never disappeared entirely from English language teaching, simply because new understandings of language must build on existing ones (Cook, 2010). Furthermore, tendencies toward monolingual approaches and against translation have been strongest in powerful exporters of English language norms, such as the United States and the United Kingdom. Indeed, much English language teaching around the world has continued to draw on local languages (Cook, 2010; Pennycook, 2008). In discussing translation, it is therefore necessary to acknowledge the economic and political imperatives that have contributed to marginalizing translation. The English teaching and publishing industries in majority 'native' English-speaking countries have profited from providing and proposing the superiority of context-independent monolingual materials and highly regarded 'native speaker' teachers, who may only be able to teach monolingually (Cook, 2010; Pennycook, 2008). To Pennycook (2008), these are manifestations of ideologies of

English as "a language that operates only in its own presence" (p. 44) instead of as "a language in translation, a language of translingual use" (p. 34). Such monolingual ideologies position students' existing language competence primarily as a source of negative interference, rather than as a potential resource for further language learning (Cook, 2010; Wilson & González Davies, 2017). These ideologies may prevent students from using their full meaning-making resources, in particular in the case of societally minoritized languages (Canagarajah, 2013). In contrast, rehabilitating translation in English language teaching has the potential to resituate students' language learning in their broader linguistic repertoires and ecologies.

The increasing prevalence of English classes where students have different language backgrounds—and therefore different languages to translate to and from—has interacted with pedagogical stances toward translation in two opposite directions. Some have argued that linguistic diversity limits the usefulness of translation because the class may not share a single object of comparison to English (Cook, 2010; Källkvist, 2013). This stance implicitly conceives of translation as a teacher-led process, in which the teacher must understand both the source and product of translation. In contrast, others have pointed to translation as a means of activating students' background knowledge and fostering holistic language and literacy development in linguistically diverse classes (Cummins, 2007; Vogel et al., 2018; Wilson & González Davies, 2017). Cummins (2007) described translation as central to creating bilingual identity texts, where students write both in a target language and their first language. He proposed that this use of translation allows newly arrived students from varying language backgrounds to participate in literacy activities right from the beginning. Krulatz and Iversen (2019) reported that newly arrived students in an introductory class in Norway demonstrated engagement in writing such trilingual identity texts in Norwegian, English, and each student's home language.

However, translation is not only a teacher-led activity but also a practice that students undertake spontaneously as part of writing in an additional language. Researchers have particularly focused on the comparative effects of using machine translation, print or digital dictionaries, or no reference tools on writing in an additional language (e.g., Fredholm, 2015, 2019; Garcia & Pena, 2011; O'Neill, 2019). Most of these studies have found the effectiveness, accuracy, or fluency of students'

writing to improve with the use of machine translation. In particular, O'Neill (2019) found that students who received training on how to use machine translation received the highest holistic scores, compared to students using machine translation without training, no reference tools, or an online dictionary. However, the advantages to using machine translation have been shown to dissipate when students are subsequently prohibited from using such tools (Fredholm, 2019; O'Neill, 2019). Thus, machine translation may be more useful in any given writing task than for longer term language learning (Fredholm, 2019; Garcia & Pena, 2011). Another constraint of translation is that it may be of greater help at local than global levels of text creation (Groves & Mundt, 2015).

There appear to be fewer studies of translation practices outside of researcher interventions and even fewer that concern linguistically diverse rather than relatively linguistically homogeneous classrooms. In addition, the nature of students' translation practices has received less attention, compared to effects on external measures of writing quality. Two recent studies (Dewilde, 2019; Vogel et al., 2018) have each provided such detailed insight into a single student's translation practices during writing, seeking also to situate these practices within newer understandings of the translingual semiotic repertoire. Vogel et al. (2018) theorized the use of Google Translate by an emergent Chinese–English bilingual student in the United States as a "bilingual learner-machine translation assemblage" (p. 94) that created new opportunities for learning and teaching English writing. The authors identified the student's "tinkering" with Google Translate—or attempts to obtain better quality translations—and "evaluating" machine translations as instances of translanguaging in the student's writing process (Vogel et al., 2018, pp. 100–101). For example, the student reported that he would reference a second translation tool or attempt to translate only individual words if he was dissatisfied with a Google translation. Similarly, Dewilde (2019) highlighted mental translation as an example of translingual writing practice (see Canagarajah, 2013). In her study, a student who had recently moved to Norway from Afghanistan mentally translated poems that she wrote in Norwegian into a first language she could not write, Turkmen, in order to feel the impact of her words. These findings position translation as a personal act of sense-making across modalities, ecological affordances, and named languages, or as translingual practice (see Canagarajah, 2013).

A TRANSLINGUAL ORIENTATION TO TRANSLATION

Canagarajah (2013) distinguished between monolingual and translingual orientations to communication and literacy. A monolingual understanding maintains that a textual product should be in one language only, easily accessible to a monolingual reader. In contrast, a translingual understanding assumes that communication transcends individual languages and even words themselves, thus involving a wide variety of semiotic resources and ecological affordances that work together to shape meaning (Canagarajah, 2013). Although mixing languages in writing is not new, technological developments have facilitated communication between people from different language groups as well as mixing language with other symbol systems (e.g., emojis in social media) and modalities (e.g., videos and pictures in online newspaper articles). Therefore, central to our translingual orientation to translation is how different semiotic resources, including linguistic ones, work together in students' writing processes. We also refer to named languages as they pertain to translation tools, which require specifying languages.

According to Canagarajah (2013), the complexity of translingual writing poses questions as to what competence allows speakers to achieve successful communication in global settings. Traditional models of communicative competence tend to treat competence as grammatical, mentalist, and abstract (e.g., Canale & Swain, 1980). Moreover, these models are territorializing, as they have theorized communicative competence from the equation of 'one language–one people–one nation,' rather than taking the multiple language norms within a place as a starting point. Canagarajah (2013) noted that "communication in these [global] contexts requires a competence for plural language norms and mobile semiotic resources" (p. 173), which traditional models are unable to explain. Instead, he suggested the notion of performative competence to describe the form of procedural knowledge developed in and through practice that allows speakers to respond to unpredictable interlocutors and situations. The key feature of performative competence is alignment, which involves "connecting semiotic resources, environmental factors, and human subjects in relation to one's own communicative needs and interests in order to achieve meaning" (Canagarajah, 2013, p. 174). Central to alignment are adaptability, alertness, creativity, and strategic thinking and action, which allow speakers to

construct meaning in "an ever-expanding repertoire of codes" (Canagarajah, 2013, p. 176).

Furthermore, traditional models of competence have relied on the notion of second language acquisition as a product-oriented assumption that a given linguistic system exists and is ready to be acquired. In contrast, Canagarajah (2013) preferred the process-oriented notion of development, which depicts learning as ongoing, multidirectional, and sometimes parallel, based on socialization in complex communicative settings. He noted that people bring certain dispositions to global settings that favor translingual communication and literacy, which allow them to tap into the affordances of the environment and further develop their performative competence. In language learning, these dispositions include certain types of language awareness, social values, and learning or communicative strategies. Notably, product-oriented classrooms may stifle students' translingual dispositions and competences, whereas process-oriented classrooms built on translingual practices may develop them further. However, some students may develop their translingual dispositions to a higher degree, while others may succumb to monolingual ideologies in the same social environment. Thus, differences in the development of dispositions may not solely be explained by the social environment, as they are also a matter of personal experiences, investment, and positionalities.

Therefore, Canagarajah (2013) called for more practice-based pedagogies that focus on the strategies of production and reception of texts. Translation is one such strategy. In a monolingual orientation to communication and literacy, translation is often treated as a search for technical equivalence (Horner & Tetreault, 2016). This view has also been criticized in more recent translation studies (see Bassnett, 2013; Cronin, 2013). In a translingual orientation, however, the translation process is perceived as an authorial production of difference and a good translation product as close—but not necessarily equivalent—to the original (Horner & Tetreault, 2016). Importantly, this production of difference is inherent in all writing; thus, not only when translating from one language to another but also when engaging in more conventional paraphrasing and interpretation of text (Horner & Tetreault, 2016; Pennycook, 2008), what Jakobson (1959) called "interlingual translation" and "intralingual translation" (p. 233), respectively. Horner and Tetreault (2016) emphasized the labor that accompanies the production of such difference through inter- and intralingual translation, and one might also

extend this insight to Jakobson's (1959) "intersemiotic translation" (p. 233), or translation between linguistic and nonlinguistic resources. The process of translation holds the potential for students and teachers to understand the kind of difference students may wish to achieve in their textual products. We now describe our study design, situating this within the research reviewed earlier.

STUDY DESIGN AND CONTEXT

Research Questions

Translation appears to be common among students who are writing in an additional language, and studies suggest that there may be benefits as well as drawbacks to machine translation in particular (Fredholm, 2019; Garcia & Pena, 2011; Vogel et al., 2018). Based on the scarcity of studies of how students actually use translation in classroom writing, particularly in linguistically diverse classrooms, we seek to provide new insights into the nature of students' translation practices as part of the in-class English writing process, in line with two research questions:

RQ1. Which strategies do students employ to verify or improve the quality of their translations for English writing?
RQ2. Which orientations do students display to translation as part of English writing?

In line with a translingual orientation (Canagarajah, 2013), we consider improvement from an emic perspective of quality as identified by the students as translators, not as an external judgment of accuracy or equivalence.

Educational Context and Participants

The study was conducted in Norway, where English is taught as a compulsory core school subject over 11–12 years, starting in first grade, with the option of specialized courses in the final two years of upper secondary school (Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training [NDET], 2013). These classes followed a national curriculum that does not dictate particular topics but includes "written communication" as one of the four core elements as well as general competence aims to be achieved at various grade levels (NDET, 2013). For instance, by Grade 10, the final year of lower secondary school, students should be able to "choose and use different reading and writing strategies that are suitable for the purpose" and "identify significant linguistic similarities and

differences between English and one's native language and use this knowledge in one's own language learning" (NDET, 2013, p. 9). Previous research suggests that Norwegian is frequently used as a scaffold in English teaching, including through translation (Krulatz, Neokleous, & Henningsen, 2016; Scheffler et al., 2017). Although linguistic diversity among students in Norway is increasing, there is little evidence that English teachers in Norway draw on students' other multilingual resources (e.g., Burner & Carlsen, 2017; Flognfeldt, 2018; cf. Krulatz & Iversen, 2019).

The current study took place in two linguistically diverse introductory classes at an urban lower secondary school in Norway. Introductory classes constitute a temporary arrangement for newly arrived students to learn Norwegian well enough to transition to mainstream classes. In addition, students take other school subjects, which may include English. Introductory programs typically last for up to 1 year, but students in the current study attended an accelerated track from which most transitioned within 6 months, based on having a schooling background deemed commensurate in quality to schooling in Norway. Through a multi-stage selection process, Beiler identified the participating classes as learning environments where the English teachers sought to draw on their students' multilingual resources in writing instruction. Although the teachers do not constitute the focus of this article, they participated in a broader study through which the data for the current study were gathered (see Beiler, 2020). In the first class, 10 of the 13 students (Grades 8–10; ages 13–16) consented to participate in the study. In the second class, all 12 students (Grade 10; ages 15–16) participated. The 22 students collectively reported proficiency in 24 languages, including Norwegian, English, and at least one additional language each. All of the students had studied English in school previously, but their proficiency levels varied significantly. Some had even attended English-medium schools, but most considered the level of English teaching to be more difficult in Norway than in their previous countries of residence.

Methods and Data

We used linguistic ethnography as an overarching methodological and interpretive approach, which combines the systematic analysis of interactional linguistics with the exploratory disposition of ethnography, across multiple types of data (Copland & Creese, 2015). Through this combination of close and broad analyses, linguistic ethnography allows for highlighting emic (participant) perspectives and situating participants' perspectives and practices in their broader social context (Copland & Creese, 2015). An emic perspective is important for exploring strategies and orientations, as both these constructs imply a participant stance toward practices. Furthermore, combining different types of data—such as field notes, interactional recordings, and texts—lends rigor to linguistic ethnographic analyses (Copland & Creese, 2015).

Beiler conducted 3 months of fieldwork at the school during the spring of 2017, which typically included 2–3 days a week of participant observation during English writing instruction. The observational data include field notes and audio recordings of classroom writing instruction and conversations between students. Students made screen recordings with the software *Snagit* (Versions 4.1.1 and 13.1.1; TechSmith, 2017), which produced a video of everything that appeared on students' laptop screens while they worked on writing tasks. Beiler also collected student texts. Selections of the aforementioned data were then used in stimulated recall interviews (Gass & Mackey, 2017; see Table 1) with 18 students who consented to be interviewed, and these were recorded. Students also created language portraits (Busch, 2012) that they described in their interviews, providing rich contextual information for interpreting students' translation practices. The interviews were conducted in a combination of English and Norwegian, following students' preferences, as these were the languages shared by the students and interviewer. In addition, students could record responses in other languages for subsequent translation, and some did so (e.g., in Polish). Table 1 summarizes the data collection methods, data sources, participant numbers, and quantity of each data source.

As shown in Table 1, the number of participants in each form of data collection varied according to how students chose to participate. Teacher interviews were used as secondary data in order to understand the context of students' translation practices. Detailed content logs were created for all classroom recordings (student screens, classroom audio) and interview recordings (Jordan & Henderson, 1995). Illustrative episodes were also selected for transcription during the analytical process, which we describe next.

Analysis proceeded in multiple stages. The content logs and textual data were read multiple times to develop codes, in stages described by Copland and Creese (2015): developing an

TABLE 1
Data Collection Methods and Sources

Method	Source	Participants	Quantity
Participant observation	Field notes	22 students 2 teachers	66,741 words; 32 days
	Classroom audio	20 students 2 teachers	15 hours 08 minutes
	Screen recordings	18 students	50 hours 49 minutes
Document collection	Students texts	21 students	163
	Language portraits	21 students	21
Stimulated recall interviews	Video recordings	8 students	2 hours 16 minutes
	Audio recordings	18 students	10 hours 19 minutes
	Interview notes	2 students	1,509 words
Interviews (secondary data)	Audio recordings	2 teachers	2 hours 28 minutes

Note. The teachers were not the primary analytical focus. The participant observation and document collection sources were used in the stimulated recall interviews.

overall sense of themes in the data, coding of routines or patterns, collapsing categories, and finding illustrative excerpts to support categories. From this process, two overarching categories emerged that elucidated general patterns as well as the range and variations among students' practices: translation strategies (clustered into linguistic and mediational strategies) and orientations (affirming or seeking to avoid translation). As potential illustrative segments were identified in the content logs for each category, these were transcribed closely to verify or nuance the categories and allow for interactional analysis (Jordan & Henderson, 1995). Transcription conventions are available in the Appendix.

While all data sources were important in the analysis, the screen recordings provided a particularly rich and fine-grained record of translation practices and the context for translating. Most of the stimulated recall interviews, therefore, involved showing students one recorded translation sequence or more, which created an opportunity for students to explain their translation strategies. Evidence of students' orientations to translation arose both in interviews and in observed and recorded classroom interactions. The coded data sources were compared to each other to construct a nuanced understanding of students' translation strategies and orientations. Figure 1 provides an example of how the analysis combined multiple data sources to interpret a focal event in which two students, Jennifer and Dylan, discussed their translation practices. All participant names are pseudonyms, which the students chose themselves. The pseudonyms therefore do not necessarily reflect students' gender or ethnic or national origin.

In Figure 1, data sources are bolded. The central box represents an audio-recorded classroom conversation that served as the entry point for exploring the students' translation strategies and orientations. The conversation was contextualized through the two students' screen recordings from before, during, and after the conversation; texts that described the tasks at hand; and field notes from the event. After listening to the conversation in stimulated recall interviews, each student added explicit commentary on the event. The episode was also contextualized in the broader observational and documentary data, including language portraits, which provided an indication of the linguistic repertoires the students could draw from in translation. We now present the findings gleaned from this analytical process.

FINDINGS

In this section, we briefly describe the context established by two teachers for student translation. We then focus on two dimensions that appeared to structure students' translation practices in the data: students' translation strategies, which we group into linguistic or mediational strategies, and students' orientations to translation, which encompassed both affirmation and avoidance of translation. These two dimensions are illustrated through a selection of focal students from among the 22 participants. The focal students were chosen because they together provide an indication of the range of translation strategies and orientations present in the classes. In addition, these students' practices constitute "rich points" (Agar, 2000, p. 94) that both beg further explanation and promise new insights into our conceptions of

FIGURE 1
Combination of Data Sources to Interpret a Focal Event
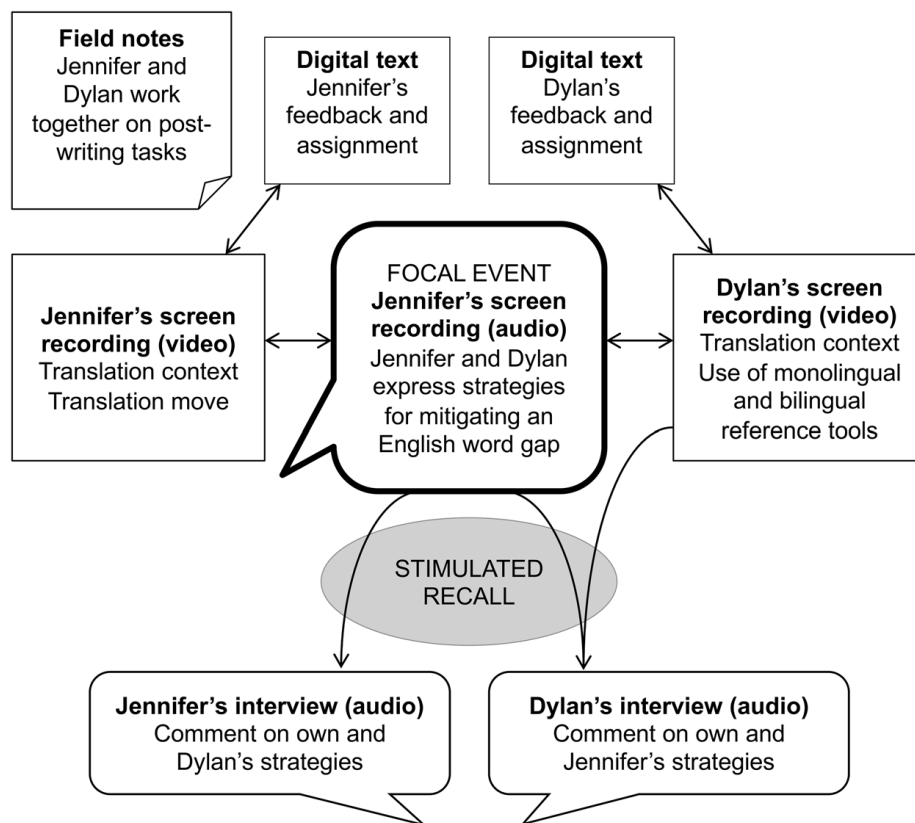
translation in the additional language classroom. We also made an effort to include focal students with a variety of language backgrounds and both female and male students.

In the participating classes, the teachers explicitly affirmed students' choices to translate difficult words in English texts to better understand what they were reading. However, both teachers expressed some skepticism toward students' use of translation while writing. Their concern related primarily to the use of Google Translate for sentence-level translation, which they felt posed problems both for producing well-formed sentences and having students author their own text in English. One of the teachers reported that he had taught students to use Google Translate only for single words or to translate from English for verification purposes instead of translating to generate English text. In addition, this teacher sometimes required students to use print rather than online dictionaries to translate English terms to their first language, which required going through the intermediary of Norwegian, as most students only had print dictionaries between Norwegian and their first language. The teachers otherwise allowed students to use translation for writing assignments as they wished, as

long as they stayed on task. Both teachers mentioned translation strategies they had observed, but they appeared unaware of the complexity of students' translation strategies, which we present next.

Linguistic Translation Strategies

We define linguistic translation strategies as those in which students manipulate language in order to verify or improve a translation. Students employed a wide variety of linguistic translation strategies: modifying input intralingually, reversing the direction of a translation (back-translation), comparing with alternate translations provided by a tool, translating a word in phrase- or sentence-level context, changing input or output languages, and referencing a monolingual definition—in English or another language—in addition to translating. Students' linguistic strategies demonstrated how they flexibly deployed their translingual repertoires, across language boundaries, in the process of writing English texts. Next, we provide illustrative examples of two of these strategies: intralingual input modification and changing the languages of translation.

TABLE 2
Linguistic Strategy: Intralingual Input Modification (Screen Recording)

	Time	Action	Input	Output	On-screen text
1	13:53	Types in OneNote	N/A	N/A	If they will feel u
2	13:57	Translates	Polish	English	poyzebnt[a]—necessary
3	14:00	Clicks on input suggestion	Polish	English	potrzebny—necessary
4	14:06	Translates	Polish	English	chciany—wanted
5	14:12	Translates	Polish	English	jestem niechciany—I'm unwanted
6	14:19	Translates	Polish	English	potrzebny—necessary
7	14:24	Translates	Polish	English	niezbedny—necessary
8	14:30	Deletes text in OneNote	N/A	N/A	u←
9	14:31	Types in OneNote	N/A	N/A	ne
10	14:36	Looks back at Google Translate	Polish	English	niezbedny—necessary
11	14:43	Types in OneNote	N/A	N/A	[ne]cessary here, it will be easier to belong to new
12	15:22	Translates	Polish	English	otoczenie [*surroundings*]—environment
13	15:29	Types in OneNote	N/A	N/A	invernoment

[a]Not a Polish lexical item; likely a typographical error—see also uptake of suggestion (Row 3).

Lea was a student who often translated multiple terms into English before selecting an English form to incorporate in her writing. She mostly translated between English and Polish, her main home language and former language of schooling. Table 2 presents a translation sequence in Google Translate where she used this strategy while she was writing a short essay about how to welcome newcomers to the area. In Table 2, the fourth and fifth columns indicate input and output language settings in Google Translate.

Table 2 demonstrates the strategy of intralingual input modification to arrive at a more desirable English output. Lea began to write a sentence (1) and then navigated to Google Translate to generate a word to continue the sentence. She translated four different Polish inputs (3–7) before returning to her text to enter the translation that she deemed most suitable, *necessary* (8–11). Lea explained that this English word was new to her and that she needed to look back at the word to know how to spell it (see 10). In 12–13, Lea performed another translation cycle. She then checked and changed the spelling of *environment* to complete her sentence: "If they will feel necessary here, it will be easier to belong to new environment." A video of this translation sequence is available in the online version of this article (Table 2).

While some students applied the strategy of intralingual input modification because they were unsure about the accuracy of the initial output,

Lea explained that her translations served to generate multiple options that she could consider for stylistic purposes. However, the process was not without frustration. Lea commented on the outcome illustrated in Table 2, "in Polish I have a lot of opportunities because I know a lot of words (…) but sometimes I use a different expressions but it's still the same in English, one word, and it's the problem for me" (interview audio). Indeed, in the sequence in Table 2, Lea tried two different Polish words—*potrzebny* (3, 6), *niezbedny* (7)—that translated into English as 'necessary,' although the latter Polish word denotes greater intensity. She also generated two other English options to consider: *wanted* and *fine*. Lea's strategic use of Google Translate reflected careful consideration of word choice in her writing.

Elpida was one of the students who added another layer to the strategy illustrated in Table 2 by drawing on multiple languages. Elpida grew up primarily in Greece, but her parents were from Albania, where she had attended 1 year of school. Table 3 describes a sequence in Google Translate involving three languages—English, Greek, and Albanian—performed while Elpida was writing a literary analysis in English about a story she had read in Greek. In Table 3, the final column presents the last output text displayed during each action described.

Table 3 demonstrates two linguistic strategies that Elpida used before composing a sentence. First, she deployed the same strategy as Lea,

TABLE 3
Linguistic Strategy: Multilingual Translation (Screen Recording)

	Time	Action	Input	Output	Final output text
1	33:59	Enters input text	Greek	English	Its amazing
2	34:09	Enters new input text	Greek	English	It is unlikely that a young child will be smarter than an adult
3	34:32	Clicks on input suggestion	Greek	English	It is possible that a young child is more intelligent than an adult
4	34:34	Edits input	Greek	English	It is unlikely that a young child will be smarter than an adult
5	34:38	Changes output language	Greek	Albanian	Është e pamundur që një fëmijë i vogël mund të jetë zgjuar nga një i rritur *It is impossible that a little child is awakened by an adult*
6	34:47	Edits input twice	Greek	Albanian	rezilethtiko[a] është një fëmijë i vogël për t'u zgjuar nga një i rritur (incomprehensible) *is too little to be awakened by an adult*
7	35:31	Clicks on input suggestion	Greek	Albanian	duke humbur fytyrën është një fëmijë i vogël për t'u zgjuar nga një i rritur *by losing face is a little child to be awakened by an adult*
8	36:36	Edits input three times	Greek	Albanian	Është e pabesueshme një fëmijë të vogël per t'u zgjuar nga një i rritur *It is unbelievable for a little child to be awakened by an adult*
9	36:09	Changes output language	Greek	English	It is unbelievable for a young child to be smarter than an adult
10	36:17	Writes in Word document	N/A	N/A	It's unbelievable that a young child is smarter than an adult

[a]Transliteration of an unrecognized Greek input item ($\rho\varepsilon\zeta\iota\lambda\varepsilon\theta\tau\iota\kappa$o), that is, neither a Greek nor Albanian lexical item; possibly a typographical error or invention based on the Greek word $\rho\varepsilon\zeta\hat{\iota}\lambda\iota$ 'laughable.'

editing input terms within a given language (1–4). Elpida applied this strategy at phrase and sentence levels, whereas Lea's example was mostly confined to single words. Second, Elpida changed the output language to Albanian (5), thus departing temporarily from the target language, English. She explained that she had previously noticed input in Greek being rendered with different meanings in different languages. In this case, she was trying to find a translation with adequately negative connotations, choosing in the end to write *unbelievable* (10) because she did not believe a child should be considered smarter than an adult. She expressed that she arrived at a satisfactory result in Albanian, but she was less sure of her final translation in English. The final key adjective phrase in Albanian, *e pabesueshme* (8), is indeed semantically close to *unbelievable*. Although the machine-translated Albanian sentences did not generally read as idiomatic, the process allowed Elpida to discover and consider several semantically related terms (*amazing, unlikely, possible, e pamundur* 'impossible,' *e pabesueshme* 'unbelievable,' *unbelievable*) before choosing one for her English text. A video of this translation sequence is available in the online version of this article (Table 3).

Mediational Translation Strategies

We define mediational translation strategies as those in which students select tools, channels, or modalities of translation in order to verify or improve a translation. All translation is mediated; therefore, linguistic strategies overlap with mediational strategies. We separate linguistic strategies from mediational strategies based on which dimension students manipulated more directly. For example, even as they employed linguistic translation strategies, both Lea and Elpida took

up suggestions provided by Google Translate. Mediational translation strategies relied on students' understanding of the affordances and limitations of various translation media, including print bilingual dictionaries, online monolingual and bilingual dictionaries, machine translation services (e.g., Google Translate), other online resources, and human translators including teachers and classmates. Some students also described choosing to translate only in their minds, which some explained as a way to avoid the weaknesses they associated with translation tools. Mediational strategies incorporate the concept of resourcing skills, used in translation studies to refer to the selection of appropriate reference tools or supports (e.g., González Davies, 2014). However, we use the descriptor *mediational* in order to signal an understanding of ecological affordances as an element of the communicative repertoire (see Canagarajah, 2013) and to avoid confusion with references to linguistic resources. Mediational strategies incorporated a wide range of ecological affordances and semiotic resources, surpassing shifts in language. As such, these strategies mirror the second dimension of translingual practice: the fact that communication transcends language (see Canagarajah, 2013).

Students' most basic mediational strategy was to consult multiple translation tools or channels to verify a translation (see also Vogel et al., 2018). Excerpt 1 describes a typical example of consulting two different online reference tools, as well as back-translating.

During this episode, Jennifer first used Google Translate and then the online dictionary WordReference.com to translate the Italian word *salvare* into the English *save*, while writing about the American abolitionist Harriet Tubman. She then reversed the direction of the translation in WordReference.com from English (*save*) to Italian (*salvare*) to verify the accuracy of the translation once more. Only then did she incorporate the word into her composition, modifying the entry grammatically ("saving") to make it fit her sentence. Jennifer explained that she likely consulted both tools because she considered WordReference.com more reliable than Google Translate.

Other students stated more definitively that they would use Google Translate because it is fast and flexible, but they would, at times, feel the need to verify their translations by other means (see also Vogel et al., 2018). In addition to consulting dictionaries, thesauruses, and machine translators, students drew on tools and ecological affordances that might not traditionally be considered translation channels. For example, Duc conducted an image search for *lynching* when Google Translate did not provide any translation into Thai. This term appeared in a quote by Martin Luther King, Jr. in a text the teacher had handed out. Having verified the meaning of the word, Duc then used the quote in his own text. Duc, thus, engaged in "intersemiotic translation" (Jakobson, 1959, p. 233), capitalizing on the affordance of his digital ecology to align images with words to make meaning.

The previous examples of strategies all involved computer mediation, but students also drew on analog translation channels. While few students used print dictionaries apart from when required to do so by their teachers, students frequently consulted each other and their teachers for translations, aligning the "human subjects" (Canagarajah, 2013, p. 174) in their communicative ecologies to achieve meaning in text. Several students stated that they preferred to ask a peer for translations, but this limited them to seeking help from students with a similar language background or translating between the shared languages of Norwegian and English. Excerpt 2 demonstrates how two students, Elpida and her classmate Leonida, jointly constructed an understanding of the literary term *plot* by drawing on Greek, ahead of writing a literary analysis.

In Excerpt 2, Leonida and Elpida presented various alternatives for translating the term *plot*, which can have literary as well as geographical denotations. Through their conversation, they jointly constructed an understanding of the appropriate Greek term to assign as the translation. In this case, the students were translating because the teacher had assigned them a set of terms that would structure their literary analyses, but it was the students' choice to work together rather than

EXCERPT 1
Mediational Strategy: Multiple Tools (Field Note)

Jennifer goes to Google Translate for a word as she is writing, then goes to WordReference.com. The word she translates is *salvare* 'save.' She then enters into WordReference.com for an English-to-Italian translation. She goes back to writing her sentence: "Harriet change the history of African-Americans by saving them from slavery."

EXCERPT 2
Peer Translation (Classroom Audio, With Translations From Greek)

1	Leonida:	το ᾿βαλες στο Google translation?
		did you put into Google translation?
2	Elpida:	ναι
		yes
3	Leonida:	mm, τί έβαλ-, στο charact- είναι χαρακτήρας, τι είναι το plot?
4		mm, *what did you p[ut]-, on* charact- *it is* charactēras, *what is* plot?
5	Elpida:	οικόπεδο
		site
6	Leonida:	what?
7	Elpida:	πλοκή, γήπεδο, κομματάκι γης
		plot, playground, small piece of land
8	Leonida:	πλοκή πρέπει να ᾿ναι
		it should be plot

only using available dictionaries. In other cases, students would more briefly turn to a classmate to ask for a translation while writing.

Affirming Translation

Although all of the participating students translated at various times, they expressed a variety of overlapping orientations to the process. Among those who explicitly affirmed the role of translation in the writing process, one set of orientations can be characterized as translingual (see Canagarajah, 2013), although such orientations never

appeared entirely divorced from more monolingual orientations. Duc voiced one of the most basic variants of a translingual understanding, whereby he positioned translation as essential for expressing a translingual repertoire in a monolingual text, as shown in Excerpt 3.

In the first turn of Excerpt 3, Duc described the activation of his linguistic repertoire during the process of English writing. He labeled his mental reality "Thailish" (4), a combination of Thai and English resources, where Norwegian words would also enter the picture (8). Duc found this state both problematic (1) and workable

EXCERPT 3
Mediation of a Translingual Repertoire Through Translation (Interview Audio)

1	Duc:	I have a problem all the time that if I don't know in English I use
2		Thai, but sometimes I forgot my Thai language also, so I use
3		English, it's kind of swap between Thai and English, sometimes I
4		just do like Thailish
5	Interviewer:	((laughter))
6	Duc:	this is my language like, this is Thai word and this is English
7		subject, so we just combine it, and it works for me […] sometimes I
8		cannot remember English, so I use *norsk* ['Norwegian'], yeah, or if
9		I cannot *norsk* ['Norwegian'] or English, I just use Thai, but if
10		sometimes Thai I cannot, so I use English
11	Interviewer:	uh-huh, so you have these three languages in your head, and
12		sometimes you can think of it in Thai, sometimes you can think of it
13		in English, sometimes you can think of it in Norwegian
14	Duc:	yes ((slight laugh))
15	Interviewer:	so when you give a text to the teacher in English class, everything
16		that's in that text is in English
17	Duc:	m-hm, yes
18	Interviewer:	right? so how do you go from, sort of the mix of languages and
19		maybe the mix of ideas in your head to make something that's just
20		in English?
21	Duc:	I use some translate in Google or like a dictionary to find the
22		definition that I can, oh this is this or maybe just go into Thai
23		dictionary, so maybe I can find some words that can match in my
24		text

(7), alternately communicating monolingual and translingual orientations (see Canagarajah, 2013). Significantly, he pointed to translation as the key to expressing his translingual mental repertoire in the monolingual English code that his teacher would expect (21–24).

Translingual or monolingual orientations did not neatly correspond with students' frequency of translation in the traditional sense of finding bilingual correspondences. The episode presented in Figure 1 illustrates the complexity and similarity of orientations expressed by similarly multilingual students whose translation practices differed greatly—in this case, Jennifer, who translated frequently, and Dylan, who visibly translated only on one occasion. On this day, Jennifer and Dylan were working together on grammar tasks that the teacher had assigned as an extension of feedback on a written exam. At the start of Excerpt 4, both students' screens displayed an online article titled "How to Write Complex Sentences," where the phrase *subordinate clauses* appeared in a definition of complex sentences.

In Excerpt 4, Jennifer and Dylan attempted to understand the term "subordinate clause." Jennifer translated the term to Italian (4–5) and asked Dylan why he would not translate it, too (9). Dylan replied that the only language he knew was

English (10). At about the same time, he looked up *subordinate* and then *clauses* in the monolingual tool Thesaurus.com and then searched for an English definition of *subordinate clause* in Google. Jennifer pushed back on Dylan's positioning himself as monolingual, asking if he did not speak Swahili (11). Dylan minimized the extent to which Swahili would help him understand an English term (12, 17), but he did translate *subordinate clause* to Swahili. The respective accuracy of the Italian and Swahili translations may provide one indication as to why Jennifer relied more on translation than Dylan. Despite Jennifer's uncertainty (6), the Google translation into Italian would conventionally be considered accurate. In contrast, the Swahili term provided by Google Translate denotes 'helping verb' rather than 'subordinate clause.' Dylan, who had received English-medium schooling in Kenya, was typically positioned as an expert in class based on his high English proficiency. However, Jennifer here positioned herself as having more resources for understanding English through her use of translation (20).

Excerpt 4 might suggest that Jennifer displayed a translingual orientation, matched by frequent translation, whereas a monolingual orientation underpinned Dylan's reliance on monolingual reference tools. However, the two students expressed strikingly similar orientations to

EXCERPT 4

Jennifer and Dylan Discuss Their Translation Practices (Screen Recordings, With Audio)

1	Jennifer:	subordinating, coordinating, something like that, clauses, cl<u>au</u>ses
2		((pronounced [aʊ], elongated))
3	Both:	((laughter))
4	Jennifer:	((translates[a] [English–Italian]: *subordinate clause – proposizione*
5		*subordinata* 'subordinate clause'))
6	Jennifer:	clauses ((laughter)) it's more like a sentence I think, *proposizione*
7		['clause' or 'sentence'], like, wait
8	Dylan:	I think I want to find it
9	Jennifer:	why don't you go- why don't you go in Google Translate?
10	Dylan:	I can't because the only language I know is English
11	Jennifer:	you cannot, so- um, so- sai- ((searching)) Swahili?
12	Dylan:	Swahili, oh yeah, but Swahili is (just) ok, and I won't understand (it)
13	Jennifer:	so wait, do you, for example if you need to understand something in
14		Norwegian, you find it in English
15	Dylan:	yeah
16	Jennifer:	but if you don't know it in English
17	Dylan:	I can translate in Swahili, I just have to find the meaning in English
18	Jennifer:	(unclear)
19	Dylan:	let me just try, I think I can
20	Jennifer:	I like- I have like, two or three language that I- that can help me
21	Dylan:	((laughter)) no, I understand the meaning of this but I forget, I know
22		but I forget ((he has translated[a] [English–Swahili]: *subordinate clause*
23		*– kitenzi kisaidizi* 'helping verb'))

[a]In Google Translate.

TABLE 4
Other- and Self-Representations of Students as Translators

	Dylan	Jennifer
Other-representation	"Even though you ask her, she has three languages to translate, but then even though she speaks Italian most, that's why whenever I want to help her, I try in Italian because I know she understands better Italian"[a]	"He say that in his language, in, like from Kenya [interviewer: m-hm Swahili] yeah ((laughter)) he doesn't know so many words, so he has to learn the English, I mean, he know the English, and he- if he don't understand the word in English, then he read a definition, but I don't think he has more possibility than me, he has to, learn that in English and not in another wo- in another language"[a]
Self-representation	[continuation] "but for me it's like, I can't use in Swahili first because, I lea- I know more English than Swahili, but then I speak Swahili more than English"[a] [later] "I try to use all the languages I know"[a]	[continuation] "but me, I can, even if I don't know the word in English, or maybe I know it, I can also know it in Italian or in Romanian, maybe even in German, so, or in Norwegian, so, I don't know, I think I have more possibilities"[a]
Reported example	"You find so many words are the same [in Swahili and Arabic], just the pronunciation is different but then like it's the same meaning, so if that's word in Swahili, I just remember it in Arabic, so I just, I ask Riccardo [an Arabic-speaking classmate] if he knows the word and then he tells me the meaning, or maybe I just look up in the dictionary, yeah in the [Google] Translate"[a]	"So sometimes I'm just like, what's the word in Italian? like I remember it in Norwegian or maybe I remember it in English but I don't re- I just don't remember it in Italian, and sometimes when I have to maybe do the homework- make the homework, I just use also the Romanian because sometimes I'm just like, what's the word in Italian?"[a]
Observed example	Translated *soaring* to Swahili to understand a task[b]	Attempted to translate two words from German into English for an unknown purpose[c]

[a]Data source: interview audio. [b]Data source: screen recording. [c]Data source: field notes.

translation when asked to comment after listening to a recording of the conversation in Excerpt 4. Their remarks are juxtaposed in Table 4, along with supporting examples of reported and observed translation practices.

As illustrated in Table 4, the two students verbalized remarkably similar representations of themselves and each other as translators, despite their seemingly different practices. Although Dylan also highlighted his primary reliance on English, both students described themselves as drawing on all of their linguistic resources to translate. Jennifer referred to remembering a word in Norwegian, English, or Romanian rather than Italian, while Dylan described drawing on the Arabic he learned in religious education in Kenya. Conversely, both positioned the other student as having a narrow linguistic repertoire

for translation. Dylan conceded that Jennifer was multilingual, but he claimed that Italian was her main usable resource. Jennifer defined Dylan even more narrowly as a monolingual user of English, although she pointed out to him in Excerpt 4 that he also knew Swahili. Dylan, in fact, reported Arabic, Urdu, and Hindi as other languages in which he had high proficiency, in addition to his emergent Norwegian. The students' representations point to a tension between a more translingual orientation to their own translation practices and a more monolingual orientation to each other's translation practices, privileging only complete linguistic systems as useful in their representations of each other (see Canagarajah, 2013). Dylan also evidenced this monolingual orientation at times in his self-representations (see Excerpt 4).

EXCERPT 5
Complexity as Grounds for Avoiding Translation (Interview Audio)

1	Interviewer:	do you know why you would have said to him [your teacher] that it
2		was also difficult for you to write this in Polish?
3	Lea:	why do I answer to him that it's difficult or? […]
4		it's sometimes difficult, when I want to translate some words
5		because some which doesn't exist in English, actually, and yeah
6		sometimes it's difficult when I want to develop my text, yeah, so I
7		decide, ok I'll write in Polish but, yeah he was right that it may be
8		difficult because I do it difficult in Polish and later I want to do it
9		also in English but it's not possible sometimes, yeah ((sigh)), so I
10		just did it directly in English with the words that I know, not that
11		difficult, he told me that I shouldn't use that difficult words because
12		I shou- then I use translator Google and it, doesn't help always

Avoiding Translation

While some students oriented to translation as inherent in a translingual writing process at least sometimes, others expressed more fully monolingual orientations toward writing, such that they attempted or felt that they needed to avoid translation. Many students positioned translation as undesirable in the English writing process. For instance, Sakis cited the possibility of avoiding translation as a reason that he preferred to find information for his texts in English: "It's better [to read] in English because I can take the vocabulary from the sources and the ideas and transfer them to the text immediately without having to translate" (interview audio). Sakis positioned translation as entailing unwelcome labor, contrasted with an ideal of a more direct monolingual process of transferring meaning from an English source to his own text. However, such a monolingual orientation did not mean that he entirely avoided translation. Sakis, whose texts were often used as models for other students, reported translating to understand unfamiliar words and to generate and verify English words and phrases while writing, as evidenced in many of his screen recordings.

Other students positioned translation as too difficult. Inherent in these conceptions was a perceived need for finding equivalency between languages in order to deem a translation successful, which Horner and Tetreault (2016) associated with a monolingual orientation to translation. Although he once used Thai in an early draft, Duc expressed a preference for composing directly in English, explaining that "if I write in Thai, sometimes I cannot translate [into] English words" (interview audio). Duc's statement suggested that effective translation would entail reproducing a Thai text in English. Similarly, Lea expressed

a common assumption that to translate meant to find precise correspondences between languages. She elaborated on this point to explain why she once declined her teacher's suggestion to prewrite in Polish, as shown in Excerpt 5.

In Excerpt 5, Lea characterized translation from Polish to English as entailing two layers of difficulty. First, some words she knew in Polish might not exist in English (4–5). Second, she would not be able to achieve the same level of complexity in English as in Polish (6–9). Faced with such a challenging task, she chose to write a simpler text directly in English instead of writing in Polish and translating—a choice characterized by some resignation, as expressed by a sigh (9). She also supported this decision by relaying the teacher's ideology of simplification as preferable to the use of Google Translate (11–12). Thus, Lea communicated assumptions of translation as finding equivalents in English for original meanings communicated in Polish and of using Google Translate as inherently problematic—even if she ascribed the latter orientation more directly to her teacher than to herself.

Although this may seem so obvious as not to merit mention, a broader point would be that students generally understood translation as crossing a language boundary, again, reflecting a monolingual orientation to language and translation (see Horner & Tetreault, 2016). This became particularly clear when students explained that they chose to find English synonyms or definitions rather than translating, in light of mediational constraints. For example, Dylan stated:

> If I use [Google] Translate, because I don't even have a dictionary where I can translate from Swahili and English, so if I use Translate, it's like it's always not correct sentence or like correct meaning or something, so I just think it's better if I do the definition

because, the definition it's like- it defines in words which I can understand. (Interview audio)

In this interview, Dylan described finding English definitions as preferable to translating because of the unreliability of Google Translate and the unavailability of other bilingual translation tools. Moreover, Dylan positioned monolingual semantic mediation as qualitatively different from translation, which would entail more than one named language. We will argue that a translingual orientation to translation allows for acknowledging greater continuity in such seemingly monolingual and multilingual writing practices.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In response to our research questions, we arrived at two key findings. First, students deployed a range of linguistic and mediational translation strategies to build on their translingual repertoires while writing in English as an additional language, involving "intralingual" and "intrasemiotic" as well as "interlingual" translation (Jakobson, 1959, p. 233). Second, students displayed a range of overlapping translingual to monolingual orientations toward translation. Notably, monolingual or translingual orientations did not correspond to infrequent or frequent translation.

Our findings suggest that translation gives multilingual students opportunities to leverage their linguistic repertoires in ways that their teachers may not otherwise be able to support, particularly in linguistically diverse classes, where the teacher cannot be expected to be proficient in all of the students' languages (see also Cummins, 2007; Vogel et al., 2018). Given the limitations of translation tools that also became apparent in our study, we agree with previous studies that suggest teaching effective use of translation tools (Fredholm, 2019; O'Neill, 2019). However, we would add that such strategy instruction can build on students' existing strategies (see also Vogel et al., 2018). Despite their teachers' limited direction, the students in our study demonstrated strategic thinking and the ability to deploy their "mobile semiotic resources" (Canagarajah, 2013, p. 173), developed through previous textual experiences online and offline, and to realign these for writing in the novel context of an English class in a new country. In this process, translation served as one means of aligning "semiotic resources, environmental factors, and human subjects" (Canagarajah, 2013, p. 174) to write in the monolingual code frequently expected of in-school English writing.

A translingual perspective also legitimizes translation by student writers on a more fundamental level. Even studies that have demonstrated positive effects of translation on writing in an additional language have questioned the value of translation tools if they do not eventually train language learners to produce the same results in the absence of the tools (Fredholm, 2019; O'Neill, 2019). Indeed, seen through a monolingual lens, translation has often been positioned as a stage to surpass on the way to near-native mastery of the target language (Horner & Tetreault, 2016). Following Canagarajah (2013), we instead argue that students' alignment of communicative resources through translation provides evidence of performative competence. To devalue translation as a writing practice because it often involves tools and resources outside of the student author seems both wasteful of students' language resources and removed from the realities of text creation outside of the classroom in "the digital age" (Cronin, 2013, p. 3). Such a stance may also underestimate the complex evaluative and interpretive work involved in translation and writing in general, in which the writer–translator can more accurately be seen as rewriting rather than mechanically transferring meaning within or across language boundaries (Cronin, 2013; Horner & Tetreault, 2016).

Furthermore, it is possible to see continuity between practices that are traditionally conceived of as translation and other forms of reformulation in writing (Horner & Tetreault, 2016). In our study, students drew on a continuum of monolingual to multilingual reference tools, also combining these with their mental linguistic repertoires (see also Dewilde, 2019) and other semiotic resources and ecological affordances. Students' alignment of their translingual resources with the expectation of producing English text led some students to more apparently monolingual practices and others to more visibly multilingual processes. We see these as a continuum of expressions of the personal labor of investing words with meaning that is involved in all writing and, indeed, as instances of translingual practice (see also Horner & Tetreault, 2016).

Nonetheless, students may express ideological tensions even as they translate. It is possible to understand students' more negative views of translation in the context of their teachers' occasional cautions or prohibitions against machine translation as well as the monolingually oriented discourses that have dominated much of additional language teaching for over a century (Canagarajah, 2013; Cook, 2010). In addition,

students sometimes highlighted the difficulty of translation, with an underlying assumption of a need for equivalence. Translation is indeed complex and labor intensive, and teachers may need to more explicitly valorize the authorial labor of translation to encourage students' translingual dispositions. Notably, the process of translating helps students to develop procedural knowledge and performative competence, including sensitivity to difference of meanings and forms in writing (Canagarajah, 2013; Horner & Tetreault, 2016; Pennycook, 2008). However, evidence of ideologies can be seen not only in what people say but also in what they do (Copland & Creese, 2015). Accordingly, students' practiced ideologies in this study generally positioned translation as a meaning-making process that is at the very center of writing in an additional language, even if they voiced discomfort about the process at times.

In conclusion, this study demonstrates that there is great potential to develop or build upon students' translation practices in teaching English writing in the additional language classroom. Incorporating translation as a valid part of writing in an additional language makes it easier for students to draw on all of their meaning-making resources and for teachers to activate linguistic resources that they themselves do not share with their students. This does not mean that allowing students to translate will solve all of their difficulties in expressing themselves in writing in an additional language. As in all writing processes, students may benefit from translation practice and guidance. Teacher guidance on translation strategies may be especially important for students with less prior schooling and experience with reference tools.

Indeed, an important limitation of our study is that the participating students all had an uninterrupted schooling background and high digital literacy, which likely contributed to their strategic use of translation. Another limitation is that we have only minimally evaluated the impact of various translation practices on students' written products. Our aim has been to supplement discussions of the effectiveness of translation in writing in an additional language by exploring and reframing translation as an element of translingual practice. A translingual orientation toward writing and translation as part of writing (Canagarajah, 2013; Horner & Tetreault, 2016) allows us to recognize students' translation practices as alignment of ecological affordances with an integrated repertoire of semiotic resources, across languages, modalities, and media. These are strategic practices that students can use not only to develop their in-school English writing but to encounter text in whatever form it takes in new and unexpected situations.

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APPENDIX

Transcription Conventions

Italics	Translation into English
<u>Underline</u>	Stressed word
-	False start
?	Rising intonation
,	Pause
()	Unclear
(())	Explanation
[…]	Ellipsis
[]	Insertion

Note. Fillers are removed from data excerpts that are quoted in-line. False starts are only maintained when followed by a change in the succeeding word. Differences from Standard English are not marked or corrected.

SUPPORTING INFORMATION

Additional supporting information may be found online in the Supporting Information section at the end of the article.

Ingrid Rodrick Beiler*

Marked and unmarked translanguaging in accelerated, mainstream, and sheltered English classrooms

Abstract: Translanguaging has gained prominence as a way to understand multilingual practices and draw on these in additional language teaching, but questions remain regarding its application in various educational contexts. This study investigates the significance of translanguaging across instructional settings by comparing discourses of markedness in accelerated, mainstream, and sheltered classes taught by the same teacher, where both linguistically majoritized and minoritized students were learning English as an additional language. Data are drawn from four months of linguistic ethnographic fieldwork at a Norwegian upper secondary school and include field notes, video and screen recordings, texts, language portraits, and teacher and student interviews. I found that translanguaging was marked in two largely separate ways: (1) bilingual English-Norwegian practices were more frequently marked in accelerated and mainstream settings, in relation to students' perceived English proficiency level; whereas (2) translanguaging drawing on minoritized languages was more consistently marked in all three settings as a deviation from majority linguistic practices, thus distinguishing *majoritized* (English-Norwegian) from *minoritized* translanguaging. Implications include the importance of analyzing translanguaging in relation to locally salient discourses and contextualizing pedagogical interventions in larger struggles for justice.

Keywords: translanguaging, markedness, language education, multilingualism, monoglossic ideologies, raciolinguistic ideologies

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Translanguaging has spread rapidly in the past decade as a term to describe language practices that surpass perceived language boundaries, as well as pedagogical approaches that build on such language practices (e.g., Cenoz and Gorter 2017; García 2009; García and Li Wei 2014). First developed to promote Welsh-English bilingualism (Williams 1994) and then applied more broadly to the education of linguistically minoritized students (e.g., Creese and Blackledge 2015; García 2009; García and Li Wei, 2014; Hornberger and Link 2012; Makalela 2015), translanguaging offers the potential of a linguistically inclusive and empowering pedagogy. However, questions remain regarding its application across various contexts, involving both linguistically majoritized and minoritized students and prestigious as well as minoritized languages (Leung and Valdés 2019; Turner and Lin 2017). As translanguaging and other multilingual approaches gain ground, some have also expressed concerns that the desire to redress power imbalances that inspired these approaches may recede, with a resulting focus on linguistic hybridity rather than social justice (e.g., Jaspers 2018; Kubota 2016).

The current study aims to make an empirical and theoretical contribution to debates concerning translanguaging in additional language education by comparing patterns and discourses of translanguaging in three English classes taught by the same teacher, using the same curriculum, where one is an accelerated class, one a mainstream class, and one a sheltered class for recent immigrants who have struggled with the subject. Relatively little research has been conducted on translanguaging in mainstream settings (cf. Duarte 2019; Rosiers et al. 2018), and comparison of translanguaging across learner groups appears to be even rarer (cf. Rosiers et al. 2018). Situated in Norway, where English is a high-stakes additional language subject for both linguistically majoritized and minoritized students, this comparative approach brings to the fore different discourses that mark translanguaging in relation to contexts, participants, and resources. In this article, I first discuss translanguaging as a theoretical and educational proposal. I then present markedness (e.g., Flores and Rosa 2015, 2019; Meeuwis and Blommaert 1994; Myers-Scotton 1993) as an analytical concept for classroom translanguaging. Next, I situate English teaching in the context of multilingualism in Norway, before presenting the research design and findings of the study. Finally, I discuss the need to interpret classroom translanguaging in light of the discourses that are made salient in specific additional language teaching contexts and student groups.

1 Translanguaging as a theoretical and educational approach

Translanguaging can be seen as both a theoretical and an educational proposal (García 2009; García and Li Wei 2014). Drawing on Williams's (1994) concept of

trawsieithu (*translanguaging* in English), which referred to strategic alternation of languages in bilingual Welsh-English education, García (2009) extended translanguaging to the domain of everyday language use: "translanguagings are the *multiple discursive practices* in which bilinguals engage in order to *make sense of their bilingual worlds*" (p. 45, italics in the original). This definition includes boundary-crossing language practices that had until then been described as codeswitching (e.g., Meeuwis and Blommaert 1994; Myers-Scotton 1993). However, translanguaging introduces a repertoire perspective, whereby the focus is no longer on codes, such as languages or dialects, but rather on how speakers draw on their full linguistic repertoires for sense-making (Busch 2012; García 2009). This shift reflects a view that communication and identities cannot be reduced to systematic alternation between codes (Canagarajah 2013; Creese and Blackledge 2015). Unlike code-switching, translanguaging and translingual practices also include the ways that bodily and spatial resources are used alongside language (Canagarajah 2013, 2018; Li Wei 2018).

Translanguaging has also developed as a critical educational approach, based on the needs of linguistically marginalized learners, including speakers of regional minority languages (e.g., Cenoz and Gorter 2017; Williams 1994) and racialized or otherwise linguistically minoritized students (Creese and Blackledge 2015; García and Li Wei 2014; García and Otheguy 2020; Hornberger and Link 2012; Makalela 2015). Importantly, teachers can encourage students to draw on translanguaging practices, even if they do not share their linguistic repertoires (García and Kleyn 2016; Mary and Young 2017). García and Kano (2014) have further suggested that translanguaging in education can "give voice to new sociopolitical realities by interrogating linguistic inequality" (p. 261). This assertion is based on two widely observed facets of societal language hierarchies: on the one hand, monolingual ideologies, which identify mastery of a national majority language with political legitimacy and belonging; on the other hand, monoglossic ideologies, which value a specific kind of multilingualism in which languages are kept "pure" and separate (Canagarajah 2013; García and Li Wei 2014; Makalela 2015; Piller and Takahashi 2011). Thus, translanguaging is not simply proposed as a more effective means of language learning, but as a rejection of hegemonic political and educational ideologies (García and Li Wei 2014; Makalela 2015).

However, some have raised questions as to whether pedagogical translanguaging necessarily challenges societal inequalities. One critique relates to potential negligence of economic or racial inequalities that belie linguistic inequality (e.g., Block 2018; Flores et al. 2018; Jaspers 2018). Others have raised questions about the applicability of translanguaging to both linguistically majoritized and minoritized students, across various additional language teaching contexts (Cenoz and Gorter 2017; Leung and Valdés 2019; Turner and Lin 2017). The

latter issue relates partly to whether named—and taught—languages can relate to translanguaging only as objects of disruption, or perhaps also as elements of an expanding linguistic repertoire, notably for students who are participating in efforts to sustain a vulnerable minority language (Cenoz and Gorter 2017) or who may never have their own monolingual norm challenged without instruction in additional languages (Turner and Lin 2017). Furthermore, Allard (2017) demonstrated that translanguaging may fall short of its emancipatory aims if other factors in the institutional and societal language ecology do not support transformative bilingual development.

There also remain questions about how to identify translanguaging empirically, apart from reference to the named languages whose primacy much translanguaging scholarship has sought to destabilize. Translanguaging has usually been identified in practices that might conventionally be described as bilingual or multilingual (e.g., Duarte 2019; García and Kleyn 2016; Mary and Young 2017), but this is theoretically only the case because of a focus on learners who are stigmatized for using resources identified with multiple languages, rather than racialized or working-class varieties of a majority language (cf. Flores and Rosa 2015; Rosiers et al. 2018). Another approach has been to identify translanguaging in critical or creative language use that plays with transgression of linguistic categories such as languages or registers (Baynham and Lee 2019; Li Wei 2018). Both approaches incorporate the idea of translanguaging as superseding boundaries and categories. As Hawkins and Mori (2018) note, "these terms with the 'trans-' prefix at once advocate for the appreciation of fluidity and flexibility seen in contemporary society and underscore the very existence of categories, borders, and boundaries that are called into question" (p. 1). Thus, translanguaging indexes fixed discourses even as it challenges these. In the following section, I suggest that markedness (e.g., Flores and Rosa 2015, 2019; Meeuwis and Blommaert 1994; Myers-Scotton 1993) can be useful for understanding translanguaging in relation to the specific locally salient discourses it challenges or transcends.

2 Markedness and translanguaging

Markedness has been applied to both translanguaging and code-switching in reference to characteristics such as the usualness or expectedness of language use under given circumstances (e.g., Creese and Blackledge 2015; Myers-Scotton 1993). Markedness has even been proposed as a way to distinguish translanguaging from code-switching, but without agreement on the nature of the distinction. Baynham and Lee (2019) describe translanguaging as more inherently marked than code-switching, emphasizing the critical and creative dimensions of translanguaging. In

contrast, Creese and Blackledge (2015) write that "translanguaging practices are not viewed as marked or unusual, but are rather taken to be the normal mode of communication that characterizes communities throughout the world," (p. 28), foregrounding the everyday nature of translanguaging (see also García 2009). I therefore suggest that translanguaging may be marked or unmarked to varying degrees, as Myers-Scotton (1993) proposed earlier with regard to code-switching.

If translanguaging may be marked or unmarked, there remain questions about what or who determine markedness. In Myers-Scotton's (1993) model, the markedness of code-switching is based on "the norms of the society regarding the salience of specific situational factors present" (p. 152). This backdrop of speech community norms allows speakers to deploy and interpret linguistic codes—or indeed, code-switching itself—as unremarkable (unmarked) or as a renegotiation of identities and relationships (marked), based on the indexical values of codes (Myers-Scotton 1993). Although listeners are implied, the model is speaker-centered (Myers-Scotton 1993), and indeed Meeuwis and Blommaert (1994) critique the model for neglecting social context by explaining code choices exclusively in terms of speaker motivations. Other premises of the model, including homogenous and stable speech communities as givers of norms and indeed stable codes themselves, have also been critiqued as too static (e.g., Canagarajah 2013; Meeuwis and Blommaert 1994). Rather than simply mirroring speech community norms, markedness should be seen as situated and emergent, requiring ethnographic evidence of its local significance (Meeuwis and Blommaert 1994). Thus, instances where translanguaging is marked as significant by participants, for instance through comments, bodily orientation, or prosodic features, may provide insight into locally salient discourses of language use.

Furthermore, recent work highlights markedness as a property ascribed by language ideologies of perception, rather than constituting neutral grounds for speakers' choices (Daugaard and Laursen 2012; Flores et al. 2018; Flores and Rosa 2015, 2019). In such usage, markedness often implies more specifically a negative evaluation. Flores and Rosa (2015) contend that markedness often resides in raciolinguistic ideologies that define and conflate racialized speakers with linguistic deficiency, independent of empirically observable language practices. As a result, "white speaking subjects are afforded the opportunity to engage in language practices that are unmarked or even celebrated while racialized speaking subjects are policed for engaging in similar language practices" (Flores and Rosa 2019, p. 148). One common variant of such raciolinguistic ideologies is a naturalized divide between ways of communicating that are deemed appropriate in school, implicitly modeled after white speakers, while racialized ways of communicating may be framed as belonging in the home (Flores and Rosa 2015). Building on Inoue's (2003) concept of the listening subject, Flores and Rosa (2015,

2019) therefore argue for paying attention to the white listening subject to which speakers may orient, seen not simply in *which* but in *whose* linguistic practices are treated as marked and unmarked. Flores and Rosa (2015) emphasize that the white listening subject is a dominant ideological mode of perception, rather than a biographical individual. Indeed, both white and racialized individuals may inhabit or enact a white listening subject position, as allowed by socio-historical processes (Rosa and Flores 2017). Raciolinguistic ideologies also operate in concert with other dimensions of inequality such as gender, class, and nationality that may influence perceptions of speakers' deficiency or legitimacy (Rosa and Flores 2017).

In a Norwegian school context, Connor (2019) identifies white "ethnic Norwegians" (p. 57) as the dominant listening subject, which may perceive as noise the voices and languages of "foreign migrants" (p. 63). This may be considered a more specific form of imagined white Europeanness (Rosa and Flores 2017), aligned with a monoglossic Norwegian national language ideology and defined in opposition to more or less visible—or racialized—foreignness, as well as minorities such as Jewish, Roma, and indigenous Sami people (Dowling 2017; Lindquist and Osler 2016). In Connor's (2019) study, the migrant students themselves orient to an "ethnic Norwegian" regime of hearing by reacting to their classmates' languages as incomprehensible "strange *sounds*" (p. 62) when their teacher tries to have students read aloud poetry they have written in Norwegian and their "native" languages. These students may be seen as temporarily enacting a white listening subject position despite their own marginalization (Rosa and Flores 2017).

In sum, examining patterns of unmarked and marked translanguaging may provide information about dominant language ideologies and whose translanguaging is seen as unremarkable or notable in school. As noted in the previous section, translanguaging definitionally challenges monolingual and monoglossic ideologies. However, not all bilingualism or multilingualism is similarly evaluated (Flores and Rosa 2015, 2019; García and Otheguy 2020; Ortega 2019), and even linguistic fluidity can index different experiences and places in society, from powerful neoliberal cosmopolitanism to stigmatized migrant multilingualism (Jaspers 2018; Kubota 2016). In this vein, Leung and Valdés (2019) have called for research that helps to clarify the dynamics of translanguaging across different types of additional language teaching, beyond those from which it arose, that is, minority language revitalization and majority language instruction for linguistically minoritized students. They do so in part by identifying various types of additional language teaching aimed at "mainstream" and "minority" language learners, identifying translanguaging as an approach that arose in "language instruction directed at minority learners" (Leung and Valdés 2019, p. 351). I will now present the context and design of the present study, which compares patterns and discourses of translanguaging across such learner groups. The study furthermore

incorporates a focus on writing instruction, which appears to have received relatively less focus in research on classroom translanguaging (although see e.g., Beiler 2020; Beiler and Dewilde 2020; Canagarajah 2013; García and Kano 2014; Seltzer 2019).

3 Study context and participants

In Norway, English has no official legal status, but it has become an important language in personal, professional, and educational domains, such that some argue that English is becoming closer to a *second* than a *foreign* language (Brevik and Rindal 2020; Rindal 2014). English is a core school subject for all students from grades 1–11 (ca. ages 6 to 17), and passing English is required to receive an upper secondary diploma at the end of grade 13. Following the model of traditional foreign language teaching, English has largely been conceived of as a subject for "mainstream students," as opposed to an offer specifically for "minority language learners" (Leung and Valdés 2019, pp. 351–352), like supplemental Norwegian instruction. However, English teaching in Norway is in fact sometimes targeted specifically at linguistically minoritized learners, in this case recent immigrants. This scenario may arise in introductory classes, where the focus is on learning enough Norwegian to transition to mainstream instruction, but where English may also be taught as a subject (Beiler 2020; Burner and Carlsen 2019; Krulatz and Iversen 2019). Since placement in introductory classes is based on Norwegian proficiency, students' English proficiency may vary widely (Beiler 2020; Burner and Carlsen 2019). Another case may occur in upper secondary schools (grades 11–13), which may choose to organize supplemental English instruction for students who are also receiving supplemental Norwegian instruction (Ministry of Education and Research 1998, § 3–12). In this case, supplemental English instruction is based on individual evaluation, typically given to students who received less English instruction in their previous countries of residence than their grade-level peers in Norway. These students may thus find themselves in a position as minoritized language learners in the teaching of not only Norwegian but also English.

There is no officially mandated language of instruction for English teaching in Norway, but research suggests that teachers aspire to teach largely in English, though recourse to Norwegian for scaffolding is common (Brevik and Rindal 2020; Burner and Carlsen 2019; Scheffler et al. 2017). The 2013 national English curriculum (in force at the time of data collection) also implicitly opens for the use of other languages by referring generically to students' "native language" rather than assuming this to be Norwegian in competence aims that call for making comparisons with English (Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training 2013).

Nonetheless, most Norwegian studies have indicated that students' multilingual resources are used minimally if at all in English teaching in both mainstream and introductory classes (e.g., Brevik and Rindal 2020; Burner and Carlsen 2019; Flognfeldt 2018; Krulatz and Torgersen 2016; for exceptions, see Beiler 2020; Krulatz and Iversen 2019). In two introductory classes, Beiler (2020) found that translanguaging at the level of the whole class drew mostly on Norwegian and English, while students' multilingual repertoires were most fully used in individual writing practices and peer interactions. The current study builds on this finding by also focusing on writing practices and writing instruction, though not exclusively so. To the best of my knowledge, few studies have compared the language practices of a single teacher across various student groups, and no previous study has investigated supplemental English instruction for recent immigrants in upper secondary school in Norway.

The current study adds a comparative dimension to the study of classroom translanguaging by examining patterns and discourses of language use in three English classes taught by the same teacher, following the same national curriculum, but composed of three groups that were distinguished by previous subject achievement: a mainstream grade 11 English class, an accelerated class taking the course one year early based on high subject achievement, and a sheltered class for recent immigrants repeating the course based on low achievement in the previous year. These three classes and participant numbers are summarized in Table 1.

As presented in Table 1, there were 54 student participants in total, including 14 students designated as "minority language speakers." I determined through fieldwork that this term was used at the school to refer to students who were receiving supportive Norwegian instruction. These students had generally immigrated to Norway in lower secondary school or later. The "mainstream" class represents the English course that all grade 11 students in general studies are required to take, and the class included students at a variety of English proficiency levels. Five students in the class were designated as "minority language speakers" and were placed in the

Table 1. Participating classes and students.

Class type	Accelerated	Mainstream	Sheltered	Total
Class description	High-achieving[a] grade 10 students	Mixed achievement levels[a]; grade 11 students	Low-achieving[a] grade 12/13 students	
"Minority language speakers" (subset)	4	5	5	$n = 14$
Students (total)	23	25	6	$N = 54$

[a]Notes. The description applies only to English, not to general academic achievement.

class based on a district-level mainstreaming policy. Four students with advanced English proficiency who were enrolled in introductory classes at the school joined the accelerated class part-time toward the end of the study. In contrast, the sheltered class was specifically an offer for "minority language speakers," thus comparable to Leung and Valdés's (2019) "language instruction directed at minority learners" (p. 352). This class also included one visually impaired student, who had completed all of his other course requirements and was taking English in a setting that allowed for more personal attention.

The recently immigrated students came from a variety of countries in Africa, Asia, Europe, and the Middle East. In addition, many of the students in the accelerated and mainstream classes who grew up in Norway also came from bi- or multilingual families, either Sami or with an immigrant background, and nearly all of the students had started a third language subject at school, such as French, German, or Spanish. A wide variety of languages were thus represented in all three classes, involving both elite and minoritized multilingualism (see Ortega 2019). Some students' linguistic repertoires will be described in the findings as illustrative examples, but in some cases details that are not considered analytically necessary are withheld in order to provide the students with greater internal confidentiality. The teacher of the three English classes, Lars[1], identified Norwegian as his first language. He was also fluent in English and had studied German at school.

4 Design and methods

Based on the research gaps identified above, the present study addresses the following research questions:

1. In what ways is translanguaging marked in the teaching and learning of English as an additional language for linguistically majoritized or minoritized students?
2. How does such marking apply across an accelerated, a mainstream, and a sheltered English class?

In order to answer these research questions, the study employs a comparative design across three classes with different student characteristics, taught by the same teacher, as described in greater detail above.

The study uses linguistic ethnography as an overarching methodological and interpretive approach that seeks to uncover participant perspectives and contextualize these in larger societal discourses and structures (Copland and Creese 2015). Linguistic ethnography operates on two basic assumptions: that contexts of

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1 All participant names are pseudonyms.

communication need to be investigated rather than assumed; and that the internal organization of verbal and semiotic data provide cues to the significance and positioning of such data (Rampton 2007, p. 585). These assumptions translate methodologically into a combination of open ethnographically inspired investigations and fine-grained linguistic analysis, generally involving participant observation (Copland and Creese 2015; Rampton 2007). Since a participant observer by definition is bound to influence the context in some way, validity is sought not by avoiding influence on the setting outright but rather through reflexivity and accounting for one's role in producing the data (Copland and Creese 2015). Some of the positionalities that likely lent me legitimacy and authority in my interactions with the participating teacher and students included my being a former English teacher and current English teacher educator, usually perceived as a white bilingual "native speaker" of both English and Norwegian. In negotiating relationships with students, I at times also foregrounded my experience of moving internationally as an adolescent and being a learner and user of Arabic and French.

As part of a larger project, I conducted participant observation at the school from August to December 2017, about 2–4 days per week. I wrote field notes, video-recorded most classroom instruction, and made selected video or audio recordings of student interactions. Students who chose to do so also made screen recordings on their laptops while working on writing tasks. In addition, I collected student notes and texts and teacher feedback, took photographs of select classroom artifacts, and guided students in creating language portraits (Busch 2012), which they also described in written or audio-recorded narratives. Based on the aforementioned data sources, I conducted stimulated recall interviews (Dempsey 2010) with the teacher and 17 focus students, as well as semi-structured interviews with five additional students for contextualizing information. The focus students were chosen to represent all three classes and a variety of linguistic backgrounds in each class. Methods, data sources, and participants are summarized in Table 2.

As illustrated in Table 2, the number of participants for each type of data varied significantly. This resulted from a combination of students' choices concerning how to participate (e.g., reservation from video or screen recording), turnover in the classes (e.g., joining after language portrait creation), and researcher capacity (e.g., number of student interviews). Given the large quantity of recorded data, only the researcher voice memo and recordings of interviews, student interactions, and three language portrait narratives that were audio-recorded rather than written were transcribed in their entirety. The transcripts and field notes were uploaded to the data analysis software NVivo and subjected to a two-stage coding process. Content logs were created for the recordings of student screens and classroom instruction, which were used for subsequent triangulation and

Table 2: Data sources.

Method	Data	Participants	Quantity
Observation	Field notes	Teacher ($N = 1$) Students ($N = 54$)	132,468 words
	Voice memo (field note)	Researcher	6 min 13 s
	Video of classroom instruction	Teacher ($N = 1$) Students ($n = 45$)	Angle 1: 24 h 30 min 16 s Angle 2: 19 h 33 min 32 s
	Video of student interactions	Students ($n = 11$)	2 h 19 min 00 s
	Audio of student interactions	Students ($n = 7$)	1 h 55 min 24 s
	Audio of teacher feedback conferences	Teacher ($N = 1$) Students ($n = 3$)	13 min 30 s
	Screen recordings	Students ($n = 20$)	46 h 47 min 24 s
	Photographs	Students ($n = 7$)	26 photographs
Document collection	Students texts	Students ($n = 48$)	151 texts
	Teacher feedback (written)	Teacher ($N = 1$) Students ($n = 37$)	44 texts
	Language portraits, with narrative descriptions	Students ($n = 46$)	46 portraits
Interview	Audio recordings	Students ($n = 22$)[a] Teacher ($N = 1$)	10 h 54 min 01 s 1 h 19 min 05 s
	Video recordings	Student ($n = 1$)[a]	3 min 21 s

[a]Note. Of the 22 students interviewed, one also consented to video recording.

identification of focal episodes for interaction analysis (Jordan and Henderson 1995). The analytical process is illustrated in Figure 1.

As illustrated in Figure 1, after data preparation, the first round of coding involved mostly inductive application of eclectic codes, including descriptive, emotion, *in vivo*, process, value and versus codes (Saldaña 2015). The second round, consisting of focused coding (Saldaña 2015), can be described as abductive, drawing on theoretical constructs to anchor emerging themes (Alvesson and Sköldberg 2017; Copland and Creese 2015). At this stage, I also narrowed my analytical focus to five themes (see Figure 1, "Focused coding"). By reviewing these themes across the data sources, I then identified patterns of translanguaging and "rare events" (Erickson 1986, p. 149), which led to formulating preliminary analytical assertions and identifying illustrative focal episodes. I transcribed and conducted interaction analysis of focal episodes in the recorded classroom data and reviewed the documentary data (photographs, texts, language portraits), in order to verify or nuance the preliminary assertions (Copland and Creese 2015; Erickson 1986; Jordan and Henderson 1995). A guiding principle was to formulate, test, and refine analytical assertions such that they could account for both frequent and rare events in the data (Erickson 1986, p. 149).

Data preparation

- Transcription: interviews, student video/audio, memo
- Content logs: teacher video, screen recordings
- Upload to NVivo for coding: field notes, transcripts

Final assertions
(Erickson, 1986)

1. Marked bilingual practices in accelerated and mainstream vs. sheltered settings
2. Minoritized vs. majoritized translanguaging

Eclectic coding (inductive)
(Saldaña, 2015)

- Descriptive codes
- Emotion codes
- In vivo codes
- Process codes
- Value codes
- Versus codes

Triangulation and preliminary assertions (Erickson, 1986)

- Comparison with content logs, language portraits, texts, and photos
- Identification of patterns and "rare events"
- Transcription and interaction analysis of focal episodes

Focused coding (abductive)
(Saldaña, 2015)

- Inclusion vs. exclusion
- Linguistic repertoires and identities
- Marked translanguaging
- Monolingual, bilingual, and multilingual language policies
- Monolingual vs. translingual practices

Figure 1: Analytical process.

5 Findings

Through the analytical process, I arrived at two patterns of marking trans-languaging: the more frequent marking of Norwegian-English bilingual practices in accelerated and mainstream settings compared to the sheltered classroom; and the relatively consistent marking of translanguaging that drew on minoritized languages across all settings. The data extracts presented below were chosen because they are representative of these patterns or provide rare counterpoints that help to clarify the patterns.

5.1 Marked bilingual practices in accelerated, mainstream, and sheltered settings

Translanguaging was overall less common and more marked in the accelerated class compared to the mainstream class, and in these two classes than in the sheltered class. The differences in practices could be seen both in Lars's regulation of language use and in how students themselves chose to draw on their linguistic repertoires in individual and peer work. This pattern of variation across the three classes indexed a discourse that juxtaposed a desired monolingual English performance with translanguaging as needed for task accomplishment (Brevik and Rindal 2020; Rosiers et al. 2018). This monolingual expectation was upheld most strictly in the accelerated class, where all of the students were presumed to be quite fluent in English. In contrast, the mainstream class included a wider range of proficiency levels and experiences with English, and students in the sheltered class had all previously struggled with the subject. However, English was not usually juxtaposed with translanguaging *per se*, but rather with a more specific form of translanguaging: bilingual English-Norwegian practices. Marking of translanguaging in contrast to a desired English performance thus constituted a specific kind of translanguaging, one that drew on majoritized languages enshrined in the curriculum and shared by the teacher and students (see "elite bilingualism" in Ortega 2019, p. 27), which I call *marked bilingual practices*.

Accordingly, there were numerous instances in the accelerated and mainstream classes in which the teacher reminded students to speak English or not to speak Norwegian. The following excerpt illustrates the marking of bilingual practices in a teacher-fronted discussion in the accelerated class. The excerpt begins with a student called Tom giving an elaborated response to a question from Lars about literary characters.

Excerpt 1: "Don't use a single Norwegian word" (video, accelerated class)[2].

1	Tom:	and she adds something to the story because you kind of get a, frampek
2		*<foreshadowing>* to (xxx)
3	Lars:	yes, frampek *<foreshadowing>*, that's a very good word, these are
4		words you guys should be using in the conversation with me, but not in
5		Norwegian, ok?
6	Tom:	yeah

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2 Unless otherwise noted, translations are from Norwegian.

Excerpt 1: Continued

7 Lars: ((chuckles)) don't use a single Norwegian word in your
8   [conversations, uh, with me, but the word,
9   [((writes "frampek" on the board))
10   frampek *<foreshadowing>*, what do you do by the way if you have a
11   Norwegian word in your head and you're struggling and you want to
12   get it out? in English, how do you do that? ((waits)) yes
13 Sofie: um, you could, maybe explain the word
14 Lars: yes, you can try to explain, the concept, right? try to say it with, other
15   English words, you'll be able to do that, or if you're in dire straits and you
16   absolutely need help, you can ask me, hey Lars is it ok if I ask for a
17   Norwegian word here, I need help, ((short chuckle)) alright? perfectly
18   fine, just don't go off before I let you, speaking Norwegian, ok? you never
19   know for an exam, for instance, what a sensor [ˈsɛnsəɹ] *<examiner>*,
20   might think of that, ok? so just stop stop any Norwegian you guys might
21   have thought of [so, frampek *< foreshadowing>* in, Norwegian, what- in
22   English I mean, what do you guys think?
23   [((points to "frampek" on the board))
24   yes, Fredrik
25 Fredrik: foreshadowing
26 Lars: foreshadowing, [exactly, so not that [but this, fore-shadowing, yes,
27   foreshadowing, foreshadowing,
28   [((crosses out "frampek"))
29   [((writes "foreshadowing"))
30   et frampek *<a foreshadowing>*, exactly, you get a [hint, of something
31   that is about to happen, right?
32   [((raises arm))
33   you get little, um, [drips of something about to happen
34   [((taps air with fingers))

In Excerpt 1, Tom used the Norwegian literary term *frampek* ("foreshadowing") to contribute an idea to a class discussion, a shift that he subtly marked with a pause (line 1). In response, Lars affirmed the value of using a precise literary concept but also marked switching to Norwegian as a deviation (lines 3–5). Lars's comment was more specifically framed in the context of "the conversation with me" (line 4), which likely referred to an oral assessment the class was anticipating, literally called a "subject conversation" (*fagsamtale*) in Norwegian, rather than private conversations with him in general, where he regularly accepted that students drew

on Norwegian. Indeed, rather than moving on with the class discussion, Lars used Tom's recourse to a Norwegian term as an opportunity to elaborate on strategies for managing the monolingual expectation in assessment situations, including circumlocution (line 14–15) and asking for permission to draw on Norwegian "if you're in dire straits" (line 15). Indeed, translanguaging is often deemed problematic in language teaching based on its widespread unacceptability in language assessments (Schissel et al. 2018).

It is nonetheless important to note that Lars himself subtly translanguaged in unmarked ways in Excerpt 1. Lars integrated two terms into his English performance that were locally recognizable in reference to the Norwegian school system but might not carry the same meaning to English speakers elsewhere, namely "conversation" (lines 4, 8) to refer to oral assessment and "*sensor*" ("examiner"), where he pronounced the Norwegian word for an examiner with American English phonology, [ˈsɛnsəɹ] (line 19). Thus, such seemingly monolingual speech can also be seen as translingual (Canagarajah 2013). Lars also drew on his bodily and spatial resources to communicate effectively with his students, crossing out "*frampek*" before replacing it with "foreshadowing", accompanied respectively by the deictics "that" and "this" (lines 26–29) and tapping his fingers in the air to convey the meaning of "drips" (lines 33–34). Such uses of embodied and spatial resources are increasingly emphasized as elements of translanguaging (Canagarajah 2018; Li Wei 2018).

In contrast to his frequent marking of bilingual practices in the mainstream classes, especially in teacher-fronted discussions, Lars permitted students to draw extensively on Norwegian without comment in the sheltered class and in interactions with students in the mainstream class whom he considered to have greater difficulty with English. In the sheltered class, he even occasionally encouraged students to use Norwegian, as in the following excerpt, where Lars and his students discussed a polemical writing prompt to which he had asked the students to respond: "Human rights do not matter."

Excerpt 2: Bilingual practices in the sheltered class (video, sheltered class).

1	Rachelle:	er det noen imot *<is there anyone against>* the human rights?
2	Lars:	hm?
3	Rachelle:	er det noen- finnes det noen personer som er imot *<is there*
4		*anyone- are there any people who are against>* the human rights?
5	Lars:	um, yes, yeah, yeah, there are, um, but that's not the question-
6		the- the claim though, the claim is [human rights do not matter,
7		right? [do they matter, or [do they not matter, altså betyr de noe?
8		[((underlining on the board)) [((hands together))
9		[((hands apart))

Excerpt 2: Continued

10		har de noen effekt? har de noen virkning? spiller det noen rolle
11		om vi har dem? *<that is do they count? do they have any effect? do*
12		*they have any impact? does it matter if we have them?>* [...]
13	Lars:	ok, but- but play off each other now, I want you guys to talk about
14		this alright, to get some ideas, and you may speak in Norwegian
15		then if you feel more comfortable doing that, to prepare yourself
16		for the writing, ok?

In Excerpt 2, Rachelle challenged Lars on the premise of the writing prompt (line 1). As a refugee from the war in Syria, Rachelle might have found this proposition especially troubling. Lars signaled for Rachelle to repeat the question (line 2), and rather than interpreting this as a request to reformulate the question in English, she posed her question in different terms, still drawing on both Norwegian and English (lines 3–4). In contrast with his response to Tom (see Excerpt 1), here Lars did not mark Rachelle's translanguaging, responding instead to the content of her question (lines 5–11). In fact, he himself translanguaged to provide an elaborated response, drawing on English (lines 5–7) and Norwegian (line 8–11), as well as bodily and spatial resources (see Canagarajah 2018). Specifically, he used his hand to underline text on the board and communicated a contrast through gesturing, moving his hands together and apart (line 8–9). Finally, before releasing the students to work together on generating ideas for writing, he proactively reminded them that they could speak Norwegian if they would feel more comfortable doing so (lines 14–16). To the extent that translanguaging was marked, it was to remind the students that they did not need to work monolingually, though without reference to any languages beyond English or Norwegian.

The variations in Lars's regulation of language use pointed to a principle of translanguaging as needed to support understanding and engagement in the task, which seemed less necessary to him among students with higher proficiency in English. Lars explained in his interview that he saw Norwegian as being useful for clarifying and consolidating English terms in all classes, but especially for students with lower English proficiency. A second principle also favored English-Norwegian bilingual practices in the sheltered class: the broader institutional emphasis on developing immigrant students' Norwegian proficiency (see Beiler 2020; Burner and Carlsen 2019; Krulatz and Torgersen 2016). Lars explained that "especially in [the sheltered class] I use Norwegian much more, because I also consider it important that they learn Norwegian better too, so there I use Norwegian, not exactly interchangeably with English, but more Norwegian, maybe

repeat a question in Norwegian" (interview, my translation). These statements reveal at least two salient discourses informing *unmarked* bilingual practices. First, Lars conceived of language learning as bidirectional rather than being in competition; thus the primary language of schooling (Norwegian) could be used to support English learning, while English lessons could simultaneously support students' developing Norwegian proficiency (see Beiler 2020; Cenoz and Gorter 2017). Second, a discourse of needing to develop majority language proficiency followed "minority language speakers" across school subjects. Even in other language subjects such as English, drawing on Norwegian became institutionally desirable for these particular students because it indexed integration into majority language practices (see Beiler 2020; Burner and Carlsen 2019; Krulatz and Torgersen 2016). For linguistically majoritized students, drawing on Norwegian in English class was often permissible but not desirable in the same way.

With respect to students' language ideologies and practices in their spontaneous interactions and individual work, great variations could be observed among students, especially in the accelerated and mainstream classes. Some students expressed more consciously monolingual orientations to their writing processes (see Canagarajah 2013) and attempted to work in English only, while others drew more extensively on their full linguistic repertoires to read, plan, or translate for writing (see also Beiler 2020; Beiler and Dewilde 2020). Still, overall, the students in the sheltered class drew more consistently on resources other than English. This may be unsurprising given the fact that their placement in the class reflected a lower achievement level in English. One of these students, Sara, explained why she would draw on Norwegian:

> Sometimes I speak Norwegian when I'm unsure, or when I don't know how I should say it, so I know that I can say it in Norwegian, so it's a little easier for me, or I feel much better that I know that I have that possibility, instead of not having it and being quiet for example, right? (interview, my translation)

To Sara, the alternative to speaking Norwegian would sometimes be silence. Having this possibility encouraged her participation, even as she also stated that she liked the language exposure she received by having most of the class conducted in English, unlike at her earlier school in Poland. These opinions were also voiced by many students in all three classes, that they appreciated both that Lars spoke so much English and that they were not held to a strictly monolingual standard (see also Brevik and Rindal 2020). Sara and other multilingual students would also draw on resources other than English or Norwegian, especially in their private work. However, patterns of such *minoritized translanguaging* largely indexed a different discourse than marked bilingual practices, as I present in the next section.

5.2 Minoritized translanguaging: Marked across instructional settings

As presented in the previous section, marked bilingual practices indexed a desired monoglossic English performance, but the extent to which bilingual practices were marked varied by instructional setting and students' perceived readiness to perform monolingually in English. A second pattern applied more similarly across all three instructional settings, whereby translanguaging that drew on minoritized languages was less visible but more consistently marked when it became visible to others. Such *minoritized translanguaging* was more inherently marked in relation to societal language hierarchies and raciolinguistic ideologies (Daugaard and Laursen 2012; Flores and Rosa 2015). Indeed, constraints on minoritized translanguaging indexed a discourse of inclusion through conformity to majority linguistic practices (see Piller and Takahashi 2011). Accordingly, students' minoritized language resources were primarily made visible to others outside of curricular activities, in occasional language play or personal conversations (cf. Rosiers et al. 2018). Even in the sheltered class, where all of the students were recent immigrants, students reproduced societal discourses defining minority language communication as antisocial (e.g., Flognfeldt 2018; Krulatz and Torgersen 2016). In the following field note excerpt, two students reacted negatively to a brief exchange in Arabic by Rachelle and another classmate from Syria.

> Excerpt 3. "They are talking behind our backs" (field note, sheltered class,)
> The teacher recaps their discussion thus far: "This is for the very few, not everyone, that is the problem of the American Dream." Rachelle summarizes the teacher's point about the American Dream for Lamis in Arabic. At this point, two classmates comment on the fact that the girls are speaking Arabic. One of them says, "De baksnakker oss." <*They are talking behind our backs.*> Rachelle appeals to me, that I understand what they are saying. I confirm that she is helping Lamis with the task.

In this field note, two classmates indicated suspicion of Lamis and Rachelle's speaking in Arabic, even though the students were all friends. Unlike the task-related marking of Norwegian, this kind of language policing by peers marked minoritized language use as inherently suspicious and antisocial (see Flognfeldt 2018; Krulatz and Torgersen 2016; Mary and Young 2017; Piller and Takahashi 2011). These classmates, who were themselves minoritized speakers at school, can be seen as enacting the position of the white "ethnic Norwegian" listening subject by defining minoritized languages as inappropriate in class (see Flores and Rosa 2015; Rosa and Flores 2017). In response, Rachelle appealed to an authority figure, me, the researcher who could understand and legitimize their departure from

majoritized languages as being task-related. In subsequent interviews, all four students acknowledged that shared minoritized languages could provide important learning support, as practiced by Rachelle and Lamis in Excerpt 3 (e.g., Duarte 2019; García and Kleyn 2016). However, they also described it as exclusionary to speak a language that not everyone present could understand (see also Flognfeldt 2018; Krulatz and Torgersen 2016; Piller and Takahashi 2011). Nearly all of the students in the sheltered class described self-policing for this reason, avoiding minoritized translanguaging so as not to exclude or be seen as excluding others who would not be able to understand. Sara even reported that she had started messaging a Polish classmate in Norwegian because she had gotten so used to avoiding Polish around others. While all of these students justified their choices with reference to personal courtesy rather than explicitly assimilationist or raciolinguistic ideologies (Flores and Rosa 2015; Piller and Takahashi 2011), they nonetheless oriented to an implied listening subject who would normatively expect only Norwegian and English. Importantly, Lars did not question his students' motives for speaking Arabic in this instance or otherwise.

Nonetheless, Lars rarely drew on any languages beyond English or Norwegian in an explicit manner, with the exception of one instance of eliciting a translation in Dutch in the mainstream class. In this case, a student who had recently immigrated from the Netherlands was unable to come up with a word in either English or Norwegian (see Excerpt 4).

Excerpt 4: Lars elicits a Dutch word (video, mainstream class).

1	Lars:	yes?
2	Bob:	it's not like a choice to have like, the (debt)[1], something
3	Lars:	chose to have a?
4	Bob:	uh, I don't know the English word, uh
5	Lars:	do you know the Norwegian one?
6	Bob:	uh, no
7	Lars:	do you know the Dutch one? ((chuckles))
8	Bob:	uh, schuld <D. *debt*>
9	Lars:	what's that?
10	Frida:	gjeld, tror jeg det heter < N. *debt, I think it's called*>
11	Lars:	hm? oh debt, gjeld <N. *debt*>, yes studiegjeld < N. *student debt*>,
12		debt, debt, she is discussing debt, what was that in Dutch?
13	Bob:	schuld <D. *debt*>

Excerpt 4: Continued

14	Lars:	sounds like school to me, so it wouldn't- it wouldn't help but ok, uh
15		yes, she is talking about student debt, absolutely, altså gjeld < N.
16		*that is, debt>*

Notes: D = translation from Dutch. N = translation from Norwegian. [1]Pronounced [dɑpt].

In Excerpt 4, Lars was initially unable to understand Bob's non-standard pronunciation of the word "debt" (lines 2–3), to which Bob responded that he did not know the English word in question (line 4). Lars then elicited the word in Dutch when Bob did not know the word in Norwegian. Lars's comment in line 14 suggests that he was hoping for a recognizable cognate, an intention he confirmed in his interview. Like the other languages in his repertoire (Norwegian, English, German), Dutch is a Germanic language, and recognizing cognates is a well-established strategy for multilingual transfer (Cenoz and Gorter 2017). Since he could not understand the Dutch word, he deemed the strategy unhelpful (line 14). Instead, Bob's Dutch-speaking classmate Frida was able to interpret for him (line 10). As with students' use of Arabic in Excerpt 3, recourse to a language other than English or Norwegian required an expansion in the sources of expertise in the classroom (see García and Kleyn 2016; Mary and Young 2017; Rosiers et al. 2018). However, unlike Arabic in Excerpt 3, Dutch was invited officially from the front of the room, presented openly by students, and received without negative comment by classmates, thus seeming to escape the stigmatization and raciolinguistic policing tied to Arabic.

Indeed, Lars expressed wariness of pointing out students' minoritized language resources too explicitly in the mainstream classes out of a fear of stigmatizing students (see Excerpt 5).

Excerpt 5: "It has to be clarified beforehand" (interview, my translation).

1	Interviewer:	in addition to the newly arrived students, do you think that
2		your students' multilingualism is something you draw on in
3		any other way in English teaching?
4	Lars:	no, not very much actually, unfortunately not, because it
5		requires a fair bit of knowledge about- on my- on my part,
6		about both their culture and about the language, knowledge
7		that I don't have, I feel, before I start with like- kind of
8		superficial trivial comments, what- in in the classroom, so so I

Excerpt 5: Continued

9	would rather have a little more knowledge about- more than
10	what I can use it for, uh more than just making, kind of- kind of
11	silly out of it, what is the word for coffee in Russian, for
12	example […] but it must, absolutely be clarified beforehand
13	with the students in question […] but it isn't something I can
14	just on a whim ask questions about in the classroom, it has to
15	be clarified beforehand, I think at least, it may depend on the
16	person, but I would at least have clarified it beforehand, but it
17	is possible to make them a resource, but everything depends
18	on, that student, if they think it's OK, but absolutely, there is a
19	resource there, but will it be stigmatizing? when when they
20	present it, I really don't know

In this excerpt, Lars cited two reasons for not making more explicit references to his students' multilingualism. On the one hand, he felt that he needed more knowledge in order to draw on their multilingual repertoires in a substantive rather than trivial manner (lines 4–11). This may be one reason that he once elicited a Dutch word, which he hoped to recognize as a cognate (see Excerpt 4), whereas he did not similarly elicit terms in languages that were less familiar to him. On the other hand, he expressed a fear of students feeling stigmatized, signaled in the thrice-repeated concern with clarifying beforehand whether students would feel comfortable having their multilingualism pointed out (lines 12–16). Here Lars implicitly refers to a minoritized form of multilingualism, which has the potential to confer stigma (line 19) rather than prestige (see Ortega 2019; Piller and Takahashi 2011), or to students who are stigmatized rather than celebrated for their multilingualism because of their racialized position (Flores and Rosa 2015). In this example, minoritized multilingualism is exemplified by Russian, which like Dutch indexes white Euro-peanness, but in Norway also indexes xenophobic discourses about Eastern European working class labor migration, thus potentially marking students as a racialized Other (Dowling, 2017; Rosa and Flores 2017). Accordingly, minoritized multilingualism was inherently marked (Daugaard and Laursen 2012), unlike the English-Norwegian bilingualism that was merely situationally regulated. In practice, Lars's concern appeared to apply somewhat more weakly to the sheltered class, where all of the students were immigrants who were racialized to a greater or lesser extent, such that minoritized multilingualism was somewhat less marked.

In the mainstream and accelerated classes, which were in fact also very linguistically diverse, students' multilingualism was almost never topicalized or used in visible ways. It is important to note that all three classes generally seemed

characterized by a comfortable classroom atmosphere and good relationships among the students and teacher; especially students in the sheltered and accelerated classes commented to this effect (cf. Allard 2017). Thus, the reasons for avoidance of minoritized translanguaging in the mainstream and accelerated classes are likely to be found outside of the immediate classroom setting, perhaps most obviously in linguistically minoritized students' earlier experiences of Norwegian "regimes of hearing" (Connor 2019, p. 56) in education. Indeed, only Halima could vaguely recall having been previously invited to use a minoritized language at school—in her case, Urdu, when she was enrolled in transitional mother tongue classes in early elementary school. A few students described more direct suppression, such as Sofie and Cece, who related that their parents were told to speak Norwegian to them rather than Sami and Farsi, respectively, when they entered preschool. Cece continued to act on her parents' advice not to speak Farsi outside of the home, lest others "look down on her" (field note), while Sofie reported that she had gradually developed more pride and willingness to have her family visibly identified as Sami, for instance no longer becoming upset with her parents for wearing the Sami *kofte* on Norway's national holiday. However, Sofie thought that such early experiences had contributed to her decision not to take Sami language distance education, to which she was legally entitled.

Only one student in these classes explicitly chose to translanguage despite negative reactions from classmates at times. Whereas students in the sheltered class felt the need to self-police and justify their occasional translanguaging, Shirin, a student in the accelerated class, asserted translanguaging as an aspect of her identity and way of being (Canagarajah 2013; Creese and Blackledge 2015). In describing her language portrait, she wrote,

> Sometimes I am talking to someone and I realize that I have been speaking Kurdish for two minutes to someone who doesn't know the language at all, but I would not have it any other way, knowing and being familiar with many languages makes me feel closer to the world. (written narrative, my translation)

While Shirin acknowledged that translanguaging could entail misunderstandings, she positioned a translingual identity as desirable and asserted her right to base her interactions on her own positionality, without suppressing this for the sake of social harmony (see Canagarajah, 2013). Indeed, on her language portrait, Shirin represented Kurdish as very important to her, but the overall impression is of a student who identifies strongly as multilingual (see Figure 2).

In Figure 2, Shirin has assigned a different color to each language or variety, such as Sorani or Hawleri[3] Kurdish ("*Kurdi*"). She uses hearts to encompass bits

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**3** From Hawler, the Kurdish name for Erbil.

Figure 2: Shirin's language portrait.

and pieces of many languages, both those she knows quite well, like Norwegian, Kurdish, and English, and those she would like to know more of, like Korean. She also represents languages and varieties she considers out of reach ("*Arabisk*," "Arabic") or dislikes ("*Fransk*," "French," and "*Nynorsk*," "New Norwegian"). Shirin's representation of her linguistic repertoire destabilizes linear notions of first and second languages, as well as hierarchies between majoritized and minoritized languages (Seltzer 2019). Many other students in all three classes represented a complex multilingual repertoire in similarly vivid terms, but Shirin stood out for asserting her right to make language choices based on her identity and to reject others' language policing and racialization (see Excerpt 6).

Excerpt 6: "As long as I have someone who understands my language, I speak it" (interview, my translation).

1	Interviewer:	what you're saying about using Kurdish at school […] it
2		sounds like you think that it's- or like you have experienced
3		that someone reacts negatively to it?
4	Shirin:	mm mm definitely
5	Interviewer:	does that affect at all how and when and where you choose to
6		speak Kurdish, [or not speak Kurdish?
7	Shirin:	[no, no, I mean, as long as I have someone who understands
8		my language, I speak it, because, it's- it has happened quite
9		often that I'm speaking Kurdish and then a student comes
10		over and just, you're in Norway so act like a Northerner[1]

Excerpt 6: Continued

11		and like, or however you say it, a Norwegian it's called, <u>sorry,</u>
12		<u>wow</u>[2], I did get a good grade in Norwegian, no ((laughs))
13	Interviewer:	I don't doubt that
14	Shirin:	yeah so, I feel, Norwegian is like, Norwegian culture is just as
15		much me as Kurdish culture but like it becomes pretty sad for
16		me, it's so strange, but I get so sad when I don't get to speak
17		Kurdish for several hours, and now our school has become
18		mobile-free, so I can't call my mom when I miss speaking
19		Kurdish […]
20	Interviewer:	yeah, so you do it anyway, even if, like, the fact that someone
21		has come and said that to you, that's pretty=
22	Shirin:	=sad, I know, yeah, I got really mad then, but my mom and
23		dad taught me always not to react negatively when someone
24		says things like that, because then it just proves it- because,
25		because many think for example, people who are from abroad
26		are a little like, wild <u>quote non-quote, right</u>, so like, it's been
27		very often that when I have gotten quite mean comments, and
28		I feel like they expect me to react wild, so I have like just
29		stayed calm and so, so that they like, so I can try to shatter the
30		picture they have of, <u>quote non-quote</u>, foreigners

Notes: [1]She first uses the word for a person from Northern Norway, *nordlending*, and then self-corrects to the generic national demonym, *nordmann*.
[2]The underlined words are original, not translated.

In Excerpt 6, Shirin described racialized policing of her speaking Kurdish at school, in which other students would frame Kurdish as incompatible with Norwegianness (lines 8–11). Shirin rejected this raciolinguistic ideology, pointing out that she felt just as Norwegian as Kurdish and that there was no incompatibility in this fact (line 14–15). The emotional importance to her of using Kurdish weighed more strongly in her language choices than others' raciolinguistic policing (lines 1–8, 15–17). However, she did appear to feel constrained by raciolinguistic ideologies in some ways, needing to carefully manage her reactions to racist accusations, so as not to confirm the expectation that foreigners act "wild" (lines 25–30). The discursive power of these descriptors was emphasized by Shirin's use of "quote non-quote [unquote]" to frame both "wild" and "foreigners" (lines 26, 30) as circulating ideological categories. Furthermore, she defended a slip of the tongue with

reference to receiving a good grade in Norwegian (lines 12), thus preempting a possible negative judgment of her legitimacy as a speaker of Norwegian in the interview.

In sum, Shirin experienced her translanguaging and her translingual identity as negatively marked in school, but she refused to restrict her linguistic repertoire accordingly. Compared to the students in the sheltered class, she may have felt more secure in resisting raciolinguistic policing, based on her position as a fluent speaker of Norwegian and advanced user of English who had grown up in Norway. However, without greater access to students' lives outside of school, it is difficult to know which personal or social factors allowed Shirin to resist linguistic stigmatization and racialization more overtly than many of her peers who were in a similar position to her at school (see Canagarajah, 2013). Nonetheless, her experience reminds us that discourses of markedness are neither absolute nor non-negotiable (Meeuwis and Blommaert 1994).

6 Discussion and conclusion

In this study, I found that translanguaging occurred in opposition to two largely separate discourses: a discourse of monoglossic English performance and a discourse of inclusion through conformity to majority linguistic practices. This first discourse constituted English-Norwegian bilingual practices as its marked opposite, while the second discourse marked minoritized translanguaging as an obstacle to inclusion, thus as qualitatively different from majoritized English-Norwegian bilingual practices. The first discourse applied differently across accelerated, mainstream, and sheltered instructional settings, such that bilingual practices were least marked in the sheltered class, based on students' greater perceived need to construct meaning through translanguaging, as well as the desirability of increasing their Norwegian proficiency. In contrast, minoritized translanguaging was more similarly marked in all three classes, indexing hegemonic national language ideologies more so than ideologies of language learning.

This study therefore suggests a need to disambiguate among various forms of translanguaging in the classroom, based on which discourses or ideologies they index. In many previous studies, translanguaging has been contrasted with a broadly monolingual or monoglossic ideology that stigmatizes bi- and multilingual students' language practices (e.g., Creese and Blackledge 2015; García and Kleyn 2016; Mary and Young 2017). The current study suggests that there are at least two issues that potentially constrain translanguaging in language classrooms, which may overlap to a greater extent in some contexts than others: monoglossic ideologies of effective additional language learning and

marginalization of certain speakers based on an ideology of national linguistic homogeneity, which may also mark minoritized speakers unequally based on their racialized position (Flores and Rosa 2015, 2019; Lindquist and Osler 2016). While these discourses may largely coincide in settings where minoritized language learners are learning a majority language as part of mainstreaming efforts (e.g., "English Language Development" in Leung and Valdés 2019, p. 351), in the current context these discourses had significantly different fields of application.

In the current study, only the national majority language Norwegian was seen as encroaching significantly upon English target language use. Thus the teacher's management of language use could most accurately be described in terms of regulating majoritized bilingual practices. This discourse certainly aligns with a monoglossic conception of languages as bounded and separate (García 2009; Ortega 2019; Piller and Takahashi 2011), not just on the part of individual teachers or students but also in the institutional formulation and assessment of English as a school subject. However, at a societal level, the unmarked prestigious alternative, indeed the curricular expectation, is to develop Norwegian-English bilingualism, ideally also extended to "elite" multilingualism (Ortega 2019, p. 34) with standard forms of prestigious and economically in-demand languages such as Spanish, German, or French, much as García and Otheguy (2020) describe officially sanctioned plurilingualism for linguistically majoritized white students in Europe. Thus, this discourse related to concerns about pedagogical effectiveness and student engagement, as seen in the teacher's shifting standards for how strongly to insist on a monoglossic English performance with students at various levels of English proficiency.

In contrast, the discourse of inclusion through conformity to majority linguistic practices was one that marked minoritized multilingualism as inherently undesirable in school (Daugaard and Laursen 2012), following racialized students regardless of instructional setting (Flores and Rosa 2015). The translanguaging that was constrained by this discourse, which I have called minoritized translanguaging, can be seen as the impetus for proposing translanguaging as a counter-hegemonic pedagogical approach (e.g., Creese and Blackledge 2015; García 2009; García and Li Wei 2014; García and Otheguy 2020; Hornberger and Link 2012; Makalela 2015). A barrier to creating the conditions for minoritized translanguaging in these classrooms proved to be a linguistically hegemonic norm of inclusion, where visible language use and policing oriented to the white "ethnic Norwegian" listening subject (Connor 2019; Flores and Rosa 2015; Piller and Takahashi 2011). Thus, the study suggests the analytical value of describing locally salient forms of translanguaging in conjunction with the specific discourses it challenges or transcends, as part of the language ecologies that influence translanguaging in various locations (Allard 2017; Hawkins and Mori 2018). This may

help to address concerns about the conflation of linguistic hybridity with emancipatory agendas, both from those who have questioned the inherently counter-hegemonic impact of translanguaging (Block 2018; Cenoz and Gorter 2017; Jaspers 2018) and those who have sought to clarify translanguaging as more than mere fluid language use (e.g., García and Otheguy 2020; Ortega 2019).

A practical implication of this study is to focus more on how students support or constrain translanguaging in education. Much previous research has emphasized the role of teacher attitudes and knowledge about translanguaging pedagogies (e.g., García and Kleyn 2016; Krulatz and Iversen 2019; Makalela 2015; Mary and Young 2017; Schissel et al. 2018), and indeed Lars indicated that such training might help him to draw on students' multilingual resources in more than a superficial manner. Given the significant role that peers played in policing minoritized translanguaging, this study brings attention to the need for not only teachers, but also students, to interrogate the language ideologies that push them to perceive majoritized language practices as appropriate in school and minoritized translanguaging—their own or others'—as antisocial, suspicious, or perhaps valuable only for communication within linguistically minoritized homes and social arenas (Alim 2007). Canagarajah (2013) argues that critical translingual pedagogies may encourage students to develop translingual dispositions in place of monolingual and monoglossic ideologies, including a tolerance for ambiguity, where more monolingually oriented classrooms might suppress the same potential. In addition, more research is needed to identify factors that allow some students, like Shirin, to resist raciolinguistic policing to a greater extent than peers who seemingly occupy a similar racialized or minoritized position at school (see also Canagarajah 2013).

However, efforts that focus only on classroom practice are likely to fall short of fundamentally reordering the hierarchies of whose translanguaging is negatively marked in school (Flores and Chaparro 2018). Flores et al. (2018) demonstrate that even bilingual teachers who have generally positive attitudes toward translanguaging may police their students' language in racialized ways out of a perceived responsibility to prepare their students for a racially and linguistically stratified world outside of school. Jaspers (2018) similarly argues for creating conditions that are favorable toward translanguaging by focusing not only on schools, but also on justice and access in public services and employment. Indeed, most students in the current study seemed to have adapted to the logic of the white "ethnic Norwegian" listening subject, which naturalized majoritized language use outside of the home, long before they joined their upper secondary English class. In this view, language education can only constitute one element of larger struggles for justice that also address structural frames such as racism, economic inequalities, and disparities in political representation (Block 2018; Flores et al. 2018; Flores and Rosa 2015; Jaspers 2018). Nonetheless, the language classroom might

comprise *one* such arena, which has the potential to give students tools to participate in these larger democratic struggles by providing opportunities to critically examine hegemonic language ideologies (Alim 2007; Canagarajah 2013; Flores and Rosa 2015; García and Kano 2014; Seltzer 2019).

In conclusion, in providing empirical evidence of how translanguaging may operate differently in reference to different language resources and learners, I hope to have contributed to clarifying the dynamics of translanguaging in additional language learning for both linguistically minoritized and majoritized learners (Leung and Valdés 2019; Turner and Lin 2017). The study supports earlier claims that teachers and students can use translanguaging for teaching and learning in linguistically diverse classrooms (e.g., Duarte 2019; García and Kleyn 2016; Mary and Young 2017; Rosiers et al. 2018), while also suggesting that translanguaging can remain largely at the level of majoritized language use without challenging linguistic inequality more fundamentally. Translanguaging may indeed be transformative (cf. Jaspers 2018), but perhaps only to the extent that it challenges a hegemonic discourse that is in operation locally (see also Allard 2017) and connects to broader movements for social justice (Flores and Chaparro 2018; Flores et al. 2018). Attending more directly to the locally specific discourses and ideologies that translanguaging transcends may make it easier to compare the impact of translanguaging in different language learning contexts and sociolinguistic ecologies.

Transcription conventions

-           cut-off
?   rising intonation
,   pause
( )   unclear
(( ))   explanation or extra-linguistic information
[…]   ellipsis
[overlap
=   latched speech
<italics> translation into English

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